

**Oracles of God: a comparative study of
Apostolic Christianity and its Greco-Roman world**

Dr BA Zuiddam DTh

Thesis submitted for the degree *Philosophiae Doctor* in Greek at the North-West University,
Potchefstroom Campus

Promoter: Prof Dr Fika J van Rensburg
Co-promoter: Prof Dr PJ Jordaan
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CHAPTER 1: PREFACE

The quest for divine guidance is a journey with many risks. To receive oracles from the world of the gods may prove a mixed blessing, or worse. This is especially true for the high and mighty of this world. Those who possess much have much to lose. The old parable of the camel and the needle applies.

Croesus was king of Lydia (c.560 BC). He conquered most of the west-coast of Asia Minor. Through his great riches Croesus had a great cultural impact. He was a benefactor of the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi and the temple of Artemis in Ephesus. Croesus highly esteemed the oracular sites of Apollo (Delphi) and of the elevated hero Amphiaraus in Oropos. He looked upon these two places in particular for genuine divine direction.

The king tried to win Delphi's favour by slaughtering not just one, but three thousand of every kind of the appropriate animals. He also burned a huge pile of precious objects and donated, among many other presents, a statue of a golden lion nearly six hundred pounds in weight. Success guaranteed! The dream oracle of Amphiaraus also received gifts in solid gold. Croesus asked these oracles whether he should make war against Persia. Both replied that if Croesus attacked the Persians, he would destroy a great empire (Herodotus 2003:23).

Although an advisor warned the king that he had nothing to gain from the poor region of Persia, but everything to lose, Croesus went ahead anyway. He barely escaped with his life. A great empire had been destroyed indeed, but it was Croesus' kingdom.

The moral of this story: the gods cannot be bought and the interpretation of oracles may be a tricky affair. Those who seek divine guidance should make sure about its source. With this *caveat* in mind, I recommend this research on Oracles of God to the reader.

Before the commencement of this journey into the world of the first century AD, I would like to single out a few people and organisations that extended a valuable contribution to this research:

-My wife Anne-Marié, who has encouraged this project from its earliest beginnings on a South African beach many years ago. My children Gabriëlle, Michaëlle, Christoffel and Abigaïl, whose patience has been inspiring.

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Soli Deo Gloria,
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Launceston, April 2008.

CHAPTER 2: INTRODUCTION: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ORACLES

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2.1 Introduction

One of the toughest questions asked in the Bible was cried from a cross: ηλι ηλι λεμα σαβαχθανι; τουτ' εστιν, θεε μου θεε μου, ινατι με εγκατελιπες; (Matt 27:46). It was a dramatic setting. Dying between heaven and earth, while the earth was covered in darkness by a sun eclipse, the Light of the world called out: "My God, my God, why have you deserted me?"

The withdrawal of God from the one who came to represent him on earth is probably the most remarkable phase in the ministry of Jesus Christ. When someone disappears all channels of communication are cut off and a sense of despair takes over. Despite this devastating God-eclipse on Good Friday, Apostolic Christianity regained a sense of God's nearness and involvement in their lives. The resurrection of Jesus from the dead was a turning point, which initiated this recovery. From now on it would confidently claim the "oracles of God," showing that when God takes the initiative, one may recover from the desperate religious experience of God-eclipse.

Throughout history man¹ has been fascinated by the realms of the gods (e.g. Spielvogel 2006:11; 101-103). The possibility of communication with a world beyond this earth continues to intrigue even secular Western societies in the 21st century to such extent that hundreds of millions of dollars are spent to send messages into outer space to contact other civilisations, while cosmic ears are listening for replies. Thus far the cosmic oracles have remained their silence.

¹ This thesis uses "man" inclusively, according to its generally accepted meaning as defined by the Oxford Dictionary: "human being of either sex; person." Likewise, "mankind" is used in its defined meaning: "human race."

Two thousand year ago, the peoples of Europe were reaching out to the heavenlies as well, trying to contact their gods, hoping to receive information and guidelines. The oracle was a phenomenon in which this two-way communication with the gods was uniquely expressed. It was a way to involve a god personally in one's life, receiving relevant divine communication from the world of the gods. As that world was traditionally thought to be immortal, there was also a sense in which mortal temporal men reached out, not only to the powerful but also to the everlasting.

This study finds itself on the terrain of this ancient human desire to reach out to the world of God. It takes the reader back to the first century AD. Its setting is the Greco-Roman world, the Roman Empire where the Greek language was the *lingua franca* and Greek culture had permeated so much that even a self-respecting emperor had to learn the language.

The first century in the Greco-Roman world is perhaps the most riveting era for the subject of oracles in history. It was the great age of the rise and fall of the oracles. The Greek author Plutarch showed himself extremely concerned about the state and future of the Greek oracles in his day. In retrospect, the old Greco-Roman world with its oracles was about to disappear. It would linger on for a few more centuries, but was eventually replaced by that of Christendom, a new movement in Plutarch's day that confidently claimed fresh and relevant oracles of God. This brings a certain amount of pleasurable tension to this research subject: the one set of oracles seems to be in crisis, the other confident. Is that a correct observation and why was it? This study is about to show.

The expression AD shows that this study has a Christian premise (cf. 2.6). Like the calendar, it takes the incarnation of the Lord as a reference point. It is on the side of the victors as it were. This would be a rather comfortable position to take in most circumstances, but not in the case of this research in this particular timeframe of history: the western world at the beginning of the 21st century. Christianity is no longer popular.² In Germany a prominent research unit at one of the universities captures the spirit: "Empty churches and the pope as celebrity."³ In Australia, which used to be predominantly Christian, only a very small percentage of the population are involved in church activities. Many of the ancient centres of worship in England and in continental Europe have closed down. Christian views that were commonly shared by the population fifty years ago have now disappeared from the codes of law. Recent estimates in European newspapers indicate that a significant percentage of clergy do not believe in God (Gledhill 2005, Schrijvers 2006, Van Laenen 2006), let alone his ability to communicate to mankind in a reliable way.

Consequently those who share the premise of this research (cf. 2.5-2.6) probably have a lot in common with the so called 'losers' of the first century: Plutarch and his learned friends, who realised that they were facing a theological crisis as their gods, particularly Apollo, seemingly ceased to speak and was no longer significantly involved in their lives.

2 Particularly in Europe, church membership and adherence are down and traditional Christian doctrines are rejected. This is confirmed by recent research (Barrick 2007). Results showed that 73 per cent of Americans believe in God or a Supreme Being and 62 per cent of Italians expressed this belief. The French are the least likely with 27 percent agreeing. Cf. Parris (2007). Detailed data have been published by the Dutch government (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau 2006:8-28). This report contains detailed religious data from the European Social Survey on most European countries and the United States.

3 Although there is attention for prominent church leaders in a society dominated by mass media, many church buildings are empty on Sunday. A German research unit summarizes its findings as: "Empty churches and the pope as celebrity" (Bochum University 2008).

It is true; the Christian movement would ultimately gain the upper hand. But this would take several centuries yet. In the period that this research deals with, Apostolic Christianity was an emerging minority religion. There is no evidence from the New Testament or the writings of Plutarch that the two oracular movements met and competed. So for this study there is no rivalry or competition, and no choosing sides. This research will focus on the primary documents of both and see what they have to say for themselves. Perhaps Christianity in the Apostolic Age was quite different from those who carry its banner in England, Denmark or South Africa two thousand years later. Perhaps Plutarch has hardly anything in common religiously with anything in this day and age. Whatever the answers to these questions, the theme of this research lays in the Greco-Roman world of the first century AD. Although it would like to be intellectually stimulating for the twenty-first century AD, its object is oracles in the former.

This is a multifaceted research. Its language is Greek, its method philological, but its topic theological. These all come together in the one research theme.

2.2 Research theme

Oracles of God: a comparative study of Apostolic Christianity and its Greco-Roman world.

2.3 Orientation & problem statement

The following paragraphs give an orientation on the research theme, considering contemporary developments in Christianity, Plutarch's concern about the oracles in the first century and the New Testament writers with their Christian alternative.

2.3.1 A dramatic change

Until the twentieth century Christianity was publicly confident that its Bible contained reliable speech from the heavenly realms. Other religions had tried, but failed. Christianity succeeded where the poor and misguided attempts of the Greek oracle religion were bound to fail.

In the 17th century this confident attitude was reflected by Holland's Shakespeare,⁴ Joost van den Vondel. This literary giant asserted in one of his theatre plays:

“De vreemden zullen hier [ten zy d'orakels falen]
Den Godtsdienst niet alleen, maer oock hun wetten halen.”
(Joseph in Dothan, Vondel 1640)⁵

⁴ Plutarch's book on the cessation of the oracles was also read and used in the United Kingdom. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) referred to the profound sense of failure of the ancient oracles in the first century in his “Of Man, Being the First Part of Leviathan”, line 31ff. John Milton (1608-1674) used Plutarch's essay in his famous poem “On the Morning of Christ's Nativity”, viii.

⁵ Vondel uses the failure of oracles as a reference to build up tension in his Joseph in Dothan, line 543. Translation: “Here foreigners will come to find both Religion and laws; unless the oracles fail.” And Vondel's implication was that the oracles should fail, as is shown by the development of the play, cf. note 12. Line 543 was spoken by Potiphar, Joseph's master in Egypt. “Joseph in Dothan” was written with a comparison of classical Greco-Roman oracle religion in mind. Its subtitle is *Nusquam tuta Fides*. This is a reference to the *Eineis* by Virgilius, book 4.373. Probably more than a century earlier than Plutarch's work, this passage (371-386) depicts one of the best and most tragic examples of great discontent and disappointment in the ways of the oracles of the gods. Vondel was a great admirer of Publius Virgilius

With this play Vondel called attention to the tragic ways of the oracles of the gods with the lives of Dido and Eneas. He referred to Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum*, nearly quoting its title in the words "ten zy d' orakels falen" (unless the oracles fail). In this way Vondel told his readers that although the ancient oracles, whether in Greece or in Egypt, were presented with great acclaim at the time, they should keep in mind that even the authorities of antiquity had to confess that these brought great distress and would ultimately fail and give way to the much greater oracles and real divine presence of Christianity.⁶

Some of Vondel's confidence was still visible when the world entered the second half of the twentieth century. As the UK gathered for the coronation of her new monarch, Christianity universally claimed the possession of "Oracles of God". This is reflected in the text of the British coronation ceremony of Queen Elizabeth the Second (Church of England 1953):

"The Presenting of the Holy Bible

When the Queen is again seated, the Archbishop shall go to her Chair; and the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, receiving the Bible from the Dean of Westminster, shall bring it to the Queen and present it to her, the Archbishop saying these words:

Our gracious Queen:

to keep your Majesty ever mindful of the law and the Gospel of God
as the Rule for the whole life and government of Christian Princes,

we present you with this Book,

the most valuable thing that this world affords.

And the Moderator shall continue:

Here is Wisdom;

This is the royal Law;

These are the lively Oracles of God.

Then shall the Queen deliver back the Bible to the Moderator, who shall bring it to the Dean of Westminster, to be reverently placed upon the Altar. This done, the Archbishop shall return to the Altar."

Only half a century later Western Christianity seems to have lost its former confidence. An increasing majority of the Western world doubts the usefulness, authenticity and relevancy of the Scriptures that were once received as "Oracles of God". The rejection of the social and sexual ethics of Apostolic Christianity by formerly Protestant and Roman Catholic nations alike is indicated by the socio-political developments in countries like the United Kingdom, South-Africa, The Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and Italy (Ratzinger 2004). In the United States of America some of those who claim to be major representatives of Christianity deny the authenticity and reliability of God's speech through the Apostolic Writings and the ministry of the Church (Spong 2002). Firm experience of the Divine through the traditional vehicles is no longer deemed possible or useful by many. Christianity's oracles seem to fail. The Bible is becoming irrelevant for social and political life.

Maroo's and translated his work (Van den Vondel 1660). In Britain this tragic episode from the *Eineis* was dramatically depicted by Henry Purcell in 1689, England's oldest opera (Purcell 1689).

⁶ In his "Joseph in Dothan", Vondel makes the point that the oracles would ultimately fail and give way to the much greater oracles and real divine presence of Christianity. This is evidenced by line 655-666:
"Dat kan ten leste 't hemelsch wicht, 't Welck, dien onnooslen moort ontvloden,
Naer Memphis, met zijn klaer gezicht, Ter neder stort de duistre Goden;
Doet Ammon kloppen op zijn' mont, En, staende op een' gesternden gront,
Laet gloãnde tongen nederdaelen, Op visschers kruinen, die zoo knap
Verstommen Isis priesterschap, En eeren in verscheide talen,
Recht uit, klaer uit, en onverbloemt, Dien Godt, daer Joseph hier van roemt."

2.3.2 Oracles and Plutarch

Plutarch was the representative of an age that also, in its own way, witnessed the decline of oracles and a closure of the communication line with the heavenlies. The oracles were still there, but his book *De Pythiae Oraculis* (Plutarch 2003, cf. chapter 3) gives evidence that their influence on life and the general populace became more and more marginal. If the title of what is probably his most straightforward book *De Defectu Oraculorum* (about the disappearance of the oracles) is any indication, the Greek writer Plutarch signalled a profound decline in Divine Communication in the Greco-Roman world of the first century (e.g. Plutarch 2003).

Mestrius Plutarch (c.46-c.120AD) is an excellent representative of the adherents of the Greek oracle religion. His father Aristobulus had been a biographer and philosopher and Plutarch would follow in his footsteps. Most of his life he lived in Chaironeia in the Greek region that was known as Boeotia, in mid Greece to the North-West of Attica. Intellectually Plutarch is recognised as the most important Greek of this era (Halsberghe, Halsberghe, De Waele 1989:604). He was not only a prolific writer (he produced more than 220 essays and books) but also an influential politician and diplomat. Plutarch was widely travelled, visiting many different parts of the Roman Empire like Italy, Egypt and Asia. All these things make him a very useful representative of the Greco-Roman world of the first century, but for the subject of oracles it is of crucial value that Plutarch was not only well versed in religious subjects and that of oracles in particular, but that he was also regarded as a religious authority by his contemporaries, resulting in his appointment as senior priest at the famous Apollo oracle in Delphi (cf. Barrow 1967). A religious statue to Emperor Hadrian was erected in Delphi under Plutarch's supervision. Its base, which still survives, states that "Mestrius Plutarch the priest officiated as curator of Delphi".⁷

In later years Eastern Christianity recognised the value of Plutarch's contributions. It was mainly the *Moralia*, a collection that included "On the Cessation of the Oracles" that appealed to the Greek Fathers. Eusebius (Eusebius 1903/2006) provide extensive quotes from *De Defectu Oraculorum*. Theodoretus (2006) is another source for the Greek oracle religion in Delphi (e.g. 2006:6,82). It is not without reason that Babbitt (2003:349) comments: "We could wish that they had quoted even more, since their text is usually superior to that contained in the manuscripts, which in some places are quite hopeless."

2.3.2.1 Need for further exploration

Religion and more specifically oracles and the sites where the oracles were received in the Greco-Roman world have been widely studied (e.g. Bremmer 1993; Broad 2006; Flacelière 1965; Fontenrose 1978; Hand 1965; Lloyd Jones 1976; Loewe 1981; Martin-Ahern 1982; Nilsson 1974,1986; Nock 1942; Parke 1956,1967; Renaud 1997; Russel 1972; Whittaker 1965; Wood 2004).

The profound sense of cessation of these oracles in the first century AD, however, still invites further exploration. Plutarch's book on the oracles, sandwiched in a larger collection of *Moralia*, seems to have been largely neglected on a post graduate level, especially in the English-speaking world. Babbitt's work (2003) remains the standard translation of *De Defectu Oraculorum* for the English speaking world. Flacelière (Plutarch 1947) made the work

⁷ An inscription on a statue in Delphi mentions Mestrius Plutarch the priest officiated as curator of Delphi: ἐπιμελητεύοντος δελφῶν μεστρίου πλουτάρχου τοῦ ἱερέως. Details: *CIG* 1713 = *DittenburgerSyll*³ 829, courtesy University of Texas, Department of Classical Studies.

accessible for the French. The German world has been served by Ziegler (1952) and Sieveking (Plutarch 1972). More recently Rescigno (1996) has done the same for the Italians.⁸

This study will first develop an understanding of oracles in the Greco-Roman world in general, and in Plutarch's times more specifically (chapter 3). Subsequently, it will establish whether *De Defectu Oraculorum* indeed suggests a theological crisis in the Greek oracle religion by the first century AD (chapter 4-5). Both this and the reasons that Plutarch offers for the perceived disappearance of the oracles will, in chapter 5, be subject of philological consideration and offer conclusions about Plutarch's use of oracle in *De Defectu Oraculorum*.

2.3.3 Oracles and the New Testament

In this same Greco-Roman world of the first century Apostolic Christianity gained influence and spread across the Empire. This movement claimed the reality of divine communication. Although the way Christianity acquired its oracles was quite different from the Greek religion with its established oracular sites, the semantic use of the typically and exclusively oracular word λόγιον suggests a similarity in experience. Both the Greek oracles and Apostolic Christianity asked for divine guidance and directions and claimed to receive it. Four key passages in the New Testament, the collection of the accepted documents of Apostolic Christianity, reflect this and literally speak about "oracles of God": Acts 7:38,⁹ Romans 3:2,¹⁰ Hebrews 5:12,¹¹ 1 Peter 4:11¹² (Nestle/Aland 1988). Authoritative Bible translations of the past and present alike, e.g. the King James Version (AV) and the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) render the Greek word λόγια as "oracles" in these places.

⁸ *De Defectu Oraculorum* is part of a collection of Plutarch's writings that is known under the name *Moralia*. It has been popular and in print for many centuries. For an overview of the earlier editions of Plutarch's *Moralia*, see: Anthon (1853:462). I use the most recent editions in this study.

⁹ Acts 7:38: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν. AV: This is he, that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sina, and *with* our fathers: who received the lively oracles to give unto us. NRSV: He is the one who was in the congregation in the wilderness with the angel who spoke to him at Mount Sinai, and with our ancestors; and he received living oracles to give to us.

¹⁰ Rom 3:2: πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. πρῶτον μὲν [γὰρ] ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ. AV: Much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God. NRSV: Then what advantage has the Jew? Or what is the value of circumcision? Much, in every way. For in the first place the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God.

¹¹ Heb 5:12: καὶ γὰρ ὀφείλοντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, πάλιν χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ γεγονάτε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος, [καὶ] οὐ στερεᾶς τροφῆς. AV: For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which *be* the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. NRSV: For though by this time you ought to be teachers, you need someone to teach you again the basic elements of the oracles of God. You need milk, not solid food.

¹² 1 Pet 4:11: εἴ τις λαλεῖ, ὡς λόγια θεοῦ: εἴ τις διακονεῖ, ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός: ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: ἀμήν.

AV: If any man speak, *let him speak* as the oracles of God; if any man minister, *let him do it* as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

NRSV: Whoever speaks must do so as one speaking the very words of God; whoever serves must do so with the strength that God supplies, so that God may be glorified in all things through Jesus Christ. To him belong the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

For understanding the wider textual context of these passages it will be useful to briefly explore the phenomenon of divine speech in the New Testament first. For this reason chapter 6 gives an overview of the many and diverse instances of divine communication in the Writings of Apostolic Christianity. There are many references (e.g. Matt 1:18 - 2:23; Mark 1:10-11; 9:2-12; Luke 1:5 - 2:20; 1 Cor 12-14) that will possibly help to develop a wider understanding and this research has a look at some of the key passages.

After this general understanding has been developed, this research allows the first century authors to speak for themselves by concentrating on the four passages mentioned that specifically deal with “oracles of God” as a phenomenon (chapters 7-10). Their wider textual context is reinforced by a study of the same word (λόγιον) in the Septuagint (chapter 11). Further semantic comparison and background is provided by an extensive appendix that analyses the use of λόγος in the LXX. These additional materials from the LXX are invaluable for this research, as the Septuagint was the “Bible” of Apostolic Christianity. It is often quoted by New Testament writers.

2.3.4 Comparison and relevance

With a slight pun on Plutarch’s acclaimed series of biographies *Paralellum, Vitae Romanorum et Graecorum*, or “The Parallel Lives,” (Plutarch 2001) one could justifiably speak about the parallel lives of Apostolic Christianity and Plutarch on the subject of divine communication (cf. Grant 1980:349). Biblical authority has been the subject of many debates and studies since the Enlightenment, but preliminary study suggests that “Oracles of God” in the New Testament has not yet been the object of a scholarly enterprise.

What is true about “Oracles of God” in the New Testament and the failure of the oracles in Plutarch separately is even truer in an accumulated sense for this comparative study. A comparative study of Plutarch’s *De Defectu Oraculorum* and the “Oracles of God” in the documents produced by Apostolic Christianity had still been outstanding and this research aims to provide it in a way satisfactory to linguistics and theologians alike.

This study wants to make a contribution in this field by establishing whether the oracles of Antiquity were failing in Plutarch’s perception and by asking why they were failing in his eyes. It also wants to establish whether divine communication was successfully taking place in the perception of Apostolic Christianity. It also makes a unique semantic contribution to the study of the New Testament as Acts 7:38, Romans 3:2, Hebrews 5:12, 1 Peter 4:11 have not yet been the subject of any comparative research on their joint theme of “oracles of God”.

From a comparison between Plutarch and Apostolic Christianity one may learn that the integrity and eventual acclaim of a religion rests on a genuine experience of divine speech, values and standards. This should contain valuable lessons for present day and traditional expressions of Christianity and could probably be applied profitably by other religions as well.

This research not only provides the essential data on oracles in Plutarch and the New Testament, but it also furthers the semantic and linguistic understanding of the terms involved and their function in their historical context of the early Greco-Roman world and Apostolic Christianity. In this way this research makes a contribution to scholarship in the field of Classical Studies as well as New Testament Studies, bringing these disciplines together in an integrated approach of the theme and era concerned.

2.3.5 Problem statement

In contemporary research the term "problem statement" has become fashionable and almost compulsory. Under this heading the research topic is summarized. It basically gives answers to the following questions: What do we want to find out and how are we going to do it?

For some this poses a problem, for others a pleasurable subject of investigation. As our theme has been explained and motivated (2.3.1-2.3.4) this study is able to reveal its topic and general course of action quite easily.

Its problem statement suggests itself by the following question:

How to make a comparative study of Apostolic Christianity and its Greco-Roman world represented by Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* on the subject of oracles of God?

The answer should read along these lines: Study Plutarch on the subject, do the same with Apostolic Christianity, find out what they claim about their oracles and compare results.

This main research problem can be readily solved when the following 'sub-problems' have been successfully solved:

2.3.5.1 Investigative questions relating to *De Defectu Oraculorum*

The first set of 'sub-problems' relates to the study of *De Defectu Oraculorum*:

- How did oracles function in the Greco-Roman world? (Chapter 3)
- What are the relevant passages from *De Defectu Oraculorum*, and how should they be understood and evaluated? (Chapter 4-5)
- What is a valid construction of the failure and cessation of the oracles in Plutarch? (Chapter 4-5)

2.3.5.2 Investigative questions relating to Apostolic Christianity

The second set of sub-problems relates to the study of the Writings of Apostolic Christianity:

- How should the Oracles of God be understood in the wider context of divine communication in the Writings of Apostolic Christianity? (Chapter 6)
- What is a valid philological interpretation of Acts 7:38, and how does this contribute to an understanding of the Oracles of God? (Chapter 7)
- What is a valid philological interpretation of Romans 3:2, and how does this contribute to an understanding of the Oracles of God? (Chapter 8)
- What is a valid philological interpretation of Hebrews 5:12, and how does this contribute to an understanding of the Oracles of God? (Chapter 9)
- What is a valid philological interpretation of 1 Peter 4:11, and how does this contribute to an understanding of the Oracles of God? (Chapter 10)
- What is a valid philological interpretation of λόγιον in the Septuagint and how does this contribute to an understanding of the Oracles of God, particularly against the background of the LXX's use of λόγος? (Chapter 11, and Appendix 1)
- What would be a valid construction of the Oracles of God in the Writings of Apostolic Christianity? (Chapter 12)

2.3.5.3 Investigative questions relating to comparison

The third set of sub-problems relates to the comparative study of the *De Defectu Oraculorum* (Failure of the Oracles) and the Writings of Apostolic Christianity:

- How do the oracles of the gods in Plutarch compare with the “Oracles of God” in Apostolic Writ? (Chapter 13)
- How would this comparison contribute to our understanding of the rise and fall of oracles in the Greco-Roman world, in terms of the religious self-assessment of their respective adherents in the first century? (Chapter 13)

2.4 Aims and objectives

2.4.1 Aim

This project aims to describe and establish the nature of the rise of the “Oracles of God” and the fall of the oracles of the gods in the Greco-Roman world in the first century AD, and to compare Plutarch and Apostolic Christianity on these results.

2.4.2 Objectives

The first set of objectives relates to the study of *De Defectu Oraculorum*:

- To develop an understanding for the function of oracles in the Greco-Roman world
- To locate, understand and evaluate the relevant passages from *De Defectu Oraculorum*
- To establish, analyse and define the failure and cessation of the oracles in Plutarch

The second set of objectives relates to the study of the Writings of Apostolic Christianity:

- To develop an understanding for Oracles of God in the wider context of divine communication in the Writings of Apostolic Christianity
- To analyse and evaluate Acts 7:38
- To analyse and evaluate Romans 3:2
- To analyse and evaluate Hebrews 5:12
- To analyse and evaluate 1 Peter 4:11
- To analyse the use of λόγιον in the Septuagint (particularly against the background of the LXX's use of λόγος)
- To establish, analyse and define the Oracles of God in the Writings of Apostolic Christianity

The third set of objectives relates to the comparative study of *De Defectu Oraculorum* and the Writings of Apostolic Christianity:

- To compare the oracles of the gods in Plutarch with the “Oracles of God” in Apostolic Writ
- To identify areas of agreement and of difference that may provide indications why the oracles of the gods disappeared and the “Oracles of God” succeeded in the perception of their respective adherents in the Greco-Roman world of the first century

2.5. Central theoretical argument

The central theoretical argument of this study is that the lack of perceived authentic divine speech in the experience of the recipients played a crucial role in the fall of the Greco-Roman oracles in favour of the Christian oracles of God.

The data presented in chapter 3-5 establish that Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* suggests a dramatic decline of the Greek oracle religion. This was an issue of faith. Not only were the oracles disappearing, but they were no longer consulted for important decisions. Their relevance was reduced mostly to the area of trivial and even shameful enquiries. The oracles of Plutarch ceased because the Greco-Roman world did no longer appreciate these oracles as a source of authentic and relevant divine communication. In Plutarch's mind the reason for this was in the disappearance of the presence of the gods from most of the sites that had been oracular previously. Consequently genuine communication from the gods was no longer available. In a dramatic and desperate climax *De Defectu Oraculorum* suggests the departure and even the death of the gods to explain the phenomenon of the disappearance of the oracles.

Apostolic Christianity (chapter 6-12), on the other hand, claimed that it had received oracles from God. Its God was not disappearing or dying. His messages were considered to be genuine revelation from the realms of glory and embraced as relevant by Apostolic Christianity. Theirs was a message that convinced many in the Greco-Roman world of the first century.

The respective rise and fall of the oracles in the Greco-Roman world of the first century as it was perceived by writers of that era should be primarily explained in terms of faith.

2.6 Method of research

This study is born out of a keen appreciation of Apostolic Christianity from a Reformed Catholic perspective. The following methods will be used to meet the specific goals of this research:

The first set of methods relates to the study of *De Defectu Oraculorum*:

- To develop an understanding for the function of oracles in the Greco-Roman world relevant literature on oracles and Greek religion are consulted (e.g. Bremmer 1993; Broad 2006; Des Places 1969; Flacelière 1965; Fontenrose 1978; Hand 1965; Lloyd Jones 1976; Loewe 1981; Martin-Ahern 1982; Nilsson 1974,1986; Nock 1942; Parke 1956,1967; Renaud 1997; Russel 1972; Whittaker 1965; Wood 2004).
- To locate, understand and evaluate the relevant passages from *De Defectu Oraculorum* a generally acknowledged Greek edition is used (Plutarch 2003, cf. Flacelière 1947; Paton, Polenz and Sieveking 1972; Rescigno 1995; Ziegler 1952) and a philological method (cf. Danker 1988) similar to the grammatical historical approach in New Testament Studies is applied (Carson 1984, Guthrie 1990, Tenney 1991, Zahn 1902-1926). This philological method interprets the text within its own perimeters and historical context.
- To establish, analyse and define the disappearance and cessation of the oracles in Plutarch an analysis, interpretation and synthesis of the collected material are done.

The second set of methods relates to the study of the Writings of Apostolic Christianity:

- To develop an understanding of Oracles of God in the wider context of divine communication in the Writings of Apostolic Christianity, appropriate passages will be studied, and a wide variety of relevant commentaries (e.g. Bruce 1990; Hegermann 1988; Johnson 1992; Karrer 2002; Knoch 1990; Koester 2001; Krodel 1986; Lane 1991; Lohse 2003; Michaels 1988; Morris 1981; Pirot 1946; Polhill 1992; Schreiner 2003; Schweitzer 1998; Spiq 1977), dictionaries (e.g. Liddell & Scott; Louw & Nida; Bauer & Aland), grammar tools (e.g. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf; Zerwick & Grosvenor) and literature on the subject are consulted.
- To analyse and evaluate Acts 7:38, Romans 3:2, Hebrews 5:12, 1 Peter 4:11 and the use of λόγιον in the Septuagint, the grammatical historical approach is applied.
- To establish, analyse and define the Oracles of God in the Writings of Apostolic Christianity, an analysis, interpretation and synthesis of the collected material are done.

The third set of methods relates to the comparative study of *De Defectu Oraculorum* and the Writings of Apostolic Christianity:

- To weigh the oracles of the gods in Plutarch against the “Oracles of God” in Apostolic Writ, a comparative study is made in the best traditions of Plutarch himself (Plutarch 2001, cf. Halliday 1913), resulting in the parallel lives of Plutarch and Apostolic Christianity on the subject of divine communication.
- To explain the use and appreciation of oracle and to encourage an understanding of the rise and fall of oracles in the Greco-Roman world of the first century AD, an analysis, interpretation and synthesis of the collected results from Plutarch and Apostolic Christianity is done.

2.7 Schematic representation to indicate correlation

General Problem statement	Aim	Research method
Oracles of God: a comparative study of Apostolic Christianity and its Greco-Roman world?	<i>Oracles of God</i> aims to describe and explain the nature of the rise of the "Oracles of God" and fall of the oracles of the gods in the Greco-Roman world of in the first century AD, and to compare Plutarch and Apostolic Christianity on these results.	This Greek and New Testament study is undertaken from a Christian perspective, philologically applies the historical grammatical method and uses the tools of comparative study and.
Specific problem statements	Goal	Research method
How can we develop an intelligent understanding for the function of oracles in the Greco-Roman world?	To develop an understanding for the function of oracles in the Greco-Roman world	Consulting relevant literature on oracles and Greek religion
How can we understand and evaluate Plutarch view on the failure of oracles?	To locate, understand and evaluate the relevant passages from <i>The Cessation of the Oracles</i>	A generally accepted Greek edition will be used and the philological method applied.
How can we establish the general picture of the cessation of the Oracles in <i>De Defectu Oraculorum</i> ?	To establish, analyse and define the failure and cessation of the oracles in Plutarch	By way of analysis, interpretation and synthesis of the collected material
How should Oracles of God be understood in the wider context of divine communication in the writings of the New Testament?	To develop an understanding for Oracles of God in the wider context of divine communication in the Writings of Apostolic Christianity	Referring to appropriate passages and consulting relevant commentaries and literature on the subject
How should one understand the use of "Oracles of God" in Acts 7:38?	To analyse and evaluate Acts 7:38 in its proper context	Using the grammatical historical method.
How should one understand the use of "Oracles of God" in Romans 3:2?	To analyse and evaluate Romans 3:2 in its proper context	Using the grammatical historical method
How should one understand the use of "Oracles of God" in Hebrews 5:12?	To analyse and evaluate Hebrews 5:12 in its proper context	Using the grammatical historical method
How should one understand the use of "Oracles of God" in 1 Peter 4:11?	To analyse and evaluate 1 Peter 4:11 in its proper context	Using the grammatical historical method
How should one understand the use of λόγιον in the Septuagint?	To analyse and evaluate λόγιον in the Septuagint against the background of the LXX's use of λόγος	Using the grammatical historical method
How do the oracles of the gods in Plutarch and the Oracles of God in the New Testament compare?	To weigh the oracles of the gods in Plutarch against the "Oracles of God" in Apostolic Writ	By means of a comparative study

CHAPTER 3: ORACLES IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

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3.1 Introduction

In the Greco-Roman world oracles were a means for people to consult the gods. Defining the word in English is not as easy as it may seem. The main reason for this is that the Greeks used different words to describe the oracular site and the answer from the gods. The words used for oracular preparations, the medium or prophet were quite different again. The Greeks did not have a single word for oracle. In English, however, all these very different facets of the oracle religion could be described and referred to as oracle.¹³

The English language probably inherited this way to describe the Greek oracle religion from the Romans. Interestingly, the very ancient Greeks of whose culture oracles were so much part, did not give us the name oracle. It is derived from the Latin *oraculum*, a substantive from the verb *orare*, to speak. It was the Romans who gave us the term oracle (Wood 2004:7).

This chapter's aim is to introduce the phenomenon of oracles in the Greco-Roman world. This will provide a wider context to Plutarch's book *De Defectu Oraculorum*, which is the subject of the next two chapters (4-5).

3.2 Divine directions on site

The phenomenon of the gods relating to mankind in a verbal way, revelation from the realms above, is a fascinating subject. The Greeks believed that the gods provided answers to human inquiries at holy sites. This site could host institutionalised oracle religion or be less formal. When institutionalised, there would be a proper procedure of preparation. This applied both to

13 The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (e.g. 1989:869) gives three primary definitions of the word oracle:

- a) (in ancient Greece) holy place where the gods would be asked about the future: the oracle at Delphi.
- b) the answer given (which was often ambiguous or obscure).
- c) priest(ess) giving the answers: consult the oracle.

the enquirers and the human medium if present. The latter had to be subjected to holy rites and his or her subscribed preparation ensured. The enquirer had to provide sacrifice and prayers, for which usually a priest was employed as well. Traditionally the oracle as an expression of the inevitable will of the gods was highly regarded in the Greco-Roman world (Paolucci 1963:243). Prophecy is also found as an important literary tool in many Greek epics (Moore 1921:102).

3.2.1 Importance of local site

The site was a very important element of the oracle religion, as the god was believed to have a special connection to and involvement in the site. This involvement was considered so strong and the chosen site so essential that the god was able to operate and give his answers to the enquirer directly, even without a human medium. In this respect the phenomenon seems to differ somewhat from some of the seers one finds in the Homeric epochs. At any rate was the oracle prophet quite different from the biblical prophet. For instance the 'kingmaker' Samuel was not dependent on particular sites for receiving revelations and Divine answers. The Greek oracle prophet, however, was.

The gods, in their wisdom, could indeed choose to employ human intermediaries as their mouthpiece (Nilsson 1974:467). These would be called prophets and prophetesses, or in case of the famous oracle in Delphi, Pythia. This was a word especially reserved for the position of an elderly prophetess, a married woman over the age of fifty who was appointed for life on the site of the Delphic oracle.¹⁴ She was still dressed as a virgin because of the earlier custom to employ young women, which had been unsuccessful because of the temptations this provided. The Pythia had to be a freeborn woman from Delphi. Otherwise there were no particular requirements for her social standing and background.

3.2.2 Women as prophetic medium

That women were used as mediums at this and a few other sites is considered rather exceptional: "Homeric society was dominated by male aristocrats, who greatly valued self-control. In this society there was no room for influential prophetesses, let alone ecstatic women, such as the well known mythological figure of Cassandra, the Sibyl, the Delphic Pythia or the priestesses of the oracle of Dodona. In this respect it is significant that the Sibyl came from Erythrae in Asia Minor, that Delphi and Dodona were situated in the geographical margin of the Greek world, and that Cassandra was a relatively late poetical creation not a reflection of an existing type of prophetess" (Bremmer 1993:152).

The Sibylla were female prophets who did not allow consultations, but gave their prophecies, usually warnings, unasked for (Halsberghe 1989:694; Garstang 1963: 97-101). Although Bremmer's explanation may help to understand the limited influence of the Sybil on the Greek mainland (Garstang 1963: 98; cf. Oppenheimer 1956:199), it is not the geography as such that was the determining factor. Instead it was the cultural and racial influences prevalent in those locations. It may well be argued that the Sibyl was an Etruscan rather than a Greek phenomenon (Garstang 1963:100).

As an explanation for the employment of female prophetesses, geographic marginality is particularly unsatisfactory. In the Greek mind Delphi was not geographically marginal at all.

14 Park (1967:73) confirms that the Pythia in Delphi were older women: "Originally the Pythia was appointed as a young virgin, but that Echeocrates the Thessalian fell in love with the Pythia at a consultation and carried her off and raped her; thereafter the Delphians made a law that no maiden was to act as Pythia, but a woman over fifty who, however, would wear the dress of a maiden in memory of the previous type of prophetess."

For good reason Delphi was regarded as the place of ὀμφαλός. Not only because it boasts a relatively dry and rocky environment, but because the Greeks considered it the centre of the world itself!¹⁵ What is more, Delphi had an exemplary and binding function for the Greeks in ancient times. The story goes¹⁶ that after the Greek states joined hands and defeated the Persians in the fifth century BC; all cities extinguished their fires, which was a major thing to do as those were the days without matches and lighters. They, however, had a reason for this drastic measure. Delphi had an eternal flame,¹⁷ possibly fed by natural gasses that flowed up from its inner hearth, or maintained by human endeavour (using wood, oil or other fuel). Each city should receive fresh fire from the spiritual centre of Greece, Delphi.¹⁸ As one realises that Delphi was one of the most famous and most widely accepted and accredited oracles in the Greek world, geographical marginality becomes a somewhat trivial explanation for the presence of female prophets.

Others point to the possibility that the Pythia was a heritage from the earlier cult dedicated to the earth goddess.¹⁹ In the end the alleged preferences of a god who connected himself with a location were decisive in the minds of the Greeks. There is some evidence in Pausanias that the earliest oracles in Delphi were given to a man and that Apollo did not exclusively speak through the Pythia necessarily (Dempsey 1918:52).

All these oracle prophets, however, be they women or men, were dependent on the site for divine directions. Only there, on the site with the divine connection, would the prophet, or sometimes even the enquirer himself,²⁰ receive the words, dreams²¹ or direction.

3.2.3 Divination

Not all oracles made use of human mouth pieces though. Some sites, like the dice oracle in Termessos, seem to have dispensed with human intermediaries altogether (Curnow 2004:2). Closely related to those are the alphabetic or letter oracles, which used letters of the Greek alphabet to establish the equivalent of a modern day horoscope (Curnow 2004:142-143). The

15 Greek: ὀμφαλός, or centre of the world (Halsberghe 1989:192). It has also been suggested that this stone place was a miniature beehive tomb (Harrison 1899:226). According to Strabo Zeus discovered this centre of the earth by the meeting of two eagles in their respective flights from the extreme East and West. For this reason, in early days, the ὀμφαλός in Delphi displayed two golden eagles (Middleton 1888, 295). Broad (2006:9-71) gives an excellent overview of Delphi's history as "centre of the universe".

16 About the role of Delphi in Greek colonisation, cf. Pease (1917:1-20).

17 The sacred fire of Vesta in Rome is another example of this phenomenon in the ancient world. It is not unknown to Biblical history either. In Leviticus 6:13 the Lord commanded Moses that the fire should always be burning upon the altar and never go out. It was God himself that had lid this fire. Both the tabernacle service and King Solomon's temple were dedicated in this Divine way. By keeping the fire burning Israel continued the work of God in their midst. This would show how they valued their relationship with God, but also how they served Him day and night.

18 The Delphic oracles played an important role in Greek history. This is evidence by Herodotus in particular; see Nilsson (1986:123-130) and Fairbanks (1906:37-48).

19 The idea that Delphi's ὀμφαλός as such might have been associated with an oracle of the Earth, has met with great reservations (Hodge 1981:83-84). In a wider sense, an association of Delphi with a cult that preceded Apollo's, worshipping earth goddess Gaia has been established (Avagianou 1998:123).

20 The principal healing god Asclepius operated in an oracular fashion, usually delivering his responses directly to enquirers through the medium of dreams (Curnow 2004:4). In *De Defectu Oraculorum* (P480-434D/F), Demetrius shares a story about a sceptic governor of Cilicia who sent someone to Mopsus with a sealed inquiry about the colour of a sacrificial animal. His ambassador received the correct answer in a dream on the spot.

21 That dreams could be important vehicles of divine communication was not only accepted in the Greek religion, but in Apostolic Christianity as well. Cf. Cox Miller (1986:157-164).

correct choices were determined by blindly selecting from a group of stones that had the letters of the alphabet inscribed, or by casting bones or dice.²² The dice and letter oracles, however, fall more into the category of divination and astrology than that of the prophecy of the oracles proper.²³

Related to this is *theurgy*, a phenomenon that may best be described as a form of automatic writing while the mind tries to open itself to the influence of higher powers. "This revised form of prophecy, which gradually supplanted the traditional methods of the Roman East, naturally became the object of controversy both between pagans and Christians and between dissenting pagans, who discussed the merits of perpetual revelation in 'tens of thousands of essays' until their views hardened into party lines" (Athanasiasi 1993:116).

3.2.4 'Port-key' between the human and divine

As it all happened on the sacred site, it should not surprise that not only the site, but also the procedures and divine direction have been metonymically described as "oracle" in English. An oracle is foremost connected to the site, as it is there that the god has supposedly decided to bestow his blessings. The oracle was the 'port-key' that connected the realms of the human and the divine.

Oracles differed from other religious activities in that they provided a two way communication. People came to the site with their inquiries, not just to have a religious experience, but for the very practical reason that they needed guidance. Oracles were consulted for political or religious matters, but also for a wide range of personal issues. Some oracles specialised in healing, although seldom exclusively. Conversely, other oracles might have the occasional healing tip as well. Other matters of personal assistance included: Should I marry this woman? Who has stolen my bed? Etc.

Plutarch noticed that the matters upon which the oracle in Delphi was consulted in his day had decreased in importance, as if one had no need to trust Apollo for really crucial decisions in the life of the nation anymore. In his book *De Pythiae Oraculae* (about the fact that the oracles at Delphi are no longer given in verse), Plutarch (2003:336-338,408C) writes: ὅπου δὲ ποικίλον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀπόρητον οὐδὲ δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράγμασι μικροῖς δαὶ δημοτικοῖς ἐρωτήσεις οἶνον ἐν σχολῇ προτάσεις, εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ πλευστέον, εἰ δανειστέον, τὰδὲ μέγιστα πόλεων μαντεύματα φορᾶς καρπῶν πέρι καὶ βοτῶν ἐπιγονῆς καὶ σωμάτων ὑγείας.²⁴

3.2.5 Time factors

The enquirers did their bit and 'payment' in the form of sacrifice and 'observance' to please the god by means of the endorsed rituals that were part of the preparations.

22 An example of a Greek alphabet oracle may be retrieved online at:

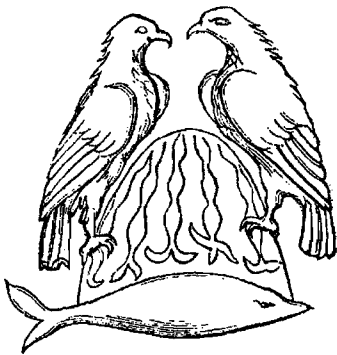
<http://www.cs.utk.edu/~mclennan/BA/LAO.html>. Bones are still a popular instrument in divination in some cultures in the 21st century (Tedlock 2001:193-194).

23 Cicero showed himself extremely sceptic about divination in his *De Divinatione* (Schofield 1986:92-93). This can be explained by his disillusion with the state of religion in his day (c. 50 BC), cf. Beard (1986:34).

24 Plutarch (2003:337-338, 408C): "Where there is nothing complicated or secret or terrible, but the interrogations are on slight and commonplace matters, like the hypothetical questions in school: if one ought to marry, or to start on a voyage, or to make a loan; and the most important consultations on the part of the State's concern the yield from crops, the increase of herds, and public health." The use of σωμάτων ὑγείας could also invite the translation "bodily health" instead of "public health".

Subsequently, the answer would be forthcoming, if not immediately then at least within the next day or so. Oracles delivered a prompt and tangible response, even though these answers could be ambiguous at times. They provided a profound sense of two way communication with the realms of the divine nonetheless. Oracle specialist Curnow (2004:2) sharply observes: "Consequently, oracles offered a very special kind of contact with the divine and so provided an importantly and unusually personal dimension of ancient religion. This fact is not, perhaps, as widely appreciated as it should be."

At many oracles there was a time factor to consider. The oracles that used human intermediaries were often limited to special seasons that were dedicated to the local deity. The general public could only consult during those festive seasons, which might only be once a year.²⁵ Indications are that in classical times, when those who wished to enquire were still many, the oracle in Delphi could only be approached once a month (Parke 1943:22).



Golden eagles and the dolphin of Delphi, symbolising, respectively, the centre of the world (ὀμφαλός) and the god Apollo (Middleton 1888: 295).

3.3 Delphi as setting of *De Defectu Oraculorum*

As the setting of Plutarch's books *De Defectu Oraculorum* is Delphi, a beautiful place of splendid mountain scenery. Its name, hole or womb (δελφός), may be derived from a local cave (Elderkin 1941:125-127).

3.3.1 Apollo and the animals

Legend has it that in very ancient days Delphi was the lair of a dragon or serpent (δράκαινα), quite possibly hiding in one of its caves and adding to the site's natural vapours. This dragon is commonly referred to as the Python, the name providing an easy association with the species of non-venomous constricting snakes in tropical rainforest regions. Python, the magic dragon, was sent by Zeus angered wife Hera. Apollo went out to kill it. This is described in fragments (Flacelière 1965:35) extant from the writings of Hesiod (1914, Homeric Hymns 11:300-309). In this Homeric hymn, Hera's exclusion from bringing about Athena provoked her temper. According to a later version Hera's anger had a different source,

²⁵ In *De Defectu Oraculorum* (P411-421A/C) Demetrius tells about a prophet who derived his power from daemons and prophesied once a year. This was at a special place near the Sea of Eritrea, of which the geographical location is uncertain. It was used to refer both to the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Gulf, but also could also be used for the Red Sea. Babbitt (2003:411) translates "Persian Gulf". Kings and their envoys would visit the prophet on that occasion. Another possibility is that Demetrius referred to the Bay of Erythrae in Asia Minor. This Ionic town was situated on a small peninsula stretching into the Bay of Erythrae and facing the isle of Samos, cf. Herodotus' *Historiae* 1.142 (2003:65).

i.e. in her husband's extramarital activities that produced the bow carrying twins, Apollo and his sister Artemis (cf. Ahl 1982:385).

Hesiod (Homeric Hymns 11, to Pythian Apollo, 277-293, cf. War 1888:196-200) describes how Apollo founded the oracle and temple in Delphi by settling there. Delphi became one of the most successful oracles of all time,²⁶ and may have inspired the establishing of other oracular sites dedicated to Apollo (Milner 2000, 144).

This view of Delphi as a dragon's lair would also be supported by the important role that was described to mysterious vapours from a local chasm in the inspiration of the prophetess of old.

Also in a second way δελφός lends itself for association with Apollo. This prominent god was the patron of womb-fish, the dolphin. In one of the Homeric hymns Apollo appears in the shape of a dolphin.²⁷ Even today, these happy fish regularly surface in Greek waters. Although Delphi as such is not located on sea, even *per pedem apostolorum* it is not very far from Delphi down to the port of Itea on the Gulf of Corinth.

Later, Delphi would be home to the Pythian Games, a name that refers to Apollo's slaying of the dragon.²⁸ Since the god picked up a laurel at Tempe (in Thessaly) before he came to Delphi, winners at the games would be presented with a wreath of laurels.

3.3.2 Prophetic inspiration in Delphi

From classical times he was also associated with the sun (Plutarch 2003:474-474).²⁹ Apollo was the one to look up to for divine direction and associated with prophecy everywhere in the Greco-Roman world (Parker 1967:26-32). It was also in this capacity that he would become associated with Delphi. As the intermediaries for Apollo's oracles in Delphi the so called Pythia have already been introduced. These were the prophetesses called after the ancient dragon that was reduced to a rotting carcass by the god of prophecy.

After the required ritual preparations, the Pythia sat in the ἄδυτον,³⁰ the holy, undefiled sanctuary below surface. This was the holy place on top of the cleft where the earth opened up

26 Fontenrose (1978:240-416) gives an overview of Delphic responses that have been recorded. His criteria to establish authenticity, however, have been subject of debate. With good reason Maurizio (1993:119-126) has called attention to a tendency to depreciate concrete literary evidence. The criteria Fontenrose (and also HW Parke) used to declare responses genuine are too arbitrary and governed by suppositions: "The results of Fontenrose's procedure are that he tends to value inscriptional evidence over literary evidence and that, like Grahay, he is suspicious of verse oracles. And yet, when one considers archaic Greece, both of these tendencies seem anachronistic" (Maurizio 1993:126).

27 Phoebus Apollo, cf. Hesiod (1914, Homeric hymns 11:388-439); cf. Dempsey (1918:183-188).

28 Pythia derives its name from πύθεισθαι, to rot, as a reference to the dragon's demise at the hand of Apollo (cf. Middleton 1888:286). The Pythia was seated above the chasm from where gasses that were associated with the rotting snake below, wafted up.

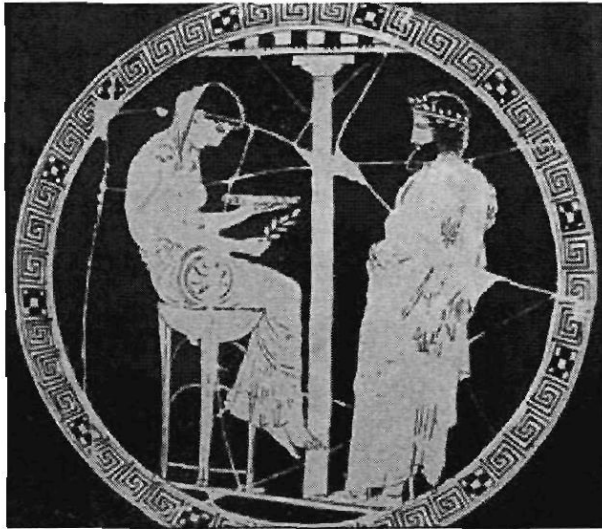
29 Fontenrose (1939, 439-455; cf. 1940, 429-444) identifies Apollo with the Sun in the first century AD.

30 Liddell & Scott (1996:25) define ἄδυτος as: the innermost sanctuary or shrine. Hollinshead (1999:190) prefers the meaning "not to be entered". His reason for this is that he disapproves of the view that the ἄδυτον would always refer to a part of a temple. He correctly emphasizes that ἄδυτον is in the first place a "location for a mysterious religious event, such as an oracular pronouncement or a healing experience, but only in exceptional cases (e.g., at Delphi and Didyma) is the *adyton* described as part of a temple. The convention of calling the inner room of any temple an *adyton* is erroneous," says Hollinshead (1999:207).

and vapours from the deeper realms filled the air and aided the inspiration of the Pythia.³¹ These vapours (perhaps accompanied by fragrance or incense³²) encouraged susceptibility to divine directions and triggered the gift of prophecy.³³

Sitting on a sacred tripod, the Pythia awaited inspiration. When it arrived she would speak the words of the god concerning the enquiry,³⁴ and these were passed on to the consultant. Whether this required the mediation of a prophet or a priest remains subject of debate.³⁵

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- 31 The role of natural gasses was disputed early in the twentieth century (Oppe 1904:214-240). Fumes of a different nature have been suggested (Holland 1933:214; Fontenrose 1978:190-191), but Littleton (1986:87) convincingly argued that "the '*pneuma enthousiastikon*' should not be dismissed as a figment of the imagination." This has since been confirmed by geological findings (Sechrist 2003:6; Broad 2006:72-75).
- 32 Parke (1956:24-26) convincingly argues that the practice of chewing laurels to aid inspiration is attributed to the Pythia only in the second century AD. The sacred spring Castalia in Delphi was used for purification. There is no evidence that it aided inspiration in any more direct way (Parke 1956:26-27).
- 33 "The one who delivered the response to the inquirer was for the time *προφήτης*. Otherwise the use of the terms varies with the occasion" (Parke 1940:88). Forbes (1986:257-270) and Callan (1985:125-140) provide sufficient argument why 'promantic' and Greek prophecy should not be related to Christian speaking in tongues.
- 34 Although others may have rationally interpreted the sayings, the Pythia seemed to have united both prophetic and mantic qualities. Maurizio (1995:86) is probably right when she says that the inspiration of the Pythia should not be automatically associated with a frenzy: "The Pythia was possessed by Apollo; this did not keep her from speaking coherently. Rather the concept of spirit possession enabled and authorized a Delphian woman to deliver her prophetic utterances orally and intelligibly to those who visited Delphi. Those utterances had varied forms, (sometimes they were in verse), and they pertained to a wide array of circumstances." In *De Defectu Oraculorum* it was not actually Apollo, but a daemon on the god's behalf who possessed the Pythia and passed on Apollo's message. In his *De Pythiae Oraculae*, Plutarch (2003:340-341) maintains that the Pythia's speech was unequivocal and straight in relation to truth (ἡ δὲ τῆς πυθίας διάλεκτος, ... εὐθεία πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὔσαν).
- 35 The message came straight from the Pythia, but whether subsequent interpretation was required is not certain. Whittaker (1965:25-26) supposes a controlling role of the priest in putting questions and passing on answers. Male attendants were present at Delphi, but there is, however, little concrete evidence about their exact role. "After the consultation they may have tried to help the consultant *interpret* the Pythia's words. They did not reshape these words," according to Maurizio (1995:86). She uses even stronger language in her dissertation (1993:14), which endeavours to connect the field of women studies to that of classical scholarship (1993:185): "I argue that the Pythia alone, *because of* (and not despite) her possession by Apollo, was authorized to speak for Apollo in the ritual context of discourse at Delphi, and that her ambiguous language, for which the Delphic oracle was renowned, represented and ensured that her responses were divinely inspired. Finally, I claim that her answers were not altered or versified by Delphic priests or bards, because such revision, in the view of the participants in the exchange, would diminish their status as the words of Apollo." As much of Whittaker's argument remains theory and lacks descriptions from primary sources, Maurizio's view deserves preference. As an important source on the Delphic oracle *De Defectu Oraculorum* does not give any indication that the Pythia's message was not received as such, but had to go through an elaborate process of censure and interpretation before it reached the enquirer. Maurizio, however, contrary to what Plutarch and his friends believe, supposes a literal possession of the Pythia by Apollo himself, not by a daemon on his behalf. Archaeological findings, however, suggest that there were two male priests in Delphi, who were appointed for life, Plutarch being one of them.



A circular work of art, a tondo, of an Attic red-figure on an ancient Greek drinking cup (κύλιξ), by the Kodros painter, ca. 440-430 BCE, now in the Berlin Museum (Berlin Mus. 2538, digital picture source Wikipedia). It seems to portray Aegeus, a mythical king of Athens, a supplicant to the Pythia at the Delphic Oracle. Although it seems to be the Pythia sitting on a tripod, an inscription on the cup identifies the woman to the left as the goddess, Themis. She was a Titan, the daughter of Gaia and Uranus, and the embodiment of divine order, law and custom.

3.4 Signals of decline: triviality and scepticism

After developing a general understanding for the phenomenon of oracle in the Greek religion (3.1 - 3.3), now the time has come to shed some light on its historical development in the Greco-Roman world. In his book *De Pythiae Oraculæ*, Plutarch (2003:336-339, cf. 3.2.4) already indicated that the questions still put to the oracle were mostly of a trivial nature. What is more, he even voiced concern about the Pythia losing her power in *De Pythiae Oraculæ* (397D, 402B; cf. Green 2001:115).³⁶

Plutarch's words are chronologically sandwiched between two other ancient authors, Cicero and Juvenalis, who doubted whether the oracle of oracles still functioned as a genuine vehicle of contact with the gods.

3.4.1 Delphi's decline confirmed by Cicero and Juvenalis

Cicero enables his readers to have a look at the oracle in Delphi through the eyes of himself and his brother. Both of them lived in the century that preceded that of Plutarch and Apostolic Christianity. Quintus Tullius Cicero (102 BC – 43 BC) was the younger brother of the famous philosopher and statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43BC), who was mentioned earlier (3.2, cf. Schofield 1986:92-93) as a sceptic of divination. Quintus is not as generally known as his brother, although he must have been a brave military leader. Caesar not only mentions him, but even attributes great praise (*Bello Gallico* 5.52).³⁷

Marcus was less of a sceptic and did not approve of some of Quintus' cynical views. Nonetheless, he signalled that the ancient oracle religion was in decline by the first century

36 *De Pythiae Oraculæ*402B (Plutarch 2003:300-302): οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρηστηρίου πίστιν ἀντιβαίνων λόγος, ὡς δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τῆς πυθίας τῷ χωρίῳ μὴ πελαζούσης ἐν ᾧ τὸ θεῖον ἔστιν, ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος παντάπασιν ἀπεσβεσμένου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκλελοιπυίας. (My translation: Because it is for everything else this that takes away confidence in the oracle, as if we face two possibilities: either that the Pythia does not come near to the region where the god is, or else that the spirit has been completely quenched and that the spiritual force has disappeared.)

37 *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* 5.52: Ciceronem pro eius merito legionemque collaudat. (Translation: He commends Cicero for his merits and the legion as well.) Online: http://digilander.libero.it/jackdanielspl/Cesare/gallico/liber_5.htm.

BC.³⁸ To explain this, Quintus even suggested that the flow of the gasses at Delphi must have been affected in the course of history: "The subterraneous exhalations which used to kindle the soul of the Pythian princess with divine inspiration have gradually vanished in the long lapse of time" (Green 2001:112).³⁹

Early in the second century AD, Juvenalis would publicly doubt whether there was still going on anything at Delphi at all (*Satura* 6.555.56, Green 2001:115).⁴⁰

3.4.2 Setting of decline and attempted revival

De Divinatione (see also 2.57.117) confirms the theory presented by Dempsey in his "Delphic Oracle, its early history, influence and fall" (1918:164-176) of a progressive decline after 590 BC, when the oracle was at the height of its power. Several of the Roman emperors took an interest. The financial impetus led to renewed activity. Cassius Dio, in his Roman History 62.14.2 (Loeb volume 8, 1925:161), describes how Nero paid the Pythia to hear what he wanted to hear: "This same emperor gave 400,000 sesterces to the Pythia for uttering some oracles that suited him; this money Galba recovered. But from Apollo, on the other hand, whether from vexation at the god for making some unpleasant predictions to him or because he was merely crazy, he took away the territory of Cirrha and gave it to the soldiers. He also abolished the oracle, after slaying some people and throwing them into the fissure from which the sacred vapour arose." The reliability of Dio's account, however, is subject of debate.⁴¹

Both Nero and Domitian were restorers of the Oracle site in Delphi, reviving the Apollo's sanctuary. This policy was continued under Nerva, and especially under Trajan and Hadrian. Dempsey (1918:179) is probably right when he suggests that "this religious reform had too forced a character. It was too much the work of savants to take a firm hold upon the populace and thereby have an abiding effect. And so, after the Antonines and Severus silence falls anew upon the Delphic sanctuary."

3.5 Philosophical climate

By the time of Plutarch, the Epicureans (cf. Acts 17:18) had been in existence for quite some time, Epicurus being born around 341 BC and founded a school in Athens (c. 306BC). In his

38 *De Divinatione* 18.37-38: *defendo unum hoc numquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre et tam clarum fuisset neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi omnis aetas oraculorum illorum veritatem esse experta. "Idem iam diu non facit." Ut igitur nunc minore gloria est, quia minus oraculorum veritas excellit, sic tum, nisi summa veritate, in tanta gloria non fuisset.* Green (2001:112): "The oracle in Delphi would never have been so much frequented, so crowded with offerings from peoples and kings of every land, if all ages had not tested the truth of its prophecies. [But today that is no longer the case.] Therefore, as at present its glory has waned, because it is no longer noted for the truth of its prophecies." Online: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/divinatione1.shtml#18>.

39 *De Divinatione* 18.38: *Potest autem vis illa terrae, quae mentem Pythiae divino adflatu concitabat, evanuisse vetustate, ut quosdam evanuisse et exaruisse amnes aut in alium cursum contortos et deflexos videmus. Sed ut vis acciderit (magna enim quaestio est), modo maneat id quod negari non potest nisi omnem historiam perverterimus: multis saeculis verax fuisse id oraculum.* Online: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/divinatione1.shtml#18>.

40 *Satura* 6.555.56: *quoniam Delphis oracula cessant et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.* (My translation: for now that Delphi's oracles have ceased, the human race is condemned to imperceptiveness about the future. Online: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/juvenal/6.shtml>.

41 Plutarch (2003:200-203) mentions Nero's visit in "The E at Delphi," but does not recall desecration of any sort. For this reason Dempsey (1918:177) questions Cassius Dio's account. On the other hand, it could be objected that Plutarch had every reason not to recall any untoward behaviour on the part of the powers that be, leaving it unmentioned as Nero had also shown himself supportive of the oracle cause. As a politician Plutarch may have valued imperial relations as a long-term strategy.

philosophy he viewed experience as the test. This pragmatic approach to philosophy and religion led to a depreciation of the latter. Tenney (1991:75) aptly describes their philosophy and relevance: "The world, he taught, began in a shower of atoms, some of which, by pure chance, moved a trifle obliquely and collided with others. The collisions produced other collisions, until the ensuing movement brought into being the present universe. The cosmology of Epicureanism is similar to that of materialistic evolution. In such a world of chance there could be neither purpose nor design. There could not, therefore, be any final or absolute good." As a philosophy Epicureanism would become quite popular by the first century AD and some of its thinking permeated.⁴²

Some of the other philosophical schools did not really help the cause of the gods either. In one of the more influential, that of Stoicism, the deity took no interest in the personal affairs of men or women, because he was a mere impersonal logical principle.

Neo-Platonism was arguably one of the strongest schools represented among the intellectuals. Most influential philosophers in the first three centuries are classified within the broad scope of Neo-Platonism, and Plutarch is reckoned among those.⁴³ Like Platonism, Neo-Platonism advocated a dualism, "Apartheid", between the spheres of the human and the divine. The realms of the flesh and gods were separate, although one could connect to the other. But Neo-Platonism had a distinctly mythical side to it.⁴⁴ The school went beyond Platonism by denying that spiritual life could be gained from intellectual effort. Consequently, one sees Neo-Platonism operate in the context of a great diversity of religious practice, or lack of it.

Less influential in the Greco-Roman world of the first century than the previous schools, but worth mentioning, Cynicism and Scepticism abandoned most standards and conventions. The first resembled the Hippie movement of the 1960's, provocative and with no regard for ethics. The second gave up intellectual standards and ended up as agnostics.

3.6 Plutarch's faith in the gods

Plutarch's book *De Defectu Oraculorum* is of special value because its author is a professed believer in the genuineness and reality of oracles. Not only did he advance the phenomenon in Delphi, but several of his writings indicate a great appreciation of the gods and the reality of their influence. Plutarch writes (*De Pythiae Oraculae* 409B/C): "But for us the god grants clearer, stronger, and plainer evidence than this by bringing about after a drought, so to speak,

42 The permeation of Epicureanism in the thinking of Neo-Platonism is also visible in Plutarch's work. Roskam (2007:81) even concludes that is an indispensable part of his philosophy. He argues that Plutarch's philosophy "rests on a carefully fashioned foundation of Platonism. Its superstructure contained several pieces of Epicureanism. These pieces are never added for their own sake, but always play a minor - though essential - part in buttressing the whole edifice. Removing them from the whole will never lead to a complete reconstruction of Epicurus' monument, of which too many pieces have been lost. It will lead, however, to a destruction of that of Plutarch." This assessment probably fails to recognize the character of Neo-Platonic philosophy, which was eclectic by nature. It does, however, indicate the measure of permeation of Epicureanism. Cf. *De Defectu Oraculorum* 434D (Plutarch 2003:480-481).

43 Plutarch considers himself a follower of Plato, quotes him often and even speaks about his fear to embarrass "our Plato". The E at Delhi, 391 A (Plutarch 2003:232-233): τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἔφην δέδια μὴ ὀρθὲν πιέζει τὸν πλάτωνα ἡμῶν (But, said I, the most important matter I fear may embarrass our Plato).

44 Because of the differences with Gnosticism, Katz (1954:297) prefers to speak about strong mythological undercurrents, rather than mysticism: "If Plotinus is to be given a name, he should be called a 'mythic' rather than a mystic". If so, one should realise that even Platonism was not mere intellectualistic by modern standards, but allowed for prophecy and supernatural activity (e.g. Forbes 1986:259).

of earlier desolation and poverty, affluence, splendour and honour" (2003:343). He was a religious man and committed everything to the purpose of his god.⁴⁵

3.7 Conclusion: *De Defectu Oraculorum* in context

Firstly, Plutarch's book about the disappearance of the oracles should be read in its religious context. The religious setting of Greece in the first century AD reveals a profound belief in oracles. Traditionally the Greeks believed in that the gods revealed their will at special sites, in English commonly referred to as "oracles". These sites were consecrated by the gods and as a result of this the site was an essential element of the oracular process. The availability of divine direction was limited by the geographical location. At many of those sites the gods used human media to pass on their messages. But whether indirectly through a medium, or directly by means of a dream to the enquirer, it was always the oracular site that functioned as a 'port key' between the Greeks and their god. The setting of *De Defectu Oraculorum* is Delphi, the site of most famous oracle in Greek history. As this site was dedicated to Apollo, and Apollo was the main god for divination, one would expect a prominent role for this deity in *De Defectu Oraculorum*.

Secondly, Plutarch's book about the disappearance of the oracles should be read in a context of historical development. Long before Plutarch there had been signs of decline in the Greek oracle religion. It had lost its most of its directive influence on political and military life. By the first century BC, they were openly criticized in prominent circles. A century later even Plutarch had to admit that the questions still put to the oracle were mostly of a trivial nature.

Thirdly, Plutarch found himself in a century and generation that attempted to revive the oracles, but would fail to establish a revival of a permanent nature. As Plutarch was a prominent adherent and promoter of the Greek oracle religion, any statements of concern about the state of the oracles in *De Defectu Oraculorum* should gain in credibility for that reason.

45 *De Pythiae Oraculæ* 409D (Plutarch 2003:344): ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν. (My translation: to attain by reason an understanding of what the god has in mind.)

CHAPTER 4: WHEN THE GODS CEASED TO SPEAK: PLUTARCH'S RELIGIOUS EXPLANATION

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4.1 Introduction

"On the Cessation of Oracles" is a dialogue, discussing the reasons why divine inspiration seemed to be withdrawn from the old seats of prophetic lore. The real reason of their decline in popularity is probably very simple; when the Greek cities became Roman provinces the fashion of consulting oracles fell off, as unsuited to the more practical influences of Roman thought and Roman politics."

In this way the classic Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition volume 25, 860) summarises a popular view about Plutarch's book *De Defectu Oraculorum* (On the Cessation of the Oracles). This has more recently been abridged into: "On the Failure of the Oracles, in which the decline of the oracles is linked with the decline in population" (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2002, volume 9:529). None of these qualify as a fair summary of the literary document. However prevalent such naturalistic explanations for the cessation of oracles in the first century continue to be, they are not Plutarch's.

This chapter gives a general introduction of the contents of Plutarch's book *De Defectu Oraculorum* on the subject of oracles. In providing this overview, it inevitably shares several conclusions. The Greek text of these passages is not discussed in this chapter, but separately. Chapter 5 concentrates on a detailed philological foundation. In this way the results are more readily accessible, also for those who have not specialised in Greek. For those who have, this chapter serves as an appetizer, inviting interest as to the foundation of its statements from the Greek. This curiosity will be satisfied in chapter five.

Unlike the statements in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, a careful examination of Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* shows that this ancient Greek author had a thoroughly religious

explanation for the disappearance of the oracles. Plutarch's book concludes that the gods, willingly or unwillingly, had lost their grip on the ancient places of worship (4.2.2-4.2.4). In a dramatic climax of the debate, Plutarch and his friends even consider that the gods might be dying, as will be shown below (4.2.8). Nowhere, not even once, does he refer to the influence of Roman culture and politics as a possible reason behind the disappearance of the oracles. Nor does he introduce lack of interest in religion as an explanation. For Plutarch and his friends the primary cause for the cessation of the oracles is to be sought in the realm of the gods.

This chapter argues that when the Christian message spread through the Greco-Roman world of the first century AD, the ancient world was facing a theological crisis of its own, at least in the mind of the author of *De Defectu Oraculorum*, to which this literary research restricts itself. As far as Plutarch was concerned, the gods, so much revered in the Greek oracle religion, had ceased to speak (4.2.2). It wasn't the Christians or the Jews, but a respected Greek philosopher, priest and politician saying so. Plutarch wants his readers to believe that this was not just his view, but that this was a general experience of members of the Greek philosophical and religious elite, when they discussed this matter during a meeting in Delphi, which he describes in *De Defectu Oraculorum* (4.2.1).

This chapter suggests that Plutarch and his learned friends treated the cessation of the oracles as a practical reality; and summarises the reasons they offer for the general failure of divine responses to human inquiries in their lifetime. This chapter proposes that Plutarch entertained the thought that even the gods might be dying, as the ultimate cause behind the cessation of the oracles. On a level of religious experience, it suggests that Plutarch's ideas are stimulating for the consideration of recent developments in Christian theology (cf. 4.3).

4.2 Cessation of the oracles⁴⁶

4.2.1 Friends meet in Delphi

It was in the first century AD,⁴⁷ as the Christian message found its way around the Mediterranean, that several learned men met in Delphi. It was shortly before the Pythian

46 English quotations from *De Defectu Oraculorum* (περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπῶτων χρηστηρίων) in this chapter are from F.C. Babbitt's translation "On the Obsolescence of the Oracles" (Plutarch 2003:347-501). This is a practical preference as this is the most widely acknowledged scholarly edition available in the English language. For literary reasons C.W. King's "On the Cessation of the oracles" (Plutarch 1888) may be preferred. "Cessation" is a more literal translation than "obsolescence". Plutarch uses ἐκλελοιπῶτων in the sense of vanishing altogether. Flacelière's edition (1947) gives the more accurate translation "Sur la disparation des oracles." See also for example νῦν δ' ἐκλέλουπεν (Plutarch 2003:365). Flacelière (1964:155) translates: "mais ils ont maintenant disparu," "but at the present time these have vanished altogether." This is followed by Rescigno's (1995) more recent text-edition, which speaks about "eclissi degli oracoli," or "the disappearance of the oracles. Some scholars also take exception that the popular Loeb translation renders the words δαίμονες (cf. Matthew 6, 31) and πνεύματα as "demigods" and "exhalations" respectively. Kupersmith (1984, 191) and Fontenrose (1978:197) have objected to the latter because they suppose these to be a fully theoretical entity. Fontenrose's objections (1978:196) are inspired by outdated geological views (cf. Sechrist 2003:6; Broad 2006:72-75) that deny the presence of a chasm and any vapour at all. There may, however, be a spiritual and a material component to δαίμονες, as Plutarch introduces secondary material causes (vapours) that are used by first spiritual causes (daemons). It could be argued that Babbitt's translation of 'demigod' confuses the issue. For δαίμονιον versus δαίμων, see Bauer & Aland (1988:337-338).

47 Both late and early dates for *De Defectu Oraculorum* have been advocated, but not conclusively, see Jones (1966:70; 1973:136). Following Barrow (1967), Jones's pupil, Ogilvie (1967:119) advocated a date of 83AD, and argues a case for 79AD and 87AD as outside possibilities. Barrow took *De Defectu Oraculorum*

Games that took place every fourth year, in the months of August and September (Halsberghe & De Waele 1989:33). During this time Delphi was the scene of athletics, chariot racing, and, fully in Apollo's spirit, a contest of music and song with the lyre. The winner received a wreath of laurel from the Tempe valley.

Plutarch and his learned friends meet shortly before these Pythian Games; perhaps this reference to the Games is made because they wanted to attend as well, probably during the Greek summer month of July.⁴⁸

Plutarch was a man of no ordinary stature. He was not only a philosopher (R.M. Jones 1980:68-108), but also a politician and priest (Ziegler 1964:24-25; C.P. Jones 1973:31-32; R.M. Jones 1980:63-83).⁴⁹ He lived near Delphi, where he met up with several friends amongst whom are two international travellers. Plutarch describes them as 'holy men,' (Fowden 1982:33-59; Brown 1971:80-101) when he wrote down his account of this meeting. His first guest was Demetrius the grammarian, who, after a visit to Britain, was now on his way home to Tarsus, a home town which he shared with Paul the Apostle. While Demetrius had been wandering in Western France and perhaps even crossed the Channel, Plutarch's other guest came from the opposite direction. Cleombrotus the Lacedemonian was returning to his native Sparta after extensive travels in Egypt and Arabia.

These learned friends, meeting in the splendid setting of the first century Delphi region, were about to discuss a theological issue that was extremely pressing, the apparent silence of the gods.⁵⁰ Plutarch wrote it all⁵¹ down in his book *De Defectu Oraculorum*,⁵² about the cessation of the oracles. He lived in an age "when men were losing their faith in religion and philosophy." The ancient oracles that provided answers from the gods withered away. Interestingly, Plutarch does not blame the people, but seeks the reason for their silence with the gods. According to Plutarch the gods had ceased to speak. The relationship with the realms of the divine is portrayed to have suffered from an eclipse, from which the Greco-Roman world would never recover.⁵³

as the last of the Pythian dialogues and suggests a date of c. 84 AD, but according to Ziegler (1964:199), who suggests a date around 100AD this is quite arbitrary as the available data can be argued different ways. The meeting probably took place between 75 and 110 AD. Even the discovery of two bronze plates in York in 1860 (Russell 1973:12) that mention the name Demetrius, who has been identified as Plutarch's friend by some, does little to suggest a firmer date (Barrow 1967:25,34).

48 As the friends met before the Pythian Games, which took place in August/September, their meeting probably took place in July.

49 That Plutarch was a priest is commonly assumed, but apart from one possible reference, Plutarch's works don't seem to claim this. His extensive writing on theological subjects, however, and his activities in Delphi established him as a religious authority. An inscription on a statue for Emperor Hadrian reads:

ἐπιμελητεύοντος ἀπὸ δελφῶν Μεστρίου Πλουτάρχου τοῦ ἱερέως. Cf. Ziegler (1964:22-23).

50 In the fourth century, Eusebius of Caesarea (1903:178) writes in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*: "Hear therefore how Greeks themselves confess that their oracles have failed, and never so failed from the beginning until after the times when the doctrine of salvation in the Gospel caused the knowledge of the one God, the Sovereign and Creator of the universe, to dawn like light upon all mankind. We shall show then almost immediately that very soon after His manifestation there came stories of the deaths of daemons, and that the wonderful oracles so celebrated of old have ceased."

51 For Plutarch's use of ancient authors, see Fairbanks (1897:84-85).

52 Greek (Plutarch 2003:350): *περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπῶτων χρηστηρίων*. (My translation: to attain by reason an understanding of what the god has in mind.)

53 Nineteen hundred years down the track, Western Christianity would suffer from symptoms similar to those of the Greek oracle religion in Plutarch's day. During the 1980's and 1990's "God eclipse" would become a popular word in continental European church circles. Cf. Dekker (2005:5-7); Dilley (1958:116-126); Klemm (1987:443-469); Picht (1980:61-79).

4.2.2 A practical reality: the oracles have ceased⁵⁴

Plutarch (2003:361) introduced the issue by challenging one of his friends, Cleombrotus, to tell something about the oracle: “for great was the ancient repute of the divine influence there, but at the present time it seems to be somewhat evanescent.”⁵⁵ In other words, for Plutarch⁵⁶ the oracle seemed to have lost much of its divine inspiration and life.

Demetrius (Plutarch 2003:361), the grammarian, agrees and says: “There is no need to make any inquiries nor to raise any questions about the state of affairs there, when we see the evanescence of the oracles here, or rather the total disappearance of all but one or two; but we should deliberate the reason why they have become so utterly weak.”⁵⁷

54 This reflects on Plutarch’s lifetime and the first century AD. Some argue that Delphi saw a revival, certainly in interest, during the reign of Hadrian (cf. Abbot 1898:418-423), as this emperor promoted oracle religion. One could argue that this revival was insignificant as it only seemed to have a folkloristic focus. Hadrian did not consult the oracle of Delphi on any matters of state, “but asked instead where Homer came from and who his parents were” (Lloyd-Jones 1976:72). Oracles claimed attention and Pagan involvement as the struggle between Christianity and the old Greco-Roman religions became more pronounced through numerical growth of the former, during the second and third centuries. Oracles played a vital role in the persecution of Christianity under Diocletian. This emperor consulted the Apollo shrine in Didyma on the nature of Christianity. On being advised that the movement grieved the gods, Diocletian instigated the most brutal persecutions (Frend 1967:490.514). One should be careful though, not to overestimate their popularity (Broek 1981:1,21). It has been doubted whether Delphi in particular saw any significant revival after Plutarch’s day (Barrow 1967:34-35). Nilsson (1986:141) seeks the start of the decline of oracles four or five centuries before Christ. From the fourth century AD oracles disappear from the scene completely, as these were eventually outlawed by emperor Theodosius. The zeal with which the early Christian emperors condemned and destroyed oracles may be explained religiously as a symbol of national conversion, but also politically from their promotion by Julian the Apostate in his attempted restoration of paganism.

55 Greek: μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ παλαιὰ δόξα τῆς ἐκεῖ θειότητος τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔουκεν ὑπομαραίνεσθαι (Plutarch 2003:360).

56 The author of *De Defectu Oraculorum* is consistently addressed as Lamprias. As Plutarch’s authorship has never been the subject of serious debate, Lamprias should probably be identified with Plutarch himself. Some suggest that this Lamprias was Plutarch’s brother or friend. If so, one should not just conclude that “Plutarch seldom appears in his dialogues, but Lamprias often enters as a spokesman” (Brenk 1973:7), but perhaps go as far as to state that in that case Plutarch himself is almost completely invisible. He may have drawn on the memoirs of his grandfather or brother, but *De Defectu Oraculorum* does not suggest this at all, nor does it make a distinction between the author and a separate spokesman. Lamprias was a (nick-) name that ran in Plutarch’s family. It was not only used to address his grandfather and brother, but also Plutarch’s son (Barrow 1967:193-194), but was probably used as means to address the author of *De Defectu Oraculorum* as well. Other names that feature in the discussion are Cleombrotus, Demetrius of Tarsus and Ammonius (by some seen as Plutarch’s tutor, cf. Swain 1989:297), Didymus, Philip and Heracleon. Cf. Barrow (1967:33-34).

57 Greek: οὐδέν, ἔφη, δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πυνθάνεσθαι καὶ διαπορεῖν τὴν ἐνταῦθα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀμαύρωσιν μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴν ἐνός ἢ δυοῖν ἀπάντων ἐκλειψῖν ὄρωντας ἀλλέκεῖνο σκοπεῖν δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν οὕτως ἐξησθέρηκε (Plutarch 2003:360). *De Defectu Oraculorum* suggests a general cessation of genuine oracles in the Greco Roman world by the first century AD. The friends who allege this are members of the philosophical and religious elite and are presented as widely travelled, both in the West and the East, and considered representative for that reason. If Plutarch’s observations in *De Defectu Oraculorum* reflect the actual state of affairs around the turn of the first century, one should note that there is some evidence for a temporary revival of oracles in the second and third centuries. There has, however, been much debate to what extent this was ‘organised’ religion, funded by anti-Christian emperors to support their political strategies. According to Nilsson (1986:141) the decline of belief in oracles in general had already started centuries before Plutarch’s day: “The belief in oracles declined in the fourth century B.C. but the desire to know the future was lasting.” Nilsson supposes a decline in the fourth century on the basis of Plutarch’s life of Demosthenes where the orator plays down an unfavourable oracle with the instrument of reason. The Thebans he reminded of Epaminondas, the Athenians of Pericles, who always preferred a rational approach and regarded oracles as mere pretexts for cowardice. As Pericles lived in the fifth century before Christ, Nilsson’s thesis should perhaps be taken as a general indication of decline from c. 500 BC. One should realise, however, that Nilsson makes this suggestion on the basis of very limited data. The dialogue in *De Defectu Oraculorum* suggests more recent oracular activity than the fourth century BC. On the other hand,

Demetrius is able to mention a few inspired sayings of oracles in days long bygone, but continues (Plutarch 2003:365) to say: "There have been also more recent manifestations than these at these oracles, but now the oracles are no more; so it is well worth while, here in the precinct of the Pythian god, to examine into the reason for the change."

4.2.3 No practical expectation

Although this suggestion to consult the oracle is made, it is most revealing about their levels of expectation that in Plutarch's account the oracle in fact never is consulted. After Demetrius has paid his religious lip service, the friends continue to discuss the failure of the oracles. For reasons of respect, the oracle at Delphi is still revered with pious words, but for all practical intents and purposes there is no use in actually taking the trouble to consult it. The friends theorise about oracles, practicing philosophy and theology as adherents of the great Greek religion, but no longer expect Apollo to relate to them in real life.

4.2.4 The silence of the gods

For Ammonius (Plutarch 2003:371) the reason for the silence of the gods is clear: "The fact is that the man who holds that the obsolescence of such of the oracles as have ceased to function has been brought about by some other cause and not by the will of a god gives reason for suspecting that he believes that their creation and continued existence was not due to the god, but was brought about in some other way. For prophecy is something created by a god, and certainly no greater or more potent force exists to abolish and obliterate it."⁵⁸

Ammonius was a deep thinker, *De Defectu Oraculorum* portrays him as a man with an analytical brain, but using the argument of "incurring suspicion" of a society's religious convictions, rightly or wrongly, has often been a great motivator for irrational conclusions.

4.2.5 A crisis of faith and a decrease in population

On the one hand, Plutarch realised that impotent gods could not have brought about authoritative oracles. Dead oracles are not much better than absent oracles. On the other hand, if there hadn't been a deliberate decision of the gods to forsake these oracles, then the gods were not worth their salt and one should doubt whether divine revelation was ever administered through these.

For Ammonius this matter of the obsolescence of the oracles was a crisis of faith in the first place. He (Plutarch 2003:373) worked his way around it by blaming the decrease in population: "for the god's abandoning of many oracles is nothing other than his way of substantiating the desolation of Greece" (cf. Swain 1989:297).⁵⁹ Ammonius admits (Plutarch

this could come under the category lip service, as Delphi lay in ruins for the greater part of that century and nobody was willing or able to put any money towards restoring the sanctuary. Philosophical scepticism had become more profound too (Dempsey 1918:168). Nilsson explores the notion that decline is a process as well and emphasises that by the fourth century prominent leaders in Athens and Sparta publicly doubted the value of oracles without compromising their position in Greek society. This indicates a decline of authority.

58 Greek: ὁ γὰρ ἄλλω τινὶ καὶ μὴ θεοῦ γνώμη τὰ παυσάμενα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐκλιπεῖν ἡγούμενος, ὑπόνοιαν δίδωσι τοῦ μὴ γίγνεσθαι μηδ' εἶναι διὰ τὸν δεῶν ἄλλ' ἑτέρω τινὶ τρόπῳ νομίζειν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη γέ τις ἔστι μείζων οὐδὲ κρείττων δύναμις, ὥστ' ἀνααιρεῖν καὶ ἀφανίζειν ἔργον θεοῦ τὴν μαντικὴν οὖσαν (Plutarch 2003:370).

59 Wood (2004:143) correctly argues that a crisis of faith is implied, rather than unwillingness on the part of the gods, but incorrectly introduces a secular cause for this: "The suggestion is that oracles are dying not because

2003:375) that there is hardly a single prophetic left in oracular employ: "But today there is one priestess and we do not complain, for she meets every need. There is no reason, therefore, to blame the god; the exercise of the prophetic art which continues at the present day is sufficient for all, and sends away all with their desires fulfilled. Agamemnon, for example, used nine heralds and, even so, had difficulty in keeping the assembly in order because of the vast numbers; but here in Delphi, a few days hence, in the theatre you will see that one voice reaches all. In the same way, in those days, prophecy employed more voices to speak to more people, but today, quite the reverse, we should needs be surprised at the god if he allowed his prophecies to run to waste, like water, or to echo like the rocks with the voices of shepherds and flocks in waste places."⁶⁰ In other words, nothing to worry about, the gods are still doing their job amply for the handful of people that are left in Greece. Waste not, want not.

4.2.6 The gods and secondary causes of cessation

Initially, Plutarch (2003:375) meets this way of reasoning with silence.⁶¹ He (Plutarch 2003:375-377) then brings in the element of corruption: "the matter composing them, being itself a force for disintegration, often reverts rapidly to its earlier state and causes the dissolution of what was created by the more potent instrumentality; and it is in this way, I think, that in the next period there are dimmings and abolitions of the prophetic agencies; for while the god gives many fair things to mankind, he gives nothing imperishable, so that, as Sophocles puts it, 'the works of gods may die, but not the gods.' Their presence and power wise men are ever telling us we must look for in Nature and in Matter, where it is manifested, the originating influence being reserved for the Deity, as is right."⁶²

they are false or ineffective but because no one wants them anymore." Wood mistakenly attributes the explanation of decrease in population to Demetrius. According to *De Defectu Oraculorum* (2003:373) it was Ammonius who spoke these words. Wood (2004:143) also gives a naturalistic explanation for the cessation of the oracles: "What the devout Plutarch describes as the god's abandonment of the oracles, others might describe as the world's abandonment of the god. The world had other places to go." Ammonius, however, tried to make out a case for depopulation and not for disinterest. The 'others' in Wood's argument would refer to 21st century scholars rather than any view presented in *De Defectu Oraculorum*.

- 60 Greek: νῦν δ' ἔστι μία προφήτις καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦμεν. ἐξαρκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη τοῖς δεομένοις. οὐ τοίνυν αἰτιατέον οὐδὲν τὸν θεόν. ἢ γὰρ οὔσα μαντικὴ καὶ διαμένουσα πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἱκανὴ καὶ πάντας ἀποπέμπει τυγχάνοντας ὧν χρῆζουσιν. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐννέα κήρυξιν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐρχήτο, καὶ μόλις κατεῖχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ πλῆθος, ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄψεσθε μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μίαν φωνὴν ἐξικνουμένην εἰς πάντας. οὕτω τότε πλείοσιν ἐρχήτο φωναῖς πρὸς πλείονας ἢ μαντικὴ, νῦν δὲ τοῦναντίον ἔδει θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν, εἰ περιεώρα τὴν μαντικὴν ἀχρήστως δίκην ὕδατος ἀπορρέουσας ἢ καθαπερ αἱ πέτραι ποιμένων ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ βοσκημάτων φωναῖς ἀντηχοῦσαν (Plutarch 2003:374).
- 61 Cleombrotus subsequently addresses Plutarch. This shows that Plutarch was respected as their fellow and had probably reached a mature age. This is reinforced by the fact that Heracleon of Megara (Plutarch 2003:366-367) is specifically referred to as a young man (Plutarch 2003:398-399), indicating that Plutarch as the author must have passed this stage of life at the time of writing.
- 62 Greek: οὐκ ἔγωγε, εἶπον, ἀναιρεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰτία θεοῦ φημι μαντεῖον οὐδὲ χρηστήριον. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ ποιούντος ἡμῖν ἐκείνου καὶ παρασκευάζοντος, ἐπάγει φθορὰν ἐνίοις καὶ στέρησιν ἢ φύσις, μᾶλλον δ' ἢ ὕλη στέρησις οὔσα ἀναφεύγει πολλακίς καὶ ἀναλύει τὸ γινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς κρείττονος αἰτίας, οὕτω μαντικῶν οἶμαι δυνάμεων σκοτώσεις ἐτέρας καὶ ἀναιρέσεις εἶναι, πολλὰ καλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος ἀνθρώποις ἀθάνατον δὲ μηδέν. ὥστε θνήσκειν καὶ τὰ θεῶν θεοὺς δ' οὐ, κατὰ τὸν σοφοκλέα. τὴν δ' οὐσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ δύναμιν οὔσαν ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ φασὶν αἰεὶ οἱ σοφοὶ δεῖν ζητεῖν, τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον φυλαττομένης (Plutarch 2003:374-376).

Even in the process of inspiration Plutarch (2003:377) supposes an element of corruption, denying that the god “enters into the bodies of his prophets and prompts their utterances, employing their mouths and voices as instruments. For if he allows himself to become entangled in men's needs, he is prodigal with his majesty and he does not observe the dignity and greatness of his pre-eminence.”⁶³ In other words, it is not the spirit of the god that communicates through the prophethood, but only his message, which is subject to corruption from the very beginning.

4.2.6.1 Daemons

This leads the friends to discuss the role of Providence, how the gods work out getting their message through by other agencies, called daemons.⁶⁴ These temporary or indefinite beings, the friends are not quite sure, hold an intermediate place between gods and men. One of their characteristics is that they are susceptible of moral vicissitudes and of involuntary changes. Daemons are quite necessary in Greek religion and philosophy, as gods and men moved in completely different spheres where shame and honour⁶⁵ were decisive factors.⁶⁶ Cleombrotus (Plutarch 2003:389) argues that “those who refuse to leave us the race of demigods make the relations of gods and men remote and alien by doing away with the ‘interpretative and ministering nature,’ as Plato⁶⁷ has called it.”⁶⁸

Plutarch and his friends desired to preserve divine involvement in the inspiration of the oracles and the things of earth in an indirect way. The gods are involved, but only through agents (Plutarch 2003:389): “But as for us, let us not listen to any who say that there are some oracles not divinely inspired, or religious ceremonies and mystic rites which are disregarded by the gods; and on the other hand let us not imagine that the god goes in and out and is present at these ceremonies and helps in conducting them; but let us commit these matters to those ministers of the gods to whom it is right to commit them, as to servants and clerks, and let us believe that demigods are guardians of sacred rites of the gods and prompters of the Mysteries, while others go about as avengers of arrogant and grievous cases of injustice.”⁶⁹

63 Greek: ἐνδύομενον εἰς τὰ σώματα τῶν προφητῶν ὑποφθέγγεσθαι, τοῖς ἐκείνων στόμασι καὶ φωναῖς χρώμενον ὀργάνοις. ἑαυτὸν γὰρ ἐγκαταμειγνύς ἀνθρωπίναις χρεῖαις οὐ φείδεται τῆς σεμνότετος οὐδὲ τηρεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶ τῆς ἀρετῆς (Plutarch 2003:376).

64 For daemons in Plutarch, see Russell (1973:75-79).

65 Dodds (1963:28ff) calls attention for this shame-culture. Flacelière (1965:87) summarises the position of the Greeks, “Such, indeed, was the ambiguous position of the Greeks, torn between reason, the chosen guide that they knew to be inadequate, and their deep, instinctive belief in hidden powers.”

66 Brenk (1973:1-11) gives an overview of the doctrine of daemons in Plutarch, minimising their role from an argument of absence in Plutarch’s Parallel Lives.

67 Plutarch seems to quote from Plato’s Republic (260D), and Symposium (202E).

68 Greek: οὕτως οἱ δαιμόνων γένος μὴ ἀπολείποντες, ἀνεπίμεικτα τὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ποιοῦσι καὶ ἀσυνάλλακτα, τὴν ἐρμηνευτικήν, ὡς Πλάτων ἔλεγεν (Plutarch 2003:388).

69 Greek: ἡμεῖς δὲ μήτε μαντεία τινὰς ἀθειάστους εἶναι λεγόντων ἢ τελετὰς καὶ ὀργιασμοὺς ἀμελουμένους ὑπο θεῶν ἀκούωμεν. μήτ’ αὖ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τούτοις ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπραγματεῦσθαι δοξάζωμεν, ἀλλ’ οἷς δίκαιόν ἐστι τεῦτα λειτουργοῖς θεῶν ἀνατιθέντες ὥσπερ ὑπηρέταις καὶ γραμματεῦσι, δαίμονας νομίζωμεν ἐπισκόπους θεῶν ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ὀργιαστάς ἄλλους δὲ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων καὶ μεγάλων τιμωροὺς ἀδικῶν περιπολεῖν (Plutarch 2003:388).

4.2.6.2 Extinction of the daemons?

Although Cleombrotus⁷⁰ had first boldly asserted that the amount of divine revelation was still quite sufficient for a happy few survivors of the once mighty populace of Greece, he now agrees with Plutarch that the times hardly offer any good signs. On the contrary, extinction seems a fair way to describe the activities of the daemons at oracular sites. Cleombrotus (Plutarch 2003:397) blames the daemons: "Let this statement be ventured by us, following the lead of many others before us, that coincidentally with the total defection of the guardian spirits assigned to the oracles and prophetic shrines, occurs the defection of the oracles themselves; and when the spirits flee or go to another place, the oracles themselves lose their power."⁷¹

But at the same time Cleombrotus (Plutarch 2003:397) cherishes hope that the daemons might come back again: "but when the spirits return many years later, the oracles, like musical instruments, become articulate, since those who can put them to use are present and in charge of them. After a long interval, when they return, the places give out a sound like organs⁷² when those that play thereon are present and stand over them."⁷³

A young man present at the discussion, Heracleon, is not very happy with these thoughts. He considers the death of daemons, as if they were like mortal men, a "too audacious and uncivilized"⁷⁴ theory (Plutarch 2003:399). Cleombrotus asserts that daemons are distinct from gods and that mortality is a necessary difference. As long as the daemons have not died off, they might return.

4.2.6.3. The great Pan is dead!⁷⁵

To defend his position on the mortality of daemons, Cleombrotus relates a supernatural event that took place in a previous generation. The father of a townsman of his travelled at sea, when the wind dropped and the current took them close to the Isle of Paxi in the Mediterranean. A voice called out three times to the pilot of the ship, an Egyptian, Thamus by name. When Thamus answered, the voice (Plutarch 2003:401) replied: "When you come opposite to Palodes, announce that Great Pan is dead."⁷⁶ The current took them to this place and Thamus cried out his message to the shore. "So, when he came opposite Palodes, and there was neither wind nor wave, Thamus from the stern, looking toward the land, said the words as he had heard them: 'Great Pan is dead.' Even before he had finished there was a great cry of lamentation, not of one person, but of many, mingled with exclamations of amazement. As many persons were on the vessel, the story was soon spread abroad in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Caesar. Tiberius became so convinced of the truth of the story that he caused an inquiry and investigation to be made about Pan; and the scholars, who were

70 For a comparison of daemons with Cleombrotus and Philo's Jewish use of the term, see Levison (1995:190-195).

71 Greek: καὶ τετολήσθω μετὰ πολλοὺς εἰρησθαι καὶ ἡμῖν ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ χρηστήρια τεταγμένοις δαιμονίοις ἐκλείπουσί τε κομιδῇ συνεκλείπει ταῦτ' αὐτὰ καὶ φυγόντων ἢ μεταστάντων ἀποβάλλει τὴν δύναμιν (Plutarch 2003:396).

72 Let the reader imagine a sound of bagpipes rather than a concert organ.

73 Greek: εἶτα παρόντων αὐτῶν διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ καθάπερ ὄργανα φθέγγεται τῶν χρωμένων ἐπιστάντων καὶ παρόντων (Plutarch 2003:396).

74 Greek: θρασύτερον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βαρβαρικώτερον (Plutarch 2003:398).

75 Greek: πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε (Plutarch 2003:400). Interestingly, in the hills above Delphi lies the Korykian Cave, which some suggest to be the site of a dice oracle dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs (Curnow 2004:58).

76 Greek: ὅποταν γένη κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, ἀνάγγειλον ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε.
Much has been done to revive Pan in post-enlightenment literature (cf. Irwin 1961:159-167).

numerous at his court, conjectured that he was the son born of Hermes and Penelopê"⁷⁷ (Plutarch 2003:403).

The Church historian Eusebius of Caesarea would later connect the death of Pan with the ministry of exorcism⁷⁸ by Christ in the Gospels.⁷⁹

4.2.6.4 How daemons communicate

After wandering off to theological discussions about the character of the gods, Demetrius the Grammarian brings the friends back to the original topic. Why did the oracles fail? Long theological treatises don't make a great deal of difference to Demetrius; the pressing matter at hand is that the oracles are no longer in working order. "For," says he, "what was said then, that when the demigods withdraw and forsake the oracles, these lie idle and inarticulate like the instruments of musicians, raises another question of greater import regarding the causative means and power which they employ to make the prophetic priests and priestesses possessed by inspiration and able to present their visions. For it is not possible to hold that the desertion by the demigods is the reason for the silence of the oracles unless we are convinced as to the

77 Greek: ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, οὔτε πνεύματος ὄντος οὔτε κλύδωνος, ἐκ πρύμνης βλέποντα τὸν Θαμοῦν πρὸς τὴν γῆν εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν. οὐ φθῆναι, δὲ παυσάμενον αὐτὸν καὶ γενέσθαι μέγαν οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀλλὰ πολλῶν στεναγμὸν ἅμα θαυμασμῶ, μεμειγμένον. οἷα δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρόντων, ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν Ῥώμῃ σκεδασθῆναι, καὶ τὸν Θαμοῦν γενέσθαι μετὰπεμπτον ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. οὕτω δὲ πιστεῦσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν τιβέριον, ὥστε διαπυθάνεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν περὶ τοῦ Πανός. εἰκάζειν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φιλολόγους συχνοὺς ὄντας τὸν ἐξ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης γεγεννημένον (Plutarch 2003:402).

78 Interestingly, it is in Plutarch (and not so much in earlier Greek writers) that Pan is associated with fear (cf. Harrison 1926:6).

79 Eusebius calls Pan a daemon. After quoting Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* extensively (Eusebius 2006:104-106), Eusebius writes in his *Preparatio Evangelica*, book 5.17.13, 14: "Τοσαῦτα ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐπιτηρήσαι δ' ἄξιον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ φησι τὸν θάνατον γεγονέναι τοῦ δαίμονος. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ κατὰ Τιβέριον, καθ' ὃν ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τὰς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ποιούμενος διατριβὰς πᾶν γένος δαιμόνων ἐξελαύνει τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναγέγραπται βίου. ὥστε ἤδη τινὰς τῶν δαιμόνων γονυπετεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰκετεύειν μὴ τῷ περιμένοντι αὐτοὺς τάρῳ παραδοῦναι. ἔχεις οὖν καὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων καθαιρέσεως τὸν χρόνον οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἐξ αἰῶνος ἱστορηθείσης, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωποθυσίας τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν κατάλυσιν οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἢ μετὰ τὸ προελθὸν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους κήρυγμα τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας γεγεννημένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς νεωτέρας ἱστορίας ἐληλέγχθω." Translation: "So far Plutarch. But it is important to observe the time at which he says that the death of the daemon took place. For it was the time of Tiberius, in which our Saviour, making His sojourn among men, is recorded to have been ridding human life from daemons of every kind, so that there were some of them now kneeling before Him and beseeching Him not to deliver them over to the Tartarus that awaited them. You have therefore the date of the overthrow of the daemons, of which there was no record at any other time; just as you had the abolition of human sacrifice among the Gentiles as not having occurred until after the preaching of the doctrine of the Gospel had reached all mankind. Let then these refutations from recent history suffice" (Gifford translation). Identifications of Pan's death with the crucifixion of Christ as the dying saviour seem to go back to Victorian and post-Victorian interpretations (Borgeaud 1983:254-283). A modern day exponent of the latter is S. Fontelieu. Based on a Jungian proposition, she (2007:98) concludes, "Pan did not die. He, like an echo, continues, as an elusive, wordless reverberation, a din just outside our hearing. The divinity of the chthonic side of our animal nature is not dead. The embodiment of the split between the divine and the animal nature is waiting, whispering to be echoed, to be redeemed. This action is a psychological problem for our time. Pan has stayed alive, furtively slinking about in the collective shadows, echoing the split in our nature and the intersection within of the human and the divine. In this, he is indeed like Christ on the cross, both human and divine, and like Christ, he died and like Christ, Pan did not die."

manner in which the demigods, by having the oracles in their charge and by their presence there, make them active and articulate"⁸⁰ (Plutarch 2003:461-463).

With a reference to Hesiod about daemons 'in mist apparelled', the friends explain that "it is, therefore, not at all unreasonable or even marvellous that souls meeting souls should create in them impressions of the future, exactly as we do not convey all our information to one another through the spoken word, but by writing also, or merely by a touch or a glance, we give much information about what has come to pass and intimation of what is to come"⁸¹ (Plutarch 2003:463).

4.2.6.5 How humans receive their message

Plutarch also asserts that the soul has a special faculty of reception. Prophecy is no guesswork, but tuning in to the wavelengths of the daemons.⁸² The soul doesn't exercise this faculty naturally, but is particularly receptive in certain states, e.g. in dreams and also on the point of death (Plutarch 2003:467-469). It is an escape from the present also called inspiration. "Its withdrawal is brought about by a temperament and disposition of the body as it is subjected to a change which we call inspiration" (Plutarch 2003:469).⁸³

This state can also be 'drug-induced' and acquired by drinking special liquids or inhaling fumes that are produced by the earth (cf. Littleton 1986:76-91; Maurizio 1995:69-86; Parke 1967, 74-80; Smith 1965:403-426). It was Plutarch (2003:469-471) who called the friends' attention to this: "the prophetic current and breath is most divine and holy, whether it issue by itself through the air or come in the company of running waters; for when it is instilled into the body, it creates in souls an unaccustomed and unusual temperament, the peculiarity of which it is hard to describe with exactness, but analogy offers many comparisons. It is likely that by warmth and diffusion it opens up certain passages through which impressions of the future are transmitted, just as wine, when its fumes rise to the head, reveals many unusual movements and also words stored away and unperceived."⁸⁴

80 Greek: τὸ γὰρ ἀφισταμένων καὶ ἀπολειπόντων τὰ χρηστήρια τῶν δαιμόνων ὥσπερ ὄργανα τεχνιτῶν ἀργὰ καὶ ἀναυδα κείσθαι λεχθὲν ἕτερον λόγον ἐγείρει τὸν περὶ τῆς αἰτίας μείζονα καὶ δυνάμειος ἢ χρώμενοι ποιουσικατόχους τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς καὶ φαντασιαστικούς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὰς προφήτιδας. οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε τὴν ἔκλειψιν αἰτιᾶσθαι τοῦ ἀπαυδᾶν τὰ μαντεῖα, μὴ πεισθέντας ὄν τρόπον ἐφεστῶτες αὐτοῖς καὶ παρόντες ἐνεργὰ καὶ λόγια ποιουσιν οἱ δαίμονες (Plutarch 2003:460-462).

81 Greek: οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλογον οὐδὲ θαυμαστόν, εἰ ψυχαῖς ἐντυγχάνουσαι φαντασίας ἐμποιοῦσι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀλλήλοις οὐ πάντα διὰ φωνῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμασι καὶ θιγόντες μόνον καὶ προσβλέψαντες πολλὰ καὶ μηνύομεν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προσημαίνομεν (Plutarch 2003:462).

82 The Greeks did not differentiate between the possessed speaker of the god's words and the rational interpretation of these sayings (cf. Kadletz 1978:96; see also Callan 1985:125-140; Forbes 1986:257-270).

83 Greek: ἐξίσταται δὲ κράσει καὶ διαωέσει τοῦ σώματος ἐν μεταβολῇ γιγνομένου ἦν ἐνωουσιασμόν καλοῦμεν (Plutarch 2003:468).

84 Greek: τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ρεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα θεϊότατόν ἐστι καὶ ὀσιώτατον ἂν τε ἑαυτὸ δι' ἀέρος ἂν τε μεθ' ὑγροῦ νάματος ἀπερᾶται. καταμειγνύμενον γὰρ εἰς τὸ σῶμα κρᾶσιν ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχῆς ἀήθη καὶ ἄτοπον, ἧς τὴν ιδιότητα χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν σαφῶς, εἰκάσαι δὲ πολλαχῶς ὁ λόγος δίδωσι. θερμότητι γὰρ καὶ διαχύσει πόρους τινὰς ἀνοίγειν φανταστικούς τοῦ μέλλοντος εἰκὸς ἐστίν, ὡς οἶνος ἀναθυμιαθεὶς ἕτερα πολλὰ κινήματα καὶ λόγους ἀποκειμένους καὶ λανθάνοντας ἀποκαλύπτει (Plutarch 2003:468-470).

Although wine may come close, the surest way to be imbibed with the spirit of prophecy is to look for the right natural vapour,⁸⁵ gasses that flow from below the earth's surface.⁸⁶ "It is not, therefore, anything to excite amazement if, although the earth sends up many streams, it is only such as these that dispose souls to inspiration and impressions of the future"⁸⁷ (Plutarch 2003:473).

4.2.7 The secondary causes and tools wither

Ashes to ashes, dust unto dust. It is true of most earthly things and one of Plutarch's friends, probably Ammonius, feels it should extend to oracles as well. "Plainly the same sober opinion is to be held regarding the spirits that inspire prophecy; the power that they possess is not everlasting and ageless, but is subject to changes"⁸⁸ (Plutarch 2003:479). Floods, lightning and earthquakes all had their toll on the effectiveness of oracles. "For excessive rains most likely extinguish them, and they probably are dispersed by thunderbolts, and especially, when the earth is shaken beneath by an earthquake and suffers subsidence and ruinous confusion in its depths, the exhalations shift their site or find completely blind outlets, as in this place they say that there are still traces of that great earthquake which overthrew the city"⁸⁹ (Plutarch 2003:479).⁹⁰ For some time they discourse on the fact that even the withering away of daemons and sources of vapour happens within the providence of the god who used these.⁹¹

4.2.7.1 Receptiveness in humans can be a factor too

The friends keep hoping, and present the purity of the animal sacrifice and the prophetic prerequisites for the effectiveness of divine speech (cf. Dyer 1969:38-56; Hewitt 1912:95-111). The vapours do not work 'ex opera operato,' like a medicine with automatic results.⁹² "The power of the spirit does not affect all persons nor the same persons always in the same way, but it only supplies an enkindling and an inception, as has been said, for them that are in a proper state to be affected and to undergo the change"⁹³ (Plutarch 2003:501).

85 Greek: πνεῦμα (cf. Flacelière 1965:48).

86 This is the traditional explanation held and shared by Plutarch and his friends. Excavations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century led some to doubt this as at that stage no evidence for gases emanating from a natural chasm could be found. Recent geological findings have reconfirmed the credibility of Plutarch's description of the phenomenon (Boer & Hale 2000:399-412, Curnow 2004:56).

87 Greek: οὐ θαυμαστόν οὖν εἰ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἄνω ῥεύματα μεθειίσης ταῦτα μόνα τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικῶς διατίθησι καὶ φαντασιαστικῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος (Plutarch 2003:472).

88 Greek: ταῦτά δὴ περὶ μαντικῶν πνευμάτων διανοητέον ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων αἰδίων οὐδ' ἀγήρων τὴν δύναμιν ἀλλ' ὑποκειμένην μεταβολαῖς (Plutarch 2003:478).

89 Greek: καὶ γὰρ ὄμβρους ὑπερβάλλοντας εἰκός ἐστι κατασβεννύναι καὶ κεραυνῶν ἐμπεσόντων διαφορεῖσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς ὑποσάλου γιγνομένης καὶ λαμβανούσης ἰζήματα καὶ σύγχωσιν ἐν βάθει, μεθίστασθαι, τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἢ τυφλοῦσθαι τὸ παράπαν, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθάφασι παραμένειν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν, ὅς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέτρεψεν (Plutarch 2003:478).

90 The cessation of the vapours, an aid for oracular communication, is presented as taking place within the providence of the gods.

91 About the role of Providence in Plutarch's theology, see Swain (1989:272-302).

92 Other places in Plutarch and other first century writers make it clear that diviners who only played the expectations of their audience were a widespread phenomenon in antiquity (cf. Aune 1978:103-104).

93 Greek: οὔτε γὰρ πάντα οὔτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ διατίθησιν ὡσαύτως ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις ἀλλ' ὑπέκκαυμα παρέχει καὶ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ εἴρηται τοῖς πρὸς τὸ παθεῖν καὶ μεταβαλεῖν οἰκειῶς ἔχουσιν (Plutarch 2003:500).

4.2.8 Plutarch's ultimate crisis

Although there may be many factors responsible for the apparent sense of failure of the oracles by the first century AD, Plutarch takes us to the existence and wellbeing of the gods as the ultimate issue.⁹⁴ As he says goodbye to his readers, leaving Delphi and his learned friends, Plutarch concludes his book by saying that, despite all possible secondary means and causes, the power of an oracle comes from the gods and daemons. This is followed by the following climax (Plutarch 2003:501): "but, for all that, it is not unfailing nor imperishable nor ageless, lasting into that infinite time by which all things between earth and moon become wearied out, according to our reasoning. And there are some who assert that the things above the moon also do not abide, but give out as they confront the everlasting and infinite, and undergo continual transmutations and rebirths."⁹⁵

At the very end of his book, Plutarch dramatically entertains the unthinkable, death in the spiritual realms! The thought that the daemons, perhaps even the gods might be dying,⁹⁶ as the ultimate cause behind the cessation of the oracles!⁹⁷ Was Apollo dead like the great Pan? Or was it only his daemons and faithful celestial servants that had perished, thus robbing mankind of its access to the gods? Who was to know?

4.3 Plutarch and the 21st century

Plutarch exhorts his readers and himself to examine these matters frequently. The importance that he attached to this subject of the silence of the gods would become warranted by subsequent developments in the Greco-Roman world. The historical course of events shows that with the oracles the Greek religion disappeared as well, ultimately giving way to Apostolic Christianity that claimed active revelation from above. Two thousand years later this once confident religion now faces pressing questions about the existence of God and his ability to communicate. Since the days of Nietzsche,⁹⁸ Western Christianity has gradually started to realise that the embracement of rationalistic post-Enlightenment values in scholarship and worldview brought on a theological crisis on the topic of God's revelation and even his existence. The idea of God as a philosophical construction for science and

94 If Plutarch is not the person addressed as Lamprias (some suppose that Lamprias is Plutarch's brother, another friend or family member), the mere fact of Plutarch suddenly sharing his personal view to the reader at the end of the book, would seem an even more dramatic turn: an author who remains silent throughout the conversation, but has the last word by suggesting to the reader to contemplate the thought that the gods might be dying.

95 Greek: εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπάνω φάσκοντες οὐχ ὑπομένειν ἀλλ' ἀπαυδῶντα πρὸς τὸ αἰδίον καὶ ἄπειρον συνεχέσι χρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις (Plutarch 2003:500).

96 Plutarch does not speak in terms of rejuvenation and denial of mortality (cf. Frankfort 1958:141-151) but as a fatal and irreversible subjection to the same.

97 Fontelieu (2007:81-82) calls attention to a calculated risk that Plutarch took in writing these words: "The idea that their gods could die, and so were not all powerful either, could not be popular. Plutarch's willingness to address the problem of Greece's ancient oracular traditions was courageous."

98 Nietzsche came to realise that in man's thinking there was no longer any need to postulate God. The world was explained without him. As a result Nietzsche (1887:125) cried in despair: "Hören wir noch Nichts von dem Lärm der Todtengräber, welche Gott begraben? Riechen wir noch Nichts von der göttlichen Verwesung?—auch Götter verwesen! Gott ist todt! Gott bleibt todt! Und wir haben ihn getödtet! Wie trösten wir uns, die Mörder aller Mörder? Das Heiligste und Mächtigste, was die Welt bisher besass, es ist unter unseren Messern verblutet,—wer wischt diess Blut von uns ab? Mit welchem Wasser könnten wir uns reinigen?" Nietzsche experienced the lack of need to postulate God as a profound bereivement. A century later this would no longer be the case for many who had grown up with the new paradigm and never experienced the old.

scholarship was deemed superfluous.⁹⁹ This approach did not only dramatically change the way theology and philosophy operated, but continues to have severe implications for Western Christendom as a cultural entity.¹⁰⁰ Over the past few decades Western theologians have considered and experienced what some call a "God-eclipse."¹⁰¹

The present leader of the Roman Catholic Church, Benedict XVI (Pontifical Council for the Family 2006) recently called attention to this crisis of revelation: "The causes vary, but the "eclipse" of God, the Creator of man, lies at the root of the profound current crisis of the whole truth about man, about human procreation and about the family."

A similar eclipse was the beginning of the end for Delphi and the ancient world.¹⁰² Rescigno (1995) literally uses "the eclipse of the oracles" (*L'eclissi degli oracoli*) as title for his edition of *De Defectu Oraculorum*. Western Christianity, like Plutarch and his friends, has already made this new eclipse an issue of scholarship, but will it have enough expectancy left to overcome this crisis by actually relating to the realms of the Divine, and 'consult the oracle,' as it were?

4.4 Conclusion

This general but careful examination of Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* shows that Plutarch and his friends believed that they experienced a widespread cessation of oracles in their day. To explain this phenomenon, Plutarch did not offer a naturalistic, but a thoroughly religious explanation. Plutarch's book maintains that the gods, willingly or unwillingly, had lost their grip on the ancient places of religious inquiry. According to Plutarch, the primary cause for the cessation of the oracles was to be sought in the supernatural realms of gods and

99 Picht (1980:7) explains the grave implications that discarding God as a philosophical construction had in the world of scholarship: "For the representative directions of thought today, philosophy and theology have become historical sciences; the actuality of God is regarded as only a fairytale that one reads about in ancient books. At the same time, however, no one wants to admit this condition for himself. Religion is still needed as an alibi. That is the attitude of the masses in the marketplace who first break into laughter over the raving man (who said God died) but then look at him with dismay. As Nietzsche expressly says, they do not believe in God, and yet the tidings of God's death have not yet penetrated their ears. They know neither of the reality [Wirklichkeit] of the living God nor of the new reality that has already emerged with the colossal event of God's death. They can take seriously neither the one nor the other. Neither the one nor the other possesses enough obligation for them to shape their lives in one way or another. By that very fact they attest to the truth of the event of which Nietzsche reports."

100 The deliberate eclipse of God in post-Enlightenment scholarship has undermined the cultural and value system of the Western world. Picht (1980:12) sums up the consequences: "The whole texture of the political, social, and moral order and, in general, the whole edifice of our culture were erected on the foundation that begins to totter with the death of God. Nietzsche already recognizes the splits and fissures in the building, whose collapse was already perceptible to those thinkers in the last century "whose eying suspicion was strong and fine enough for this drama." In the meantime world wars and terroristic rulers have verified Nietzsche's prophecy. But eyes and ears have become so dull that even today alarm over that event of which Nietzsche spoke seldom reaches anyone's thought and conscience. One is happy to have become rid of a bogey, and the spirit continues, like a mole, to burrow its way in order to prepare a future collapse for everything still standing."

101 'God-eclipse' as a phenomenon was initially put on the agenda by Western philosophers like Nietzsche, Buber and Heidegger. In 2006 Pope Benedict XVI showed major concerns about the "eclipse of God" in 2006 (e.g. "Pope Sets Out on a Mission to Halt 'Eclipse of God'", Daily Telegraph (UK) of 7/8/06. See also Fabrizio 2007. Earlier, Pope John Paul II (1995, chapter one) called attention for this subject.

102 It is noteworthy that the first persecutors of Christians, Nero and Domitian, were also restorers of the Apolline oracular sanctuary (Dempsey 1918:178). Emperor Hadrian tried to restore Delphi as the sacred city (ἀ ἱερὰ πόλις). "But this reform had too forced a character. And so, after the Antonines and Severus silence falls upon the Delphic sanctuary. The decline is this time decisive" (Dempsey 1918:179).

daemons. In a dramatic climax, Plutarch encouraged his readers to consider that the gods might be dying. Within the operation of divine providence, Plutarch introduced secondary causes that accomplished the will of the gods, amongst which were the departure of daemons and the depopulation of Greece. *In De Defectu Oraculorum* Roman influence and culture do not feature as factors at all. On a level of religious experience, Plutarch's ideas prove stimulating for the consideration of the recent "God eclipse" many experience in Christian theology.

CHAPTER 5: "ORACLE" IN PLUTARCH'S *DE DEFECTU ORACULORUM*

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5.1 Introduction

How did Plutarch refer to oracles, which words did he use and how did he use these to describe the situation of the oracles in the first century AD? Answering these questions will automatically lead to a detailed assessment of oracle in Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum*. Where chapter four argued its general conclusions about *De Defectu Oraculorum* using English translations, chapter five will provide the philological proof for these statements from the Greek text of *De Defectu Oraculorum*.

In this chapter Plutarch's use of "oracle" will be introduced, assessed and evaluated.

Wherever one finds the translation "oracle" in the English translations of *De Defectu Oraculorum*, this is usually based on one of four Greek nouns (or their etymological derivatives). These words are: A -τό μαντεῖον (rite); B -τό λόγιον (oracle); C -ό χρησμός (answer); D -τό χρηστήριον (site).

Should the use of χρηστήριον and μαντεῖον in *De Defectu Oraculorum* prove prevailing, this would indicate that Plutarch concerned himself first and foremost with oracles as a social religious phenomenon or activity. In other words, a prevailing use of technical references to oracular sites and procedures would indicate that Plutarch and his friends were keen to discuss the reasons why the formerly glorious sites had lost their glory and why oracular activity at these sites had come to an end. In that case the interest in relationship with the deity as such would not feature prominently.

The previous chapter already showed that in these matters Plutarch and his friends, however, did not actually consult what was left of the oracles. In other words, in their mind there was not a religious solution to their inquiries, but only a philosophical one. A prominent use of χρηστήριον and μαντεῖον confirm this, especially when λόγιον and χρησμός (words for the actual oracle messages) do not feature greatly and are only introduced authoritatively as either long ago or far away, or in a combination of those.

The data presented in this chapter explore Plutarch's claims for a general disappearance of the oracular sites in philological detail. If neither λόγιον nor χρησμός is used in *De Defectu Oraculorum* to claim a specific oracular response on inquiries by Plutarch or his friends, this would indicate a lack of personal meaningful oracular experience. This would reinforce the general idea voiced in *De Defectu Oraculorum* that oracles as genuine authoritative communications from the gods to mankind used to exist in a distant past (if λόγιον and χρησμός are claimed for those times), but have now ceased to exist or make a practical difference, at least as far as Plutarch was concerned. If in these circumstances Plutarch and his friends continued to allow for the possibility of genuine oracles for the present, this would not only mark the theological crisis of their times, but also lend credence to their observations.

If so, one would expect to find a situation in *De Defectu Oraculorum* where the χρηστήρια were still present, but the μαντεῖον on these sites had disappeared or did no longer result in effective or genuine λόγιον and/or χρησμός. In such circumstances one would expect Plutarch to conclude that these places were no longer inhabited by the supernatural. The gods, the daemons or both had discontinued their consecrated use or their energies had withered away otherwise. Although the χρηστήρια remained holy sites, and continued to be called χρηστήρια because of the traditional involvement of the gods and daemons at those places, the true meaning had left with the disassociation of the supernatural.

This chapter takes a close look at all the occurrences of "oracle" in *De Defectu Oraculorum*. In the assessment process τό μαντεῖον,¹⁰³ τό λόγιον, ὁ χρησμός, and τό χρηστηρίον are printed as they appear in that particular Greek passage and not in their nominative case. Each occurrence is assessed according to the method of assessment that is described under 5.1.2. This leads to the following order in the presentation of each occurrence (5.2):

1) Introduction of the textual context.

2) A reference to the narrow textual context by means of the page number in the Babbitt's edition (2003, Loeb), followed by the section marker that is also used by most other Greek text editions of *De Defectu Oraculorum*. The Greek texts of the Babbitt (2003, Loeb), Flacelière (1947), Silento (1962), Sieveking (Paton, W.R. Pohlenz, M. Sieveking, W. 1972) and Rescigno (1995) editions largely agree. Interestingly Flacelière's original edition (1947) gives the French first and the Greek on the next page. Most of Flacelière's French translation - without the Greek- was also published in 1964 under *Sagesse de Plutarque*. Ziegler's translation (1952) is also helpful. As the Loeb edition provides greater access to the English-speaking reader, the Greek is quoted from this edition. The other editions are referred to when there is an important difference in the Greek text or dissimilarity in translation. The quote from the Greek is preceded by a reference code. The P refers to the page number in the Loeb edition, the second number and capital letter to the internal numbering that applies to all text editions. As it would be a subject of debate whether the title was part of the original manuscript or a later addition, the occurrence of the word χρηστηρίων in the title is not taken into consideration.

103 Occurrences of the derivative (ἡ) μαντική (τέχνη), cf. Liddell & Scott 1996:1080) are printed and assessed as well to provide a more comprehensive picture. Demonstrative pronouns and cases of metonymy that have led to the translation "oracle" in the English text will also be mentioned and evaluated, but not under separate headings.

3) The narrow textual context, that is the Greek text (Plutarch 2003, the use of other editions are mentioned separately) of the passage containing the word for oracle.

4) A translation of the narrow textual context.

5) An assessment code that established the Greek word used for "oracle", its meaning and its nature if it is classified as divine revelation.¹⁰⁴

After all occurrences have been presented and assessed, a graphic overview provides a bird's eye view of the results (5.3).

This is followed by philological conclusions about the use of "oracle" in *De Defectu Oraculorum* (5.4).¹⁰⁵

104 The term "revelation" in this research is used in terms for communication that comes "from above" in the eyes of its recipients. It is not within the scope of this research to assess whether this communication is reliable information from the realms of the divine. In other words, the term revelation is not used to pass a theological judgement on its contents or source. This research simply classifies any communication that is alleged to come from the gods as revelation, whether this revelation is claimed by Plutarch or by Apostolic Christianity. "Revelation" is used in terms of the recipients. Those who would favour the Greek religion would claim genuine revelation of the will of the gods through oracular procedures at the ancient sites. Those who embrace Apostolic Christianity are, like Eusebius, most likely to reject the Greek oracles as demonic and deny them genuine oracular qualities.

105 Technical remarks:

-When θεός in *De Defectu Oraculorum* refers to the deity Apollo or to a supreme supernatural being, this is rendered with a lower case as "god".

-Although a digital edition of the main body of the Liddell and Scott's Lexicon is available on the internet (see bibliography), for the convenience of the reader definitions are rendered from the Oxford 1996 edition with the revised supplement.

-In the translation of the Greek passages in English, words that are referred to and implied in the textual context, but not actually given in the passage are rendered in italics.

-With the occurrences the Greek word is rendered as a quote in the header. The reader should note that (according to the rules for accents in Greek) the grave accent (̀) on the last syllable is replaced by an acute (´) when the word is used in isolation. A word with an acute on the last syllable is also called an *oxytone*. For the benefit of more readily understanding the textual context of the word by means of accentuation, both the headers and the analyses do not give the word as it would be rendered in isolation, but as a quote. However, when the word appears in isolation in the English main text of this chapter, the normal approach of replacing the grave accent (̀) on the last syllable by an acute (´) is followed.

The acute accent (´) probably represented a rise in pitch over a short or long vowel. The grave accent may have represented a lowering of the pitch in classical pronunciation. The circumflex accent (ˆ) represents a rise in pitch over the first part of a long vowel followed by a return to standard pitch over the second part of the same vowel. If the last syllable of a noun is long and accented it may have a circumflex (e.g. genitive or infinitive). This is called a *perispomenon*. Its circumflex remains, whether the word is used in isolation or not.

For example:

Word	ὁ χρησμός
Word in sentence:	P350-409F: καὶ λαβόντα χρησμόν εἰπεῖν
Word used in isolation:	χρησμόν
Word as a quote in header:	P350-409F: χρησμόν
Word as a quote in analyses:	χρησμόν → response from the god, code C1r

5.1.2 Method of assessment

<p>Words for "oracle" in <i>De Defectu Oraculorum</i>:</p> <p>A -τό μαντεῖον</p> <p>B -τό λόγιον</p> <p>C -ὁ χρησμός</p> <p>D -τό χρηστηρίον</p>	<p>Meanings of "oracle" in English:</p> <p>1-Divine revelation that is pertinent to the human inquirer(s).→ oracular saying (result)</p> <p>2-Art or act of prophecy (oracle as a procedure or phenomenon, cf. going to church).→ oracular activity (prophetic process)</p> <p>3-Geographical phenomenon → oracle site</p> <p>4-Medium → human intermediar (priest/ess)</p>	<p>Establishing the nature of meaning 1 in <i>De Defectu Oraculorum</i>:</p> <p>-Revelation (from the gods): r</p> <p>-Prayer (talk to the gods): o</p> <p>-Talk (between men): t</p>
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Possible combinations:

A/B/C/D 1r → describes divine revelation (voice, dream, vision, appearance), which may also be passed on and proclaimed to fellowmen.

A/B/C/D 1o → describes Man talking to the gods.

A/B/C/D 1t → describes Man talking to Fellowmen.

A/B/C/D 2 → describes a procedure or phenomenon

A/B/C/D 3 → describes an oracular site, a place to go to

A/B/C/D 4 → describes a medium

5.2 Occurrences of "oracle": introduced, presented and assessed

In this section the occurrences of Greek words in *De Defectu Oraculorum* that are generally translated with "oracle", are identified and assessed according to the method described (5.1.2). Following the general introduction in the previous chapter, it is helpful to recall that Plutarch and his friends met near Delphi to discuss the general cessation of the oracles in their Greco-Roman world of the first century AD. As far as the text of the available manuscripts is concerned, this was a meeting that really took place. There is no suggestion that this was a literary technique employed by Plutarch to support his points of view. On the contrary, *De Defectu Oraculorum* is written as an account to a friend, Terentius Priscus, which suggests a realistic setting. This is reinforced by the prologue, which actually contains a mythological account from Pausanias.

P350-409E/F: ἀετούς τινας ἢ κύκνους, ὧν τερέντιε προῖσκε,
μυθολογοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς γῆς.
One of the myths, ο Terentius Priscus, tells about certain birds
from the corners of the earth.

When Plutarch subsequently moves on (P350-410A), he deliberately distinguishes between the earlier mythological tale and the historical events of his day. He specifically mentions that what he is about to describe took place:

- a) shortly before the Pythian Games (ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ πυθίων);
- b) when Callistratus was in office (ἐπὶ καλλιστράτου);
- c) in our own day (καθ' ἡμᾶς).

P350-410A: ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ Πυθίων τῶν ἐπὶ
Καλλιστράτου καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τῆς
οἰκουμένης περάτων ἔτυχον ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ δύο
συνδραμόντες εἰς Δελφούς,
But shortly before the Pythian Games under Callistratus in our
day, two holy men travelling from opposite ends of the inhabited
world met as they came together in Delphi.

The first holy man was Demetrius of Tarsus, a grammarian travelling homeward from Britain to Tarsus. The second was Cleombrotus of Sparta, a rich man who was interested in philosophy and theology. He had travelled to Egypt and beyond. The account continues to give the particulars of their previous journeys, visits to existing countries and places. In Delphi, also a historical place and Plutarch is known to be intimately acquainted with, these holy men meet with Plutarch and a few other men. It is from their accounts of a visit to a shrine of Ammon that the conversation really starts to flow, and the friends arrive at the main topic of *De Defectu Oraculorum*: the general disappearance of the oracles.

The subsequent contents reinforce this view. Plutarch actually has a row with one of the participants who leaves as a result (P370-413D). And what is even more important, the two holy men who are portrayed as the well travelled experts and heroes disagree with Plutarch on several occasions. What another friend, Philip the historian, has to say even leads to Plutarch's confession that it has filled him with confusion (P486435E). Consequently, Plutarch can

hardly be accused of using the authority of the friends and the meeting in Delphi to support his personal views.

The ending of the book (P500-438D/E) confirms this view as well. *De Defectu Oraculorum* ends with a call to the reader to consider a diversity of views including Plutarch's. It also acknowledges the possibility of all sorts of objections and different suggestions. Although there is diversity in view concerning the *extent* of the active involvement of the gods (but agreement on their involvement), all agree on the main point of *De Defectu Oraculorum*: the general disappearance of the oracles by the end of the first century AD. Had Plutarch himself been delighted about this development, he could have been accused of ulterior motives. He was, however, just as concerned by this development as the others and had nothing to gain by inventing a deliberate lie. As priest he was in the religious business himself. It may well be that Plutarch related the account of the meeting to the best of his advantage and used the fact that he was on speaking terms with some of the leading Greek intellectuals of his day to boost his own image. If so, this would only affect the assessment of his character, but have no bearing on his truthfulness about the main topic and premise of *De Defectu Oraculorum*: the general disappearance of the oracles in Plutarch's day.

Although some have advocated that the conversation in *De Defectu Oraculorum* was narrated by Plutarch's brother, the text suggests (e.g. P360-411E, P370-413D, P460-431A, P462-431C) that Plutarch used the person of Lamprias to represent himself (cf. Flacelière 1948:17-22), possibly because of the official position held by Plutarch at Delphi (cf. Babbitt 2003:349).

The persons taking part in this discussion were:

Plutarch (411E, referring to himself in the first person and, 431C, addressed as Lamprias), Demetrius (410A, the grammarian, who widely travelled in West and East), Cleombrotus (410C, no particular introduction, supposedly familiar to his readers), Ammonius (410F, the philosopher), Philip (418A, the historian), Didymus (413A, the Cynic, addressed as Planetiades) and Heracleon (412E, of Megara, a fiery young man concerned with the honour of the gods).

5.2.1 An ancient myth (P350-409F χρῆσιμὸν)

Plutarch writes the prologue of the Cessation of the Oracles to a certain Terentius Priscus¹⁰⁶ (409E). He recalls an ancient story about eagles or swans flying from the uttermost parts of the earth and meeting Delphi, which was therefore considered to be the earth's centre.

Plutarch continues:

106 The mention of Terentius Priscus in the prologue of *De Defectu Oraculorum* may refer to the patron of the Latin poet Marcus Valerius Martialis (Halsberghe & De Waele 1989:486,87), who was known for fourteen books containing more than 1500 epigrams. One of the epigrams (8.45, on the return of Terentius) and the preface to book 12 make reference to a Terentius Priscus. See Saller (1983:246). The Watsons (2003:3-5) mention Terentius Priscus in connection with the life of Martial: "The broad outline of M.'s later years is certain. After 34 years in Rome (10.103.7-8), he retired in 98 to Spain, where he lived in Bilbilis in a villa provided by a patroness, Marcella (17); he died there, probably in 104 (Plin. Ep. 3.21). In 101 he had produced a book for the arrival in Spain of his fellow countryman and patron Terentius Priscus (book 12 praef.). This may not have been book 12 as we have it, but a shorter version."

P350-409F: ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν Φαίστιον Ἐπιμενίδην
ἐλέγχοντας¹⁰⁷ τὸν μῦθον ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβόντα
χρησμὸν ἀσαφῆ καὶ ἀμφίβολον εἶπεῖν.
"When, at a later time Epimenides of Phaestus¹⁰⁸ tested the myth
with the god, on receiving a vague and ambiguous oracle,¹⁰⁹ he
spoke."¹¹⁰

χρησμὸν → response from the god, code C1r.

(And what follows is Epimenides' conclusion that if there is a centre of the earth, it is cannot be known by man.)

5.2.2 Former glory (P360-411E μαντείου)

After Ammonius has shared a few things on eternal fires, Plutarch invites Cleombrotus to tell about the oracle activities.

P360-411E: παυσάμενου¹¹¹ δὲ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου, μᾶλλον,
ἔφην ἔγω, περὶ τοῦ μαντείου δῖελθ' ἡμῖν, ὦ Κλεόμβροτε,
μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ παλαιὰ δόξα τῆς ἐκεῖ θειότητος τὰ δὲ νῦν
ἔοικεν ὑπομαραίνεσθαι.
When Ammonius had stopped talking, I said: "Dear
Cleombrotus, won't you rather tell us all about the oracular
activity? Because the former glory of divine involvement used

107 P350-409F: ἐλέγχοντας (Present Active Participle Accusative Plural Masculine ἐλέγχω): expose, bring to light, or refute (Bauer & Aland 1988:503). Cf. Proverbs 15:12 οὐκ ἀγαπήσει ἀπαίδευτος τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας αὐτόν μετὰ δὲ σοφῶν οὐχ ὀμιλήσει. See also Isa 29:31 and Hag 2:14, Septuagint, where one finds the expression ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντας. Here the expression seems to take on a similar meaning of trying a case, not before the elders who meet in council at the gates, but with the god, that is, with Apollo in Delphi. See also the use of ἐλέγχω in the ministry of the Holy Spirit (John 16:8).

108 For Epimenides of Phaestus, see Plutarch's *Life of Solon* (Parallel Lives, Plutarch 1914:433-35). Epimenides of Phaestus came from Crete and was regarded as an extremely wise man. Plutarch (1914:433) says that "he was reputed to be a man beloved of the gods, and endowed with a mystical and heaven-sent wisdom in religious matters".

109 The translation "vague and ambiguous oracle" is confirmed by all authorities. Rescigno (1995:103-104) translates χρησμὸν ἀσαφῆ καὶ ἀμφίβολον as "un response obscure ed ambiguo," i.e. "an obscure and ambiguous response". Cilento (1962:409F) has "un oraculo obscure e ambiguo," Flacelière (1964:149) "un oracle obscur et ambiguo," both meaning "an obscure and ambiguous oracle." Ziegler (1952:106): "einen undeutlichen und doppelsinnigen Spruch." Here χρησμὸν refers to a response in verse that still needs proper interpretation.

110 P350-409F (ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν φαίστιον ἐπιμενίδην ἐλέγχοντας τὸν μῦθον ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβόντα χρησμὸν ἀσαφῆ καὶ ἀμφίβολον εἶπεῖν) displays an absolute use of the participles ἐλέγχοντας and λαβόντα (cf. Luke 19:15). This results in the introduction of "when" and "on" in the translation: "When, at a later time Epimenides of Phaestus tested the myth with the god, on receiving a vague and ambiguous oracle, he spoke."

111 P360-411E: παυσάμενου (Aorist Middle Participle Genitive Singular Masculine παύω). In its active use Ammonius would have been caused to cease from speaking, but now he ceased, or desisted himself.

to be great there, but nowadays all these activities seem to have withered away."¹¹²

μαντείου → local oracular activities as divine institution,¹¹³ code A2.

5.2.3 A general disappearance (P360-411E χρηστηρίων)

This, however, proves a very embarrassing invitation. When Cleombrotus does not respond at all, but instead remains silent and looks down, Demetrius said that there is no need to enquire, because it is clear for all to see that the oracle sites lay abandoned everywhere, except for perhaps one or two.

P360-411E: τοῦ δὲ Κλεομβρότου σιωπῶντος καὶ κάτω βλέποντος, ὁ Δημήτριος, οὐδέν, ἔφη, δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πυνθάνεσθαι καὶ διαπορεῖν τὴν ἐνταῦθα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀμαύρωσιν μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴν ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν ἀπάντων ἔκλειψιν¹¹⁴ ὁρῶντας ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο σκοπεῖν δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὕτως ἐξησθένηκε.

As Cleombrotus was silent and looked down, Demetrius said: "There is no need at all to inquire and raise lots of questions about the fact that the oracle sites have lost so much of their glare, or rather, except for perhaps one or two, they have all disappeared. What it is necessary to seek, it is the cause of such a failure

χρηστηρίων → oracle sites, disappearance of all, except for one or two,¹¹⁵ code D3.

112 Ziegler (1952:11) emphasizes the contrast Plutarch gives between the divine activity in former days and the lack of all this in the present situation: "Als Ammonios geendet hatte, sagte ich: <<Erzähle uns doch lieber etwas von dem Orakel, lieber Kleombrotos! Vor alters war doch der Ruhm seiner Heiligkeit groß, jetzt abter scheint es hinzuschwinden.>>"

113 Plutarch (ἔφην ἐγώ) describes the present situation of the oracles as "rather withered". Flacelière (1964:153) confirms this interpretation when he translates: "Ammonios ayant terminé, je dis alors: „Cléombrote, parle nous plutôt de l'oracle, car la renommée du dieu de là-bas fut grande jadis, bien qu'elle semble aujourd'hui plutôt flétrie." (English translation: Ammonius having finished, I subsequently said: Cleombrotus, rather speak to us about oracle, because the fame of the god of over there was great in times past, but despite that, it seems rather faded today.) Babbitt (2003:361) translates with an understatement: "When Ammonius had ceased speaking, I said, "Won't you rather tell us all about the oracle, Cleombrotus? For great was the ancient repute of the divine influence there, but at the present time it seems to be somewhat evanescent." As this understatement is not automatically clear to the reader who does not understand Greek, "rather withered" should be preferred.

114 P360-411E: ἔκλειψιν (Accusative Singular Feminine): eclipse or abandonment. The intensity of this expression is confirmed by its use in the LXX; e.g. Ezekiel 5:16 ἐν τῷ ἔξαποστεῖλαί με τὰς βολίδας μου τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ἔκλειψιν καὶ συντριψῶ στήριγμα ἄρτου σου. (ANETS (Pietersma & Wright 2007): When I send out my missiles of famine upon them, they shall also become a **wiping out**, and I will shatter your support of bread.)

115 Demetrius responds to Plutarch's words by stating that the oracle sites have generally disappeared altogether, and that the state of the few that still operate, like Delphi's, can be described as "withered." Ziegler (1952:110) shows this clearly in his translation: "Wir haben es gar nicht nötig, nach den Verhältnissen dort zu fragen und nach ihren Gründen zu forschen, da wir doch hier den Verfall der Orakel oder vielmehr das Eingehen von ihnen allen bis auf ein oder zwei vor Augen haben, sondern wir müssen allgemein die Frage stellen, aus welchem Grunde sie so ihre Kraft eingebüßt haben." Although he ascribes

5.2.4 Desolation in top-region Boeotia (P360-411E χρηστηρίων)

Demetrius takes the region of Boeotia as an example.¹¹⁶ It used to be such a well spring of prophecy, but now the oracles have failed completely.

P360-411E/F: τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τί δεῖ λέγειν ὅπου γε τὴν
 Βοιωτίαν ἔνεκα χρηστηρίων πολύφωνον οὔσαν ἐν τοῖς
 πρότερον χρόνοις νῦν ἐπιλέλοιπε κομιδῆ καθάπερ
 νάματα καὶ πολὺς ἐπέσχηκε μαντικῆς¹¹⁷ αὐχμὸς τὴν
 χώραν οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἀλλαχόθι νῦν ἢ περὶ Λεβάδειαν ἢ
 Βοιωτία παρέχει τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀπύσασθαι μαντικῆς¹¹⁸
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν σιγῇ τὰ δὲ παντελῆς ἐρημία
 κατέσχηκε.¹¹⁹

But what need is there to talk about other *oracles*, when in Boeotia, which had many *prophetic* sounds in former times because of its oracular sites, the oracles have now ceased completely, as if streams of flowing water have been replaced by a general drought in the land. Because nowhere else than in Lebadeia has Boeotia something to offer for those who have need to inquire at the well spring of prophecy. The others, however, are either silent or utterly desolate.

χρηστηρίων → oracle places in Boeotia, code D3.

μαντικῆς → drought of prophecy, code 2.

μαντικῆς → well spring of prophecy, code 2.

these words not to Plutarch but to Demetrius, Flacelière (1964:154) makes the same point: "Comme Cléombrote gardait le silence et tenait les yeux baissés, Démétrios prit la parole: << Il ne convient guère, dit-il, de nous informer et de discuter sur les oracles de là-bas, quand nous voyons que ceux d'ici ont tellement perdu de leur éclat, ou plutôt que, sauf un ou deux, ils ont tous disparu; ce qu'il faut rechercher, c'est la cause d'une telle défaillance." (English translation: As Cleombrotus kept quiet and lowered his eyes, Demetrius spoke. "It is hardly appropriate," he said to inform ourselves and to discuss the oracles over there, when we see that those from here lost so much of their glare, or rather, except for perhaps one or two, they have all disappeared. What it is necessary to seek, it is the cause of such a failure.")

116 Demetrius paints the picture of desolation. Like a graveyard, the former life has disappeared altogether. He technically allows for one oracle (in Lebadeia), as it is still operating. The others are silent or even desolate. Cf. Babbitt (2003:361), Flacelière (1964:154).

117 Flacelière (1964:154) confirms that Demetrius regarded the situation as extremely serious. He renders καὶ πολὺς ἐπέσχηκε μαντικῆς αὐχμὸς τὴν χώραν as: "la divination est frappée." (English translation: the divination has received a knock out blow.) Ziegler (1952:110) agrees: "ein großes Verdorren der Wahrsagekunst."

118 Flacelière (1964:154) renders μαντικῆς τῶν δ' ἄλλων as: "source de prédiction." The Greek has a plural which might be best translated as "well springs." For this reason Ziegler (1952:110) is more source orientated when he translates: "der Brunnen der Weissagung."

119 Ziegler (1952:110) correctly emphasizes the lack of prophetic activity, translating P360-411E/F as follows: "Was brauchen wir übrigens von den anderen zu retten, wo allein schon in Boiotien, das in den alten Zeiten so reich war an Seherstimmen, jetzt die Orakel gänzlich versiegt sind wie Bäche und ein großes Verdorren der Wahrsagekunst das Land erfaßt hat. Denn nirgends sonst als in Lebadeia bietet Boiotien noch denen, die danach begieren, Gelegenheit, aus dem Brunnen der Weissagung zu schöpfen; bei den anderen herrscht Schweigen oder völlige Öde."

5.2.5 Prophet using different language in procedure (P362-412A μαντείου)

Demetrius tells that the situation used to be very different with many oracles of high repute, the oracle at Mys among these. The prophet who was involved in the oracle procedures there used the Aeolic dialect.

P362-412A: ὁ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μαντείου προφήτης¹²⁰ φωνῆ
Αἰολίδι χρώμενος τὸ πρῖν.

But (when) the prophet assigned to the oracle, who had used the Aeolic dialect up till now.

μαντείου → oracle procedures in Mys, code A2.

5.2.6 Oracle in Barbarian tongue (P362-412A χρησμόν)

In the days of the Persian Wars, however, this prophet did not deliver a response in his usual language, but gave a response in the barbarian tongue.

P362-412A: τότε προστάς τῶν βαρβάρων χρησμόν
ἐξήνεγκεν.

(The prophet assigned to the oracular procedures) who on that occasion took the side of the barbarians, brought forth a divine response.

χρησμόν → oracular saying,¹²¹ code C1r.

5.2.7 Asleep at the oracle site (P362-412B χρηστήριον)

Then there was the oracle in Amphiaraius, whence some slave had been sent who received a vision of a servant of the god in his sleep.

P362-412A: ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Ἀμπιάρειω δούλος (κατὰ
τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπηρέτην τοῦ θεοῦ φανέντα).

120 P362-412A shows that, at least in oracles other than Delphi, male prophets were not only interpreters of oracles but also personally served as mediums, receiving divine impressions. This becomes evident in the English, French and German translations. Babbitt (2003:363) renders the phrase τοῦ μαντείου προφήτης as: "The prophetic priest of the oracle." Ziegler (1952:110) has "der Prophet des Orakels." Idem Flacelière (1964:154): "Le prophète de ce dernier oracle, qui employait auparavant le dialecte éolien." (English translation: The prophet of this last oracle, who before used to employ the Aeolian dialect.) The textual context makes it likely that Babbitt is right by conveying the idea that the prophet, while engaged in the oracular procedure or activity, contrary to his custom, did not use the Aeolian dialect on a particular occasion. The textual context shows that Plutarch speaks about the prophet specifically as he was involved in the oracular procedures. He uses μαντείου and subsequently refers to the language details of the oracular procedure.

121 In P362-412A it is emphasized that the oracle was given in a non Greek language. Flacelière (1964:154) therefore translates (τότε προστάς τῶν βαρβάρων χρησμόν ἐξήνεγκεν): "en cette occasion rendit sa réponse dans la langue des barbares." Ziegler (1951:110) renders χρησμόν as: "den Spruch," which it may have been, but this is not suggested by the word or textual context necessarily. See also the discussion of P350-409F in the main text where it is translated as "response" by all authorities except Ziegler. Cf. Rescigno (1995:103-104), Cilento (1962:409F), Flacelière (1964:149), Ziegler (1952:106).

But the slave who was sent to Amphiaraüs (has a servant of god appear to him in his sleep).

→ Probably metonymy,¹²² *totum* (city of ἀμπιάρεω) *pro parte* (oracular site), synecdoche; otherwise ellipse for χρηστηρίον.

In those days it was a flourishing time for the oracle at Tegyrae as well.

P362-412B: τὰς Τηγύρας χρηστήριον.
The oracle site at Tegyrae.

→ Oracle as a place,¹²³ code D3.

5.2.8 Oracle in the mail from Delphi (P364-412C χρησμὸν)

Demetrius also tells about the Peloponnesian War, when the people of Delos had been driven off their island. In this crisis, an oracle was brought from Delphi that directed them to the place where Apollo was born, to complete certain sacrifices there.

P364-412C: ἐν δὲ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ Δηλίοις ἐκπεσοῦσι τῆς νήσου φασὶ χρησμὸν¹²⁴ ἐκ Δελφῶν κομισθῆναι προστάττοντα τὸν τόπον ἀνευρεῖν ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ὁ Απόλλων καὶ θυσίας τινὰς ἐκεῖ τελέσαι.
But it is said that in the Peloponnesian War, when the Delians were driven from *their* island, an oracle was brought to them from Delphi, directing them to find the place where Apollo was born and to complete certain sacrifices there.

χρησμὸν → oracular saying brought from Delphi, code C1r.

Of course the people of Delos did not like the possibility that Apollo was not born on their island, but somewhere else, but the Pythia¹²⁵ (in this oracle that was brought from Delphi, or in a separate one) also said that 'crow' would show them where to go.

122 It is the translations that introduce the word "oracle" in P362-412A. Plutarch does not use it, he only mentions εἰς ἀμπιάρεω. Babbitt (2003:363) translates: "the minion who was sent to the oracle of Amphiaraüs had, in his sleep there, a vision of a servant of the god who appeared to him." Ziegler (1952:110) does not follow the main Greek text here, but supposes that δοῦλος represents a misspelling of Λυδός: "Der zum Orakel des Amphiareos entsandte Lyder träumte, ein Diener des Gottes sei erschienen." This is however hard to prove, as the text makes sense without supposing this mistake. For the different suggestion by Wytttenbach on the basis of the Life of Aristides, see Babbitt (2003:362).

123 P362-412B treats oracle as a specific place (τὰς τεγύρας χρηστήριον). This is confirmed by Flacelière (1964:155): "l'oracle de Tégryres, où l'on raconte même que le dieu est né." (English translation: the oracle of Tegyrae, the very place where they say that the god was born.) Ziegler (1952:111) agrees with this emphasis on the locality: "das Orakel bei Tegyrai."

124 Both the textual context and the use of χρησμὸς indicate that an oracular saying or response is meant. For this reason Ziegler (1952:111) translates χρησμὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν as follows: "ein Orakelspruch aus Delphi." For additional comments, see χρησμὸς in P362-412A (2.2.6).

125 The Pythia's actions, τὴν Πυθίαν προσανελεῖν, are translated in several ways. Babbitt (2003:365): "the prophetic priestess told them in another oracle." Ziegler (1952:11): "habe die Pythia ihnen einen zweiten

P364-412C: τὴν Πυθίαν προσανελεῖν ὅτι κορώνη φράσει
τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς.

The Pythia also announced in trance that "a crow shall lead them to the place."

→ Pythia told them in another oracle (code 1), no actual use of oracle in the Greek, but it might be implied.

5.2.9 Talk in the local inn (P364-412C χρηστηρίον)

After this the people from Delos went on their way, until they reached Chaironeia, where they overheard a conversation about the local oracle between the innkeeper (woman who looked after everything)¹²⁶ and some strangers,¹²⁷ who probably wanted to travel there, as they were on the way to Tegyrae.

P364-412C: καὶ τῆς πανδοκευτρίας ἀκούσαι πρὸς τινὰς
ξένους βαδίζοντας εἰς Τεγύρας περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου
διαλεγομένης.

And they heard the woman who was their inn-keeper conversing about the oracle with some strangers who were on their way to Tegyrae.

χρηστηρίον → oracle site, code D3.

5.2.10 Meaning revealed (P364-412D λόγιον)

When the strangers, as they left, said goodbye to this person and mentioned her name, they (the Delians) understood what the oracular saying 'crow' signified.¹²⁸ And, not much later, after they had completed their sacrificing in Tegyrae, they started their journey again.¹²⁹

P364-412D: τῶν δὲ ξένων ὡς ἀπήεσαν¹³⁰ ἀσπαζομένων
καὶ προσαγορευόντων (Bauer & Aland 1988:1424) τὴν

Spruch gegeben." The Greek does not have a word for oracle here; just that the Pythia also gave them what effectively was another oracle about a crow showing them the locality. Flacelière (1964:155) captures this very nicely: "la Pythie leur prédit en outre qu'une corneille leur indiquerait l'endroit." (English translation: moreover, the Pythia predicted to them that a crow would indicate the place to them.)

126 Plutarch literally speaks about a woman who looked after everything, which per inference would be the innkeeper. Flacelière (1964:155) confirms this where he translates this passage as: "ils entendirent leur hôtelière s'entretenir de l'oracle de Tégères avec des étrangers qui s'y rendaient." (English translation: they noticed the innkeeper discussing the oracle of Tegyrae with foreigners who went there.)

127 The visitors were strangers to the oracle as a site to which they were travelling. The woman who spoke with them about the oracle was the keeper of the inn where the Greeks had their lodging. When they overheard the strangers calling her by name, crow, the Greeks realised the meaning of the oracular saying they had received earlier. See also Ziegler (1952:111), who agrees: "von dem dortigen Orakel sprechen hören."

128 As "Mrs Crow" the innkeeper (a crow shall direct you) showed the strangers the way to the oracle site in Tegyrae, they were able to identify the oracular site there with the spot where Apollo was born, and bring the required offerings there.

129 After the strangers completed their sacrificing in Tegyrae, they presumably back home again, as most translations infer. This might, however, not have been Delos, as Demetrius specifically stated earlier that the people from Delos had been driven away from their island.

ἄνθρωπον ὅπερ ὠνομάζετο Κορώνην συνεῖναι τὸ
λόγιον¹³¹ καὶ θύσαντας ἐν ταῖς Τεγύραις τυχεῖν¹³²
καθόδου μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον.

As the strangers were leaving, saying goodbye and being on
their way, they called this female person by her name "crow,"
they realised the meaning of the oracle, and after they brought
sacrifice in Tegyrae they started their journey again a short time
later.

τὸ λόγιον → a specific oracular saying was understood and accepted as authoritative and
true, code B1r.

5.2.11 Manifestations have ceased (P364-412D μαντεῖα)

Summarising, Demetrius states that, although there have been more recent oracular
manifestations at these oracles than the ones he mentioned earlier,¹³³ now all the μαντεῖα
have disappeared. He even suggests to the friends that it would be worthwhile to inquire at the
oracle in Delphi with the Pythia why this change has come about. None of the friends takes up
this suggestion.

P364-412D: γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ νεώτεροι τούτων ἐπιφάνειαι
περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα ταῦτα νῦν δ' ἐκλέποιπεν,¹³⁴ ὥστε τὴν

-
- 130 P364-412D: ἀπήεσαν (3rd Person Imperfect Active Indicative Plural ἀπειμι): to remove oneself or be far
away from. Cf. the interesting use in Acts 17:10: οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ εὐθέως διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν
τε Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σιλᾶν εἰς Βέροιαν οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν
Ἰουδαίων ἀπήεσαν. (NRSV: That very night the believers sent Paul and Silas off to Beroea; and when
they arrived, **they went** to the Jewish synagogue.) Despite the popularity of the translation "on their
arriving, they went to the synagogue of the Jews," the Greek probably conveys the message that they had
removed themselves not only from the brotherhood, but also from the persecution elsewhere. As this is
preceded by εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων this builds a tension: what will happen now? As a
synagogue of the Jews seems an unlikely place to be removed from the kind of trouble the Apostles
distanced themselves from. The reception of the Bereans, however, will prove welcoming beyond
expectation. Luke uses ἀπήεσαν to emphasize this contrast in reception among the Jews.
- 131 The use of τὸ λόγιον shows that the men understood a specific oracular saying. Babbitt (2003:365)
translates this passage as: "The strangers as they were leaving, bade good-bye to the woman and called her
by her name, which actually was 'Crow.' Then the Delians understood the meaning of the **oracle** and,
having offered sacrifice in Tegyrae, they found a way to return home a short time thereafter." Ziegler
(1952:111) agrees: "da hätten sie das **Orakel** verstanden." Flacelière (1964:155) brings in the interpretation
of prediction: "Les Déliens comprirent alors le sens de la prédiction." (English translation: "The Delians
then understood the direction of the prediction.") Flacelière's translation is less source-orientated, but true
in the sense that τὸ λόγιον contained a prediction in this textual context.
- 132 The American expression "**to hit the road**" expresses the meaning of the Greek well. Aorist Active
Infinitive τυχεῖν (τυγχάνω), to hit or connect to (hence also: to take part in).
- 133 The oracular manifestation for which Demetrius claimed τὸ λόγιον dated a fair while back, many
hundreds of years, to the days of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.
- 134 Demetrius is particularly concerned about the disappearance of divine presence and activity. Ziegler
(1952:111) ably renders P364-412D as: "Auch danach sind bei diesen Orakelstätten noch göttliche
Wirkungen offenbar geworden, jetzt aber sind sie eingegangen."

αἰτίαν ἄξιον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Πυθίῳ¹³⁵ διαπορῆσαι τῆς μεταβολῆς.

There have also been more recent manifestations than these during those oracular rites, but they have now disappeared, so that it would be worthwhile to consult the Pythia concerning this change.

τὰ μαντεῖα → Prophetic activity, oracular manifestations, code A2.

νῦν δ' ἐκλέποιπεν → Babbitt (2003:365) introduces another "oracles" in his translation, which is not found in the Greek text.¹³⁶ It would be best to consider this artistic freedom or non-literal translation. It may have been more correct to insert "manifestations" instead, as the ellipse considers ἐπιφάνεια, not μαντεῖα (code 2).

5.2.12 Bagging-up the oracle sites (P366/68-413A χρηστήρια)

When the friends have reached the 'Cnidian Clubhouse,'¹³⁷ the Cynic Didymus joins the debate. Striking his staff a few times on the ground and crying out, he seems a little agitated, because he does not like the direction the conversation is taking and questions its logic. He introduces the wickedness of mankind as a reason for the cessation of the oracles. Didymus concludes that the foreknowledge (or providence) of the gods¹³⁸ has gathered up all oracle places¹³⁹ indeed, and left them all.

135 This passage refers to Delphi, which like Tegyrae was also the terrain of the Pythian god, Apollo. Flacelière (1964:155,156) brings this out in his translation: "Il convient donc, nous trouvant auprès d'Apollon Pythien, de nous demander quelle est la cause du changement survenu." (English translation: "It is thus appropriate, as we find ourselves at the site of Pythian Apollo, that we ask ourselves the question: What is the cause of the change that has occurred?")

136 Flacelière (1964:155), this time more source-orientated, translates νῦν δ' ἐκλέποιπεν with: "mais ils ont maintenant disparu." (English translation: "but at the present time these have vanished altogether.")

137 The so called 'Cnidian Clubhouse' in Delphi was situated "in the north-east corner of the sacred precinct" (Babbitt 2003:365).

138 P366/68-413A deals with πρόνοια θεῶν, the foreknowledge of the gods. Although most modern translations render "divine providence," this invites misinterpretation. In its modern use providence also supposes a divine control over and involvement in circumstances. This is not present in πρόνοια necessarily. However, because in this textual context the "foreknowledge" of the gods is able to pick up things, this suggests a measure of control which would warrant the translation providence. Didymus speaks about the gods in general and not about Apollo only. The term is also used in Acts 24:2: κληθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤρξατο κατηγορεῖν ὁ Τέρτυλλος λέγων πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ καὶ διορθωμάτων γινομένων τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ διὰ τῆς σῆς **προνοίας**. (NRSV: When Paul had been summoned, Tertullus began to accuse him, saying: 'Your Excellency, because of you we have long enjoyed peace, and reforms have been made for this people because of your **foresight**.) It is also found in Romans 13:14: ἀλλὰ ἐνδύσασθε τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς **προνοίαν** μὴ ποιῆσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. (NRSV: Instead, put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no **provision** for the flesh, to gratify its desires.) In both these instances the term refers to active planning according to expected circumstance, without being in full control of the situation personally.

139 P366/68-413A deals with the great rapture of χρηστήρια. The gods have gathered up all oracle places. The modern expression "bagging up" is a very suitable translation, as all life disappears from the site once they have left. The authoritative translations convey as much in different words. Babbitt (2003:413) gives the general idea: "The Divine Providence also has gathered up its oracles and departed from every place." Flacelière (1964:157) skilfully paints the picture of Apollo packing his bags: "mais encore a Providence divine qui se retire de partout en emportant les oracles dans ses bagages!" (English translation: "But as the divine providence has withdrawn everywhere, they (the gods) carry the oracles in their luggage with them.") Ziegler (1952:112,113) remains source-orientated: "Ist es denn zu verwundern, wenn, wo soviel

P366/68-413A: θαυμαστὸν γὰρ ἔστιν εἰ τοσαύτης κακίας ὑποκεχυμένης μὴ μόνον ὡς προεῖπεν¹⁴⁰ Ἡσίοδος, Αἰδῶς καὶ Νέμεσις τὸν ἀνθρώπιπνον βίον ἀπολελοίπασιν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόνοια θεῶν συσκευασαμένη τὰ χρηστήρια πανταχόθεν οἴχεται.

For it seems a strange idea that, as Hesiod foretold, such evil has spread all over, that not only modesty and righteous indignation have left human life altogether, but also that the gods in their providence have bagged up the oracle sites and departed from every place.

τὰ χρηστήρια → code D3.

5.2.13 Human sin emphatically rejected as cause for departure gods

In the following passage Didymus denounces the alleged impudence of the inquirers. He suggests that the friends rather discuss the question why the oracle at Delphi has not given yet out as well! Its end should not be far away, as the inquirers continue to provoke the gods with impious behaviour and scandalous motivation.

P368-413A: τὸναντίον δ' ὑμῖν ἐγὼ προβάλλω διαπορῆσαι πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τόδ' ἀπειρήκεν.

Quite the contrary, I propose to inquiry into the matter why it has not left there as well.

Babbitt (2003:369) translates "I propose that you discuss how it happens that the oracle has not also given out" → implied reference to the oracular procedures that are still being continued in Delphi (code 2), but not found in the text as such.

Didymus wonders what is going on in Delphi, as the people are obviously so unworthy that they are not even ashamed to put requests before the gods that would not be spoken out loud in decent company. Interestingly, like in more recent times in Christian theology, the friends do not like the idea of the gods responding negatively to human sin. Didymus' arguments are pushed aside without consideration. He is not allowed to say more. Young Heracleon, with his fiery disposition, seizes Didymus' cloak. Plutarch himself joins in and tells Didymus off

Niederträchtigkeit verbreitet ist, nicht nur, wie Hesiod vorausgesagt hat, Aidos und Nemesis (Scham und Gerechtigkeit) den Schauplatz des Menschenlebens verlassen haben, sondern auch die göttliche Vorsehung ihre Orakel überall eingepackt hat und auf und davon ist!"

140 The phrase ὡς προεῖπεν Ἡσίοδος has invited different interpretations of προλέγω: predicting, or saying or warning in advance). Babbitt (2003:267) prefers to deny any predictive element to the passage: "as Hesiod said long ago." Flacelière(1964:157) was able to make use of *annoncé*, which not only means to foretell, but also to proclaim: "comme l'a annoncé Hésiode." The use of προλέγω in the narrow textual context of *De Defectu Oraculorum* would imply a prophetic relevance of Hesiod for the present. Plutarch makes it obvious that the cynic Didymus (also called Planetiades) regarded Hesiod's words as a prophetic message for the situation of mankind in the first century AD. Consequently "as Hesiod foretold" is a preferred translation.

with the words *παῦε ᾧ φίλε Πλανητιάδη παροξύνων*¹⁴¹ τὸν θεόν ("Stop provoking god, my dear Planetiades!"). A man hears what he wants to hear and disregards the rest. The friends have become extremely uncomfortable. Perhaps they realised that Didymus' argument begged the question whether there should still be a genuine divine presence at Delphi itself. At the very least the integrity of the religious procedures at Delphi is questioned. To the friends questioning the system is the equivalent of provoking the gods. Beloved Didymus, nicknamed Planetiades, is pulled back in line.

The possible wrath of the gods is clearly not a subject that Plutarch cares to face presently: οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀπαξιούν φωνῆς τοῦς νῦν ἀνθρώπους, it is "unlikely that he should deny utterance to the people now". In other words, the god does not punish, and everything should be all right. Don't suggest anything like that, or we might have to change or rock the boat. Don't question the integrity of the procedures, at least Delphi is still seen to be functioning.

5.2.14 Unworthy visitors (P370-413D χρηστήρια)

Plutarch objects to Didymus' argument for abandonment as punishment of the gods. He responds by stating (the logical fallacy) that percentage-wise the larger number of enquirers in olden days should have contained a larger number of unworthy inquirers as well.

P370-413D: ὥσπερ οὐχὶ καὶ τότε πλειόνων ὄντων ἐν
πλείοσιν ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν ὅτε πολλαχόθι τῆς
οἰκουμένης χρηστήρια καθειστήκει.¹⁴²

As if there were not more wicked men among a larger
population when the oracles were established in many places in
the inhabited world!

χρηστήρια → oracle sites, code D3.

5.2.15 Eclipse of the oracles (P370-413D χρηστηρίων)

Plutarch, himself a friend of Didymus', congenially invites the latter to call a 'Pythian truce'.¹⁴³ He calls on Didymus to join them to seek for some other cause behind the disappearance of the oracles.

141 The phrase *παῦε ᾧ φίλε Πλανητιάδη παροξύνων τὸν θεόν* makes it abundantly clear that friend Planetiades should not provoke the gods. Didymus is not allowed to even suggest that the gods are retreating because of human sin. The very suggestion might provoke Apollo, and certainly provokes his companions. The LXX uses this same verb in 2 Sam 12:14 *πλήν ὅτι παροξύνων παρώξυνας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κυρίου ἐν τῷ ῥήματι τούτῳ καὶ γε ὁ υἱός σου ὁ τεχθεὶς σοι θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖται*. (English translation: However, you have given a grave advantage to the enemies of the Lord by this affair, and as your son was born to you in such circumstances he will most certainly have to die. Cf. ANETS: Yet because you provokingly provoked the enemies of the Lord by this thing, indeed your son who was born to you shall die by death.)

142 Babbitt (2003:371) translates P370-413D as follows: "as if the number of wicked men included among a larger population were not larger at that earlier time when the oracles were established in many places in the inhabited world!" This catches its meaning capably; Plutarch simply supposes that the gods were not provoked to leave or punish earlier generations by the general retreat of the gods that they face now. However, even in *De Defectu Oraculorum* a long period of silence for Delphi in a distant past (connected with an earthquake) is allowed from which the oracle never fully recovered.

P370-413D: ἑτέραν τινὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίαν ζήτηι τῆς
λεγομένης ἐκλειψεως τῶν χρηστηρίων.¹⁴⁴
Seek with us for some other reason for the said disappearance of
the oracles.

χρηστηρίων → oracle sites, code D3.

5.2.16 Are the sites sustained by the gods? (P370-413E χρηστηρίων)

As Plutarch and the others are clearly unwilling to face the issue of the relation between the wickedness of the inquirers and the abandonment of the oracular sites by the gods, Didymus leaves the scene.

Ammonius, on the other hand, is quite unwilling to drop the matter entirely. Didymus' argument of man provoking the gods to leave is no longer considered, but Ammonius wants to retain the responsibility of the gods. Apparently addressing Plutarch, as he was the previous speaker, Ammonius points out that if the gods are not responsible for the cessation of the oracles, it begs the question whether it was the gods who put them there at all, or rather some other power or cause.

P370-413D/E: ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπ' ὀλίγον, ὁ
Ἀμμώνιος ἐμὲ προσαγορεύσας, ὄρα τί ποιῶμεν, εἶπεν,
ὦ Λαμπρία, καὶ πρόσεχε¹⁴⁵ τῷ λόγῳ τὴν διάνοιαν ὅπως
μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἀναίτιον ποιῶμεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄλλῳ τινὶ καὶ μὴ
θεοῦ γνώμη τὰ παυσάμενα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐκλιπεῖν
ἠγούμενος, ὑπόνοιαν δίδωσι τοῦ μὴ γίγνεσθαι μηδ'
εἶναι διὰ τὸν δεὸν ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ νομίζειν.
When nobody had spoken for some time, Ammonius, addressing
himself to me, said: Look what we are doing, dear Lamprias,¹⁴⁶
and pay careful attention to the subject, as we do not want to say
that the god (Apollo) is not involved. Because he who suggests
that the widespread cessation of the oracles is due to something
else and not to the will of the god, gives reason to suppose that
he thinks that they were not created or sustained by the god,¹⁴⁷
but in some other way.

143 Plutarch calls his friend Didymus to a 'Pythian truce' (πυθιακὰς). This refers to the sacred truce that was made throughout the Greek speaking world for the duration of the Pythian Games. Cf. Babbitt (2003:370).

144 Flacelière (1964:158) aptly translates ἑτέραν τινὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίαν ζήτηι τῆς λεγομένης ἐκλειψεως τῶν χρηστηρίων with: "cherche avec nous une autre cause à cette décadence des oracles." (English translation: "Seek with us another cause for this decline of the oracles!")

145 P370-413E: πρόσεχε (2nd Person Present Active Imperative Singular προσέχω): to pay close attention to.

146 P370-413E (ὁ Ἀμμώνιος ἐμὲ προσαγορεύσας, ὄρα τί ποιῶμεν, εἶπεν, ὦ Λαμπρία) shows that the text of *De Defectu Oraculorum* identifies Plutarch with Lamprias. Ammonius addressed the author, who is subsequently identified as Lamprias. If Plutarch wrote *De Defectu Oraculorum*, a generally maintained premise, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that he was also called Lamprias in P370-413E.

147 Although the reference "τὸν θεὸν" would have suggested the translation "god" in the New Testament, in the context of the Greek religion of *De Defectu Oraculorum* it is a specific reference to Apollo as the

τὰ παυσάμενα τῶν χρηστηρίων¹⁴⁸ → the disappearance of the oracle sites, code D3.

5.2.17 Abandoned oracles in desolate Greece (P372-414A χρηστήρια)

Like Plutarch and Heracleon, Ammonius is quite unwilling to consider human sin as a cause for the disappearance of the oracle sites as such. Instead, he suggests that the god abandoned many sites, because there was no longer any need for them because of the decreased population of Greece.

P372-414A: οὐδὲν οὖν ἕτερον ἦν τὸ πολλὰ καταλιπεῖν
χρηστήρια τὸν θεὸν ἢ τῆς ἡλλάδος ἐλέγχειν τὴν
ἐρημίαν.¹⁴⁹

The god's abandoning of all those oracles was nothing else than him proving the desolation of Greece.

χρηστήρια → oracle sites, code D3.

5.2.18 Functioning oracle useless (P372-414A μαντεῖον)

Ammonius continues his argument with the question:

P372-414A: τίνοσ γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθὸν ἐν Τεγύραις πρότερον
εἶναι μαντεῖον.

Because, to whom would it be any good if there was a functioning oracle in Tegyrae, like in former days?

Who would profit from oracular activity in Tegyrae? In this context μαντεῖον could be interpreted as an *abstractum pro concreto* (Ysebaert 1984:71) for the oracle site.¹⁵⁰
μαντεῖον → code A3.

He also refers to the (decreased) activities in Delphi.

P372-414A: δὴ τοὺνταῦθα → demonstrative pronoun inferring oracular site in Delphi (code3).

accepted god among others, or to the specific god of the site. For this reason it has been translated as "the god".

148 In P370-413E not merely a halt, but a disappearance or cessation (ceasing to be) is implied (τὰ παυσάμενα). Flacelière (1964:158) confirms this as he translates: "la disparition des oracles" (English translation: "the disappearance of the oracles".)

149 P372-414A emphasizes that all the friends agree that the desolation of the oracles is treated as an established fact in *De Defectu Oraculorum* and that the ultimate cause behind this is the withdrawal of the deity. This withdrawal may be provoked by human sin as Didymus suggested (5.2.14), or caused by neutral events like a decrease in population, as Ammonius proposes in P372-414A. Babbitt (2003:373) brings this out when he translates: "for the god's abandoning of many oracles is nothing other than his way of substantiating the desolation of Greece."

150 P372-414A: μαντεῖον refers to oracular activity in Tegyrae, but in this textual context μαντεῖον could be interpreted as an *abstractum pro concreto*: the activities for the oracular site. E.g. Babbitt (2003:373): "For who would profit if there were an oracle in Tegyrae?"; Flacelière (1964:159): "En effet, qui trouverait profit à ce que l'oracle de Tégères?" (English translation: "Indeed, who would find profit if there were an oracle in Tegyrae?")

Ammonius points out that Delphi has also been subject to decline. There used to be three prophetesses (the Greek does not use Pythia in this passage), two of them attending to the inquiries with one in reserve, but times have changed. All needs of this undemanding age are satisfactorily met by one prophetess, no reason at all to blame the god. Willingly, he does not want to waste the gift of prophecy where it is not needed.

P374-414B: νῦν δ' ἔστι μία προφήτις καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦμεν
ἐξαρκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη τοῖς δεομένοις. οὐ τοίνυν αἰτιατέον
οὐδὲν τὸν θεόν.

(Although there used to be two and a third in reserve,) now there is only one prophetess and we do not complain, because she amply meets the needs. So we shouldn't blame the god for anything.

Ammonius even attributes the lack of divine activity to virtue on the god's part, showing a carefulness not to waste any prophetic powers.

P374-414C: νῦν δὲ τοῦναντίον ἔδει θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν
εἰ περιεώρα τὴν μαντικὴν ἀχρήστως δίκην ὕδατος
ἀπορρέουσιν.

Now there would be really reason to wonder about god if he allowed his prophetic blessing to be like water running waste.

μαντικὴν → code 2.

5.2.19 Who makes the oracle function? (P374-414C τὰ μαντεῖα)

As Ammonius' speech had been a response to Plutarch's words, Cleombrotus addresses Plutarch, saying that he should concede the point that the god creates τὰ μαντεῖα and removes them on his departure.

P374-414C: ἤδη σὺ τοῦτο δέδωκας ἔφη τὸ καὶ ποιεῖν
ταυτὶ τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ ἀναίρειν τὸν θεόν.¹⁵¹

Already you have conceded this point that the god both makes the oracles function and takes all supernatural activity with him when he leaves.

τὰ μαντεῖα → oracular activity that is removed from the sites, code A2.

151 Babbitt (2003:375) translates: "Already you have conceded this point, that the god both creates and abolishes these prophetic shrines." He generally takes μαντεῖον for a "prophetic shrine," instead of the more natural meaning of sum total of magic activity involving prophets, daemons and implements. Cf. Seyffert (s.d.:374-75). Flacelière (1964:160), similarly to Babbitt, translates: "considères-tu maintenant comme admis que la suppression de ces oracles, de même que leur création, a le dieu pour auteur." (English translation: "Do you think it is warranted to maintain that the loss (or: suppression) of these oracles, just as their creation, has the god for its author?") Both Flacelière and Babbitt do not sufficiently take the textual context into consideration. In this place the Greek (αἰρέω) does not suggest "abolish" (Babbitt) or "loss" (Flacelière), but recalls the picture painted earlier of the god packing his suitcases and taking his μαντεῖα with him.

5.2.20 The god not responsible for cessation and abandonment

5.2.20.1 Cessation (P374-414D μαντεῖον)

5.2.20.2 Abandonment (P374-414D χρηστήριον)

Plutarch is not ready to concede this point, but claims that the desolation is a natural process of corrosion. All things under the moon, even the things that the god establishes, whether it is the magic or the site,¹⁵² are subject to temporality.

P374-414D: οὐκ ἔγωγε, εἶπον, ἀναιρεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰτία θεοῦ φημι μαντεῖον οὐδὲ χρηστήριον.¹⁵³
No, I said, not at all, because I say that it isn't the god taking away oracular activity or causing oracle sites to disappear.

μαντεῖον → prophetic activity, code A2.

χρηστήριον → sacred oracle site, code D3.

5.2.21 About the death of daemons

Although this invites the question why the gods have ceased to establish new oracles after the old withered away, this subject is not raised. Cleombrotus (414F), however, subsequently introduces the role of providence in these matters. This brings up Hesiod's view that even daemons have a limited lifespan:

P380-415C: ὁ δ' Ἐσίοδος οἶεται καὶ περίοδος τισὶ χρόνων γίνεσθαι τοῖς δαίμοσι τὰς τελευτάς.
Hesiod thinks that after a certain circle of time death happens to daemons.

The exact length (cf. τισὶ χρόνων) of the time-circles, generations or years mentioned by Hesiod, whether it is a year or thirty etc., is subject of a debate that lingers on and brings the discussion to the relation of oracles and daemons. The latter are said to have a nature that combines the emotions of a mortal and divine powers.

P386-416D: ἡ δαμόνων φύσις ἔχουσα καὶ πάθος θνητοῦ καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν.
The nature of the daemons has both the emotion of a mortal and power of a god.

152 In P374-414D Plutarch only denies that the god has actively decides to leave and is provoked to do so by human behaviour. The friends treat the withdrawal of the gods as a theological fact. In other words, it is not the fault of the god (αἰτία θεοῦ). Babbitt (2003:375) brings this out, but not very strongly: "No, indeed, said I, my contention is that no prophetic shrine or oracle is ever abolished by the instrumentality of the god." Flacelière (1964:160) allows himself considerable freedom with the Greek text as he inserts "a le dieu pour auteur" (the god for its author) in Ammonius' question to Plutarch. He (1964:160) removes the god as cause from his translation of the actual sentence altogether: "Nullement, répondis-je; j'affirme au contraire qu'il n'a jamais fait disparaître aucun oracle, aucun sanctuaire prophétique." (English translation: "By no means, I answered; I affirm on the contrary that it (the god) never caused an oracle or prophetic sanctuary to disappear.")

153 In P374-414D the view under consideration is that the god actively packs his bags, removes oracular activities and demolishes the sacred site (or take away its geographic consecration). In other words, χρηστήριον as sanctuary disappears in the bags of the god as well.

5.2.22 Daemons as representatives of the gods

5.2.22.1 Daemons oversee procedures (P388-417A μαντεία)

Cleombrotus suggest that it is not the gods, but their representatives, the daemons, establishing and leaving oracle sites on their behalf. This is a thought not inconsistent with Platonic philosophy (Schneider 1966:95-99).

P388-417A: ἡμεῖς δὲ μήτε μαντεία τινὰς ἀθειάστους εἶναι λεγόντων ἢ τελετὰς¹⁵⁴ καὶ ὀργιασμοὺς ἀμελουμένους ὑπο θεῶν ἀκούωμεν. μήτ' αὖ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τούτοις ἀναστρέφεισθαι καὶ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπραγματεῦεσθαι δοξάζωμεν, ἀλλ' οἷς δίκαιόν ἐστι τεῦτα λειτουργοῖς θεῶν ἀνατιθέντες ὥσπερ ὑπηρέταις καὶ γραμματεῦσι, δαίμονας νομίζωμεν ἐπισκόπους θεῶν ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ὀργιαστάς ἄλλους δὲ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων καὶ μεγάλων τιμωροὺς ἀδικιῶν περιπολεῖν.

But let us not listen to those who say that that some oracles function without the gods, or that rites and ceremonies are disregarded by the gods. Let us, however, not suppose either that the god moves in and out of these, and is present, and takes an active role, but assign this to those ministers of the god to whom it rightly belongs, as to servants and clerks; let us suppose that the daemons are the overseers of the temples of the gods the masters of the ceremonies, and that others go about as avengers against the arrogant and cases of grave injustice.

μαντεία → oracular activities, code A2.

Here one meets again with the fact that the friends do not want to face the possibility that some of what is going on at the oracle sites may not be actually pleasing to or inspired by the gods. First it was Heracleon and Plutarch who silenced Didymus, now it is Cleombrotus who admonishes that they should not allow themselves to listen to those who think that some of the μαντεία, the prophetic actions, don't have the gods involved at all. Cleombrotus suggest a compromise, allowing that the gods are gone, but that some of the daemons preside over the temples of the gods, guiding the procedures and outcomes, while other daemons go about to punish the arrogant and put right great wrongs.¹⁵⁵

The conversation dwells on daemons and religious festivals for a while, but then comes up with the interesting theological conception that the vices and sufferings of the gods in legend really happened to daemons and not to the gods themselves. For that reason Aeschylus and Sophocles had been wrong to ascribe punishment and sufferings to the gods.

154 P388-417: τελετὰς (Plural Feminine Accusative τελετή): rite of initiation in a mystery religion. Cf. 1 Kings 15:12 καὶ ἀφείλεν τὰς τελετὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν πάντα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἃ ἐποίησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ. (ANETS: And he took away the **mystic rites** out of the land and removed all the evil practices his fathers did.)

155 Flacelière (1964:167) catches what is being inferred when he translates: "les grands crimes des hommes." (English translation: "the great crimes of men".)

P392-417E: καὶ μὴν ὅσας ἔν τε μύθοις καὶ ὕμνοις
λέγουσι καὶ ἄδουσι, τοῦτο μὲν ἀρπαγὰς τοῦτο δὲ
πλάνας θεῶν κρύψεις τε καὶ φυγὰς¹⁵⁶ καὶ λατρείας, οὐ
θεῶν εἰσιν ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων παθήματα καὶ τύχαι
μνημονεύμενα δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῶν.¹⁵⁷
And everything they tell and sing about in the myths and songs,
this plundering and this roaming of the gods, their hiding, flight
and service, is actually not about the sufferings and afflictions of
the gods, but those of the daemons being remembered, because
of their virtue and power.

5.2.22.2 No actual presence of the god (P394-417F χρηστηρίου)

The greatest sinners of all were the fundamentalist theologians in Delphi, who continued to have the conviction that Apollo really did battle with a snake on the site.

P394-417F: πλεῖστον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτάνουσιν¹⁵⁸
οἱ δελφῶν θεολόγοι νομίζοντες ἔνταυθά ποτε πρὸς
ὄφιν τῷ θεῷ περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου μάχην γενέσθαι.¹⁵⁹

156 P392-417E: φυγὰς (Accusative Plural Feminine φυγή): flight. Cf. Mat 24:20: προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυγή ὑμῶν χειμῶνος μηδὲ σαββάτω. (NRSV: Pray that your **flight** may not be in winter or on a sabbath.)

157 Suffering of the gods was not an acceptable concept: οὐ θεῶν εἰσιν ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων παθήματα καὶ τύχαι μνημονεύμενα. It was rather the daemons who suffered these hardships and experienced these adventures. Flacelière (1964:168) confirms this in his translation: "tout cela n'est pas le fait des dieux; ce sont des épreuves et des aventures arrivées aux démons, et dont on garde la mémoire en raison de la qualité et de la puissance de ceux qui les subirent." (English translation: "all those things did not happen to the gods themselves, but those tests and adventures were experienced by the demons, and are kept in memory because of greatness and power of those who underwent them.") The latter part of the sentence states that it really was the quality and power of the daemons and not of the gods, which was kept in remembrance in the tales and songs of old. This was major departure from the traditional interpretation of these texts and in particular of the stories as such, which do not make mention of the idea that the gods mentioned there were in fact not the gods, but daemons who at best represented the gods. Christian theology in the Western Church has seen the introduction of similar reinterpretation of its religious stories since the 17th century. While until that time Jesus was generally understood in terms of the Son of God incarnate, this has been radically reinterpreted. It was no longer God himself coming to earth, but only a special religious teacher emerging who was worthy of the title "Son of God". God expressed himself in that way, according to the new idea, but it was no longer the pre-existent God taking on flesh. The resurrection of Jesus' body at Easter has been subject of radical spiritual reinterpretation as well. Cf. Borg (1991:1-21); Hoffmann (1987:37); Van de Beek (1991:54,251); Lambe (1988:271-296); Ogden (1962:209-218); Zuiddam (1996:256-266). See also Smith (1981) and Spong (2002).

158 With the early post-apostolic fathers, Plutarch's contemporaries, this verb was used to convey the Christian concept of sin. Cf. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, xl.4 (Lake 1977:77-79): Οἱ οὖν τοῖς προσεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιῶντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν εὐπρόσδεκτοὶ τε καὶ μακάριοι, τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότητος ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν. (Lake's translation: So then those who offer their oblations at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed, for they follow the laws of the Master and do no sin.)

159 P392-94, 417F indicates a low esteem of the established Greek religion. Flacelière (1964:169) emphasizes this when he translates: "Mais ceux qui s'écartent le plus de la vérité, ce sont les théologiens de Delphes." (English translation: "But those who deviate the most from the truth are the theologians of Delphi!")

But the greatest sinners against the truth are the theologians in Delphi, who think that the god in this place once engaged in battle with the snake about the oracular site.

χρηστήριον → battle with snake about the possession of a specific oracle place, code D3.

5.2.23 Sacred rites at the oracle (P394-418A χρηστήριον)

Cleombrotus also speaks about rites,¹⁶⁰ in some way connected to the local oracle in Delphi.

P394-418A: καὶ πυθόμενου τίσιν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν ὅσίοις οἶεται¹⁶¹ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιζομένους τούτοις ἔφη περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.

And being asked which sacred rites were questioned by opponents, he said: "Those that pertain to the oracle."

χρηστήριον → oracular site, code D3.

5.2.24 Happenings at the oracle in former days (P396-418C χρηστήριον)

Cleombrotus casts doubts on traditional Greek theology. He already had strong misgivings as to whether Apollo really did battle with the snake in Delphi. Now he also doubts whether the god really had to flee and appease the wrath of daemons. Strange and paradoxical, he calls it.¹⁶²

P396-418C: εἰ δ' ἀληθείας τι μετέχει μὴ μικρὸν οἰώμεθα μηδὲ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ πραχθὲν¹⁶³ ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.

But if there is the slightest truth in it, let us not think little of what happened to the oracle in those times.

περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον → oracular site, code D3.

160 Cleombrotus speaks about rites (ὅσίοις) in P394-418A. The manuscript evidence seems ambivalent in this section. Babbitt has ὅσίοις (Dative Plural Masculine) as the preferable reading, but others prefer ἱεροῖς (Dative Plural Neuter ἱερός: temple); θείοις (Dative Plural Neuter θεῖον: divine or supernatural being, cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:719) or θεοῖς (Dative Plural Masculine θεός: god).

161 P394-418A: οἶεται (Present Middle Indicative Singular, οἶομαι): think or be convinced (Bauer & Aland 1988:1140). Cf. Job 11:2 ὁ τὰ πολλὰ λέγων καὶ ἀντακούσεται ἢ καὶ ὁ εὐλαλὸς οἶεται εἶναι δίκαιος εὐλογημένος γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ὀλιγόβιος. (ANETS: He who says much will also listen in turn or does he who is eloquent **think** he is right? Blessed is the short lived offspring of woman.) See also Job 38:2 and 42:3.

162 The intensity of Cleombrotus' doubts is brought out well by Flacelière (1964:170): "extrêmement bizarre et surprenant" (English translation: so extreme that it is bizarre and startling).

163 P396-418C: πραχθὲν (Aorist Passive Participle Nominative Singular Neuter, πράσσω): to achieve.

5.2.25 Daemons bring life to oracles

5.2.25.1 Activity (P394-418D μαντεῖα)

5.2.25.2 Site (P394-418D χρηστήρια)

Cleombrotus summarises the general conclusion that the life of oracles comes and goes with the presence of daemons (cf. Bernard 1990:293). He compares the presence of the daemons to breath and the oracle sites as such to musical instruments like organs or bagpipes, which are soundless without compressed air flowing through.

P394-418D: καὶ τετολμήσθω μετὰ πολλοὺς εἰρῆσθαι καὶ
 ἡμῖν ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα¹⁶⁴ καὶ χρηστήρια
 τεταγμένοις δαιμονίοις¹⁶⁵ ἐκλείπουσί τε κομιδῇ
 συνεκλείπει ταῦτ' αὐτὰ καὶ φυγόντων ἢ μεταστάντων
 ἀποβάλλει τὴν δύναμιν εἶτα παρόντων αὐτῶν διὰ
 χρόνου πολλοῦ καθάπερ ὄργανα φθέγγεται τῶν
 χρωμένων ἐπιστάντων καὶ παρόντων.

And, after many have said so before, let us also put forward that
 when the daemonions¹⁶⁶ assigned to the oracles and oracular

164 The meaning of τοῖς περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα is that the daemons preside not only over the site (καὶ χρηστήρια τετασμένοις δαιμονίοις), but also over the actual oracular proceedings that take place there. Possibly due to artistic freedom, Babbitt has the wrong order and translates "oracles and prophetic shrines". For his use of prophetic shrines, see 5.2.19.

165 P394-418D: δαιμονίοις (Neuter Plural δαιμόνιον, cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:337). This poses a problem as Plutarch uses δαίμων (Masculine Singular; Plural: οἱ δαίμονες) elsewhere. Flacelière (1964:170) introduces the term "les Génies" (demigods). This is helpful to the extent that δαιμόνιον is a less powerful or important form of supernatural life than δαίμων, which was traditionally reserved for reference to the god or goddess. Babbitt (2003:397) is consequent in his approach. Keen to translate with demigod elsewhere, he now prefers "guardian spirits," as a different Greek word presents itself. Babbitt's approach rightly brings out that there is a difference in degree between δαίμων and δαιμόνιον. His choice to translate demigod for δαίμων is confusing, but could be defended on the basis that Plutarch believed in a Supreme Being above the traditional gods and goddesses (see 5.2.30.1). The daemons are treated on the same level as the gods and goddesses in *De Defectu Oraculorum*, though not fully. P412-421E: εἰ δὲ τοῖς νενομισμένοις τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι δαίμονας καλοῦμεν οὐ θαυμαστόν εἶπεν ὁ ξένος (English translation: But, according to those ideas, if we call **daemons** by the names of gods, that is not strange at all, said the host). This shows that by Plutarch's time it had become customary to refer to the gods as δαίμονες, but also that Plutarch and his friends do not necessarily follow this custom. Like *De Defectu Oraculorum*, the New Testament also knows both δαίμων and δαιμόνιον. While δαιμόνιον is used throughout the New Testament and quite a few times in the LXX, there is one occurrence of δαίμων in the LXX and one in the New Testament. Isa 65:11: ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐγκαταλιπόντες με καὶ ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου καὶ ἐτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαίμονι τράπεζαν καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα. (ANETS: But as for you who forsake me and forget my holy mountain and prepare a table for the **demon** and fill a mixed wine for Fortune.) Matthew has the only occurrence of δαίμων in the New Testament, using δαιμόνιον elsewhere, but only twice. Matt 8:31: οἱ δὲ δαίμονες παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν λέγοντες εἰ ἐκβάλλεις ἡμᾶς ἀπόστειλον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοίρων. (NRSV: The **demons** begged him, 'If you cast us out, send us into the herd of swine.') Interestingly none of the parallel passages in the other gospels (Mark 5:1-17, Luke 8:26-37) replace δαίμονες with δαιμόνια, indicating that these nouns could not be used interchangeably. From a philological perspective "Demons" and "evil spirits" would be good translations respectively. In this Christian perspective the δαίμονες refer to fallen angels and the δαιμόνια to the spirits who aid their cause.

166 A different word for daemon, a lower form or diminutive, is used. Cf. *De Genio Socratis* (*Von Arnim* 1921:1; Schmid 1920:374; Vernière 1977:357-371). Cf. footnote 165 on the different Greek words.

sites disappear, the *oracles* themselves disappear with them. And when the *daemonions* flee or go to another place, they lose their power, but on their return after a long time, *the oracles* give breath like bagpipes, since those who know how to play them are present.

τὰ μαντεῖα → prophetic actions or shrines, code A2.

χρηστήρια → oracle site, code D3.

ταῦτ' αὐτὰ (ὄργανα) → demonstrative pronoun referring to oracular sites or activity.

5.2.26 In charge of the oracular site (P398-418E χρηστηρίους)

Because the friends did not like the idea of suffering gods, affected by earthly realities, they had assigned the guardianship of the oracles to the daemons. One of them, Heracleon, supports the idea that the gods should be free from earthly concerns and not personally be bothered with the upkeep of oracular sites.

P398-418E: τὸ μὲν ἐφεστάναι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις.
Those in charge of the oracular sites.

χρηστηρίους → oracle places, code D3.

Heracleon, however, does not like some of the consequences for the daemons. He is especially uncomfortable with the suggestion that the daemons are mortal.

P398-418E: τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὥσπερ
ἀνθρώπων ὑποτίθεσθαι θρασύτερον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
βαρβαρικώτερον.¹⁶⁷
To assume that their life is ended by death, like with men, I
regard both too audacious and uncivilized.

Philip the historian responds by referring to bad daemons in several other ancient writers than Empedocles (419A). This brings up the story about the death of Pan (419B-D, cf. Borgeaud 1983:254-283; Duval 1982: 381-400) and related stories about other islands. Cleombrotus states that the Stoics support their idea of the mortality of the daemons, but also extend it to all of the gods, but one.

P404-420A/B: καίτοι τοὺς στωικούς ἔφη γινώσκωμεν οὐ
μόνον κατὰ δαιμόνων ἦν λέγω δόξαν ἔχοντας ἀλλὰ καὶ
θεῶν ὄντων τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος ἐνὶ χρωμένους αἰδίω
καὶ ἀφθάρτω τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καὶ γεγονέναι
φθαρῆσθαι νομίζοντας.

167 P398-418E: θρασύτερον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βαρβαρικώτερον. Heracleon finds the idea too ridiculous for words. This is expressed by Flacelière (1964:171): "plus aventureux et plus étrange." (English translation: "too daring and much too strange.") Babbitt (2003:399) confirms the same in a more source-orientated way: "and to assume that their final fate is death, just as with men, I regard as rather too audacious and uncivilized."

We know nonetheless, he said, that the Stoics not only share my opinion as far as the daemons are concerned, but they also think that while there is a great number of gods, only one is eternal and immortal; the others have come into being to perish.

After briefly discussing this further, the friends return to the subject of the migration and flight of the daemons (420E-F). Cleombrotus relates a story about a prophet who was inspired to prophecy for only one day a year (421A-C). He came to the seaside, and the mighty and writers employed by kings would line up for that occasion.

The prophet referred to the higher realms to point out where his prophetic powers came from.

P410-421B: ἐκεῖνος οὖν τὴν μαντικὴν ἀνῆγεν εἰς
δαίμονας.

This person directed the oracular sacrifice to the daemons.

τὴν μαντικὴν → code 2.

5.2.27 Apollo or daemon on sacred site? (P412-421C χρηστηρίον)

According to Cleombrotus this prophet also related stories about daemons being involved with the Python. About the slayer of that monster he said that he returned after "eight circles of big years" and took over the local oracle site, which had been guarded by Themis.

P412-421C τὸ χρηστηρίον → oracle place, code D3

The slayer was supposedly Apollo, but in reality a daemon. Cleombrotus explains the discrepancy as follows.

P412-421E: εἰ δὲ τοῖς νενομισμένοις τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι
δαίμονας καλοῦμεν οὐ θαυμαστόν εἶπεν ὁ ξένος.¹⁶⁸ ᾧ
γὰρ ἕκαστος θεῶ συντέτακται¹⁶⁹ καὶ παρ' οὗ δυνάμεως
καὶ τιμῆς εἴληχεν ἀπὸ τούτου φιλεῖ καλεῖσθαι.

But, according to those ideas, if we call daemons by the names of gods, that is not strange at all, said the host. Because each one of them loves to be called after the god that he has been assigned to and from whom he has received his portion of power and honour.

5.2.28 Discussing the oracle sites (P420-423C χρηστηρίων)

After this, Plutarch steers the discussion towards the topic of the possible number of worlds that may exist. Demetrius and Heracleon share their ideas about that. The number five in Plato is mentioned, but this could apply to five divisions of the present world.

168 P412-421E: ὁ ξένος: host, person who receives strangers. Cf. Rom 16:23 (Bauer & Aland 1988:1110-1111).

169 P412-421E: συντέτακται (Perfect Passive Indicative Singular, συντάσσω), conveying the idea that each daemon is providentially appointed to his own god.

Plutarch surmises that by taking up this new topic, they might have finished with the discussion at hand, the general disappearance of oracle sites in the Greco-Roman world.

P420-423C: καὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ γὰρ οὕτως, ἔφην,¹⁷⁰ ἀφέντας ἤδη
τὸν περὶ χρηστηρίων λόγον ὡς τέλος ἔχοντα
μεταλαμβάνειν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον.
Because also to me it appears, I said, that we have already left
our discussion about the oracles, as if it was finished, to take up
another such topic.

τὸν περὶ χρηστηρίων → talk about the oracle places, code D3.

5.2.29 More than one world?

Demetrius responds that the reflections on the number of worlds are only temporary and that they are fully inclined to return to the main topic in due course (423C). On this, Plutarch embarks on a lengthy exposition of his ideas on the number of worlds. He allows for the possibility of god, prophecy and providence to exist and be active in more than one world.

P420-423C: καὶ γὰρ θεὸν ἔστιν εἶναι καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ
πρόνοιαν ἐν πλείοσι κόσμοις.
Because it is also possible for a god, as well as for prophecy and
foreknowledge, to operate in more worlds *than one*.

μαντικὴν → code 2.

5.2.30 One true god beyond the gods?

Interestingly, Plutarch spoke about θεόν (singular) in the previous passage. This could suggest that he endorsed the idea of the Stoics that there was one main God who was eternal and everlasting, while other gods and daemons were not. Plutarch also presents this God as the source and creator of the world, or worlds. This sentiment is shared by Babbitt (2003:421-423) who translates: "For it is possible for God and prophecy to exist in more worlds than one". The positive reception of Plutarch by some of the Greek Church fathers (Deferrari 1918:579-591) and even some of the Puritans (Van Cromhout 1975:465-481) could be understood in this light. The following sentence, which is part of the same discourse, seems to confirm this interpretation. Although Plutarch was not a Stoic in many other respects (cf. De Lacey 1953:80-84; Konstan 1972:6-7), it would fit in the eclectic approach that marked Neo-Platonism.

P422-423C/D: ἔπειτα τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἔπεται τὸ τῷ θεῷ
μὴ μονογενῆ μηδ' ἔρημον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον.

170 P420-423C: ἔφην (Imperfect Active Indicative Singular, φημί). Plutarch shows his involvement in the discussion in the first person, while all the others are referred to in the third. Plutarch's part in the discussion takes the role of a chairman, who steers the debate and also brings it to a conclusion. This is a further indication that he must have come to a respectable age and reputation by the time *De Defectu Oraculorum* was written.

Then again it is more logical that the world is not the only one born of god and entirely on its own.

After this Plutarch elaborates on how God could still have preserved his dignity, and acted within reason if a limited number of worlds were created (423-426E). Subsequently, the friends (Plutarch in particular) loose themselves again in discussing the likelihood of a fixed number of worlds and return again to the number five, in support of which a great diversity of ancient testimony is summoned (429A-430A).¹⁷¹

5.2.31 Daemons leaving the oracles (P460-431B χρηστήρια)

Later, rather than sooner, the friends manage to find their way back to the daemons and oracles. Demetrius is the one who skilfully calls them to order. He praises Plutarch¹⁷² for his words, and summarises their principal position about daemons and oracles. It is the daemons who are the life of the oracle places, as it is they who inspire the prophets.

P460-431B: τὸ γὰρ ἀφισταμένων καὶ ἀπολειπόντων τὰ χρηστήρια τῶν δαιμόνων ὥσπερ ὄργανα τεχνιτῶν ἀργὰ¹⁷³ καὶ ἀναυδα κεῖσθαι λεχθὲν ἕτερον λόγον ἐγείρει τὸν περὶ τῆς αἰτίας μείζονα καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ χρώμενοι ποιουσικατόχους τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς καὶ φαντασιαστικούς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὰς προφήτιδας.¹⁷⁴

Because the matter of the daemons withdrawing and leaving the oracles, like the bagpipes of musicians just laying unused and without sound, raises another matter, namely the even more important topic of the cause and power that is used to make the prophets and prophetesses possessed by inspiration and cause visions to appear.

171 Among the ancient testimonies summoned is the view ventured in P452-429D τὰ πάντα τῶν πέντε παρώνυμα γεγονέναι κατὰ λόγον: that it is reasonable to suppose that "all" (πάντα) is derived from "five" (πέντε).

172 Demetrius praises Plutarch in P460-431A with the following words: ὀρθῶς ἔφη λαμπρίας παραινεῖ (English translation: "Lamprias advises well, he said."), showing that according to the Greek manuscripts, the friends referred to the author of *De Defectu Oraculorum* (who wrote and spoke in the first person) as Lamprias. Both Demetrius and the other friends are identified separately, which makes Plutarch (who writes and speaks in the first person and is not identified separately) the obvious candidate to be Lamprias. If Plutarch is not identified with Lamprias, the conclusion that he did not write *De Defectu Oraculorum* seems inevitable. Cf. e.g. 431C-D.

173 P460-431B: ἀργὰ (Accusative Plural Neuter, ἀργός): idle, unemployed, useless. Cf. James 2:20 θέλεις δὲ γνῶναι ὧ ἄνθρωπε κενὴ ὅτι ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή ἐστίν. (NRSV: Do you want to be shown, you senseless person, that faith without works is barren?)

174 This indicates that the prophetic priestesses ("τὰς προφήτιδας") were not just the interpreters of oracles, but are said to be possessed themselves. For Delphi this makes it likely that the prophetic priestesses and the Pythia were identical. Babbitt's interpretation (2003:461) confirms this: "For what was said then, that when the demigods withdraw and forsake the oracles, these lie idle and inarticulate like the instruments of musicians, raises another question of greater import regarding the causative means and power which they employ to make the prophetic priests and priestesses possessed by inspiration and able to present their visions."

τὰ χρηστήρια → the daemons leaving the oracle places, code D3.

5.2.32 Supposing daemons operate the oracles

5.2.32.1 Oracles cease to function (P462-431B μαντεῖα)

5.2.32.2 Daemons provide power and responses (P462-431B λόγια)

In some way the daemons preside over the oracular procedures and inspire the prophets. Once they are convinced as to the way the daemons go about it, Demetrius feels that he can be sure about this theory.

P462-431B: οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε τὴν ἔκλειψιν αἰτιᾶσθαι τοῦ ἀπαυδᾶν τὰ μαντεῖα μὴ πεισθέντας ὄν τρόπον ἐφεστῶτες αὐτοῖς καὶ παρόντες ἐνεργὰ καὶ λόγια ποιούσιν οἱ δαίμονες.

For one can only blame the fact of the oracles ceasing to function to *their* disappearance, if one is convinced about the way they operate, that the daemons by having the oracles in their charge and by their presence provide the power and responses.

τὰ μαντεῖα → oracular activities, code A2.

λόγια → authoritative divine speech, code B1r.

5.2.33 Busy at the oracles (P462-431D μαντεῖαν)

Ammonius joins in again and addresses Lamprias about a rumour that he had a long talk about the nature of daemons with strangers in Lebadeia. Plutarch responds that this conversation had been subject to many distractions, as it had been a day for oracular procedure and sacrifice.

P462-431D: μὴ θαυμάσης, ἔφην ἐγώ, πολλαὶ γὰρ ἅμα πρᾶξεις διὰ μέσου καὶ ἀσχολίαι συντυγχάνουσαι διὰ τὸ μαντεῖαν¹⁷⁵ εἶναι καὶ θυσίαν τοὺς λόγους διεσπαρμένους ἡμῖν καὶ σποράδας ἐποίησαν.

Be not surprised, I said, because there were many activities during and distractions happened at the same time, because of the oracular procedures and sacrifice that took place, these caused that our conversation was fragmented and disconnected.

τὸ μαντεῖαν → sorcery (cf. 4.2) or oracular procedure, code A2.

175 P462-431D: τὸ μαντεῖαν [Babbitt] / τὸ μαντεῖον [Paton, Pohlenz, Sieveking]. Although the manuscript evidence seems to favour μαντεῖαν, μαντεῖον seems the correct reading grammatically, as the article agrees with the neuter. Babbitt (τὸ μαντεῖαν 2003:462) chooses to follow the manuscript evidence in the main text. Paton, Pohlenz and Sieveking (1972:106) read μαντεῖον without account or reference.

Ammonius invites him to tell more now, and Plutarch eagerly jumps to the opportunity to share his ideas on the subject. Mortal nature is the thing that inhibits mankind's prophetic powers, he insists.

P464/66-432A: ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μαντικὴν οὐκ ἐπικτᾶται
δύναμιν ἐκβᾶσα τοῦ σώματος ὡσπερ νέφους ἀλλ'
ἔχουσα καὶ νῦν τυφλοῦται διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν
ἀνάμειξιν αὐτῆς καὶ σύγχυσιν.

The soul does not receive prophetic power at the moment when it proceeds from the body, likewise with *the sun emerging from a cloud*, but possesses it even now, but she is blinded by being combined and blended with a mortal body.

τὴν μαντικὴν → prophetic power, code 2.

5.2.34 Ancient oracle in verse (P466-432B χρησμός)

Plutarch refers to an oracle in verse, given to the Thessalians.

P466-432B: ὁ μὲν γὰρ θετταλοῖς περὶ ἄρνης¹⁷⁶ δοθεὶς
χρησμός¹⁷⁷ ἐκέλευε φράζειν,¹⁷⁸ κωφοῦ τ' ἀκοὴν τυφλοῖό
τε δέρξιν.

For the oracular saying about Arnê given to the Thessalians commanded to convey a saying with a hidden meaning: A deaf man's hearing, a blind man's sight.

χρησμός → oracle saying in verse, code C1r.

5.2.35 The reality of demonic inspiration

Plutarch denied that oracle sayings were a product of the intelligent human mind. Euripides was wrong in stating that the best seer is the one who conjectures well.

P468-432C: οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὁ Εὐριπίδης φησὶ μάντις δ' ἄριστος
ὅστις εἰκάζει¹⁷⁹ καλῶς.

176 P466-432B: ἄρνης. Morris (1891:112) explains this word in his commentary on Thucydides: "Ἄρνης: the old home of the Aeolian Boeotians near the Gulf of Pagasae. The Boeotian Arne mentioned Hom. B 507, of doubtful position, probably near Coronea, was named from it.—ἀναστάντες: the regular term for forcible removal."

177 Origen, *Contra Celsum* II.20 (Migne 1857-1866:48): Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν δηλοῦται ὅτι δυνατὸν μὲν ἦν τῷ Λαῖῳ μὴ σπείρειν "παίδων ἄλοκα": οὐκ ἂν γὰρ τὸ μὴ δυνατὸν προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ **χρησμός**: δυνατὸν δὲ ἦν καὶ τὸ σπείρειν, καὶ οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν κατηνάγκαστο. Translation (Origen 1997:852): "Now from this it is clear that it was within the power of Laius not to try to beget children, for the **oracle** would not have commanded an impossibility; and it was also in his power to do the opposite, so that neither of these courses was compulsory."

178 P466-432B: φράζειν (φράζω: to explain, or convey a hidden message, cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:1725).

179 P468-432C: εἰκάζει (Present Active Indicative Singular, εἰκάζω): to infer or conjecture, cf. Bauer & Aland (1988:447). It is used in a similar way in Jeremiah 46:23 (26:23): ἐκκόψουσιν τὸν δρυμὸν αὐτῆς

For it is not like Euripides spoke, that the best seer is the one who conjectures well.

Plutarch, contrary to Euripides and likeminded authors, supposed a genuine inspiration by daemons. The reason for this is that foretelling the future is dependent on to many indeterminable factors.

P468-432C/D: τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ὡσπερ γραμματεῖον
ἄγραφον καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀόριστον ἐξ αὐτοῦ.
But the *gift of prophecy*, like a pad without writing, is by itself
unintelligible and unclear.

τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν → prophetic impression(ability), code 2.

5.2.36 Gasses as secondary causes to aid the daemons

While the previous passages showed that Plutarch supposed the reality of a genuine inspiration by daemons, he also allowed for secondary causes as aids for this inspiration. For this reason Plutarch subsequently speaks about the gasses that flow up from the earth and encourage prophetic impressions.

P468-432D: τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ρεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα θειότατόν
ἐστι καὶ ὀσιώτατον ἂν τε καθ' ἑαυτὸ δι' ἀέρος ἂν τε μεθ'
ύγρου νάματος ἀπερᾶται.
But the prophetic current and breath is most divine and holy,
whether it makes its way by itself through the air or comes in the
wet company of flowing water.

τὸ μαντικὸν → code 2.

In his view these gasses may encourage a keenness of the soul, producing a real foreknowledge of future things in prophecy, by stimulating τὸ προγνωστικὸν μόριον τῆς ψυχῆς, "the prophetic element in the soul" (433A, Babbitt 2003:471).

This is reinforced when he says the following:

P472-433C: οὐ θαυμαστόν οὖν εἰ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἄνω
ρεύματα μεθειίσης ταῦτα μόνα τὰς ψυχὰς
ἐνθουσιαστικῶς διατίθησι καὶ φαντασιαστικῶς τοῦ
μέλλοντος.¹⁸⁰

λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός ὅτι οὐ μὴ εἰκασθῆ ὅτι πληθύνει ὑπὲρ ἀκρίδα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἀριθμός. (ANETS: They shall cut down her forest says the Lord, because there shall be nothing like it, because *the forest* is more numerous than grasshoppers, and they are without number.)

180 Plutarch shows in 433C-473 that the oracles were believed to have real predictive power and counsel regarding future events.

If there are many currents going up from the earth, then it should not surprise that only these dispose souls to inspiration and visions of the future.

5.2.36.1 Gas reason for dedication to Geia (P474-433E χρηστήριον)

Plutarch supposes that originally there may have been a connection between the gasses and Apollo (cf. Flacelière 1941:18-20) in dedicating the oracle site to the earth and the sun, as Apollo was the god of the sun and the gasses flew from the earth.

P474-433E: οἱ μέντοι δοξάζοντες ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν εἶναι εἰκότως ἀπόλλωνι καὶ γῆ κοινῶς ἀνέθεσαν τὸ χρηστήριον οἰόμενοι τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ κρᾶσιν ἐμποιεῖν τῇ γῆ τὸν ἥλιον ἀφ' ἧς ἐκφέρεσθαι τὰς μαντικὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις.

Those, however, who declared that both were one and the same god, suitably dedicated the local oracle as both representing Apollo and Geia, and that causes the favourable circumstances in the earth from which the bursts of prophetic inspirations come out.

τὸ χρηστήριον → oracle site, code D3.

In this context Babbitt (2003:477) translates τὰς μαντικὰς, with "inspiring vapours." Plutarch seems to convey that with the sun warming the earth, the prophetic impressions well up, or burst out with the touch of the inspiring vapours.

Similarly to gasses that come and go, depending on the earths circumstances, Plutarch advocates that the same would be true about the spirits that produce prophetic impressions:

P478-434B: ταῦτὰ δὴ περὶ μαντικῶν πνευμάτων διανοητέον ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων αἰδίων οὐδ' ἀγήρων τὴν δύναμιν ἀλλ' ὑποκειμένην μεταβολαῖς.
Indeed, the same one should think about the prophetic spirits; likewise their power is neither eternal nor ageless, but subject to changes.

μαντικῶν πνευμάτων → code 2.

5.2.37 As dead as a doornail (P478-434C χρηστήριον)

He gives the example of the oracle at Teiresias that remains idle and mute to this day after a pestilence.

P478-434C: τοῦ τειρεσίου χρηστήριον ἐκλιπεῖν παντάπασι καὶ μέρχι τοῦ νῦν ἀργὸν διαμένειν καὶ ἄναυδον.

(Because of a pestilence it came to be that) the oracle at Teiresias has disappeared from the scene completely and continues to lie fruitless and without speech.

χρηστήριον → specific local oracle, code D3.

Demetrius, in return, makes mention of two oracles that he visited abroad.

P480-434D: ἔτι δ' ἤκμαζεν¹⁸¹ ἐμοῦ παρόντος καὶ τὸ μόψου
καὶ τὸ ἀμφιλόχον μαντεῖον.¹⁸²

But both the oracle of Mopsus and that of Amphilocheus were still in their prime when I was there.

μαντεῖον → two specific oracle sites (τὸ μόψου καὶ τὸ ἀμφιλόχον) or the oracular activity in those two places, code A3.

In connection with one of these oracles, Demetrius shares a story (P480-434D/F) about a sceptic governor (ἡγεμῶν¹⁸³) of Cilicia who sent someone to Mopsus with a sealed inquiry about the colour of a sacrificial animal. His ambassador received the correct answer in a dream on the spot. That this story, however, was a treasured memory from the past only and not about a present ruler, is indicated by the fact that "he was an arrogant and contemptible man in all other matters," τὰλλα γὰρ ἦν ὑβριστῆς καὶ φαῦλος. It is also inferred by the conclusion of the story: καὶ σέβεσθαι διὰ τέλους τὸν μόψον, the ruler "ever after revered Mopsus" (Babbitt (2003:481).

Demetrius refers to an interesting piece of information he picked up during his visit to Mopsus:

P480-434D: ἔχω δ' εἰπεῖν τῷ Μόψου παραγενόμενος
πρᾶγμα θαυμασιώτατον
I have to tell the most amazing story about visiting (the oracle of) Mopsus.

τῷ Μόψου → probably metonymy, *totum* (city μόψου) *pro parte* (oracular site), synecdoche; otherwise ellipse for χρηστήριον.

181 P480-434D: ἤκμαζεν (ἀκμάζω 3rd Person Aorist Active Indicative Plural): to be in full bloom, be at ones prime or perfection. Cf. Rev 14:18: καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός καὶ ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλη τῷ ἔχοντι τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὄξυ λέγων πέμψον σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὄξυ καὶ τρύγησον τοὺς βότρους τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς γῆς ὅτι ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλαὶ αὐτῆς. (NRSV: Then another angel came out from the altar, the angel who has authority over fire, and he called with a loud voice to him who had the sharp sickle, 'Use your sharp sickle and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth, for its grapes are ripe.') Cf. The use of ἤκμαζεν in Chrysostom's *In epistulam ad Colossenses (homiliae 112)* on Col 3:5–7 (Migne 2006:48, cf. 2 Sam 12:24.)

182 Demetrius visited two oracles that were still active, Mopsus and Amphilocheus. Demetrius admits, however, that this was a long time ago. Because he has been abroad for a long time since, he emphasizes that he could not make reliable statements about the present state of affairs: οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε τὰ γε νῦν (P480-434C-D).

183 P480-434D: ἡγεμῶν: ruler. This is a generic word, not denoting a specific position. In Matthew it is used to refer to Pilate, the governor who was mentioned earlier. Cf. Mat 27:11,15,21). See also Acts 26:30.

In the same passage, also part of Demetrius' story, there is a reference to the Epicureans, who "despise such things" as oracles.

P480-434D: τοῖς τοιούτοις → such things as oracles (demonstrative pronoun, referring to the phenomenon of oracles and the Epicureans' disdain for these).

5.2.38 Concern about explaining the divine away altogether

Demetrius has said enough, and Ammonius starts to share his pressing concerns.

P482-435A: ἄρτι γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῷ λόγῳ
παρεχωρήσαμεν ἐκ τῶν θεῶν τὴν μαντικὴν ἐς¹⁸⁴
δαίμονας ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι.

I still do not know exactly how it happened, but using reason we conjured the prophetic inspiration away from the gods as we transferred it to the daemons.

τὴν μαντικὴν → oracular powers transferred from gods to daemons, code 2.

5.2.38.1 Just gas, no god? (P482-435A χρηστηρίου)

Demetrius is particularly concerned about Plutarch's idea that the daemons are in their turn dependent on the availability of natural gasses.

P482-435A: νυνὶ δὲ μοι δοκοῦμεν αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐκείνους
ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἐνθένδε τοῦ χρηστηρίου καὶ
τοῦ τρίποδος εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ἀτμοὺς καὶ
ἀναθυμιάσεις τὴν τῆς μαντικῆς ἀρχὴν μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν
οὐσίαν αὐτὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἀναλύοντες.

But now it seems to me that we are thrusting out these very *daemons* in their turn, and drive them away from the oracle and the tripod here, since we banish¹⁸⁵ the source of prophetic power, yes, its very being and power, to *the realm of winds, vapours and gasses*.¹⁸⁶

τοῦ χρηστηρίου → daemons leaving oracle site, code D3.

τὴν τῆς μαντικῆς ἀρχὴν → the origins of prophecy, code 2.

184 P482-435A: ἐς is an alternative for εἰς.

185 Literally: cause to wander, unsettle (Liddell & Scott 1996:112).

186 Babbitt (2003:483) confirms this translation and also brings out the measure of despair or discomfort that Demetrius must have experienced about Plutarch's views: "But now it seems to me that we are thrusting out these very demigods, in their turn, and driving them away from the oracle and the tripod here, when we resolve the origin of prophecy, or rather its very being and power, into winds and vapours and exhalations."

5.2.38.2 Sacrifice and prayer on the oracle sites (P482-435B χρηστηρίους)

Demetrius emphasizes that making inquiries at the oracles actually costs them something, unlike Euripides and his Cyclops who sacrificed to his own belly. Demetrius seems to emphasize that they take the time to say prayers and that the sacrifices are paid to the gods and proper authorities on the site.

P482-435B: ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ θύομεν καὶ προσευχόμεθα τί
παθόντες¹⁸⁷ ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις.

And as the price that we pay on the oracle sites we actually offer
both sacrifice and prayers.

ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις → sacrifice and prayers offered at oracle site,¹⁸⁸ code D3.

He questions whether one can still speak about possession, when the human soul itself carries the prophetic power and is only stimulated by natural gasses.

P482-435B: εἰ δύναμιν μὲν ἐν ἑαυταῖς μαντικὴν αἰ ψυχὰι
κομίζουσιν ἢ δὲ κινούσα ταύτην ἀέρος τίς ἐστι κρᾶσις ἢ
πνεύματος.¹⁸⁹

Is it perhaps the temperature of the air or the wind setting this in
motion, if souls have prophetic ability by themselves?

μαντικὴν → code 2.

Demetrius elaborates on the consequences for outward signs of possession, like severe quivering, which are rendered rather useless as indicators of the presence of a god or daemon.

P484-435C: ἔὰν γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται τὸ μαντεῖον οὐ
φασὶ χρηματίζειν¹⁹⁰ εἰσάγουσι τὴν Πυθίαν.

187 The Greek text is not clear. Most manuscripts do not have παθόντες but read μαθόντες. The latter would convey that they acquired the divine responses to their queries on the site only after they had gone through the prescribed procedures of sacrifice and prayers.

188 P482-435B: ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις. Babbitt (2003:483): "whereas we offer both sacrifices and prayers as the price for our oracles," does not take ἐπὶ locally, but as "for." This is unfortunate because it seemingly introduces an oracular answer where the Greek does not suggest this. The textual context is the contrast with a Cyclops in Euripides who gained by sacrifice, as he sacrificed it not to the gods but to his own belly. The idea conveyed is that keeping the local oracle going comes with a price tag. The argument is: the Cyclops gained, but we pay.

189 Although the Greek does not necessarily suggest this, Babbitt (2003:483) connects P482-435C with bringing sacrifice and offering prayers as price for the oracles: "What possesses us to do so, if our souls carry within themselves the prophetic power, and it is some particular state of the air or its currents which stirs this to activity?" As the passage makes perfect sense without introducing "possesses us to do so," Babbitt seems to imply too much. Although ἢ κρᾶσις can be a blend or mix of things (and thus be translated as "particular state of the air"), the context of air suggests its also common meaning of "temperature of the air" (Liddell & Scott 1996:990). Rendering αἰ ψυχὰι as "our" souls is not likely in the light of its general generic use and the narrow textual context, which does not suggest that the friends were actively engaged as prophets exposed to the vapours at all.

Because unless this happens (quivering signs in Pythia), they say that the oracular procedure cannot give a response on behalf of the god when the Pythia is brought in.

τὸ μαντεῖον → oracular procedure, distinct from medium (οὐδ' εἰσάγουσι τὴν πυθίαν), code A2.

5.2.38.3 If gas only, why special Pythia? (P484-435D μαντεῖα)

Speaking about Delphi, Demetrius surmises that the gas should also be able to affect any ordinary person. If this line of thinking was true, it would be silly to continue to press for the need of a special woman for the oracle procedures.

P484-435D: ὄθεν εὐηθές ἐστι τὸ μιᾶ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὰ μαντεῖα χρῆσθαι.

Reasoned along these lines it is silly to employ one woman alone for the purpose of the oracles.

τὰ μαντεῖα → oracular procedures,¹⁹¹ code A2.

5.2.39 Activities in Delphi brought many blessings (P484-435D μαντεῖον)

Demetrius also reflects on the amount of good things this oracle in Delphi has caused on many occasions.

P484-435D: καὶ λογιζόμενος πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν τουτὶ τὸ μαντεῖον αἴτιον γέγονε τοῖς ἥλλησιν.¹⁹²

And taking into account all the good things this functioning oracle has delivered to the Greeks (cf. Rescigno (1995:463)).

τὸ μαντεῖον → specific local oracle, or local oracular activity, code A3.

5.2.40 Secondary causes: human, spiritual and natural

Philip the historian and Demetrius encourage Plutarch to respond to the concerns that have been expressed (435E). Plutarch admits that he is till somewhat confused himself, but calls on Plato and the hand of providence in material causes, to support his views (435E-436E).

190 Cf. chapter 6.2.1. Babbitt (2003:485) rather vaguely translates "the oracle is not functioning", while χρηματίζειν is a specific indication of an oracle that "gives a response" to those who consult (Liddell & Scott 1996:2005).

191 P484-435D: (ὄθεν εὐηθές ἐστι τὸ μιᾶ γυναικὶ) πρὸς τὰ μαντεῖα (χρῆσθαι). The meaning of this passage is that it is silly to consecrate one particular woman for oracle service if anyone might be affected by the gasses in a similarly productive way. Ziegler (1952:162) is less clear: "daß man für den Orakeldienst nur einer Frau bedient." Cf. Babbitt (2003:485).

192 P484-435D emphasizes the blessings of the Delphic oracle in the past. Babbitt (2003:485) shows this well: "When I take into account the number of benefactions to the Greeks for which this oracle has been responsible." So does Ziegler (1952:162): "Und wenn ich überlegte, wie viele Wohltaten dieses Orakel hier den Griechen erwiesen hat in Kriegen."

Plutarch summarizes his doctrine by stating that the material causes also involve the gods.

P492-436F: οὐ γὰρ ἄθεον ποιούμεν οὐδ' ἄλογον τὴν
μαντικὴν ὕλην μὲν αὐτῇ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ δ'
ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν οἶον
ὄργανον ἢ πλήκτρον ἀποδιδόντες.¹⁹³

For we do not contend that prophecy is without divine involvement or against reason, when we allow the soul of man to be part of its resources, with a divine breeze to enthuse it and the exhalation as it were like *wind for* the bagpipes or as a plectrum.

τὴν μαντικὴν → prophetic giftedness (code 2).

5.2.40.1 Not only gasses, but also perceptiveness required

In Plutarch's view, the right state of mind of the prophetess is of primary importance.

P498-438A: ὅταν οὖν ἀρμοστῶς ἔχη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ
πνεύματος ὥσπερ φαρμάκου κρᾶσιν ἢ φανταστικὴ καὶ
μαντικὴ δύναμις ἐν τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀνάγκη
γίγνεσθαι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν.

Whenever then the visionary and prophetic power is in harmony with the temperature of the spirit, about the same as when medicine *is taken*, inspiration in those who foretell the future is inevitable.

μαντικὴ δύναμις → code 2.

Plutarch emphasizes that prophetic power should take material signs and conditions into consideration, as otherwise the results may be devastating to the prophetess. He mentions that because of negligence in this regard a Pythia died not long ago (P498-438A).

During his discourse on this topic, Plutarch refers to what Babbitt (2003:499) translates as "to consult the oracle," but what literally reads: "consulting the god."

P498-438A: Θεοπρόπων γὰρ ἀπὸ ξένης παραγενομένων.
Because, when some arrived from abroad to consult the gods, it was said that...

θεοπρόπων → consulting the gods, per inference: the oracle.¹⁹⁴

193 Plutarch speaks here about the components of prophecy. The human soul, the supernatural influence and the natural gasses have their specific role to play in this process. The idea conveyed seems to be that the human soul receives impressions that were made possible by the presence of a demonic spirit and were made visible or audible through the presence of particular gasses from the earth. Cf. Babbitt (2003:493).

194 Babbitt (2003:499) introduces oracle in his translation. Likewise Cilento (1962:395): "consultare l'oracolo" (consulting the oracle) and Ziegler (1952:168): "Es ware Leute, die das Orakel befragen wollten, aus der Femde gekommen." Flacelière (1947:216) and Rescigno (1995:253) translate more source-orientated.

5.2.40.2 Danger of involving Pythia unprepared (P498-438B μαντεῖον)

The moral of Plutarch's story about the Pythia who died recently, is that the priests pressured the priestess unduly with an excessive amount of holy water, while she was not yet properly adjusted to receive prophetic impressions. She went down into the oracle unwillingly to attend to the oracle procedures.

P498-438B: τί οὖν συνέβη περὶ τὴν πυθίαν; κατέβη¹⁹⁵ μὲν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, ὡς φασιν, ἄκουσα¹⁹⁶ καὶ ἀπρόθυμος.
What then was the fate that met the Pythia? Although she went down to take up her role in the oracle, they say *it was* against her will and that she wasn't ready.

τὸ μαντεῖον → actual site where prophesying takes place, Pythia descends into, code A3.

Flacelière has "des consultants étant venus d'un étranger" (some had come from abroad for consultation). Rescigno also translates θεοπρόπων with "for consultation": "Raccontano che, essendo venuti da fuori alcuni messi per la consultazione." (English translation: And, it is said that, when some strangers had come from abroad for a consultation.) A more source orientated alternative in English would be the translation suggested in the main text: "because when some arrived from abroad to consult the gods, it was said that." This introduction of "oracle" is not source orientated, but has a long tradition. Cf. Herodotus *Historiae* 6.66: οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη ἐπειρωτῶντων τῶν θεοπρόπων ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημόρητον παῖδα. (Translation: Thus the Pythian prophetess, when those who were sent **to consult the god** asked her their question, gave decision that Demaratos was not the son of Ariston. Cf. Herodotus (2003:382): "**to the messengers' question**".)

Origenes, *Contra Celsum* VII.3 (Migne 2006: 217): Φησὶν οὖν· Τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ἢ Δωδωνίδων ἢ Κλαρίου ἢ ἐν Βραγχίδαϊς ἢ ἐν Ἄμμωνος ὑπὸ μυρίων τε ἄλλων θεοπρόπων προειρημένα, ὅφ' ὧν ἐπιεικῶς πᾶσα γῆ κατακίσθη, ταῦτα μὲν <ἐν> οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τίθενται· τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τῶ ἐκείνων τρόπῳ λεχθέντα ἢ μὴ λεχθέντα, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν εἶτι νῦν οἱ περὶ Φοινίκην τε καὶ Παλαιστίνην, ταῦτά γε θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀπαράλλακτα ἡγοῦνται. Translation: (Origen 1997:1212): Celsus goes on to say of us: "They set no value on the **oracles** of the Pythian priestess, of the priests of Dodona, of Clarus, of Branchidæ, of Jupiter Ammon, and of a multitude of others; although under their guidance we may say that colonies were sent forth, and the whole world peopled. But those sayings which were uttered or not uttered in Judea, after the manner of that country, as indeed they are still delivered among the people of Phœnicia and Palestine—these they look upon as marvellous sayings, and unchangeably true."

Origenes, *Contra Celsum* VII.7 (Migne 2006:219): Διόπερ ἐν οὐδενὶ μὲν τιθέμεθα λόγῳ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ἢ Δωδωνίδων ἢ Κλαρίου ἢ ἐν Βραγχίδαϊς ἢ ἐν Ἄμμωνος ἢ ὑπὸ μυρίων ἄλλων λεγομένων θεοπρόπων προειρημένα· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ προφητευσάντων τεθήπαμεν, ὁρῶντες ὅτι ἄξιός ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ἐρρωμένος καὶ εὐτονος καὶ σεμνὸς βίος πνεύματος θεοῦ, τρόπῳ προφητεύοντος καινῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντι παραπλήσιον ταῖς ἀπὸ δαιμόνων μαντεῖαις. Translation (Origen 1997:1217): "We therefore for this reason set at nought the **oracles** of the Pythian priestess, or those delivered at Dodona, at Clarus, at Branchidæ, at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, or by a multitude of other so-called prophets; whilst we regard with reverent awe the Jewish prophets: for we see that the noble, earnest, and devout lives of these men were worthy of the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, whose wonderful effects were widely different from the divination of demons."

195 The place where the Pythia became inspired was at a lower level, where the crevice was. For this reason the Pythia descended (P498-438B: κατέβη; 3rd Person Aorist Active Indicative Singular, καταβαίνω). This does not necessarily imply a steep descend, cf. John 2:12: μετὰ τοῦτο κατέβη εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. (NRSV: After this **he went down** to Capernaum with his mother, his brothers, and his disciples; and they remained there for a few days.) See also footnote on εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον below.

196 P498-438B: ἄκουσα is derived from ἄκουσιος: against the will, constrained, involuntarily (Liddell & Scott 1996:53). Cf. Num 15:28.

The reason that "μαντεῖον" is used here, probably lays in the fact that in Delphi the Pythia moved down into the actual site where the inspiration took place and where the natural gasses flowed from the earth. This was the oracular workplace, as it were, where the actual inspiration took place. As she would sit on a sacred tripod there, this in fact symbolised the centre of prophetic activity itself. This is why Cilento (1962:395) freely translates τὸ μαντεῖον with "prophetic tripod," while Flacelière (1947:216) suggests: "prophetic site."¹⁹⁷

The result of this failure of proper preparation (ἀπρόθυμος) was that the Pythia became hysterical, made her way out and threw herself down (probably from the building or the cliff). Consequently not only those who came to lay their questions before the god, but even the prophet Nikander and 'holy men' that were present fled.

P498-438B: ὥστε φυγεῖν μὴ μόνον τοὺς θεοπρόπους
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν προφήτην Νίκανδρον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας
τῶν ὁσίων.¹⁹⁸

With as result that not only those who came to ask the god ran away, but also the prophet Nikander and the holy men present.

τὸν προφήτην νίκανδρον → the prophet Nikander.¹⁹⁹

5.2.40.3 Strict regulations for Pythia (P500-438C χρηστηρίου)

To prevent this sort of thing (hysterical Pythia committing suicide) from happening again, it is important to read the signs before the oracular site, as they find themselves there, πρὸ²⁰⁰ τοῦ χρηστηρίου, or before they proceed to the actual oracle business.

197 P498-438B: κατέβη μὲν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον. The Pythia descended to attend to the prophetic activities, or more concrete, the sacred site within the oracle where this took place. The ambivalence is shown in the diversity of translations. Rescigno (1995:255) has "scese, come, nel manteion," "she went down, in the same way, in the manteion," leaving μαντεῖον un-translated. Cilento (1962:395) translates "Ella discese, sì, al tripode profetico," taking μαντεῖον to refer to the holy tripod where the prophetic action would take place. Flacelière (1947:216): "Elle ne descendit dans le lieu prophétique." (English translation: "She descended into the prophetic site.")

198 P498-438B: τῶν ὁσίων Genitive Plural Masculine, ὅσιος, set apart for divine service. Ps 51:11: ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὅτι ἐποίησας καὶ ὑπομενῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου ὅτι χρηστὸν ἐναντίον τῶν ὁσίων σου. (ANETS: I will acknowledge you forever, because of what you did., and I will wait for your name, because it is beneficial for your devout [saints].) See also Ps 78:2; 96:10; 115:6; 149:1. Particular to Delphi ὅσιος most likely refers to special priests at the site, who were probably five in number in Plutarch's day. *Quest. Gr. Ix* (Dempsey 1918:189): πέντε δὲ εἰσὶν ὅσιοι διὰ βίου (English translation: "Five holy ones are there for life.") They are distinct from prophets. See also Dempsey's appendix on the subject (1918:189-192).

199 P498-438B: τὸν προφήτην νίκανδρον. Babbitt (2003:498) translates this as "oracle interpreter". This is, however, not necessarily implied by the use of the term in *De Defectu Oraculorum*. Cilento (1962:395) follows Babbitt's approach: "si anche l'interprete dell' oracolo, Nicandro." (English translation: himself also an interpreter of the oracle.) Rescigno (1995:255) is more source-orientated: "il profeta Nicandro." Likewise Flacelière's (1947:216): "le prophète Nicandre." The translation "oracle interpreter" introduces an element of interpretation and preconceived convictions about the role of a prophet at an oracular site. It is likely that in Delphi the prophets helped to interpret the answers of the god that were delivered by the Pythia, while the priests would have been involved bringing sacrifice, preparing the Pythia and making sure that everything went according to the right ritual prescriptions.

P498/500-438C: τούτων ἔνεκα καὶ συνουσίας ἀγνὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ὅλως ἀνεπίμεικτον ἀλλοδαπαῖς ὁμίλιας καὶ ἄθικτον φυλάττουσι τῆς πυθίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ σημεῖα λαμβάνουσιν.

It is these very reasons that her body is kept free from sexual intercourse and everything in her life is aimed at avoiding contact and social intercourse with foreigners and that they also receive omens before the oracle.

χρηστηρίου → metonymy, a *concretum pro abstracto*, taking signs (abstract) for the oracular procedure at the oracle site (concrete), D2.²⁰¹

According to Plutarch the spirits, or gasses, do not equally affect all persons. Nor could it be said that the same persons are always influenced in the same way.

P500-438C: οὔτε γὰρ πάντα οὔτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ διατίθησιν ὡσαύτως ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις ἀλλ' ὑπέκκαυμα παρέχει καὶ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ εἴρηται τοῖς πρὸς τὸ παθεῖν καὶ μεταβαλεῖν οἰκείως ἔχουσιν.²⁰²

For the power of the *daemonic* spirit does not take effect in all people, neither does it always operate in those people in the same way, but, like it has been said, it supplies combustible matter and the basics to those people who are in a proper state to be affected and to undergo the change.

200 P498/500-438C: πρὸ as a preposition with the genitive case usually applies to a place (cf. Acts 5:23; 12:6), but it can also be used temporally (e.g. Luke 11:38) or to signify priority (James 5:12). Cf. Bauer & Aland (1988:1405-1406).

201 It is a widely supported view to take πρὸ τοῦ χρηστηρίου as a metonymic (*concreto pro abstractum*) reference to the oracular procedures here. Flacelière (1947:216): "avant la consultation" ("prior to the consultation"). Rescigno (1995:255) also takes this to refer not to the site, but to the procedure: "prima della consultazione" ("before the consultation"). Cilento (1962:395): "e traggono gli auspice prima di dar 'oracolo" ("and she draws the response to the request from the oracle"). However, πρὸ τοῦ χρηστηρίου could also be taken chronologically and geographically as "before they proceeded they read the signs at the oracle site." Although this interpretation might be preferable, the metonymy suggested by most authorities is reflected by the assessment code.

202 Ziegler (1952:168) emphasizes the natural giftedness of the prophet in his translation, but is not very source orientated: "Denn nicht auf alle und auch nicht auf dieselben Personen immer in der gleichen Weise wirkt die Kraft des Hauches, sondern wie schon gesagt, sie schafft eine Zündung, einen Anstoß in denen, die dafür geschaffen sind, Eindrücke zu empfangen und Wandlungen zu erheben." Flacelière (1964:188): "Car la vertu de l'exhalaison n'agit pas indifféremment sur tous et n'agit pas non plus toujours de la même manière sur les mêmes personnes; elle enflamme et anime seulement, comme je l'ai dit, ceux qui trouvent à ce moment prédisposés à cette affection et à ce changement interne." (English translation: "Because the virtue of exhalation does not act indiscriminately in all and hardly ever acts in the same way in the same people; it only ignites and animates, as I said, those who find themselves predisposed with this affection and internal change at that time.") Babbitt (2003:501) best reflects Plutarch's previous use of the term πνεύματος when he translates: "The power of the spirit does not affect all persons nor the same persons always in the same way, but it only supplies an enkindling and an inception, as has been said, for them that are in a proper state to be affected and to undergo the change." The narrow textual context does not suggest "gas" or "exhalation" for πνεύματος, but "(daemonic) spirit".

5.2.41 Climax of the perishing gods in textual context

During the last part of *De Defectu Oraculorum* Plutarch did his very best to show his friends that he still involved the gods in the oracular activities. It was not a mere natural relation of cause and effect, of prophets being affected by vapours and producing prophecies as a natural result. Behind this were the gods as primary causes, able to whirl the material word according to their bidding. For this reason the last paragraphs of *De Defectu Oraculorum* are of primary importance. Plutarch could have said here that the gods, in their providence, simply retracted their activity from some sites and bestowed their blessing on new ones and pushing secondary causes there. Plutarch, however, does not make this claim. Instead, he claims that the divine powers are perishable and mortal, in the sense that these wear out and disappear.

P500-438D: ἔστι δὲ θεία μὲν ὄντως καὶ δαιμόνιος οὐ μὴν ἀνέκλειπτος οὐδ' ἀφθαρτος οὐδ' ἀγήρωσ καὶ διαρκῆς εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον ὕφ' οὗ πάντα κάμνει τὰ μεταχὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον.²⁰³

But although *the power*²⁰⁴ is really divine and daemonic, still she is not uninterrupted, nor imperishable, or ageless and with power to last into that infinite time, which, according to our theory, wears out everything that lies between the earth and the moon.

He included his friends, κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, in saying that all things under the moon are subject to decay, including daemons and vapours. Plutarch, however, dares to take this decay even one step further, to the gods themselves.²⁰⁵ Some believe that the realm of

203 Both the gods and their servants are mentioned in P500-438D: θεία μὲν ὄντως καὶ δαιμόνιος. The power (ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις) that comes from these is perishable. Plutarch does not even put this in an understatement, but in the most obvious way, using words for gods and demons that are not open for misunderstanding in this combination. Flacelière (1964:188) brings this out in his translation: "Elle est réellement divine et démoniaque, mais non pas exempte de déclin, de corruption et de vieillissement, ni capable de résister à l'action indéfinie du temps, lequel vient à bout, selon notre sentiment, de tout ce qui est compris entre la terre et la lune." (English translation: "She [ἡ δύναμις] is really divine and demonic, but she is not exempt from the decline that corruption and ageing brings, nor able to resist the indefinite action of the time, which brings to an end, according to our feeling, everything that lies between the earth and the moon.") Ziegler (1952:168,69) agrees fully with this emphasis: "Und sie ist wahrhaft göttlich und dämonisch, aber nicht gefeit gegen Erlöschen und Vergehen noch ewig jung und fortdauernd durch die unendliche Zeit, der alles erliegt, was zwischen Erde und Mond ist, nach anderer Überzeugung." In other words, the gods are not able or willing (or both) to exercise their powers on earth in a permanent way. They cannot help being affected by the prevailing decline.

204 P500-438D: this passage reverts to ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις in the preceding sentence (see 5.2.43). This means that Babbitt's translation (2003:501) "the power of the spirit" is wrong in this textual context. In the New Testament one finds δύναμις used similarly; cf. Luke 6:19: καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐζήτουν ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ ὅτι δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο καὶ ἴατο πάντας. (NRSV: And all in the crowd were trying to touch him, for power came out from him and healed all of them.)

205 From the earlier discussion about the number of the worlds (423), it already became clear that Plutarch endorsed, or willingly contemplated, the distinction between a main god on the one hand and the other gods, and their daemons, on the other (423C/D). If so, his statements concerning the changes beyond the moon are less dramatic and are likely only to include the gods and daemons. But as the evidence could be argued either way, some would be unwilling to ascribe the concept of a main god to Plutarch. In that case these statements at the end of *De Defectu Oraculorum* are even more dramatic, because then Plutarch is effectually saying that the whole theological world as he knew it was collapsing. His close association with Apollo could be used in favour of this interpretation, because *De Defectu Oraculorum* argues its cessation of oracles particularly about this god.

corruption extends beyond the moon, to the realm of the gods. Because the gods are subject to involuntary changes under this process of withering, their influence on earth becomes limited. In other words, the gods may have to let go of the oracles because of the changes imposed on themselves. Their very mode of life and present existence are at stake.

P500-438D: εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπάνω φάσκοντες οὐχ
 ὑπομένειν ἀλλ' ἀπαυδῶντα πρὸς τὸ αἶδιον καὶ ἄπειρον
 συνεχέσι χρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς²⁰⁶ καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις.²⁰⁷
 And there are some who assert that even the things above *the*
moon do not last, but give way to the tide of eternity and
 agelessness they are bound to undergo changes and new ways of
 existence.

Directly after the statement that the gods might not be everlasting or infinite, but subject to decline and change, Plutarch concludes his speech and his book with the words:

P500-438D/E: ταῦτ' ἔφην ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἀνασκέπτεσθαι
 καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶ καὶ ἑμαυτὸν ὡς ἔχοντα πολλὰς
 ἀντιλήψεις καὶ ὑπυνοίας πρὸς τοῦναντίον ἅς ὁ καιρὸς
 οὐ παρέχει πάσας ἐπεξελεῖν ὥστε καὶ ταυθ'
 ὑπερκείσθω καὶ ἅ φίλιππος διαπορεῖ περὶ ἡλίου καὶ
 ἀπόλλωνος.²⁰⁸

206 P500-438D: the plural μεταβολαῖς (Dative Plural Feminine, μεταβολή) emphasizes that there are changes to the gods continually. The gods as people knew them change, which must have been a disturbing thought indeed.

207 P500-438D emphasizes that it is not only the forced decline of the power of the gods on earth that should be considered. The gods might be perishable themselves. Their continued existence, as mortals thought they knew them, is in doubt. Flacelière and Ziegler confirm this interpretation. Flacelière (1964:188): "Il en est même qui prétendent que les régions supérieures elles-mêmes ne sont pas à l'abri de ses atteintes et que, cédant à son éternité et à son infinité, elles subissent des transformations et des rénovations successives." (English translation: "It is even claimed by some that even the higher areas themselves are not safe from its [time's] attacks and that, yielding to its eternity and infinity, they undergo successive transformations and restorations.") Ziegler (1952:169): "Und es gibt Leute, die sagen, auch was darüber ist, habe keinen Bestand, sondern es versage gegenüber der Ewigkeit und Unendlichkeit und sei fortlaufenden Verwandlungen, Zerstörungen und Wiedergeburten unterworfen." That Plutarch himself recommends this as a serious consideration is shown by the immediate textual context. Directly after this statement he urges his readers to consider these very statements carefully (P500-438D: ταῦτ' ἔφην ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἀνασκέπτεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶ. (English translation: "I charge both you and also myself to reflect on these matters often."))

208 In Plutarch's view, the decline of divine power on earth and the possibility of decline in the heavenly realms remain matters that continue to command urgent attention from both himself and his readers. Rescigno (1995:257) brings this out in his translation of P500-438D/E: "Queste cose, dissi, esorto voi e me a trattarle spesso, convinto che presentino obiezioni e sospetti in senso contrario, che la circostanza presente non consente ora di considerare tutte. Rimangono, per questo, in sospenso, insieme a quanto si chiedeva Filippo circa il sole e Apollo." (English translation: "I exhort both you and myself to ponder these things often, convinced as I am that they call for objections and arouse suspicion, but at the moment we do not have time to deal with all of those. Consequently these are left postponed, like the question Philip asked about the sun and Apollo.") Ziegler (1952:169) agrees: "Dies, sagte ich, mahne ich euch und mich oftmals zu überdenken, da es viele Einwürfe und Hypothesen im gegenteiligen Sinne zuläßt, die alle durchzugehen die Zeit nicht gestattet. Daher möge dies aufgeschoben sein und ebenso die "Frage, die Philippos aufgeworfen hat über Helios und Apollon."

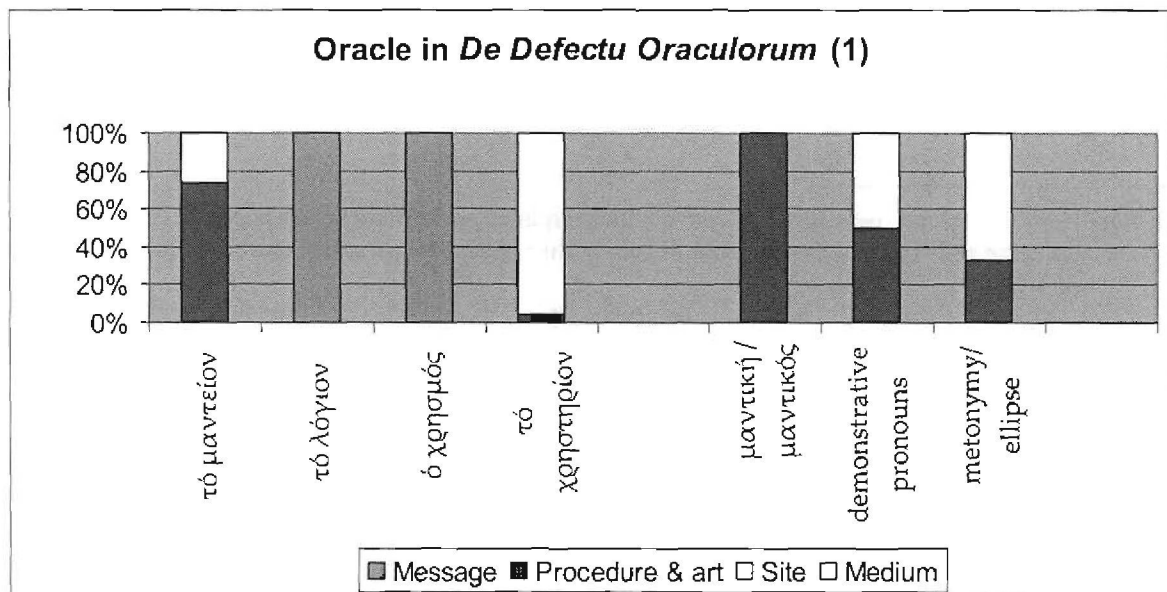
I said: "I charge both you and also myself to reflect on these matters often, as the *discussions* contained many things that were objected to and also suggestions to conclusions quite opposite, all of which the present occasion does not allow to deal with completely. So let them be postponed like Philip's inquiry about the sun and Apollo.

Suiting an author with special connections with Delphi, Plutarch's last word in *De Defectu Oraculorum* is ἀπόλλωνος, affirming that despite all that has been said and done, there should be no doubt that he still reveres the gods.

5.3 The use of "oracle" in graphics

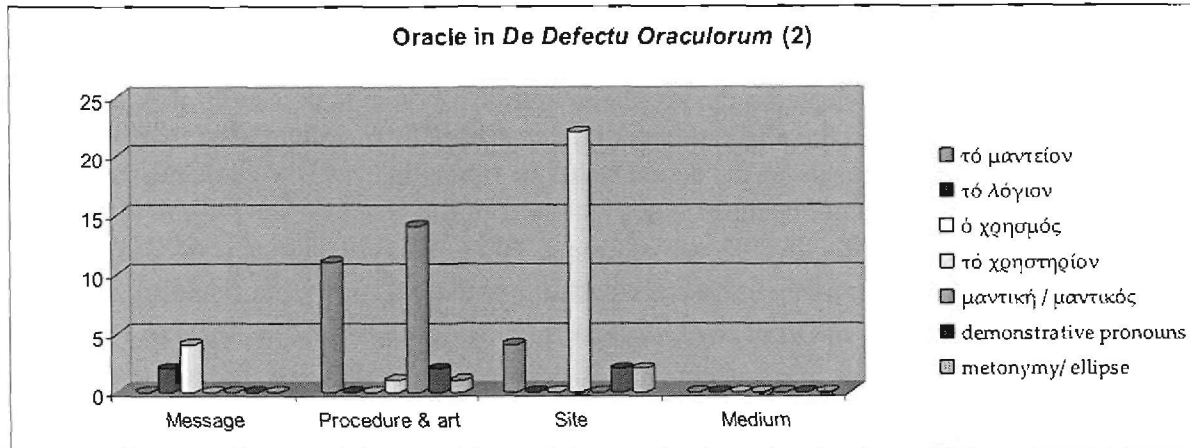
5.3.1 Oracle in *De Defectu Oraculorum* (1): use of words

The following graph shows the use of the four Greek words that have been translated as "oracle" in English. The use of μαντεῖον shows that it mainly applies to the oracular procedure and art, but that in several instances a case of metonymy may be argued. The words λόγιον and χρησμός are exclusively used for divine messages. The oracular site is almost exclusively covered by χρηστηρίον.



5.3.2 Oracle in *De Defectu Oraculorum* (2): meaning of words

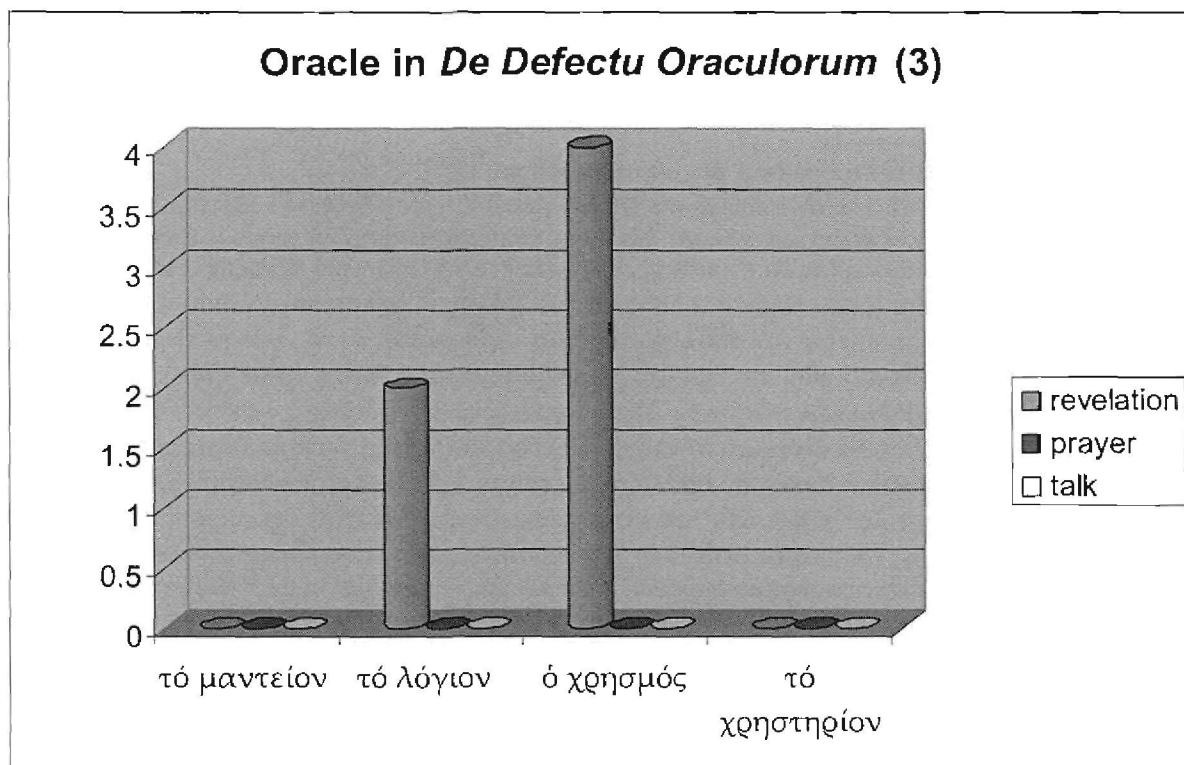
The following graph shows four definitions, the basic possibilities in meaning, and allows a brief assessment of the meaning for which each word is used. Even a superficial glance reveals that "message" is covered only by λόγιον and χρησμός. The oracular procedure is described by μαντεῖον or a derivative. The oracle site is described by χρηστηρίον. The graph also reveals an obsession of *De Defectu Oraculorum* with the phenomenon of oracle sites and activities, and a relatively mild interest in actual messages.



5.3.3 Oracle in *De Defectu Oraculorum* (3): divine communication

The following graph focuses on the actual use of the words for divine message. It is immediately clear that neither *μαντεῖον* nor *χρηστηρίον* is used in this capacity. None of the four words are ever used to describe human communication, neither vertically (prayer) or horizontally (talk).

The words *λόγιον* and *χρησμός* are exclusive vehicles of divine communication to mankind.



5.4 Conclusions about the use of oracle in *De Defectu Oraculorum*

A -τό μαντεῖον (15 times) is the most general word for oracle and associated with prophetic activity. It is mostly used to describe the prophetic activity or "magic presence" in a location, but may also directly refer to the implements used in a prophetic procedure, the inner sanctuary or indirectly to the site or the actual building where this activity takes place. In *De Defectu Oraculorum* it does not become synonymous with the result of this prophetic activity, the oracular saying. Unlike the English use of oracle, Plutarch never applies μαντεῖον to a medium. In *De Defectu Oraculorum* these are called prophet(ess) or Pythia (Delphi). The related use of the derivative of μαντεῖον, μαντική (11 times discussed) exclusively refers to prophetic giftedness or the art of prophecy, and μαντικός (3 times discussed) to the prophetic impression acquired during the exercise of μαντική.

The following working definitions are suggested:

- τό μαντεῖον: prophetic activity.²⁰⁹
- μαντικός: prophetic (cf. Liddell & Scott 1996:2080).

B -τό λόγιον (2 times) is a very specific word for oracle. In *De Defectu Oraculorum* Plutarch only uses it to describe the outcome of oracular activity, the authoritative message from the gods.²¹⁰ It is never used for the prophetic procedure, the oracle site or the medium.

The following working definition is suggested:

- τό λόγιον: oracle (cf. Liddell & Scott 1996:1056).

209 Liddell & Scott (1996:1079): "method, process of divination".

210 Corresponding use of τό λόγιον is found with Dio Cassius (1925:116). *Epitome* LXII.xviii.1ff describes the burning of the city of Rome and connects this to two prophetic pronouncements, one about the end of Rome after 900 years through strife, the second about someone who murdered his mother as the last emperor: ὁ μὲντοι δῆμος οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι οὐ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἠρᾶτο, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπολέγων, ἄλλως δὲ δὴ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσασι καταρῶμενοι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἡ μνήμη τοῦ λογίου <τοῦ> ἀτὰ τὸν Τιβέριον ποτε ἀσθέντος ἐθορύβει. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο, "τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν Ῥωμαίους ἐμφύλιος ὀλεῖ τάσις." ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Νέρων παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔπη εὔρασθαι ἔλεγε, μεταβαλόντες ἕτερον λόγιον ὡς καὶ ἰβύλλειον ὄντως ὃν ἦδον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, "ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει." καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεομαντεία τινὶ προλεχθὲν, εἴτε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀμίλου πρὸς τὰ ἀρόντα θειασθέν. Cassius Dio continues to say that Nero was indeed the last emperor of the Julian line, the line descended from Aeneas. (Translation of the wider passage by Earnest Cary in Loeb (Cassius Dio 1925:117): There was no curse that the populace did not invoke upon Nero, though they did not mention his name, but simply cursed in general terms those who had set the city on fire. And they were disturbed above all by recalling **the oracle** which once in the time of Tiberius had been on everybody's lips. It ran thus: "Thrice three hundred years having run their course of fulfilment, Rome by the strife of her people shall perish." And when Nero, by way of encouraging them, reported that these verses could not be found anywhere, they dropped them and proceeded to repeat another **oracle**, which they averred to be a genuine Sibylline prophecy, namely: "Last of the sons of Aeneas, a mother-slayer shall govern." And so it proved, whether this verse was actually spoken beforehand by some divine prophecy, or the populace was now for the first time inspired, in view of the present situation, to utter it. For Nero was indeed the last emperor of the Julian line, the line descended from Aeneas."

C -ὁ χρησμός (4 times) is a very specific word for oracle. In *De Defectu Oraculorum* Plutarch uses this word exclusively to describe the result of oracular activity, the actual response from the gods, probably referring to the format in verse. It never refers to the prophetic procedure, the oracle site or the medium.

The following working definition is suggested:

-ὁ χρησμός: oracular saying.²¹¹

D -τό χρηστηρίον, in *De Defectu Oraculorum*, usually refers to an oracular site, a locality that is known for its oracular activities. Occasionally it is used for oracular activity, probably as a *concretum pro abstracto*. It never refers to oracle as a message or to the medium.

The following working definition is suggested:

-τό χρηστηρίον: oracle site.²¹²

Generally speaking, regarding the four Greek words used for "oracle" in *De Defectu Oraculorum*:

- τό λόγιον refers to an authoritative message from the gods;
- ὁ χρησμός refers to the response of the gods to a specific inquiry;
- τό χρηστηρίον refers to the holy location singled out by the gods or daemons;
- τό μαντεῖον refers to the prophetic activity on the site.

The philological observations in this chapter also shed interesting light on the contents of *De Defectu Oraculorum*.

i. From the occurrences of the different Greek words for "oracle", one may conclude that Plutarch and his companions were not interested in specific oracular messages. The prevailing use of *χρηστηρίον* and *μαντεῖον* indicate that their debate concerned itself first and foremost with oracles as a phenomenon. This philological evidence corroborates the actual findings from the contents of *De Defectu Oraculorum* that were described in the previous chapter (4). Plutarch and his friends showed no interest in consulting what was left of the oracles, but they were keen to discuss the reasons why the formerly glorious sites had lost their glory and why oracular activity at these sites had come to an end.

ii. *De Defectu Oraculorum* claims a general *τὰ παυσάμενα τῶν χρηστηρίων* (413E, cessation of the oracle sites) and *ἐκλειψεως τῶν χρηστηρίων* (411E, 413D, vanishing of the oracle sites) in the Greco-Roman world by (the end of) the first century AD.

iii. *De Defectu Oraculorum* allows for a few, probably a handful, active oracle sites in the Greco-Roman world by the (end of the) first century AD. One of these was an active *χρηστηρίον* in Boeotia (411F). The other site that is mentioned to still have prophetic arrangements was Delphi (414B/C). In *De Defectu Oraculorum* *μαντική* is still claimed for

211 Liddell & Scott (1996:2006): "oracular response, oracle".

212 Liddell & Scott (1996:2006): "the seat of an oracle".

this sanctuary, but the site had suffered a vast decrease in popularity. Demetrius mentions two other sites (P480-434D: Mopsus and Amphilochus) for which he uses *μαντεῖον*.

iv. In three ways *De Defectu Oraculorum* implicitly doubts the relevance of the oracular activities on these remaining sites.

- Firstly, the focus of the book's discussion is on the general desolation and disappearance of oracles. The gods are retreating for some reason, so the genuine thing is available no longer and consequently the oracles no longer attract interest from the population. This is the general state of affairs and the friends do not like this. They even show a measure of anxiety about the present and nostalgia about the old days.
- Secondly, although the functionality of the remaining sites is acknowledged, fear of the gods keeps them back from discussing the effectiveness of these in great detail. The main argument is that those who still go there seem happy with the results. The last of these Mohicans still function, but no testimony about a recent oracle that really made a difference enters into the conversation. This is indicative, as the philosopher friends were quite ready to present such witness from a distant past. Although *μαντική* is still claimed for Delphi, there is no reference made to any recent specific oracle that was of any general significance, or of private use to any of the friends taking part in the debate. During the detailed course of conversation in *De Defectu Oraculorum*, at no stage either *λόγιον* or *ὁ χρησμός* is used to claim a specific oracular response for the present, the times of Plutarch and his friends. Although they allow for continued oracular activity in theory, their focus is on the general disappearance of them all.
- Thirdly, none of the friends is mentioned to actually consult the oracles themselves. Even if they did at some other stage, they do not expect a religious outcome of an oracle explaining the present situation. This suggests that the friends were interested in oracles as a religious phenomenon, but not as a practical religious reality, to seek and subject themselves to oracles as genuine authoritative communications from the gods.

v. The general argument of *De Defectu Oraculorum* is that while the *χρηστήρια* (oracle sites) were still present, *μαντεῖον* (prophetic activity) on these sites had either disappeared or did no longer result in genuine or relevant *χρησμός* (oracular saying), let alone *λόγιον* (divine statement). In the end the friends were let to believe that the reason for this was a de-consecration from above. The *χρηστήρια* fell in disrepair because they were no longer inhabited by the supernatural. Either the gods or the daemons, or both had discontinued their consecrated use. Although these remained holy sites, and continued to be called *χρηστήρια* because of the traditional involvement of the gods and daemons at those places, the true meaning had left with the disassociation of the supernatural.

vi. The fact that Plutarch and his friends continued to allow for the possibility of genuine oracles for the present, marks the theological crisis of their times, and lends credence to their observations.

vii. Indicative for the situation in *De Defectu Oraculorum* was that Plutarch was not prepared to consider human misdemeanour as cause for the cessation of the oracles. Any suggestion of

divine punishments in this regard, would only provoke the realms of glory and was socially unacceptable, even in the learned circle of Plutarch's friends. As far as they were able to assess the situation in general, the gods had ceased to speak. But however uncomfortable this situation might be, Plutarch and his friends were quite unwilling to see this as a sign of divine displeasure that was provoked by sinful human behaviour. This is paradoxical. On the one hand, the gods were experienced to be retreating or even impotent to speak any longer. On the other hand, suggesting their displeasure might provoke immediate bad luck. This indicates great uncertainty and insecurity about the extent of the involvement of the gods in human life.

viii. As the object of concern in *De Defectu Oraculorum* is the prophetic activity and seats of oracles in the Greek religion and cultural world, one should be careful not to argue a wider application of its views and conclusions for the first and second century on the basis of *De Defectu Oraculorum* only.

ix. The Oracle religion presented in *De Defectu Oraculorum* reflects a human initiative and need to receive divine direction. This requires travel to a sacred site and extensive procedures of prayer, sacrifice and preparation of the medium that are subject to strict regulations.

x. The theological crisis presented in *De Defectu Oraculorum* also reflects an economic predicament, as with the declined involvement of the gods and lack of interest in attempts to still consult the oracles the desolation was profound. The withdrawal of the gods and/or daemons and their secondary means would have caused the prophets to be fruitless and disinterested. The lack of income through inquirers, however, would have caused the ancient centres of the Greek religion to wither and disappear from lack of sustenance.

CHAPTER 6: DIVINE COMMUNICATION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, AN OVERVIEW

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6.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an introduction to the subject of Divine communication in the New Testament. It is aimed at answering the question "How did Apostolic Christianity claim that God communicated?" This general overview, which does not claim to be exhaustive but aims at the basic picture, is established from the primary sources.²¹³ It researches different ways in which God, according to the New Testament communicated, i.e. through dreams (6.2); through visions (6.3); through his prophets (6.4); through his Son (6.5) and through Holy Writ (6.6). This chapter pays attention to the adjective use of revelation (6.7) and Word of God (6.7).

213 Lexical reference is mainly based on the fully reworked and expanded Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur von Walter Bauer, by Kurt and Barbara Aland (Bauer & Aland 1988). Additional reference is made to Louw & Nida (1996), the Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (TDNT, Thayer 1977) and the classical Greek English Lexicon by Liddell & Scott (1996), which is still a standard work in many of its definitions.

6.2 God speaks through dreams (τό ὄναρ)

A dream can be popularly defined as a series of images, events and feelings that happen in your mind while you are asleep (cf. e.g. Oxford dictionary). According to the New Testament, as will be argued from the following passages in Matthew and Acts, God can break into these and pass on his message while this person is asleep.²¹⁴

6.2.1 Occurrences of ὄναρ in the New Testament

Joseph, Mary's future husband, received a message from God in a dream.

Matt 1:20: ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος ἰδοῦ ἄγγελος κυρίου **κατ' ὄναρ** ἐφάνη αὐτῷ λέγων Ἰωσήφ υἱὸς Δαυὶδ μὴ φοβηθῆς παραλαβεῖν Μαρίαν τὴν γυναῖκά σου τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἔστιν ἁγίου. (NRSV: But just when he had resolved to do this, an angel of the Lord appeared to him **in a dream** and said, 'Joseph, son of David, do not be afraid to take Mary as your wife, for the child conceived in her is from the Holy Spirit.)

Wise men from the East who came to worship the newborn king of the Jews received divine warning that they should not pay another visit to King Herod.

Matt 2:12: καὶ χρηματισθέντες **κατ' ὄναρ** μὴ ἀνακάμψαι πρὸς Ἡρώδην δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. (NRSV: And having been warned **in a dream** not to return to Herod, they left for their own country by another road.)

After Jesus' birth Joseph received divine direction in a dream to go to Egypt.

Matt 2:13: ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδοῦ ἄγγελος κυρίου φαίνεται **κατ' ὄναρ** τῷ Ἰωσήφ λέγων ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ φεῦγε εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἴσθι ἐκεῖ ἕως ἂν εἶπω σοι μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό. (NRSV: Now after they had left, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph **in a dream** and said, 'Get up, take the child and his mother, and flee to Egypt, and remain there until I tell you; for Herod is about to search for the child, to destroy him.'))

After Herod's death Joseph received another message from God in a dream.

Matt 2:19-20: τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἰδοῦ ἄγγελος κυρίου φαίνεται **κατ' ὄναρ** τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λέγων ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ πορεύου εἰς γῆν Ἰσραὴλ τεθνήκασιν γὰρ οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. (NRSV: When Herod died, an angel of the Lord suddenly appeared **in a dream** to Joseph in Egypt and said, 'Get up, take the child and his mother, and go to the land of Israel, for those who were seeking the child's life are dead.')

In the same manner Joseph received further direction to specifically settle in Galilee.

Matt 2:21-22: ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς παρέλαβεν τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς γῆν Ἰσραὴλ ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδου ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν χρηματισθεὶς δὲ **κατ' ὄναρ** ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας. (NRSV: Then Joseph got up, took the child and his mother, and went to the land of Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus was ruling over

214 Bauer & Aland (1988:1155) define ὄναρ as dream. Cf. Louw & Nida (1996, section 33.486) Thayer (1977/5:371,706): "1) that which is seen, spectacle 2) a sight divinely granted in an ecstasy or in a sleep, a vision." Liddell & Scott (1996:1230) define ὄναρ as "dream, vision in sleep, opp. a waking vision."

Judea in place of his father Herod, he was afraid to go there. And after being warned **in a dream**, he went away to the district of Galilee.)

While Governor Pontius Pilate was judging Jesus, he was warned by his wife not to harm him, as she had received a dream about him.

Matt 27:19: καθημένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ λέγουσα μηδὲν σοὶ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον σήμερον **κατ' ὄναρ** δι' αὐτόν. (NRSV: While he was sitting on the judgement seat, his wife sent word to him, 'Have nothing to do with that innocent man, for today I have suffered a great deal because of a dream about him.')

When Peter explains the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost, he quotes the prophet Joel as foreseeing a time when God will speak in dreams and visions and bestow the gift of prophecy on his people.

Acts 2:17: καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις λέγει ὁ θεὸς ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν **ὄρασις** ὄψονται καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίοις ἐνυπνιασθήσονται. (NRSV: In the last days it will be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.)

6.2.2 Conclusion about dreams in the New Testament

These occurrences (6.2) show that Apostolic Christianity accepted special dreams (κατ' ὄναρ) as a vehicle of divine communication. They are given to God's people or those who have the interests of his kingdom at heart. Angels play a mediating role. All incidents in Matthew concern specific warnings or directions for the person who received the dream and for his close relatives or friends. For this reason dreams in the New Testament should be regarded as personal revelation, primarily a tool to give personal direction, rather than authoritative revelation for the Church as a whole.²¹⁵ The term used in Acts 2:17 (ἡ ὄρασις) is not a dream as such,²¹⁶ but a general term for something that is shown (cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:1170). This may include dreams but vision would be a more appropriate translation in Acts 2:17.

6.3 God speaks in visions (τό ὄραμα; ἡ ὀπτασία)

The regular dictionary definition for vision is not helpful to appreciate its religious meaning and value. The Advanced Oxford (1989:1423) does more than most, defining it as "a dream or similar trance-like state, often associated with religious experience." However, even this definition tends to confuse vision and dream. It also treats vision as a state rather than a message. A vision in New Testament terms may be best defined as a picturesque or movie-

215 Dreams did, however, take on this role of authoritative revelation for the apostolic community indirectly as the accounts of these divinely inspired dreams were included in Holy Scripture. E.g. Cox Miller 1988: 327-338, Deere 1993 (& 1996:53-56, 144-150, 217-32), Gnuse (1990:97-120), Homrighausen (1943:16-21). Zeitlin (1975:1-18).

216 Louw & Nida's lexicon confirms that ὄρασις as such is not a dream and grants only the meanings "appearance" (1996:24.31) and "vision" (1996:33.488). Thayer (TDNT: 5:370,706) defines it as: "1) the act of seeing; 1a) the sense of sight, the eyes 2) appearance, visible form 3) a vision 3a) an appearance divinely granted in an ecstasy or dream." Liddell & Scott (1996:1244): "A. *seeing, the act of sight*, 2. pl., eyes, II. *a vision*, III. *Appearance*."

like revelation from another dimension that a person receives when he is awake.²¹⁷ Although those who receive visions (ὄραμα) or appearances (ὄπτασία) in the New Testament (e.g. Acts 10:3) may be in a meditative state, without exception they are awake when they actually see it.

6.3.1 Occurrences of ὄραμα and ὄπτασία in the New Testament

After Jesus' transfiguration on a high mountain into a radiant white appearance (Moses and Elijah also appearing on the scene) he warns his disciples not to speak to anyone about this glimpse into the heavenly realms. Matt 17:9: καὶ καταβαινόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰησοῦς λέγων, μηδενὶ εἶπητε τὸ ὄραμα ἕως οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερεθῆ. (NRSV: As they were coming down the mountain, Jesus ordered them, 'Tell no one about the **vision** until after the Son of Man has been raised from the dead.'))

It was John the Baptist's father Zacharias who was shocked out of his wits when an angel suddenly appeared to him, while he was serving in the temple.

Luke 1:22: ἐξελθὼν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύνατο λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν ὅτι ὄπτασίαν ἑώρακεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν διανεύων αὐτοῖς, καὶ διέμενε κωφός. (NRSV: When he did come out, he could not speak to them, and they realized that he had seen a **vision** in the sanctuary. He kept motioning to them and remained unable to speak.)

On the day of Jesus' resurrection a group of women was confronted with the appearance of angels who told them that Jesus was alive.

Luke 24:23: καὶ μὴ εὐροῦσαι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἦλθον λέγουσαι καὶ ὄπτασίαν ἀγγέλων ἑωρακεῖναι, οἳ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ζῆν. (NRSV: and when they did not find his body there, they came back and told us that they had indeed seen a **vision** of angels who said that he was alive.)

When Saul was converted on the road to Damascus, the Lord spoke to his disciple Ananias in a vision to go to the former persecutor of Christians.

Acts 9:10: ἦν δὲ τις μαθητῆς ἐν δαμασκῷ ὀνόματι ἀνανίας, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ὄραματι ὁ κύριος, ἀνανία. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, κύριε. (NRSV: Now there was a disciple in Damascus named Ananias. The Lord said to him in a **vision**, 'Ananias.' He answered, 'Here I am, Lord.'))

The same is referred to in the following passage.

Acts 9:12: καὶ εἶδεν ἄνδρα [ἐν ὄραματι]²¹⁸ ἀνανίαν ὀνόματι εἰσελθόντα καὶ ἐπιθέντα αὐτῷ [τὰς] χεῖρας ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃ. (NRSV: and he has seen in a **vision** a man named Ananias come in and lay his hands on him so that he might regain his sight.)

217 Liddell & Scott (1996:1244) define ὄραμα: "that which is seen, a sight, spectacle."

218 The exclusion or inclusion of ἐν ὄραματι (Acts 9:12) is disputed. By means of the letters A, B, C, D (enclosed within braces {}) at the beginning of each set of textual variants the UBS committee indicates the relative degree of certainty it attaches to a reading. For the inclusion the members felt a considerable degree of doubt (C), but this concerns the order of the words (cf. Metzger 1983:363-364, Nestle-Aland 1988:346). Inclusion of ἐν ὄραματι as such is better attested in the manuscripts. The matter is of no consequence as all manuscripts agree that God revealed to Ananias ἐν ὄραματι on this occasion in Acts 9:10; cf. Nestle-Aland (1988:346), UBS (1975:449).

In Caesarea, the Roman centurion Cornelius, who believed in God, received a vision at the time of afternoon prayer. An angel of God told him to send messengers to a man called Peter in a seaside town.

Acts 10:3: εἶδεν ἐν ὄραματι φανερώς ὡσεὶ περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην τῆς ἡμέρας ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντα αὐτῷ, κορνήλιε. (NRSV: One afternoon at about three o'clock he had a **vision** in which he clearly saw an angel of God coming in and saying to him, 'Cornelius.')

God prepared the apostle Peter for the arrival of Cornelius' messengers with a vision about the acceptability of Gentile (non-Jewish) believers in the eyes of God.

Acts 10:17: ὡς δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ διηπόρει ὁ πέτρος τί ἂν εἴη τὸ ὄραμα ὃ εἶδεν, ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κορνηλίου διερωτήσαντες τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ σίμωνος ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πυλῶνα. (NRSV: Now while Peter was greatly puzzled about what to make of the **vision** that he had seen, suddenly the men sent by Cornelius appeared. They were asking for Simon's house and were standing by the gate.)

This is referred to again.

Acts 10:19: τοῦ δὲ πέτρου διενθυμουμένου περὶ τοῦ ὄραματος εἶπεν [αὐτῷ] τὸ πνεῦμα, ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες τρεῖς ζητοῦντές σε. (NRSV: While Peter was still thinking about the **vision**, the Spirit said to him, 'Look, three men are searching for you.')

Peter gives more detail about the experience in his subsequent account to the other apostles. The vision took Peter up in trance, out of himself, to a different reality.

Acts 11:5: ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν πόλει ἰόππη προσευχόμενος καὶ εἶδον ἐν ἑκστάσει ὄραμα, καταβαῖνον σκευὸς τι ὡς ὀθόνην μεγάλην τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς καθιεμένην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν ἄχρι ἐμοῦ. (NRSV: I was in the city of Joppa praying, and in a trance I saw a **vision**. There was something like a large sheet coming down from heaven, being lowered by its four corners; and it came close to me.)

When Peter ends up in jail, he was rescued by an angel. He initially thought that it was another vision that took him out of the bitter realities of impending execution for a few sweet moments of trance and vision. It was, however, no ὄραμα, but happening in front of his eyes as he followed the angel out of prison.

Acts 12:9: καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἠκολούθει, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν τὸ γινόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἐδόκει δὲ ὄραμα βλέπειν. (NRSV: Peter went out and followed him; he did not realize that what was happening with the angel's help was real; he thought he was seeing a **vision**.)

After a period of searching God's direction as to where they should travel next, the apostle Paul received a divine reply by means of a vision.

Acts 16:9: καὶ **ὄραμα** διὰ [τῆς] νυκτὸς τῷ παύλῳ ὤφθη, ἀνὴρ μακεδῶν τις ἦν ἐστὼς καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων, διαβάς εἰς μακεδονίαν βοήθησον ἡμῖν. (NRSV: During the night Paul had a **vision**: there stood a man of Macedonia pleading with him and saying, 'Come over to Macedonia and help us.')

The same divine travel direction to Paul and his companions is referred to in the following passage.

Acts 16:10: ὡς δὲ τὸ **ὄραμα** εἶδεν, εὐθέως ἐζητήσαμεν ἐξελεθῆναι εἰς μακεδονίαν, συμβιβάζοντες ὅτι προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτούς. (NRSV: When he had seen the **vision**, we immediately tried to cross over to Macedonia, being convinced that God had called us to proclaim the good news to them.)

After a series of persecutions by unbelieving Jews all along his missionary journey, Paul is encouraged by a vision that contains a special word of comfort and prophecy of well being for his ministry in the Greek city of Corinth.

Acts 18:9-10: εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος ἐν νυκτὶ δι' **ὄραματος** τῷ παύλῳ, μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀλλὰ λάλει καὶ μὴ σιωπήσης, διότι ἐγὼ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιθήσεται σοὶ τοῦ κακῶσαι σε, διότι λαὸς ἐστὶ μοι πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ. (NRSV: One night the Lord said to Paul in a **vision**, 'Do not be afraid, but speak and do not be silent; for I am with you, and no one will lay a hand on you to harm you, for there are many in this city who are my people.')

After a long period of imprisonment and several attempts on his life, Paul receives the opportunity to give account of his conversion to King Agrippa in Caesarea. What happened to him on the road to Damascus (the flash of light and the voice from heaven, cf. Acts 9:3-6) he describes as **ὄπτασία**.

Acts 26:19-20: ὅθεν, βασιλεῦ ἀγρίππα, οὐκ ἐγενόμην ἀπειθῆς τῇ οὐρανίῳ **ὄπτασίᾳ**, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν δαμασκῶ πρώτῳ τε καὶ ἱεροσολύμοις, πᾶσάν τε τὴν χώραν τῆς ἰουδαίας καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπήγγελλον μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα πράσσοντας. (NRSV: 'After that, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly **vision**, but declared first to those in Damascus, then in Jerusalem and throughout the countryside of Judea, and also to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God and do deeds consistent with repentance.)

In his second letter to the Corinthians Paul puts **ὄπτασία** in a context of divine revelation.

2 Cor 12:1: καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ οὐ συμφέρον μὲν, ἐλεύσομαι δὲ εἰς **ὄπτασίας** καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις κυρίου. (NRSV: It is necessary to boast; nothing is to be gained by it, but I will go on to **visions** and revelations of the Lord.)

The Book of Revelation contains a series of visions, while John was "in the Spirit" on the isle of Patmos, where he was exiled (cf. Rev 1:9-10). After John's introduction that his book bears a visionary character, these visions as such are described in general terms (of seeing what is displayed and hearing the voices that speak). Just once the word "vision" is used.

Rev 9:17: καὶ οὕτως εἶδον τοὺς ἵππους ἐν τῇ ὄρασει καὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἔχοντας θώρακας πυρίνους καὶ ὑακινθίνους καὶ θειώδεις· καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων ὡς κεφαλαὶ λεόντων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν ἐκπορεύεται πῦρ καὶ καπνὸς καὶ θεῖον. (NRSV: And this was how I saw the horses in my vision: the riders wore breastplates the colour of fire and of sapphire and of sulphur; the heads of the horses were like lions' heads, and fire and smoke and sulphur came out of their mouths.)

6.3.2 Conclusion about the use of vision in the New Testament

The New Testament uses two words for vision that each have a distinct meaning, viz. ὄπτασία and ὄραμα. The use of ὄπτασία²¹⁹ (cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:1168) suggests the translation "appearance", either of angels or of the risen Christ. The more general word for vision as a sensory entrance into a different reality, which is shown to the receiver while awake, is ὄραμα (cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:1169). Like in dreams, angels may play a mediating role in the revelation received through ὄραμα. While in ὄπτασία God or his messengers enter earthly reality, in ὄραμα the human person is granted a vision into divine realities. The word that is generally translated with "vision" in Revelation 9:17 (ἡ ὄρασις, cf. Acts 2:17) is a general term for sight or for something that is shown (cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:1170).

6.4 God speaks through his prophets

Apostolic Christianity taught that God spoke through his prophets (ὁ προφήτης, 6.4.1). The process of prophesying is described by the verb προφητεύω (6.4.2).

6.4.1 The New Testament use of prophet (ὁ προφήτης)

A prophet (ὁ προφήτης) in New Testament terms is someone who speaks for God and interprets his will. In other words: a reliable spokesperson for God. Bauer & Aland (1988:1448-1449) describe the prophet as a "Verkündiger und Ausleger d. göttl. Offenbarung."²²⁰ A true prophet is contrasted with a pseudo-prophet (ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης).

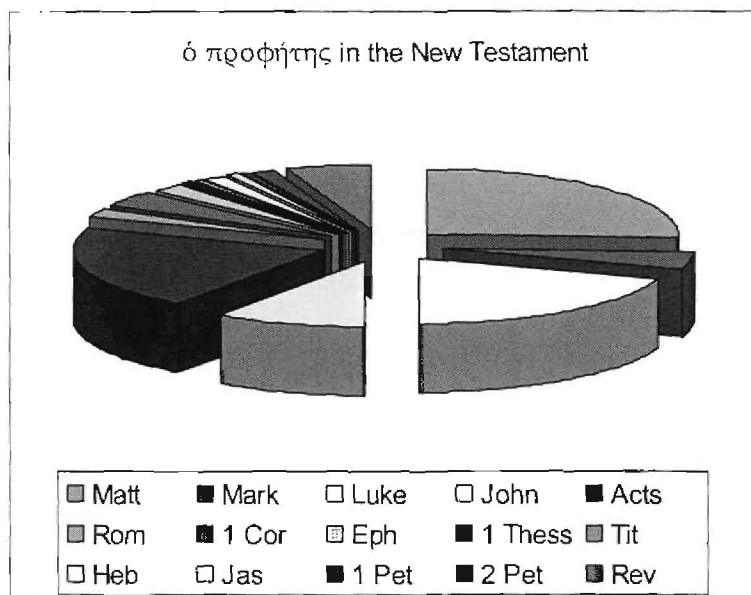
219 Liddell & Scott (1996:1242) define ὄπτασία as "vision" or "appearance," suggesting the exclusive use of the latter for the Septuagint. This use is continued in the New Testament. Louw & Nida (1996:33.488) failed to recognize this.

220 The Encyclopaedia to the Master's Study Bible (Holman 1983:1713) gives an excellent definition of a prophet: "One who speaks forth, to individuals or to nations, a message which he has himself received directly from God." This is consistent with its Old Testament use. In the Old Testament God communicated to these messengers by voice (e.g. Exod 6:13,29; Josh 3:7; 1 Sam 3:4-14), but also through dreams and visions (Num 12:6; 1 Chr 17:15; 2 Chr 26:5; Isa 6:1-9; Dan 7:13-15; Hos 12:10; Joel 2:28). Cf. Louw & Nida (1996:53.79). Thayer (1977/6:781,952): "1) in Greek writings, an interpreter of oracles or of other hidden things; 2) one who, moved by the Spirit of God and hence his organ or spokesman, solemnly declares to men what he has received by inspiration, especially concerning future events, and in particular such as relate to the cause and kingdom of God and to human salvation; 2a) the OT prophets, having foretold the kingdom, deeds and death, of Jesus the Messiah. 2b) of John the Baptist, the herald of Jesus the Messiah 2c) of the illustrious prophet, the Jews expected before the advent of the Messiah; 2d) of the Messiah; 2e) of men filled with the Spirit of God, who by God's authority and command in words of weight pleads the cause of God and urges salvation of men; 2f) of prophets that appeared in the apostolic age among Christians; 2f1) they are associated with the apostles; 2f2) they discerned and did what is best for the Christian cause, foretelling certain future events. (Act 11:27); 2f3) in the religious assemblies of the Christians, they were moved by the Holy Spirit to speak, having power to instruct, comfort, encourage, rebuke, convict, and stimulate, their hearers; 3) a poet (because poets were believed to sing under divine inspiration) 3a) of Epimenides (Tit 1:12)."

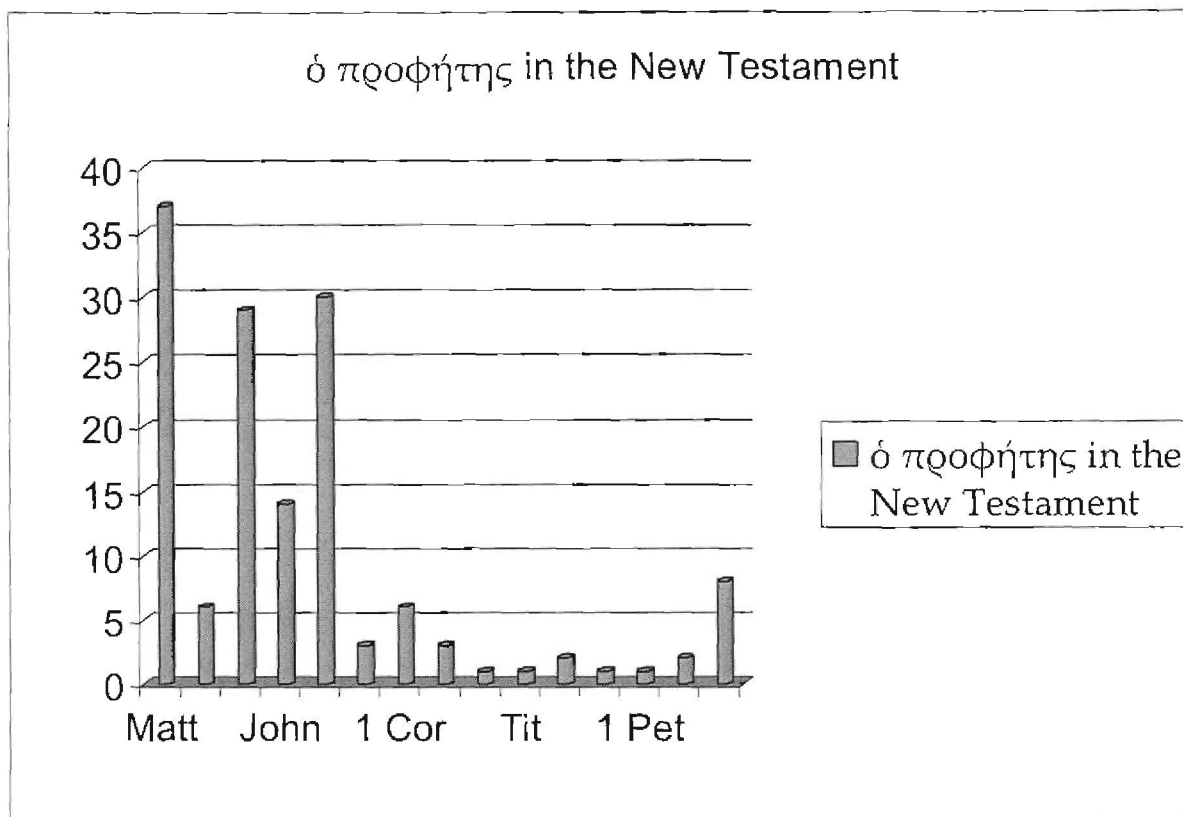
The term prophet in Apostolic Christianity refers to both prophets of the Old Testament and New Testament period. This is evident from Matthew's Gospel. He mentions προφήτης as a reference to the Old Testament prophets (Matt 1:22, 2:5, 2:15, 2:17, 3:3, 4:14, 8:17, 12:17,12:39, 13:35, 16:4,21:4, 24:15, 27:9, 27:35), but also as a contemporary phenomenon (Matt 10:41,11:9, 13:57,14:5, 21:26, 21:46). A similar use, covering both present and past is found in Mark, Luke and John (cf. Mark 6:4, 6:15,11:32, 13:14,1:76, 3:4, 4:17, 4:24, 4:27, 7:16, 7:26, 7:28, 7:39, 11:29, 13:33, 20:6, 24:19; John 1:21,1:23,1:25, 4:19, 4:44, 6:14, 7:40, 7:52, 9:17, 12:38; Acts 2:16, 2:30, 3:22, 3:23, 7:37, 7:48, 8:28, 8:30, 8:34, 13:6, 13:20, 21:10, 28:25; 1 Cor 14:37; Tit 1:12; 2 Pet 2:16; Rev 16:13, 19:20, 20:10.)

6.4.1.1 New Testament use of prophet in graphics

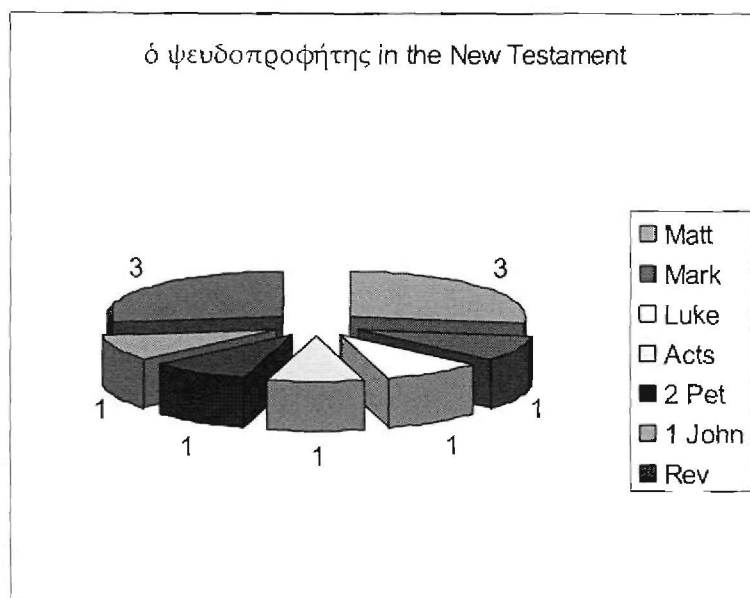
The use of προφήτης in the New Testament shows that the term is especially popular in the narrative portions that form the greater part of the New Testament. The Gospels comprise nearly half of the Greek text of the New Testament and are thus over represented, as is Acts of the Apostles. Revelation describes developments in the heavenly realms and of a cosmic nature.



The high incidence of prophets in the more narrative and historic portions of the New Testament emphasizes that a prophet functions as part of the interaction between God and men, the terrain of history where the Word of God meets with the world and everyday human life. The following graph shows the numerical spread of these occurrences.



Like προφήτης, the morphologically related ψευδοπροφήτης occurs predominantly in the Gospels, Acts and Revelation, as Jesus and the apostles warn their followers against the danger of those who claim to speak on God's behalf, but don't. The letters 2 Peter and 1 John are especially concerned with the danger of teaching that disagrees with Apostolic Christianity. Not surprisingly, ψευδοπροφήτης is also raised in this textual context.

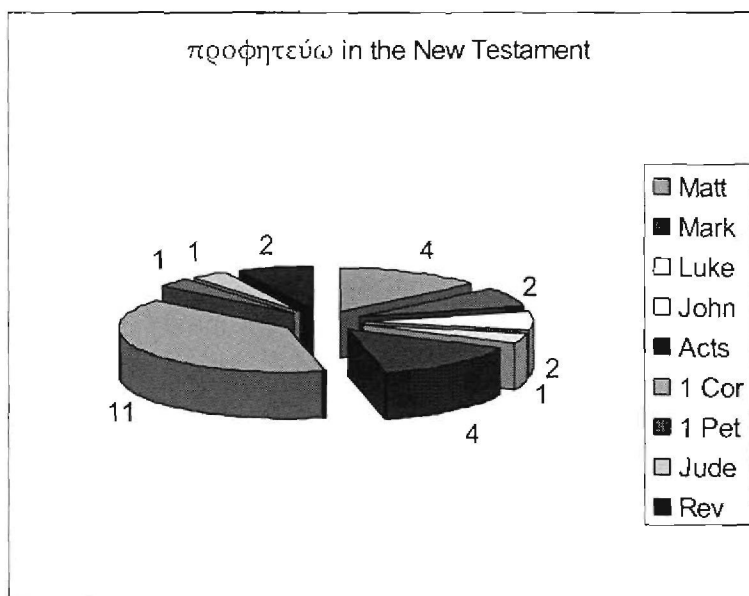


6.4.2 The New Testament use of prophecy (προφητεύω)

Related to the office of prophet is the verb προφητεύω, to prophesy. Bauer & Aland (1988: 1447-1448) give as its main definition: "Gottesoffenbarung verkündigen."²²¹ It may also be applied to "Verborgenes prophetisch enthüllen" and "zukünftiges voraussagen, weissagen." All definitions show a strong link with divine revelation. True prophecy is a gift with a divine origin. Mankind does not possess it naturally (see also 6.7 below). Paul discusses the gift-character and the importance of prophecy extensively in 1 Corinthians 14. It was a gift that was to be eagerly desired (1 Cor 14:1). Women may be prophetically gifted as well (cf. Acts 21:8-9; 1 Cor 11:5).²²² Prophecy was seen as a necessary and reliable, but also as a limited way to receive knowledge of God and his will. (1 Cor 13:9: ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν. NRSV: For our knowledge is imperfect and our prophecy is imperfect.) The great day of Christ's return and the arrival of a new heaven and earth with righteousness and the fullness of God was awaiting.

6.4.2.1 The New Testament use of προφητεύω in graphics

As with προφήτης and ψευδοπροφήτης the verb προφητεύω (to prophesy) is similarly spread among the Gospels, Acts and Revelation. The high incidence in 1 Corinthians coincides with a doctrinal and practical treatise on prophesying in Christian congregations. Both 1 Peter and Jude have a doctrinal emphasis against false teaching and faithfulness to apostolic teaching.



221 Thayer's definition is still helpful (1977: 6:781,952): "1) to prophesy, to be a prophet, speak forth by divine inspirations, to predict

1a) to prophesy

1b) with the idea of foretelling future events pertaining especially to the kingdom of God

1c) to utter forth, declare, a thing which can only be known by divine revelation

1d) to break forth under sudden impulse in lofty discourse or praise of the divine counsels

1d1) under like prompting, to teach, refute, reprove, admonish, comfort others

1e) to act as a prophet, discharge the prophetic office." Cf. Louw & Nida (1996: 33.58,53.79).

222 In another context (i.e. corporate worship) Paul writes that it is the Lord's command (κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή) that women are not allowed to "speak" in the worship service (1 Cor 14:33-38). This cannot, however, be understood in such a way that women did not use the gift of prophecy.

6.4.3 Conclusion about God speaking through his prophets

The New Testament use of *προφήτης* and *προφητεύω* marks this activity as God's way of using people to make his will and plans known. While in dreams and visions God communicates with a "video-like experience", including pictures and words, prophecy is restricted to verbal communication. God takes the initiative in using people to speak on his behalf. It is treated as a gift from God that believers should eagerly desire as they seek the mind of God, individually and as a congregation. Its centre of activity is where God and human beings meet in real life.

6.5 God speaks through his Son

The theme of God speaking through his Son may be aptly described as Jesus' prophetic office. According to the writers of the New Testament Jesus was a prophet, because he spoke for God and interpreted his will. The discussion about Jesus being a prophet, whether he is a reliable spokesman for God or not, features greatly in the Gospels. (E.g. Matt 21:11: οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι ἔλεγον οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρεθ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. NRSV: And the crowds said, "This is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth of Galilee.") Jesus reckoned himself among the prophets. (John 4:44: αὐτὸς γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι προφήτης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει. NRSV: For Jesus himself testified that a prophet has no honour in his own country.)

At the same time Jesus was regarded as more than a prophet. This will be elaborated on in chapter 9. The main point discussed here is that according to Apostolic Christianity God's revelation reached its climax in the incarnation and ministry of his Son, Jesus. The prominence of his person and teaching in the Gospels and Epistles gives evidence of this.

The author of Colossians advocates the thought that Jesus was the Word of God through whom the world was created. (Col 1:15-20:15 ὃς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται, καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν. καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὃς ἐστὶν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν παῖσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, [δι' αὐτοῦ] εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. NRSV: He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities -- all things were created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together. He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in everything he might be pre-eminent. For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross.)

Jesus is also specifically referred to as "the Word of God" on several occasions.

John describes him as the Word of God that is also to be identified with God, pre-existent before the history of the world enveloped. (John 1:1: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν

πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. NRSV: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.)

John describes the incarnation as the culmination of God's involvement in human affairs. (John 1:14: καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. NRSV: And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father.)

The author of Hebrews describes God's various ways of speaking through all sorts of prophets as compared to his communication climax in Jesus Christ. (Heb 1:1-4: πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ, ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας· ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καθαρισμόν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, τοσοῦτω κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσω διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα. NRSV: In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, whom he appointed the heir of all things, through whom also he created the world. He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by his word of power. When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, having become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs.)

In the Book of Revelation, Christ appears in a vision as a heavenly general who will judge the world. (Rev 19:13: καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι, καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. NRSV: He is clad in a robe dipped in blood, and the name by which he is called is The Word of God.)

6.5.1 Conclusion about God's speaking through Jesus

Apostolic Christianity considered the incarnation and ministry of Jesus, the Son of God, on earth as the climax of God's communicative relationship with this world.

6.6 God speaks through Scripture (ἡ γραφή and γέγραπται)

“Scripture” is the written record of God's revelation. The New Testament uses several ways to directly refer to and quote from Scripture. The words γραφή (Bauer 1988:332, Liddell and Scott 1996:359-360) and γέγραπται (Bauer & Aland 1988:332-334, Liddell & Scott 1996:360) function prominently in those references.

6.6.1 New Testament use of γραφή

In the Gospels and Acts the events around Jesus Christ are interpreted in the light of the prophecies contained in Scripture, referring to books of what we now know as the Old Testament, and usually quoted from the LXX. The necessity of the fulfilment of God's plans is emphasized. The following Scripture portions make this evident:

Mark 12:10: οὐδὲ τὴν **γραφήν** ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε, λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. (NRSV: Have you not read this **scripture**: “The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone.)

Mark 15:28: καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἡ **γραφή** ἣ λέγουσα καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη. (NRSV: And the **scripture** was fulfilled that says, ‘And he was counted among the lawless.’)

Luke 4:21: ἤρξατο δὲ λέγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι σήμερον πεπλήρωται ἡ **γραφή** αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν. (NRSV: Then he began to say to them, ‘Today this **scripture** has been fulfilled in your hearing.’)

John 2:22: ὅτε οὖν ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐμνήσθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τοῦτο ἔλεγεν, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν τῇ **γραφῇ** καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ὃν εἶπεν ὁ ἰησοῦς. (NRSV: After he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this; and they believed the **scripture** and the word that Jesus had spoken.)

John 7:38: ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ **γραφή**, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. (NRSV: and let the one who believes in me drink. As the **scripture** has said, “Out of the believer’s heart shall flow rivers of living water.”)

John 7:42: οὐχ ἡ **γραφή** εἶπεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος δαυὶδ, καὶ ἀπὸ βηθλέεμ τῆς κώμης ὅπου ἦν δαυὶδ, ἔρχεται ὁ χριστὸς. (NRSV: Has not the **scripture** said that the Messiah is descended from David and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David lived?)

John 10:35: εἰ ἐκείνους εἶπεν θεοὺς πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ **γραφή**. (NRSV: If those to whom the word of God came were called “gods”—and the **scripture** cannot be annulled.)

John 13:18: οὐ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν λέγω· ἐγὼ οἶδα τίνες ἐξελεξάμην· ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἡ **γραφή** πληρωθῇ, ὃ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπῆρεν ἐπ’ ἐμέ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ. (NRSV: I am not speaking of all of you; I know whom I have chosen. But it is to fulfil the **scripture**, “The one who ate my bread has lifted his heel against me.”)

John 17:12: ὅτε ἦμην μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, καὶ ἐφύλαξα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἵνα ἡ **γραφή** πληρωθῇ. (NRSV: While I was with them, I protected them in your name that you have given me. I guarded them, and not one of them was lost except the one destined to be lost, so that the **scripture** might be fulfilled.)

John 19:24: εἶπαν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μὴ σχίσωμεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνος ἔσται· ἵνα ἡ **γραφή** πληρωθῇ [ἡ λέγουσα], διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ταῦτα ἐποίησαν. (NRSV: So they said to one another, ‘Let us not tear it, but cast lots for it to see who will get it.’ This was to fulfil what the **scripture** says, ‘They divided my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots.’)

John 19:28: μετὰ τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται, ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφή, λέγει, διψῶ. (NRSV: After this, when Jesus knew that all was now finished, he said (in order to fulfil the **scripture**), 'I am thirsty.')

John 19:36: ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῇ, ὅστοῦν οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ. (NRSV: These things occurred so that the **scripture** might be fulfilled, 'None of his bones shall be broken.')

John 19:37: καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφή λέγει, ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν. (NRSV: And again another passage of scripture says, 'They will look on the one whom they have pierced.')

John 20:9: οὐδέπω γὰρ ἤδεισαν τὴν γραφὴν ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι. (NRSV: for as yet they did not understand the **scripture**, that he must rise from the dead.)

Acts 1:16: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ἣν προεῖπεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος δαυὶδ περὶ ἰούδα τοῦ γενομένου ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῦσιν ἰησοῦν. (NRSV: 'Friends, the **scripture** had to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit through David foretold concerning Judas, who became a guide for those who arrested Jesus.)

Acts 8:32: ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς ἣν ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἦν αὕτη· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. (NRSV: Now the passage of the **scripture** that he was reading was this: 'Like a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and like a lamb silent before its shearer, so he does not open his mouth.)

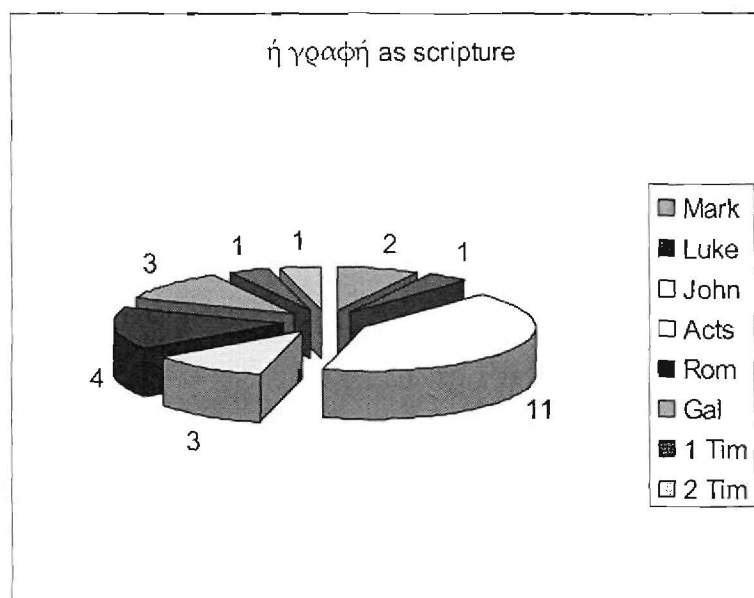
Acts 8:35: ἀνοίξας δὲ ὁ φίλιππος τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης εὐηγγελίσσατο αὐτῷ τὸν ἰησοῦν. (NRSV: Then Philip began to speak, and starting with this **scripture**, he proclaimed to him the good news about Jesus.)

These references to the Scripture in the Gospels and Acts show without exception that Apostolic Christianity believed that the ministry of Jesus and what happened to him was according to God's plan and had a divine seal of approval. This is the reason why the authors of the New Testament books could quote from "the Scripture" to give authority to their statements.

Scripture (ἡ γραφή) is used in a similar way in the disputed and undisputed letters of Paul (Rom 4:3; 9:17; 10:11; 11:2; Gal 3:8; 3:22; 4:30; 1 Tim 5:18; 2 Tim 3:16), as well as in James (2:8; 2:23; 4:5).

6.6.1.1 New Testament use of γραφή in graphics

The occurrences of ἡ γραφή show that it should not surprise that the author of John's gospel was traditionally connected and symbolised with Scripture. Except for John 19:37 it is used as with the article as a general reference to Scripture as the written record of God's revelation.



6.6.2 New Testament use of γέγραπται as reference to Scripture

Although ή γραφή is the more direct way to refer to the Scripture, the same meaning is conveyed by using the verb "it is written", instead of the noun. Matthew favours this use of the perfect γέγραπται,²²³ Mark,²²⁴ Luke,²²⁵ John²²⁶ and Acts²²⁷ refer to Scripture in this way as well. John also applies γέγραπται to the written account of God's revelation in Jesus Christ.²²⁸

Like the Gospels and Acts, the undisputed letters of Paul use γέγραπται extensively to refer to Scripture²²⁹, as does the author of Hebrews (Heb 10:7). Peter uses it once (1 Pet 1:16).

6.6.2.1 New Testament use of γέγραπται in graphics

Among the evangelists γέγραπται is especially favoured by Luke. Not surprisingly the doctrinal treatises in Romans are supported by many a reference to the Scriptures of the Old Testament period, which were considered authoritative in circles of Apostolic Christianity. In this way the writers of the New Testament built on the authority of earlier revelation.

²²³ Matt 2:5; 4:4; 4:6; 4:7; 4:10; 11:10; 21:13; 26:24; 26:31.

²²⁴ Mark 1:2; 7:6; 9:12; 9:13; 10:5; 11:17; 12:19; 14:21; 14:27.

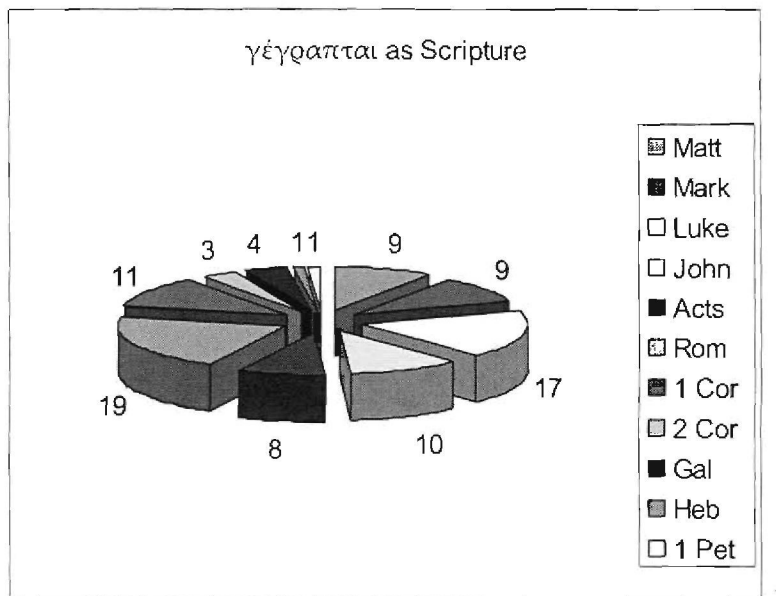
²²⁵ Luke 2:23; 3:4; 4:4; 4:8; 4:10; 4:17; 7:27; 10:26; 18:31; 19:46; 20:17; 20:28; 21:22; 22:37; 24:27; 24:44; 24:46.

²²⁶ John 1:45; 2:17; 5:46; 6:31; 6:45; 8:17; 10:34; 12:14; 12:16; 15:25.

²²⁷ Acts 1:20; 7:42; 13:29; 13:33; 15:15; 21:25; 23:5; 24:14.

²²⁸ John 20:30; 20:31; 21:24; 21:25.

²²⁹ Rom 1:17; 2:15; 2:24; 3:4; 3:10; 4:17; 4:23; 8:36; 9:13; 9:33; 10:15; 11:8; 11:26; 12:19; 14:11; 15:3; 15:4; 15:9; 15:21; 1 Cor 1:19; 1:31; 2:9; 3:19; 4:6; 9:9; 9:10; 10:7; 14:21; 15:45; 15:54; 2 Cor 4:13; 8:15; 9:9; Gal 3:10; 3:13; 4:22; 4:27.



6.6.3 Apostolic authority as vehicle and confirmation of Scripture

In the New Testament apostolic authority functions as a vehicle for the Word of God. The apostles confirm and present the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures. Their message was presented as God's message. The influential disputed and undisputed writings of the apostle Paul, for example, treat Scripture with the utmost reverence. In 1 Corinthians 4:6 the author presents it as the end of all arguments: ταῦτα δέ, ἀδελφοί, μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ ἀπολλῶν δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑνὸς φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου. The Bible in Basic English (Hooke 1965) expresses the reverence conveyed by this passage really well: "My brothers, it is because of you that I have taken Apollos and myself as examples of these things, so that in us you might see that it is not wise to go farther than what is in the holy Writings, so that no one of you may be lifted up against his brother."

Likewise, the author of Ephesians and of 2 Thessalonians shows that he was conscious that he was a vehicle of God's revelation as well. The apostolic word came with divine authority.

Eph 3:3: [ὅτι] κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνώρισθη μοι τὸ μυστήριον, καθὼς προέγραψα ἐν ὀλίγῳ. (NRSV: how the mystery was made known to me by revelation, as I have written briefly.)

2 Thess 3:14: εἰ δέ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε, μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἐντραπῆ. (NRSV: If any one refuses to obey what we say in this letter, note that man, and have nothing to do with him, that he may be ashamed.)

The authority and character of Holy Scripture is the topic in the undisputed and disputed letters of Paul, as well as in the Petrine letters. These documents of early Christianity emphasize that Scripture is the standard for all Christian teaching and living. A good example of this is found in Timothy.

2 Tim 3:16-17: *πᾶσα γραφή θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἐλεγμὸν, πρὸς ἐπανάρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα ἄρτιος ᾦ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτισμένος.* (NRSV: All scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work.)

The author of 2 Peter wants his readers to know that the source of the prophecies contained in Scripture is God. It is not a case of mere men and their religious ideas, but God's Holy Spirit moving the prophets to speak on his behalf.

2 Pet 1:20-21: *τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες, ὅτι πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται· οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἠνέχθη προφητεία ποτέ, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι.* (NRSV: First of all you must understand this, that no prophecy of scripture is a matter of one's own interpretation, because no prophecy ever came by the impulse of man, but men moved by the Holy Spirit spoke from God.)

6.6.4 Conclusion about Scripture in the New Testament

The New Testament uses the term Scripture (ἡ γραφή) to describe the collective record of God's revelation in the past, referring to books presently known as the Old Testament. This Scripture contains the revealed will of God and is authoritative. The phrase "it is written" (γέγραπται) is used for specific references from this written body of revelation. In the New Testament letters the authority of Scripture receives apostolic confirmation and emphasis.

6.7 Revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) used to emphasize divine initiative in communication

The use of ἀποκάλυψις in connection with the prophetic activities of Jesus and his apostles emphasizes God's initiative in his communication with mankind. Revelation (Bauer & Aland 1988:184-185, Liddell & Scott 1996:201) means that what would be hidden otherwise is uncovered or revealed. In other words, ἀποκάλυψις emphasizes that knowledge of God's purposes does not come natural to people that find themselves in a fallen world stained and corrupted by sin.

6.7.1 The use of ἀποκάλυψις in the New Testament

Shortly after Jesus' birth an old man in the temple in Jerusalem prophesied that Jesus would be a light that would reveal the things of God to the Gentiles.

Luke 2:32: *φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ.* (NRSV: a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel.)

Paul states that God's judgement on sin is still largely invisible. It cannot be seen right now, but shall be unveiled and known to all on the Day of Judgment.

Rom 2:5: *κατὰ δὲ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ.* (NRSV: But by your hard and impenitent heart you are storing up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath, when God's righteous judgement will be revealed.)

Paul also teaches that many aspects of God's plan and will have been hidden for mankind for ages, but are now revealed in the good news proclaimed about Jesus as God's anointed saviour and king.

Rom 16:25: τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου. (NRSV: Now to God who is able to strengthen you according to my gospel and the proclamation of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery that was kept secret for long ages.)

In his first Epistle to the Corinthians Paul highly prizes the value of prophecy and connects this with the concept of revelation.

1 Cor 14:6: νῦν δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς γλώσσαις λαλῶν, τί ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσω, ἐὰν μὴ ὑμῖν λαλήσω ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἢ ἐν γνώσει ἢ ἐν προφητεία ἢ [ἐν] διδαχῇ. (NRSV: Now, brothers [and sisters,] if I come to you speaking in tongues, how will I benefit you unless I speak to you in some revelation or knowledge or prophecy or teaching?)

In Galatians Paul states that the very nature of the apostolic message is revelation. He possibly connects this with the divine experience he relates in Acts 26:19-20.

Gal 1:12: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό, οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ. (NRSV: for I did not receive it from a human source, nor was I taught it, but I received it through a revelation of Jesus Christ.)

It was the voice of God that had called Paul to the ministry.

Gal 2:2: ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. (NRSV: I went up in response to a revelation. Then I laid before them (though only in a private meeting with the acknowledged leaders) the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles, in order to make sure that I was not running, or had not run, in vain.)

The aim of divine communication in the New Testament is God's self-revelation. He makes himself and his ways known in a relationship with his people. The author of Ephesians summarizes this beautifully.

Eph 1:17: ἵνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, δώῃ ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ. (NRSV: I pray that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you a spirit of wisdom and revelation as you come to know him.)

In Eph 1:3-14, the author unfolds God's plan for those who trust in him. God made known the mystery of his will (1:9) in Jesus as saviour and king. He refers to this briefly again in the same epistle.

Eph 3:3: [ὅτι] κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνώρισθη μοι τὸ μυστήριον, καθὼς προέγραψα ἐν ὀλίγῳ. (NRSV: and how the mystery was made known to me by revelation, as I wrote above in a few words.)

The return of Jesus as Lord is something to be revealed in the future. Paul writes about this in 2 Thessalonians.

2 Thess 1:7: καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. (NRSV: and to give relief to the afflicted as well as to us, when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.)

The author of 1 Peter refers to this same future event, when Jesus visibly takes up his reign on earth, three times.

1 Pet 1: 7: ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου, εὔρεθῆ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ. (NRSV: so that the genuineness of your faith—being more precious than gold that, though perishable, is tested by fire—may be found to result in praise and glory and honour when Jesus Christ is revealed.)

1 Pet 1:13: διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν, νήφοντες, τελειῶς ἐλπίζατε ἐπὶ τὴν φερομένην ὑμῖν χάριν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ. (NRSV: Therefore prepare your minds for action; discipline yourselves; set all your hope on the grace that Jesus Christ will bring you when he is revealed.)

1 Pet 4:13: ἀλλὰ καθὼς κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι. (NRSV: But rejoice in so far as you are sharing Christ's sufferings, so that you may also be glad and shout for joy when his glory is revealed.)

The Book of Revelation is obviously characterized by the same. John summarizes and announces the contents of this book as ἀποκάλυψις. Like in 1 Peter and in the undisputed and disputed letters of Paul, John also uses it to announce events that are still outstanding.

Rev 1:1: ἀποκάλυψις ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός, δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει, καὶ ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ ἰωάννῃ. (NRSV: The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show his servants what must soon take place; he made it known by sending his angel to his servant John.)

6.7.2 Conclusion about the use of ἀποκάλυψις in the New Testament

The occurrences of ἀποκάλυψις show that “revelation” in the New Testament is both a finished and an unfinished activity. All is part of a divine plan that lies in the firm hands of the Almighty who was able and will be able to carry it out. God's plan was uncovered with the incarnation and ministry of Jesus Christ, but there are still major parts outstanding. In this latter way revelation receives the meaning of prophecy in the sense of foretelling both the

lead-up to and the arrival of Jesus' kingdom, God's judgement of men, the renewal of all things and the day when Christ will be revealed. The way that the New Testament uses ἀποκάλυψις emphasizes that knowledge of God's purposes does not come natural to people that find themselves in a fallen world stained and corrupted by sin, but that it is an activity that God initiates.

6.8 The use of “Word of God” (λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ)

Important for one's understanding of Apostolic Christianity is to realise that the proclamation of the apostles (the teachings of Jesus, his kingdom and the good news about reconciliation with God) was experienced as Word of God. This is especially profound in the book of Acts, which describes the ministry of the apostles.

6.8.1 Occurrences of λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ

In the early days after Pentecost the apostles were said to speak the Word of God. (Acts 4:31: καὶ δεηθέντων αὐτῶν ἐσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρρησίας. NRSV: And when they had prayed, the place in which they were gathered together was shaken; and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke the word of God with boldness.)

If the preaching of the apostles was not equalled with the Word of God, it certainly was what inspired them and what was made first priority in their ministry. In both interpretations it is emphasized that the apostles did not invent their own message, but were dependent on God for what they spoke. (Acts 6:2: προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν εἶπαν, οὐκ ἄρεστόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς καταλείψαντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διακονεῖν τραπέζαις. NRSV: And the twelve summoned the body of the disciples and said, "It is not right that we should give up preaching²³⁰ the word of God to serve tables.)

Positive response to the teachings of the apostles is described as increase of the Word of God. (Acts 6:7: καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἤρξανεν, καὶ ἐπληθύνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν ἱερουσαλήμ σφόδρα, πολὺς τε ὄχλος τῶν ἱερέων ὑπήκουον τῇ πίστει. NRSV: And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied greatly in Jerusalem, and a great many of the priests were obedient to the faith.)

As Philip the Deacon preached the Christian message and people in Samaria converted, they were described as receiving the Word of God. (Acts 8:14: ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπόστολοι ὅτι δέδεκται ἡ σαμάρεια τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πέτρον καὶ ἰωάννην. NRSV: Now when the apostles at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent to them Peter and John.)

230 The NRSV inserts the word "preaching." The NIV similarly speaks about "it would not be right for us to neglect the ministry of the Word of God in order to wait on tables." The textual context is one of obligations for practical service that hindered the apostles in their main obligation of serving the Word of God. This involves acquiring greater knowledge, but in the light of the immediate context of 5:42 it seems that preaching commitments rather than study of Scripture is intended here. However, as prayer is part of the immediate textual context as well, it might well be that both study and ministry are intended.

When Peter preached to the Roman centurion Cornelius and his friends, their faith in the message is portrayed as receiving the Word of God. (Acts 11:1: ἤκουσαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὄντες κατὰ τὴν ἰουδαίαν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. NRSV: Now the apostles and the brethren who were in Judea heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of God.)

The increase of Christianity in general is identified as a continued increase and spreading of the Word of God. (Acts 12:24: ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἤρξανεν καὶ ἐπληθύνετο. NRSV: But the word of God grew and multiplied.)

The Apostles Barnabas and Saul went on a missionary journey to the Greeks and other non-Jews. When they preach in the Jewish synagogue in Cyprus, their words are described as proclamation of the Word of God. (Acts 13:5: καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν σαλαμῖνι κατήγγελλον τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν ἰουδαίων· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην. NRSV: When they arrived at Sal'amis, they proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews. And they had John to assist them.)

When the proconsul listens it is not the mere words of Barnabas and Saul, but the Word of God that they proclaimed that he is after. (Acts 13:7: ὃς ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ σεργίῳ παύλῳ, ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ. οὗτος προσκαλεσάμενος βαρναβᾶν καὶ σαῦλον ἐπεζήτησεν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. NRSV: He was with the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a man of intelligence, who summoned Barnabas and Saul and sought to hear the word of God.)

When the same two men on a mission arrive in Pisidian Antioch, their preaching is so well received that a week later nearly the whole town gathered to hear their words, which are presented as God's word proclaimed by them. (Acts 13:44: τῷ δὲ ἐρχομένῳ σαββάτῳ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου. NRSV: The next sabbath almost the whole city gathered together to hear the word of God.)

It was not just that those who received it perceived it that way, but the apostles themselves claimed to be very conscious of the fact that they were not setting their agendas, but that God was. (Acts 13:46: παρρησιασάμενοί τε ὁ παῦλος καὶ ὁ βαρναβᾶς εἶπαν, ὑμῖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον λαληθῆναι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐπειδὴ ἀπωθείσθε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίους κρίνετε ἑαυτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. NRSV: And Paul and Barnabas spoke out boldly, saying, "It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you. Since you thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles.)

Although the Jews in Pisidian Antioch reject the message of Paul and Barnabas, many of the non-Jews readily appreciated it as true proclamation of the Word of God. (Acts 13:48: ἀκούοντα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον· NRSV: And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad and glorified the word of God; and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.)

Later, in Greece, Paul's message was received with great eagerness in Berea. The Jews there checked Paul's message against the Scriptures (i.e. the Old Testament). Looking back at the experience Paul's preaching is described as the proclamation of the Word of God. (Acts 17:13: ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς θεσσαλονίκης ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ βεροῖᾳ κατηγγέλη ὑπὸ τοῦ παύλου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἦλθον κάκεῖ σαλεύοντες καὶ ταρασσόντες τοὺς ὄχλους. NRSV: But when the Jews of Thessalonica learned that the word of God was proclaimed by Paul at Beroe'a also, they came there too, stirring up and inciting the crowds.)

Further south, in Corinth, Paul would stay for a considerable time, teaching, and the content of his teaching is "the Word of God". (Acts 18:11: ἐκάθισεν δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ διδάσκων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. NRSV: And he stayed a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.)

These occurrences show how Apostolic Christianity was motivated by what it experienced as a divinely inspired message, for Jews and Gentiles alike. The importance of proclaiming the word of God is evidenced by the priority the apostles make of this ministry. In two instances (13:44,46) the expression "Word of God" is replaced by "Word of the Lord" (κυρίου), which may refer to Jesus more in particular, but is also a reference to God in his rightful claims to human obedience all over the world.

This permanent access to the mind of God (as expressed in his Word) is also evidenced in the rest of the New Testament.

Its universal outreach should guard against exclusivity. (1 Cor 14:36: ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξηλθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν. NRSV: What! Did the word of God originate with you, or are you the only ones it has reached?)

It plays a vital role in spiritual engagement. (Eph 6:17: καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ῥῆμα θεοῦ. NRSV: And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.)

The word of God is not confined to apostolic leaders only. (Phil 1:14: καὶ τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν κυρίῳ πεποιθότας τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου περισσοτέρως τολμᾶν ἀφόβως τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν. NRSV: and most of the brethren have been made confident in the Lord because of my imprisonment, and are much more bold to speak the word of God without fear.)

The author of Colossians describes himself as a servant who received a divine commission to make the Word of God fully known. He was to provide the Church with greater in depth teaching. (Col 1:25: ἧς ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ διάκονος κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς πληρῶσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. NRSV: of which I became a minister according to the divine office which was given to me for you, to make the word of God fully known.)

In 1 Thessalonians the Word of God is described as a force that continues to work in the author's absence. (1 Thess 2:13: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ

ἀδιαλείπτως, ὅτι παραλαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς λόγον θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. NRSV: And we also thank God constantly for this, that when you received the word of God which you heard from us, you accepted it not as the word of men but as what it really is, the word of God, which is at work in you believers.)

The Word of God is able to reach further than its messengers, who may be limited for all sorts of reason. (2 Tim 2:9: ἐν ᾧ κακοπαθῶ μέχρι δεσμῶν ὡς κακοῦργος, ἀλλὰ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ δέδεταί. NRSV: the gospel for which I am suffering and wearing fetters like a criminal. But the word of God is not fettered.)

The Word of God continually interacts with the believer's life in an authoritative way. (Heb 4:12: ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργῆς καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον καὶ δυῖκνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος, ἄρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν, καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας. NRSV: For the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the division of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow, and discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart.)

The addressees of Hebrews are reminded that their leaders did not speak mere human words, but the Word of God. (Heb 13:7: μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὧν ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς μιμῆσθε τὴν πίστιν. NRSV: Remember your leaders, those who spoke to you the word of God; consider the outcome of their life, and imitate their faith.)

The author of First Peter claims that the Word of God has inherent life and continues to stay with believers. (1 Pet 1: 23: ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου, διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος. NRSV: You have been born anew, not of perishable seed but of imperishable, through the living and abiding word of God.)

John describes the abiding and relevant force of the Word of God. (1 John 2:14: ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, παῖδια, ὅτι ἐγνώκατε τὸν πατέρα. ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, πατέρες, ὅτι ἐγνώκατε τὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, νεανίσκοι, ὅτι ἰσχυροὶ ἐστε καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν μένει καὶ νενικήκατε τὸν πονηρὸν. NRSV: I write to you, fathers, because you know him who is from the beginning. I write to you, young men, because you are strong, and the word of God abides in you, and you have overcome the evil one.)

The Word of God was also the greatest motivating force for Christians, prized higher even than earthly life. (Rev 6:9: καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον. NRSV: When he opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne.)

6.8.2 Conclusions about the use of "Word of God" (λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ)

Apostolic Christianity considered itself as the vehicle of the word of God, the instrument of divine activity. Their message was not their own, but claimed to serve the use and purposes of God. The use of ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in the New Testament in connection with the message of

the apostles shows that early Christianity was motivated by what it experienced as divine communication. The advancement of the apostolic preaching amongst Jews and non-Jews was even described in terms of λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. This Word of God was considered to be an abiding influence, continually available to believers as a source for spiritual life. God speaking to them was the essential motivator for apostolic ministry and Christian living in the first century AD.

6.9 Summary: divine communication in the New Testament

The data presented under 6.1-6.8 suggest that Apostolic Christianity emphatically claimed the experience of divine communication. God's Word entered a real world as God related to people. This God spoke in diverse ways. It was God himself who took up speech in dreams, visions, prophecies, the ministry of Jesus as the incarnate Word and Scripture.

As God revealed his will, there was a mediating role for angels and the Holy Spirit. The use of the expressions "Word of God" and "Revelation" in relation to divine communication are important. Revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) in this textual context emphasizes that God took the initiative to contact mankind. Even prophecy was a gift from God. Without his initiative the human world would have remained imperceptive of the word of God.

CHAPTER 7: ACTS 7:38: LIVING ORACLES FOR US

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7.1 Introduction

The twentieth century has seen a tendency towards dynamic equivalent Bible translation. This less target language orientated approach caused the translation "oracles" for λόγια to disappear from many an English Bible, as oracles were more readily associated with the Greek religion than with Christianity. The widely used New International Version is an example of this approach.

The Authorised Version translates Acts 7:38 as: "This is he (Moses), that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sina, and *with* our fathers: who received the lively oracles to give unto us." (AV)²³¹

This chapter argues that for ones understanding of this passage it is important to realise that although λόγοι and λόγια may sound quite the same to a modern 'barbarian' ear, for Greek speaking hearers of the first century there was a marked difference. As it is one of the most widely established facts of the Greek language that λόγοι may refer to words spoken by anyone for any reason, the reader is referred to Appendix I to explore this issue of the divine and human use of λόγος further. Instead this chapter will concentrate on arguing the case that λόγια in Acts 7:38 are not mere words, but should inherently be regarded as divine communication.

To establish this, first the wider context of Acts 7:38 will be taken into account (7.2). Then the research camera will zoom in to the immediate context of the passage Acts 7:35-40 (7.3);

231 The earlier Bishop's Bible (1568) has: "This is he that was in the Churche in ye wyldernesse with the angel, which spake to hym in the mount Sinai, and with our fathers: This man receaued the worde of lyfe to geue vnto." This may have been due to the influence of the Latin Vulgate: "Hic est qui fuit in exlesia in solitudine cum angelo, qui loguebatur ei in monte Sinai et cum patribus nostris, qui accepit verba vitae dare nostris." Nestle-Aland's edition of the Vulgate (1985:340) substitutes "viva" (living) for "vitae" (of life), because of the Greek participle underlying, but all major manuscript that they follow otherwise have "vitae."

introduce it, provide the Greek text, an English translation and elucidating notes on grammar issues in this passage. After establishing this wider and narrower context, Acts 7:38 will be considered as the immediate textual environment of *λόγια ζῶντα*.

This process enables a carefully balanced philological conclusion about the nature of *λόγια* in Acts 7:38.

7.2 Wider context within the Acts of the Apostles

Acts 7:38 finds itself in the wider context of Acts 6 and 7, chapters that deal with the choosing of seven deacons in the Church and its aftermath. The primary duty of these deacons was to look to the social welfare of the widows in their midst, in particularly those with a Greek background and culture (Acts 6:1,5).²³² After this, many more Jews in Jerusalem became Christians, including quite a few priests.

One of the deacons, Stephen, is portrayed as a man full of God's grace and power, doing great wonders and miraculous signs among the people (Acts 6:8). Particularly amongst those Jews from Greek regions who opposed Christianity this caused a lot of resentment. It is therefore not surprisingly to find Paul, who also had a Greek birthplace, as part of this mob (Acts 7:58, 8:1-3).

Stephen was brought before the Jewish council, the Sanhedrin, where false witnesses were produced (Acts 6:12-13), who charged him with speaking against the holy temple in Jerusalem and against the Law of Moses.

When the high priest enquired about the truth of these testimonies, Stephen delivered a speech,²³³ in which he called attention to God's dealings with the Israelites from the days of Abraham (Acts 7:2-8a), Jacob and Joseph (Acts 7:8b-16), to Moses (Acts 7:17-44), Joshua, David and Solomon (Acts 7:45), the prophets (Acts 7:48-52a) and ultimately the arrival of the Messiah (Acts 7:52b-53). Stephen accused the Jews of persecuting the prophets and murdering the Messiah, and of receiving God's Law through angels²³⁴ but doing precious little to actually obey it.

232 The Greek names of the deacons-elect reinforce this view.

233 Arrington (1988, Acts 7:32-44) notes that this is the longest speech in Acts and supposes that the speech has also a missionary thrust since "it is a defense of the church against the Hellenistic synagogue and paves the way for the separation of the church from unbelieving Judaism."

234 The verses 30, 35, 38 and 53 emphasize the involvement of angels; cf. Dunn (1996:95). Stählin correctly emphasizes that these angels represent God and carry out his will. He (1975:109) sees in angel in this context "der unmittelbare Stellvertreter, ja beinahe eine Erscheinungsform Gottes." Some have suggested that Paul used the mediation of angels to argue the inferiority of the law (e.g. Polhill 1992:200). Paul's view of the involvement of angels (Gal 3:19, Heb 2:2; cf. Gal 3:21), however, shows a similar respect to that of Stephen's. Although Paul argued the inferiority of the dispensation of the Law in Galatians as compared to the riches of Christ in settling mankind's sin & guilt -problem, he does not use the involvement of angels to argue inferiority of the Law. On the contrary, especially in Galatians he shows the greatest regard for angels, cf. 1:8, 4:14. In other words, he does not denigrate angels, but elevates Christ by using the supreme standard of the angels and the Law. This involvement of angels in dispensing the Law that one encounters in Acts is less obvious in the Old Testament itself, although Deut 33:2 (LXX only) speaks about angels on God's right hand when he came from Sina. There are certain parallels with Plutarch here, as his daemons seem to have a similar representative role in intermediating between the gods and mankind. About the role of angels in mediating revelation from God, see Eckey (2000:174). Bette e.a. (1990:203): "Hoewel het OT spreekt over een direct contact tussen de Here en Mozes (vgl. Num. 12:7,8), spreekt de joodse traditie over een spreken van God door middel van een engel of engelen, geheel zoals dat ook bij de brandende doornstruik het geval was. God Zelf is immers met de menselijke zintuigen niet te vatten (1 Tim. 6:16)."

Infuriated and insulted, the mob took Stephen out of the city, where they stoned him to death, while their victim prayed for them (Acts 7:54-60).²³⁵

7.3 Immediate context: Acts 7:35-40

7.3.1 Introduction

Acts 7:35-40 speaks about Moses as the mediator of God's truth and Israel's disobedience to God's oracles. Within Stephen's sermon the verses 35-40 take a special place, and speak about Moses as spokesman for God to the Israelites in an emphatic way. These verses are grouped around the rejection of Moses as mediator of God's words by the (disobedient) Jews. A series of parallel markers (cf. De Boor 1965:146,147; Dunn 1996:95), first positive and then (as anti-climax in verse 40) negative, indicate that Acts 7:35-40 is a unit of thought, both in theme (revelation and disobedience) and grammar. Verses 41-43 summarise the disobedience again and subsequently deal with God's response. As this has no bearing on the issue of revelation in verse 38, its immediate context has been restricted to 3:35-40.

7.3.2 The Greek text of Acts 7:35-40

³⁵ τοῦτον τὸν Μωϋσῆν ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν ἀπέσταλκεν σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βάρῃ ³⁶ οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ Θαλάσσει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ³⁷ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὁ εἶπας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ ³⁸ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν ³⁹ ᾧ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ὑπήκοοι γενέσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ ἀπώσαντο καὶ ἐστράφησαν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ⁴⁰ εἰπόντες τῷ Ἀαρῶν ποιήσον ἡμῖν θεοὺς οἱ προπορεύονται ἡμῶν ὁ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς οὗτος ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου οὐκ οἶδαμεν τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ.

7.3.3 Analyses of Acts 7:35-40

7.3.3.1 An English translation (New International Version)

This section gives a translation of the Greek. For this purpose the New International Version has been selected, especially because this translation does not render λόγια as "oracles." This research wishes to argue its case on the basis of the Greek philology and prefers not to use a translation that might prejudice the reader in its favour. Otherwise the NIV is a happy medium between readability and source language orientated translation. It provides ready access to the

Bette's view implies a hermeneutical problem, namely of a possible contradiction between the Jewish that Stephen seems to embrace on this point and the alleged proper interpretation of the Old Testament. It is questionable whether στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσω αὐτῷ ἐν εἶδει (Num 12:8) should exclude the use of angels in the administration of the Law in a wider sense. Van Eck (2003:176) explains this more carefully: "In de rede van Stefanus ligt de nadruk op het feit dat Mozes een bemiddelaar van goddelijke uitspraken is. Het feit dat hij die via engelen ontvangen heeft, wordt daarop niet in mindering gebracht. Het wordt er gewoon bij verteld omdat dit nu eenmaal de manier was waarop God's woord aan hem was doorgegeven."

²³⁵ Acts 7 shows a continuity of God's work among the Israelites in believers like Stephen, but also a discontinuity for the Jews in general who reject God's oracles and his revelation in Christ: "Sie (die Stefanusrede) bringt einerseits durch den Geschichtsabriß die heilsgeschichtliche Kontinuität der Kirche mit Israel zur Sprache und andererseits durch die polemischen Teile die Distanzierung von dem Judentum, das sich dem Wirken des Heiligen Geistes widersetzt" (Weiser 1981:188).

text, while the Greek original is still recognisable. It is also based on the same Greek text critical edition that is used for this research.

³⁵"This is the same Moses²³⁶

whom they had rejected with the words, 'Who made you ruler and judge?'

He was sent to be their ruler and deliverer by God himself,

through the angel who appeared to him in the bush.

³⁶He led them out of Egypt and did wonders and miraculous signs in Egypt, at the Red Sea and for forty years in the desert.

³⁷"This is that Moses who told the Israelites, 'God will send you a prophet like me from your own people.'

³⁸He was in the assembly in the desert, with the angel who spoke to him on Mount Sinai, and with our fathers; and he received living words to pass on to us.

³⁹"But our fathers refused to obey him.

Instead, they rejected him and in their hearts turned back to Egypt.

⁴⁰They told Aaron, 'Make us gods who will go before us. As for this fellow Moses²³⁷ who led us out of Egypt—we don't know what has happened to him!'"²³⁸

7.3.3.2 Grammar

Acts 7:35-40 is important as the wider context of Acts 7:38. To fully appreciate and understand Acts 7:35-40, this section deals with grammatical issues. These issues do not necessarily relate to the argument about oracles as such, but are important to define the context of Acts 7:38. (Verse 38 is important for the argument in this thesis, but not necessarily a central element in Acts 7:35-40.) The main objective of this section is to enable a balanced interpretation of the textual context, and, subsequently, the function that verse 38 has in this.

7:35: This passage displays two fine examples of parallelism, one of which also affects the meaning of Acts 7:38 itself. Both are so called "anaphors",²³⁹ meaning that textual units that lay on a parallel level start with the same words. The first is found in verse 35, connecting τοῦτον and τοῦτον, referring to "this Moses". This is followed up by a second set of parallelisms, referring to the same person in the verses 36, 37 and 38, using οὗτος (Bauer & Aland 1988:1206-1208).²⁴⁰ This indicates that the subject of verse 38 is Moses and not the

236 De Boor (1965:146-147) shows how this passage contains a series of structural markers that refer to Moses. These references indicate Stephen's appreciation of Moses in front of his accusers: "De angebliche Lästerer des Mose zeigt die ganze Größe Mose in einem eindrucksvollen fünfmaligen ‚dieser Mose, dieser, dieser, dieser, dieser‘, aber damit zugleich auch die ganze unbegreifliche, schuldhaftige Widerspenstigkeit Israels." Dunn (1996:95) asks attention for the emphasis that is placed on Moses: "The repeated 'this one' keeps the focus on Moses. The charge is building up: those listening to Stephen have been unfaithful to their own greatest hero." Eckey (2000:173) brings in the contrast that is created in this way, as the Jews would reject this God-sent mediator of his Word: "Ihn, den Israeliten als Herrscher und Richter ablehnten."

237 The expression ὁ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς οὗτος is used in a denigrating manner, cf. Bette e.a. (1990:205).

238 Dunn (1996:95) shows that this would not be regarded as an unjustified attack on Israel's ancestors since the sin of the golden calf was generally regarded within Jewish writings as the national equivalent to the sin of Adam.

239 For a discussion of the term "anaphors", see Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:422-423).

240 Longenecker (1981:343) explains how οὗτος is used to build up a climax: "The twofold use of houtos estin ("this is that") with the articular adjectival participle in these verses is an intensification of the demonstrative pronouns touton and houtos in vv.35-36. this suggests a buildup of tension in Stephen's speech, starting from the rather placid historical narrative of vv.2-34, moving to the more strident conclusion in vv.35-36, and peaking with a passionate treatment of the Moses testimonium passage in

future prophet, in the otherwise unlikely case that a possible spiritual sense like the one presented in 1 Corinthians 10:4²⁴¹ was intended.

7:35: The feminine ἐν τῇ βάρῳ shows the diverse use of βάρος in the New Testament, both as a masculine and feminine word, the so called sex change within the second declination (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:40). Mark (12:26) uses the masculine, while Luke (see also Luke 20:37 ἐπὶ τῆς βάρου) consistently uses the feminine version for thorn bush, and reserves the masculine for "bat" as a Hebrew measure of contents.²⁴²

7:35: Although the Jews initially rejected him, ἤρνησαντο εἰπόντες,²⁴³ Moses was sent to be a ruler and deliverer, λυτρωτής,²⁴⁴ by God himself. The perfect-, ἀπέσταλκεν²⁴⁵ rather than the aorist tense²⁴⁶ is used here to emphasize that, although the Jews rejected Moses, God's mission and calling continued. In other words, we would hear more of him despite this initial rejection, because God had other plans.

7:35: Stephen's Jewish cultural background, possibly well versed in the Septuagint as well, comes through in the Hebraic way he speaks about the agency of an angel: σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:176-177).²⁴⁷ The article τοῦ in the participial phrase τοῦ ὀφθέντος, marks this phrase as adjectival to ἀγγέλου, and can be translated into English as a relative clause.²⁴⁸ This Jewish background comes through in other expressions, like ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ as well.²⁴⁹

7:36: One finds the article lacking with Θαλάσση, which is not unusual when cosmic realities like sun, moon, heaven and earth are described, although most of the time one finds Θάλασσα with article (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:203). Here the addition of the qualifier Ἐρυθρᾶ (Bauer & Aland 1988:628) makes an article to denote this sea further in a general or reflective sense quite unnecessary.

Deuteronomy 18:15 and of the significance of Moses himself there... ..the expression "living words"(logia zonta) implies the opposite of any disparagement of the Mosaic Law."

241 1 Cor 10:4: καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας ἢ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός.

242 For "bat" as a Hebrew measure of contents, see Luke 16:6, also found in 2 Ezra 7:22. Cf. Bauer & Aland (1988:275).

243 The participle εἰπόντες indicates that the reason for ἤρνησαντο will be quoted; see Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf. (1990:349). This first rejection is described in verse 27, the second rejection took place in the desert, cf. verse 39. See also Num 14:3 (LXX); cf. Johnson (1992:130).

244 Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:87-88) take λυτρωτής as a newer noun derived from a verb, ending with της rather than with -τηρ or -τωρ.

245 3rd Person Perfect Active Indicative Singular, ἀπέσταλκεν.

246 Others take ἀπέσταλκεν as a perfect with an aorist meaning, cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990: 281), but this is quite unnecessary as the perfect tense makes "perfect sense."

247 Angelic involvement in God leading Israel out of Egypt is referred to in Num 20:16.

248 The passage σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βάρῳ is a so called predicative adjective; cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990: 221). It shows that it was by the hand of the angel who appeared to him (Moses) in the (burning) bush.

249 The Hebraic influence on Stephen's Greek is also apparent in verse 40; cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:212-213).

7:37: The participial εἶπας, rather rare in the New Testament,²⁵⁰ is used. The aorist emphasises that Moses spoke the words, a unity of thought about the subject of the great Prophet²⁵¹ and subsequently passed these on.

The expression ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ speaks about Moses' presence with the people of God as they came together to meet with God.²⁵²

7:39: "Obedient," ὑπήκοοι, calls for the object of obedience in the proper dative mode (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990: 151-152), in this case ᾧ, which refers to Moses.

7:40: When demonstrative determiners are used with names of persons, like here in ὁ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς οὗτος, the person's name is always accompanied by an article.²⁵³

7.4 Acts 7:38 λόγια ζῶντα

7.4.1 The Greek text of Acts 7:38

(Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς) οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν.

7.4.1.1 Text Critical considerations

A few manuscripts²⁵⁴ read as last word of 7:38 ὑμῖν instead of ἡμῖν. The vast majority of the manuscripts, both from western and eastern traditions, has the latter reading. This makes good

250 The Aorist Active Participle Nominative Singular Masculine εἶπας is also used in Acts 22:24, 24:22 and 27:35, cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:63).

251 Earlier in Acts, the apostle Peter used the announcement of the great Prophet by Moses (Deut 18:1) to proclaim its fulfillment in Jesus Christ. Polhill (1992:199): "This prophecy (Deut 18:1) has already served as a major Christological proof in Peter's sermon in Solomon's Colonnade (3:22)". Contrary to the views of some (e.g. Schille 1983:183), Deut 18:15 does not suggest a Moses redivivus, but a prophet distinct from Moses, who would not only come after him but be greater as well. Pelikan (2006:103) adequately argues against the idea of a Moses redivivus: "Stephen repeats the prophecy in the book of Deuteronomy (Deut. 18:15, 18 LXX), by which Moses was understood as having himself predicted and promised that he was to be superseded."

252 For Stephen's understanding of ἐκκλησίᾳ as a meeting of men in the presence of God it is important to note the use of this term in the Gospels. De Villiers (1977:151) explains this as follows: "Die woord vir "vergadering" wat hier in die Grieks gebruik word, is dieselfde woord wat Jesus vir kerk gebruik, wanneer Hy sy kerk op die belydenis van Petrus grondves, Matt. 16:18. Hiermee word die vergadering in die woestyn as tipe of voorbeeld gesien van die Christelike kerk of ekklesia, waar Jesus vir Moses vervang." Some take it to refer to the day of the assembly when the Israelites came together to meet with God at Mount Sinai, cf. Deut 4:10; 9:10; 18:6. Cf. Longenecker (1981:345). Bette e.a. (1990:203) argues that: "De ekklesia (gemeente, vergadering) verwijst hier naar 'de dag van de vergadering.'" This is unlikely as the sentence makes perfect sense without supposing an ellipse, in which case one should expect an insertion of ἡμέρα "day," rather than its omission. Jervell (1998:240) show that the Septuagint uses this expression in Deut 4:10, 9:10, 18:10, but also points out that that Luke uses the expression "von einer Volksversammlung," cf. Acts 19:32, 39:41. In the Septuagint none of these references to Deuteronomy carry ἡμέρα.

253 One also finds demonstrative determiners used with names of persons in Acts 1:11, 19:26 and Heb 7:1, cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990: 240); Bruce (1990:203).

254 P46, κ, B and a few others (Metzger 1975:350-351) read as last word of 7:38 ὑμῖν instead of ἡμῖν. The variety and quantity manuscripts that carry ἡμῖν suggests that this is the correct reading. Verse 39 has a similar alternative reading that is even less supported.

sense in the context of verse 38, as Stephen does not wish to disassociate himself as yet,²⁵⁵ because in the same breath he speaks about "our fathers" (vs. 38,38,44).

7.4.2 Exegesis of Acts 7:38 as the immediate textual context of *λόγια ζῶντα*

In this verse Stephen zooms in on Moses as the mediator between the heavenly realms and the people of Israel.²⁵⁶ According to Luke he takes his hearers back to the days when the Israelites roamed the desert, met before the Lord and received his laws out of the hands of Moses, who in his turn received these words from the angel who spoke to him on Mount Sinai. Moses was with the angel and with "our fathers," both in the phrase *μετὰ* + genitive. He mediates between the two,²⁵⁷ but Stephen takes it further and jumps to the present by stating that Moses received (*ἔδέξατο*, aorist) living words to give (*δοῦναι*, aorist infinitive) to "us". In other words, given to Moses, but meant for "us", i.e. Stephen and his hearers. Oracles with a significance and relevance that stretched far beyond Moses' day into the present! By a divine strategy Stephen's hearers and Luke's readers are the objects of those words right now, and continue to be. Consequently Dunn (1996:95) correctly claims: "This verse more than any other should make the positive claim of the speech clear: there is no critique of Moses here, no rejection of his law."²⁵⁸

When one has a closer look at *λόγια ζῶντα* within this verse, these words should be interpreted as vehicles of divine revelation. Zerwick and Grosvenor (1990:373) translate *λόγια* as "oracles, divine utterances" and apply this to Scripture. They correctly preserve the link between *λόγια* and oracle as a specific divine response to a human need or request. So do several others. Dunn (1996:95) translates: "living oracles to give to us." Johnson

255 Not only from a text critical, but also from a linguistic point of view it is likely that verse 38 closes with *ἡμῖν*. "Since he closely links himself with his hearers until v.51, *ἡμῖν* is to be preferred" (Culy 2003:136).

256 Schmithals (1982:71) takes Moses as a type of Christ, both in his rejection by the Israelites and his mediator-ship of God's words. "Von Mose spricht Stephanus nämlich in den höchsten Tönen; ihm widmet er auch den größten Teil seiner Rede. In V.35-38 stellt er ihn in liturgischem Stil (vgl. 2,22f. 32f.36; 3,12ff) als Typos (Vor-Bild) des Erretters Jesus dar, der wie Jesus (3,13) von seinen Volksgenossen abgelehnt wurde (V. 35.39). Zu den <<christologischen>> Titeln des Mose in V. 27.35 vgl. Man 3,15; 5,31 und Lk.24,21; Mose tat wie Jesus und die Apostel Zeichen und Wunder vor dem Volk (V.36)." Eckey (2000:174) supports this view: "Als wundertätiger Befreier, Prophet und Mittler zwischen Gott und den Menschen ist Mose hier Prototyp Jesu Christi." Others care to doubt this is what Stephen had in mind: "Wij kunnen aan de mogelijkheid denken dat in de gedachte van de middelaar opnieuw een parallellie tussen Mozes en Jezus ligt (vgl. Conzelmann: weer een plaats van de typologie: Mozes is "middelaar"). Maar dit element is hier zo weinig aangegeven, dat het ons de vraag lijkt of wij hier de parallellie Mozes-Jezus mogen vinden." (Lindijer 1975:189.) An interesting aside is raised by Johnson (1992:137): "We understand from this Moses story as well not only how Luke understands Jesus to be a prophet, but also how he understands the apostles to represent the "second visitation" to the people. As Moses went away in exile and returned in power, so did Jesus, but his second sending was in the power of the Spirit at work in his prophetic successors." Although cleverly thought of, within the context of Acts it is more likely that Luke had a literal second coming of Christ in mind, cf. Acts 1:11, 17:31).

257 The theme of Moses as mediator between God and mankind is explored by Philo and in the rabbinic tradition; see particulars in Johnson (1992:130). Cf. Deut 5:5.

258 Although he addressed non-Christian Jews, indirectly Stephen's speech could be used as an exhortation to Christians to take God's revelation through Moses seriously: "Wenn im gleichen Zusammenhang (V.38) das durch Mose vermittelte Gesetz, die Tora, mit der Wendung >>lebendige Worte<< bezeichnet und damit auf die durch Jesus und die Kirche verkündigten >>Worte des Lebens<< (vgl. 5,20; auch 13:26) hingeordnet wird, dann ist dies eine Mahnung an den Christen, die Tora nicht gering zu achten," says Zmijewski (1994:331). Although this may well be a justified practical application for a Christian reader in the 21st century, Stephen did not address Christian believers in his speech, but antagonistic Jews. Verse 38 showed them that he took God's revelation through Moses seriously. Of course other Christians would be welcome to do the same, but that was not Stephen's point here.

(1992:130): "oracles = logia." Munck (1967:64) notes that "the Greek word used here is generally translated as "oracular replies." Witherington (1998, Acts 7:38) states: "Moses received living oracles, the very words of God to convey to the congregation of God's people."

Metzger (1975:351) emphasizes the revelatory element in λόγια ζῶντα and speaks about "God's revelation". Bruce (1990:202) similarly translates: "They received the revelation of God."²⁵⁹

These quotes from a wide variety of authorities suggest that the use of λόγια in Acts 7:38 is revelatory in nature and should be interpreted as speech of God that would not be otherwise known. Unlike λόγοι and λόγος, they are not mere words, but divine words by their very nature. These λόγια, like oracles in the Greek religion, had the linguistic connotation of responding to specific needs of the Israelites (as they were in need of God's guidelines for life as a covenant people). God responded by giving his λόγια to Israel, but through them also to their posterity. Stephen includes himself and his hearers in those who currently continue to be recipients of God's authentic speaking.²⁶⁰ Consequently, the word λόγια has a special application to the written Scriptures, known as "the Law" (of Moses). Especially, if one takes verse 53 into account: οἵτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων καὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε. Verse 38 makes a similar connection between "the living oracles" and angelic activity, μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου (cf. Dunn 1996:95; Stählin 1975:109),²⁶¹ i.e., and subsequently passed on by Moses to our fathers. This involvement of angels emphasises the divine character and 'otherworldliness' of these revelations. These λόγια are not mere words, but revelatory words administered to God's people by heavenly intermediaries to provide them with his guidelines as a nation under God.

Taking Stephen's carefully built up speech into account; the context suggests that Stephen intended to convey that the Law, especially as received on Mount Sinai (Polhill 1992:199), contained the lively oracles of God. And also, that his respect for Moses and this Law was beyond any doubt.

The adjectival use of the participle ζῶντα shows that these words are not mere theory, but inspired by the living God himself and for that reason valid even today.²⁶² This contemporary relevance is reinforced by δοῦναι ἡμῖν, "to be given to us." The λόγια are personal and

259 Moses was the mediator of God's λόγια ζῶντα. "Moses is thus presented as being, under God, the founder of a pure, spiritual cult- a presentation found elsewhere in Hellenistic appreciations of him," Bruce (1990:202).

260 Moses received God's "Levende uitspraken om ze aan ons door te geven" (Van Eck 2003:176).

261 References to angelic involvement in the administration of God's revelation can be found in: Deut. 33:2 (LXX: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ἐκ Σινα ἦκει καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἐκ Σηηρ ἡμῖν καὶ κατέσπευσεν ἐξ ὄρους Φαραν σὺν μυριάσιν Καδης ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ αὐτοῦ), Dan 6:2; Acts 7:53; Gal 3:19; Heb 2:2. Cf. Josephus Jewish Antiquities XV,3: "And for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law, by angels or ambassadors; for this name brings God to the knowledge of mankind, and is sufficient to reconcile enemies one to another."

262 The participle ζῶντα suggests energetic and even life-giving qualities: "In 'levend' kunnen wij horen: werkzaam, krachtig, en ook wel: leven scheppend." (Lindijer 1975: 189.)

relevant, with an inherent power that reflects God's personality and will.²⁶³ Some take "living" as referring to what these words may produce in those who listen to them.²⁶⁴ Although this might be true, it is not necessarily what the participle construction (active *praesens neutrum pluralis*) tries to convey. It rather suggests that these words are life-matter with inherent spiritual power and claims, the living God himself actively reaching out to his people.

7.4.3 Philological conclusion about λόγια ζῶντα

In Acts 7:38 λόγια ζῶντα refers to speech of the living God that was given to Moses for the people of Israel. The expression is used for specific communication by God and claims to be relevant, not only to Moses and the Israelites of old, but also for the life of Stephen's hearers and Luke's readers. The fact that these λόγια are presented as "living" shows their inherent sacred power that is connected to their divine origin.

The translation "oracles" was found to be correctly emphasizing that Moses received information claiming to be God speaking from the heavenly realms to make his will known on earth.²⁶⁵ The context of Acts 7 shows that these words were revealed by an act of God involving angels and not by theological speculation on Moses' part. This reflects an attitude of the utmost reverence towards these λόγια ζῶντα in early Christianity as sacred utterances of God addressed to man's life situation on earth.

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- 263 In Stephen's mind these λόγια have the potential to change the life of himself and his hearers for the better. Jervell (1998:240,241) even states that the λόγια are alive and able to grant life: "'Lebendige Worte' heisst Worte, die Leben schenken." Krodel (1986:147) agrees and points out that this life has its origin in God himself: "The law consists of living, that is, of life-giving, words which have their origin in God (cf. Heb. 4:12; 1 Peter 1:23). They demand obedience and faith toward the one true God and prohibit idolatry." Some prefer to read "words of life," referring to the positive consequences of obedience. Weiser (1981:185): "Auf den Empfang der Lebensweisungen am Sinai." Stählin (1975:109), however, prefers "words of life": "vielmehr mit der Bezeichnung 'Worte des Leben'." The Latin translation may have encouraged this. Pirot (1949:119) similarly translates the Latin "qui accepit verba vitae dare nobis" as: "qui reçut des paroles de vie pour vous les transmettre." In English "words of life" is not an accurate translation of the Greek. The participial use of ζῶντα, an action word and not a noun (cf. ζωῆς, e.g. 1 John 1:1 περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς), suggests that an inherent force of life is intended, either because God uses them to make men alive or to put them on the way to life.
- 264 Johnson (1992:130) points out that: "the phrase 'living words' (or 'oracles'= logia) does not occur in the LXX, but the connection between the Law and life is constantly drawn (e.g., Deut 4:1, 33, 5:26; 16:20; 30:15; 32:45; also LXX Ps 118:25, 50, 154)." De Villiers (1977:151) suggests a connection with Deut 32: "Moontlik verwys Stefanus hiermee na Deut. 32:47, waar van die wet gesê word: "Want dit is geen vergeefse woord vir julle nie, maar dit is julle lewe; en deur hierdie woorde sal julle die dae verleng in die land waarheen julle deur die Jordaan trek om dit in besit te neem", vgl. ook Lev. 18:5, Eseg. 20:11,13,21; Matt. 19:17; Rom. 7:10,12,14; 10:5; Gal. 3:12. Hierdeur word ook Stefanus se agting vir die wet aangedui en word die aanklag van die Jode verwerp. Hierdie lewende woorde van die wet is 'n tipe en voorafskaduwing van die evangelie, vgl. Joh.6:63,68; 12:50; Fil.2:16; Hebr. 4:12; 1 Petr. 1:23; 1 Joh. 1:1." Schille (1985:183) agrees: "'Lebendige Worte" ist eine Wendung nach Deut. 32:47 (wer das Gesetz hält, hat ein langes Leben vor sich)."
- 265 Acts 7:38 reflects a similar appreciation as found in the Greek version of Psalm 119:105 (LXX 118:105): *νοῦν λύχνος τοῖς ποσίν μου ὁ λόγος σου καὶ φῶς ταῖς τρίβοις μου.*

CHAPTER 8: ROMANS 3:2 - THE PRIVILEGE OF THE JEWS: ENTRUSTED WITH THE ORACLES OF GOD

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8.1 Introduction

Paul's Epistle to the Romans could be called the concise systematic theology of Apostolic Christianity. It treats a diversity of doctrinal subjects. It is in this letter that the apostle makes a core statement about the position of the Jewish people. The New Revised Standard version (NRSV) renders it as follows: "Then what advantage has the Jew? Or what is the value of circumcision? Much, in every way. For in the first place the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God," (τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς; πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ).

The purpose of this chapter is to establish whether "oracles of God" is an accurate translation within the context of Romans 3:2, and to define the meaning of τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ in the Epistle to the Romans. This chapter will argue that λόγια in Romans 3:2 does not refer to mere words, but should inherently be regarded as divine communication. To establish this, first the wider context of this verse will be taken into account (8.2). Then the research camera will zoom in to the immediate textual context, Romans 2:25-3:4 (8.3). After establishing this wider and narrower textual context, Romans 3:2 will be considered as the immediate textual context of λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.

This process enables a careful philological conclusion about the meaning of λόγια in Romans 3:2.

8.2 Wider textual context within the Epistle to the Romans

Paul's letter to the Romans is well known for its doctrinal treatments like salvation through faith in Christ for Gentile and Jew (chapters 1-4), the Christian's sin-problem and a new life

through the Holy Spirit (chapters 5-8), Israel and election (chapters 9-11), followed by practical spiritual themes (chapters 12-15) and a series of greetings (chapter 16).

Romans 3:2 finds itself within the narrower textual context of Paul's theme of salvation for Gentile and Jew through the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Messiah with the name "JHWH saves" (Joshua).

Paul argued that God has a case against the godlessness and wickedness of Gentiles and Jews alike. Both are sinners and stand condemned (2:9, 3:9), either before God as their Creator by their conscience (2:12) or before the God of the covenant by his law (2:21-24). It is in the midst of this debate that the passage of Romans 2:25-3:2 functions. It continues the theme that despite the law the Jews still sin to such an extent that the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles (2:24).

Romans 3:3-19 shows that lack of trust in God's words and disobedience on the part of the Jews or Gentiles does render God's standards useless (3:3-4). On the contrary, man becomes conscious of his sin and of God's truth. This he is not able to fix himself, trying in vain to make up for failings by good deeds. He can however, be put right with God in a different way, through faith in God's grace and redemption that became available through Jesus Christ (3:21-26).

8.3 Immediate textual context: Romans 2:25-3:4

8.3.1 Introduction

The textual context of Romans 3:2 is Romans 2:25-3:4, which deals with the theme of the possible advantages of Jewry and circumcision. In the preceding verses, 2:17-24, Paul has questioned the integrity of Jews who preach God's Law, but fail to obey it themselves. After this integrity issue, Paul proceeds to deal with the principle matter of the value of being a Jew in 2:25-29.²⁶⁶ What is the difference? What is it that makes them special? This constitutes the preceding question what advantage there is in being a Jew, followed by its answer in 3:2.²⁶⁷ Although verse three starts a new series of questions and marks the beginning of another theme, that of God's righteousness compared to human sinfulness, leading up to Paul's solution of righteousness through faith (3:21-26), 3:3-4 seems to connect the two themes by reflecting on the truth character of God's oracles. For that reason, 3:3-4 are included in the immediate context of Romans 3:2 as well.

8.3.2 The Greek text of Romans 2:25-3:4

²⁵περιτομή μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἐὰν νόμον πράσσης ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ἦς ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν ²⁶ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσει οὐχ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν λογισθήσεται ²⁷καὶ κρινεῖ ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία τὸν νόμον τελοῦσα σὲ τὸν διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου ²⁸οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή ²⁹ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος καὶ περιτομή καρδίας ἐν

266 It is important to realise that Paul is in a dialogue with his readers in this passage. Stuhlmacher (1989:49) confirms this: "Die Struktur des Textes ist folgende: in V.1+2 antwortet Paulus auf die sic him Anschluß an 2,25-29 stellende Frage, ob die Vorzugstellung des Juden gegenüber dem Heiden nunmehr gänzlich hinfällig geworden sei. Daran schließen sich in V.3-4 und V.5-8 zwei rhetorische Dialoge an. In beiden geht es um die treue und Gerechtigkeit Gottes."

267 As Rom 8:1-2 are inseparable from Rom 7:25-29, the popular division of taking Romans 3:1-8 as an entity is very unhelpful. For an overview of the literature that advocates Rom 3:1-8, see Haacker (1999:74).

πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι οὐδ' ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ^{3:1} τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς ² πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ³ τί γὰρ εἰ ἠπίστησάν τινες μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσει ⁴ μὴ γένοιτο γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθῆς πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης καθὼς γέγραπται ὅπως ἂν δικαιοθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσεις ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.

8.3.3 Analyses of Romans 2:25-3:4

8.3.3.1 An English translation (New International Version)

This section gives a translation of the Greek. For this purpose the New International Version has been selected, especially because this translation does not render λόγια as "oracles." I wish to argue my case on the basis of the Greek philology and prefer not to use a version that might prejudice the reader in its favour. Otherwise the NIV is a happy medium between readability and source language orientated translation. It provides ready access to the text, while the Greek original is still recognisable. It is also based on the same Greek text critical edition that is used for this research.

²⁵ Circumcision has value if you observe the law,
but if you break the law, you have become as though you had not been circumcised.

²⁶ If those who are not circumcised keep the law's requirements,
will they not be regarded as though they were circumcised?

²⁷ The one who is not circumcised physically and yet obeys the law
will condemn you who, even though you have the written code and circumcision, are a lawbreaker.

²⁸ A man is not a Jew
if he is only one outwardly, nor is circumcision merely outward and physical.

²⁹ No, a man is a Jew if he is one inwardly;
and circumcision is circumcision of the heart, by the Spirit, not by the written code.²⁶⁸
Such a man's praise is not from men, but from God.

^{3:1} What advantage, then, is there in being a Jew, or what value is there in circumcision?
² Much in every way!

First of all, they have been entrusted with the very words of God.

³ What if some did not have faith? Will their lack of faith nullify God's faithfulness?

⁴ Not at all! Let God be true, and every man a liar.

As it is written: "So that you may be proved right when you speak
and prevail when you judge."

8.3.3.2 Grammar

Romans 2:25-3:4 is important as the wider context of Romans 3:2. To fully appreciate and understand Romans 2:25-3:4, this section deals with grammatical issues. These issues do not necessarily relate to the argument about oracles as such, but are important to define the

268 The NIV translates: "circumcision is circumcision of the heart, by the Spirit, not by the written code." This accurately reflects an interpretation of ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι that takes the preposition ἐν instrumentally. Byrne (1996:106) argues that it could be taken locally as well, in the sense of "where the Spirit and not the letter is the prevailing influence." His understanding is unlikely, as 2:29 speaks about an action (περιτομή) and the terrain is already implied by καρδίας. In other words, the person's heart is the locality where the action of circumcision takes place. It is not the outwards appearance, the flesh that needs circumcision, but the inner man. The Law is satisfied with the first, but the Spirit requires the second.

context of Romans 3:2. The main objective of this section is to enable a careful interpretation of the textual context, and, subsequently, the function that 3:2 has in this.

2:26: In 2:26 a construction *ad sensum* presents itself to the reader. The concrete περιτομή is used as an abstract to describe those of the circumcision, in other words, the Jews (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:231-232). In λογισθήσεται one has an example of the passive form of a transitive deponent, literally translated as "he shall be reckoned/considered/counted" (Zerwick & Grosvenor 1988:463). Or as a deponent: "He shall count." The direct object (Geddes & Grosset 2005:206) of this transitive verb is περιτομή: ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομήν λογισθήσεται. This conveys that God is primarily interested in obedience to his Word.

2:27: The preposition διά is used with a genitive of circumstance (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:180-181), implying 'notwithstanding'. Zerwick & Grosvenor (1988:463): "You who with (or for) all your written code and circumcision are..."

2:28: Contrary to εἰς φανερόν (into the open), ἐν τῷ φανερῷ usually comes with the article (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:216). Observe the contrast and parallelism with ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ in 2:29 (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:216). It is not ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός but ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, who meets God's requirements.

3:1: Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:19,20,89) call attention to ἡ ὠφέλεια as an abstract noun, derived from an adjective, in this case obedience. The construction ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς is one of metonymy, an *abstractum pro concreto* (cf. Muskens 1984:71). In other words, Paul does not speak about the benefit of physical circumcision but of the Jewish people, women and children included. This indicates a context of theological and not of ritualistic argument.

3:1: The verb ἐστίν which is implied in τί οὖν, is absent in the rhetoric question (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:427) that starts 3:1. What advantage, then, is there in being a Jew? This absence of ἐστίν is not only customary in Semitic languages, but also in ancient Greek and Indo-Germanic (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:104). This rhetorical question is an important structural marker of the textual context of 3:2, which contains the answer.

3:1: The beginning of the verse, τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου, is an example of a collective singular, 'the Jew' representing Jews in general (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:115). This is why the author of Romans continues with ἐπιστεύθησαν (3:2, aorist passive plural, to entrust someone with, cf. Zerwick & Grosvenor 1988:464) without further announcement. It could be argued that the passive verb ἐπιστεύθησαν is an intransitive verb, but with the τοῦ Ἰουδαίου of 3:1 showing that "the Jews" are the indirect personal object (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:259), who had been entrusted with τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ (accusative of object). Paul conveys the idea that the Jews as God's covenant people had received the privilege of being entrusted with the oracles of God.

3:4: Paul answers his rhetorical question "Will their lack of faith nullify God's faithfulness?"²⁶⁹ with the exclamation (Muskens 1984:71) *μὴ γένοιτο*, an aorist in optative mode, expressing a strong wish or desire, in this case a negative one: "Far be it," or "Never!" (Zerwick & Grosvenor 1988: xxiii-xxiv, 464, see also Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:72 and Newman & Nida 1973:52.)²⁷⁰ By means of this construction Paul emphatically denies that human actions can thwart God's purposes.

3:4: The reason for the emphatic denial (*μὴ γένοιτο*) lies in Paul's concept of truth. By *γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθῆς* (pr. Imperative 3rd sing.), Paul charges his own mind and that of his readers with thinking about God in the right way.²⁷¹

3:4: Romans 3:4 is a quote from Psalm 50:6 (LXX).²⁷² The quote still bears the Attic features of the *ὅπως - ἄν* construction. This final clause often loses *ἄν* in later Greek (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:298-300). By using this construction Paul sets forth a standard of truth (*γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθῆς*) that is to be confirmed in real life (*ὅπως ἄν δικαιοθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσεις ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε*). The *ὅπως - ἄν* construction emphasizes the relationship of God's truth and human life, in particular the life of the believer.

3:4: This passage concludes with *ὅπως ἄν δικαιοθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσεις ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε*. Whether *καὶ* should be read as consecutive, as Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:367-370) propose, is debatable. Perhaps, taking into account its Hebrew original, it is more likely that this is an example of parallelism, or otherwise prolepsis (Muskens 1984:72). Together these expressions reinforce the main idea that Paul conveys: God's truth shall be confirmed.

3:4: The phrase *ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε* is a nominalised infinitive substantive in the dative case because of the preposition *ἐν* (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:333-334).²⁷³ In the way God judges, he will prove to be right.

269 It is generally accepted that Paul was writing in the style of diatribe (cf. Légasse 2002:112; Lohse 2003:116), "in which opposing arguments are raised as questions and then answered" (Mounce 1995:103). Others prefer to speak about a dialogical mode of argument or about objections that arose from within. It could be argued, however, that even an internal dialogue, where Paul foreshadowed objections on his readers' behalf, should be classified as a diatribe of some sort.

270 The use of *μὴ γένοιτο* reflects an emphatic denial: "Nee, stellig nie" (Jonker 1967:55); "'Not on your life' or 'Not in a thousand years' gives something of the flavour" (Ziesler 1989:97); "Het spreken van Paulus in Rome met de Joden, waarvan Handelingen 28 ons verhaalt, heeft duidelijk de vorm van een disputatie. In het algemeen zullen vragen en tegenwerpingen gebruikelijk zijn geweest voor het optreden van Paulus in de synagoge, een exploderend antwoord als 'volstrekt niet' (in 3:3; 6:1; 6:15, enz.) schijnt hem voor in de mond te liggen; even zeer een uitdagend vragen als 'of weet gij niet, dat...' (6:3 en 6:16)" (Lekkerkerker 1962:116).

271 Mounce (1995:104) correctly points out that *γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθῆς* requires a response of the reader: "Let God be recognised as true."

272 Psalm 50 (LXX) is Psalm 51 in the Hebrew Bible. Harrison (1993:36) rightly connects this psalm with the life of David: "One of the best men in Israel's history, declared to be the man after God's own heart, proved a disappointment. After being chastened for his sin and refusal to confess it for a long period, David was ready to admit that God was in the right and he was in the wrong." Paul makes a general application to the condition of mankind.

273 The use of *ἐν τῷ* in temporal sense with accusative and infinitive is translated as "when" (Zerwick & Grosvenor 1988:464).

8.3.3.3 Interpretation Romans 2:25-3:4

Romans 2:25-28 deals with the sign of the covenant between God and the children of Abraham. Religious integrity is a major issue here.²⁷⁴ Paul appreciates circumcision, but what really counts is obedience to God (2:25-26).²⁷⁵ Those who obey without being circumcised are better than the circumcised Jew who transgresses (2:27).²⁷⁶ God is not a respecter of persons (Jonker 1967:54). Being a real Jew to Paul is a matter of heart and behaviour,²⁷⁷ not of religious membership (2:28-29). This changed attitude towards God and his views is brought about by the Spirit,²⁷⁸ not by mere letters of a dead code of rules (2:29). In Paul's eyes obedience to the Law should not be motivated by the socio-religious structure and personal advancement. On the contrary, religion is all about conforming oneself to God's views in a personal covenant relationship,²⁷⁹ not necessarily about one's image in the sight of religious people (2:29). It is in this immediate context that Paul asks the rhetorical question about the possible advantage²⁸⁰ of the Jew, or the benefits of being in that covenant signified by circumcision (cf. Schmithals 1988:105). He provides the firm answer: "Much in every way!" (3:2). Paul explains that this is mainly, or foremost, because the Jews have been entrusted

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- 274 Rom 2:25-28 also deals with the integrity of the Jews as they relate to the God of the covenant and to one another. "In the last paragraph of chap.2 Paul summarized what it meant to be a real Jew and what kind of circumcision was considered authentic. People were not real Jews if their Jewishness was no more than outward appearance," says Mounce (1995:102). Paul finds himself in line with both Moses and the prophets when he calls attention to the importance of a 'circumcised' heart (Lev 26:41; Deut 10:16; Jer 4:4; Ezek 44:9).
- 275 God's response to the Jews shall not be based on their outward appearance, but on their behaviour. "Die sin van hierdie hele gedeelte is om die Jood te laat verstaan dat hy nie anders as die heidene geoordeel sal word, net omdat hy 'n Jood is en die teken van die besnydenis dra nie" (Jonker 1967:105).
- 276 The nineteenth century bishop John William Colenso, whose Commentary on Romans was reissued in 2003, draws a parallel between circumcision and Christian baptism (2003:68), leading to the following observation (2003:69-70): "All his language here again may be well applied to those unfaithful Christians, who bring dishonour on the Name of God among the heathen in the present day, and whom the heathen himself, though unbaptised, and ignorant of the name of Christ and the letter of Christianity, yet keeping the law of truth and right; according to his light, shall one day judge. For instance, it might be asked, 'If you say the heathen may be saved without the knowledge of the Gospel, what advantage then, hath the Christian, or what profit is there in Christian Baptism?' And a similar answer might be given: Much, in every way: in the very first place, because to them are entrusted the Holy Scriptures, the books of the New Testament as well as the Old?' And to this we might go on to add, 'To them are given the means of grace, and the hope of glory.'" Colenso's book (St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans) was first published in 1861 as a thought provoking commentary from a missionary point of view. Most ironically it denied the final authority of these oracles of God. Cf. Hanekom (1951:263-270).
- 277 According to Paul it is not the exterior that counts with God. "Elles ne sont pas faites pour ceux qui ne sont des Juifs et des circoncis que d'une manière extérieure, mais pour ceux qui le sont <<en esprit>>," agrees Viard (1975:86).
- 278 The instrumental use of the Spirit in this passage brings into mind Ezek 36:26; Joel 2:28 and Acts 2:16. It is a "garantie par le don d'un <<esprit nouveau>>, envoyé par Dieu lui-même" (Viard 1975:86). This Old Testament background suggests divine interference and makes it unlikely that ἐν πνεύματι should reflect a mere contrast between the spiritual and mechanical. In Rom 7:6 and Col 2:11, which provide a similar context, the work of God himself is implied as well (Cf. Mounce 1995:102).
- 279 It was in a special covenant relationship that God entrusted his words to people. "Aan Israel alleen het God Sy besondere woorde toevertrou. God het Israel vertrou met Sy Woord. Daarom kan God ook met reg aanspraak maak op die trou van Israel teenoor Sy Woord," according to Jonker (1967:55).
- 280 The grandeur, superiority and excellence of the Jews did not consist in something they had to offer, but in something that God entrusted to them. Pirot (1948:51): "Les prophètes et tous les écrivains sacrés ont dans l'A.T. célébré la grandeur, l'excellence d'Israël et sa supériorité (τὸ περισσόν) sur tous les autres peuples de la terre... Mais Paul venait de dire de celle-ci qu'elle n'était utile que si l'on observait la Loi... Telle est donc la grandeur des Juifs. Dieu leur a confié son message, son Évangile." In other words, this was not a matter of racial arrogance but of religious privilege.

with the very words, or oracles, of God. It is those that reflect God's faithfulness and truth (3:3-4) in what he communicates and asserts (δικαιωθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου).²⁸¹

8.4 Romans 3:2: τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ

8.4.1 Greek text of Romans 3:2

πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ

8.4.1.1 Text Critical considerations

This verse is well attested to by Eastern and Western traditions. A handful of manuscripts do not read γὰρ (Nestle & Aland 1988:413), but even without this the causative sense is preserved by the μὲν - ὅτι construction, making this difference rather trivial.

8.4.2 Exegesis of Romans 3:2 as context of τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ

The emphatic response πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον (much, indeed in every way) to his own rhetorical question shows how Paul values ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.²⁸² It is important to note that this is not so much a quality of the Jews, but a grace of God.²⁸³ Dunn (1988:130) translates: "In the first place, they were entrusted with the oracles of God." As Paul uses πρῶτον without any follow up, he probably did not intend to use πρῶτον as an indicator of a sequence (like e.g. Bette & Van den Brink & Van der Jagt 1995:75; Zeller 1985:77), but of importance.²⁸⁴ To imply that Paul continues the sequence in Romans 9:4-5 (e.g. Lekkerkerker 1962:117, Newman & Nida 1973:52)²⁸⁵ seems a little far fetched. Consequently a translation like: "The main thing is, they were entrusted with the oracles of

- 281 God's justice is based on truth and not on changing preferences or majority opinions. Cf. Zeller (1985:78): "Aufgrund seiner Wahrhaftigkeit behält Gott recht. Vielleicht ist bei den >>Worten<< an die Gottessprüche von V.2 zu denken. Gerade weil Gott sie nicht zurücknimmt, setzt er sich im Gericht mit ihnen durch." God's words will prove right.
- 282 Paul's response to the rhetorical question about the privilege of the Jews is πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον (much, indeed in every way). When Paul defines this, he mentions only one thing, ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ. This shows how much he values the fact that the Jews had been entrusted with the oracles of God. Jonker (1967:54) is completely right in saying: "As hy egter oor die *alle opsigte* moet uitbrei, noem hy slegs één ding: dat *die woorde van God* aan hulle toevertrou is."
- 283 Paul does not esteem the Jews from a racial perspective, but uses the grace of God as measure for his appreciation. The very fact that the Jews had been entrusted τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ was evidence of this grace. De Boor (1962:85) puts it well: "Das 'Besondere des Juden' liegt nicht in seinen eigenen Qualitäten oder Leistungen, wie er das gerne möchte und leidenschaftlich zu verteidigen sucht. Es liegt in dem, was Gott ihm zuvertraut hat. Dieses 'Anvertraut-bekommen' göttlicher Gaben hat Paulus selbst für sein eigenes Leben als unerhörte Auszeichnung betrachtet: 1 Kor 9,17; Gal 2,7; 1 Th 2,4; 1 Tim 1,11." Nygren (1951:s.n.) agrees: "Auf Grund dessen, was er vorher gesagt hat, könnte es naheliegen, zu glauben, daß seine Antwort lauten würde: gar nichts. Es lag ihm ja daran, dem Juden allen Ruhm zu nehmen und ihn mit dem Heiden auf dieselbe Stufe zu stellen. Statt dessen antwortet Paulus: 'Führwar, sehr viel.' Der Vorzug des Juden hängt nämlich nicht an dem, was er selbst ist oder tut, sondern an dem, was Gott mit ihm getan hat."
- 284 Paul uses πρῶτον as an indicator of importance. De Boor (1962:84-85) correctly observes: "Das folgende 'zuerst einmal' will nicht eine Aufzählung beginnen, sondern heißt: 'vor allem doch schon einmal dies.'" Schmithals (1988:105) explains this in greater detail: "Das 'zuerst' in V.2 hat man deshalb mit 'vor allem' oder 'in der erste Linie' (wie in → 1,8.16;2,9f.; vgl. Auch 1 Kor 11,18; Mt 6,33) wiederzugeben; denn man kann nicht annehmen, daß Paulus bei dem sorgfältig formulierten Abschnitt V.1-8 ein 'zweitens', 'drittens' usw. (etwa im Sinne von → 9,4f.) vergessen hat."
- 285 Viard (1975:88) points out that Rom 9:4 is set in "un autre contexte". Paul is not simply continuing the advantages of Jewry where he left off in chapter three. In Romans 9 he engages in a new theme, his great sorrow for unrepentant Jews who received so much from God, but were still disobedient.

God," would convey Paul's intent very well. There is a similar use of *πρῶτον* in Romans 1:8.²⁸⁶ The mere fact that the expected sequence is not continued here, but left at the priority matter of the Jews being entrusted with the oracles of God, reinforces its importance. Boice (1991:273) succinctly writes: "It was the possession of these *logia*, or oracles, that constituted the chief advantage of a person's having been born a Jew." This shows on the one hand that his is not a racial privilege. On the other hand, oracles entrusted also imply a greater authority to which any Jew is subjected.²⁸⁷

"Entrusted," is a fair translation of *ἐπιτεύθησαν*,²⁸⁸ as it conveys that God thought the Jews worthy to receive something precious (cf. Newman & Nida 1973:52).²⁸⁹ Indirectly, it also seems to imply a reception on a faith level.²⁹⁰

286 Rom 1:8 confirms that Paul does not necessarily use *πρῶτον* as an indicator of a sequence (like e.g. Bette & Van den Brink & Van der Jagt 1995:75; Zeller 1985:77). Lekkerkerker (1962:117) correctly observes that Paul shows that he uses *πρῶτον* as a mere indicator of importance: "Het *in de eerste plaats* wordt evenmin als in 1:8 gevolgd door een tweede of een derde; de apostel blijkt ook hier abrupt te zijn in zijn stijl, zelfs zijn gedachtengang vertoont soms de structuur van een anakoloet."

287 When God entrusted the Jews with his oracles, he also placed them under the authority of his Word. Lekkerkerker (1962:118) is correct in stating: "Maar tegelijkertijd is duidelijk, dat zijn voorrecht niet bestaat in een religieuze kwaliteit, zijn vroomheid of wetsgetrouwheid, maar in een Woord dat soeverein *boven* hem staat en nooit in de beschikking van zijn handen overgaat."

288 To fully appreciate the meaning of *ἐπιτεύθησαν* it is important to realise the central role of faith and trust. The believer in God is, reciprocally, entrusted with *τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ* and put in a position of responsibility. Bette & Van den Brink & Van der Jagt (1995:75) correctly observe: "Opmerkelijk is het gebruik (woordspeling) van woorden die aan *pistewo* ('geloven, vertrouwen'; lijdende vorm: 'toevertrouwd worden'vs.2) verwant zijn, nl. *Epistesan* (zij zijn ontrouw, ongelovig geweest), *apistia* (ontrouw, ongeloof) en *pistis* ('geloof, trouw')."

289 Entrusted with *τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ* implies that one is put in a position of responsibility. Byrne (1996:108) goes as far as to state that this "lends the sense of something committed for safe, faithful keeping- perhaps also the hint that the Jews were to hold them in trust so that *others* (the Gentiles!) might in due course benefit from them as well." Haacker (1999:76) moves along these lines as well: "die empfangene Offenbarung (>>die Worte Gottes<<) begründet einen Auftrag für die Zukunft (treue Bewahrung des Anvertrauten." Haacker calls Bauer & Aland (1988:1332) in to support this view, but they do not do so necessarily. All Bauer & Aland give is the translation "etw. anvertraut erhalten, mit etw. betraut werden." Mounce (1995:104), however, shares the same, almost lyrical sentiment with Byrne and Haacker: "the Jewish nation was to be the guardian of all that God had revealed through his spokesmen. Of all the nations on earth God had chosen the Jews to be the custodians of his redemptive plan for the human race." Cf. Lekkerkerker (1962:117): "De Godspraak is *toevertrouwd*, als een kostbaarheid die Israël te beheren heeft, een geschenk dat het doorgeven moet." Although an interesting view, one really would have expected *φυλάσσω*, cf. 1 Tim 6:20, if the apostle wished to convey the idea of keeping in trust leading up to some future event. By using *ἐπιτεύθησαν* it seems that Paul emphasizes the beauty of the entrusted and the responsibility of care that goes with it. (The worthiness of receiving is less likely in this context where it has been stated that all are being considered sinners.) In other words, *ἐπιτεύθησαν* denotes responsibility for a precious object, rather than a charge of safekeeping for the future benefit of Jews and Gentiles. The latter may well be theologically true otherwise, but is not necessarily implied in or emphasized by *ἐπιτεύθησαν*.

290 Origen, *Commentarii in epistolam ad Romanos (I.1-XII.21) (in catenis)*, wrote: τὸ πιστευθῆναι τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐν τῷ βιβλία καὶ γράμματα πιστευθῆναι χαρακτηρίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦν καὶ τὰ ἐναποκείμενα μυστήρια γινώσκεσθαι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ὑγιῆ λόγον ὁ οφθ νοήει τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τόματο· ἐπὶ δὲ χεῖλει φορᾷ ἐπιγνωμύνην. τοιοῦτος ἦν Μωυσῆς καὶ οἱ προφῆται, Ἰουδαῖοι ὄντες καὶ πιστευθέντες τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἴ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις παραπλήσιος (Migne 2006:5-6). Bray (1998:81) gives a translation of this passage: "Note moreover that Paul says that the oracles of God were entrusted to the Jews, not merely the letter of the text. So it is possible for us to understand that those who read but do not understand, as well as those who read but do not believe, have had only the letter entrusted to them, of which the apostle says: 'The letter kills' (2

Paul first restricted the usefulness (using the verb ὀφελεῖ) of circumcision to the extent that Jews actually obey the Law. He now takes the debate to a higher level, to that of revelation. Here it is no longer the Law, as a mere set of rules that one can break or obey. Paul brings his readers to the level of personal spiritual relationship in which God's revelation is a key factor and the Law merely a consequence. For this reason oracles of God, τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, is likely to refer to the Words of God that the Jews received through Moses and the Prophets, "les oracles divins communiqués par Moïse ou les prophètes" (Légasse 2002:213).²⁹¹ These "oracles of God" might in principle include the words spoken through his Jewish Messiah,²⁹² whose mission was restricted to the house of Israel (cf. Matt 10:6; 15:24). Some make it even

Cor 3:6) but the oracles of God are entrusted to those who understand and believe what Moses wrote and who believe in Christ, as the Lord said: "If you believed Moses you would believe me, for he wrote of me."

- 291 The τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ is nothing less than divine communication, which used Moses and the Prophets as intermediaries. This revelation was considered oracular. Boice (1991:276) takes this point well: "The term (*logia*) occurs in three other passages (Acts 7:38, Heb 5:12, and 1 Peter 4:11), and in each case the word indicates that the Old Testament Scriptures, to which these New Testament verses refer, were regarded by the New Testament authors as "oracular". De Boor (1962:85) emphasizes their continuing relevance: "Achten wir auf die Formulierung! Paulus nennt nicht mit einer gewissen dogmatischen Starrheit, in die wir hineingekommen sind, 'das Wort Gottes,' sondern sieht noch ganz lebendig die Fülle der 'Gottessprüche,' die durch Mose und durch die Propheten an Israel ergangen sind." Dunn (1988:130-131) agrees that "Paul means the utterances of God, given through Moses and the prophets (he makes no closer specification) and now constituting the holy scriptures (1:2). This usage is already established in the LXX (Deut 33:9; Isa 5:24; Pss 12:6 [LXX 11:7]; 18:30 [LXX 17:31]; 107 [LXX 106]:11; 119 [LXX 118]: 11, 25 (S), 38, etc.; Philo, Praem.1; Vit. Cont.25; Josephus, war 6.311; Heb 5:12)." Dunn also connects Num 24:4,16 with Acts 7:38 and 1 Peter 4:11 in this context of "inspired utterance." These τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ are a revelatory unit, as the oracles are the collected utterances of God that were entrusted to Israel. For this reason Fitzmyer (1993:326) is right when he says: "Rather, it has to be taken in the broad sense of the whole of the Old Testament in which the revelation of God's will is set forth." Others feel one should take the expression beyond the Old Testament. Lekkerkerker (1962:118) states: "het is echter juister te denken aan het geheel van de Godsopenbaring die tot de mens komt en die een Gods 'sprake' is, zoals God bovenal 'gesproken' heeft in Jezus Christus." Although Newman & Nida (1973:52) agree with Lekkerkerker in their translation "his message", their subsequent comments show that they in fact reject this view: "There is some question regarding the exact limitations to be placed on the meaning of his message (RSV, NEB 'the oracles of god'; Goodspeed 'the utterances of God'; Phillips 'God's messages'; JB 'God's message'; Moffatt 'the scriptures of God'). Some take this to be a reference to the entire Old Testament, while others limit it either to special divine revelations as on Mount Sinai or to the promises of God in the Old Testament. However, in light of the parallel passage in 9:4, it would seem best to take it in the larger sense of the entire Old Testament." Although Lekkerkerker's view may be theologically true, and inspired by other messages in the New Testament, it probably was not what Paul had in mind in his Epistle to the Romans. He uses the aorist ἐπιστεύθησαν to describe how the Jews were entrusted with the λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ. When Paul continues to speak about God's revelation of righteousness in Jesus Christ, he uses an emphatic "now" (Rom 3:21: νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν). Also note that Paul states that the Law and the Prophets testify about this. For that reason τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ should not be limited to special divine revelations as on Mount Sinai or to the promises of God in the Old Testament. Bette & Van den Brink & Van der Jagt (1995:75) support this view from a slightly different angle: "In de praktijk gaat het daarbij niet alleen om de woorden van de wet, maar ook om de profeten en geschriften." Zeller (1985:78) agrees: "Das ein wenig gestelzte Wort >>Gottessprüche<< umfaßt sowohl die Verheißungen des AT, mit denen Gott seinen Treue engagiert, wie auch die Weisungen des Gesetzes (vgl. Apg 7,38), die die Treue der Israeliten beanspruchen."
- 292 Apostolic Christianity saw Jesus Christ as the climax of God's revelation, his living Word incarnate. Cf. Heb 1:1-2: πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας. (NRSV: Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets, but in these last days he has spoken to us by the Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom he also created the worlds.)

to include the words of John the Baptist.²⁹³ It is, however, likely that within the context of his rhetorical argument, Paul had the same concept in mind as Jesus did in Luke 16:29-31.²⁹⁴ Amongst all people on earth the Jews were singled out by the Creator of all peoples for a special communicative relationship.²⁹⁵

In this context of special relationship Paul speaks about the λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, combining the communicative and the divine in a revelatory sense. This interpretation is confirmed and reflected by the following translations: De Boor (1962:85): "Ihnen wurden die Gottessprüche anvertraut." Zeller (1985:76): "die Gottessprüche." Schmithals (1988:105): "Die Worte der göttlichen Offenbarung."²⁹⁶ Viard (1975:88): "Les oracles de Dieu leur ont été confiés." Pirot (1948:51): "furent confiés les oracles de Dieu." Fitzmyer (1993:324): "entrusted with the oracles of God." Ziesler (1989:96): "the oracles of God."

Some theologians have suggested translating τὰ λόγια with "promises" (cf. Newman & Nida 1973:52), but this is not encouraged by the Greek original and seems mainly inspired by theological predispositions.²⁹⁷ The context of τὰ λόγια is one of revelation.²⁹⁸

293 Van Bruggen (2006:58) claims that we can "hier mede denken aan het optreden van de profeet Johannes de Doper en aan het optreden van Jezus zelf. God heeft in de eerste plaats *tot Israël* gesproken door de profeten en door zijn Zoon. Voor Paulus is het woord van God door de vroegere profeten één ongedeeld geheel met Gods woord door de profeet Johannes de Doper en door Jezus van Nazaret." The suggestion that Paul intended to include Jesus' words and ministry in λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ should be rejected because it is not supported by the textual context of the Epistle to the Romans. Paul uses the aorist ἐπιστεύθησαν to describe how the Jews were entrusted with the λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, and distinguishes this from the revealed righteousness in Jesus Christ, which he emphatically places in the present (Rom 3:21).

294 Luke 16:29-31 shares the parable of the rich man in hell who begs Father Abraham to send back Lazarus to earth. The rich man wants Lazarus to warn his brothers, but the response is negative: λέγει δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἔχουσι Μωϋσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν ³⁰ ὁ δὲ εἶπεν οὐχὶ πᾶτερ Ἀβραάμ ἀλλ' ἐάν τις ἀπὸ νεκρῶν πορευθῆ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετανοήσουσιν ³¹ εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ εἰ Μωϋσεὺς καὶ τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἀκούουσιν οὐδ' ἐάν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆ πεισθήσονται. (NRSV: Abraham replied, "They have Moses and the prophets; they should listen to them." He said, "No, father Abraham; but if someone goes to them from the dead, they will repent." He said to him, "If they do not listen to Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced even if someone rises from the dead.")

295 Statements about the election of the Jews can be found in OT passages like Ps 103 and 147. Fitzmyer (1993:327), however, correctly points out that: "Yet such OT teaching also included a threat of God's punishment despite such privilege: 'You alone have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will chastise you for all your iniquities' (Amos 3:2)." Noblesse oblige.

296 Rom 3:2 shares the unique use of λόγια in the New Testament with Acts 7:38, Heb 5:12, and 1 Peter 4:11. Schmithals (1988:105; cf. Boice 1991:276; Dunn 1988:130-131): "Logia (vgl. 1Petr 4,11; Heb 5,12; Apg 7,38) sind 'Aussprüche', also die Worte der göttlichen Offenbarung. Paulus formuliert mit Bedacht sehr allgemein und grundsätzlich." These λόγια constitute a collection of God's revelatory speech.

297 Some have suggested that τὰ λόγια should be translated with "promises." Byrne (1996:108; cf. Newman & Nida 1973:52) is one of the advocates of this view: "If Paul already has in view the 'promises' given by God to Abraham, which will be so central to the argument later on (chapter 4), it is strange that the specific term 'promise' (*epangelia*) does not occur (cf. 9:5 'promises')." Of course τὰ λόγια may contain promises, but this is not what is conveyed by τὰ λόγια automatically or necessarily. The Greek has a perfectly clear word at its disposal, ἐπαγγελία. Paul uses this nine times in the Epistle to the Romans (4:13; 4:14; 4:16; 4:20; 9:4,8,9; 15:8) and quite a few times in other letters. Had he wished to convey "promise," he would surely have used ἐπαγγελία. Warfield (1969:46-47) points out that in τὰ λόγια "we have a term expressive, in common usage at least, of the simple notion of divine revelation, an oracle." Lohse (2003:116) agrees: "τὰ λόγια wird in antikem Sprachgebrauch verschiedentlich von göttlichen Orakeln gesagt, in biblischen Zusammenhängen jedoch von Sprüchen Gottes, mit denen er sich seinem Volk zuwendet."

8.4.3 Philological conclusion about τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ

In Paul's Epistle to the Romans the expression τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ refers to speech of God that was entrusted to the Jews as a people. This includes everything he spoke through Moses and the prophets. The Apostle presents this as a matter of the greatest privilege to his readers, both for its authoritative contents and the personal involvement of the God of the Covenant these represent. Paul uses these "oracles" or "very words of God," as a collective reference to all divine speech that was entrusted to the Jews before the revelation of God's righteousness in Christ, to which these λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ bore witness in advance.

298 It is God's revelation to them that gives the Jews a unique position. "Vom menschlichen Verhalten schwenkt er dabei zur Gabe Gottes und nennt als erste und wichtigste- weitere werden 9,4f aufgezählt- die Offenbarung," says Zeller (1985:78). Ziesler (1989:96) correctly argues that the context takes τὰ λόγια as the divine sayings in the Torah in the widest sense, "as the section deals quite largely with the divine demands."

CHAPTER 9: HEBREWS 5:12 - ORACLE BASICS

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9.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the "oracle basics," as the author calls them in Hebrews²⁹⁹ 5:12: καὶ γὰρ ὀφείλοντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι διὰ τὸν χρόνον πάλιν χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ

299 "To the Hebrews" is commonly known as "the Epistle to the Hebrews" or "the Letter to the Hebrews". It could be argued that Hebrews does not belong in the literary genre of letter, except for the ending. In favour of classifying Hebrews as a homily are the following arguments: 1) no traditional salutation opens Hebrews; 2) Heb 1-12 resembles a theological treatise or sermon; 3) the letter-like closing verses, 13:22-25 (or the whole of chapter 13) may have been added later as the document began to circulate. Those who favour this line of thinking generally feel that by both style and contents Hebrews falls in the category of a written sermon. Although this would be hard to deny as far as Hebrews 1-12 is concerned (like e.g. Romans or Ephesians also contain homiletical portions), this does not necessarily exclude a classification as letter for the complete document. The view that 13:22-25 may have been added later as the document began to circulate is based on a text-critical supposition for which there is little text critical evidence in existent manuscripts (Nestle-Aland 1988:587). Consequently, it fails to do justice to the literary unity of the document as it presents itself, including 13:22-25. The document as it comes to the 21st century reader recommends itself as a letter (13:22: παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοί ἀνέχεσθε τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως καὶ γὰρ διὰ βραχέων ἐπέστειλα ὑμῖν); announces the arrival of Timothy (13:23: γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον μεθ' οὗ ἂν τάχιον ἐρχηται ὀψομαι ὑμᾶς); and exchanges greetings (13:24-25: ἀσπάσασθε πάντας τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἢ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν). This is reinforced by remarks like "Pray for us" (13:18). Although Hebrews lacks the traditional salutation, Nestle-Aland (1988:587) show that a wide variety of text traditions and the overwhelming majority of manuscripts considered Hebrews to be a letter from a very early age and included at the very least the subscription πρὸς εβραίους. Nestle-Aland (1988:587) cite Papyrus 47 in favour of the omission of a subscript, but it is this same Chester Beatty papyrus that lists Hebrews among the epistles of Paul, after Romans (Guthrie 1990:670). This view of Hebrews as a letter is supported by the fact that the wider chapter 13 is typical of the letter-genre of "Haustafel," as elsewhere applied by Paul (cf. Col 3:18-4:6; Eph 5:22-6:9; 1 Pet 2:13-3:7). These "house rules" constitute independent, self-contained paranetic units, which are not uncommon to (Pauline) letters, but rarely associated with sermons. Although much of the letter (1-12) contains a doctrinal exposition that may have been delivered as a sermon as well, or could be considered as a book (cf. Luke 1:1; Acts 1:1), the package in which this sermon or book is delivered to the 21st century reader is that of a letter. Heb 13 forms a literary unit with Heb 1-12. The remarks and greeting typical of letter in Heb 13 are not preceded by any introduction but flows naturally from the homiletical Heb 1-12. For this reason it

διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γεγόνατε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος καὶ οὐ στερεᾶς τροφῆς. The New Revised Standard Version translates this as: "For though by this time you ought to be teachers, you need someone to teach you again the basic elements of the oracles of God. You need milk, not solid food."

To understand this passage validly it will be necessary to take the wider context of Hebrews into account, as the first four chapters pay extensive attention to God's revelatory communication with mankind. This would allow a more defined view of what the author had in mind as he dealt with the concept of revelation and the role of τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ in this regard. This should also make clear whether he assigned authority to these λόγια, or not. To establish this I will first take a closer look at the wider context within Hebrews (9.2) and subsequently at the immediate context of Hebrews 4:14-5:14, particularly 5:11-14. These verses are analyzed (9.3.3), translated (9.2.3.1), grammar issues relevant to the context considered (9.3.3.2), and subsequently interpreted in their own right (9.3.3.3). After this Hebrews 5:15 will be considered and interpreted within this context (9.4), to enable a philological conclusion about τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ.

9.2 Wider textual context within Hebrews

Hebrews concerns itself with God's purpose to reconcile sinful men to himself. Jesus is presented as God's ultimate vehicle of revelation and as the Son of God (1:1-3).³⁰⁰ His words deserve even greater attention than the words spoken to Moses through the mediation of angels (2:1-3). Chapter three continues to deal with the response to God's voice (3:7), linking disobedience with a lack of trust in God's words (3:19-4:13). As this theme of revelation is continued throughout the first part of the letter, it finds its climax in Hebrews 4:12-13, just before the author³⁰¹ launches a new theme,³⁰² that of Christ as high priest, who deserves the trust of believers.

would also be inaccurate to take Hebrews as a book with an accompanying letter. It presents itself as a letter that may also contain a book or sermon. Consequently, even in 21st century literary terms it is justified to refer to Hebrews as an epistle or letter. For pragmatic reason, as the issue is immaterial for the goals of this research, which do not concern Heb 13, the Epistle to the Hebrews will be referred to as "Hebrews".

- 300 God's speech is central in the first 4 chapters of Hebrews and serves as a structural marker. Karrer (2002:224) is correct in writing: "Unser Abschnitt legt zusammen mit dem >>Gott sprach<< aus 1,1-2 einen bogen (eine Inklusion) um 1,1-4,13 und rundet damit den ersten großen Teil des Hebr." As this theme of revelation is continued throughout the first part of the book, Schunack (2002:21-59) correctly sums up the situation by calling 1:1-4:13 Hebrews' "Erster Hauptteil".
- 301 Both in the Western and Eastern Church the author of Hebrews has always been considered to be an apostle, almost unanimously Paul. Tertullian ascribed it to Barnabas, who, although not one of the twelve, was referred to as an apostle in the New Testament. Tertullian, however, only mentions it in one place (*De Pudicitia* 20; Tertullian 1998:197-198) in his voluminous writings. It is, however, more likely that this letter should be identified with a different one, written by Barnabas, and also cited by Origen (*De Principiis* 1.2.4; cf. Origen 1998b:636-637). Hebrews was always considered as an Eastern letter and the text critical evidence suggests that it originally did not bear the name of its author, which may have delayed its acceptance in the Latin Church. The traditional evidence for associating Paul with its authorship is overwhelming. There is strong evidence for Hebrews' inclusion in the Pauline corpus as early as the post apostolic age (Anderson (1966:429-438) . The alleged difference in style was met by the tradition (early 2nd century, Clement of Alexandria's teacher Pantaenus, cf. Eusebius H.E. 4.14) that Paul wrote it in Hebrew and Luke translated into Greek. Contrary to what many commentators have erroneously suggested and repeated (e.g. Guthrie 1990:669,682; Morris 1992:6; Tenney 1991:359), even Origen of Alexandria suggested that Paul was the author of its contents. Origen *De Principiis* 6.25 (Migne 2006:111-112) says:

This climax is significant as it elaborates on the power of the Word of God:

ὅτι ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς Πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τῆ φράσει, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφοράς ὁμολογήσαι ἄν. 6.25.12 πάλιν τε αὖ ὅτι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσιά ἐστιν καὶ οὐ δεύτερα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο ἄν συμφῆσαι εἶναι ἀληθὲς πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆ ἀποστολικῆ». 6.25.13 τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων· «ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαινόμενος εἶπομι' ἄν ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά καὶ ὡσπερ σχολιογραφήσαντός τινος τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου. εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκμεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασιν. 6.25.14 τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς οἶδεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία ὑπὸ τινῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι Κλήμης, ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων, ἔγραψεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὑπὸ τινῶν δὲ ὅτι Λουκάς, ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς Πράξεις. (Translation: That the character of the diction of the epistle entitled To the Hebrews has not the apostle's rudeness in speech, who confessed himself rude in speech, that is, in style, but that the epistle is better Greek in the framing of its diction, will be admitted by everyone who is able to discern differences of style. But again, on the other hand, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle, to this also everyone will consent as true who has given attention to reading the apostle.... But as for myself, if I were to state my own opinion, I should say that the thoughts are the apostle's, but that the style and composition belonged to one who called to mind the apostle's teachings and, as it were, made short notes of what his master said. If any church, therefore, holds this epistle as Paul's, let it be commended for this also. For not without reason have the men of old handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the epistle, in truth God knows. Yet the account which has reached us [is twofold], some saying that Clement, who was bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, others, that it was Luke, he who wrote the Gospel and the Acts. Cf. online: http://www.daveblackonline.com/origen_on_the_authorship_of_hebr.htm.) The textual context of the oft misquoted "Who wrote the epistle, in truth God knows," shows that Origen did not question the author but wondered about the amanuensis or secretary who wrote it down: Luke, Clemens Romanus or someone else. Although Origen does not mention him, Barnabbas may be considered as well. Origen maintains Pauline authorship throughout *De Principiis* (e.g. 1.1; 1.2.5; 3.10; 4.13); and writes in *Epistula ad Africanum* 11.67-68: ὁ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους γράψας φησὶν· «Ἐλιθάσθησαν, ἐπίσθησαν, ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας ἀπέθανον.» Πευσόμεθα γὰρ ἐπὶ τίνα ἀναφέρηται τὸ, «ἐπίσθησαν,» κατὰ τι ἔθος ἀρχαῖον οὐ μόνον Ἑβραϊκόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλληνικόν, πληθυντικῶς λεγόμενον περὶ ἑνός. Σαφὲς δ' ὅτι αἱ παραδόσεις λέγουσι πεπίσθηαι Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην· καὶ ἐν τινι ἀποκρύφῳ τοῦτο φέρεται· ὅπερ τάχα ἐπίτηδες ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ῥεραδιούργηται, λέξεις τινὰς τὰς μὴ πρεπούσας παρεμβεβληκότων τῇ γραφῇ, ἢ ἡ ὅλη ἀπιστηθῆ· ἀλλ' εἰκὸς τινα, θλιβόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποδείξεως, συγχρήσασθαι τῷ βουλήματι τῶν ἀθετούντων τὴν Ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς οὐ 11.68 Παύλῳ γεγραμμένην· πρὸς ὃν ἄλλων λόγων κατ' ἰδίαν χρήζομεν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ εἶναι Παύλου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. (Translation: As an example, take the story told about Esaias; and guaranteed by the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is found in none of their public books. For the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in speaking of the prophets, and what they suffered, says, "They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were slain with the sword" To whom, I ask, does the "sawn asunder" refer (for by an old idiom, not peculiar to Hebrew, but found also in Greek, this is said in the plural, although it refers to but one person)? Now we know very well that tradition says that Esaias the prophet was sawn asunder; and this is found in some apocryphal work, which probably the Jews have purposely tampered with, introducing some phrases manifestly incorrect, that discredit might be thrown on the whole. However, some one hard pressed by this argument may have recourse to the opinion of those who reject this Epistle as not being Paul's; against whom I must at some other time use other arguments to prove that it is Paul's, cf. Origen (1998b:705,743).

- 302 The Holy Spirit is presented as the Author of the Word of God. Hegermann (1988:105) aptly writes: "Im übrigen schließt der Verfasser hier zugleich die in 3,7 begonnene Paraklese ab, unter Aufnahme der Motive des Heiligen Geistes als Sprecher des Wortes (3,7a) und des herzens als des Ortes verborgener Gefahr für das Heil (3,12)."

4:12 ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργῆς καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον καὶ διϊκνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος ἁρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας ¹³ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κτίσις ἀφανῆς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ καὶ τετραηλισμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος.³⁰³

The context of these verses is a warning to be obedient to the voice of God and enter into the rest that He provides.³⁰⁴ The Word of God³⁰⁵ is defined by several qualities: living,³⁰⁶

- 303 Heb 4:12-13 (NRSV): Indeed, the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing until it divides soul from spirit, joints from marrow; it is able to judge the thoughts and intentions of the heart. 13And before him no creature is hidden, but all are naked and laid bare to the eyes of the one to whom we must render an account.
- 304 Christ provides peace with God and a rest from fallible human attempts to reach out to God. It is in this context that the qualities of the Word of God are more closely defined. DeSilva (2000: s.n., ad Heb 4:12-13) is correct in arguing about Heb 4:12-13 that "while this is often excerpted to serve as a doctrine of Scripture, in its present context it constitutes a final and climactic warning, providing the ultimate rationale (again, γὰρ connects this paragraph with the preceding verse) for accepting the author's proposal that 'striving to enter God's rest' should occupy the first place in the hearers' minds and lives." DeSilva, however, by focusing on the author's alleged intentions, fails to appreciate that the author of Hebrews meets this specific context with a general statement about God and his communicative relationship with mankind. The Word of God is not presented as a λόγιον, a divine word or oracle addressing a specific matter. Instead, the specific matter is addressed by a general statement, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, about the Word of God and its qualities. This is followed by another general statement in 4:13 that this same God who communicates, is able to respond to everybody's circumstances as He sees everything. A similar general element is found in the picture of a two edged sword, which always cuts, either with one side or the other. Acting on the accepted premise that Scripture contains the Word of God, this passage could be legitimately used to develop a doctrine of Scripture.
- 305 It would be wrong to interpret Hebrews in the light of Philo of Alexandria's teachings about the Word of God. Jeremias (1975:119) gives several reasons why Philo of Alexandria's philosophic understanding of this terminology should not be read into the author's words. About the latter, Jeremias correctly concludes: "Wort Gottes ist bei ihm nicht das Wort, das Gott oder Göttliches, wie auch immer, zum Inhalt hat, sondern das Wort, das Gott selbst spricht. Dessen Eigenschaften sind ihm gemäß. Es ist wie er lebendig und will folglich zum Leben bringen (5. Mose 32,47; 1. Petr.1,23)... ...Als Wort über Gott ist es auch Wort von Gott."
- 306 The Word of God is living. Spicq (197:89) points out that it has an inherent divine power: "Le premier caractère de cette Parole divine est d' être <<vivante>>, non au sens d'éternel et de toujours actuel (3,12; 1 P 1,23), mais en tant qu'elle a la force de susciter la vie de l'âme (Dt 32,47; Ac 7,38), la vie éternelle (Jn 6,63,68; Ph 2,16), tel un germe (Jc 1,18) ou une semence (Mt 13,3 sv.)." Laubach (1967:93) places this in a wider biblical context: "Lebendig ist das Wort Gottes, weil es aus der nie versiegenden Quelle allen Lebens (Ps 36,10) strömt und imstande ist, neues Leben in Menschenherzen hineinzusenken. (Jo 6,63; 1 Pt 1, 23-25 vgl. Jes 40,8). Auch von Christus, dem ewigen Sohn Gottes, bezeugt die Bibel, daß er das Leben in sich trägt und als der Lebendige Tote zum Leben rufen kann (Jo 5, 24-26; 14,6; Offb 1,18). Daran wird uns deutlich, daß wir die Leben schafende Kraft des Wortes Gottes nie von der Person unseres Herrn Jesus Christus und dem Wirken des Heiligen Geistes lösen können." In other words, they are not magical words, but their power is dependent on the activity of God who acts on them. Bette e.a. (1988:77) argues that the adjective "living" refers to the living God, the one who "handelend optreedt." These are living words because they are spoken by a living God who acts and guarantees their validity. Although this is presupposed in the expression and by the context, in 4:12 the focus is on the Word and not on its divine author. The Word represents its author, just as the incarnate Christ represented God earlier in the epistle. Karrer (2002:226) sums it up well: "das Wort, in dem der lebendige Gott (vgl 3,12) sich repräsentiert und das darum >>lebendig<< heißt." This emphasizes the revelatory character of God's word. Van Oyen (1962:65) points out that both the creation of divine speech and its reception by human beings is worked by God: "Daar geloof en woord op elkaar zijn aangewezen, hebben zij noodwendig een zelfde bron: degene, die spreekt, die derhalve de levende is. Bij uitnemendheid accentueert de uitdrukking "het woord is levend" het openbaringskarakter des woords en staat onmiddellijk naast I Joh. 1:1, vgl., waar evenmin van een begripsmatige of mystische personificatie sprake is."

active,³⁰⁷ sharp and penetrating³⁰⁸ (as a two-edged³⁰⁹ sword³¹⁰), judging,³¹¹ and coming from an omniscient³¹² Creator God³¹³ to whom all mankind is accountable.³¹⁴ Both for what it is, and for its source, this Word of God is authoritative.

- 307 The Word is considered active, or energetic. "Dit is "kragtig", dit is energiek, vol aktiwiteit, m.a.w. dit bly werksaam in 'n volle mate," explains Fensham (1981:39). This becomes visible in its effect, that is in what happens after these words are spoken. Bette e.a. (1988:77): "*energes* (werkzaam) houdt in dat Gods Woord effectief is; de gevolgen van Gods spreken zijn zichtbaar of het nu gaat om zegen of straf." It also shows the continued activity of God, Oyen (1962:65): "God openbaart zich in zijn woord door werken, wonderen en tekenen, Hij vervult zijn beloften (Barn. 1:7), zijn woord is voortdurend bezig." This active Word also assists the Christian in a life of holiness. Laubach (1967:93) refers to der "Wirksamkeit", grie *enérgeia*, Jesu Christi (Phil 3,21), die sich als umwandelnde Kraft Gottes nicht nur in unserem Heilungsleben, sondern noch viel stärker in der Umgestaltung unseres irdischen Leibes in den Herrlichkeitsleib ausweisen wird."
- 308 The Word is compared to a two-edged sword (μάχαιραν δίστομον). This image brings to mind Isaiah 49:2 (LXX): ἀκούσατέ μου νῆσοι καὶ προσέχετε ἔθνη διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ στήσεται λέγει κύριος ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομά μου καὶ ἔθηκέν τὸ στόμα μου ὡσεὶ μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκρυσπέν με ἔθηκέν με ὡς βέλος ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ φαρέτρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκέπασέν με. (Hearken to me, ye islands; and attend, ye Gentiles; after a long time it shall come to pass, saith the Lord: from my mother's womb he has called my name: and he has made my mouth as a sharp sword, and he has hid me under the shadow of his hand; he has made me as a choice shaft, and he has hid me in his quiver.) See also Hos 6:5, Eph 6:17. The sharp and piercing qualities of the sword show that the Word of God is able to touch man in his inmost being. Bette e.a. (1988:77) puts it well: "Met 'scherper...en 'doordringend' wordt aangegeven, dat het woord de mens tot in het diepste van zijn wezen raakt," cf. Rev 2:16. Laubach (1967:94) aptly describes the spiritual nature of the Word of God: "Gottes Wort soll also nicht zuerst eine Waffe in unserer Hand sein, mit der wir gegen andere kämpfen, sondern es bleibt vor allem "das Schwert des Geistes", das gerade auch das Leben der Gläubigen trifft." It will first touch the life of believers before they can effectively communicate its standards it to others.
- 309 Perhaps it would do justice to the passage not to interpret the image in greater detail than the writer himself suggests, and restrict the interpretation of two-edged to the face value quality that it is easy to pierce and hard to miss with a two edged sword, whichever way one is cutting. Being two-edged greatly improves the piercing qualities of a sword. With this picture the author conveys that the Word of God is a very capable instrument, extremely effective in its judgements.
- 310 Karrer's (2002:227) suggestion that μάχαιραν should typically be translated as "Schlachtschwert" as opposed to "*xiphos*" and "*romphea*" is unfounded and misleading. Μάχαιρα is a general reference to sword (e.g. Gen 34:26 (LXX), Matt 26:47, 55, Mark 14:47, Acts 12:2, 13:14), even as a metaphor (Rom 8:35, 13:4). To translate the "sword of the Spirit" in Eph 6:17 as "butcher's knife" of the Spirit would prove rather inappropriate in its context of putting on the armor of the Lord. Attempting to explain the difference with "*romphea*," Karrer also states that "das Schlachtschwert (*machaira*) dagegen war gekrümmt, um das Durchschneiden des Halses beim Opfer oder auf der Schlachtbank zu erleichtern, was das beidseitige Schleifen ausschloss, und an das Opfer oder die Schlachtbank gemahnt darauhin der zurückgebogene Hals Hebr 4,13." Karrer fails to provide linguistic evidence from the LXX or the New Testament to support this translation. Traditionally *δοξασανον* has been interpreted as a curved sword, cf. Bauer & Aland (1988:415). Karrer's very argument actually pleads against interpreting ἡ μάχαιρα as a sacrificial knife in this context. On this basis he invokes a picture of God wielding a sacrificial knife that doesn't look like it one bit, over people that are not pictured as bound sacrifices, but are being exposed as refugees that are nonetheless exposed in every little corner of the world. To read such a very mixed up metaphor into this passage on the basis of a debatable proposition (that μάχαιρα is a sacrificial knife and that τετραηλισμένα in 4:13 necessarily invokes a picture of sacrifice), seems to shed more light on the interpreter than the text. That Karrer translates Isaiah 49:2 (LXX), which does not have a sacrificial context at all, as "ein scharfes Schlachtschwert (*machara oxeia*)," and calls this "die auffälligste Schriftvorgabe mit macharia" should suffice to illustrate this line of thinking. There are no major Bible versions that share Karrer's view on Heb 4:12. As a general term for sword, μάχαιρα connects with Isaiah 49:2 (Isaiah uses this word as well). That a sword and not a sacrificial knife would be suggested to the first century reader, is encouraged by Rev 1:16 and 11:2 (Pirot 1946:307), passages with ὁμοφαία δίστομος and a description similar to that of Isa 49:2.

Hebrews 4:14-5:14, and 5:12 in particular, is part of the wider context of Hebrews 4:14-10:22, which deals with Christ in the role of high priest, who provided the ultimate sacrifice for sin. The remainder of the letter consists of a series of exhortations, considering faith in God and obedience to his Word (Heb 10:23-13:25).

9.3 Immediate textual context: Hebrews 4:14-5:14, particularly Hebrew 5:11-14

9.3.1 Introduction to immediate context

The immediate textual context of Hebrews 5:12 is 4:14-5:14, where Jesus is presented as a high priest, who is appointed by God to save them from their sins by sacrifice. In his case, more in particular, the sacrifice is his own life, thus putting people right with God. The author's readers, however, are challenged to receive more advanced teaching on this subject, cf. also 6:1-3. It is within the context of this challenge that the author suggests that they might need a teaching 'overhaul' on the "first principles of the oracles of God."

9.3.2 The Greek text of Hebrews 4:14-5:14

^{4:14} ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας ¹⁵ οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα μὴ δυνάμενον συμπαθῆσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν πεπειρασμένον δὲ κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοίότητα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ¹⁶ προσερχώμεθα οὖν μετὰ παρρησίας τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος ἵνα λάβωμεν ἔλεος καὶ χάριν εὐρωμεν εἰς εὐκαιρον βοήθειαν ^{5:1} πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἵνα προσφέρῃ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ² μετριοπαθεῖν δυνάμενος τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν καὶ πλανωμένοις ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶκεῖται ἀσθένειαν ³ καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ὀφείλει καθὼς περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ οὕτως καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ προσφέρειν περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ⁴ καὶ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν ἀλλὰ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καθώσπερ καὶ Ἀαρῶν ⁵ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν γεννηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ⁶ καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει σύ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ ⁷ ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σφῶζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυροῦς

311 God is the judge of man's behaviour and thinking. Because man is accountable to God, the Word of God allows him to ascertain the measure of his obedience. Van Oyen (1962:67) correctly emphasizes this accountability: "De hier gebezigde begrippen zijn van ethische kwaliteit: Gods woord oordeelt in hoeverre het hart vastheid gevonden heeft door gehoorzaamheid (vgl. 3:8,10,12; 8:10; 10:22; 13:9).

312 Nothing in creation is able to hide itself from God's eyes or speech. Laubach (1967:96) is correct when he points out that this has wide ramifications: "Das griechische Wort *ktisis* kann sowohl die gesamte Schöpfung wie auch das einzelne Geschöpf bezeichnen. Nichts kann sich vor Gottes Augen verbergen, alle irdischen und himmlischen Mächte sind vor ihm offenbar."

313 God is the author of his Word. There is a living connection. For this reason, in the mind of the author, the Word of God can never be considered in terms of a religious theory. Bette e.a. (1988:77) supports this view and shows how God's personality reflects in his Word: "In het vorige vers werd het Woord van God reeds gepersonifieerd; het Woord leeft, is werkzaam, dringt door, beoordeelt. In dit vers vinden we een overgang van Gods Woord naar God zelf."

314 All people on earth are accountable to God, particularly those who had the privilege of receiving the Word of God. Laubach (1967:96) correctly argues that this is a basic concept in Hebrews that affects Jews and Gentiles alike: "Damit wendet sich der Apostel noch einmal dem Grundgedanken zu, der ihn in den vorausgegangenen Überlegungen geleitet hat. So wie die Israeliten sind auch die Glieder der Gemeinde dem Herrn Rechenschaft darüber schuldig, was sie mit dem offenbarten Wort in ihrem Leben getan haben (vgl. Hbr 2,2-3 mit Mt 25, 15.19)."

καὶ δακρῶν προσενέγκας καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας ⁸ καίπερ ὢν υἱὸς ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν ⁹ καὶ τελειωθεὶς ἐγένετο πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου ¹⁰ προσαγορευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ ¹¹ περὶ οὗ πολὺς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος καὶ δυσερμήνευτος λέγειν ἐπεὶ νωθοὶ γέγονατε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ¹² καὶ γὰρ ὀφείλοντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι διὰ τὸν χρόνον πάλιν χρειαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γέγονατε χρειαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος καὶ οὐ στερεᾶς τροφῆς ¹³ πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μετέχων γάλακτος ἀπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης νήπιος γὰρ ἐστὶν ¹⁴ τελειῶν δέ ἐστὶν ἢ στερεὰ τροφή τῶν διὰ τὴν ἔξιν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἐχόντων πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ.

9.3.3 Analyses Hebrews 4:14-5:14

9.3.3.1 An English translation (New International Version)

¹⁴Therefore, since we have a great high priest who has gone through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold firmly to the faith we profess.

¹⁵For we do not have a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses, but we have one who has been tempted in every way, just as we are—yet was without sin.

¹⁶Let us then approach the throne of grace with confidence, so that we may receive mercy and find grace to help us in our time of need.

^{5:1}Every high priest is selected from among men and is appointed to represent them in matters related to God, to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins.

²He is able to deal gently with those who are ignorant and are going astray, since he himself is subject to weakness.

³This is why he has to offer sacrifices for his own sins, as well as for the sins of the people.

⁴No one takes this honour upon himself; he must be called by God, just as Aaron was.

⁵So Christ also did not take upon himself the glory of becoming a high priest. But God said to him,

"You are my Son;
today I have become your Father."

⁶And he says in another place,

"You are a priest forever,
in the order of Melchizedek."

⁷During the days of Jesus' life on earth, he offered up prayers and petitions with loud cries and tears to the one who could save him from death, and he was heard because of his reverent submission. ⁸Although he was a son, he learned obedience from what he suffered ⁹and, once made perfect, he became the source of eternal salvation for all who obey him ¹⁰and was designated by God to be high priest in the order of Melchizedek.

¹¹We have much to say about this, but it is hard to explain because you are slow to learn. ¹²In fact, though by this time you ought to be teachers, you need someone to teach you the elementary truths of God's word all over again.

You need milk, not solid food! ¹³Anyone who lives on milk, being still an infant, is not acquainted with the teaching about righteousness. ¹⁴But solid food is for the mature, who by constant use have trained themselves to distinguish good from evil.

9.3.3.2 Grammar

Hebrews 4:14-5:14 is important as the wider context of Hebrews 5:12. To fully appreciate and understand Hebrews 4:14-5:14 grammatical issues need to be clarified. These issues do not necessarily relate to the argument about oracles as such, but are important to define the context of Hebrews 5:12. The main objective of this section is to enable a careful interpretation of the textual context, and, subsequently, the function that 5:12 has in this.

4:14: κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας: κρατεῖν with the genitive case is used to convey the meaning "to hold fast," or "to keep," while with the accusative case the meaning is "to touch and grasp/hold." (Cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:140.) The Hebrews are not just to touch, or hold, but to hold firmly to the faith that they profess. The author includes himself in this exhortation, emphasizing that this is about a shared Christian profession of faith.

4:16: προσερχώμεθα is followed by τῷ θρόνῳ, as προσέρχεσθαι has its object always in the dative case (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:165). The author encourages his reader, including himself in his exhortation to approach the authority seat of grace, the throne of God who has the authority to bestow grace, with confidence. This approaching the throne of grace is presented as an ongoing need for believers.

5:1: καθίσταται, passive, reinforces the idea that the priesthood is a calling from above and not a human initiative (as an older form of verb, see Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:68). This conveys the conviction that God is in control of the ministry of reconciliation and not the religious institution.

5:1: τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν is in the accusative. This respective use of the accusative is fairly rare in the New Testament, as by that time its function had been largely taken over by the dative case, cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:130,31). It is significant that the priest presented the people "in matters relating to God." This reinforces the idea already suggested by καθίσταται that this is not about mere religious perfunctory and maintaining the institution, but about a very real and personal relationship between the believer and God.

5:2: περικείται ἀσθένειαν, to be surrounded by weaknesses is a construction that combines the passive with an accusative. See Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:130). This recognizes the ongoing need for restoration, even in the lives of those who represent God. The clause reinforces the idea expressed in the exhortation of 4:16.

5:2: μετριοπαθεῖν (δυνάμενος) τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν, for this dative case, see Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:150-51). This shows the dual relationship of the priest as mediator. The weakness that causes a need for restoration on a vertical level is an advantage when the priest administers God's grace on a horizontal level.

5:3: καὶ δι' αὐτὴν καθὼς περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ οὕτως καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ προσφέρειν περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν, fits well with the preposition περί's classical use (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:184). The priest has to offer sacrifice for the people and likewise for himself for the sins.

In this way the concept of sin is portrayed in a very personal way, both the priest and the people have been affected and need reconciliation with God.

5:4: καθὼςπερ καὶ Ἀαρὼν, just as Aaron, is only used here in the New Testament, as a subordinate conjunction (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:383). Just like Aaron a priest needs be called. Aaron was called only late in life (Ex 4:27). The ministry of reconciliation is not a religious gap in the market that is filled by someone who sees the need and meets it. There should be a divine initiative. The priest does not seek the job. This reinforces the idea that it is God who calls his priests. In other words, it is God who initiates the reconciliation with man. Man in his turn needs to be encouraged to approach the throne of grace (4:16).

5:4: καὶ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν ἀλλὰ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ is regarded as an ellipse construction (e.g. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:409-410), which would call for another λαμβάνει or ἐστίν. It is not by action but through calling that one becomes engaged in priestly ministry. If λαμβάνει is implied than one takes action only after being called. As τις is contrasted with θεός in this sentence, it is more likely that ἐστίν is implied. Consequently, this is not a contrast of religious action without God's calling and with his calling. The author rather creates a contrast between taking up the ministry of grace and reconciliation by personal initiative, over and against being called by God. In other words, it is a contrast between human and divine initiative. This means that the author shows that God initiates the restoration of people to himself. It is God who reaches out and communicates his grace to mankind in a personal relationship.

5:5: οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν γεννηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα, is an example of an infinitive as completion of the verb (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:319-321), "he did not do to himself the honour of becoming" (lit. "of being made," aorist infinitive deponens) high priest (Cf. Zerwick & Grosvenor 1988:663). What was already visible in the Old Testament priesthood, divine initiative in the ministry of reconciliation, is continued in the appointment of Jesus Christ as the ultimate High Priest. Just like Aaron, God called him to this office.

5:7: μετὰ governs the genitive case of κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρῶν (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:160-161). The same is also expressed by a freer *dativus sociativus*, cf. Luke 1:42). This shows that Jesus was subject to pain and adversity in his high priestly calling (cf. προσενέγκας), indicating and confirming that he did not seek the office for ulterior motives, but submitted himself to God's calling, even when it was not pleasant and met with strong emotional resistance in his body.

5:7: δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σώζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρῶν προσενέγκας. In this verse πρὸς τὸν is used rather than a proper dative (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:164-65). This probably reinforces the priestly character of these prayers, which were sent up to the one who could end the ultimate consequence of sin, being death (Gen 3:3,19).

5:7: καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας shows ἀπὸ in its causative sense (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:171). In other words, Jesus reverent submission to God's priestly calling caused his fervent prayers to be heard.

5:8: *καίπερ ὢν υἱὸς*, shows a concessive use of the particle and participle: "although he was the Son" (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:353-54). This emphasizes Jesus' privileged position. He was not a mere man like Aaron and the other priests. Despite God being his father and the imperishable character of his priesthood, he could still be touched and hurt by the consequences of sin as a human being. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:393-94) read 5:8 as parentheses. It is however an integral part of the message conveyed (cf. 4:15, 5:2).

5:11: *περὶ οὗ*, "about this," should be read to include a *demonstrativum*; see Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:241-42).³¹⁵

5:11: *περὶ οὗ πολὺς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος*, "about which, much is, the word that is to us," shows, like in Classical Greek, how often *ἐστίν* is omitted, but still implied; cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:104). The personal pronoun *ἡμῖν* could refer to the author as such or imply a wider apostolic authority.³¹⁶ In this sentence he deliberately disassociates himself from his readers. He has got loads more to say, God has revealed so much more, but they are simply not ready.

315 "About this," *περὶ οὗ*, could also be translated without a demonstrative: "about him." In that case it would refer only to Melchizedek as subject. This option is less natural within the context of teaching of righteousness and Christ in the order of Melchizedek providing salvation being the subject that the author of Hebrews was addressing (Ellingworth & Nida 1983:102-103). The subject of the passage "may be expressed clearly as 'about Christ being a high priest like Melchizedek' or more simply 'about what I have just said' or '...have just written'" (Ellingworth & Nida 1983:103). Lane (1991: s.n., ad Heb 5,11a) confirms that the reading should include a demonstrative: "It is the whole subject under discussion, and not simply the priesthood like Melchizedek's, that requires the skill of the writer and the attention of the community." Hegermann (1988:126) agrees: "*περὶ οὗ* weist zurück auf ihr in 5,10 soeben genanntes Thema, das Melchizedek-Priestertum Jesu." Hughes (1977:189) is of the same mind: "The theme which the author has just mentioned, namely, the priesthood of Christ which belongs to, and indeed constitutes, the order of Melchizedek, is of such importance that, understandably, he has much to say concerning it." So is Weiß (1991:330): "über Jesus als den 'Hohenpriester nach der Ordnung des Melchizedek'."

316 Ellingworth & Nida (1983:102) suggest that *ἡμεῖς* (Heb 5:11: *ἡμῖν*) refers to "I, the writer," as "there is no suggestion that the letter comes from a group of people, and ancient writers commonly used 'we' as equivalent of 'I' (*ἐγώ*)." This suggestion, however, might be contained in Heb 13:18 (*προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν πειθόμεθα γὰρ ὅτι καλὴν συνείδησιν ἔχομεν ἐν πᾶσιν καλῶς θέλοντες ἀναστρέφεσθαι*) and 13:24 (*ἀσπάσασθε* (aorist imperative) *πάντας τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*), as contrasted with 13:22 (*παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοί*), cf. Acts 15:28. The plural can also be inspired by sympathy and inclusive thinking, cf. Laubach (1967:96) on Heb 4:13: "Der Apostel weiß sich selbst auch davon betroffen, deshalb sagt er: Wir müssen Rechenschaft ablegen. Das, was er im Auftrag Gottes und unter der Inspiration des Heiligen Geistes schreibt, verpflichtet ihn ebenso wie die Glieder der Gemeinde, an die er seinen Brief richtet. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the use of *ἐγώ* is restricted to God in quotes from the Old Testament, cf. Heb 1:5: *τίτι γὰρ εἶπέν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ ἐγώ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε καὶ πάλιν ἐγώ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν*; Heb 2:13: *καὶ πάλιν ἐγώ ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ πάλιν ἰδοὺ ἐγώ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός*; Heb 5:5: *οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν γεννηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ ἐγώ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*; Heb 10:30: *οἶδαμεν γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις ἐγῶ ἀνταποδώσω καὶ πάλιν κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ*; Heb 12:26: *οὐ ἡ φωνὴ τὴν γῆν ἐσάλειψεν τότε νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται λέγων ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγώ σεισῶ οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν*. The use of *ἡμεῖς* in Heb 5:11 may well suggest that the author implies a wider circle of those who speak on God's behalf with apostolic authority.

5:11: ὁ λόγος καὶ δυσερμήνευτος λέγειν. This way of combining the infinitive with nomina is in line with its classical use; cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:323,324). "Also, the matter is difficult to explain" is a similar construction in English. The reason for this is not that the matter is difficult as such, but that the author's readers are not up to receiving it as yet. The adjective δυσ-ερμήνευτος (hard-to explain, as a typical Koine phenomenon, see Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:94) occurs only here in the New Testament. Some advocate that it usually denotes a quality of the material rather than the recipients (cf. Lane 1991: s.n. Heb 11a). In this case, however, there is a context provided that lays the blame at the hearers' feet for not having reached the required level of understanding for this advanced teaching.³¹⁷

5:12: πάλιν χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα, may have two accusative cases (ὑμᾶς and στοιχεῖα; cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:127). It is however more likely that στοιχεῖα is a nominative plural (neuter), connected with τινὰ by an ellipse of ἔστιν. This emphasizes that, although the author has many more things to tell them, they even fail the test as far as the elementary is concerned.

5:12: καὶ γεγόνατε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος καὶ οὐ στερεᾶς τροφῆς. "To be" combined with a present participle indicates the beginning of a state, γεγόνατε (perfect, 2nd person plural) indicating that it is a state of need they have entered into, and which continues still. (Cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:287.) "You have become people needing," Zerwick & Grosvenor (1988:663). "You have become and now are slow to understand," Ellingworth & Nida (1983:102). At this point the author emphasizes his readers' need of spiritual growth. Just like children are looking forward to be "big" boys and girls who are allowed certain things little ones are not, his readers should be looking forward to be able to digest more solid foods, instead of elementary milk for infants.

5:12: χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν, a nominalised (substantivated) infinitive without a preposition carries the genitive case. Koine Greek is well known for its τοῦ + infinitive construction (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:330-31). The infinitive usually follows χρεῖαν, describing the state of need or actual problem. The author's readers are in need to be taught. This is as much a charge to the teacher as to his pupils. By putting it this way the author reaches out to his readers again.

5:13: ἄπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης (without experience of the Word of righteousness) show a *genitivus qualitatis*, or of definition (Lane 1991: s.n. Heb 5:13-14) unacquainted (ἄπειρος) as far as the teaching of righteousness (λόγου δικαιοσύνης) is concerned (cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:136-137). This genitive necessarily follows ἄπειρος to define the specific kind of inexperience. Hegermann (1988:128) probably makes the matter too complicated when he says: "Aber λόγου δικαιοσύνης ist nicht befriedigend erklärt als

317 The use of δυσ-ερμήνευτος (hard to explain) in Heb 5:11 is caused by the state of the author's readers. "Die Begründung dafür liegt nicht in der Sache. Es ist nicht so, als bedürfe es einer außerordentlichen Erleuchtung durch Gottes Geist, um das Zeugnis der Apostel zu verstehen... ..Die Begründung dafür, daß "es sich mit Worten schwer erklären läßt," liegt im Leben der Hörer. Ihr seid stumpf geworden mit euren Ohren," according to Laubach (1967:110). According to Hegermann (1988:126) this is not so much a matter of education or intelligence, but of unwillingness or inability to pay attention. The context of ἐπεὶ νωθροὶ γεγόνατε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς (Heb 5:11 NRSV: since you have become dull in understanding) confirms that the major stumbling block for proper teaching was not any intrinsic qualities of the Word of God, but a hearing failure.

Semitismus, der nichts weiter meine als >>rechte Rede<<, ὀρθὸς λόγος. Vielmehr läßt der Autor auch hier die Sache- die fehlende Kompetenz, den Dienst der Lehre der Gerechtigkeit wahrzunehmen- doch wohl mit anklingen.³¹⁸

5:14: ἡ στερεὰ τροφή τῶν διὰ τὴν ἔξιν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα. For this adnominal genitive of belonging (τῶν διὰ τὴν ἔξιν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα), see Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:132-34). Solid food belongs those who have trained the senses through the practice of distinguishing good and evil. The author admonishes his readers that God's oracles should become so much part of their practical life that they will esteem the things of this world from God's perspective on a daily basis.

9.3.3.3 Interpretation of Hebrews 5:11-14 within the context of Hebrews 4:14-5:14

Within the passage Hebrews 4:14-5:14 the narrower context for 5:12 is made up by 5:11-14. The passage is a unity, because the teaching of 4:14-5:10 is structurally implied in the words "we have much to say about this" (5:11).³¹⁹ But as these verses are referred to in a general way, they deserve a general rather than a detailed attention in determining the meaning of 5:12 and its proper context of Hebrews 5:11-14.

Hebrews 5:11, refers (περὶ οὗ) to the preceding verses about Jesus' priesthood as a source of eternal salvation for those that obey him (cf. Matt 7:21, Luke 6:46, James 1:21). Jesus was set forth as the great high priest and the Son of God (4:14), who sympathises with human weakness (4:15) and inspires sufficient confidence to put believers right with God (4:16). Intermediation in restoring people's relationship with God was generally the job of the high priests in particular (5:1). These men were called by God (5:4), able to relate to the people and their weaknesses (5:2) as they were human as well (5:3). God called his Son Jesus to be priest (5:4-5) in a special way, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ (according to the order³²⁰ of Melchizedek) (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4; Heb 6:20, 7:1-22). The main feature of this order was that it was everlasting (7:3). As Son of God (5:8) and man (5:7) he related to mankind (5:8) while reaching out to God (5:7). On completing his earthly journey and being resurrected (καὶ τελειωθεὶς, 5:9), his high priestly office took effect (5:10) and now he is αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου (the cause of eternal salvation) for those who obey him.

In 5:11-14, the author reveals his wish to teach them more on this topic, but unfortunately they don't seem ready for advanced teaching as yet (5:11), since they have become (perfect)

318 The expression λόγου δικαιοσύνης refers to the wider teaching of the author concerning righteousness and receiving peace with God. See also Hughes (1977:191-92). Others, like Koester (2005:302), opt for a moralistic interpretation, but this would be seen as rather abrupt change of thought pattern in an otherwise flowing and well structured Bible book.

319 The author's teaching in 4:14-5:10 is structurally implied in the words περὶ οὗ πολὺς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος (5:11); and also quite possibly in ἄπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης (5:13).

320 Christ's priesthood was κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ, cf. Bauer & Aland (1988:1603). The author speaks about a priesthood that is similar in nature to that of Melchizedek (cf. Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4; Heb 6:20, 7:1-22). This implies that it existed long before the Mosaic priesthood and is everlasting. The Greek Bible does not use τάξις but ἐφημερία for the technical divisions within the Mosaic priesthood. Cf. Luke 1:5 ἐξ ἐφημερίας Ἀβιά (Bauer & Aland 1988:667). See also 1 Chr 23:6, 1 Chr 28:13. Both words are feminine.

"dull in the ears," hard of hearing, ἐπεὶ νωθοὶ γέγονατε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς.³²¹ Considering the period they had been Christians already, they should have been able to teach other people. However, as things are, they ought to be taught the basics of God's oracles, τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ, all over again (5:12). We will explore this further under 9.3. The author compares his readers to infants who need to be nursed with milk,³²² perhaps invoking a picture of a dependent baby that cries out for milk whenever it is hungry.³²³ At any rate, lack of growth and use of opportunity are issues that are raised here. The author claims that an infant Christian is characterised by being "without experience" or "not acquainted" with the teaching about righteousness (5:13, ἀπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης). As the author of Hebrews had commenced (4:14-5:10), but discontinued (5:11), his teachings about Christ as high priest (who intermediates and puts people right with God, becoming an instrument of forgiveness of sins source of eternal life for those who obey him) for this very infancy issue, it is likely that he has these teachings about Christ in mind when he refers to λόγου δικαιοσύνης. This stage of maturity implies a greater level of discernment,³²⁴ πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ.³²⁵ This discernment does not come about automatically,

- 321 The author's hearers have become "dull in the ears," hard of hearing (ἐπεὶ νωθοὶ γέγονατε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς). Lane (1991: s.n. Heb 11b) connects this with ἐγένετο πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου in 5:9 (the teaching that Christ has become a source of salvation for those who obey him). It would be an object of debate whether the connection with ears was felt so strongly that this link of πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν with ἀκοαῖς was obvious to the first readers, but the context carrying words like ὑπακούουσιν, ἀκοαῖς, ὁ λόγος, διδάσκαλοι, and τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ is significant.
- 322 The readers are compared to infants who need to be nursed with milk. Paul taught the Corinthians (1 Cor 3:1-4) in a similar fashion: κἀγὼ ἀδελφοί οὐκ ἠδυνήθην λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν ὡς πνευματικοῖς ἀλλ' ὡς σαρκίνοις ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ. γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα οὐ βρῶμα οὐπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε. ἔτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε. ὅταν γὰρ λέγη τις ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου ἕτερος δὲ ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶ οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστε. (NRSV: And so, brothers and sisters, I could not speak to you as spiritual people, but rather as people of the flesh, as infants in Christ. ²I fed you with milk, not solid food, for you were not ready for solid food. Even now you are still not ready, ³for you are still of the flesh. For as long as there is jealousy and quarrelling among you, are you not of the flesh, and behaving according to human inclinations? ⁴For when one says, 'I belong to Paul', and another, 'I belong to Apollos', are you not merely human?)
- 323 The topic of Christian growth is implied in Heb 5:11-14. Fensham (1981:48) correctly points out that lack of growth implies impediments in the exercise of responsibility: "Hulle is soos kinders wat nie die volle verantwoordelikheid kan aanvaar nie." Lack of spiritual growth may even lead to apostasy. Laubach (1967:110) aptly shows how this theme of Christian growth is enfolded in the teachings of the New Testament: "Der Apostel gründet sich dabei auf die Tatsache, daß es für jeden Christen die Möglichkeit einer gesunden, normalen Entwicklung und Entfaltung im Glaubensleben gibt. Daß NT kennt Wachstumsstufen im geistlichen Leben der Kinder Gottes... ..Es gibt aber auch die Gefahr des inneren Stillstandes, der zum Abfall führen kann. Mangel an Glauben und geistlicher Aufnahmefähigkeit ist ein unnatürlicher, dem Wachstum des Glaubens widersprechender Vorgang."
- 324 Faith, knowledge and discernment go hand in hand. Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 1.6.35) (Heen, Phillip, Krey 2005:78), says about this passage: "Just as we say that it is possible to have faith without being literate, so we assert that it is not possible to understand the statements contained in the faith without study. To assimilate the right affirmations and reject the rest is not the product of simple faith but of faith engaged in learning." Greek text (Migne 2006:10): ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ ἄνευ γραμμάτων πιστὸν εἶναι δυνατόν φαμεν, οὕτως συνιέναι τὰ ἐν τῇ πίστει λεγόμενα οὐχ οἷόν τε μὴ μαθόντα ὁμολογοῦμεν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ λεγόμενα προσείσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀλλότρια μὴ προσείσθαι οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἢ πίστις, ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ τὴν μάθησιν πίστις ἐμποιεῖ.
- 325 God's teachings inspire a greater level of discernment, πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ. Koester (2005:303) renders this aptly as: "Correctly distinguishing good from evil was a mark of maturity (Deut

but involves a training process of exercise (γεγυμνασμένα, *perfectum participium passivum*).³²⁶

9.4 Hebrews 5:12: (τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς) τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ

9.4.1 Greek text Hebrews 5:12

καὶ γὰρ ὀφείλοντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι διὰ τὸν χρόνον πάλιν χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γεγόνατε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος καὶ οὐ στερεᾶς τροφῆς.

9.4.1.1 Text Critical considerations

The only issue here is not so much of manuscript tradition, but one of interpretation. Most manuscripts read the interrogative τίνα, cf. AV: "ye have need that one teach you again which [τίνα] be the first principles of the oracles of God" (Metzger 1975:666).

Nestle-Aland argues for τινὰ: you need **someone** to teach you the elementary truths of God's word all over again (e.g. NIV). This preference for τινὰ, however, is based on only a handful of manuscripts.³²⁷ All the main witnesses that are favoured so much by Nestle-Aland otherwise read τινά without any accent, leaving it to the interpretation of the reader.

In the days when accents became generally used, almost all took the expression in the way it is rendered by the Authorised Version and its underlying *Textus Receptus*. The presence of τινά in the way Nestle-Aland and Metzger's committee suggest it to be read, and which is uncritically followed by most modern translations (Ellingworth & Nida 1983:104), would have been considered superfluous by any early reader acquainted with Greek. The presence of τινά would only make sense as τίνα, as τινὰ would have emphasized the obvious in a quite unnecessary way. The construction "you are in need to be taught," implies the need of a teacher already and did not need τινά to convey this. The use of τινά points to the use of a sub clause.

1:39; Isa 7:16)." Laubach (1967:113) links this with the failure of Adam and Eve in Paradise: "Das 'Gute und Böse', das es voneinander zu unterscheiden gilt, bezieht sich immer auf Lehre und Leben zugleich... ..Diese Worte, 'Gutes und Böses zu unterscheiden' erinnern uns ja unmittelbar an den 'Baum der Erkenntnis des Guten und Bösen' im Paradies und an das versucherische Wort der Schlange, das sie an Eva richtet: 'Ihr werdet sein wie Gott und wissen, was gut und böse ist' (1 Mose 2, 17; 3,5). Die ersten Menschen wollten sich diese Gabe aus eigener Machtvollkommenheit aneignen und zerstörten dadurch die Gottengemeinschaft. Tatsächlich erlangten sie kein unfehlbares Unterscheidungsvermögen. Gerade in einer gefallen Welt sind 'geübte Sinne zur Unterscheidung des Guten und Bösen' nötig und werden uns durch den Heiligen Geist in einem erlösten Leben zuteil." Laubach correctly points out that discerning good and evil has become a necessity in a fallen world. In the original perfect world before the Fall there was no need of such discernment.

326 Discernment is the result of lots of training (γεγυμνασμένα). This quality of διάκρισιν has an antithetic relationship with ἀπειρος (vs.13; cf. Weib (1991:333).

327 Interestingly, Metzger (1975:666) has τινά, for which there does not seem any manuscript evidence at all! His committee felt that "the indefinite pronoun (τινά) gives a sharper antithesis to εἶναι διδάσκαλοι in the preceding verse." See for this also Jeremias (1975:133) and Weiß (1991:331). The feelings of almost all Christians who actually spoke Greek in earlier centuries were quite different, however. The overwhelming manuscript evidence shows that they took it as a natural interrogative (τίνα): "Ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God." (AV.)

9.4.2 Exegesis of Hebrews 5:12 as context of τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ

The author reproaches his readers that they should have been far more advanced in their Christian growth. The participle ὀφείλοντες is connected to χρεῖαν ἔχετε, being concessive. "Although you ought to be teachers,³²⁸ you are in need to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God again." Although his readers should have come to the stage where they were able to teach, they have not and would do well to go back to basics.³²⁹

These basics are defined as τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ. Zerwick & Grosvenor (1988:663) give the excellent translation "the elementary principles of God's oracles". Koester (2005:301) proposes something similar: "the most elementary matters of the oracles of God." As Divine words these are authoritative in their own right.³³⁰

These "oracles" refer to all God's speech in a general way. Van Oyen (1962:84): "De eerste beginselen van de uitspraken Gods."³³¹ Schunack (2002: s.n. ad Heb 5:12): "die Elemente des (grundlegenden) Anfangs der Worte Gottes." Laubach (1967:111): "allerersten Grundlagen des Wortes Gottes." Fensham (1981:49): "Grondwaarhede van die woorde van God."

The combination of τὰ στοιχεῖα and ἀρχή shows that what the Apostle has in mind is very elementary indeed and emphasizes its importance.³³² The fact that this is presented as a small

- 328 In this context the author reproached his readers for being ἀπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης (5:13). They should have had a grasp of Christian basics. The use of ὀφείλοντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι (5:12) does not imply that he expected all of them to be teachers in the Church. Hughes (1977:190) is right when he says: "this should not be taken to mean that they ought all to be in official teaching positions in the church, but rather that they ought by now to be sufficiently advanced in their comprehension of Christian doctrine to be able to instruct and edify those who are still young in the faith." The word 'teachers' does not mean specialized professional instructors. For this reason it may be more natural to use a verbal expression such as "by this time you should be teaching other people," according to Ellingworth & Nida (1983:104). Laubach (1967:110,11) confirms this: "'Lehrer sein' bedeutet hier nicht, ein kirchliches Amt auszuüben. Es geht um die Bestätigung und Entfaltung einer geistlichen Begabung (1 Kor 12, 28; Eph 4,11)." Weiß (1991:332) agrees with this and also provides a reason for this view, taking teachers "lediglich als oppositum zur in V.13 folgenden Kennzeichnung der Adressaten als unmündiger 'Kinder'."
- 329 The Hebrews should go back to basics. Laubach (1967:111) summarizes in a helpful way: "Der Apostel sagt, daß die Hebräerchristen noch einmal Elementarunterricht im christlichen Glauben brauchen." Laubach also makes the connection with the philosophical elements fire, water, earth and air. It might be that this expression is used to make a contrast with the elements or principles of this world, cf. Gal 4:3; 4:9; Col 2:8.20. Hebrews itself, however, does not immediately suggest this. See also Bauer & Aland (1988:1534-1535).
- 330 The authority of λόγιον is already implied in the word itself, which presupposes a divine source. Koester (2005:301) shows why the translation 'oracles' is appropriate: "'Oracles' (*logioi*) were prophetic utterances, including the sayings of God found in Scripture (Philo, Posterity 28; Unchangeable 50). The plural commonly referred to the Law (Deut 33:9-10, Acts 7:38; Philo, Moses 2.56; Decalogue 36; cf. Ps 119:10-11, 102-3, 162-63) or Jewish Scriptures (Moses 2.188; Ep. Arist. 176-77; Rom 3:2; I Clem. 53:1; 62:3). The term "oracles" is appropriate because Hebrews takes the Scriptures to be divine speech and interprets them in light of Christ (pp. 117-18). The basic elements of God's oracles (Heb 5:12) and the basic word of Christ (6:1) are not identical, but neither can be taken without the other."
- 331 The expression τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ should not be read as a religious theory. Koester (2001:280) correctly points out that "the author has focused on God's word as a spoken word, not an abstract concept. He introduced the quotation of Ps 95 by saying that the Spirit of God "speaks" to the listeners through the words (Heb 3:7), and the situation of God's people, both past and present, is defined by the word that they have heard (4:2). Of principal concern is the effect that the word has when it addresses people, whether through the biblical text or through the exhortations that Christians address to one another (13:22; cf. 3:13)."
- 332 The combination of τὰ στοιχεῖα and ἀρχή in Heb 5:12 suggests a bare minimum of very elementary teaching: "Die grondwaarhede van die woorde van God dui daarop dat die eenvoudigste waarhede wat aan

beginning, also suggests that the τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ have a lot to say otherwise. The parable of milk and solid food shows the writer's respect for the integrity of God's oracles. Even the principles are a matter of life and death to infants, but as they grow older and mature, they need solid food and more advanced teaching from these oracles. Although the expression "God's sayings" would certainly not exclude written documents from Moses, the Prophets and the Apostles, λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ seems to emphasize God's revelation and his speaking. For this reason it has been translated as "the ABC of God's revelation to men" (J.B. Phillips, cf. Ellingworth & Nida 1983:104) or as "the ABC of God's oracles" (cf. Lane 1991: s.n. Heb 5:12).

9.4.3 Philological conclusion about λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ

In the Epistle to the Hebrews the words λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ are used to denote authoritative Divine speech. Both the wider and narrower context of Hebrews 5:12 show that λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ are used in a context of an intimate relationship with God that is initiated by God's grace. God's oracles are instrumental for maintaining this relationship and promoting spiritual growth and maturity. In Hebrews 5:12 τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς refer to the very elementary knowledge, or basic understanding of these oracles. Even the practice of these Oracle basics is considered potentially life-changing and spiritually empowering by the author of Hebrews. The use of λογίων as such implies a divine source and this is reinforced by the narrow context of τοῦ θεοῦ. Their source is the omniscient and powerful God as he takes the initiative to relate to mankind, communicating and acting upon his Word.

hulle verkondig is, weer oorgeleer moet word. Hulle moes onderwysers wees vanweë die lang onderrig wat hulle ontvan het, nou is hulle nog leerlinge in die begin stadium van hulle ontwikkeling. Hulle het dus in hul geestelike eksamen gesak" (Fensham 1981:49). Schunack supposes that the Apostle might have used this combination to show that he had both doctrine (τὰ στοιχεῖα) and the Christian walk of his readers (ἀρχή) in mind. Schunack (2002: ad Heb 5:12) points out correctly that this not merely involves an intellectual assent, but an existential relationship with God that takes him seriously: "Insgesamt ist wohl gemeint: Die Adresaten haben wieder nötig, mit dem grundlegenden Anfang des Redes Gottes anzufangen - nicht um intellektuell darüber hinaus-, sondern existenziell und praktisch in ihn hineinzukommen." Although this view makes theological sense, it is not suggested by ἀρχή as such (Bauer & Aland 1988:223-25). What is more, the genitive in the clause τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς suggests στοιχεῖα is qualified by ἀρχῆς, rather than that the two terms should express separate references to doctrine and life.

CHAPTER 10: 1 PETER 4:11 - ORACLE TALK

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10.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with "oracle talk," as the author³³³ sets forth God's oracles as the standard for Christian speech in 1 Peter 4:11: εἴ τις λαλεῖ, ὡς λόγια θεοῦ: εἴ τις διακονεῖ, ὡς ἐξ

333 Guthrie (1990:762) correctly observes: "The very great weight of patristic evidence in favour of Petrine authorship and the absence of any dissentient voice raises so strong a presupposition in favour of the correctness of the claims of the epistle to be Peter's own work that it is surprising that this has been questioned." The apostle Peter is introduced as its author (1:1), who claims to be a witness of the Messiah's sufferings (5:1). Silvanus is mentioned as the secretary who wrote the letter (5:12, see also Acts 15:22 and 1 Thess 1:1). The letter may suggest that its author was widely travelled (Nesbitt 1959:14). Doubt concerning Peter's authorship is a relatively late phenomenon. It was only in the twentieth century that German scholars (e.g. Gunkel, Knopf, Windisch), followed in the English speaking world by Beare and others after World War 2, seriously called this into doubt. The main objection raised against Peter's authorship is his command of the Greek language. It would not be the first time that a fisherman from Galilee would surprise with a public appearance that was totally untypical of his former education (cf. Acts 4:13). Peter's authorship was claimed from an early stage and the letter was well known to Papias (Baum 1996:262). Papyri confirm the early acceptance of 1 Peter (Aland 1967:88). The Greek Fathers, who spoke the language better than most, were eager to point out some incongruence in style in other letters (cf. Chapter 9), but did not raise an issue about 1 Peter. They found it perfectly acceptable that Peter, who had probably grown up bilingual and also boasted the able assistance of Silvanus, had been able to write a letter like 1 Peter. Attempts to relate 1 Peter to a persecution setting early in the second century (cf. Knox 1953:187-189) have been encouraged by the fact that the only early pagan letter that describes the persecution of Christians dates from this period. Adequate data about early persecutions are non-existent (cf. Sleeper 1968:271). Elliot (1976:251-252) sums up the evidence: "For a growing number of scholars, however, the evidence is too disputable to prove the theory. There is no agreement among historians as to the inception or extent of the imperial persecution of Christians. Nor is an imperial persecution necessarily indicated by the term πύρωσις in 1 Pet 4:12. Nor is either the literary or historical "discontinuity" between 1 Pet 4:11 and 12 at all certain. Nor do the suggested parallels between 1 Peter and Pliny's correspondence prove a common date. Nor is there evidence that the situation which Pliny describes regarding Bithynia-Pontus is also that of the other provinces addressed in 1 Peter. Nor, finally, have those scholars favoring the imperial-persecution theory adequately considered or refuted a more likely explanation of the situation, viz., the hostility, harassment, and ostracism of a local, social, and "unofficial" nature. Earlier and more recent studies have cogently argued the latter case." This is in line with the description given in 1:6-7, 3:13-17 and 4:12-13. If organised state persecution should be supposed (which many find unnecessary) it may well be that no written record of this survives. Unlike 2 Peter, 1 Peter does not meet the criteria that are usually set for pseudo-Apostolic letters (Bauckham 1988:469-494).

ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός: ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἔστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: ἀμήν.³³⁴

To understand this passage validly it is necessary to take the wider textual context of the pericope in 1 Peter into account. Christian suffering is a recurring theme in this letter. Christians trust the Word of God, but the world does not. The author of 1 Peter structures his exhortations around references to the Word of God as external authority, to encourage his readers, as they face enmity from pagans and the broken condition of a fallen, imperfect world. In these circumstances, Peter shifts his readers' focus from their sufferings to God's eternal perspectives.

These structural references to the Word of God are used as a motivational force for Christian living. "Oracles of God" (1 Pet 4:11) is placed in a context about God who is ready to judge the living and the dead. The author of 1 Peter is not only presenting a God who speaks to his readers, but also one who holds the ultimate control over each person's destiny. It is according to the truth revealed in his Word that he will also judge all people.

During their pilgrimage on earth, God equips his people with expressions of his grace, gifts that are represented by the categories "speech" and "service," words and deeds. For both of these God is considered the source and standard. God's oracles provide the criterion and inspiration for Christian communication, such as preaching and pastoral counsel. What is being communicated should be in line with the revealed will and insights of God. He who speaks for God should be dependent on the mind of God. The λόγια θεοῦ are the equivalent of God's authoritative utterances that should model all speaking. As his servants were prompted to speak in times past, Christians similarly are to follow the promptings of God as the standard for their speech.

To establish the role of God's oracles in 1 Peter I will first take a closer look at the wider textual context of 4:11 within 1 Peter (10.2) and subsequently at the immediate textual context of 4:7-11. These verses are analyzed (10.3.3), translated (10.3.3.1), relevant grammar issues considered (10.3.3.2), and subsequently interpreted in their own right (10.3.3.3). After this 4:11 is studied and interpreted within this context (10.4), to enable a philological conclusion about λόγια θεοῦ.

10.2 Wider textual context within 1 Peter

In this letter the author addresses Christians in Asia Minor as people who have been chosen according to God's plan and active involvement in the affairs of this world. The author subsequently elaborates on this in greater detail in 1:3-12. In this passage he explains salvation in terms of God's grace, a new spiritual birth, a forthcoming heavenly inheritance, a walk of faith and the accomplishment of God's salvation when Christ shall return and be revealed to the world.

334 1 Peter 4:11 (NRSV): "Whoever speaks must do so as one speaking the very words of God; whoever serves must do so with the strength that God supplies, so that God may be glorified in all things through Jesus Christ. To him belong the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen."

The author closes this section by emphasizing that all these things had been long since part of God's plan as he revealed it to the prophets of old,³³⁵ who are said to be indwelt by the Spirit of God's anointed Messiah.

The pericope 1:3-12³³⁶ is used as a basis for the exhortations that follow from 1:13-25.³³⁷ In this section the author calls his reader to holiness. He motivates this call from Scripture: **διότι** γέγραπται ὅτι ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος εἰμι. (For it is written: "Be holy, because I am holy.") This is followed by another reference to God's plan of salvation³³⁸ (1:17-21), another admonition and again a motivation (**διότι**) argued from the Scripture, this time connecting the role of the Word of God in the spiritual birth of the readers (1:23-25).³³⁹

335 The prophets were indwelt by the Spirit of Christ, who witnessed to them long before the actual events took place. These prophets had the otherwise unseen, revealed (*ἀπεκαλύφθη*) unto them. Miller (1993:306-307) correctly points out that this revelation comes with an obligation to 1 Peter's readers: "In 1:10-12 Peter suggests a "practical equivalence" between the Old Testament message as the apostles understood it in the light of Christ, and the gospel which had been preached to his readers. In 1:22ff. Peter suggests that it was this gospel which had brought his readers new birth, and closely connects it with the Old Testament message. Also, in 1:22 and 2:8 Peter insisted that it is this word which is the "truth" and claims their "obedience."

336 1 Pet 1:10-12: *περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ ἐξηραύνησαν προφήται οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες* ¹¹ *ἐραυνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας* ¹² *οἷς ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουν αὐτὰ ἃ νῦν ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.* [NRSV: Concerning this salvation, the prophets who prophesied of the grace that was to be yours made careful search and inquiry, ¹¹inquiring about the person or time that the Spirit of Christ within them indicated, when it testified in advance to the sufferings destined for Christ and the subsequent glory. ¹²It was revealed to them that they were serving not themselves but you, in regard to the things that have now been announced to you through those who brought you good news by the Holy Spirit sent from heaven—things into which angels long to look!]

337 1 Pet 1:13: *διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν νήφοντες τελείως ἐλπίζατε.* [NRSV: Therefore prepare your minds for action; discipline yourselves; set all your hope on the grace that Jesus Christ will bring you when he is revealed.] Using the structural marker *διὸ* in the Greek text, Van Rensburg (1992:36-39; cf. Van Rensburg & Vosloo 1999:1713) convincingly argues that 1:3-12 is the basis for the sections 1:13-25, as well as three other sections (2:1-10, 2:11-4:19; 5:1-11). Although these sections are theologically connected to the basic statement in 1:3-12 the author makes no unambiguous reference to this statement other than in 1:13-25. It is rather reference to similar ideas reiterated in the immediate context of later sections of the letter than a strict reference to 1:3-12 that play a role. Section 2:1-10 is motivated from the role of the Word of God in spiritual birth (1:23-25). Section 2:11-4:19 may find a more natural closure in 3:14 or 4:4, especially as exhortations in 4:5-18 is emphatically argued from the impending judgement and end of the world, a theme that could only loosely be derived from 1:6. It could be argued that 5:1-11 finds itself in that same immediate textual context as well. In other words, while Van Rensburg convincingly points out some of the connections between Peter's introduction (1:2 could even be regarded as a summary of 1:3-12) and subsequent parts of the letter in theological theme, the structural and philological indicators allow for the possibility of a less rigid master-plan for the epistle and suggest the possibility of a flowing interpretation, as the author naturally built and dictated one section upon the next after his basic introduction of God's plan of salvation.

338 Van Rensburg (2005:418-432) helpfully identifies several images that 1 Peter uses for salvation. Added to this, it should be kept in mind that in terms of 1 Peter salvation is different from redemption. The latter has been accomplished (1:18: *ἐλυτρώθητε*, Passive Aorist), as is God's mercy to believers (2:10: *ἐλεηθέντες*, Aorist Participle Passive). Salvation, however, is a present process (cf. 3:21: *ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα* [NRSV: Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves you.]) and has not been accomplished as yet (1:5b: *διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ* [NRSV: through faith for a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time.]; see also 1:9-10).

339 1 Pet 1: 22-25: *τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς φιλαδελφίαν*

This is used as an incentive for spiritual growth (2:1-2 ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν).³⁴⁰ After this the letter (2:4-10) portrays God's provision in Christ and the necessary offence and stumbling this causes for non believers. Acceptance by God makes Christians different from a world that rejects him.

A new series of exhortations follows in the section 2:11-3:9. This is again motivated by an extensive reference to Scripture (3:10-14, quoting from Ps 34:12-16, Isa 8:12) and a summary of the apostolic teaching concerning Christ's example on earth (3:15-22). This example of Christ suffering injustice and rejection while pursuing the will of God (χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σαρκί³⁴¹) in turn serves as the basis for a warning against a pagan lifestyle (4:1-4). Another motivation against indulgence in sinful behaviour is added by the impending end and judgement of the world (4:5-7a). The exhortations in 4:7b-4:16 (σωφρονήσατε οὖν³⁴²) are emphatically put in this immediate textual context (cf. 4:17-18). The final series of exhortations (4:19-5:11) is built on this premise (especially 4:17-18).

The epistle ends (5:12) by reconfirming the truth³⁴³ of its teachings (ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἣν στῆτε³⁴⁴) and sharing several greetings and acknowledgements (5:12-14).

10.3 Immediate textual context: 1 Peter 4:7-11

10.3.1 Introduction

1 Peter 4:7-11 contains another in a series of structural references to the Word of God that are used as a motivational force for Christian living (cf. 1:10-12; 1:22-25). The passage is sandwiched in a context of God as the judge of all men God (4:5-6; 4:17-18). Consequently everyone is accountable to God and his preferences and insights extremely relevant for daily living and the Christian's final destiny.

ἀνυπόκριτον ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς ²³ ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος ²⁴ διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν.
[NRSV: Now that you have purified your souls by your obedience to the truth so that you have genuine mutual love, love one another deeply from the heart. ²³You have been born anew, not of perishable but of imperishable seed, through the living and enduring word of God. ²⁴For 'All flesh is like grass and all its glory like the flower of grass. The grass withers, and the flower falls, ²⁵but the word of the Lord endures for ever.' That word is the good news that was announced to you.]

340 1 Peter 2:1a (NRSV): "as you then get rid of all sinful practice." As οὖν is used in a participial construction that is part of craving for the teachings of the Word of God (1:2: ἐπιποθήσατε; cf. 1 Cor 3:2, Heb 5:12-13), it is not likely that the author intended his readers to refer to 1:3-12 directly. It was rather his recent summary (1:17-23) and particularly the role of the Word of God in making all this possible that would come to mind with οὖν.

341 1 Pet 4:1a (NRSV): "Since therefore Christ suffered in the flesh."

342 1 Pet 4:7b (NRSV): "therefore keep sane."

343 Truth in 1 Peter is synonymous with Gods view. His revelation is not an abstract theory, but aimed at Christian thinking and living. Senior (2003:126) recognizes this as he says: "This notion of 'God-consciousness' or awareness of truth through the eyes of faith is a key underlying motif of the letter and it emerges again in the final doxology (4:11b)."

344 1 Pet 5:12 (NRSV): "I have written this short letter to encourage you, and to testify that this is the true grace of God. Stand fast in it."

10.3.2 Greek text 1 Peter 4:7-11

^{4:7} πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν σωφρονήσατε οὖν καὶ νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς⁸ πρὸ πάντων τὴν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες ὅτι ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν⁹ φιλόξενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους ἄνευ γογγυσμοῦ¹⁰ ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα εἰς ἑαυτοὺς αὐτὸ διακονοῦντες ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι ποικίλης χάριτος θεοῦ¹¹ εἴ τις λαλεῖ ὡς λόγια θεοῦ εἴ τις διακονεῖ ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἢς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

10.3.3 Analyses of 1 Peter 4:7-11

10.3.3.1 An English translation (New International Version)

⁷The end of all things is near.

Therefore be clear minded and self-controlled so that you can pray.

⁸Above all, love each other deeply, because love covers over a multitude of sins.

⁹Offer hospitality to one another without grumbling.

¹⁰Each one should use whatever gift he has received to serve others, faithfully administering God's grace in its various forms.

¹¹If anyone speaks, he should do it as one speaking the very words of God.

If anyone serves, he should do it with the strength God provides,
so that in all things God may be praised through Jesus Christ.
To him be the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

10.3.3.2 Grammar

I Peter 4:7-11 is important as the immediate textual context of I Peter 4:11. To fully appreciate and understand 4:7-11 it is necessary first to deal with grammatical issues. These issues do not necessarily relate to the argument about oracles as such, but are important to define the immediate textual context of 4:11. The main objective of this section is to enable a careful interpretation of the textual context, and, subsequently, the function that 4:11 has in this.

4:8: As an expression of preferential treatment *πρὸ* is combined with *πάντων*, cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:172-73). Realising that the end is at hand (4:7) the most important thing that the believers should keep in mind is: "love one another". The participle *ἔχοντες* continues the imperative of *σωφρονήσατε* and *νήψατε* in 4:7, cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:397-98). The foundation for this is laid by obedience to God's revealed Word (cf. 1:22; John 13:34).

4:9: Peter uses the preposition *ἄνευ*, meaning "without" or "free from" (Bauer & Aland 1988:129-130). Cf. 1 Peter 3:1 "without words" (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:175). In 4:9 hospitality should be offered "without grumbling" (NIV), or "without complaining" (NRSV). Both 3:1 and 4:9 encourage the reader to subject speech and silence to God's instructions. This leads up to the exhortation in 4:11 to make God's oracles the standard of speech and for when (not) to speak up.

4:10: The participle *διακονοῦντες* like the participle *ἔχοντες* earlier, continues the earlier imperative, cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:397-98). The NRSV has: "Like good

stewards of the manifold grace of God, serve one another with whatever gift each of you has received." Peter recommends a mindset both of love (4:8) and of service (4:10). The description *ποικίλης χάριτος θεοῦ* (*genitivus qualitatis*, Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:136-137)³⁴⁵ refers to the manifold expressions of God's grace. The administration of God's grace to others is the ultimate goal of Christian behaviour and speech. Christians are used in the service of this grace as vehicles and tools.

4:11: Some commentators (like Michaels 1988: s.n. ad 1 Pet 4:11) attach great value to the lack of a definite article in *εἴ τις λαλεῖ ὡς λόγια θεοῦ*.³⁴⁶ There is no need for this as definitive articles are often left out in Greek altogether, especially in prepositional constructions (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:205-206) or when an author wishes to convey a definite concept that is general in its application. For this reason *ὡς λόγια θεοῦ* should be translated with a definite article in English: "as the oracles of God" (AV); or "the very words of God" (NRSV, NIV). This denotes an inherent quality. It is not "like God would speak," but *ὡς λόγια θεοῦ* conveys the exhortation of conforming to the specific divine oracles, collectively used as a phenomenon, that God has made available.

4:11: *εἴ τις λαλεῖ ὡς λόγια θεοῦ εἴ τις διακονεῖ ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός*.³⁴⁷ The Christian message should touch both words and deeds. Elliot (2000:758) aptly points out the parallelism found in this passage: "The parallelism of this couplet is marked by balanced conditional statements, followed by elliptical clauses referring to God... ...[let that one do so] as [uttering] oracles of God." It is God who provides the standards for speech and the power for Christian living. The strength for service comes from him: *ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός*, shows *χορηγεῖν*, which probably originally was an intransitive verb (merely providing in general) used in a transitive way, taking a direct object, in this case (specifically providing) strength for ministry (Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf 1990:122-23).

The comparative particle *ὡς* is used to convey that it is according to the strength that God provides, cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:353-54). Like the oracles provide the standard for Christian speech, the measure of God's strength provides the aim for Christian service.

4:11: Doxologies often use a construction with an ellipse where usually *ἐστίν* or *εἶη* is implied; cf. Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:105). Here *ἐστίν* is already supplied by the author, stating that the glory and the power belong to him,³⁴⁸ emphasizing that these are

345 Goppelt (1978:287) is right when he says that "der Genitiv *χάριτος* nähert sich hier einem Gen. Obj. Und der Begriff *χάρις* selbst dem Sinn "Gnadegabe"; man kann es vielleicht als 'Liebeserweisung' verstehen." The use of 'Liebeserweisung' is less fortunate as this tends to confuse *ἀγάπη* and *χάριτος*.

346 1 Pet 4:11a (my translation): "if someone speaks, let it be in accordance with the oracles of God."

347 1 Pet 4:11a (NRSV): "whoever speaks, as one who utters oracles of God; whoever renders service, as one who renders it by the strength which God supplies."

348 The relative pronoun *ὃς* may technically refer to either Jesus or God. The latter is preferred by Goppelt (1978:291) and Van Houwelingen (1993:159). Wiebert (1984:262) mentions in favour of the latter that God is the subject of the sentence (*δοξάζηται*). Schreiner (2003:216) adds that it "seems strange to some to say that the glory is both "through" Christ and also for him," but finds in Rom 11:36 a similar construction. Grammatically, Jesus is the nearer antecedent, and similar glory is ascribed to him in 2 Pet 3:18: *αὐξάνετε δὲ ἐν χάριτι καὶ γνώσει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος ἀμήν*. Other references are less equivocal. Heb 13:20-21: *ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης*

rightfully his.³⁴⁹ The goal of Christian speech and living is that God be praised through the difference Jesus Christ makes in human lives. Glory and power, however, already belong to him.

10.3.3.3 Interpretation 1 Peter 4:7-11

The beginning of 4:7, πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν,³⁵⁰ technically belongs to the preceding verses about God who is ready to judge the living and the dead (4:5-6 οἱ ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ ἐτοίμως ἔχοντι κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκὶ ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ θεὸν πνεύματι³⁵¹). The author of 1 Peter is not only presenting a God who speaks to his readers, but one who holds the ultimate control over each person's destiny. It is according to the truth revealed in his Word that he will also judge all people. It is on this premise that the second half of 4:7 continues with σωφρονήσατε οὖν καὶ νήψατε³⁵² εἰς προσευχάς.³⁵³ It

αἰωνίου τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς ἐν παντὶ ἀγαθῷ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ εὐάρεστον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν; Rev 1:5,6: καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἀρχὼν τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. Cf. Bratcher (1984:117). However in both these references and most other that are raised to support Jesus as the antecedent of ᾧ in 1 Peter 4, the relative pronoun may also refer to θεός. Holmer & Boor (1976:152) prefer an ascription to Jesus nonetheless. Selwyn (1947:220) argues: "The order of the words strongly favours it." Schweizer (1998:83) leaves the matter undecided: "So oder so, Gott, wie er sich in Christus offenbart hat, steht allein im Rampenlicht, nicht die reddened und dienenden Menschen." Like John 17:5: καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με σύ πάτερ παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί, this passage seems to treat the glory ascribed to God and Jesus on a similar level.

349 The expression ᾧ ἔστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος emphasizes that the glory and power are rightfully his. This is well put by Balz & Schrage (1973:110): "Wichtig ist der Indikativ ("ist", nicht: "sei"): Gott wird nicht etwas Fehlendes zugesprochen, sondern es wird das ihm Zukommende aufgenommen und lobend gepriesen."

350 1 Pet 4:7a (NRSV): "The end of all things is at hand." In Peter's view the end of all things has drawn near. This should be read in connection with 4:4-6, where the author portrays God as the judge of the living and the dead to whom all must give account (cf. Van Rensburg & Vosloo 1999:1727-1728). This is not designed to cause panic to his readers, but it would have encouraged them to realise that there will be an end to their suffering and they will be treated justly in the end. Realising this, the nearness of the end of all things should subsequently (4:7b) encourage them to a sober and godly perspective. Schweizer (1998:82) shows this capably: "Den Lesern, die die Botschaft von Jesus Christus gehört und angenommen haben, sagt es also zunächst, dass ihre Zeit nicht mehr die alte, immer gleiche oder doch nur in stetem Kreisen sich wiederholende Zeit ist. Für sie ist die Zeit offen auf die Zukunft hin, auf die alles hinzielt und die alles zur Vollendung führt. Dabei ist aber gerade nicht an einen Enthusiasmus gedacht, der alles Gegenwärtige überspringen wollte. Im Gegenteil führt die Ansage des nahen Weltendes und des Anbruchs der endgültigen Vollendung ausgerechnet zur Besonnenheit, die über den Augenblick hinaussieht und sich <<nüchter>> (vgl. Zu 1,13) vor Illusionen hütet, die über alles Bedrohende oder Verlockende Gott selbst in die Mitte stellt und von ihm alles Leben erwartet."

351 1 Peter 4:5-6 (NRSV): "But they will have to give an account to him who stands ready to judge the living and the dead. ⁶For this is the reason the gospel was proclaimed even to the dead, so that, though they had been judged in the flesh as everyone is judged, they might live in the spirit as God does."

352 The exhortation to be sober, νήψατε, (νήφω, cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:1090; Liddell & Scott 1996:1175) implies freedom from any state that may cloud one's proper judgement. In other words, they should be able to focus on prayer and give it their proper attention while they do so. Beare (1947:158) is right when he states that this expression "combines the thoughts of literal sobriety, abstinence from drunkenness (cf. 1 Thess. 5:7-8), and of clear-headed insight which sees life steadily in the light of eternity and of the impending end of Time. The two verbs together suggest a disciplined life, with all the faculties under

is in this same context that 4:8 recommends the virtue of love (πρὸ πάντων τὴν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες ὅτι ἀγάπη καλύπτει³⁵⁴ πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν); 4:9 hospitality (φιλόξενοι³⁵⁵ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἄνευ γογγυσμοῦ³⁵⁶); and 4:10-11 the use of

control and the energies unimpaired by any kind of excess... ..enjoined primarily for the sake of the prayers in which the Christian most truly realizes his communion with God and his fellowship with all believers."

353 1 Pet 4:7b (NRSV): "therefore keep sane and sober for your prayers."

354 Some have been adamant to read a controversial statement into Peter's words ὅτι ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν (4:7), that love covers all things. Feldmeier (2005:146) accuses Peter on the one hand of proposing that human love is cause that invites God's response to forgive sin, but on the other hand warns that one should not press this matter because he (following Goppelt) has decided that Peter was not expressing himself accurately theologically when he wrote this: "Die Bedeutung der gegenseitigen Liebe wird noch durch die Begründung unterstrichen, dass die Liebe die Menge der Sünden deckt, d.h. dass sie vergibt. Als Begründung der Aufforderung zur Geschwisterliebe besagt der Satz, dass der Mensch durch praktizierte Liebe seine Vergehen gleichsam kompensieren kann. Nähme man diesen Satz als soteriologisches Axiom, so stünde er in explizitem Widerspruch zu den sonstigen Aussagen des Briefes über das Versöhnungswerk Christi (vgl. 2,24; 3,18). Nun sind solche Unschärfen für den 1Petri nicht untypisch und Goppelt warnt zu Recht davor, einen solchen Satz zu pressen." It is, however, not the text as such but Feldmeier's deliberate interpretation that creates the contradictions he subsequently lays at Peter's doorstep. The author of 1 Peter is not dealing with the doctrine of salvation in 4:7. He had covered that in 1:18 already (ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου ἀλλὰ τιμίω αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ). Instead, in 4:7 love covering plenty sins is now placed in the textual context of πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν (4:7) and τὸ κρῖμα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ (4:17; cf. 4:5-6). The conviction that God judges, punishes and rewards was widespread in the New Testament, e.g. Matt 7:2; 16:27; Luke 14:14; 19:22; Acts 17:31; Rom 2:16; Rev 20:12-13. Reference to Prov 10:12 considering love covering sins applies to the Hebrew text only, as the LXX has: μῖσος ἐγείρει νεῖκος πάντας δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικούντας καλύπτει φιλία (Hatred stirs up strife, but affection covers all that do not love strife). See also James 5:20 γινωσκέτω ὅτι ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν. Cf. Luke 7:47: οὐ χάριν λέγω σοι ἀφέωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλαὶ ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολὺ ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ. Van Houwelingen (1991:156) correctly suggests that this passage does not speak about God's forgiveness, but ours. He makes covering sins apply to the everyday relationships between Christians: "Vergeving herstelt de onderlinge gemeenschap, zoals Jezus aangaf in de gelijkenis van de koning die afrekening hield met zijn slaven (Mt. 18, 23-35)."

355 Hospitality (φιλόξενοι) was a Christian virtue; cf. Matt 25:35; Rom 12:13; Heb 13:2; 1 Tim 3:2. Schweizer (1998:82) helpfully puts this in the perspective of a personal experience of God's love: "Wie nicht aus der Liebe heraus, ja letztlich als ein selbst von Gott geliebter <<Fremdling>> leben gelernt hat, kann auch nicht wirklich <<gastfrei>> (wörtlich:<<fremdenliebend>>) werden." Michaels (1988: s.n. ad 1 Pet 4:9) endeavours to explain this passage from a comparison with *Didache* XI.5,6,12 and being grumpy about giving (*Didache* IV.7), pointing to the abuse of Christians by travelling charlatans. Selwyn (1947:218) correctly points out that this explanation is most unlikely: "But it is doubtful whether this is the primary meaning of St. Peter's words here, which, in view of the context and of the words εἰς ἀλλήλους, appear to have a more intimate and domestic reference" (cf. Wiebert 1984:258). Beare (1947:159) aptly calls attention for the wider context of hospitality in the ancient world: "Hospitality was always a sacred duty among the Greeks; Zeus himself under the title Ζεὺς Ἐένιος, guarded the relationship between host and guest, and pursued any breach of hospitality with the vengeance of heaven." Cf. Senior (2003:118).

356 The expression "without grumbling" (ἄνευ γογγυσμοῦ, see also Bauer & Aland 1988:328) recognizes that hospitality, even to fellow Christians, does not always come naturally and may be experienced as a burden. Wiebert (1984:258) is right when he says: "Without murmuring is a frank recognition that the practice of hospitality could become costly, burdensome, and irritating. The expression is also found in connection with the Jewish people's response to Jesus. Cf. John 7:12: καὶ γογγυσμὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις οἱ μὲν ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον οὐ ἀλλὰ πλανᾷ τὸν ὄχλον; 7:32 ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι τοῦ ὄχλου γογγύζοντος περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ὑπηρέτας ἵνα πιάσωσιν αὐτόν. The Greek term may denote a muttering or low speaking as a sign of displeasure (cf. Knoch 1990:116).

spiritual gifts³⁵⁷ and/or natural talents and acquired skills (4:10-11a: ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα εἰς ἑαυτοὺς αὐτὸ διακονοῦντες ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι³⁵⁸ ποικίλης³⁵⁹ χάριτος θεοῦ.³⁶⁰ εἴ τις λαλεῖ ὡς λόγια θεοῦ εἴ τις διακονεῖ ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός). Many commentators use the occurrence of χάριτος as a stimulus to excurse on gifts of the Spirit. There is some justification in that, as χάρισμα and χάρις are related etymologically and in subject matter, and both are used here. Peter, however, emphasises the grace of God as storehouse, containing a great diversity of expressions of this grace and bounty. This suggests the picture of God as the owner of a storehouse of grace with many spiritual goods. From this infinite resource every Christian, ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα εἰς ἑαυτοὺς,³⁶¹ has received a gift especially suited to himself. In this way Christians administer grace from God's storehouse to others. The author calls upon his readers to serve as good stewards of the same. In other words, Peter focuses on

- 357 What is foremost under consideration in 1 Pet 4:10 is χάρις. This is the underlying concept that leads to God's administering of particular χάρισμα. Goppelt (1978:287) explains this connection satisfactorily, using the term "Liebeserweisung" (expression of love). For an overview of the New Testament passages that deal with spiritual gifts, see Knock (1990:116-17).
- 358 1 Peter 4:10 emphasizes the importance of being good stewards (καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι) of whatever it is that God gives to his readers. Bette e.a. (1988:553) understands this term in the light of the household of God (2:5; 4:17), but the implications are probably much wider. A steward was in charge of someone else's property, a household or a business. He ran its "economy," as it were. Good stewards are faithful managers or responsible administrators. Bratcher (1984:116) rightly points out that Peter calls to mind the relationship between God and believers, this passage invoking a spiritual dimension: "So what the steward administers, or manages, is actually not his own. In the same way Christian talents, or gifts belong to God, and believers are given the responsibility of managing those gifts." The use of οἰκονόμοι recalls Jesus' parable in Luke 12:42-48 (similarly Luke 19:12-27; see also Matt 25:14-30). This passage, like 1 Pet 4:10, also has an eschatological context where persons are presented as accountable to God and liable to punishment.
- 359 Peter speaks about the manifold grace of God (ποικίλης χάριτος θεοῦ). This grace is expressed in many ways (ποικίλος, cf. Bauer & Aland 1988:1370-71). Groenewald (1977:79) summarizes helpfully: "Die genade van God is "veelvuldig". Dit neem baie vorme aan en openbaar hom in 'n ryke verskeidenheid van gestaltes." Schweizer (1998:83) is right when he calls attention for the spiritual implications of this expression: "Freilich ist diese Gnade <<vielfältig>>. Das befreit von unbarmherziger Grenzenlosigkeit. Niemand ist für alles verantwortlich. Niemand muss ins Unendliche streben. Gott teilt zu, was für jedes Glied gabe und Aufgabe ist, und immer sind die andern da, die das können, was ihm versagt ist."
- 360 Michaels (1988: s.n. ad 1 Peter 4:10) claims that "Peter now points to that eschatological 'grace' at work even now in the worship and ministries of the Christian congregations to which he writes". This rather mysterious suggestion of grace as an end-time force lingering in churches seems inspired by Michaels' theology rather than the Greek contents of Peter's epistle. Bauer & Aland (1988:1750-53) correctly point out that χάρις is used for "grace" as well as for "works of grace" and "showing of grace." Within the immediate textual context of 4:10 this does not point to a special eschatological grace (particular to the *eschaton*), but to *grace of God* (χάριτος θεοῦ). Furthermore, it is not qualified as an "end-time" grace, but as a "manifold" grace. Bratcher (1984:116) correctly emphasizes that grace is qualified by God in this passage: "God's varied grace: here grace means what is given, the gift; "the various gifts of God," that is, what God gives. This verse may be translated as follows: God has given you various gifts, and each one of you must be a good administrator of the particular gift he has received, and use it for the good of all." Holmer & Boor (1976:150) agree: "Er rechnet also damit, daß jeder Christ teilhat an der vielfältigen Gnade Gottes, daß er demzufolge auch Gnadengaben hat. Man kann sie nicht aus sich selbst hervorbringen, sondern nur empfangen."
- 361 In 1 Pet 4:10 Christian grace is administered ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα εἰς ἑαυτοὺς (NRSV: As each has received a gift, employ it for one another). These are expressions of God's grace in the lives of believers. This grace shows itself in many different ways, or gifts of grace. Schreiner (2003:214) correctly emphasizes this diversity: "Even though every believer possesses at least one gift, the gifts are not necessarily the same. God's grace manifests itself 'in its various forms,' so the diversity of gifts reveals the multifaceted character of God's grace."

the Giver and not on the gifts. Whether in speaking for God, or in Christian service, God should set the standards. Both word and deed should reflect the mind of God and his character, so that God will be a greater reality in this world. After this passage Peter continues his teachings on the theme of suffering injustice (4:12-18, cf. 2:4-10; 3:8-22; 5:9-10), within this same context of God as judge of the living and the dead (4:17-18 ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὸ κρίμα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰ δὲ πρῶτον ἀφ' ἡμῶν τί τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπειθούντων τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίῳ. καὶ εἰ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται ὁ ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται³⁶²). In this last phase of the planet earth (cf. 4:7), God should be the standard of behaviour, whether words or deeds (4:11).

10.4 Interpretation of 1 Peter 4:11

10.4.1 Greek text 1 Peter 4:11

εἴ τις λαλεῖ ὡς λόγια θεοῦ εἴ τις διακονεῖ ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἢς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζηται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

10.4.1.1 Text critical considerations

There are no manuscript issues. Nestle Aland (1988:606) and the Textus Receptus (Scrivener 1985:431) agree that εἴ τις διακονεῖ ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἢς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός is to be preferred to ὡς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός as the most likely reading. The latter would stress the measure of strength that God provides, and the former that God provides it. As ἢς is preceded by ὡς in its present reading, also conveying the element of measure according to circumstances, there is not much practical difference in meaning.

10.4.2 Exegesis 1 Peter 4:11 as immediate textual context of λόγια θεοῦ

This verse finds itself in the context of God relating to his people and granting them particular giftedness in their service to God and men.³⁶³ In this verse Peter mentions two categories of gifts in particular: proclamation and service. The two charges in 4:11 represent two sorts of

362 1 Pet 4:17-18 (NRSV): "For the time has come for judgement to begin with the household of God; if it begins with us, what will be the end for those who do not obey the gospel of God? ¹⁸And 'If it is hard for the righteous to be saved, what will become of the ungodly and the sinners?'"

363 God's grace (4:10) plays a crucial role in the immediate textual context of 1 Pet 4:11. This grace is bestowed in many ways, but two main categories may be distinguished. Miller (1993:306) explains this grace-connection satisfactorily: "Peter stresses the fact that each has received a gift. Whatever the gift, it comes from the store of God's varied grace. If one speaks, he is to do it as one who utters oracles of God. If one renders service, he is to do it by the strength which God supplies. The horizontal, therefore, is always an expression of the vertical." Although Groenewald (1977:79) allows for two specific gifts, he deems it more likely that Peter speaks about two categories: "Uit die ryke verskeidenheid van genadegawes word nou net twee dinge genoem: "as iemand spreek" en "as iemand dien". Waarskynlik is dit nie die bedoeling dat net hierdie twee gawes van belang is nie, maar dat Petrus die groot verskeidenheid van gawes nie afsonderlik wil bespreek nie, en hulle daarom onder twee hoofde tuisbring: die bediening van die woord, en die bediening van die tafels (Hand. 6:2-4)." Most commentators recognize two categories in 1 Pet 4:11. Bolkestein (1963:164) agrees: "Er kunnen dus twee groepen geestesgaven onderscheiden worden: die van het spreken en die van het dienen met de daad." Wiebert (1984:259-60) likewise: "Peter divided gifts into two functional categories: the speaking gifts and the service gifts. The two categories are presented in the form of two conditional sentences." Goppelt (1978:287-88) similarly speaks about "die beiden Grundformen" (the ministry of the Word and the ministry of Tables).

giftedness: passing on God's Word to mankind and serving³⁶⁴ fellow men. These comprise both speech and actions, indicating that the author tried to encourage a God focus³⁶⁵ for all Christian behaviour, particularly in the Church.

Category one: speaking. The first charge, εἴ τις λαλεῖ ὡς λόγια θεοῦ, is that those who speak for God should ascertain that they pass on the very Words of God and not their own insights and preferences.³⁶⁶ They should speak "as one who utters the oracles of God" (RSV).³⁶⁷ Or: "Spreekt iemand, dan zo dat hij uitspraken van God verwoordt" (Van Houwelingen 1991:158).

Venerable Bede (Bray 2000:118): "It seems that Peter was afraid that he might say or teach something which goes against the will of God, or against what is written in Scripture, and be

- 364 Schweizer (1998:82) comes up with a rather original explanation of 4:11. He considers both speaking and serving as "Arten des <<Dienens>> (im weiteren Sinn von V.10)". Although a theological nicety ("All Christian living should be service to God in word and deed!"), it does not satisfy as an interpretation of 1 Pet 4:11. Peter distinguished serving from speaking, invoking two different situations: "if anyone speaks"; and: "if anyone serves".
- 365 Peter maintains a God-focus for Christian living. Selwyn (1947:219) points out that God's grace is the main connection in this vertical relationship. For that reason God has a right to set the standards: "All is of grace: the teacher or preacher is not to be the purveyor of his own notions, but the transmitter of the utterances of God; the minister must not be setting forth his own competence or importance" (Selwyn 1947:219). Feldmeier (2005:147) agrees: "Nicht die Vielfalt der Begabungen steht im Vordergrund, sondern ihre Rückbindung an Gott, der die Kraft zum Dienst verleiht, wie ausdrücklich hervorgehoben wird." Knoch (1990:117) emphasizes this also: "Darum ist die Ehrung und Verherrlichung Gottes die höchste Aufgabe und Möglichkeit der Menschen, und zwar zunächst dadurch, daß die Menschen entsprechend ihrer Bestimmung nach der Ordnung und den Wiesungen Gottes leben."
- 366 The use of λόγια shows that Peter speaks about a category of divine words. This is emphasized by the added θεοῦ. Groenewald (1977:80) recognizes this: "In die grondteks is daar sprake van die "uitsprake van God" (*logia*) en nie die "woorde van God" (*logoi*) nie. Die bedoeling is dat die spreker daarvan bewus moet wees dat God die woorde van mense in sy diens neem, en "uitsprake van God" uit die mond van die mens laat voortkom." Elliot (2000:759) mistakenly assumes that λόγια should be qualified by θεοῦ as a genitive of (divine) origin: "When qualified by "of God" (*theou*), the term *logia* assumes the sense of "oracles" of God, that is, weighty words or promises originating with God." Goppelt (1978:287) points out that τὸ λόγιον conveyed an inherent divine origin: "der "Spruch", der "Ausspruch", ist schon im außerbiblischen Griechisch vor allem der von der Gottheit ausgehende Spruch, nahezu das Orakel. In der LXX ist τὸ λόγιον τοῦ θεοῦ weithin gleichbedeutend mit ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, der biblischen Wortoffenbarung." Selwyn (1947:219) agrees: "As in classical and Hellenistic Greek it means any divine utterances, such as oracles (cf. Thuc.ii.8, Aristoph. Eq.122), so here: the speaker in the congregation should reckon himself to be charged not with his own opinions but the utterances of God." Schreiner (2003:215) shows this divine origin of λόγιον within the context of the LXX and the New Testament: "The "oracles of God" refer to the words God has given his people (cf. Acts 7:38; Rom 3:2; Heb 5:12). The phrase is rooted in the Old Testament, where we have both "oracles of God"(LXX Num 24:4,16; Ps 106:11 and "oracles of the LORD, "*logia Kyriou*, LXX Pss 11:7; 17:31) and "your oracles"(LXX Pss 118:11,103, 148, 158; 162; cf. *Wis* 16:11). Using speaking gifts to minister to others means that the one speaking endeavors to speak God's words."
- 367 Peter exhorts his readers that εἴ τις λαλεῖ ὡς λόγια θεοῦ ("if anyone speaks, let him do so like the oracles of God"). Jesus proclaimed a similar principle concerning his own ministry in John 7:16-18: ἀπεκριθῆ οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν ἡ ἐμὴ διδασχὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με. ἐάν τις θέλῃ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν γινώσεται περὶ τῆς διδασχῆς πότερον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστιν ἢ ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λαλῶ. ὁ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ λαλῶν τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἰδίαν ζητεῖ ὁ δὲ ζητῶν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πέμψαντος αὐτόν οὗτος ἀληθὴς ἔστιν καὶ ἀδικία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν (NRSV: Then Jesus answered them, 'My teaching is not mine but his who sent me. Anyone who resolves to do the will of God will know whether the teaching is from God or whether I am speaking on my own. Those who speak on their own seek their own glory; but the one who seeks the glory of him who sent him is true, and there is nothing false in him.)

found to be a false witness to God or a blasphemer or a heretic who was introducing something which goes against the Lord's teaching. And what he practiced himself in this respect he enjoins on us all." In other words, Peter makes the authority of speech dependent on agreement with God's oracular sayings, his revealed truth.³⁶⁸

Christian speech is only authoritative to the extent it is in agreement with and inspired by this Divine source, which his readers should seek. This does not suggest any boldness in statement, or manner of delivery, but refers to the contents of their speech.³⁶⁹ Those who claim to live for God should share the mind of God³⁷⁰ and not their religious theories.³⁷¹ It is first and foremost a charge to preachers and teachers in the Church, in the assembly of God's people or in pastoral work,³⁷² but could also have a wider application. Clemens of Rome

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- 368 Senior (2003:125) thinks that εἴ τις λαλεῖ ὡς λόγια θεοῦ refers to the verbal and non verbal mode of speech: "Those who speak should do so as if speaking an 'oracle of God.'" He argues that this is about communicating that the strength and authority of one's actions come from God. Peter, however, does not refer to the mode of speech here. The standard is ὡς λόγια θεοῦ. The OT and NT do not prescribe verbal or non verbal behaviour that is specific to the deliverance to λόγια θεοῦ. Nor does Peter describe any such thing. This makes Senior's suggestion very unlikely. The textual context suggests that the expression is used to set a standard for contents of speech. This view has a wide support. Balz & Schrage (1973:110): "Ihr Wort soll Gott und nicht sie selbst zur Sprache bringen." Bratcher (1984:116): "As one who utters the oracles of God: 'His words should be as though they were God's own words,' 'as one who has received his message from God.' Or 'Whoever preaches should proclaim the very message of God,' 'Whenever anyone speaks, his words should be as the words of God.'" Spicq (1966:152) translates: "comme les paroles de Dieu." Bolkestein (1963:164) agrees that Christian speech should reflect the mind of God: "Wie geroepen is tot spreken, moet erop letten, dat zijn woorden ook werkelijk dienst aan het woord van God zijn. Het moet het instrument van Gods eigen spreken zijn, Het moet, in één woord, dienst zijn."
- 369 1 Pet 4:11 invokes the Old Testament history of the prophet Balaam who had to subject his prophetic speaking to the "oracles" of God (the same word λόγια is used there). Like Peter's readers, Balaam was bound by the Words for what he was to say and proclaim. Numbers 24:4: φησὶν ἀκούων λόγια θεοῦ ὅστις ὄρασι θεοῦ εἶδεν ἐν ὕπνω ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ. Numbers 24:16 ἀκούων λόγια θεοῦ ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιστήμην παρὰ ὑψίστου καὶ ὄρασι θεοῦ ἰδὼν ἐν ὕπνω ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ. 1 Clement XIX (Lake 1977:43) speaks about "the humility and obedient submission of so many men of such great fame have rendered better not only us, but also the generations before us, who received his oracles (τὰ λόγια) in fear and truth." This obedience is not only relevant to the first receivers of those oracles, but for later generations who possess the inscribed records as well. 1 Clement LIII (Lake 1977:99): "For you have understanding, you have a good understanding of the sacred Scriptures, beloved, and you have studied the oracles (τὰ λόγια) of God." See also 1 Clement LXII: "And we had the more pleasure in reminding you of this, because we knew quite well that we were writing to men who were faithful and distinguished and had studied the oracles of the teaching of God." (Greek: εἰς τὰ λόγια τῆς παιδείας τοῦ θεοῦ.)
- 370 Sharing the mind of God is a relationship issue. The immediate textual context of 1 Pet 4:11 encourages dependence on God. Holmer & Boor (1976:151) point this out well: "Im Grie? ist nicht nu rein Vergleich gebraucht, sondern die Wirklichkeit bezeichnet. Der Redende soll Worte sprechen, die wirklich von Gott her kommen. Wo das geschieht, wird es - zu Gottes und nicht zur eigenen Ehre- ein wirksames Reden sein, vom Heiligen Geist und seinen Gnadengaben bestimmt."
- 371 Miller (1993:307) argues that the oracles of God in 1 Pet 4:11 should be interpreted as Apostolic teaching: "One who dares to speak for God to others must be as one who utters oracles of God rather than his own ideas, thus giving the apostolic faith control of all future developing tradition." Peter, however, does not set forth a doctrinal exposition in 4:11. He does not promote a valid theory, or valid apostolic interpretations, but his emphasis is on a speaking God, who communicates authoritatively and sets the standards of speech for Peter and his readers. These oracles of God may include apostolic teaching, but if so, they emphasize God speaking and not apostles.
- 372 The household of God, the congregation would be the first intended setting of Christian speech that reflects the oracles of God. Holmer & Boor (1976:150) rightly suggest that this would include both preaching and pastoral contacts: "Da es hier um den gegenseitigen Dienst (V.10) geht, wird Petrus mit "reden"sowohl an die Rede in der Gemeindeversammlung denken, als auch an das persönliche Wort von Bruder zu Bruder."

speaks about taking the oracles of God to the heathen, pointing out that those who take the oracles of God in their mouth should have a lifestyle that honours God.³⁷³

Category two: serving. The second charge shows a similar call to depend on God in serving, and not on oneself. In speaking, Peter called his readers to draw from God's words. In serving there is a similar general call (no Church offices are mentioned in this context)³⁷⁴ to draw upon God, from his well of strength, or, as he provides strength. This is not an unlimited call to service, but according to a giftedness and accompanying strength that are provided by God.³⁷⁵

In these charges Peter calls his readers to make God the standard and source of their speaking and their actions. This is a relationship issue: God should become a greater reality in his Church.³⁷⁶ The climax of this "Back to God Hour" is found in the ending of verse eleven. The author states that the aim of all Christian giftedness is to please God rather than men: ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.³⁷⁷

10.4.3 Philological conclusion about λόγια Θεοῦ

The words λόγια Θεοῦ are used in an immediate and wider textual context that recommends that God's grace and truth should inspire all Christian behaviour. The earnestness of the admonition that contains λόγια Θεοῦ is reinforced by its eschatological setting.³⁷⁸ In this situation of extreme seriousness, where the readers of 1 Peter realise that the end is near and that God will be the judge of all, it is God's oracles that provide the standard for preaching and pastoral counsel in the Church and for Christian speech in general.

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- 373 2 Clement XIII.3 (Lake 1977:149): "For when the heathen hear from our mouth the oracles of God (τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ), they wonder at their beauty and greatness, afterwards, when they find out that our deeds are unworthy of the words which we speak, they turn from their wonder to blasphemy, saying that it is a myth and delusion."
- 374 Peter does not mention offices (apostles, elders or deacons) in this textual context. Most commentators therefore conclude that category two is a general call to service. This view is reflected by Holmer & Boor (1976:151): "Nicht eine besondere Mahnung an Diakone und Diakonissen liegt hier vor, sondern ein Aufruf an die gesamte Gemeinde." However, one should allow for the view that this general way of putting it has a particular application to the Deacons of the Church. With some justification this is advocated by Senior (2003:119): "As with the charism of speech, "service" could refer to any act on behalf of another but the author may particularly have in mind public roles of service within the community."
- 375 God is the source of power for Christian service. As such he is its standard. Bolkestein (1963:165) connects this with the overriding concept of God's manifold grace in a helpful way: "Ook het dienen moet ondergeschikt blijven aan de bedoelingen van God. Zijn kracht is het, die in staat stelt tot recht dienen. Niemand, die dient, kan zich hoogmoedig op zijn daden verheffen. De ware daad is een werk van God zelf. Zij wordt veel meer aan de mens geschonken dan door hem gedaan."
- 376 1 Pet 4:11 emphasizes God as a reality in the Church. Christian speech and serving should be in organic unity with him. Van Houwelingen (1991:158) puts this well: "Anders gezegd: God zelf moet in de gemeente aan het woord komen, zijn krachtadig werk moet merkbaar zijn. Hij schenkt begaafdheid binnen de gemeente die sommigen profetisch, anderen dienstbaar maakt. Impliciet is hiermee de grootst mogelijke verantwoordelijkheid aangeduid. Zonder god kan men immers geen zinnig woord uitbrengen en niemand is gediend met daadkracht zonder het werk van de Geest."
- 377 The doxology ends with the usual confirmative ἀμήν: "So be it," or, "So it is" (Bratcher 1984:117). Cf. Rom 11:36; 16:27; Gal 1:5; Eph 3:21; Phil 4:20; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16; Heb 13:21; 2 Pet 3:18; Jude 25; Rev 1:6; 5:13-14; 7:12.
- 378 Eschatology in 1 Peter is not used to found the authority of the oracles of God, but only to emphasize their importance in a situation where the world was drawing to a close and God would be the judge of all people. In other words, the author exhorts his readers to apply God's standards in their life, as God is going to have the final say. Their life, this world and its suffering and persecution is only temporarily.

Peter's use of λόγια θεοῦ is indicative for his view that what Christians communicate should be in line with the revealed will and insights of God. These λόγια are the believers' tool in letting God take control of their speech. He who speaks for God should be dependent on the mind of God. This is conveyed by λόγια and reinforced by θεοῦ. Consequently, the λόγια θεοῦ are the equivalent of God's authoritative utterances that should model all speaking.

These λόγια θεοῦ are collectively used and should be translated with a definite article in English: "the oracles of God". As God's servants were prompted to speak in times past, Christians similarly are to follow the promptings of God as the standard for their speech.

God's grace, reaching out to mankind and personally applied in a relationship where God provides his gift to believers, is foundational for this concept and part of the immediate context of λόγια θεοῦ.

CHAPTER 11: ORACLES IN THE LXX

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11.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the use of λόγιον in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament (LXX). There are several reasons for doing so. In the previous chapters this research concentrated on the use of λόγιον in documents that were produced by Apostolic Christianity. These New Testament writings, however, were not the only books that were considered to be holy writ. The Old Testament, especially in its Greek version of the LXX was authoritative in the early Church as well, and is referred and alluded to extensively.³⁷⁹

Consequently it would be important to an understanding of λόγιον to assess how it was used in the LXX. A comparison with the results of the previous four chapters will subsequently reveal whether this assessment coincides with the use of λόγιον in the LXX. As this chapter provides a background to chapters 7-10 and the use of λόγιον in the LXX as such is not a primary research goal, a more basic and less detailed method of assessment is utilized. For this reason a classification mechanism has been developed, which will be explained under 11.2 (λόγιον & λόγια in the Septuagint: method of assessment). Each book has its occurrences grouped together in a section. Each section is concluded with a graphic summary of the evidence. This is followed by a general overview (11.3) of the LXX's use of λόγιον in

379 For a comprehensive overview of early Church fathers quoting from books of the Old Testament, see my research project on Holy Letters and Syllables (Zuiddam 2006).

graphics as well, to allow a birds-eye view on the data. Subsequently general conclusions (11.4) and a comparison of the use of λόγιον in the LXX and the New Testament are presented.

Four undisputed books from the Old Testament period (Numbers, Deuteronomy, Psalms, and Isaiah) use the term λόγιον or its plural λόγια. This chapter gives an overview of their use. The following method is applied: First the Greek (LXX) text for each passage is provided. This is followed by my translation in English, a short description of the textual context, a description of its contents and a classification according to the method of assessment (11.2).

11.2 The use of λόγιον & λόγια in the Septuagint: method of assessment

The goal of this method is to assess the character of λόγιον in regard to the human and the divine. Can it be used for mere human speech, or does it carry an inherently divine character? Each passage is assessed by determining the author, addressees and nature of λόγιον. Whether the author of λόγιον is human or divine will be shown by a corresponding A or B. Whether its address is man³⁸⁰ or God, is shown by a corresponding 1 or 2. The immediate textual context is taken into account by determining the nature of λόγιον according to the categories revelation (r), prayer (o, cf. *oremus*) and talk (t).

Assessment:

<p>Author of speech:</p> <p>-God: A</p> <p>-Man: B</p>	<p>Address:</p> <p>-God: 1</p> <p>-Man: 2</p>	<p>Nature of λόγιον & λόγια:</p> <p>-Revelation (from God): r</p> <p>-Prayer (talk to God, oaths before God): o</p> <p>-Talk (between men): t</p>
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Possible combinations:

A2r → λόγιον & λόγια describes God speaking to man directly (voice, dream, vision, appearance) or refers to God speaking to man directly (which may be passed on and proclaimed to fellowmen).

B1o → λόγιον & λόγια describes man talking to God.

B2t → λόγιον & λόγια describes man talking to fellowmen.

Codes:

A2r = R(evelation).

B1o = O(aths and prayers).

B2t = T(alk).

380 'Man' is used in the accepted (second) definition provided by the Oxford Dictionary (1989:755-56) as "human being of either sex; person." 'Mankind' is used in the first definition provided by the Oxford Dictionary (1989:758) as: "the human race." No political incorrectness or 'gender issues' are implied in using these words. It is a premise of this research that the established meaning of these words should not be compromised or outlawed for other than linguistic reasons.

11.3 Occurrences and assessment λόγιον & λόγια in the LXX

11.3.1 Numbers (twice, all plural)

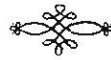
Numbers 24:4(-5): φησὶν ἀκούων λόγια θεοῦ ὅστις ὄρασιν θεοῦ εἶδεν ἐν ὕπνῳ ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ. ὡς καλοὶ σου οἱ οἴκοι Ιακωβ αἱ σκηναὶ σου Ισραηλ.

Numbers 24:4(-5): He speaks who hears the Oracle of the Mighty One, who saw a vision of God in his sleep as his eyes were opened. How good, o Jacob, are your dwelling places, and your tents, Israel!

Context: Statement to other people.

Contents: Statement of prophet Balaam that he is able to receive the Oracles of God and does so regularly.

Code: R



Numbers 24:(15),16,(17) καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν φησὶν Βαλααμ υἱὸς Βεωρ φησὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὄρων, ἀκούων λόγια θεοῦ ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιστήμην παρὰ ὑψίστου καὶ ὄρασιν θεοῦ ἰδὼν ἐν ὕπνῳ ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ. δεῖξω αὐτῷ καὶ οὐχὶ νῦν μακαρίζω καὶ οὐκ ἐγγίζει ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ιακωβ καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ισραηλ καὶ θραύσει τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς Μωαβ καὶ προνομεύσει πάντα υἱοὺς Σηθ.

Numbers 24:15-17: And he started to tell his parable and said, Balaam the son of Beor - a man who receives true visions, who hears the Oracles of God, who receives knowledge from the Most High -, tells (you) that, he has seen a vision from God in his sleep, as his eyes were opened. I shall show it to him, but *it shall not happen* yet: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth.

Context: Statement to other people.

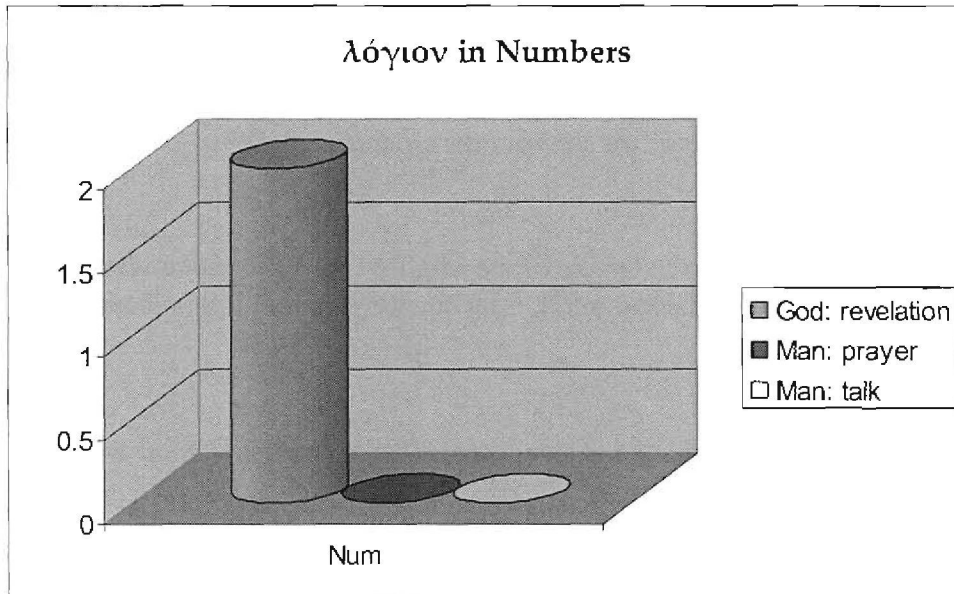
Contents: Statement of prophet Balaam that he is able to receive the Oracles of God and does so regularly.

Code: R

Noteworthy: Oracles equal ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιστήμην παρὰ ὑψίστου (learning knowledge from the Most High) and ὄρασιν θεοῦ ἰδὼν ἐν ὕπνῳ ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι (seeing visions of God in the sleep revealed). The concept Oracle embraces both knowledge and revelation of this knowledge from the realms of the Divine, as this knowledge is not accessible ordinarily, without act of revelation on God's part.

11.3.1.1 Numbers in graphics

By means of a summary the following graph captures the use of λόγιον in Numbers. It shows that God is always its author and that λόγιον is the vehicle of revelation.



11.3.2 Deuteronomy (once, plural)

Deuteronomy 33:9: ὁ λέγων τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ οὐχ ἑώρακά σε καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐπέγνων καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀπέγνων ἐφύλαξεν τὰ λόγια σου καὶ τὴν διαθήκην σου διετήρησεν.

Deuteronomy 33:9: (*Levi*) who says to his father and mother that he does not regard them and to his brothers that he does not know them, has also refused to know his sons: he has nonetheless kept your oracles and observed your covenant.

Context: Blessing.

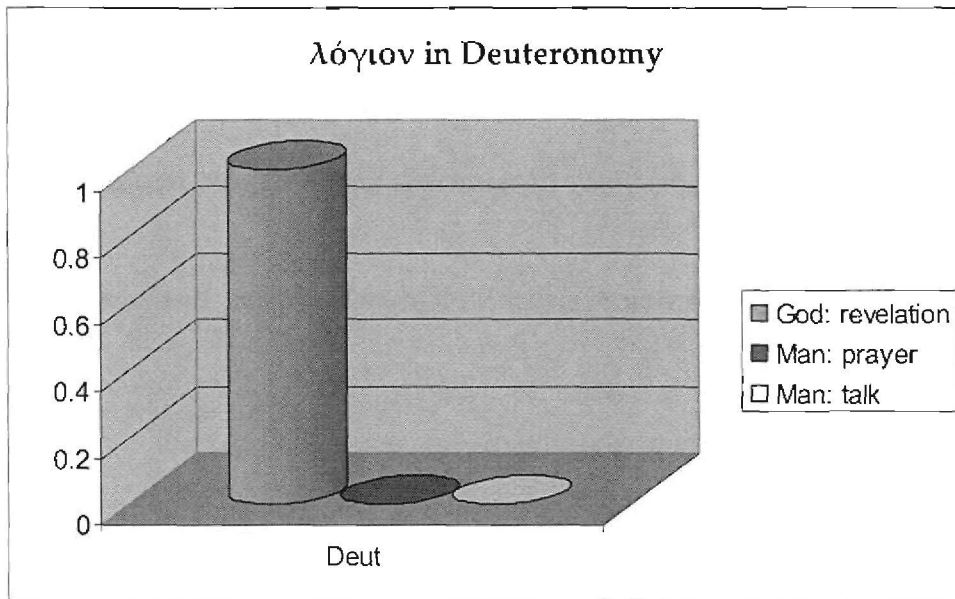
Contents: Moses blesses the tribe of Levi, referring to their faithfulness to God, preferring his Oracles to family loyalties.

Code: R

Noteworthy: Oracles here equal God's Covenant with the people of Israel and the laws this Covenant involved.

11.3.2.1 Deuteronomy in graphics

By means of a summary the following graph captures the use and nature of λόγιον in Deuteronomy. It shows that God is its author and that λόγιον is the vehicle of revelation to mankind.



11.3.3 Psalms (26 times)

11.3.3.1 Singular (16 times)

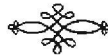
Psalm 118:38: στησον τῷ δούλῳ σου τὸ λόγιόν σου εἰς τὸν φόβον σου.

Psalms 119:38 (118:38): Confirm your Oracle to your servant, that he may fear you.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Request that God will confirm his Oracle in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



Psalm 118:41: οὐαυ καὶ ἔλθοι ἐπ' ἐμέ τὸ ἔλεός σου κύριε τὸ σωτήριόν σου κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου.

Psalms 119:41 (118:41): And let your mercy, your salvation come upon me, O Lord, according to your Oracle.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Request that God will confirm his Oracle in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



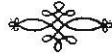
Psalm 118:50: αὕτη με παρεκάλεσεν ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει μου ὅτι τὸ λόγιόν σου ἔζησέν με.

Psalms 119:50 (118:50): This has comforted me in my humiliation, because it was your Oracle that gave me life.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: God's Oracle proved a reviving force in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



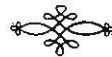
Psalm 118:58: ἐδεήθην τοῦ προσώπου σου ἐν ὅλη καρδίᾳ μου ἐλέησόν με κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου.

Psalms 119:58 (118:58): I begged before your presence with my whole heart: be merciful to me, like your Oracle *promises*.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Request that God will confirm his Oracle in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



Psalm 118:67: πρὸ τοῦ με ταπεινωθῆναι ἐγὼ ἐπλημμέλησα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ λόγιόν σου ἐφύλαξα.

Psalms 119:67 (118:67): Before I was brought low, I transgressed. For this reason I have kept your Oracle.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Statement to God that the Psalmist has kept God's Oracle to avoid sin.

Code: R



Psalm 118:76: γενηθήτω δὴ τὸ ἔλεός σου τοῦ παρακαλέσαι με κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου τῷ δούλῳ σου.

Psalms 119:76 (118:76): Please, let your mercy be with your servant to comfort me, according to your Oracle.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Request that God will confirm his Oracle in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



Psalm 118:82: ἐξέλιπον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου εἰς τὸ λόγιόν σου λέγοντες πότε παρακαλέσεις με.

Psalms 119:82 (118:82): I have cried out my eyes as I waited for your Oracle, while I said: when will you comfort me?

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Description of intense expectancy that God would confirm his Oracle in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



Psalm 118:116: ἀντιλαβοῦ μου κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου καὶ ζήσομαι καὶ μὴ καταισχύνῃς με ἀπὸ τῆς προσδοκίας μου.

Psalms 119:116 (118:116): Uphold me according to your Oracle, and give me life, and don't let me disappointed in my expectation.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Request that God will confirm his Oracle in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



Psalm 118:123: οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου ἐξέλιπον εἰς τὸ σωτήριόν σου καὶ εἰς τὸ λόγιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου.

Psalms 119:123 (118:123): My eyes have cried out for your salvation, and for the Oracle that shows your righteousness.³⁸¹

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Description of intense expectancy that God will confirm his oracle in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



Psalm 118:133: τὰ διαβήματά μου κατεύθυνον κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου καὶ μὴ κατακυριεύσάτω μου πᾶσα ἀνομία.

Psalms 119:133 (118:133): Order my steps according to your oracle, and do not allow anything lawless to have the upper hand over me.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Request that God would order the Psalmist's life according to his Oracle.

Code: R



Psalm 118:140: πεπυρωμένον τὸ λόγιόν σου σφόδρα καὶ ὁ δοῦλός σου ἠγάπησεν αὐτό.

381 Cf. Hebrews 5:11.

Psalms 119:140 (118:140): Your Oracle has been eminently tested; consequently your servant loves it.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Statement that God's Oracle proved extremely reliable and that the Psalmist loves it.

Code: R



Psalm 118:169: Θαυ ἐγγισάτω ἡ δέησίς μου ἐνώπιόν σου κύριε κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου συνέτισόν με.

Psalms 119:169 (118:169): Let my desperate request enter into your presence, o Lord. Instruct me according to your Oracle.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Intense request that God instruct the Psalmist according to his Oracle.

Code: R



Psalm 118:170: εἰσέλθοι τὸ ἀξιωμα μου ἐνώπιόν σου κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου ῥῦσαί με.

Psalms 119:170 (118:170): Let my petition enter into your presence. Deliver me, as your oracle promises.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Intense request that that God would confirm his Oracle in the life of the Psalmist.

Code: R



Psalm 118:172: φθέγξαιτο ἡ γλῶσσά μου τὸ λόγιόν σου ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ἐντολαί σου δικαιοσύνη.

Psalms 119:172 (118:172): Let my tongue utter the Oracle of yours, for all your commandments are righteous.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Request that God would make the Psalmist proclaim his Oracle.

Code: R

Noteworthy: Oracle equals God's commandments for human life.



Psalm 147:15: ὁ ἀποστέλλων τὸ λόγιον αὐτοῦ τῇ γῆ ἕως τάχους δραμεῖται ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.

Psalms 147:15: He who sends his Oracle to the earth, while his word will run swiftly.

Context: Proclamation.

Contents: Statement that God sends his Oracle to the earth.

Code: R

Noteworthy: the alternation of λόγιον and λόγος shows the former as a summary term for God's authoritative revelation, coming from heaven to earth, while the latter is used to describe the effective course of this speech in human speech on earth.



Psalm 137:2: προσκυνήσω πρὸς ναὸν ἁγίων σου καὶ ἐξομολογήσομαι τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλέει σου καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου ὅτι ἐμεγάλυνας ἐπὶ πᾶν ὄνομα τὸ λόγιόν σου.

Psalms 138:2 (137:2): I will worship towards your holy temple. I will give thanks to your name, on account of your mercy and your truth. Because you have shown that your holy Oracle is more important to you than anything else.³⁸²

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Statement about God confirming his Oracle in a glorious way, given as a reason for worship.

Code: R

Noteworthy: Oracle founds mercy and truth from God upon earth with man.



11.3.3.2 Plural (10 times)

Psalm 11:6: τὰ λόγια κυρίου λόγια ἀγνά ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον δοκίμιον τῇ γῆ κεκαθαρισμένον ἑπταπλασίως.

Psalms 12:6 (11:6): The Oracles of the Lord are pure Oracles, like silver passing the test in an earthly oven, purified seven times.

Context: Proclamation.

Contents: Statement that God's Oracles are extremely reliable.

Code: R

Noteworthy: Oracles of the Lord equals pure Oracles, purified a fullness of seven times to insure its contents are not mixed but fully reliable.



382 God has magnified his Word above every name, including anyone important. He has proved that faithfulness to his Word is important to him. Cf. Bauer & Aland (1988:1007) and also Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf (1990:186).

Psalm 11:6: τὰ λόγια κυρίου **λόγια** ἀγνά ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον δοκίμιον τῇ γῆ κεκαθαρισμένον ἑπταπλασίως.

Psalms 12:6 (11:6): The Oracles of the Lord are pure Oracles, like silver passing the test in an earthly oven, purified seven times.

Context: Proclamation.

Contents: Statement that God's Oracles are extremely reliable.

Code: R

Noteworthy: Oracles of the Lord equals pure Oracles, purified a fullness of seven times to insure its contents are not mixed but fully reliable.



Psalm 17:30: ὁ θεός μου ἄμωμος ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ λόγια κυρίου πεπυρωμένα ὑπερασπιστὴς ἐστὶν πάντων τῶν ἐλπίζόντων ἐπ' αὐτόν.

Psalms 18:30 (17:30): As for my God, his way is perfect. The oracles of the Lord have passed the test of fire. He is a protector for everyone who puts his hope on him.

Context: Proclamation.

Contents: Statement that God's Oracles have proven extremely reliable.

Code: R



Psalm 18:14: καὶ ἔσονται εἰς εὐδοκίαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ στόματός μου καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῆς καρδίας μου ἐνώπιόν σου διὰ παντός κύριε βοηθέ μου καὶ λυτρωτά μου.

Psalms 19:14 (18:14): And so shall the Oracles of my mouth and the meditation of my heart, be pleasing to you all the time, o Lord, my helper and my redeemer.

Context: Prayer

Contents: The Psalmist's promise to God that God's Oracles will be on his lips to proclaim and in his heart to meditate upon with the purpose that this shall be well pleasing to God.

Code: R

Noteworthy: The context shows that τὰ λόγια do not refer to independent revelation with the Psalmist as its source, but to Oracles from God. Verses 7-10: ὁ νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἄμωμος ἐπιστρέφων ψυχάς ἡ μαρτυρία κυρίου πιστὴ σοφίζουσα νήπια. τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου εὐθεῖα εὐφραίνοντα καρδίαν ἡ ἐντολὴ κυρίου τηλαυγῆς φωτίζουσα ὀφθαλμούς. ὁ φόβος κυρίου ἀγνός διαμένων εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος τὰ κρίματα κυρίου ἀληθινὰ δεδικαιωμένα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. ἐπιθυμητὰ ὑπὲρ χρυσίων καὶ λίθον τίμιον πολὺν καὶ γλυκύτερα ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίον. Oracles here equal the stainless Law of the

Lord, his faithful testimony and his righteous judgements. It is the Psalmist desire that God be pleased by his efforts to proclaim these, or to repeat these out loud as he meditates



Psalm 106:11: ὅτι παρεπίκραναν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν βουλήν τοῦ ὑψίστου παρώξυναν.

Psalms 107:11 (106:11): for they rebelled against the Oracles of God and provoked the counsel of the Most High.

Context: Proclamation.

Contents: Statement that disobedience to God's Oracles brought disaster in Israel's national life.

Code: R

Noteworthy: just as obedience to God's Oracles brings blessing, disobedience brings troubles, distress and affliction.



Psalm 118:11: ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ἔκρουσα τὰ λόγιά σου ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἀμάρτω σοι.

Psalms 119:11 ¶ (118:11) I have enclosed your Oracles in my heart, so that I might not sin against you.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Statement that Psalmist cherishes God's Oracles to avoid sin.

Code: R



Psalm 118:103: ὡς γλυκέα τῷ λάρυγγί μου τὰ λόγιά σου ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίον τῷ στόματί μου.

Psalms 119:103 (118:103): How sweet are your Oracles to my throat, even better than honey in my mouth!

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Statement that Psalmist cherishes God's Oracles as these agree with him.

Code: R



Psalm 118:148: προέφθασαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου πρὸς ὄρθρον τοῦ μελετᾶν τὰ λόγιά σου.

Psalms 119:148 (118:148): My eyes were eagerly anticipated the break of day, so that I could think about your Oracles.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Statement that Psalmist gladly sacrificed some of his night's rest to meditate on God's Oracles.

Code: R

Noteworthy: the necessity of daylight for this meditation or study (μελέτη) suggests the availability of Scripture containing these Oracles of God.



Psalm 118:158: εἶδον ἀσυνθετοῦντας καὶ ἐξετηκόμην ὅτι τὰ λόγια σου οὐκ ἐφυλάξαντο.

Psalms 119:158 (118:158): As I observed stupid behaviour, I wasted away, because they did not keep your Oracles.

Context: Prayer.

Contents: Statement that the Psalmist avoided men who did not keep God's Oracles.

Code: R

Noteworthy: acting foolishly equals not keeping God's Oracles.



Psalm 118:162: ἀγαλλιάσομαι ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τὰ λόγια σου ὡς ὁ εὐρίσκων σκῦλα πολλά.

Psalms 119:162 ¶ (118:162) I will jump for joy about your Oracles, like someone discovering a great treasure.

Context: Prayer.

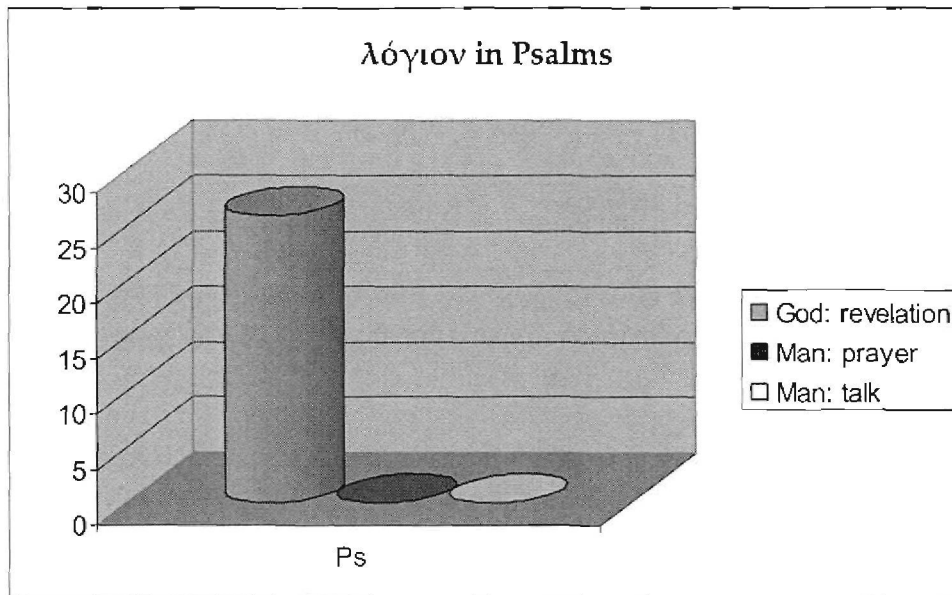
Contents: Statement that the Psalmist will jump for joy because of God's Oracles.

Code: R

Noteworthy: God's Oracles equal great gain.

11.3.3.3 Psalms in graphics

By means of a summary the following graph captures the use and nature of λόγιον in the book of Psalms. It shows that God is always its author and that λόγιον is the vehicle of revelation to mankind.



11.3.4 Isaiah (4 times, all singular)

Isaiah 5:24: διὰ τοῦτο ὃν τρόπον καυθήσεται καλάμη ὑπὸ ἄνθρακος πυρὸς καὶ συγκαυθήσεται ὑπὸ φλογὸς ἀνειμένης ἢ ῥίζα αὐτῶν ὡς χνοῦς ἔσται καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῶν ὡς κονιορτὸς ἀναβήσεται οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησαν τὸν νόμον κυρίου σαβαωθ ἀλλὰ τὸ λόγιον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσραηλ παρώξυναν.

Isaiah 5:24: Therefore they shall be burnt in the same way as stubble is burnt by a coal of fire. And they shall be consumed by a persistent flame. Their root shall be as chaff, and their flower shall go up as dust. The reason for all this is that they rejected the law of the Lord of hosts, and insulted the Oracle of the Holy One of Israel.

Context: Prophecy.

Contents: Statement that disobedience to God's Oracle will be the reason for severe judgement.

Code: R

Noteworthy: God's Oracle equals the Law of the Lord Sabaoth.



Isaiah 28:13: καὶ ἔσται αὐτοῖς τὸ λόγιον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ θλίψις ἐπὶ θλίψιν ἐλπίς ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἔτι μικρὸν ἔτι μικρὸν ἵνα πορευθῶσιν καὶ πέσωσιν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ κινδυνεύσουσιν καὶ συντριβήσονται καὶ ἀλώσονται.

Isaiah 28:13: Consequently for them the Oracle of God will involve lots of suffering, many disappointing experiences, slow going, until they will have had enough and fall backward. And they shall be threatened, crushed and taken away.

Context: Prophecy.

Contents: Statement that the Oracle of God shall contain affliction and ultimate disaster.
Code: R

Noteworthy: Here God's Oracle equals a specific prophecy of judgement.



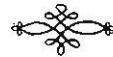
Isaiah 30:27: ἰδοὺ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου διὰ χρόνου ἔρχεται πολλοῦ καιόμενος ὁ θυμὸς μετὰ δόξης τὸ λόγιον τῶν χειλέων αὐτοῦ τὸ λόγιον ὀργῆς πλήρες καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὡς πῦρ ἔδεται.

Isaiah 30:27: Look, the name of the Lord comes after a long time, as his wrath is burning, With glory the Oracle of his lips shall devour like fire, the Oracle full of his anger, even the anger of his wrath.

Context: Prophecy.

Contents: Statement that God's Oracles imply wrath for the nations that do not obey his Word.
Code: R

Noteworthy: The Oracle of God's lips equals Oracle of anger. Its author and accomplisher is God. Its contents are his wrath and vengeance on the sins of the nations (cf. 30:28 καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐν φάραγγι σῦρον ἥξει ἕως τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ διαιεθήσεται τοῦ ἔθνη ταράξαι ἐπὶ πλανήσει ματαία).



Isaiah 30:27: ἰδοὺ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου διὰ χρόνου ἔρχεται πολλοῦ καιόμενος ὁ θυμὸς μετὰ δόξης τὸ λόγιον τῶν χειλέων αὐτοῦ τὸ λόγιον ὀργῆς πλήρες καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὡς πῦρ ἔδεται.

Isaiah 30:27: Look, the name of the Lord comes after a long time, as his wrath is burning, With glory the Oracle of his lips shall devour like fire, the Oracle full of his anger, even the anger of his wrath.

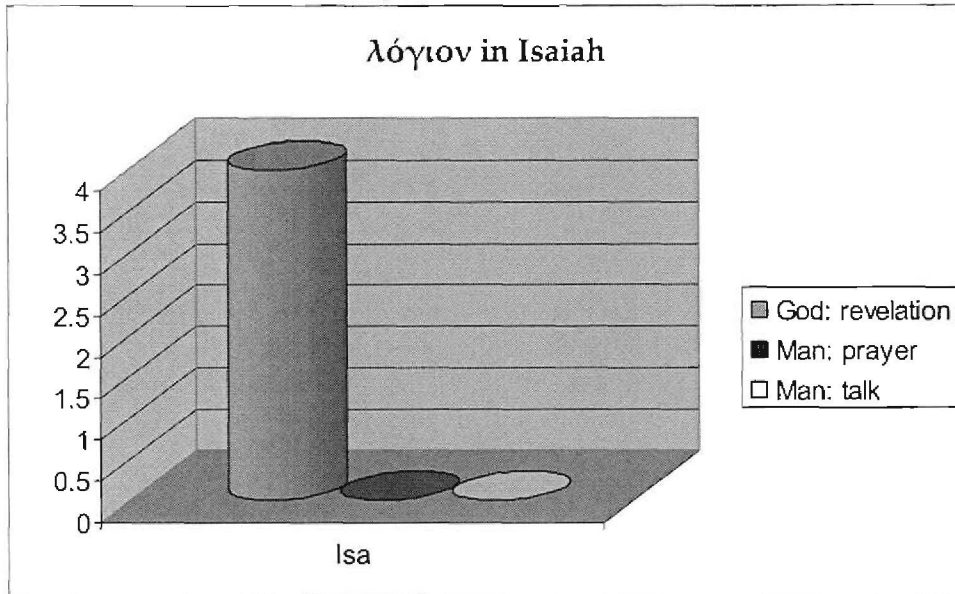
Context: Prophecy.

Contents: Statement that God's Oracles imply wrath for the nations that do not obey his Word.
Code: R

Noteworthy: The Oracle of God's lips equals Oracle of anger. Its author and accomplisher is God. Its contents are his wrath and vengeance on the sins of the nations (cf. 30:28 καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐν φάραγγι σῦρον ἥξει ἕως τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ διαιεθήσεται τοῦ ἔθνη ταράξαι ἐπὶ πλανήσει ματαία).

11.3.4.1 Isaiah in graphics

By means of a summary the following graph captures the use and nature of λόγιον in Isaiah. It shows that God is its author and that λόγιον is the vehicle of revelation to mankind.

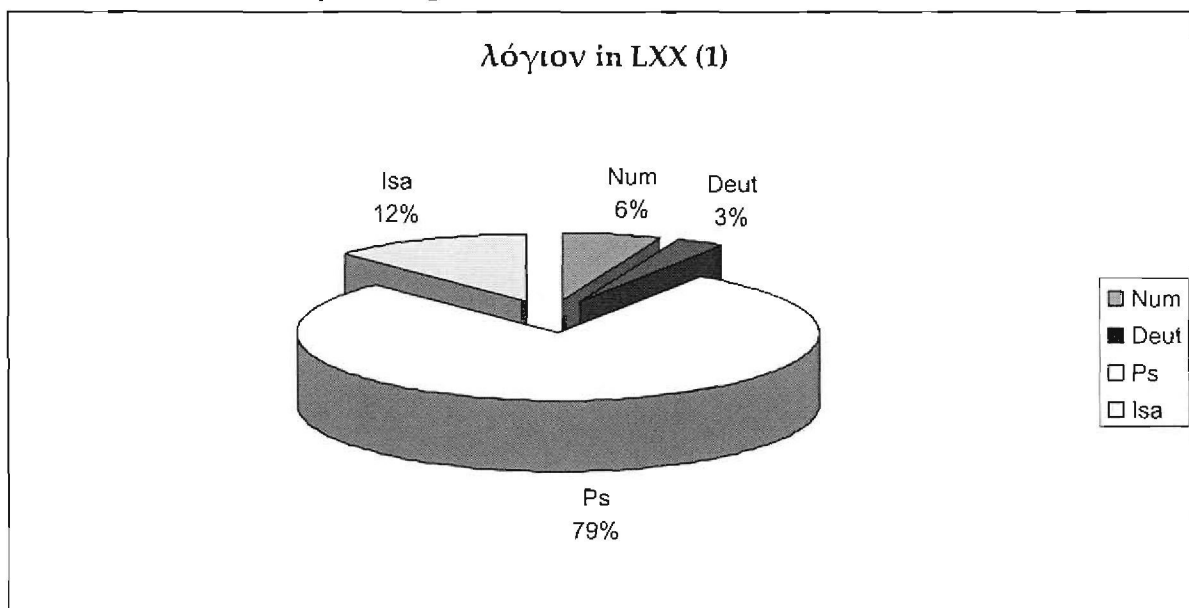


11.4 The Septuagint's overall use of λόγιον in graphics

11.4.1 Use in percentage

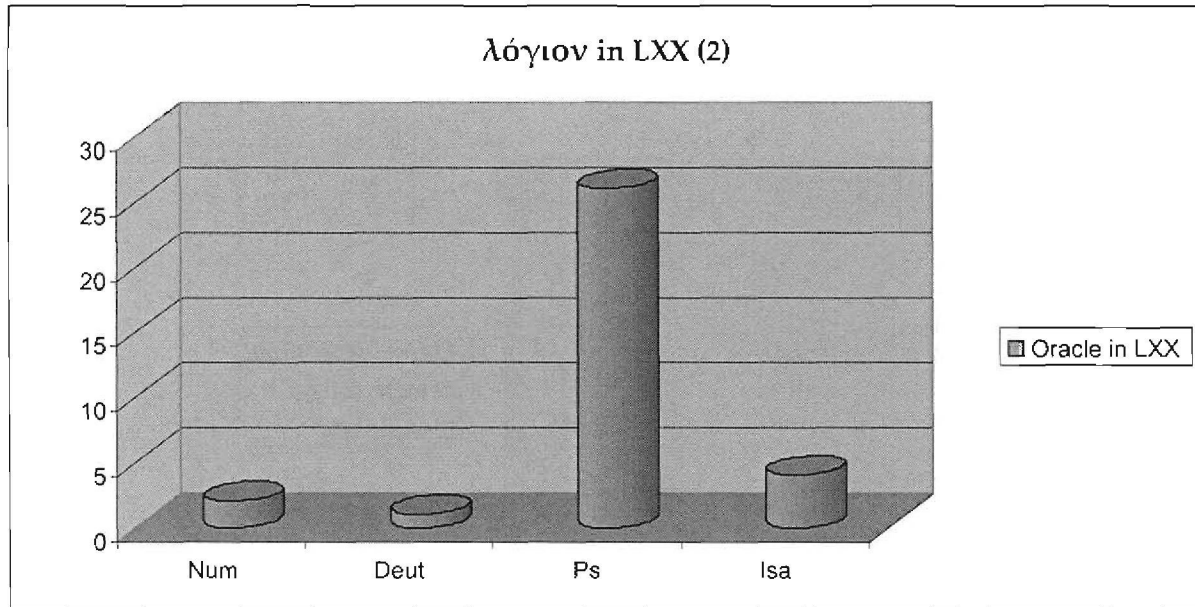
The use of λόγιον in the Septuagint may be summarized by the following graphics.

Graph 1 shows how the use of λόγιον is spread throughout the Greek Old Testament and which book claims what percentage.



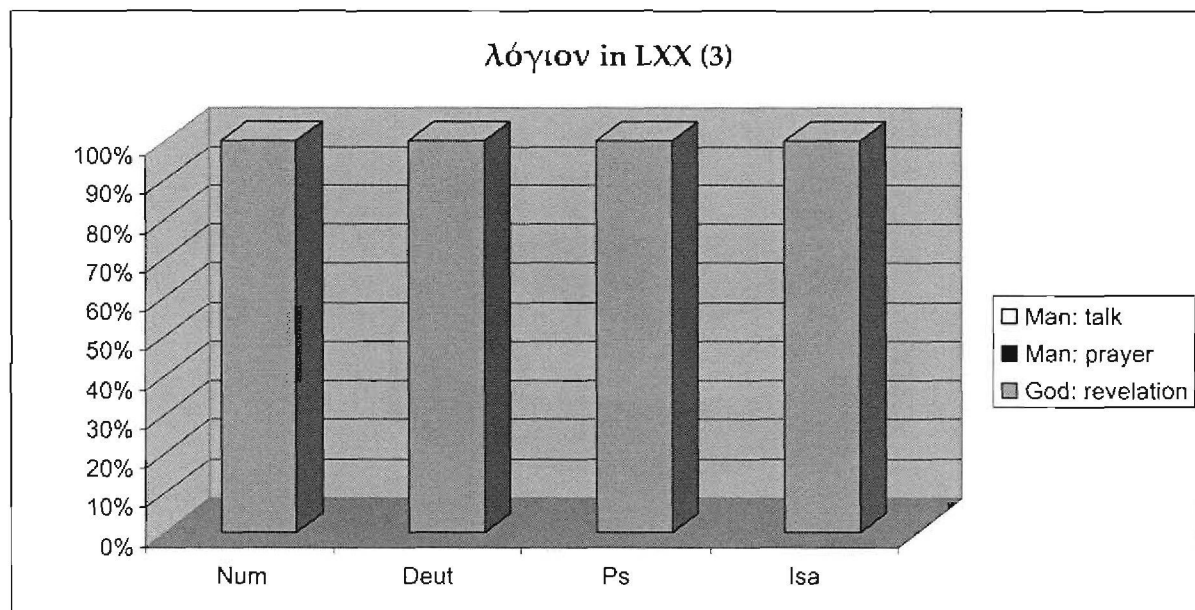
11.4.2 Occurrences

Graph 2 shows the actual occurrences of λόγιον in the Old Testament Scriptures of the Septuagint.



11.4.3 Nature of occurrences

Graph 3 deals with the character of each passage when subjected to an analysis. While other Greek words may be classified as talk to fellowmen, prayer to God or divine speech respective to their context, the situation with *λόγιον* is very different. As it meets these categories in the Septuagint the results are as follows.



The theological nature of the use of *λόγιον* in the Septuagint is also reflected by the following table.

mercy and truth from God's heaven upon earth with man. Just as obedience to God's Oracles brings blessing, disobedience brings troubles, distress and affliction. Acting foolishly equals not keeping God's Oracles. On the other hand, God's Oracles equal great gain to those who appreciate these. It is noteworthy that the use of *λόγιον* & *λόγια* in Psalms suggest the availability of Scripture containing these Oracles of God.

In Isaiah God's Oracle equals both the Law of the Lord of Hosts, as well as a specific prophecy of judgement. In this same book we find that the Oracle of God's lips may equal an Oracle of anger. Its author and accomplisher is God. Its contents are his wrath and vengeance on the sins of the nations.³⁸³

The Septuagint always takes God to be the author of *λόγιον* & *λόγια*.³⁸⁴ These are used in a revelatory sense in the relationship between God and man and are presented as extremely relevant to Man's life. Man is never the author of *λόγιον* & *λόγια*. The LXX only uses the term to describe a human utterance when man recites or proclaims the Word of God. In other words, man may be the channel of *λόγιον*, but not its author.

Summarised, one may conclude that:

- a) *λόγιον* & *λόγια* exclusively describes God speaking to man;
- b) *λόγιον* & *λόγια* are used to describe specific instances of God speaking (audible voice, dream, vision, appearance);
- c) *λόγιον* & *λόγια* also describe the phenomenon of Divine speech (refers to the fact of God speaking to man, or its record in memory or writing, which may be subsequently passed on and proclaimed to fellowmen).

11.6 A comparison of *λόγιον* & *λόγια* in the LXX and the NT

The data in this chapter allow for a specific comparison of the use of *λόγιον* & *λόγια* in the LXX and the NT. This overview not only serves to present this detailed comparison on five characteristics, but also gives compelling overall conclusions about the use of *λόγιον* & *λόγια* in the LXX and the NT, providing a general summary of the results of chapters 7-11.

383 In the Wisdom of Solomon, God uses judgments to call his Oracles into remembrance. These Oracles are not specific oracles of judgement, but his commandments, which included provisions of judgement in case of deviation. The context of this occurrence is one of proclamation, containing a statement that God judged the Israelites to remind them of his Oracles. Wis 16:11: *εἰς γὰρ ὑπόμνησιν τῶν λογίων σου ἐνεκεντριζοντο καὶ ὀξέως διεσώζοντο ἵνα μὴ εἰς βαθεῖαν ἐμπροσόντες λήθην ἀπερίσπαστοι γένωνται τῆς σῆς εὐεργεσίας.* (RSV: To remind them of thy oracles they were bitten, and then were quickly delivered, lest they should fall into deep forgetfulness and become unresponsive to thy kindness.) Here God uses judgments to call his Oracles into remembrance (*ὑπόμνησιν*). These Oracles are not specific oracles of judgement, but his commandments, which included provisions of judgement in case of deviation (cf. Deut 6:15 *ὅτι θεὸς ζηλωτῆς κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου ἐν σοὶ μὴ ὀργισθεὶς θυμωθῆι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου ἐν σοὶ καὶ ἐξολεθρεύσῃ σε ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς*).

384 God is always the author of *λόγιον* & *λόγια*, even in Psalm 18:4 which technically speaks about *τὰ λόγια τοῦ στόματός μου*, but the human mouth is the vehicle of the proclamation of the words of God, whose message the Psalmist desires to declare.

11.6.1 Exclusive to divine speech

The data showed that the Septuagint exclusively uses *λόγιον* & *λόγια* to describe God speaking to man. God is always the author of *λόγιον* & *λόγια*. This coincides with the New Testament use of *λόγια*, as Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter unanimously apply the term exclusively to describe speech of God.

11.6.2 Relational use to mankind

The *λόγια* are not used to refer to general speech of God in creation, e.g. to angels and other creatures, but are specifically used to address man in his relationship with God. This coincides with the New Testament use of *λόγια*, as Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter unanimously apply the term to describe speech of God as he reaches out to relate to mankind and people who seek divine guidance.

11.6.3 More specific and collective use

This divine speech is either used to describe specific instances of God literally speaking (voice, dream, vision, appearance), or refers to the phenomenon of Divine speech (to the fact of God speaking to man, or its record in memory or writing, which may be subsequently passed on and proclaimed to fellowmen). The first way is mainly used in the LXX within a narrow textual context of a personal prayer exchange with God. The lack of this use in the New Testament can be satisfactorily explained by the different literary genre of Acts, Romans, Hebrews, and 1 Peter, which is not one of poetry, song and prayer, like the Psalms. Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter unanimously agree with the LXX in using *λόγια* to describe the phenomenon of Divine speech in a collective way.

11.6.4 Intimate setting of covenant relationship

The words *λόγιον* & *λόγια* are mostly used in the Psalms in a context of prayer and talk with God, which is one of intimate communication between God and man. It is in this context of personal fellowship that God's *λόγιον* & *λόγια* function. Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter unanimously agree with the LXX when they apply the term to describe speech of God in a specific setting of a covenant relationship with his people. This is not only evidenced by the use of *λόγιον* in Deuteronomy, but also by most occurrences in the Psalms that have a setting of intimate relationship with God in the immediate textual context of his commandments. Isaiah does likewise when he treats *λόγιον* in the immediate context of the law of the Lord of hosts.

11.6.5 Revelation of divine knowledge

The concept Oracle embraces both knowledge and revelation of this knowledge from the realms of the Divine. The term Oracle is used as the equivalent of God's commandments for human life. It is also a summary term for God's authoritative revelation, coming from heaven to earth. These Oracles are regarded as pure and fully reliable. Man can take these Oracles in his mouth, but man is never their source. The use of *λόγιον* & *λόγια* in Psalms suggest the availability of Scripture containing these Oracles of God. In Isaiah God's Oracle equals both the Law of the Lord of Hosts, as well as a specific prophecy of judgement. The Septuagint always takes God to be the author of *λόγιον* & *λόγια*. These are used in a revelatory sense in the relationship between God and man and are presented as extremely relevant to Man's life. The LXX only uses the term to describe a human utterance, when man recites or proclaims the Word of God. In other words, man may be the channel of *λόγιον*, but not its

author. This use of λόγιον entirely agrees with the way Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter present λόγια as God's authoritative revelation to the human race.

CHAPTER 12: ORACLES IN APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANITY

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12.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the results of the use and meaning of oracle in Apostolic Christianity. It summarizes the specific philological conclusions from previous chapters (12.2 - 12.6) and draws general philological conclusions about the use of λόγιον by Apostolic Christianity (12.7).

12.2 Philological conclusion about λόγια ζῶντα in Acts 7:38

In Acts 7:38 λόγια ζῶντα refers to speech of the living God that was given to Moses for the people of Israel. The expression is used for specific communication by God and claims to be relevant, not only to Moses and the Israelites of old, but also for the life of Stephen's hearers and Luke's readers. The fact that these λόγια are presented as "living" shows their inherent sacred power that is connected to their divine origin.

The translation "oracles" was found to be correctly emphasizing that Moses received information claiming to be God speaking from the heavenly realms to make his will known on earth. The context of Acts 7 shows that these words were revealed by an act of God involving angels and not by theological speculation on Moses' part. This reflects an attitude of

the utmost reverence towards these λόγια ζῶντα in early Christianity as sacred utterances of God addressed to man's life situation on earth.

12.3 Philological conclusion about τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ in Romans 3:2

In Paul's Epistle to the Romans the expression τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ refers to speech of God that was entrusted to the Jews as a people. This includes everything he spoke through Moses and the prophets. The Apostle presents this as a matter of the greatest privilege to his readers, both for its authoritative contents and the personal involvement of the God of the Covenant these represent. Paul uses these "oracles" or "very words of God," as a collective reference to all divine speech that was entrusted to the Jews before the revelation of God's righteousness in Christ, to which these λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ bore witness in advance.

12.4 Philological conclusion about λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ in Hebrews 5:12

In the Epistle to the Hebrews the words λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ are used to denote authoritative Divine speech. Both the wider and narrower context of Hebrews 5:12 show that λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ are used in a context of an intimate relationship with God that is initiated by God's grace. God's oracles are instrumental for maintaining this relationship and promoting spiritual growth and maturity. In Hebrews 5:12 τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς refer to the very elementary knowledge, or basic understanding of these oracles. Even the practice of these Oracle basics is considered potentially life-changing and spiritually empowering by the author of Hebrews. The use of λογίων as such implies a divine source and this is reinforced by the narrow context of τοῦ θεοῦ. Their source is the omniscient and powerful God as he takes the initiative to relate to mankind, communicating and acting upon his Word.

12.5 Philological conclusion about λόγια θεοῦ in 1 Peter 4:11

The words λόγια θεοῦ are used in a narrow and wider textual context that recommends that God's grace and truth should inspire all Christian behaviour. The earnestness of the admonition that contains λόγια θεοῦ is reinforced by its eschatological setting. In this situation of extreme seriousness it is God's oracles that provide the standard for preaching and pastoral counsel in the Church and for Christian speech in general. Peter's use of λόγια θεοῦ is indicative for his view that what Christians communicate should be in line with the revealed will and insights of God. These λόγια are the believers' tool in letting God take control of their speech. He who speaks for God should be dependent on the mind of God. This is conveyed by λόγια and reinforced by θεοῦ. Consequently, the λόγια θεοῦ are the equivalent of God's authoritative utterances that should model all speaking.

These λόγια θεοῦ are collectively used and should be translated with a definite article in English: "the oracles of God". As God's servants were prompted to speak in times past, Christians similarly are to follow the promptings of God as the standard for their speech. God's grace, reaching out to mankind and personally applied in a relationship where God provides his gift to believers, is foundational for this concept and part of the narrow context of λόγια θεοῦ.

12.6 Philological conclusions about the use of λόγιον & λόγια in the LXX

The words λόγιον & λόγια are mostly used in the Psalms in a context of prayer and talk with God, which is one of intimate communication between God and man. It is in this context of personal fellowship that God's λόγιον & λόγια function. Man applies these to revive hope and to keep on the path of righteousness, sometimes trusting that God will confirm his promises and that his commandments are the best way. Other times confronting God with his Word and pressurising the Most High for fulfilment of the same.

In the book of Numbers, Oracles equal knowledge from the Most High and seeing visions of God in the sleep revealed. The concept Oracle embraces both knowledge and revelation of this knowledge from the realms of the Divine, as this knowledge is not accessible ordinarily, without act of revelation on God's part. In Deuteronomy Oracles equal God's Covenant with the people of Israel and the laws this Covenant involved. This same thought is reflected in the Psalms of David, where Oracle is used as the equivalent of God's commandments for human life. It is also a summary term for God's authoritative revelation, coming from heaven to earth. Oracles equal the stainless Law of the Lord, his faithful testimony and his righteous judgements. These Oracles are regarded as pure and fully reliable. Man can take these Oracles in his mouth, but never is their source. God's Oracle establishes mercy and truth from God's heaven upon earth with man. Just as obedience to God's Oracles brings blessing, disobedience brings troubles, distress and affliction. Acting foolishly equals not keeping God's Oracles. On the other hand, God's Oracles equal great gain to those who appreciate these. It is noteworthy that the use of λόγιον & λόγια in Psalms suggest the availability of Scripture containing these Oracles of God.

In Isaiah God's Oracle equals both the Law of the Lord of Hosts, as well as a specific prophecy of judgement. In this same book we find that the Oracle of God's lips may equal an Oracle of anger. Its author and accomplisher is God. Its contents are his wrath and vengeance on the sins of the nations. In the Wisdom of Solomon, God uses judgments to call his Oracles into remembrance. These Oracles are not specific oracles of judgement, but his commandments, which included provisions of judgement in case of deviation. The Septuagint always takes God to be the author of λόγιον & λόγια. These are used in a revelatory sense in the relationship between God and Man and presented as extremely relevant to Man's life. Man is never the author of λόγιον & λόγια. The LXX only uses the term to describe a human utterance, when man recites or proclaims the Word of God. In other words, man may be the channel of λόγιον, but not its author.

Summarised, one may conclude that:

- a) λόγιον & λόγια exclusively describes God speaking to Man;
- b) λόγιον & λόγια are used to describe specific instances of God speaking (audible voice, dream, vision, appearance);
- c) λόγιον & λόγια also describe the phenomenon of Divine speech (refers to the fact of God speaking to Man, or its record in memory or writing, which may be subsequently passed on and proclaimed to fellowmen).

12.7 General philological conclusions about the use of λόγιον by Apostolic Christianity

The results presented under 12.2-12.6 invite the following detailed conclusions about the use of λόγιον in Apostolic Christianity. This overview defines the use of λόγιον in terms of sixteen attributes and characteristics as presented in the chapters 7-11.

12.7.1 Divine author

The data show that Apostolic Christianity exclusively used λόγιον to describe God speaking to man. God is always the author of λόγιον.

12.7.2 Human receivers

While the author of λόγιον is always God, λόγιον always has a human address and is aimed at mankind's circumstances.

12.7.3 Collective use

Apostolic Christianity used λόγιον in a collective way in the writings of the New Testament. All New Testament writings use the plural λόγια as a collective reference to God's verbal revelation to mankind.

12.7.3.1 Specific use in LXX

Although the LXX uses λόγια as a collective reference to God's revealed will and commandments as well, it also uses the singular. It applies λόγιον as reference to specific revelation (prophecy or divine reply) in a narrow textual context of prayer or specific inquiry.

12.7.4 Comprehensive package

In the Apostolic writings of the New Testament λόγιον exclusively refers to a comprehensive package of Divine revelation.

12.7.5 Relational context

The use of λόγιον is restricted to divine speech which addresses man in his relationship with God. Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter unanimously apply the term in a narrow textual context of God as he reaches out to relate to mankind. It is λόγιον that gives humans necessary direction as they relate to God in a covenant relationship. The intimate and personal character of this is reflected by the Psalms.

12.7.6 Divine initiative

The instigator of λόγιον in Apostolic Christianity is always God, even in the case of the semi-pagan prophet Balaam it is God who dictates when and what he will reveal. In the Apostolic writings of the New Testament this divine initiative is put in the narrow textual context of God's grace, as he reaches out to humans despite their sinfulness and makes a new beginning of their relationship to God possible.

12.7.7 Intimate setting of covenant relationship

The words λόγιον & λόγια are mostly used in the Psalms in a context of prayer and talk with God, which is one of intimate communication between God and man. It is in this context of personal fellowship that God's λόγιον & λόγια function. Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter unanimously agree with the LXX when they apply the term to describe speech of God in a specific relational setting of covenant and divine grace.

12.7.8 Divine will

The concept Oracle embraces both knowledge and revelation of this knowledge from the realms of the Divine. The term Oracle is used as the equivalent of God's commandments for human life. It is also a summary term for God's authoritative revelation, coming from heaven to earth, its origin reinforced by the involvement of angels.

12.7.9 Authoritative revelation

As λόγιον proceeds out of the mouth of God it automatically comes with his authority. Apostolic Christianity did not argue this authority, but merely accepted it. Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter present λόγια as God's authoritative revelation to the human race.

12.7.10 Scriptural revelation

The Old Testament use of the plural λόγια, which is e.g. found in Num 24:4, 24:16; Pss 11:6, 17:30, 106:11 and especially in 118:148 (“τὰ λόγιά σου”), suggests the availability of Scripture containing these Oracles of God. This use of λόγιον agrees with the exclusive preference of the apostolic writers for the plural λόγια.

12.7.11 Continued relevance

All occurrences in the New Testament claim a continued relevance and authority of λόγιον in the first century, no matter when λόγιον was first communicated.

12.7.12 Sacred

The use of λόγιον by Apostolic Christianity suggests that it had an inherent sacred power as vehicle of the mind of God.

12.7.13 Prophetic

The use of λόγιον by Apostolic Christianity is prophetic in a twofold sense: it foretold the revelation of God's righteousness in Christ and contains directions for human life, teaching man the way that he should go.

12.7.14 Spiritual growth

The use of λόγιον by Apostolic Christianity is aimed at spiritual growth and maturity in those who receive it. Even the basics of God's oracles were regarded as life changing and spiritually empowering.

12.7.15 Model for speech

In Apostolic Christianity λόγιον is presented as a model for Christian speech and teaching in the church and the wider world.

12.7.16 Eschatological setting

The wider setting of λόγιον in Apostolic Christianity is one of extreme seriousness and the approaching end of the world. It is God's λόγιον that is able to make a difference in these circumstances and give man direction.

CHAPTER 13 PLUTARCH AND APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANITY: NEW ORACLES AND THE OLD

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13.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the general conclusions of this research. It starts with an overview (13.2), giving the results of this study, first on the subject of the Greek oracles in the Greco-Roman world of the first century AD and Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* in particular. Secondly, the research results on divine speech and oracles in Apostolic Christianity. This is followed by a general comparison of the use of *λόγιον*.

13.2 Overview

The following overview shows how this study has recognized several indications of a theological crisis in the Greek oracle religion of the first century AD, whilst Apostolic Christianity confidently claimed divine revelation that was collectively described as "oracular answers". Chapter-numbers are indicated in the heading and followed by an annotated summary of results.

13.2.1 A valued but diminished role of the Greek oracles (chapter 3-4)

This study (chapter 3-4) established the influential and authoritative role of the Greek oracle religion in classical times, but recognizes also that this role had largely diminished in the Greco-Roman world of the first century AD. In the preceding century profound criticism and scepticism were raised from within the Greco-Roman elite. Although the oracles were still valued, they were no longer trusted with major decisions. Several Roman emperors tried to revive or buy, depending on one's perspective, the most prominent Greek oracle in Delphi.

13.2.2 Disappearance of the oracles (chapter 4-5)

This study (chapter 4-5) established that the well connected politician, philosopher and priest Plutarch, who was connected to the famous Apollo oracle in Delphi, showed himself deeply disturbed about a development which he described as "the disappearance of the oracles". Although his use of words indicated that Plutarch was mainly concerned about the disappearance of the phenomenon and the sites, one should realise that in the Greek religion the oracular answers were intimately connected with those sacred sites. One was implied by the other. With the disappearance and disintegration of the sacred site the opportunity for divine revelation disappeared as well.

13.2.2.1 Philological conclusions

Related to the assessment under 13.2.2 are the following philological conclusions. Generally speaking, regarding the four Greek words used for "oracle" in *De Defectu Oraculorum*:

- τό λόγιον refers to an authoritative message from the gods;
- ὁ χρησμός refers to the response of the gods to a specific inquiry;
- τό χρηστηρίον refers to the holy location singled out by the gods or daemons;
- τό μαντεῖον refers to the prophetic activity on the site.

13.2.2.2 Philological observations

Several philological observations shed an interesting light on the contents of *De Defectu Oraculorum*.

13.2.2.2.1 Focus on the phenomenon not the messages

From the occurrences of the different Greek words for "oracle", one may conclude that Plutarch and his companions were not interested in specific oracular messages. The prevailing use of χρηστηρίον and μαντεῖον indicate that their debate concerned itself first and foremost with oracles as a phenomenon. This philological evidence corroborates the actual findings from the contents of *De Defectu Oraculorum* that were described in the previous chapter (4). Plutarch and his friends showed no interest in consulting what was left of the oracles, but they were keen to discuss the reasons why the formerly glorious sites had lost their glory and why oracular activity at these sites had come to an end.

13.2.2.2.2 A general claim for disappearance

De Defectu Oraculorum claims a general τὰ παυσάμενα τῶν χρηστηρίων (413E, disappearance of the oracle sites) and ἐκλείψεως τῶν χρηστηρίων (411E, 413D, vanishing of the oracle sites) in the Greco-Roman world by (the end of) the first century AD.

13.2.2.2.3 A limited activity

De Defectu Oraculorum allows for a few, probably a handful, active oracle sites in the Greco-Roman world by the (end of the) first century AD. One of these was an active χρηστηρίον in Boeotia (411F). The other site that is mentioned to still have prophetic arrangements was Delphi (414B/C). In *De Defectu Oraculorum* μαντική is still claimed for this sanctuary, but the site had suffered a vast decrease in popularity. Demetrius mentions two other sites (P480-434D: Mopsus and Amphilocheus) for which he uses μαντεῖον.

13.2.2.2.4 Reference to response in singular

In *De Defectu Oraculorum* Plutarch refers to τό λόγιον and ὁ χρησμός in the singular only, indicating that a specific response to a particular inquiry is implied.

13.2.2.3 A general concern suggested

This study established that Plutarch's book *De Defectu Oraculorum* suggests that this concern about the disappearance of the oracles was shared by the Greek intellectual and religious elite of his day. The explanation offered by Plutarch and his friends for the general decline of the oracles in the Greco-Roman world of the first century AD was of a thoroughly religious nature. The main reason was the withdrawal of the gods and their providence. The gods employed daemons and other secondary causes to give birth to oracles or to abandon those. The climax of *De Defectu Oraculorum* is indicative of the depth of Plutarch's theological crisis as he suggests to his friends and calls upon his readers to consider that even the gods and the heavenly realms might be subject to decay. *De Defectu Oraculorum* suggests a profound sense of theological crisis and a god-eclipse that even the gods might be unable to avert. This theological crisis implies also an economic predicament, as with the declined involvement of the gods and lack of interest in attempts to still consult the oracles, the desolation was profound. According to *De Defectu Oraculorum* Delphi employed just one Pythia by that time and most of the other Greek oracles had closed up shop. In terms of Plutarch's thinking the withdrawal of the gods or daemons and their secondary means would have caused the prophets to be fruitless and disinterested. But implied is that the lack of income through enquirers would have caused the ancient centres of the Greek religion to effectually wither and disappear from lack of sustenance.

13.2.2.4 Limitations of this research

Two *caveats* are in order in applying the results of this research.

13.2.2.4.1 Greek oracle religion only

In the first place, it should be noted that the primary object of Plutarch's book *De Defectu Oraculorum* is the Greek oracle religion and not, for instance, the Egyptian. In other words, the results of this research would not reflect on other than the traditional Greek oracles necessarily, as Plutarch does not provide sufficient data on other.

13.2.2.4.2 Prophetically inspired oracles only

In the second place, also of importance is that both *De Defectu Oraculorum* and this research were focussed on oracles that were operated by means of human prophetic inspiration, speaking for the gods as it were, because it is on this point that the semblance with Apostolic Christianity suggests itself.

13.2.3 Claims of Apostolic Christianity (chapter 6-12)

While a crisis of god-eclipse suggested itself to the Greek oracle religion, quite independent from this development Apostolic Christianity claimed oracular responses and divine involvement from the heavenly realms.

13.2.3.1 Divine initiative (chapter 6)

This study (chapter 6) found that in this same Greco-Roman world of the first century AD, the movement of Apostolic Christianity claimed an abundance of divine directions. Dreams, visions, angelic appearances and prophetic inspiration were suggested as vehicles for this speech from the realms of glory. Unlike in the Greek oracle religion, these revelations were not limited to sacred sites. While Plutarch faced an eclipse of the gods, Apostolic Christianity claimed real and present revelation of God. This study suggests that while the Greek oracle religion strongly featured human initiative in the revelatory process, Apostolic Christianity claimed divine initiative for revelation. Although many of its recipients led religious and righteous lives, events of special revelation occur on God's initiative and are considered a gift of God.

13.2.3.2 Specific oracular claims (chapter 7-10)

This study (chapter 7-10) found that the authoritative writings of Apostolic Christianity, contained in the New Testament, specifically claim divine speech of an oracular character in Acts, Romans, Hebrews and 1 Peter. These occurrences come in a textual context of God taking the initiative to reach out to mankind, to save them from what makes separation between them and God, and to establish his lordship in their lives.

13.2.3.2.1 Acts 7:38 (chapter 7)

In Acts 7:38 *λόγια ζῶντα* referred to speech of the living God that was given to Moses for the people of Israel. The expression is used for specific communication by God and claims to be relevant, not only to Moses and the Israelites of old, but also for the life of Stephen's hearers and Luke's readers/hearers. The fact that these *λόγια* are presented as "living" shows their inherent sacred power that is connected to their divine origin. The translation "oracles" was found to be correctly emphasizing that Moses received information claiming to be God speaking from the heavenly realms to make his will known on earth. The context of Acts 7 shows that these words were revealed by an act of God involving angels and not by theological speculation on Moses' part. This reflects an attitude of the utmost reverence towards these *λόγια ζῶντα* in early Christianity as sacred utterances of God addressed to man's life situation on earth.

13.2.3.2.2 Romans 3:2 (chapter 8)

In Romans 3:2 the expression *τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ* referred to speech of God that was entrusted to the Jews as a people. This includes everything he spoke through Moses and the prophets. Paul presents this as a matter of the greatest privilege to his readers, both for its authoritative contents and the personal involvement of the God of the Covenant these represent. He uses these "oracles" or "very words of God," as a collective reference to all

divine speech that was entrusted to the Jews before the revelation of God's righteousness in Christ, to which these λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ bore witness in advance.

13.2.3.2.3 Hebrews 5:12 (chapter 9)

In the Epistle to the Hebrews the words λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ are used to denote authoritative Divine speech. Both the wider and narrower homiletic context of Hebrews 5:12 show that λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ are used in a context of an intimate relationship with God that is initiated by God's grace. God's oracles are instrumental for maintaining this relationship and promoting spiritual growth and maturity. In Hebrews 5:12 τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς refer to the very elementary knowledge, or basic understanding of these oracles. Even the practice of these Oracle basics is considered potentially life-changing and spiritually empowering by the author of Hebrews. The use of λογίων as such implies a divine source and this is reinforced by the narrow context of τοῦ θεοῦ. Their source is the omniscient and powerful God as he takes the initiative to relate to mankind, communicating and acting upon his Word.

13.2.3.2.4 1 Peter 4:11 (chapter 10)

In 1 Peter 4:11 the words λόγια θεοῦ were part of a narrow and wider textual context that recommends that God's grace and truth should inspire all Christian behaviour. The earnestness of the admonition that contains λόγια θεοῦ is reinforced by its eschatological setting. In this situation of extreme seriousness it is God's oracles that provide the standard for preaching and pastoral counsel in the Church and for Christian speech in general. Peter's use of λόγια θεοῦ is indicative for his view that what Christians communicate, should be in line with the revealed will and insights of God. These λόγια are the believers' tool in letting God take control of their speech. He who speaks for God should be dependent on the mind of God. This is conveyed by λόγια and reinforced by θεοῦ. Consequently, the λόγια θεοῦ are the equivalent of God's authoritative utterances that should model all speaking. These λόγια θεοῦ are collectively used and should be translated with a definite article in English: "the oracles of God". As God's servants were prompted to speak in times past, Christians similarly are to follow the promptings of God as the standard for their speech. God's grace, reaching out to mankind and personally applied in a relationship where God provides his gift to believers, is foundational for this concept and part of the narrow context of λόγια θεοῦ.

13.2.3.3 Oracular claims reinforced in LXX (chapter 11, appendix I)

This study (chapter 11 and appendix I) found that the use of λόγιον in Apostolic Christianity is reinforced by that of the Septuagint in several ways. Like the New Testament, the LXX always takes God to be the author of λόγιον. Likewise it is without exception applied in a special revelatory sense in the context of a relationship between God and mankind. Its relevance for human life and conduct is emphasized. Man as such is never the author of λόγιον. The LXX only uses the term to describe a human utterance when man recites or proclaims the Word of God. In other words, a human being may be the channel of λόγιον, but not its author. Unlike the New Testament, the LXX also employs λόγιον to describe a specific response of God to a particular situation or to a personal request, particularly in the textual context of prayer.

13.2.3.4 Collective use for authoritative phenomenon (chapter 12)

This study (chapter 12) established the significant fact that all occurrences of λόγιον in the writings of Apostolic Christianity are in the plural. This indicates that with the use of λόγιον these authors intended to collectively describe the authoritative phenomenon of divine speech and to emphasize its divine source. In other words, λόγια was used as a collective reference to God's several and diverse revelations.

13.3 Comparison of Plutarch and Apostolic Christianity on oracles

A comparison of the Greek oracle religion and Apostolic Christianity on the use of λόγιον as divine response leads to the following results.

13.3.1 Agreement

This study found that there are several areas of agreement between the use of λόγιον as divine response in Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* and Apostolic Christianity.

13.3.1.1 Human need

a) Both acknowledge a human need of divine direction.

13.3.1.2 Divine authorship

b) Both claim an exclusively divine authorship of λόγιον.

13.3.1.3 Revelatory context

c) Both use λόγιον in a revelatory context, as a revelation into this world from the heavenly realms.

13.3.1.4 Authoritative direction

d) Both present λόγιον as an authoritative divine direction, representing the will of the deity.

13.3.1.5 Response

e) Both present λόγιον as a response to the needs of human life (horizontally and vertically/religiously).

13.3.1.6 Supernatural agents

f) Both make use of supernatural agents in the mediation of λόγιον (daemons and angels³⁸⁵ respectively).

13.3.1.7 Human agents

g) Both make use of human agents (prophets) in the mediation of λόγιον.

385 This study found that in the New Testament angels featured in revelatory dreams, or passed on God's messages by visitations, e.g. Mary (Luke 1:30), Zacharias (Luke 1:13), the shepherds in Bethlehem (Luke 2:10-12), Cornelius (Acts 10:3), John at Patmos (e.g. Rev 10:9).

13.3.2 Disagreement

While there is much agreement between the use of *λόγιον* as divine response in Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* and Apostolic Christianity, there are also remarkable differences.

13.3.2.1 Role of sacred site

a) There is an important difference in setting. The availability of the Greek oracles was restricted to sacred localities that had supposedly been singled out by the god. Apollo, or any other god for that matter, made his responses only available at specific locations, sacred sites - shrines or temples. In this respect the Greek oracles resemble the medieval and post-medieval shrines of Christian Saints, which was reputed to be restricted to specific sites as well, Lourdes being one of the more prominent examples. Mary would heal, but only at or through the connection with Lourdes, the site playing an essential role. Like Apollo, she would have different shrines of reputation.

This study found that Apostolic Christianity, however, was quite different from the Greek religion and the later cult of the Saints in that the oracles and healing miracles it claimed were not restricted to or dependent on sacred sites. Christianity came from a God who claimed that the earth and its fullness was his. His oracles would become available anywhere God was pleased to speak through his servants the prophets, or send angels as special envoys, regardless the place. Although God used specific sites like Mt Sinai (Moses), the tabernacle (Samuel) and the temple (Zachariah) to reveal his will, these did not develop into permanent oracle sites. Sacredness of sites did not become a limitation on revelation. Although the Jews worshiped at the temple, prophets received their revelations everywhere. Daniel received God's messages in pagan Babylon, both Josephs in Egypt and Paul in Syria and Greece.

13.3.2.2 Human and divine initiative

b) This study also found a difference in approach of the deity and the acquisition of the divine response. The Greek prophetic oracles required special groundwork, both for the medium and the inquirers. In the Greek situation the medium/prophet needed ritual preparation and consecration for his/her task. Before the god was consulted, a general preparation of sacrifice and prayers was offered to persuade the deity. If those were not observed the whole thing could blow up. Plutarch even mentioned the example of a Pythia who died as a result. Apostolic Christianity did not make use of sacrifice and payments to trigger divine responses, God's sovereignty in revealing his will being a major consideration. In the Greek religion people took the initiative to approach the god with their inquiries. In Apostolic Christianity, quite reversely, God takes the initiative to approach mankind and sacrifices his own Son in the process. In other words, God takes the initiative to communicate with man. This revelation is not only considered a gift of the Holy Spirit, but also often operates without special human attempts to receive it, often presenting itself quite suddenly and without special preparation on the part of the human recipient (e.g. an angel appearing and dumbfounding Zacharias, Joseph called to leave for Egypt during the night, Philip sent to a desert road, Saul stopped on the Damascus road, etc.).

13.3.2.3 Administration and scope

c) A third difference was found not only in the administration but particularly in the scope of *λόγιον*. The previous points showed that the administration of *λόγιον* eventuated through a rigid system. Revelation was only available at a particular shrine, restricted to certain times, and only after observing the right rituals and sacrificing the correct payments. This rigidity was also reflected by the scope of *λόγιον* which was more limited than that of Apostolic Christianity. The Greek oracular responses had only a very limited validity that addressed a

specific inquiry. In Apostolic Christianity on the other hand the administration of λόγιον was far less restrictive. The oracles of God could be received anywhere and came as a result of divine initiative, without price. Unlike the Greek oracles, age or sex would not make any difference in the ability to receive God's revelation (cf. Acts 2:17-18). In Delphi, for instance, the ranks of the Pythia were restricted to elderly single women. Likewise the scope of λόγιον in Apostolic Christianity was greater and applicable to more situations and people than the initial recipients of the original λόγιον. For this reason the Scriptural record of God's revelation was highly valued in the Jewish Christian tradition of Apostolic Christianity. The LXX was widely available and used. God's messages contained in it were considered applicable and helpful, not to the first recipients only, but throughout generations and in many different places. For similar reason Apostolic writings were copied and distributed from a very early age (e.g. Col 4:16, 1 Thess 5:27, 1 Tim 4:13).

13.3.2.4 Comprehensiveness

d) While Plutarch employs λόγιον in the singular only, as a divine response to a specific enquiry, the Apostolic use of Oracles of God, always used in the plural in the NT, suggests a comprehensive package of Holy Scripture, revealing God's will and directions for human life.

13.3.2.5 Focus on divine authority

e) Plutarch gives λόγιον and χρησμός without further qualification.

Much stronger than Plutarch, Apostolic Christianity emphasized the divine source of its λόγια even more, by adding qualifications like "living" (λόγια ζώντα) and "of God" (λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, λόγια θεοῦ).

13.3.2.6 Perceived accessibility

f) Because of the limitations that the administration of oracles in the Greek religion imposed on their availability, but also because of the perceived disappearance in the mind of Plutarch of this availability on a general scale, the conclusion would be justified that the oracles of Apostolic Christianity enjoyed a much greater availability than their Greek counterparts.

13.3.2.7 Theological source and contents

g) Although both religions claimed to speak for their respective gods, the theological contents of the Greek oracles seem to be marginal, if *De Defectu Oraculorum* is any guide on this subject. This was confirmed by *De Pythiae Oraculae* (408C, Plutarch 2003:337-338). They contained practical advice for religious and daily life, but no self-revelation about Apollo who wished to draw closer to mankind. With Apostolic Christianity the situation is quite different. Not only was its monotheistic concept of God vastly different from that of the polytheistic Greek religion. Hers was the God of the Patriarch, Moses, the Prophets and the Apostles, who took the initiative to embrace and reveal himself to mankind, claiming obedience and establishing a relationship. This was unheard of in terms of the Greek prophetic oracle religion.

13.4 In retrospect

This study has focussed on two different religions in the Greco-Roman world of the first century AD. One religion faced empty churches, a god-eclipse and a major theological crisis. The other seemed to have all channels to the heavenlies open and at her disposal. One of the fascinating aspects of this research is the realisation that Plutarch never met the Apostles. There is no indication in the writings of Apostolic Christianity or those of Plutarch that their

worlds ever met. At a later stage their worlds would meet, and the Greek world would give away to Byzantine Christianity. But this was long after Plutarch and the apostles had passed away. They were like ships passing in the night, to meet their Maker. Two thousand years later the descendants of the apostles are facing Plutarch's crisis (cf. chapter 4). This study enables them to meet with Plutarch and his insights, the first century civilisation in Greece that contemplated the death of its own gods. It also provides an opportunity, in the best spirit of the Renaissance, to return to Christianity's apostolic sources; to discover anew from where apostolic Christianity derived its enthusiasm; and to test whether its claims for relevant and powerful λόγια ζῶντα continue to stand in an age where many of its sacred sites lay barren and deserted.

APPENDIX I: LOGOS IN THE LXX

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1 Introduction

This appendix gives an overview of the use of the word λόγος in the Septuagint (LXX). Its aim is to provide a linguistic background against which the use of the related λόγιον is understood. As both λόγος and λόγιον have been translated as "word" or "Word" in the English language, a further exploration of their use is warranted. Chapter 11 concentrated λόγιον as the main object of this research, but to understand the results presented there more fully, it is important to also define the use of λόγος in the LXX. This allows to subsequently read the results on λόγιον against this background and draw comparisons.

The occurrences and assessments in this appendix (2.1-32) will show that λόγος, like λόγιον, may be used for specific revelatory speech of God as he relates to people. But, λόγος, unlike λόγιον, can also express human communication to God, like prayer and oaths in God's sight and human communication to other people.

Consequently λόγος can be said to have a wider application than λόγιον. It is used in a variety of contexts. Therefore λόγος needs further qualifications in its context to warrant the translation oracle. When it has the latter in mind, the context specifies its use with a description of the oracle or adding qualifications to λόγος like τοῦ θεοῦ or κυρίου. The contexts of the Psalms and the Prophets, where communication with God plays an important role, often calls for λόγος in a revelatory sense. Especially in the Major Prophets, λόγος is used for specific pronouncements by God, being revealed to a Prophet on a certain day,

making the use of λόγος virtually identical to that of λόγιον in its classical use. Consequently the translation "oracle" would be warranted for λόγος in these passages.

While in the prophets other than Isaiah λόγος is not used at all, in Jeremiah and Ezekiel λόγος seems to take over the function of λόγιον completely. Jeremiah in particular has many grammatical indications of an oracular context. These results are summarized under 3 and 3.1. After this a short section is reserved for a few words that are linguistically related or that help to provide a context for the use of λόγος and λόγιον. These related words are introduced with a short explanation (4.1-4.4). Their occurrences are listed but not assessed individually. This is followed by a general assessment of their relevance (4.5).

1.1 λόγος in the Septuagint: method of assessment

The following pages give an overview of the occurrences of λόγος in the Septuagint. As λόγος is important only to the extent that it provides a wider context to the use of λόγιον in the Septuagint, the occurrences are provided, but without translation. Each occurrence will be assessed in terms of the nature of the communication it represents.

Assessment:

<p>Author of speech:</p> <p>-God: A</p> <p>-Man: B</p>	<p>Address:</p> <p>-God: 1</p> <p>-Man: 2</p>	<p>Nature of λόγος:</p> <p>-Revelation (from God): r</p> <p>-Prayer (talk to God, oaths before God): o</p> <p>-Talk (between men): t</p>
---	--	---

Possible combinations:

A2r → λόγος describes God speaking to man directly (voice, dream, vision, appearance) or refers to God speaking to man directly (which may be passed on and proclaimed to fellowmen).

B1o → λόγος describes man talking to God.

B2t → λόγος describes man talking to fellowmen.

Codes:

A2r = R(evelation).

B1o = O(aths and prayer).

B2t = T(alk).

2 Logos in the Septuagint: occurrences and assessments

2.1 Genesis occurrences³⁸⁶

Genesis 4:23: εἶπεν δὲ Λαμεχ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ γυναιξίν Ἀδα καὶ Σελλα ἀκούσατέ μου τῆς φωνῆς γυναικὸς Λαμεχ ἐνωτίσασθέ μου τοὺς λόγους ὅτι ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα εἰς τραῦμα ἐμοὶ καὶ νεανίσκον εἰς μώλωπα ἐμοί.

-T

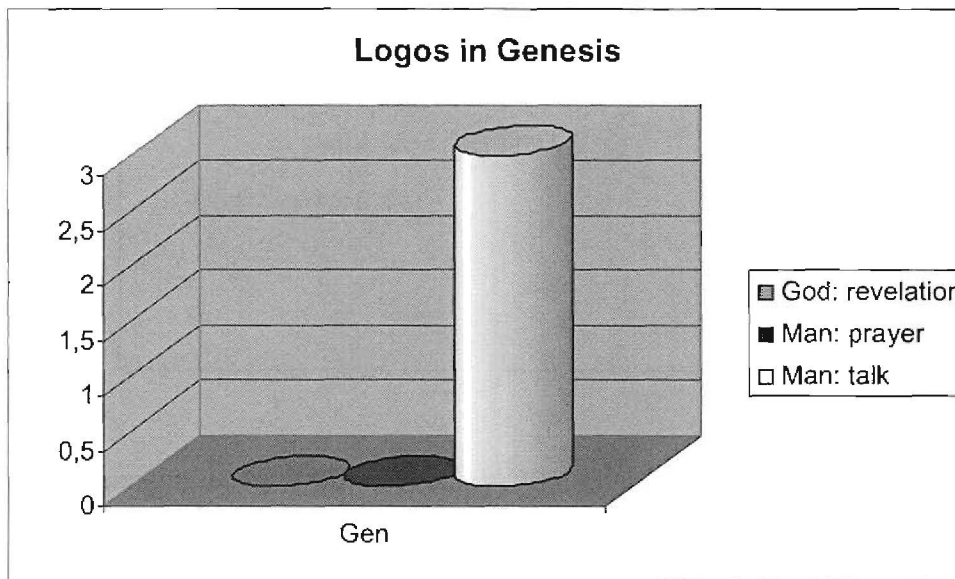
Genesis 29:13: ἐγένετο δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν Λαβαν τὸ ὄνομα Ἰακωβ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἔδραμεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ διηγήσατο τῷ Λαβαν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

-T

Genesis 34:18: καὶ ἤρρεσαν οἱ λόγοι ἐναντίον Ἐμμωρ καὶ ἐναντίον Συχεμ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐμμωρ.

-T

2.1.1 Genesis graphics



386 Genesis favours ῥῆμα when speaking about the Word of God, cf ῥῆμα κυρίου (Gen 15:1) and τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ κυρίου (Gen 44:24). This use of ῥῆμα is not restricted to Genesis, e.g. Isa 66:5: ἀκούσατε τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου (16:13; 40:8; Luke 1:37; 3:2). Even in Genesis, however, ῥῆμα is mostly used for human speech, e.g. τὰ ῥήματα τῶν υἱῶν Λαβαν (Gen 31:1).

2.2 Exodus occurrences

Exodus 4:28: καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν Μωυσῆς τῷ Ααρων πάντας τοὺς λόγους κυρίου οὓς ἀπέστειλεν καὶ πάντα τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ.

-R

Exodus 5:9: βαρυνέσθω τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων καὶ μεριμνάτωσαν ταῦτα καὶ μὴ μεριμνάτωσαν ἐν λόγοις κενοῖς.

-R

Exodus 18:19: νῦν οὖν ἄκουσόν μου καὶ συμβουλεύσω σοι καὶ ἔσται ὁ θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ γίνου σὺ τῷ λαῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀνοίσεις τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

-T³⁸⁷

Exodus 19:7: ἦλθεν δὲ Μωυσῆς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὓς συνέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός.

-R

Exodus 19:8: ἀπεκρίθη δὲ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ εἶπαν πάντα ὅσα εἶπεν ὁ θεός ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα ἀνήνεγκεν δὲ Μωυσῆς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

-R

Exodus 20:1: καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους λέγων.

-R

Exodus 24:3: εἰσῆλθεν δὲ Μωυσῆς καὶ διηγήσατο τῷ λαῷ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα ἀπεκρίθη δὲ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς φωνῆ μιᾶ λέγοντες πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐλάλησεν κύριος ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα.

-R

Exodus 24:8: λαβὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ αἷμα κατεσκέδασεν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων.

-R³⁸⁸

Exodus 33:17: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν καὶ τοῦτόν σοι τὸν λόγον ὃν εἴρηκας ποιήσω εὐρηκας γὰρ χάριν ἐνώπιόν μου καὶ οἶδά σε παρὰ πάντας.

-O³⁸⁹

Exodus 34:27: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν γράψον σεαυτῷ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν λόγων τούτων τέθειμαί σοι διαθήκην καὶ τῷ Ἰσραηλ.

-R³⁹⁰

387 In Ex 18:19 τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν is used in the sense of business.

388 In Ex 24:8 περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων refers to the book (*biblion*) of the covenant in the previous verse.

389 God announces in Ex 33:17 that he will do as Moses asked.

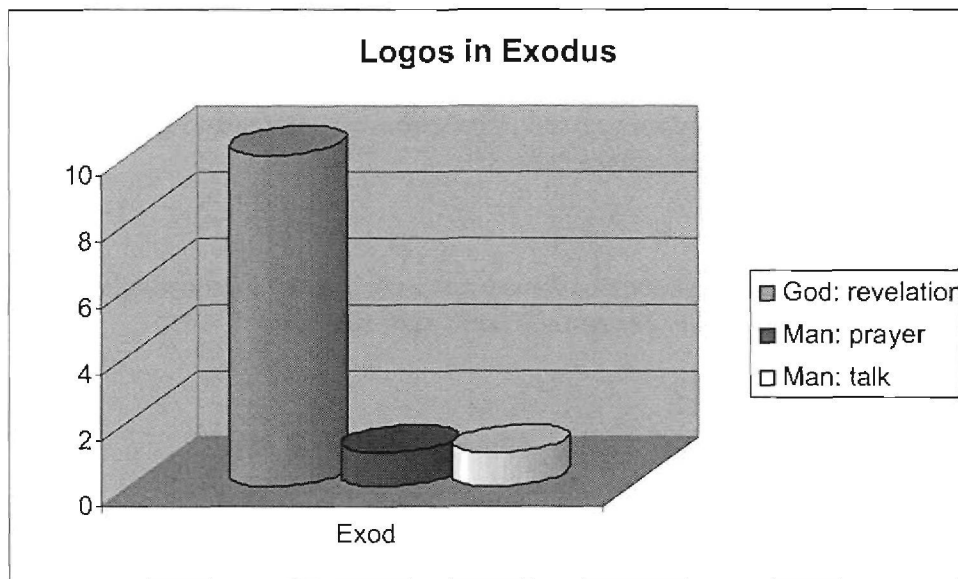
Exodus 34:28: καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ Μωυσῆς ἐναντίον κυρίου τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας ἄρτον οὐκ ἔφαγεν καὶ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔπιεν καὶ ἔγραψεν τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῶν πλακῶν τῆς διαθήκης τοὺς δέκα λόγους.

-R³⁹¹

Exodus 35:1: καὶ συνήθροισεν Μωυσῆς πᾶσαν συναγωγὴν υἰῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οὓς εἶπεν κύριος ποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς.

-R³⁹²

2.2.1 Exodus graphics



2.3 Leviticus occurrences

Leviticus 8:36: καὶ ἐποίησεν Ααρων καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς συνέταξεν κύριος τῷ Μωυσῆϊ.

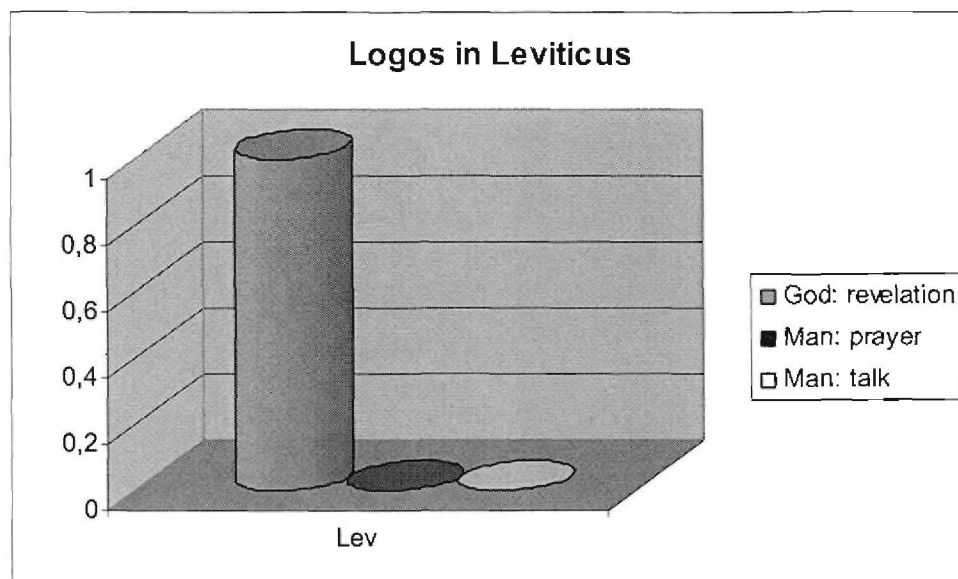
-R

390 In Ex 34:27 God commands Moses to put his instructions (τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα) into writing, referring to these as τῶν λόγων τούτων.

391 In Ex 34:28 Moses writes down τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, which equal τοὺς δέκα λόγους, the ten Words of the Covenant.

392 The phrase οἱ λόγοι οὓς εἶπεν κύριος in Ex 35:1 links with ποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς. In other words, these are commandments or contain valuable lessons for practical living.

2.3.1 Leviticus graphics



2.4 Numbers occurrences

Numbers 11:23: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσὴν μὴ χεὶρ κυρίου οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει ἤδη γνώσει εἰ ἐπικαταλήμψεταιί σε ὁ λόγος μου ἢ οὐ.

-R³⁹³

Numbers 12:6: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀκούσατε τῶν λόγων μου ἐὰν γένηται προφήτης ὑμῶν κυρίῳ ἐν ὄραματι αὐτῷ γνωσθήσομαι καὶ ἐν ὕπνῳ λαλήσω αὐτῷ.

-R³⁹⁴

Numbers 16:31: ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐρράγη ἡ γῆ ὑποκάτω αὐτῶν.

-T³⁹⁵

Numbers 21:21: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Μωυσῆς πρέσβεις πρὸς Σηων βασιλέα Αμορραίων λόγους εἰρηνικοῖς λέγων.

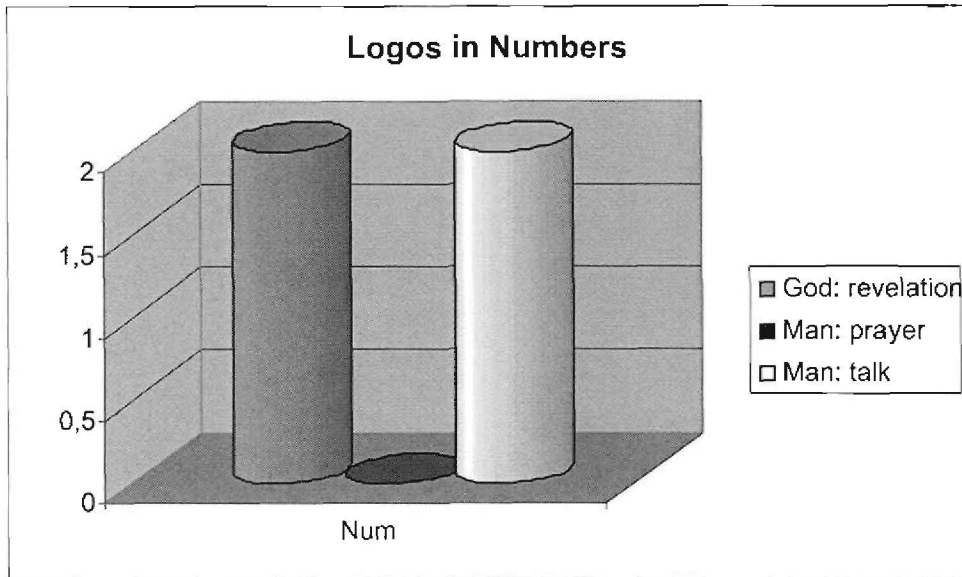
-T

393 In Num 11:23 God refers to his own speech.

394 God (Num 12:6) speaks to Moses' sister and brother that he will communicate with prophets in visions and when they sleep. It is worthy to note γνωσθήσομαι (Future Passive Indicative Singular γινώσκω), i.e. God does not propose religious theories, but himself. This emphasizes the personal relationship and covenant context.

395 Moses pronouncing judgement on Core, Dathan and Abiron.

2.4.1 Numbers graphics



2.5 Deuteronomy occurrences

Deuteronomy 1:1: οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οὓς ἐλάλησεν Μωυσηὶς παντὶ Ἰσραηλ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς δυσμαῖς πλησίον τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς ἀνά μέσον Φαραν Τοφολ καὶ Λοβον καὶ Αὐλων καὶ καταχρύσεια.

-T

Deuteronomy 1:18: καὶ ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ποιήσετε.

..R³⁹⁶

Deuteronomy 1:32: καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐνεπιστεύσατε κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν.

..R³⁹⁷

Deuteronomy 1:34: καὶ ἤκουσεν κύριος τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων ὑμῶν καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ὤμοσεν λέγων.

..O³⁹⁸

Deuteronomy 2:26: καὶ ἀπέστειλα πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου Κεδαμωθ πρὸς Σηων βασιλέα Εσεβων λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς λέγων.

396 The phrase πάντας τοὺς λόγους in Deut 1:18 refers to Moses passing on God's revelation.

397 Deut 1:32 refers to Moses words in 1:29-30. Otherwise ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, could be translated "in this matter".

398 The phrase τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων ὑμῶν (Deut 1:34) refers to the grumblings of the Israelites, which expressed lack of trust. As a complaint against God ("the LORD hates us") that God was meant to hear this words are classified as communication to God. This certainly provoked him and inspired God's sharp reaction (Aorist Passive Participle Nominative Singular Masculine ὀξύνω).

-T

Deuteronomy 3:26: καὶ ὑπερεΐδεν κύριος ἐμέ ἕνεκεν ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσέν μου καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με ἰκανούσθω σοι μὴ προσθῆς ἔτι λαλήσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

-R³⁹⁹

Deuteronomy 4:9: πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ φύλαξον τὴν ψυχὴν σου σφόδρα μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἑώρακασιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου καὶ μὴ ἀποστήτωσαν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας σου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου καὶ συμβιβάσεις τοὺς υἱούς σου καὶ τοὺς υἱούς τῶν υἱῶν σου.

-R⁴⁰⁰

Deuteronomy 4:30: καὶ εὐρήσουσίν σε πάντες οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἐπιστραφήσῃ πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν σου καὶ εἰσακούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ.

-R⁴⁰¹

Deuteronomy 5:28: καὶ ἤκουσεν κύριος τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων ὑμῶν λαλούντων πρὸς με καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με ἤκουσα τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου ὅσα ἐλάλησαν πρὸς σέ ὀρθῶς πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησαν.

-T⁴⁰²

Deuteronomy 5:28: καὶ ἤκουσεν κύριος τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων ὑμῶν λαλούντων πρὸς με καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με ἤκουσα τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου ὅσα ἐλάλησαν πρὸς σέ ὀρθῶς πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησαν.

-T

Deuteronomy 9:10: καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος ἐμοὶ τὰς δύο πλάκας τὰς λιθίνας γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐγγέγραπτο πάντες οἱ λόγοι οὓς ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἡμέρα ἐκκλησίας.

-R

Deuteronomy 10:4: καὶ ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ τὰς πλάκας κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν τὴν πρώτην τοὺς δέκα λόγους οὓς ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρός καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτάς κύριος ἐμοί.

-R

Deuteronomy 12:28: φυλάσσου καὶ ἄκουε καὶ ποιήσεις πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς σου δι' αἰῶνος ἐὰν ποιήσῃς τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου.

-R⁴⁰³

399 Deut 3:26 refers to the Lord's conclusion about the attitude of the Israelites. Or, this matter (τὸν λόγον τοῦτον).

400 Deut 4:9: πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἑώρακασιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου. Literally: all the words your eyes have seen. The textual context shows that this refers to God's righteous laws and institutions, 4:8. It may call to mind the visible commandments on stone tables, cf. 4:10.

401 Deut 4:30 (οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι) contains the Lord's dire warnings.

402 The phrase τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων ὑμῶν (Deut 5:28) refers to the people's request to Moses, which was approved by God.

Deuteronomy 13:4: οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε τῶν λόγων τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου ἢ τοῦ ἐνυπνιαζομένου τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐκεῖνο ὅτι πειράζει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν.

-R⁴⁰⁴

Deuteronomy 13:15: καὶ ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἐραυνήσεις σφόδρα καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀληθῆς σαφῶς ὁ λόγος γεγένηται τὸ βδέλυγμα τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν.

-T⁴⁰⁵

Deuteronomy 16:19: οὐκ ἐκκλινοῦσιν κρίσιν οὐκ ἐπιγνώσονται πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λήμψονται δῶρον τὰ γὰρ δῶρα ἐκτυφλοῖ ὀφθαλμούς σοφῶν καὶ ἐξαίρει λόγους δικαίων.

-T

Deuteronomy 22:14: καὶ ἐπιθῆ ἀυτῆ προφασιστικούς λόγους καὶ κατενέγκη αὐτῆς ὄνομα πονηρὸν καὶ λέγη τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην εἴληφα καὶ προσελθὼν αὐτῆ οὐχ εὔρηκα αὐτῆς παρθένια.

-T

Deuteronomy 22:17: αὐτὸς νῦν ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῆ προφασιστικούς λόγους λέγων οὐχ εὔρηκα τῆ θυγατρὶ σου παρθένια καὶ ταῦτα τὰ παρθένια τῆς θυγατρὸς μου καὶ ἀναπτύξουσιν τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐναντίον τῆς γερουσίας τῆς πόλεως.

-T

Deuteronomy 22:20: ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ' ἀληθείας γένηται ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ μὴ εὔρεθῆ παρθένια τῆ νεάνιδι.

-T

Deuteronomy 27:3: καὶ γράψεις ἐπὶ τῶν λίθων πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου ὡς ἂν διαβῆτε τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἡνίκα ἐὰν εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου δίδωσίν σοι γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι ὃν τρόπον εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου σοι.

-R

Deuteronomy 27:26: ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς καὶ ἐροῦσιν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς γένοιτο.

-R

Deuteronomy 28:14: οὐ παραβῆσῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν λόγων ὧν ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον δεξιὰ οὐδὲ ἀριστερὰ πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω θεῶν ἐτέρων λατρεύειν αὐτοῖς.

-R⁴⁰⁶

Deuteronomy 29:1: οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι τῆς διαθήκης οὓς ἐνετείλατο κύριος Μωυσῆ στήσαι τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν γῆ Μωαβ πλην τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο αὐτοῖς ἐν Χωρηβ.

403 Moses passed on the commandments he received from God, πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι (Deut 12:28).

404 Deut 13:4 refers to future revelation by God through a great prophet.

405 The word (ὁ λόγος, Deut 13:15) or accusation about idolotrous behaviour, cf. 13:13.

406 The reference found in Deut 31:24, πάντων τῶν λόγων ὧν ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον, is the equivalent of God's commandments.

-R

Deuteronomy 29:8: καὶ φυλάξεσθε ποιεῖν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης ἵνα συνῆτε πάντα ὅσα ποιήσετε.

-R

Deuteronomy 31:1: καὶ συνετέλεσεν Μωυσῆς λαλῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς πάντας υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ.

-R

Deuteronomy 31:12: ἐκκλησιάσας τὸν λαόν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα καὶ τὸν προσήλυτον τὸν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμῶν ἵνα ἀκούσωσιν καὶ ἵνα μάθωσιν φοβεῖσθαι κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀκούσονται ποιεῖν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου.

-R

Deuteronomy 31:24: ἠνίκα δὲ συνετέλεσεν Μωυσῆς γράφων πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου εἰς βιβλίον ἕως εἰς τέλος.

-R⁴⁰⁷

Deuteronomy 31:28: ἐκκλησιάσατε πρὸς με τοὺς φυλάρχους ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς κριτὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς γραμματοεισαγωγεῖς ὑμῶν ἵνα λαλήσω εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ διαμαρτύρωμαι αὐτοῖς τὸν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

-R⁴⁰⁸

Deuteronomy 32:44: καὶ ἔγραψεν Μωυσῆς τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐδίδαξεν αὐτὴν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ καὶ εἰσήλθεν Μωυσῆς καὶ ἐλάλησεν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυη.

-R⁴⁰⁹

Deuteronomy 32:46: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς προσέχετε τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὐκ ἐγὼ διαμαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον ἃ ἐντελεῖσθε τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν φυλάσσειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου.

-R⁴¹⁰

Deuteronomy 32:46: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς προσέχετε τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὐκ ἐγὼ διαμαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον ἃ ἐντελεῖσθε τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν φυλάσσειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου.

-R

407 Deut 31:12, συνετέλεσεν Μωυσῆς γράφων πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου εἰς βιβλίον, emphasizes the completeness of the written record of the laws, after Moses was mentioned to have written down a song, cf. 13:22.

408 In Deut 31:28 Moses refers to the book of the Law in Deut 31:26.

409 Moses taught the leaders the words of the Law, by putting these in song (ἔγραψεν Μωυσῆς τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην). This was profitable educational tool in days when writing tools and books were not readily available (Noort 2004). We find similar applications in Homer, for example in Odysseus meeting with Athena, cf. Fagles (1997:292-300).

410 Deut 32:46 contains a twofold call to heed God's revelation as he had made it available to his people through Moses.

Deuteronomy 32:47: ὅτι οὐχὶ λόγος κενὸς οὗτος ὑμῖν ὅτι αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ λόγου τούτου μακροημερεύσετε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς διαβαίνετε τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν.

-R⁴¹¹

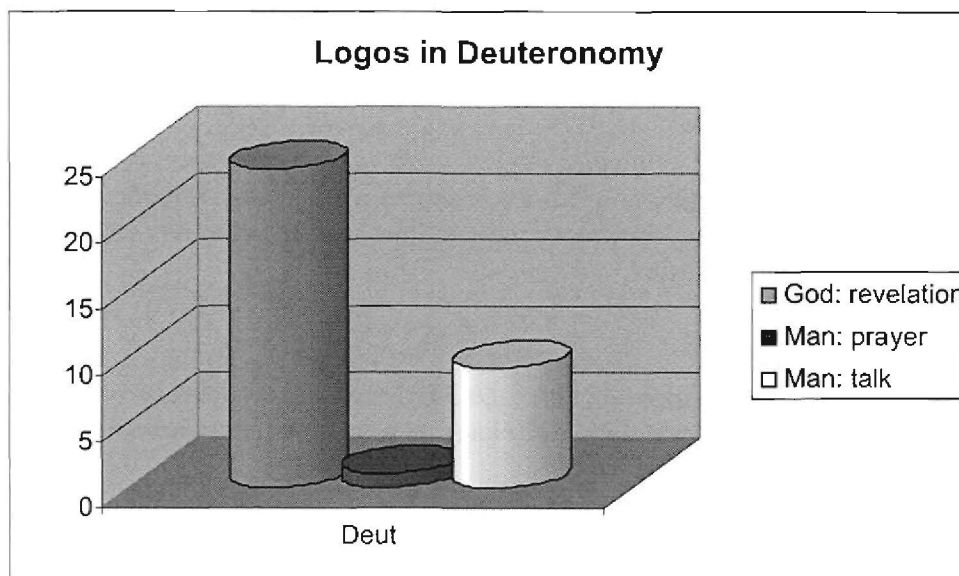
Deuteronomy 32:47: ὅτι οὐχὶ λόγος κενὸς οὗτος ὑμῖν ὅτι αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ λόγου τούτου μακροημερεύσετε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς διαβαίνετε τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν.

-R

Deuteronomy 33:3: καὶ ἐφείσατο τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς σου καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ σέ εἰσιν καὶ ἐδέξατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ.

-R⁴¹²

2.5.1 Deuteronomy graphics



411 Deut 32:47 shows that the Word of God is relevant and contains the potential of blessing for those who heed it, οὐχὶ λόγος κενός.

412 The verb ἐδέξατο (Deut 33:3) reflects on his people, τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. They received from the Law of God's words, which Moses commanded.

2.6 Joshua occurrences

Joshua 2:20: ἐὰν δέ τις ἡμᾶς ἀδικήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἀποκαλύψῃ τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν τούτους ἐσόμεθα ἀθῶοι τῷ ὄρκῳ σου τούτῳ.

-T⁴¹³

Joshua 14:7: τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἤμην ὅτε ἀπέστειλέν με Μωυσῆς ὁ παῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ Καδης Βαρνη κατασκοπεῦσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀπεκρίθην αὐτῷ λόγον κατὰ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ.

-T

Joshua 22:30: καὶ ἀκούσας Φινεες ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς Ἰσραὴλ οἳ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐλάλησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ρουβὴν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Γαδ καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ φυλῆς Μανασσὴ καὶ ἤρρεσεν αὐτοῖς.

-T

Joshua 22:32: καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Φινεες ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ρουβὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Γαδ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμίσεος φυλῆς Μανασσὴ ἐκ γῆς Γαλααδ εἰς γῆν Χανααν πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς λόγους.

-T

Joshua 23:14: ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποτρέχω τὴν ὁδὸν καθὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γνώσεσθε τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν διότι οὐ διέπεσεν εἷς λόγος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν λόγων ὧν εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀνήκοντα ὑμῖν οὐ διεφώνησεν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

-R⁴¹⁴

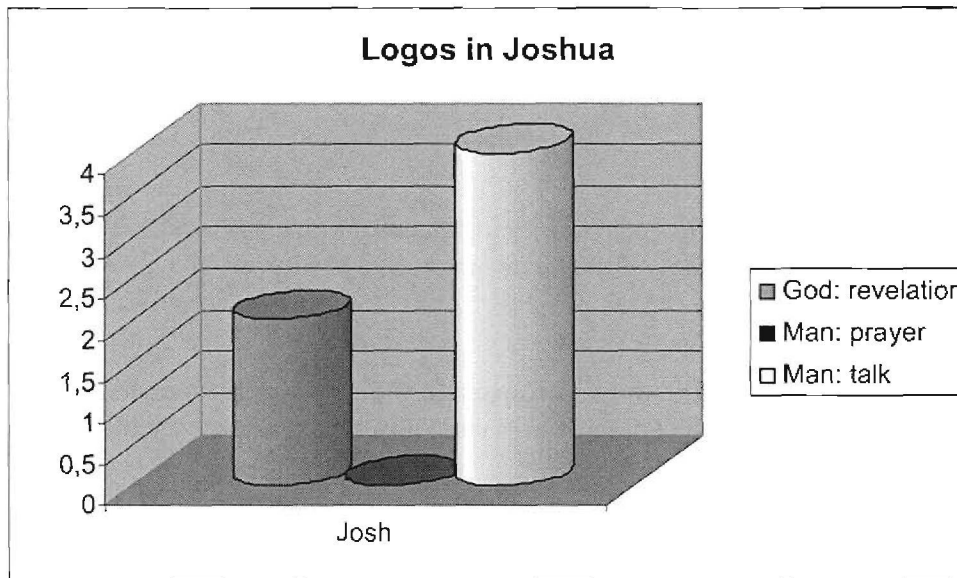
Joshua 23:14: ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποτρέχω τὴν ὁδὸν καθὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γνώσεσθε τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν διότι οὐ διέπεσεν εἷς λόγος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν λόγων ὧν εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀνήκοντα ὑμῖν οὐ διεφώνησεν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

-R

413 Josh 2:20 refers to human oath.

414 Josh 23:14 Reinforces the idea of a mighty God who is reliable in what he speaks and able to make his word come true.

2.6.1 Joshua graphics



2.7 Judges occurrences

Judges 2:4: καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς πάντας υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐπήρην ὁ λαὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκλαυσαν καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς πάντα Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐπήρην ὁ λαὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκλαυσαν.

-R⁴¹⁵

Judges 2:4: καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς πάντας υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐπήρην ὁ λαὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκλαυσαν καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς πάντα Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐπήρην ὁ λαὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκλαυσαν.

-R

Judges 2:17: καὶ γε τῶν κριτῶν οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν ὅτι ἐξεπόρνευσαν ὀπίσω θεῶν ἑτέρων καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξέκλιναν ταχὺ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἧς ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν τοῦ εἰσακούειν τῶν λόγων κυρίου οὐκ ἐποίησαν οὕτως καὶ γε τῶν κριτῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπήκουσαν ὅτι ἐξεπόρνευσαν ὀπίσω θεῶν ἑτέρων καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρώργισαν τὸν κύριον καὶ ἐξέκλιναν ταχὺ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἧς ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν τοῦ εἰσακούειν ἐντολὰς κυρίου οὐκ ἐποίησαν οὕτως.

-R

Judges 3:19: καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῶν γλυπτῶν τῶν μετὰ τῆς Γαλγαλ καὶ εἶπεν Αὐδ λόγος μοι κρύφιος πρὸς σέ βασιλεῦ καὶ εἶπεν Εγλωμ πρὸς αὐτόν σιώπα καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντας τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ Εγλωμ ἀνέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῶν γλυπτῶν μετὰ τῆς Γαλγαλ καὶ εἶπεν Αὐδ λόγος μοι κρύφιος πρὸς σέ βασιλεῦ καὶ εἶπεν Εγλωμ πᾶσιν ἐκ μέσου καὶ ἐξήλθον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παραστήκοντες αὐτῷ.

415 The words from God in Judg 2:4 were mediated by an angel of the Lord.

-T

Judges 3:19: καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῶν γλυπτῶν τῶν μετὰ τῆς Γαλγαλ καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ λόγος μοι κρύφιος πρὸς σέ βασιλεῦ καὶ εἶπεν Εγλωμ πρὸς αὐτὸν σιώπα καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντας τοὺς ἐφειστώτας ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ Εγλωμ ἀνέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῶν γλυπτῶν μετὰ τῆς Γαλγαλ καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ λόγος μοι κρύφιος πρὸς σέ βασιλεῦ καὶ εἶπεν Εγλωμ πᾶσιν ἐκ μέσου καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παραστήκοντες αὐτῷ.

-T

Judges 3:20: καὶ Ἀωδ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκάθητο ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ τῷ θερινῷ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μονώτατος καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ λόγος θεοῦ μοι πρὸς σέ βασιλεῦ καὶ ἐξανέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Εγλωμ ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀωδ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκάθητο ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ τῷ θερινῷ αὐτοῦ μονώτατος καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ λόγος θεοῦ μοι πρὸς σέ βασιλεῦ καὶ ἐξανέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Εγλωμ ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ.

-R⁴¹⁶

Judges 3:20: καὶ Ἀωδ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκάθητο ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ τῷ θερινῷ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μονώτατος καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ λόγος θεοῦ μοι πρὸς σέ βασιλεῦ καὶ ἐξανέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Εγλωμ ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀωδ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκάθητο ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ τῷ θερινῷ αὐτοῦ μονώτατος καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ λόγος θεοῦ μοι πρὸς σέ βασιλεῦ καὶ ἐξανέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Εγλωμ ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ.

-R

Judges 5:29: αἱ σοφαὶ ἄρχουσαι αὐτῆς ἀπεκρίθησαν πρὸς αὐτήν καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέστρεψεν λόγους αὐτῆς ἑαυτῇ σοφαὶ ἀρχουσῶν αὐτῆς ἀνταπεκρίναντο πρὸς αὐτήν καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπεκρίνατο ἐν ῥήμασιν αὐτῆς.

-T

Judges 8:3: ἐν χειρὶ ὑμῶν παρέδωκεν κύριος τοὺς ἄρχοντας Μαδιαμ τὸν Ωρηβ καὶ τὸν Ζηβ καὶ τί ἠδυνήθην ποιῆσαι ὡς ὑμεῖς τότε ἀνέθη τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λαλήσαι αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐν χειρὶ ὑμῶν παρέδωκεν κύριος τοὺς ἄρχοντας Μαδιαμ τὸν Ωρηβ καὶ τὸν Ζηβ καὶ τί ἠδυνάσθην ποιῆσαι καθὼς ὑμεῖς καὶ κατέπαυσαν τότε ἀνῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λαλήσαι αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

-R⁴¹⁷

Judges 8:3: ἐν χειρὶ ὑμῶν παρέδωκεν κύριος τοὺς ἄρχοντας Μαδιαμ τὸν Ωρηβ καὶ τὸν Ζηβ καὶ τί ἠδυνήθην ποιῆσαι ὡς ὑμεῖς τότε ἀνέθη τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λαλήσαι αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐν χειρὶ ὑμῶν παρέδωκεν κύριος τοὺς ἄρχοντας Μαδιαμ τὸν Ωρηβ καὶ τὸν Ζηβ καὶ τί ἠδυνάσθην ποιῆσαι καθὼς ὑμεῖς καὶ κατέπαυσαν τότε ἀνῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λαλήσαι αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

-R

Judges 9:3: καὶ ἐλάλησαν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὤσιν πάντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν Συχεμ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἐκλινεν ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ὀπίσω Αβιμελεχ ὅτι εἶπαν ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν καὶ ἐλάλησαν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὤσιν.

416 Judg 3:20 contains a message from God for the king of Edom.

417 The words in Judg 8:3 are essentially revelatory, as Gideon reminds the men of the words of the Lord concerning these nations.

πάντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν Σικιμῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἔκλινεν καρδία αὐτῶν ὀπίσω Αβιμελεχ ὅτι εἶπαν ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν.

-T

Judges 9:3: καὶ ἐλάλησαν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὤσιν πάντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν Συχεμ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἔκλινεν ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ὀπίσω Αβιμελεχ ὅτι εἶπαν ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν καὶ ἐλάλησαν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὤσιν πάντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν Σικιμῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἔκλινεν καρδία αὐτῶν ὀπίσω Αβιμελεχ ὅτι εἶπαν ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν.

-T

Judges 9:30: καὶ ἤκουσεν Ζεβουλ ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως τοὺς λόγους Γααλ υἱοῦ Ἰωβηλ καὶ ὠργίσθη θυμῷ αὐτός καὶ ἤκουσεν Ζεβουλ ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως τοὺς λόγους Γααλ υἱοῦ Αβεδ καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ

-T

Judges 9:30: καὶ ἤκουσεν Ζεβουλ ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως τοὺς λόγους Γααλ υἱοῦ Ἰωβηλ καὶ ὠργίσθη θυμῷ αὐτός καὶ ἤκουσεν Ζεβουλ ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως τοὺς λόγους Γααλ υἱοῦ Αβεδ καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ.

-T

Judges 11:11: καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἰεφθαε μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Γαλααδ καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς κεφαλὴν καὶ εἰς ἀρχηγόν καὶ ἐλάλησεν Ἰεφθαε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἐν Μασσηφα καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἰεφθαε μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Γαλααδ καὶ κατέστησαν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰς κεφαλὴν εἰς ἡγούμενον καὶ ἐλάλησεν Ἰεφθαε πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἐν Μασσηφα.

-O

Judges 11:11: καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἰεφθαε μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Γαλααδ καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς κεφαλὴν καὶ εἰς ἀρχηγόν καὶ ἐλάλησεν Ἰεφθαε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἐν Μασσηφα καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἰεφθαε μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Γαλααδ καὶ κατέστησαν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰς κεφαλὴν εἰς ἡγούμενον καὶ ἐλάλησεν Ἰεφθαε πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἐν Μασσηφα.

-O⁴¹⁸

Judges 11:28: καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν βασιλεὺς υἱῶν Αμμων τῶν λόγων Ἰεφθαε ὧν ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν βασιλεὺς υἱῶν Αμμων καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν τῶν λόγων Ἰεφθαε ὧν ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτόν.

-T

Judges 11:37: καὶ ἦδε εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς ποιησάτω δὴ ὁ πατήρ μου τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἕασόν με δύο μῆνας καὶ πορεύσομαι καὶ καταβήσομαι ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ κλαύσομαι ἐπὶ τὰ παρθενία μου ἐγὼ εἶμι καὶ αἱ συνεταιριίδες μου καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς καὶ ποιήσόν μοι τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἕασόν με δύο μῆνας καὶ πορεύσομαι καὶ καταβήσομαι ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ κλαύσομαι ἐπὶ τὰ παρθενία μου καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ αἱ συνεταιριίδες μου.

418 Judg 11:11 contains words that are spoken and confirmed before the Lord, or an oath.

-T

Judges 13:12: καὶ εἶπεν Μανωε νῦν ἐλεύσεται ὁ λόγος σου τίς ἔσται κρίσις τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Μανωε νῦν δὴ ἐλθόντος τοῦ ῥήματός σου τί ἔσται τὸ κρίμα τοῦ παιδαρίου καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

-R⁴¹⁹

Judges 16:16: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐξέθλιψεν αὐτὸν ἐν λόγοις αὐτῆς πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐστενοχώρησεν αὐτόν καὶ ὠλιγοψύχησεν ἕως τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε κατειργάσατο αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῆς ὅλην τὴν νύκτα καὶ παρηνώχλησεν αὐτόν καὶ ὠλιγοψύχησεν ἕως εἰς θάνατον.

-T

Judges 16:16: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐξέθλιψεν αὐτὸν ἐν λόγοις αὐτῆς πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐστενοχώρησεν αὐτόν καὶ ὠλιγοψύχησεν ἕως τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε κατειργάσατο αὐτόν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῆς ὅλην τὴν νύκτα καὶ παρηνώχλησεν αὐτόν καὶ ὠλιγοψύχησεν ἕως εἰς θάνατον.

-T

Judges 18:7: καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Λαισα καὶ εἶδαν τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς καθήμενον ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὡς κρίσις Σιδωνίων ἡσυχάζουσα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν διατρέπων ἢ καταισχύνων λόγον ἐν τῇ γῆ κληρονόμος ἐκπιέζων θησαυροῦ καὶ μακρὰν εἰσιν Σιδωνίων καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἔχουσιν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες καὶ παρεγένοντο εἰς Λαισα καὶ εἶδον τὸν λαὸν τὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν αὐτῇ καθήμενον ἐν ἐλπίδι κατὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν τῶν Σιδωνίων ἡσυχάζοντας ἐν ἐλπίδι καὶ μὴ δυναμένους λαλήσαι ῥῆμα ὅτι μακρὰν εἰσιν ἀπὸ Σιδῶνος καὶ λόγος οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς μετὰ Συρίας.

-T

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-T

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-T

419 Judg 13:12 contains words in the relevatory sense as these are the word his wife passed on from the angel.

Judges 18:28: καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ῥυόμενος ὅτι μακρὰν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Σιδωνίων καὶ λόγος οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀνθρώπου καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ οἴκου Ρααβ καὶ ὤκοδόμησαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐξαιρούμενος ὅτι μακρὰν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Σιδωνίων καὶ λόγος οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν κοιλάδι ἣ ἐστὶν τοῦ οἴκου Ροωβ καὶ ὤκοδόμησαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατώκησαν ἐν αὐτῇ.

-T

Judges 18:28: καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ῥυόμενος ὅτι μακρὰν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Σιδωνίων καὶ λόγος οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀνθρώπου καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ οἴκου Ρααβ καὶ ὤκοδόμησαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατεσκήνωσαν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐξαιρούμενος ὅτι μακρὰν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Σιδωνίων καὶ λόγος οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν κοιλάδι ἣ ἐστὶν τοῦ οἴκου Ροωβ καὶ ὤκοδόμησαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατώκησαν ἐν αὐτῇ.

-T

Judges 20:7: ἰδοὺ πάντες ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ δότε ἑαυτοῖς λόγον καὶ βουλήν ἐκεῖ ἰδοὺ πάντες ὑμεῖς οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ δότε ἑαυτοῖς λόγον καὶ βουλήν.

-T⁴²⁰

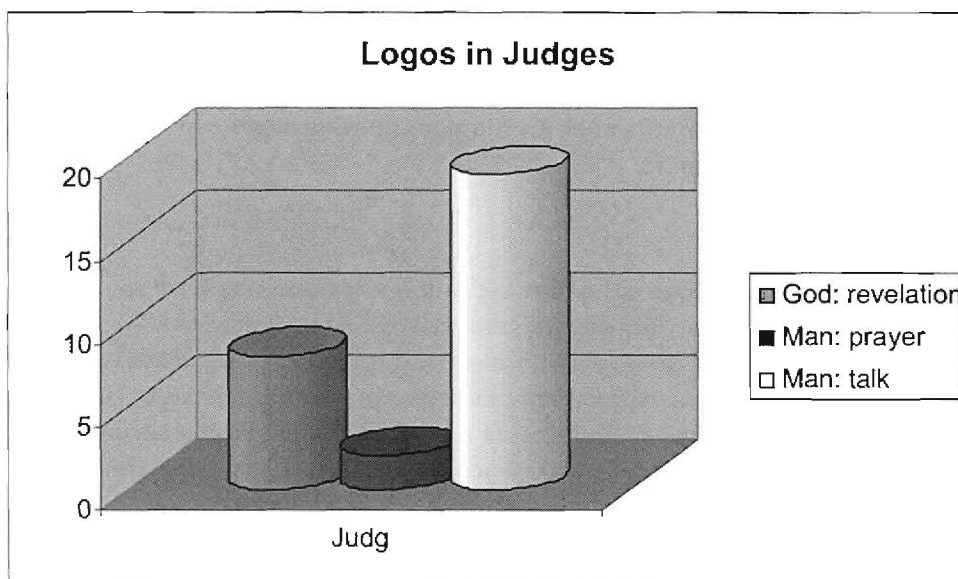
Judges 20:7: ἰδοὺ πάντες ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ δότε ἑαυτοῖς λόγον καὶ βουλήν ἐκεῖ ἰδοὺ πάντες ὑμεῖς οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ δότε ἑαυτοῖς λόγον καὶ βουλήν.

-T

Judges 21:11: καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσετε πᾶν ἄρσεν καὶ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα εἰδυῖαν κοίτην ἄρσενος ἀναθεματιεῖτε τὰς δὲ παρθένους περιποιήσεσθε καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν ποιήσετε πᾶν ἄρσενικὸν καὶ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα γινώσκουσιν κοίτην ἄρσενος ἀναθεματιεῖτε.

-T⁴²¹

2.7.1 Judges graphics



420 Judg 20:7 contains λόγος in the sense of giving an opinion, or suggesting a course of action.

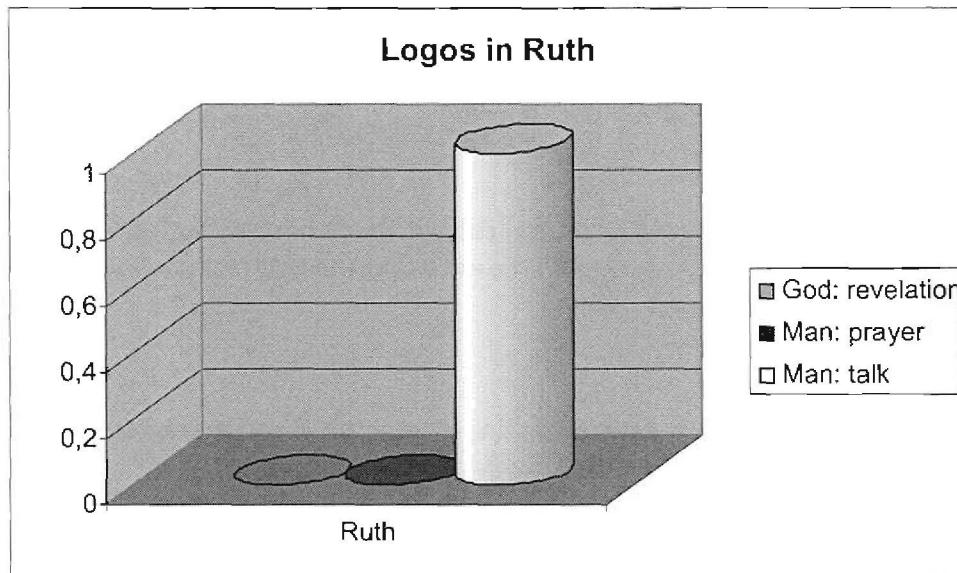
421 In Judg 21:11 λόγος is used as a commandment.

2.8 Ruth occurrences

Ruth 4:7: καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δικαίωμα ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγχιστεῖαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀντάλλαγμα τοῦ στήσαι πᾶν λόγον καὶ ὑπελύετο ὁ ἀνὴρ τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδίδου τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀγχιστεύοντι τὴν ἀγχιστεῖαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν μαρτύριον ἐν Ἰσραὴλ.

-T⁴²²

2.8.1 Ruth graphics



2.9 1Samuel occurrences

1 Samuel 3:17: καὶ εἶπεν τί τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ λαληθὲν πρὸς σέ μὴ δὴ κρύψῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τάδε ποιῆσαι σοὶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ τάδε προσθεῖη ἐὰν κρύψῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ῥῆμα ἐκ πάντων τῶν λόγων τῶν λαληθέντων σοὶ ἐν τοῖς ὤσιν σου.

-R

1 Samuel 3:18: καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν Σαμουὴλ πάντας τοὺς λόγους καὶ οὐκ ἔκρυψεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Ἥλι κύριος αὐτός τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιήσει.

-R⁴²³

1 Samuel 3:19: καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη Σαμουὴλ καὶ ἦν κύριος μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

-R⁴²⁴

1 Samuel 8:21: καὶ ἤκουσεν Σαμουὴλ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ὦτα κυρίου.

-T⁴²⁵

422 Ruth 4:7 contains a confirmation of human promises.

423 1 Sam 3:18 refers to God's message for Eli.

424 1 Sam 3:19 refers to promises of the Lord concerning the life of Samuel.

1 Samuel 11:4: καὶ ἔρχονται οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰς Γαββα πρὸς Σαουλ καὶ λαλοῦσιν τοὺς λόγους εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἦραν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκλαυσαν.

-T

1 Samuel 15:11: παρακέκλημαι ὅτι ἐβασίλευσα τὸν Σαουλ εἰς βασιλέα ὅτι ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ ὀπισθὲν μου καὶ τοὺς λόγους μου οὐκ ἐτήρησεν καὶ ἠθύμησεν Σαμουηλ καὶ ἐβόησεν πρὸς κύριον ὅλην τὴν νύκτα.

-R

1 Samuel 15:24: καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ πρὸς Σαμουηλ ἡμάρτηκα ὅτι παρέβην τὸν λόγον κυρίου καὶ τὸ ῥῆμά σου ὅτι ἐφοβήθην τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἤκουσα τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν.

-R

1 Samuel 16:18: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἰς τῶν παιδαρίων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ ἐόρακα υἱὸν τῷ Ιεσσαὶ Βηθλεεμίτην καὶ αὐτὸν εἰδότα ψαλμόν καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ συνετός καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ πολεμιστὴς καὶ σοφὸς λόγῳ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τῷ εἶδει καὶ κύριος μετ' αὐτοῦ.

-T

1 Samuel 18:8: καὶ πονηρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Σαουλ περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Δαυὶδ ἔδωκαν τὰς μυριάδας καὶ ἐμοὶ ἔδωκαν τὰς χιλιάδας.

-T⁴²⁶

1 Samuel 18:26: καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ παῖδες Σαουλ τῷ Δαυὶδ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ εὐθύνη ὁ λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Δαυὶδ ἐπιγαμβρεῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

-T

1 Samuel 20:21: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀποστελῶ τὸ παιδάριον λέγων δεῦρο εὐρέ μοι τὴν σχίζαν ἐὰν εἶπω λέγων τῷ παιδαρίῳ ὡδε ἡ σχίζα ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ ὡδε λαβὲ αὐτὴν παραγίνου ὅτι εἰρήνη σοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν λόγος ζῆ κύριος.

-R

1 Samuel 22:15: ἡ σήμερον ἤργμαι ἐρωτᾶν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μηδαμῶς μὴ δότω ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ λόγον καὶ ἐφ' ὅλον τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς μου ὅτι οὐκ ἤδει ὁ δούλος ὁ σὸς ἐν πᾶσιν τούτοις ῥῆμα μικρὸν ἢ μέγα.

-T

1 Samuel 24:8: καὶ ἔπεισεν Δαυὶδ τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγοις καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀναστάντας θανατῶσαι τὸν Σαουλ καὶ ἀνέστη Σαουλ καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὴν ὁδόν.

-T

1 Samuel 24:10: καὶ εἶπεν Δαυὶδ πρὸς Σαουλ ἴνα τί ἀκούεις τῶν λόγων τοῦ λαοῦ λεγόντων ἰδοὺ Δαυὶδ ζητεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

-T

425 1 Sam 8:21 expresses the wilful desire of the people for a king.

426 1 Sam 18:8 contains the appraisal of Saul and David respectively by the masses.

1 Samuel 25:9: καὶ ἔρχονται τὰ παιδάρια καὶ λαλοῦσιν τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς Ναβαλ κατὰ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Δαυὶδ καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν.

-T

1 Samuel 25:24: ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἐμοὶ κύριέ μου ἡ ἀδικία λαλησάτω διὴ ἡ δούλη σου εἰς τὰ ὦτά σου καὶ ἄκουσον τῆς δούλης σου λόγον.

-O

1 Samuel 28:10: καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ Σαουλ λέγων ζῆ κύριος εἰ ἀπαντήσεται σοὶ ἀδικία ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ.

-T⁴²⁷

1 Samuel 28:20: καὶ ἔσπευσεν Σαουλ καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐστηκῶς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐφοβήθη σφόδρα ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων Σαμουηλ καὶ ἰσχύς ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι οὐ γὰρ ἔφαγεν ἄρτον ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἐκεῖνην.

-R⁴²⁸

1 Samuel 28:21: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς Σαουλ καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι ἔσπευσεν σφόδρα καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν ἰδοὺ δὴ ἤκουσεν ἡ δούλη σου τῆς φωνῆς σου καὶ ἐθέμην τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μου καὶ ἤκουσα τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐλάλησάς μοι.

-T⁴²⁹

1 Samuel 29:10: καὶ νῦν ὀρθρισον τὸ πρῶν σὺ καὶ οἱ παῖδες τοῦ κυρίου σου οἱ ἦκοντες μετὰ σοῦ καὶ πορευέσθε εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ κατέστησα ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ καὶ λόγον λοιμὸν μὴ θῆς ἐν καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ἀγαθὸς σὺ ἐνώπιόν μου καὶ ὀρθρίσατε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ φωτισάτω ὑμῖν καὶ πορεύθητε.

-T

1 Samuel 30:24: καὶ τίς ὑπακούσεται ὑμῶν τῶν λόγων τούτων ὅτι οὐχ ἤττον ὑμῶν εἰσιν διότι κατὰ τὴν μερίδα τοῦ καταβαίνοντος εἰς πόλεμον οὕτως ἔσται ἡ μερίς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τὰ σκευὴ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ μεριῶνται.

-T⁴³⁰

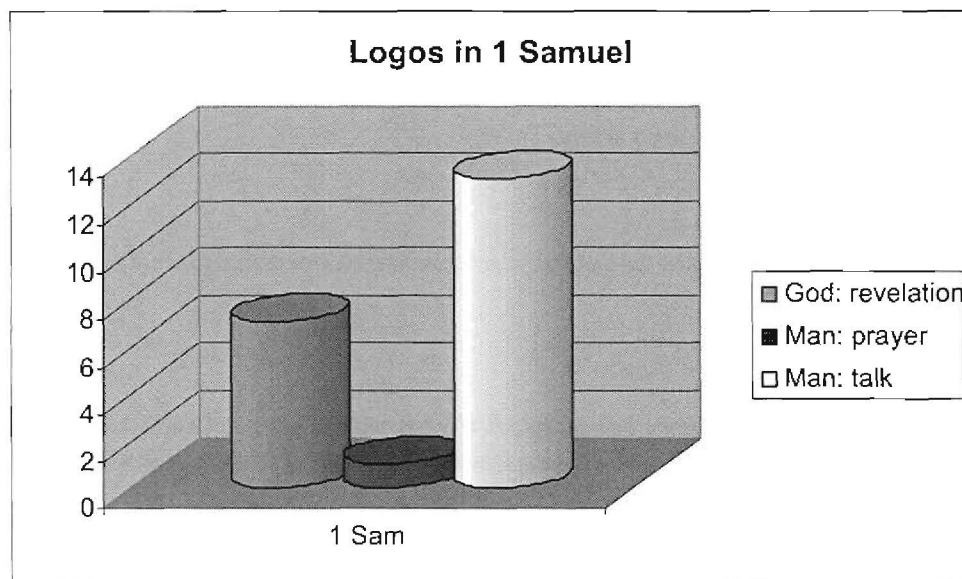
427 1 Sam 28:10 refers to Saul's consultation of the witch in Endor.

428 1 Sam 28:20 refers to the prophetic words of Samuel concerning Saul's life (from the other side of the grave).

429 The witch claims Saul's promise she would not come to harm (1 Sam 28:21).

430 1 Sam 30:24 conveys David's decision that all men, disregarding their part in the action, should receive part of the spoil.

2.9.1 1Samuel graphics



2.10 2Samuel occurrences

2 Samuel 1:4: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Δαυὶδ τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἀπάγγελόν μοι καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἔφυγεν ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πεπτώκασι πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀπέθανον καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ Σαουλ καὶ Ἰωναθαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανεν.

-T

2 Samuel 3:8: καὶ ἐθυμώθη σφόδρα Ἀβεννηρ περὶ τοῦ λόγου Μεμφιβοσθε καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβεννηρ πρὸς αὐτόν μὴ κεφαλὴ κυνὸς ἐγὼ εἶμι ἐποίησα ἔλεος σήμερον μετὰ τοῦ οἴκου Σαουλ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ περὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ γνωρίμων καὶ οὐκ ἠῆτομόλησα εἰς τὸν οἶκον Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐπιζητεῖς ἐπ' ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ ἀδικίας γυναικὸς σήμερον.

-T

2 Samuel 3:13: καὶ εἶπεν Δαυὶδ ἐγὼ καλῶς διαθήσομαι πρὸς σὲ διαθήκην πλὴν λόγον ἕνα ἐγὼ αἰτοῦμαι παρὰ σοῦ λέγων οὐκ ὄψει τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἔαν μὴ ἀγάγῃς τὴν Μελχολ θυγατέρα Σαουλ παραγινομένου σου ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσωπόν μου.

-T

2 Samuel 7:17: κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὄρασιν ταύτην οὕτως ἐλάλησεν Ναθαν πρὸς Δαυὶδ.

-R

2 Samuel 7:21: διὰ τὸν λόγον σου πεποίηκας καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐποίησας πᾶσαν τὴν μεγαλωσύνην ταύτην γνωρίσαι τῷ δούλῳ σου.

-R

2 Samuel 7:28: καὶ νῦν κύριέ μου κύριε σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός καὶ οἱ λόγοι σου ἔσονται ἀληθινοὶ καὶ ἐλάλησας ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου σου τὰ ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα.

-R

2 Samuel 11:18: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἰωαβ καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ πολέμου.

-T

2 Samuel 11:19: καὶ ἐνετείλατο τῷ ἀγγέλῳ λέγων ἐν τῷ συντελέσαι σε πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ πολέμου λαλήσαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

-T

2 Samuel 12:9: τί ὅτι ἐφάυλισας τὸν λόγον κυρίου τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ τὸν Ουριαν τὸν Χετταῖον ἐπάταξας ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἔλαβες σεαυτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινας ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ υἱῶν Ἀμμων.

-R

2 Samuel 13:21: καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυὶδ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἐθυμώθη σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἐλύπησεν τὸ πνεῦμα Ἀμμων τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἠγάπα αὐτόν ὅτι πρωτότοκος αὐτοῦ ἦν.

-T

2 Samuel 13:22: καὶ οὐκ ἐλάλησεν Ἀβεσσαλωμ μετὰ Ἀμμων ἀπὸ πονηροῦ ἕως ἀγαθοῦ ὅτι ἐμίσει Ἀβεσσαλωμ τὸν Ἀμμων ἐπὶ λόγου οὗ ἐταπείνωσεν Ἰημαρ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ.

-T⁴³¹

2 Samuel 13:35: καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωναδαβ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἰδοὺ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως πάρεσιν κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ δούλου σου οὕτως ἐγένετο.

-T

2 Samuel 14:3: καὶ ἐλεύση πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ λαλήσεις πρὸς αὐτόν κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ ἔθηκεν Ἰωαβ τοὺς λόγους ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῆς.

-T

2 Samuel 14:13: καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνὴ ἵνα τί ἐλογίσω τοιοῦτο ἐπὶ λαὸν θεοῦ ἢ ἐκ στόματος τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὡς πλημμέλεια τοῦ μὴ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐξωσμένον αὐτοῦ.

-T

2 Samuel 14:17: καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνὴ εἴη δὴ ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς θυσίαν ὅτι καθὼς ἄγγελος θεοῦ οὕτως ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἀκούειν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἔσται μετὰ σοῦ.

-T⁴³²

2 Samuel 14:19: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς μὴ ἡ χεὶρ Ἰωαβ ἐν παντί τούτῳ μετὰ σοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ζῆ ἡ ψυχὴ σου κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ εἰ ἔστιν εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ ἢ εἰς τὰ ἀριστερὰ ἐκ πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ὁ δούλος σου Ἰωαβ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατό μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθετο ἐν τῷ στόματι τῆς δούλης σου πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

-T

431 2 Sam 13:22 speaks about what Absalom had heard Ammon had done to his sister, or "in this matter".

432 2 Sam 14:17 refers to the words of "my lord the king", i.e. David.

2 Samuel 14:20: ἔνεκεν τοῦ περιελθεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου ἐποίησεν ὁ δούλος σου Ἰωαβ τὸν λόγον τούτον καὶ ὁ κύριός μου σοφὸς καθὼς σοφία ἀγγέλου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ γινῶναι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ.

-T⁴³³

2 Samuel 14:21: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς Ἰωαβ ἰδοὺ δὴ ἐποίησά σοι κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου τούτον πορευοῦ ἐπίστρεψον τὸ παιδάριον τὸν Αβεσσαλωμ.

-T

2 Samuel 14:22: καὶ ἔπεσεν Ἰωαβ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ προσεκύνησεν καὶ εὐλόγησεν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωαβ σήμερον ἔγνω ὁ δούλος σου ὅτι εὖρον χάριν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ ὅτι ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν λόγον τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ.

-T⁴³⁴

2 Samuel 15:3: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Αβεσσαλωμ ἰδοὺ οἱ λόγοι σου ἀγαθοὶ καὶ εὐκολοὶ καὶ ἀκούων οὐκ ἔστιν σοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

-T

2 Samuel 16:23: καὶ ἡ βουλή Αχιτοφελ ἦν ἐβουλευσατο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς πρώταις ὃν τρόπον ἐπερωτήσῃ ἐν λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως πᾶσα ἡ βουλή τοῦ Αχιτοφελ καὶ γε τῷ Δαυὶδ καὶ γε τῷ Αβεσσαλωμ.

-R

2 Samuel 17:4: καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Αβεσσαλωμ καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Samuel 17:6: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Χουσι πρὸς Αβεσσαλωμ καὶ εἶπεν Αβεσσαλωμ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἐλάλησεν Αχιτοφελ εἰ ποιήσομεν κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ εἰ δὲ μὴ σὺ λάλησον.

-T

2 Samuel 18:13: μὴ ποιῆσαι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἄδικον καὶ πᾶς ὁ λόγος οὐ λήσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ σὺ στήσῃ ἐξ ἐναντίας.

-T

2 Samuel 19:12: καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυὶδ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς Σαδωκ καὶ πρὸς Αβιαθαρ τοὺς ἱερεῖς λέγων λαλήσατε πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἰουδα λέγοντες ἵνα τί γίνεσθε ἔσχατοι τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγος παντὸς Ἰσραηλ ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

-T

2 Samuel 19:30: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἵνα τί λαλεῖς ἔτι τοὺς λόγους σου εἶπον σὺ καὶ Σίβα διελεῖσθε τὸν ἀγρόν.

-T

433 In 2 Sam 14:20 "this word" (τὸν λόγον τοῦτον) means "what I came to tell you," or "this matter".

434 "My request" (2 Sam 14:22) refers to the words Joab put in the mouth of the woman.

2 Samuel 19:43: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰουδα πρὸς ἄνδρα Ἰσραηλ καὶ εἶπαν διότι ἐγγίζει πρὸς με ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ ἵνα τί οὕτως ἐθυμώθης περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου μὴ βρώσει ἐφάγαμεν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ δόμα ἔδωκεν ἢ ἄρσιν ἤρεν ἡμῖν.

-T

2 Samuel 19:44: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ἀνὴρ Ἰσραηλ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδα καὶ εἶπεν δέκα χεῖρές μοι ἐν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πρωτότοκος ἐγὼ ἢ σὺ καὶ γε ἐν τῷ Δαυιδ εἰμι ὑπὲρ σέ καὶ ἵνα τί τοῦτο ὕβρισάς με καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρῶτός μοι τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν βασιλέα ἐμοί καὶ ἐσκληρύνθη ὁ λόγος ἀνδρός Ἰουδα ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἀνδρός Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Samuel 19:44: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ἀνὴρ Ἰσραηλ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδα καὶ εἶπεν δέκα χεῖρές μοι ἐν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πρωτότοκος ἐγὼ ἢ σὺ καὶ γε ἐν τῷ Δαυιδ εἰμι ὑπὲρ σέ καὶ ἵνα τί τοῦτο ὕβρισάς με καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρῶτός μοι τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν βασιλέα ἐμοί καὶ ἐσκληρύνθη ὁ λόγος ἀνδρός Ἰουδα ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἀνδρός Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Samuel 19:44: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ἀνὴρ Ἰσραηλ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδα καὶ εἶπεν δέκα χεῖρές μοι ἐν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πρωτότοκος ἐγὼ ἢ σὺ καὶ γε ἐν τῷ Δαυιδ εἰμι ὑπὲρ σέ καὶ ἵνα τί τοῦτο ὕβρισάς με καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρῶτός μοι τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν βασιλέα ἐμοί καὶ ἐσκληρύνθη ὁ λόγος ἀνδρός Ἰουδα ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἀνδρός Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Samuel 20:17: καὶ προσήγγισεν πρὸς αὐτήν καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνὴ εἰ σὺ εἶ Ἰωαβ ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ἐγὼ εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἄκουσον τοὺς λόγους τῆς δούλης σου καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωαβ ἀκούω ἐγὼ εἰμι.

-T

2 Samuel 20:18: καὶ εἶπεν λέγουσα λόγον ἐλάλησαν ἐν πρώτοις λέγοντες ἠρωτημένος ἠρωτήθη ἐν τῇ Αβελ καὶ ἐν Δαν εἰ ἐξέλιπον ἅ ἔθεντο οἱ πιστοὶ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ ἐρωτῶντες ἐπερωτήσουσιν ἐν Αβελ καὶ οὕτως εἰ ἐξέλιπον.

-T

2 Samuel 20:21: οὐχ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐξ ὄρους Ἐφραιμ Σαββε υἱὸς Βοχορι ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπῆρεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Δαυιδ δότε αὐτόν μοι μόνον καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἀπάνωθεν τῆς πόλεως καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς Ἰωαβ ἰδοὺ ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ῥιφήσεται πρὸς σέ διὰ τοῦ τείχους.

-T

2 Samuel 22:1: καὶ ἐλάλησεν Δαυιδ τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς λόγους τῆς ᾠδῆς ταύτης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς Σαουλ.

-O

2 Samuel 23:1: καὶ οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι Δαυιδ οἱ ἔσχατοι πιστὸς Δαυιδ υἱὸς Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ πιστὸς ἀνὴρ ὃν ἀνέστησεν κύριος ἐπὶ χριστὸν θεοῦ Ἰακωβ καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς ψαλμοὶ Ἰσραηλ.

-R⁴³⁵

435 The words in 2 Sam 23:1 are valued as words inspired by the Spirit of God; see 2 Sam 23:2.

2 Samuel 23:2: πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ἐν ἐμοί καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γλώσσης μου.

-R

2 Samuel 24:3: καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωαβ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ προσθεῖη κύριος ὁ θεός σου πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ὡσπερ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὡσπερ αὐτοὺς ἑκατονταπλασίονα καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁρῶντες καὶ ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἵνα τί βούλεται ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ.

-T⁴³⁶

2 Samuel 24:4: καὶ ὑπερίσχυσεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς Ἰωαβ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ἰωαβ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς ἰσχύος ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸν λαὸν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

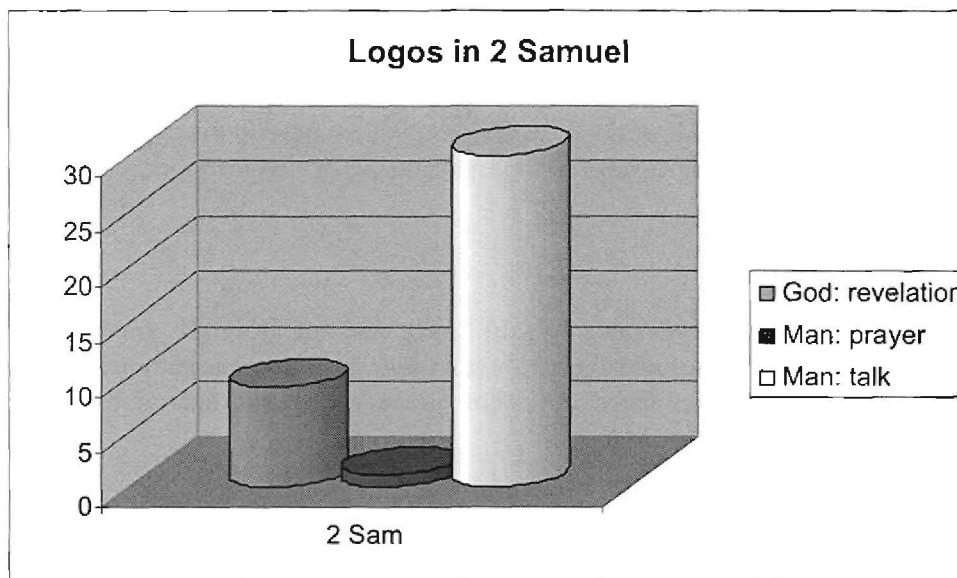
2 Samuel 24:11: καὶ ἀνέστη Δαυὶδ τὸ πρωὶ καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐγένετο πρὸς Γαδ τὸν προφήτην τὸν ὁρῶντα Δαυὶδ λέγων.

-R

2 Samuel 24:19: καὶ ἀνέβη Δαυὶδ κατὰ τὸν λόγον Γαδ καθ ὃν τρόπον ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος.

-R⁴³⁷

2.10.1 2Samuel graphics



436 2 Sam 24:3 conveys what the king expressed, his desire.

437 In 2 Sam 24:19 τὸν λόγον Γαδ equals καθ ὃν τρόπον ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος.

2.11 1Kings occurrences

1 Kings 1:7: καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰωαβ τοῦ υἱοῦ Σαρουιας καὶ μετὰ Αβιαθαρ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ ἐβόηθουν ὀπίσω Αδωνιου.

-T

1 Kings 1:14: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔτι λαλούσης σου ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐγὼ εἰσελεύσομαι ὀπίσω σου καὶ πληρώσω τοὺς λόγους σου.

-T

1 Kings 2:4: ἵνα στήσῃ κύριος τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐλάλησεν λέγων ἐὰν φυλάξωσιν οἱ υἱοὶ σου τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν πορεύεσθαι ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν λέγων οὐκ ἐξολεθρευθήσεται σοι ἀνὴρ ἐπάνωθεν θρόνου Ἰσραηλ .

-R

1 Kings 2:14: λόγος μοι πρὸς σέ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ λάλησον.

-T

1 Kings 2:23: καὶ ὤμοσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου λέγων τάδε ποιῆσαι μοι ὁ θεὸς καὶ τάδε προσθέη ὅτι κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν Αδωνιας τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

-T

1 Kings 5:1: καὶ ἐχορήγουν οἱ καθεσταμένοι οὕτως τῷ βασιλεῖ Σαλωμων καὶ πάντα τὰ διαγγέλματα ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἕκαστος μῆνα αὐτοῦ οὐ παραλλάσσουσιν λόγον καὶ τὰς κριθὰς καὶ τὸ ἄχυρον τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ἄρμασιν ἤρουν εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ἂν ἦ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν αὐτοῦ.

-T

1 Kings 5:21: καὶ ἐγενήθη καθὼς ἤκουσεν Χιραμ τῶν λόγων Σαλωμων ἐχάρη σφόδρα καὶ εἶπεν εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς σήμερον ὃς ἔδωκεν τῷ Δαυιδ υἱὸν φρόνιμον ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν τὸν πολὺν τοῦτον.

-T

1 Kings 6:1: καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ ἔτει τῆς ἐξόδου υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ ἐν μηνὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ βασιλεύοντος τοῦ βασιλέως Σαλωμων ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐνετείλατο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ αἴρουσιν λίθους μεγάλους τιμίους εἰς τὸν θεμέλιον τοῦ οἴκου καὶ λίθους ἀπελεκήτους καὶ ἐπελέκησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Σαλωμων καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Χιραμ καὶ ἔβαλαν αὐτούς ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ ἐθεμελίωσεν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἐν μηνὶ Νισῶ τῷ δευτέρῳ μηνὶ ἐν ἐνδεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐν μηνὶ Βααλ οὗτος ὁ μῆν ὁ ὄγδοος συνετελέσθη ὁ οἶκος εἰς πάντα λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ.

-R⁴³⁸

1 Kings 8:56: εὐλογητὸς κύριος σήμερον ὃς ἔδωκεν κατάπαυσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰσραηλ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν οὐ διεφώνησεν λόγος εἰς ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσῆ δούλου αὐτοῦ.

438 1 Kgs 6:1 tells about the temple that it συνετελέσθη ὁ οἶκος εἰς πάντα λόγον, meaning that the house was built according to the plans that the Lord had provided. For this reason it is classified as revelation.

-R⁴³⁹

1 Kings 8:56: εὐλογητὸς κύριος σήμερον ὃς ἔδωκεν κατάπαυσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν οὐ διεφώνησεν λόγος εἰς ἓν πᾶσιν τοῖς **λόγοις** αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσῆ δούλου αὐτοῦ.

-R

1 Kings 8:59: καὶ ἔστωσαν οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι οὓς δεδέημαι ἐνώπιον κυρίου θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐγγίζοντες πρὸς κύριον θεὸν ἡμῶν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ δούλου σου καὶ τὸ δικαίωμα λαοῦ σου Ἰσραὴλ ῥῆμα ἡμέρας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ.

-O

1 Kings 10:3: καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῇ Σαλωμων πάντας τοὺς **λόγους** αὐτῆς οὐκ ἦν λόγος παρεωραμένος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὃν οὐκ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῇ.

-T⁴⁴⁰

1 Kings 10:3: καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῇ Σαλωμων πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς οὐκ ἦν **λόγος** παρεωραμένος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὃν οὐκ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῇ.

-T

1 Kings 10:6: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σαλωμων ἀληθινὸς ὁ **λόγος** ὃν ἤκουσα ἐν τῇ γῆ μου περὶ τοῦ λόγου σου καὶ περὶ τῆς φρονήσεώς σου.

-T

1 Kings 10:6: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σαλωμων ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος ὃν ἤκουσα ἐν τῇ γῆ μου περὶ τοῦ **λόγου** σου καὶ περὶ τῆς φρονήσεώς σου.

-T

1 Kings 11:10: καὶ ἐντειλαμένου αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου τούτου τὸ παράπαν μὴ πορευθῆναι ὀπίσω θεῶν ἐτέρων καὶ φυλάξασθαι ποιῆσαι ἃ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεός.

-T⁴⁴¹

1 Kings 12:6: καὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις οἱ ἦσαν παρεστῶτες ἐνώπιον Σαλωμων τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ λέγων πῶς ὑμεῖς βουλευέσθε καὶ ἀποκριθῶ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ λόγον.

-T

1 Kings 12:7: καὶ ἐλάλησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντες εἰ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἔση δούλος τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ δουλεύσης αὐτοῖς καὶ λαλήσης αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἔσονταί σοι δούλοι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας.

-T

1 Kings 12:22: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Σαμιαὶν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων.

439 1 Kgs 8:56 reinforces the reliability of God's speech.

440 1 Kgs 10:3 deals with matters raised in conversation by the Queen of Scheba.

441 1 Kgs 11:10 refers to the account about Solomon's disobedience shared by the writer of Kings.

-R

1 Kings 12:24: τάδε λέγει κύριος οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε οὐδὲ πολεμήσετε μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ ἀναστρεφέτω ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι παρ ἑμοῦ γέγονεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λόγου κυρίου καὶ κατέπαυσαν τοῦ πορευθῆναι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων κοιμᾶται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ροβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ υἱὸς ὧν ἑκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Νααμαν θυγάτηρ Ἀναν υἱοῦ Ναας βασιλέως υἱῶν Ἀμμων καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδῷ Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὄρους Ἐφραϊμ δούλος τῷ Σαλωμων καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἱεροβοὰμ καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Σαριὰ γυνὴ πόρνη καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν Σαλωμων εἰς ἄρχοντα σκυτάλης ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρσεις οἴκου Ἰωσηφ καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν τῷ Σαλωμων τὴν Σαριὰ τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραϊμ καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἄρματα τριακόσια ἵππων οὗτος ὠκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν ἐν ταῖς ἄρσεσιν οἴκου Ἐφραϊμ οὗτος συνέκλεισεν τὴν πόλιν Δαυὶδ καὶ ἦν ἐπαιρόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ἐζήτηι Σαλωμων θανατῶσαι αὐτόν καὶ ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς πρὸς Σουσακὶμ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἕως ἀπέθανεν Σαλωμων καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὅτι τέθνηκεν Σαλωμων καὶ ἐλάλησεν εἰς τὰ ὦτα Σουσακὶμ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου λέγων ἔξαπόστειλόν με καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν γῆν μου καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Σουσακὶμ αἴτησαί τι αἴτημα καὶ δώσω σοι καὶ Σουσακὶμ ἔδωκεν τῷ Ἱεροβοὰμ τὴν Ἀνω ἀδελφὴν Θεκεμινὰς τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα αὕτη ἦν μεγάλη ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἔτεκεν τῷ Ἱεροβοὰμ τὸν Ἀβία υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Ἱεροβοὰμ πρὸς Σουσακὶμ ὄντως ἔξαπόστειλόν με καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς γῆν Σαριὰ τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραϊμ καὶ συνάγεται ἐκεῖ πᾶν σκῆπτρον Ἐφραϊμ καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐκεῖ χάρακα καὶ ἠρρώστησεν τὸ παιδάριον αὐτοῦ ἠρρωστίαν κραταιὰν σφόδρα καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐπερωτῆσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδαρίου καὶ εἶπε πρὸς Ἀνω τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου ἐπερωτήσον τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδαρίου εἰ ζήσεται ἐκ τῆς ἠρρωστίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐν Σηλω καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἀχία καὶ οὗτος ἦν υἱὸς ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν καὶ ῥῆμα κυρίου μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Ἱεροβοὰμ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀνάστηθι καὶ λαβὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρά σου τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρτους καὶ κολλύρια τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος καὶ ἀνέστη ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς ἄρτους καὶ δύο κολλύρια καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος τῷ Ἀχία καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρεσβύτερος καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἠμβλυώπουν τοῦ βλέπειν καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκ Σαριὰ καὶ πορεύεται καὶ ἐγένετο εἰσελθούσης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀχία τὸν Σηλωνίτην καὶ εἶπεν Ἀχία τῷ παιδαρίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐξελθε δὴ εἰς ἀπαντὴν Ἀνω τῆς γυναικὶ Ἱεροβοὰμ καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῇ εἰσελθε καὶ μὴ στήσῃς ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος σκληρὰ ἐγὼ ἐπαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σέ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἀνω πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Ἀχία ἵνα τί μοι ἐνήνοχας ἄρτους καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ κολλύρια καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος τάδε λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ σὺ ἀπελεύση ἀπ' ἑμοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰσελθούσης σου τὴν πύλιν εἰς Σαριὰ καὶ τὰ κοράσια σου ἐξελεύσονται σοι εἰς συνάντησιν καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι τὸ παιδάριον τέθνηκεν ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξολεθρεύσω τοῦ Ἱεροβοὰμ οὐροῦντα πρὸς τοῖχον καὶ ἔσονται οἱ τεθνηκότες τοῦ Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐν τῇ πόλει καταφάγονται οἱ κύνες καὶ τὸν τεθνηκότα ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ καταφάγεται τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὸ παιδάριον κόψονται οὐαὶ κύριε ὅτι εὐρέθη ἐν αὐτῷ ῥῆμα καλὸν περὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ γυνὴ ὡς ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Σαριὰ καὶ τὸ παιδάριον ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ κραυγὴ εἰς ἀπαντὴν καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἱεροβοὰμ εἰς Σικιμα τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραϊμ καὶ συνήθροισεν ἐκεῖ τὰς φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἀνέβη ἐκεῖ Ροβοὰμ υἱὸς Σαλωμων καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐγένετο πρὸς Σαμαίαν τὸν Ἐλαμί λέγων λαβὲ σεαυτῷ ἱμάτιον καινὸν τὸ οὐκ εἰσεληλυθὸς εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ ῥῆξον αὐτὸ δώδεκα ῥήγματα καὶ δώσεις τῷ Ἱεροβοὰμ καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῷ τάδε λέγει κύριος λαβὲ σεαυτῷ δέκα ῥήγματα τοῦ περιβαλέσθαι σε καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἱεροβοὰμ καὶ εἶπεν Σαμαίας τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐπὶ τὰς δέκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ καὶ εἶπεν ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Ροβοὰμ υἱὸν Σαλωμων ὁ πατὴρ σου ἐβάρυνεν τὸν κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐβάρυνεν τὰ βρῶματα τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν εἰ κουφιεῖς σὺ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ δουλεύσομέν σοι καὶ εἶπεν Ροβοὰμ πρὸς τὸν λαόν ἔτι τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν ῥῆμα καὶ εἶπεν Ροβοὰμ εἰσαγάγετέ μοι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ συμβουλευέσομαι μετ' αὐτῶν τί ἀποκριθῶ τῷ λαῷ ῥῆμα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ

καὶ ἐλάλησεν Βοβοαμ εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν καθὼς ἀπέστειλεν ὁ λαὸς πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ εἶπον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ οὕτως ἐλάλησεν πρὸς σὲ ὁ λαὸς καὶ διεσκέδασεν Βοβοαμ τὴν βουλήν αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἤρρεσεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ εἰσήγαγεν τοὺς συντρόφους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς τὰ αὐτά καὶ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς με λέγων ὁ λαὸς καὶ εἶπαν οἱ σύντροφοι αὐτοῦ οὕτως λαλήσεις πρὸς τὸν λαὸν λέγων ἢ μικρότης μου παχυτέρα ὑπὲρ τὴν ὄσφυν τοῦ πατρός μου ὁ πατήρ μου ἐμαστίγου ὑμᾶς μαστιγῆξιν ἐγὼ δὲ κατάρξω ὑμῶν ἐν σκορπίοις καὶ ἤρρεσεν τὸ ῥῆμα ἐνώπιον Βοβοαμ καὶ ἀπεκρίθη τῷ λαῷ καθὼς συνεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ οἱ σύντροφοι αὐτοῦ τὰ παιδάρια καὶ εἶπεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὡς ἀνὴρ εἷς ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέκραξαν ἅπαντες λέγοντες οὐ μερὶς ἡμῖν ἐν Δαυὶδ οὐδὲ κληρονομία ἐν υἱῷ Ἰεσσαὶ εἰς τὰ σκηνώματά σου Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰς ἄρχοντα οὐδὲ εἰς ἡγούμενον καὶ διεσπάρη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐκ Σικιμων καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ σκηνώμα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεκράτησεν Βοβοαμ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσήλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πορεύονται ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ πᾶν σκῆπτρον Ἰουδα καὶ πᾶν σκῆπτρον Βενιαμὴν καὶ ἐγένετο ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ συνήθροισεν Βοβοαμ πάντα ἄνδρα Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμὴν καὶ ἀνέβη τοῦ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἱεροβοαμ εἰς Σικιμα καὶ ἐγένετο ῥῆμα κυρίου πρὸς Σαμαϊαν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων εἰπὸν τῷ Βοβοαμ βασιλεῖ Ἰουδα καὶ πρὸς πάντα οἶκον Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατάλειμμα τοῦ λαοῦ λέγων τάδε λέγει κύριος οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε οὐδὲ πολεμήσετε πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἀναστρέφετε ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκόν αὐτοῦ ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ γέγονεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λόγου κυρίου καὶ ἀνέσχον τοῦ πορευθῆναι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου

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1 Kings 12:30: καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰς ἀμαρτίαν καὶ ἐπορεύετο ὁ λαὸς πρὸ προσώπου τῆς μιᾶς ἕως Δαν.

-T⁴⁴²

1 Kings 13:1: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ Ἰουδα παρεγένετο ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου εἰς Βαιθηλ καὶ Ἱεροβοαμ εἰστίκει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ ἐπιθῦσαι.

-R

1 Kings 13:2: καὶ ἐπεκάλεσεν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν θυσιαστήριον θυσιαστήριον τάδε λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ υἱὸς τίκτεται τῷ οἴκῳ Δαυὶδ Ἰωσίας ὄνομα αὐτῷ καὶ θύσει ἐπὶ σὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν ὑψηλῶν τοὺς ἐπιθῦοντας ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ ὅσα ἄνθρώπων καύσει ἐπὶ σέ.

-R

1 Kings 13:4: καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἱεροβοαμ τῶν λόγων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐπικαλεσαμένου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἐν Βαιθηλ καὶ ἐξέτεινεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγων συλλάβετε αὐτόν καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἐπιστρέψαι αὐτὴν πρὸς ἑαυτόν.

-R

1 Kings 13:5: καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐρράγη καὶ ἐξεχύθη ἡ πύλις ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατὰ τὸ τέρας ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου.

-R

442 1 Kgs 12:30 speaks about the account of Jeroboam's sins.

1 Kings 13:9: ὅτι οὕτως ἐνετείλατό μοι ἐν λόγῳ κύριος λέγων μὴ φάγης ἄρτον καὶ μὴ πίης ὕδωρ καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρέψῃς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἧ ἐπορεύθης ἐν αὐτῇ.

-R⁴⁴³

1 Kings 13:11: καὶ προφήτης εἷς πρεσβύτης κατώκει ἐν Βαιθηλ καὶ ἔρχονται οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτῷ ἅπαντα τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐποίησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν Βαιθηλ καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐλάλησεν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν.

-R

1 Kings 13:17: ὅτι οὕτως ἐντέταλταί μοι ἐν λόγῳ κύριος λέγων μὴ φάγης ἄρτον ἐκεῖ καὶ μὴ πίης ὕδωρ ἐκεῖ καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρέψῃς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἧ ἐπορεύθης ἐν αὐτῇ.

-R

1 Kings 13:20: καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καθημένων ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς τὸν προφήτην τὸν ἐπιστρέψαντα αὐτὸν.

-R

1 Kings 13:32: ὅτι γινόμενον ἔσται τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Βαιθηλ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς τοὺς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ.

-R⁴⁴⁴

1 Kings 14:29: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ροβοᾶμ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T⁴⁴⁵

1 Kings 14:29: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ροβοᾶμ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

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1 Kings 15:7: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Αβίου καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα καὶ πόλεμος ἦν ἀνὰ μέσον Αβίου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἰεροβοᾶμ.

-T

1 Kings 15:7: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Αβίου καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα καὶ πόλεμος ἦν ἀνὰ μέσον Αβίου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἰεροβοᾶμ.

-T

443 1 Kgs 13:9 has an interesting construction that emphasises the verbal character of God's communication; this may be general: "the Lord commanded me by word, saying" (cf. 13:17) or "in (his) Word the Lord commanded me saying".

444 Note the use of τὸ ῥῆμα and ὃ ἐλάλησεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου in 1 Kgs 13:32. God passed on his instruction by means of "word of the Lord".

445 1 Kgs 14:29 refers to accounts and stories.

1 Kings 15:23: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἀσα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δυναστεία αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα πλὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ γήρως αὐτοῦ ἐπόνεσεν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

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1 Kings 15:23: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἀσα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δυναστεία αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα πλὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ γήρως αὐτοῦ ἐπόνεσεν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

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1 Kings 15:31: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ναδαβ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

1 Kings 15:31: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ναδαβ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

1 Kings 16:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου ἐν χειρὶ Ἰου υἱοῦ Ἀνανι πρὸς Βαασα.

-R

1 Kings 16:5: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Βαασα καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

1 Kings 16:5: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Βαασα καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

1 Kings 16:14: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἡλα καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

1 Kings 16:14: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἡλα καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

1 Kings 16:20: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ζαμβρι καὶ τὰς συνάψεις αὐτοῦ ἃς συνήψεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

1 Kings 16:20: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ζαμβρι καὶ τὰς συνάψεις αὐτοῦ ἃς συνήψεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

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1 Kings 16:27: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἀμβρι καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν καὶ ἡ δυναστεία αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

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1 Kings 16:27: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἀμβρι καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν καὶ ἡ δυναστεία αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

1 Kings 16:28: καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἀμβρι μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ βασιλεύει Ἀχααβ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ τοῦ Ἀμβρι βασιλεύει Ἰωσαφατ υἱὸς Ἀσα ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἴκοσι πέντε ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Γαζουβα θυγάτηρ Σελεὶ καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Ἀσα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξέκλινεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου πλήν τῶν ὑψηλῶν οὐκ ἐξήραν ἔθυσον ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς καὶ ἐθυμίῳν καὶ ἃ συνέθετο Ἰωσαφατ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δυναστεία ἦν ἐποίησεν καὶ οὐς ἐπολέμησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰουδα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν συμπλοκῶν ἃς ἐπέθεντο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀσα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξῆρην ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἦν ἐν Συρίᾳ νασιβ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσαφατ ἐποίησεν ναῦν εἰς Ὀθρασις πορεύεσθαι εἰς Σωφίρ ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ὅτι συνετρίβη ἡ ναὺς ἐν Γασιωνγαβερ τότε εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ πρὸς Ἰωσαφατ ἐξαποστελῶ τοὺς παιδάς σου καὶ τὰ παιδάριά μου ἐν τῇ νηὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο Ἰωσαφατ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωσαφατ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰωραμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

-T

1 Kings 17:1: καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου ὁ προφήτης ὁ Θεοσβίτης ἐκ Θεσβων τῆς Γαλααδ πρὸς Ἀχααβ ζῆ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ ᾧ παρέστην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰ ἔσται τὰ ἔτη ταῦτα δρόσος καὶ ὑετὸς ὅτι εἰ μὴ διὰ στόματος λόγου μου.

-R⁴⁴⁶

1 Kings 18:21: καὶ προσήγαγεν Ἡλίου πρὸς πάντας καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἡλίου ἕως πότε ὑμεῖς χωλανεῖτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις εἰ ἔστιν κύριος ὁ θεὸς πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ εἰ δὲ ὁ Βααλ αὐτός πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ λαὸς λόγον.

-T

1 Kings 20:27: καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου ὡς κατενύγη Ἀχααβ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐπορεύετο κλαίων καὶ διέρρηξεν τὸν χιτῶνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐζώσατο σάκκον ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνήστευσεν καὶ περιεβάλετο σάκκον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἐπάταξεν Ναβουθαι τὸν Ἰεζραηλίτην.

-R⁴⁴⁷

1 Kings 21:9: καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις υἱοῦ Ἀδερ λέγετε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν πάντα ὅσα ἀπέσταλκας πρὸς τὸν δούλόν σου ἐν πρώτοις ποιήσω τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τοῦτο οὐ δυνήσομαι ποιῆσαι καὶ ἀπῆραν οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν αὐτῷ λόγον.

-T

446 Elijah prophesies (1 Kgs 17:1) on behalf of the living God who speaks διὰ στόματος λόγου μου.

447 1 Kgs 20:27 refers to the Word of the Lord that is convicting Ahab.

1 Kings 21:12: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πίνων ἦν αὐτὸς καὶ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν σκηναῖς καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομήσατε χάρακα καὶ ἔθεντο χάρακα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.

-T

1 Kings 21:33: καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἰωνίσαντο καὶ ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀνέλεξαν τὸν λόγον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπον ἀδελφός σου υἱὸς Αδερ καὶ εἶπεν εἰσέλθατε καὶ λάβετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξήλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν υἱὸς Αδερ καὶ ἀναβιβάζουσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα.

-R⁴⁴⁸

1 Kings 21:35: καὶ ἄνθρωπος εἷς ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν τῶν προφητῶν εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου πάταξον δὴ με καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος πατάξαι αὐτόν.

-R

1 Kings 22:13: καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ πορευθεὶς καλέσαι τὸν Μιχαιαν ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ λέγων ἰδοὺ δὴ λαλοῦσιν πάντες οἱ προφῆται ἐν στόματι ἐνὶ καλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως γίνου δὴ καὶ σὺ εἰς λόγους σου κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐνὸς τούτων καὶ λάλησον καλά.

-R⁴⁴⁹

1 Kings 22:13: καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ πορευθεὶς καλέσαι τὸν Μιχαιαν ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ λέγων ἰδοὺ δὴ λαλοῦσιν πάντες οἱ προφῆται ἐν στόματι ἐνὶ καλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως γίνου δὴ καὶ σὺ εἰς λόγους σου κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐνὸς τούτων καὶ λάλησον καλά.

-R

1 Kings 22:39: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Αχααβ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν καὶ οἶκον ἐλεφάντινον ὃν ᾠκοδόμησεν καὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἃς ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

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-T

1 Kings 22:46: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωσαφατ καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰουδα.

-T

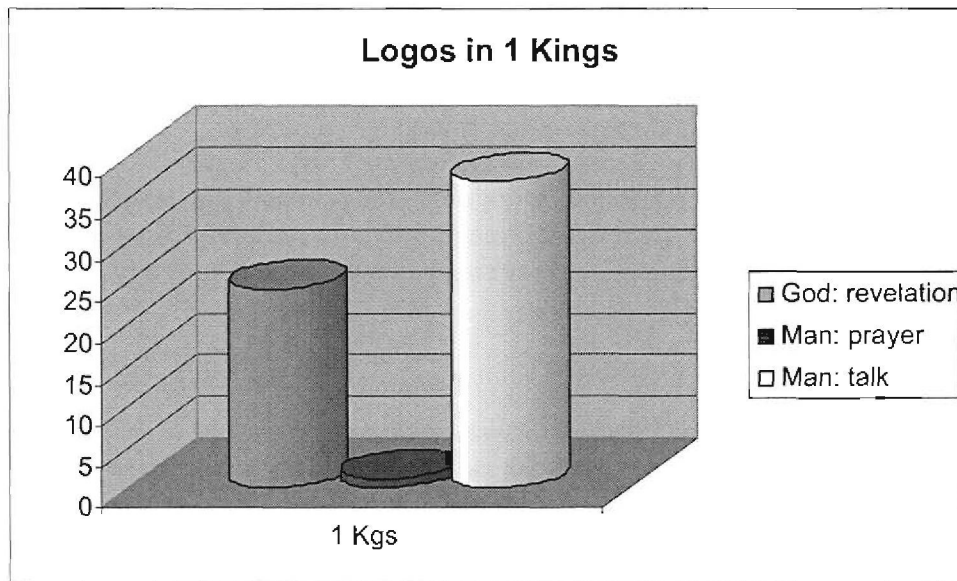
1 Kings 22:46: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωσαφατ καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰουδα.

-T

448 In 1 Kgs 21:33 τὸν λόγον seems to be a word of prophecy, possibly within the context of divination as far as those who listened were concerned, but nonetheless taken from the man of God, ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, who was mentioned earlier (21:28).

449 In both instances in 1 Kgs 22:13 λόγους refers to what is supposed to be prophecy on God's behalf.

2.11.1 1Kings graphics



2.12 2Kings occurrences

2 Kings 1:7: καὶ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων τίς ἡ κρίσις τοῦ ἀναβάντος εἰς συνάντησιν ὑμῖν καὶ λαλήσαντος πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

-R⁴⁵⁰

2 Kings 1:18: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Οχοζιου ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοῦ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίου λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ καὶ Ἰωραμ υἱὸς Αχααβ βασιλεύει ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἔτη δέκα δύο ἐν ἔτει ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ Ἰωσαφατ βασιλέως Ἰουδα καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου πλην οὐχ ὡς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστησεν τὰς στήλας τοῦ Βααλ ἃς ἐποίησεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτάς πλην ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις οἴκου Ἱεροβοαμ ὃς ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραηλ ἐκολλήθη οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ κύριος εἰς τὸν οἶκον Αχααβ.

-T

2 Kings 1:18: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Οχοζιου ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοῦ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίου λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ καὶ Ἰωραμ υἱὸς Αχααβ βασιλεύει ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἔτη δέκα δύο ἐν ἔτει ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ Ἰωσαφατ βασιλέως Ἰουδα καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου πλην οὐχ ὡς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστησεν τὰς στήλας τοῦ Βααλ ἃς ἐποίησεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτάς πλην ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις οἴκου Ἱεροβοαμ ὃς ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραηλ ἐκολλήθη οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ κύριος εἰς τὸν οἶκον Αχααβ.

-T

2 Kings 4:13: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ εἰπὸν δὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἰδοῦ ἐξέστησας ἡμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν ἔκστασιν ταύτην τί δεῖ ποιῆσαι σοι εἰ ἔστιν λόγος σοι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς δυνάμεως ἢ δὲ εἶπεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐγὼ εἰμι οἰκῶ.

450 2 Kgs 1:7 refers to word of God spoken over the king's life, cf. 2 Kgs 1:6.

-T

2 Kings 5:13: καὶ ἤγγισαν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλάλησαν πρὸς αὐτόν μέγαν λόγον ἐλάλησεν ὁ προφήτης πρὸς σέ οὐχὶ ποιήσεις καὶ ὅτι εἶπεν πρὸς σέ λούσαι καὶ καθαρίσθητι.

-R⁴⁵¹

2 Kings 5:18: καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι τὸν κύριόν μου εἰς οἶκον Ρεμμαν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν καὶ ἐπαναπαύσεται ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μου καὶ προσκυνήσω ἐν οἴκῳ Ρεμμαν ἐν τῷ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν ἐν οἴκῳ Ρεμμαν καὶ ἰάσεται δὴ κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ.

-T⁴⁵²

2 Kings 6:11: καὶ ἐξεκινήθη ἡ ψυχὴ βασιλέως Συρίας περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς οὐκ ἀναγγελεῖτέ μοι τίς προδίδωσίν με βασιλεῖ Ἰσραηλ.

-T⁴⁵³

2 Kings 6:12: καὶ εἶπεν εἰς τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ ὅτι Ελισαῖε ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐν Ἰσραηλ ἀναγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰσραηλ πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐὰν λαλήσῃς ἐν τῷ ταμείῳ τοῦ κοιτώνός σου.

-T

2 Kings 6:30: καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ τοὺς λόγους τῆς γυναικὸς διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς διεπορεύετο ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καὶ εἶδεν ὁ λαὸς τὸν σάκκον ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ἔσωθεν.

-T

2 Kings 7:1: καὶ εἶπεν Ελισαῖε ἄκουσον λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος ὡς ἡ ὥρα αὕτη αὐριον μέτρον σεμιδάλεως σίκλου καὶ δίμετρον κριθῶν σίκλου ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Σαμαρείας.

-R

2 Kings 8:23: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωραμ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 8:23: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωραμ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 9:5: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκάθηντο καὶ εἶπεν λόγος μοι πρὸς σέ ὁ ἄρχων καὶ εἶπεν Ἰου πρὸς τίνα ἐκ πάντων ἡμῶν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς σέ ὁ ἄρχων.

-R⁴⁵⁴

451 2 Kgs 5:13 refers to prophetic instruction.

452 2 Kgs 5:18 refers to the matter of assisting the king.

453 2 Kgs 6:11 refers to the account about Elisha's activities which are disrupting his plans.

454 2 Kgs 9:5 refers to prophetic word about Jehu.

2 Kings 9:36: καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν λόγος κυρίου ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐν χειρὶ δούλου αὐτοῦ Ἡλίου τοῦ Θεσβίτου λέγων ἐν τῇ μερίδι Ἰεζραελ καταφάγονται οἱ κύνες τὰς σάρκας Ἰεζαβελ.

-R

2 Kings 10:34: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰου καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δυναστεία αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς συνάψεις ἃς συνῆψεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 10:34: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰου καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δυναστεία αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς συνάψεις ἃς συνῆψεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 11:5: καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς λέγων οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν ποιήσετε τὸ τρίτον ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰσελθέτω τὸ σάββατον καὶ φυλάξτε φυλακὴν οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι.

-T⁴⁵⁵

2 Kings 12:20: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωας καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

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-T

2 Kings 13:8: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωαχας καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 13:8: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωαχας καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 13:12: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωας καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ ἃς ἐποίησεν μετὰ Ἀμεσσιου βασιλέως Ἰουδα οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

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-T

455 In 2 Kgs 11:5 ὁ λόγος is a command (ἐνετείλατο).

2 Kings 14:15: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωας ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἐν δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐπολέμησεν μετὰ Ἀμεσσιου βασιλέως Ἰουδα οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 14:15: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωας ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἐν δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐπολέμησεν μετὰ Ἀμεσσιου βασιλέως Ἰουδα οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 14:18: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἀμεσσιου καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

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-T

2 Kings 14:28: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰεροβοαμ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ ὅσα ἐπολέμησεν καὶ ὅσα ἐπέστρεψεν τὴν Δαμασκὸν καὶ τὴν Αἰμαθ τῷ Ἰουδα ἐν Ἰσραηλ οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

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-T

2 Kings 15:6: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἀζαριου καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίου λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 15:6: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἀζαριου καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίου λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 15:11: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ζαχαριου ἰδοὺ ἐστὶν γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:11: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ζαχαριου ἰδοὺ ἐστὶν γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:12: ὁ λόγος κυρίου ὃν ἐλάλησεν πρὸς Ἰου λέγων υἱοὶ τέταρτοι καθήσονται σοι ἐπὶ θρόνου Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.

-R

2 Kings 15:15: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Σελλουμ καὶ ἡ συστροφή αὐτοῦ ἦν συνεστράφη ἰδοῦ εἰσιν γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:15: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Σελλουμ καὶ ἡ συστροφή αὐτοῦ ἦν συνεστράφη ἰδοῦ εἰσιν γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:21: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μαναημ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοῦ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:21: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μαναημ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοῦ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:26: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Φακειου καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἰδοῦ εἰσιν γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ .

-T

2 Kings 15:26: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Φακειου καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἰδοῦ εἰσιν γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:31: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Φακεε καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἰδοῦ ἐστὶν γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:31: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Φακεε καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἰδοῦ ἐστὶν γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Kings 15:36: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωαθαμ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 15:36: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωαθαμ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 16:19: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Αχαζ ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 16:19: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Αχαζ ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 17:9: καὶ ὅσοι ἠμφιέσαντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ λόγους οὐχ οὕτως κατὰ κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑψηλὰ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ πύργου φυλασσόντων ἕως πόλεως ὄχυρᾶς.

-T

2 Kings 18:20: εἶπας πλὴν λόγοι χειλέων βουλή καὶ δύναμις εἰς πόλεμον νῦν οὖν τίτι πεποιθῶς ἠθέτησας ἐν ἐμοί.

-T

2 Kings 18:27: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ραφακῆς μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν κύριόν σου καὶ πρὸς σὲ ἀπέστειλὲν με ὁ κύριός μου λαλῆσαι τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὐχὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ φαγεῖν τὴν κόπρον αὐτῶν καὶ πιεῖν τὸ οὖρον αὐτῶν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἅμα.

-T

2 Kings 18:28: καὶ ἔστη Ραφακῆς καὶ ἐβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλη Ἰουδαιστὶ καὶ ἐλάλησεν καὶ εἶπεν ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.

-T

2 Kings 18:29: τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς μὴ ἐπαιρέτω ὑμᾶς Ἐζεκιᾶς λόγοις ὅτι οὐ μὴ δύνηται ὑμᾶς ἐξελεῖσθαι ἐκ χειρὸς μου.

-T

2 Kings 18:36: καὶ ἐκώφευσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ λόγον ὅτι ἐντολὴ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγων οὐκ ἀποκριθήσεσθε αὐτῷ.

-T

2 Kings 18:37: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἐλιακὶμ υἱὸς Χελκιου ὁ οἰκονόμος καὶ Σομνας ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ἰωας υἱὸς Ἀσαφ ὁ ἀναμνησκων πρὸς Ἐζεκιᾶν διερρηχότες τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους Ραφακου.

-T

2 Kings 19:4: εἴ πως εἰσακούσεται κύριος ὁ θεός σου πάντας τοὺς λόγους Ραφακου ὃν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ὄνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ βλασφημεῖν ἐν λόγοις οἷς ἤκουσεν κύριος ὁ θεός σου καὶ λήμψη προσευχὴν περὶ τοῦ λείμματος τοῦ εὐρισκομένου.

-T

2 Kings 19:4: εἴ πως εἰσακούσεται κύριος ὁ θεός σου πάντας τοὺς λόγους Ραφακου ὃν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ὄνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ βλασφημεῖν ἐν λόγοις οἷς ἤκουσεν κύριος ὁ θεός σου καὶ λήμψη προσευχὴν περὶ τοῦ λείμματος τοῦ εὐρισκομένου.

-T⁴⁵⁶

456 2 Kgs 19:4 refers to the words of blasphemy uttered by the Assyrian.

2 Kings 19:6: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἡσαιας τάδε ἐρεῖτε πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν τάδε λέγει κύριος μὴ φοβηθῆς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων ὧν ἤκουσας ὧν ἐβλασφήμησαν τὰ παιδάκια βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.

-T⁴⁵⁷

2 Kings 19:16: κλῖνον κύριε τὸ οὖς σου καὶ ἄκουσον ἄνοιξον κύριε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἰδὲ καὶ ἄκουσον τοὺς λόγους Σενναχηριμ οὗς ἀπέστειλεν ὄνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα.

-T

2 Kings 19:21: οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν ἐλάλησεν κύριος ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐξουδένησέν σε καὶ ἐμυκτήρισέν σε παρθένος θυγάτηρ Σιων ἐπὶ σοὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ἐκίνησεν θυγάτηρ Ἱερουσαλημ.

-R

2 Kings 20:9: καὶ εἶπεν Ἡσαιας τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον παρὰ κυρίου ὅτι ποιήσει κύριος τὸν λόγον ὃν ἐλάλησεν πορεύσεται ἡ σκιά δέκα βαθμούς ἐάν ἐπιστρέφῃ δέκα βαθμούς.

-R

2 Kings 20:13: καὶ ἐχάρη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Εἰζεκιᾶς καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς ὅλον τὸν οἶκον τοῦ νεχωθα τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τὰ ἀρώματα καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τὸ ἀγαθόν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ὅσα ἠυρέθη ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἦν λόγος ὃν οὐκ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς Εἰζεκιᾶς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

-T⁴⁵⁸

2 Kings 20:16: καὶ εἶπεν Ἡσαιας πρὸς Εἰζεκιᾶν ἄκουσον λόγον κυρίου.

-R

2 Kings 20:19: καὶ εἶπεν Εἰζεκιᾶς πρὸς Ἡσαιᾶν ἀγαθὸς ὁ λόγος κυρίου ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἔστω εἰρήνη ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις μου.

-R

2 Kings 20:20: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Εἰζεκιᾶς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δυναστεία αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησεν τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὸν ὑδραγωγὸν καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 20:20: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Εἰζεκιᾶς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δυναστεία αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησεν τὴν κρήνην καὶ τὸν ὑδραγωγὸν καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 21:17: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μανασση καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ ἦν ἥμαρτεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

457 2 Kgs 19:6 refers to the words of blasphemy uttered by the Assyrian.

458 2 Kgs 20:13, οὐκ ἦν λόγος ὃν οὐκ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς, indicates that there was nothing worth telling about that the king did not show to the foreign visitors.

2 Kings 21:17: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μανασση καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ ἦν ἥμαρτεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ιουδα.

-T

2 Kings 21:25: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Αμων ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ιουδα.

-T

2 Kings 21:25: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Αμων ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ιουδα.

-T

2 Kings 22:11: καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ νόμου καὶ διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτοῦ.

-R

2 Kings 22:13: δεῦτε ἐκζητήσατε τὸν κύριον περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ Ιουδα περὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ εὐρεθέντος τούτου ὅτι μεγάλη ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἡ ἐκκεκαυμένη ἐν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ οὗ οὐκ ἤκουσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου τοῦ ποιεῖν κατὰ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα καθ' ἡμῶν.

-R

2 Kings 22:13: δεῦτε ἐκζητήσατε τὸν κύριον περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ Ιουδα περὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ εὐρεθέντος τούτου ὅτι μεγάλη ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἡ ἐκκεκαυμένη ἐν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ οὗ οὐκ ἤκουσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου τοῦ ποιεῖν κατὰ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα καθ' ἡμῶν.

-R

2 Kings 22:16: τάδε λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω κακὰ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τούτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτόν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου οὗς ἀνέγνω βασιλεὺς Ιουδα.

-R

2 Kings 22:18: καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα Ιουδα τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ὑμᾶς ἐπιζητήσαι τὸν κύριον τάδε ἐρεῖτε πρὸς αὐτόν τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ οἱ λόγοι οὗς ἤκουσας.

-R

2 Kings 23:2: καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς οἶκον κυρίου καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ιουδα καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ιερουσαλημ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀπὸ μικροῦ καὶ ἕως μεγάλου καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐν ὧσιν αὐτῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ εὐρεθέντος ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου.

-R

2 Kings 23:3: καὶ ἔστη ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν στῦλον καὶ διέθετο διαθήκην ἐνώπιον κυρίου τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω κυρίου καὶ τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ψυχῇ τοῦ ἀναστήσαι τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο καὶ ἔστη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ.

-R⁴⁵⁹

2 Kings 23:16: καὶ ἐξένευσεν Ἰωσίας καὶ εἶδεν τοὺς τάφους τοὺς ὄντας ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκ τῶν τάφων καὶ κατέκαυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου ὃ ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐστάναι Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἤρην τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ λαλήσαντος τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

-R

2 Kings 23:17: καὶ εἶπεν τί τὸ σκόπελον ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἐγὼ ὀρῶ καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξεληλυθὼς ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ ἐπικαλεσάμενος τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὐς ἐπεκαλέσατο ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον Βαιθηλ.

-R⁴⁶⁰

2 Kings 23:24: καὶ γε τοὺς θελητὰς καὶ τοὺς γνωριστὰς καὶ τὰ θεραφιν καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ πάντα τὰ προσοχθίσματα τὰ γεγονότα ἐν γῆ Ἰουδα καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ ἐξῆρην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας ἵνα στήσῃ τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βιβλίου οὗ εὔρεν Χελκίας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου.

-R

2 Kings 23:28: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωσίου καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 23:28: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωσίου καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 24:2: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ τοὺς μονοζώνους τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ τοὺς μονοζώνους Συρίας καὶ τοὺς μονοζώνους Μωαβ καὶ τοὺς μονοζώνους υἱῶν Ἀμμων καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ γῆ Ἰουδα τοῦ κατισχύσαι κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐν χειρὶ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ τῶν προφητῶν.

-R

2 Kings 24:5: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωακὶμ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

459 2 Kgs 23:3 refers to the revelation as found in the newly discovered book.

460 2 Kgs 23:17 concerns prophecy against the religious site.

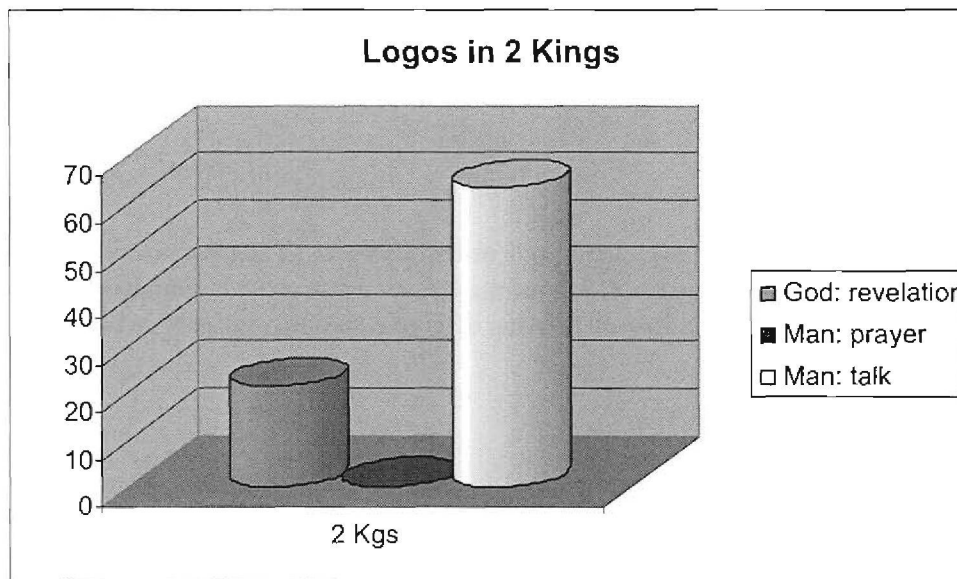
2 Kings 24:5: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωακὶμ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοῦ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Kings 25:30: καὶ ἡ ἐστιατορία αὐτοῦ ἐστιατορία διὰ παντός ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξ οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως λόγον ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.

-T⁴⁶¹

2.12.1 2Kings graphics



2.13 1Chronicles occurrences

1 Chronicles 10:13: καὶ ἀπέθανεν Σαουλ ἐν ταῖς ἀνομίαις αὐτοῦ αἷς ἠνόμησεν τῷ κυρίῳ κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου διότι οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν ὅτι ἐπηρώτησεν Σαουλ ἐν τῷ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ τοῦ ζητήσαι καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ Σαμουηλ ὁ προφήτης.

-R

1 Chronicles 11:3: καὶ ἦλθον πάντες πρεσβύτεροι Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Χεβρων καὶ διέθετο αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυὶδ διαθήκην ἐν Χεβρων ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ ἔχρισαν τὸν Δαυὶδ εἰς βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου διὰ χειρὸς Σαμουηλ.

-R

1 Chronicles 11:10: καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν δυνατῶν οἳ ἦσαν τῷ Δαυὶδ οἱ κατισχύοντες μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ μετὰ παντός Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ.

-R

461 2 Kgs 25:30 refers to a daily ration/prescription, ordered by the word of the king.

1 Chronicles 12:24: καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς στρατιᾶς οἱ ἐλθόντες πρὸς Δαυὶδ εἰς Χεβρων τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι τὴν βασιλείαν Σαουλ πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου.

-R

1 Chronicles 13:4: καὶ εἶπεν πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ ποιῆσαι οὕτως ὅτι εὐθὺς ὁ λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ.

-T

1 Chronicles 15:15: καὶ ἔλαβον οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἐνετείλατο Μωυσῆς ἐν λόγῳ θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἐν ἀναφορεῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

-R

1 Chronicles 16:15: μνημονεύων εἰς αἰῶνα διαθήκης αὐτοῦ λόγον αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐνετείλατο εἰς χιλίας γενεάς.

-R

1 Chronicles 17:3: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ναθαν λέγων.

-R

1 Chronicles 17:15: κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὄρασιν ταύτην οὕτως ἐλάλησεν Ναθαν πρὸς Δαυὶδ.

-R

1 Chronicles 17:23: καὶ νῦν κύριε ὁ λόγος σου ὃν ἐλάλησας πρὸς τὸν παῖδά σου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ πιστωθήτω ἕως αἰῶνος.

-R

1 Chronicles 21:6: καὶ τὸν Λευὶ καὶ τὸν Βενιαμὶν οὐκ ἠρίθμησεν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ὅτι κατίσχυσεν λόγος τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἰωαβ.

-T

1 Chronicles 21:12: ἢ τρία ἔτη λιμοῦ ἢ τρεῖς μῆνας φεύγειν σε ἐκ προσώπου ἐχθρῶν σου καὶ μάχαιραν ἐχθρῶν σου τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ῥομφαίαν κυρίου καὶ θάνατον ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐξολεθρεύων ἐν πάσῃ κληρονομίᾳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ νῦν ἰδὲ τί ἀποκριθῶ τῷ ἀποστείλαντί με λόγον.

-R⁴⁶²

1 Chronicles 21:19: καὶ ἀνέβη Δαυὶδ κατὰ τὸν λόγον Γαδ ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

-R

1 Chronicles 22:8: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐμοὶ λόγος κυρίου λέγων αἷμα εἰς πλῆθος ἐξέχεας καὶ πολέμους μεγάλους ἐποίησας οὐκ οἰκοδομήσεις οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματί μου ὅτι αἵματα πολλὰ ἐξέχεας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐναντίον μου.

-R

462 The sender of the message in 1 Chr 21:12 was God.

1 Chronicles 23:27: ὅτι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Δαυὶδ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς υἱῶν Λευὶ ἀπὸ εἰκοσαετοῦς καὶ ἐπάνω.

-T

1 Chronicles 25:5: πάντες οὗτοι υἱοὶ τῷ Αἰμαν τῷ ἀνακρουομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν λόγοις θεοῦ ὑψῶσαι κέρας καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Αἰμαν υἱοὺς δέκα τέσσαρας καὶ θυγατέρας τρεῖς.

-R⁴⁶³

1 Chronicles 26:32: καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ δυνατοὶ δισχίλιοι ἑπτακόσιοι ἄρχοντες πατριῶν καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς Δαυὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ρουβηνι καὶ Γαδδι καὶ ἡμίους φυλῆς Μανασση εἰς πᾶν πρόσταγμα κυρίου καὶ λόγον βασιλέως.

-T⁴⁶⁴

1 Chronicles 27:1: καὶ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ κατ' ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες τῶν πατριῶν χιλίαρχοι καὶ ἑκατόνταρχοι καὶ γραμματεῖς οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ λαῷ καὶ εἰς πᾶν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ διαίρεσεις εἰς πᾶν λόγον τοῦ εἰσπορευομένου καὶ ἐκπορευομένου μῆνα ἐκ μηνὸς εἰς πάντας τοὺς μῆνας τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ διαίρεσις μία εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες χιλιάδες.

-T

1 Chronicles 27:1: καὶ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ κατ' ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες τῶν πατριῶν χιλίαρχοι καὶ ἑκατόνταρχοι καὶ γραμματεῖς οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ λαῷ καὶ εἰς πᾶν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ διαίρεσεις εἰς πᾶν λόγον τοῦ εἰσπορευομένου καὶ ἐκπορευομένου μῆνα ἐκ μηνὸς εἰς πάντας τοὺς μῆνας τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ διαίρεσις μία εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες χιλιάδες.

T

1 Chronicles 27:24: καὶ Ἰωαβ ὁ τοῦ Σαρουια ἤρξατο ἀριθμεῖν ἐν τῷ λαῷ καὶ οὐ συνετέλεσεν καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τούτοις ὀργὴ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οὐ κατεχωρίσθη ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Δαυὶδ.

-T

1 Chronicles 28:21: καὶ ἰδοὺ αἱ ἐφημερίαι τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν εἰς πᾶσαν λειτουργίαν οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ σοῦ ἐν πάσῃ πραγματείᾳ καὶ πᾶς πρόθυμος ἐν σοφίᾳ κατὰ πᾶσαν τέχνην καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἰς πάντας τοὺς λόγους σου.

-T⁴⁶⁵

1 Chronicles 29:29: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ λόγοι τοῦ βασιλέως Δαυὶδ οἱ πρότεροι καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν λόγοις Σαμουὴλ τοῦ βλέποντος καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων Ναθαν τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων Γαδ τοῦ βλέποντος.

-T

463 1 Chr 25:5 refers to songs inspired by God.

464 1 Chr 26:32 speaks about carrying out the king's word, or doing his bidding.

465 1 Chr 28:21 refers to Solomon who will only have to speak the word and the men will obey.

1 Chronicles 29:29: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ λόγοι τοῦ βασιλέως Δαυὶδ οἱ πρότεροι καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν λόγοις Σαμουηλ τοῦ βλέποντος καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων Ναθαν τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων Γαδ τοῦ βλέποντος.

-R⁴⁶⁶

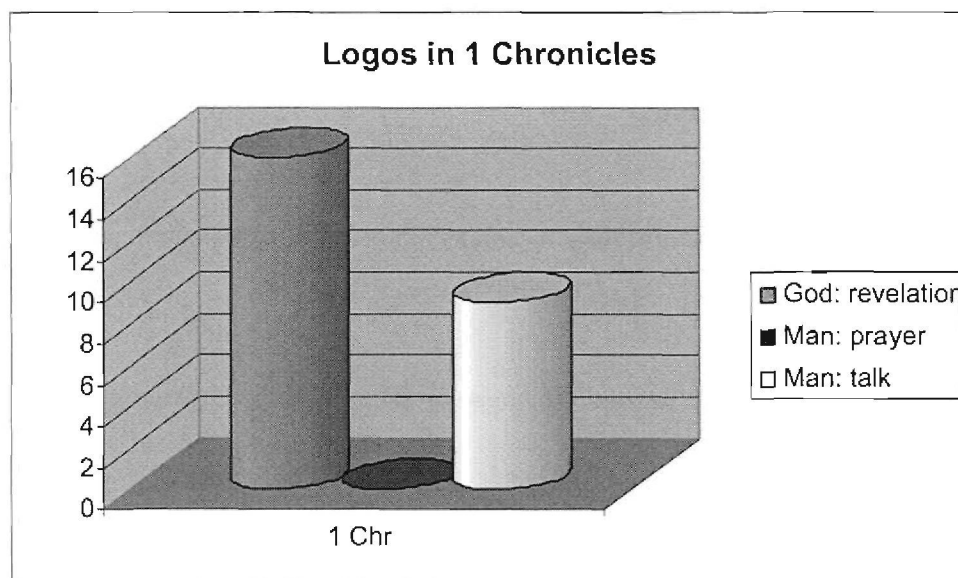
1 Chronicles 29:29: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ λόγοι τοῦ βασιλέως Δαυὶδ οἱ πρότεροι καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν λόγοις Σαμουηλ τοῦ βλέποντος καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων Ναθαν τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων Γαδ τοῦ βλέποντος.

-R⁴⁶⁷

1 Chronicles 29:29: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ λόγοι τοῦ βασιλέως Δαυὶδ οἱ πρότεροι καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν λόγοις Σαμουηλ τοῦ βλέποντος καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων Ναθαν τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἐπὶ λόγων Γαδ τοῦ βλέποντος.

-R⁴⁶⁸

2.13.1 1Chronicles graphics



2.14 2Chronicles occurrences

2 Chronicles 6:10: καὶ ἀνέστησεν κύριος τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐλάλησεν καὶ ἐγενήθη ἂντι Δαυὶδ πατρός μου καὶ ἐκάθισα ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον Ἰσραηλ καθὼς ἐλάλησεν κύριος καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα τὸν οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ.

-R

466 1 Chr 29:29 does not refer to hearsay, but the author Σαμουηλ is defined as τοῦ βλέποντος.

467 The words ἐπὶ λόγων Ναθαν in 1 Chr 29:29 are more closely defined by τοῦ προφήτου.

468 1 Chronicles 29:29, λόγων Γαδ is characterised by τοῦ βλέποντος.

2 Chronicles 8:13: καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἡμέρας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς Μωυσῆ ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς μηνσὶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τρεῖς καιροὺς τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἐβδομάδων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν σκηνῶν.

-R⁴⁶⁹

2 Chronicles 8:14: καὶ ἔστησεν κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν Δαυὶδ τὰς διαιρέσεις τῶν ἱερέων κατὰ τὰς λειτουργίας αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ Λευῖται ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτῶν τοῦ αἰνεῖν καὶ λειτουργεῖν κατέναντι τῶν ἱερέων κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ πυλωροὶ κατὰ τὰς διαιρέσεις αὐτῶν εἰς πύλην καὶ πύλην ὅτι οὕτως ἐντολαὶ Δαυὶδ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ.

-R⁴⁷⁰

2 Chronicles 8:15: οὐ παρεῖλον τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν εἰς πάντα λόγον καὶ εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς.

-R

2 Chronicles 9:2: καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῇ Σαλωμων πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ παρεῖλεν λόγος ἀπὸ Σαλωμων ὃν οὐκ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῇ.

-T

2 Chronicles 9:2: καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῇ Σαλωμων πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ παρεῖλεν λόγος ἀπὸ Σαλωμων ὃν οὐκ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῇ.

-T

2 Chronicles 9:5: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος ὃν ἤκουσα ἐν τῇ γῆ μου περὶ τῶν λόγων σου καὶ περὶ τῆς σοφίας σου.

-T

2 Chronicles 9:5: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος ὃν ἤκουσα ἐν τῇ γῆ μου περὶ τῶν λόγων σου καὶ περὶ τῆς σοφίας σου.

-T

2 Chronicles 9:6: καὶ οὐκ ἐπίστευσα τοῖς λόγοις ἕως οὗ ἦλθον καὶ εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἀπηγγέλη μοι ἡμισυ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς σοφίας σου προσέθηκας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκοήν ἣν ἤκουσα.

-T

2 Chronicles 9:29: καὶ οἱ κατάλοιποι λόγοι Σαλωμων οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι ἰδοὺ γεγραμμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων Ναθαν τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων Αχια τοῦ Σηλωνίτου καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁράσεσιν Ἰωηλ τοῦ ὀρώντος περὶ Ἱεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ.

-T

469 2 Chr 8:13 deals with prescriptions by Moses on God's behalf.

470 2 Chr 8:14 describes liturgical order of the day, as they had been told, originating with David with the added description of man of God. In other words, God inspired these arrangements.

2 Chronicles 9:29: καὶ οἱ κατάλοιποι λόγοι Σαλωμων οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι ἰδοὺ γεγραμμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων Ναθαν τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων Αχια τοῦ Σηλωνίτου καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁράσεσιν Ἰωηλ τοῦ ὀρώντος περὶ Ἱεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ.

-R

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-R⁴⁷¹

2 Chronicles 10:6: καὶ συνήγαγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Βοβοαμ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐστηκότας ἐναντίον Σαλωμων τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ζῆν αὐτὸν λέγων πῶς ὑμεῖς βουλευέσθε τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ λόγον.

-T

2 Chronicles 10:7: καὶ ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ἐὰν ἐν τῇ σήμερον γένη εἰς ἀγαθὸν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ εὐδοκίης καὶ λαλήσης αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἔσονται σοι παῖδες πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας.

-T

2 Chronicles 10:9: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τί ὑμεῖς βουλευέσθε καὶ ἀποκριθήσομαι λόγον τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ οἱ ἐλάλησαν πρὸς με λέγοντες ἄνες ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ οὐ ἔδωκεν ὁ πατήρ σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.

-T

2 Chronicles 10:15: καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ ὅτι ἦν μεταστροφή παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων ἀνέστησεν κύριος τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐν χειρὶ Αχια τοῦ Σηλωνίτου περὶ Ἱεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ.

-R

2 Chronicles 11:2: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Σαμαιοὺς ἀνθρώπων τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων.

-R

2 Chronicles 11:4: τάδε λέγει κύριος οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε καὶ οὐ πολεμήσετε πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὑμῶν ἀποστρέφετε ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκόν αὐτοῦ ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ ἐπήκουσαν τοῦ λόγου κυρίου καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν τοῦ μὴ πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ Ἱεροβοαμ.

-R

2 Chronicles 12:7: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰδεῖν κύριον ὅτι ἐνετράπησαν καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Σαμαιοὺς λέγων ἐνετράπησαν οὐ καταφθερῶ αὐτούς καὶ δώσω αὐτούς ὡς μικρὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ οὐ μὴ στάξῃ ὁ θυμὸς μου ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ.

-R

2 Chronicles 12:12: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐντραπῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπεστράφη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὀργὴ κυρίου καὶ οὐκ εἰς καταφθορὰν εἰς τέλος καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἰουδα ἦσαν λόγοι ἀγαθοί.

-T

471 For 2 Chr 9:29, cf. 2 Chr 2:15.

2 Chronicles 12:15: καὶ λόγοι Ροβοαμ οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι οὐκ ἰδοῦ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Σαμαια τοῦ προφήτου καὶ Ἀδδω τοῦ ὀρώντος καὶ πράξεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπολέμει Ροβοαμ τὸν Ἱεροβοαμ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας.

-T

2 Chronicles 12:15: καὶ λόγοι Ροβοαμ οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι οὐκ ἰδοῦ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Σαμαια τοῦ προφήτου καὶ Ἀδδω τοῦ ὀρώντος καὶ πράξεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπολέμει Ροβοαμ τὸν Ἱεροβοαμ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας.

-R

2 Chronicles 13:22: καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λόγοι Ἀβια καὶ αἱ πράξεις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένοι ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ τοῦ προφήτου Ἀδδω.

-T

2 Chronicles 13:22: καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λόγοι Ἀβια καὶ αἱ πράξεις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένοι ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ τοῦ προφήτου Ἀδδω.

-T

2 Chronicles 15:8: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ τὴν προφητείαν Ἀδαδ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ κατίσχυσεν καὶ ἐξέβαλεν τὰ βδελύγματα ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ὧν κατέσχευεν ἐν ὄρει Εφραιμ καὶ ἐνεκαίνισεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου ὃ ἦν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ κυρίου.

-R

2 Chronicles 16:11: καὶ ἰδοῦ οἱ λόγοι Ἀσα οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι γεγραμμένοι ἐν βιβλίῳ βασιλέων Ἰουδα καὶ Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Chronicles 18:12: καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ πορευθεὶς τοῦ καλέσαι τὸν Μιχαϊαν ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ λέγων ἰδοῦ ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται ἐν στόματι ἐνὶ ἀγαθὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἔστρωσαν δὴ οἱ λόγοι σου ὡς ἐνὸς αὐτῶν καὶ λαλήσεις ἀγαθὰ.

-R⁴⁷²

2 Chronicles 18:18: καὶ εἶπεν οὐχ οὕτως ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου εἶδον τὸν κύριον καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσα δύναμις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰστήκει ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν αὐτοῦ.

-R

2 Chronicles 19:3: ἀλλ' ἢ λόγοι ἀγαθοὶ ἠυρέθησαν ἐν σοὶ ὅτι ἐξῆρας τὰ ἄλλα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς Ἰουδα καὶ κατηύθυνας τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐκζητῆσαι τὸν κύριον.

-T⁴⁷³

2 Chronicles 19:6: καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς κριταῖς ἴδετε τί ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὑμεῖς κρίνετε ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν λόγοι τῆς κρίσεως.

472 2 Chr 18:12 contains words of prophecy.

473 2 Chr 19:3, ἀλλ' ἢ λόγοι ἀγαθοὶ ἠυρέθησαν ἐν σοὶ, some good things can be said about you.

-T

2 Chronicles 19:11: καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἀμαριας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγούμενος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶν λόγον κυρίου καὶ Ζαβδίας υἱὸς Ἰσμαηλ ὁ ἡγούμενος εἰς οἶκον Ἰουδα πρὸς πᾶν λόγον βασιλέως καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν ἰσχύσατε καὶ ποιήσατε καὶ ἔσται κύριος μετὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

-R⁴⁷⁴

2 Chronicles 19:11: καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἀμαριας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγούμενος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶν λόγον κυρίου καὶ Ζαβδίας υἱὸς Ἰσμαηλ ὁ ἡγούμενος εἰς οἶκον Ἰουδα πρὸς πᾶν λόγον βασιλέως καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν ἰσχύσατε καὶ ποιήσατε καὶ ἔσται κύριος μετὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

-T

2 Chronicles 20:34: καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λόγοι Ἰωσαφατ οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι ἰδοὺ γεγραμμένοι ἐν λόγοις Ἰου τοῦ Ἀνανι ὃς κατέγραψεν βιβλίον βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Chronicles 20:34: καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λόγοι Ἰωσαφατ οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι ἰδοὺ γεγραμμένοι ἐν λόγοις Ἰου τοῦ Ἀνανι ὃς κατέγραψεν βιβλίον βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Chronicles 23:4: νῦν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὃν ποιήσετε τὸ τρίτον ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰσπορευέσθωσαν τὸ σάββατον τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ εἰς τὰς πύλας τῶν εἰσόδων.

-T

2 Chronicles 25:26: καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λόγοι Ἀμασιου οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι οὐκ ἰδοὺ γεγραμμένοι ἐπὶ βιβλίου βασιλέων Ἰουδα καὶ Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Chronicles 26:22: καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λόγοι Οἴζιου οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι γεγραμμένοι ὑπὸ Ἰεσσιου τοῦ προφήτου.

-T

2 Chronicles 27:7: καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λόγοι Ἰωαθαμ καὶ ὁ πόλεμος καὶ αἱ πράξεις αὐτοῦ ἰδοὺ γεγραμμένοι ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ βασιλέων Ἰουδα καὶ Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Chronicles 28:26: καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λόγοι αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ πράξεις αὐτοῦ αἱ πρῶται καὶ αἱ ἔσχαται ἰδοὺ γεγραμμέναι ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ βασιλέων Ἰουδα καὶ Ἰσραηλ.

-T

2 Chronicles 29:30: καὶ εἶπεν Ἐζεκιᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῖς Λευῖταις ὑμνεῖν τὸν κύριον ἐν λόγοις Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἀσαφ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ὕμνουν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἔπεσον καὶ προσεκύνησαν.

-R

474 2 Chr 19:11 is concerned with the divinely ordained matters of priesthood.

2 Chronicles 29:36: καὶ ἠὺφράνθη Εζεκίας καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς διὰ τὸ ἠτοιμακέναι τὸν θεὸν τῷ λαῷ ὅτι ἐξάπινα ἐγένετο ὁ λόγος.

-R⁴⁷⁵

2 Chronicles 30:4: καὶ ἤρρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐναντίον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐναντίον τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

-T

2 Chronicles 30:5: καὶ ἔστησαν λόγον διελθεῖν κήρυγμα ἐν παντὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ Βηρσαβεε ἕως Δαν ἐλθόντας ποιῆσαι τὸ φασεκ κυριῷ θεῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὅτι πλῆθος οὐκ ἐποίησεν κατὰ τὴν γραφήν

-T⁴⁷⁶

2 Chronicles 30:12: καὶ ἐν Ἰουδα ἐγένετο χεῖρ κυρίου δοῦναι αὐτοῖς καρδίαν μίαν ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ποιῆσαι κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου.

-R

2 Chronicles 31:5: καὶ ὡς προσέταξεν τὸν λόγον ἐπλεόνασαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπαρχὴν σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ μέλιτος καὶ πᾶν γένημα ἀγροῦ καὶ ἐπιδέκατα πάντα εἰς πλῆθος ἤνεγκαν.

-T

2 Chronicles 31:16: ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τῶν ἀρσενικῶν ἀπὸ τριετοῦς καὶ ἐπάνω παντὶ τῷ εἰσπορευομένῳ εἰς οἶκον κυρίου εἰς λόγον ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέραν εἰς λειτουργίαν ἑφημερίαις διατάξεως αὐτῶν.

-T⁴⁷⁷

2 Chronicles 32:1: καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ταύτην ἦλθεν Σενναχηριμ βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαν καὶ παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς τειχήρεις καὶ εἶπεν προκαταλαβέσθαι αὐτάς.

-T

2 Chronicles 32:8: μετ' αὐτοῦ βραχίονες σάρκινοι μεθ' ἡμῶν δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ σώζειν καὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῶν καὶ κατεθάρσησεν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις Εζεκίου βασιλέως Ἰουδα

-T

2 Chronicles 32:32: καὶ τὰ κατάλοιπα τῶν λόγων Εζεκίου καὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἰδοὺ γέγραπται ἐν τῇ προφητείᾳ Ησαίου υἱοῦ Αμωσ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἐπὶ βιβλίου βασιλέων Ἰουδα καὶ Ἰσραὴλ.

-T

475 For 2 Chr 29:36, cf. 2 Chr 29:25.

476 2 Chr 30:5 speaks about a command to adhere to revelation, distinct from the revelation itself.

477 2 Chr 31:16 rather contains a practical arrangement, order of the day, than that it would be connected with revelation here. Therefore: a classification as horizontal communication.

2 Chronicles 33:18: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μανασση καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ αὐτοῦ ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ λόγοι τῶν ὁρώντων λαλούντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀνόματι κυρίου θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ λόγων.

-T

2 Chronicles 33:18: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μανασση καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ αὐτοῦ ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ λόγοι τῶν ὁρώντων λαλούντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀνόματι κυρίου θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ λόγων.

-R⁴⁷⁸

2 Chronicles 33:18: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μανασση καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ αὐτοῦ ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ λόγοι τῶν ὁρώντων λαλούντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀνόματι κυρίου θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ λόγων.

-O

2 Chronicles 33:19: προσευχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ ἀποστάσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ τόποι ἐφ' οἷς ᾤκοδόμησεν τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἔστησεν ἐκεῖ ἄλση καὶ γλυπτὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἰδοὺ γέγραπται ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ὁρώντων.

-R

2 Chronicles 34:16: καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν Σαφαν τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀπέδωκεν ἔτι τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον πᾶν τὸ δοθὲν ἀργύριον ἐν χειρὶ τῶν παιδῶν σου τῶν ποιούντων τὸ ἔργον.

-T

2 Chronicles 34:19: καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου καὶ διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ.

-R

2 Chronicles 34:21: πορεύθητε ζητήσατε τὸν κύριον περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἐν Ἰσραηλ καὶ Ἰουδα περὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ εὑρεθέντος ὅτι μέγας ὁ θυμὸς κυρίου ἐκκέκαυται ἐν ἡμῖν διότι οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τῶν λόγων κυρίου τοῦ ποιῆσαι κατὰ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.

-R

2 Chronicles 34:21: πορεύθητε ζητήσατε τὸν κύριον περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἐν Ἰσραηλ καὶ Ἰουδα περὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ εὑρεθέντος ὅτι μέγας ὁ θυμὸς κυρίου ἐκκέκαυται ἐν ἡμῖν διότι οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τῶν λόγων κυρίου τοῦ ποιῆσαι κατὰ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.

-R

2 Chronicles 34:24: οὕτως λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω κακὰ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τοὺς πάντας λόγους τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ ἀνεγνωσμένῳ ἐναντίον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουδα.

-R

2 Chronicles 34:26: καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἰουδα τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ὑμᾶς τοῦ ζητῆσαι τὸν κύριον οὕτως ἐρεῖτε αὐτῷ οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας.

-R

478 2 Chr 33:18 refers to the words of the seers who spoke to the king in the name of the Lord.

2 Chronicles 34:27: καὶ ἐνετράπη ἡ καρδία σου καὶ ἐταπεινώθη ἀπὸ προσώπου μου ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαί σε τοὺς λόγους μου ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν καὶ ἐταπεινώθη ἐναντίον μου καὶ διέρρηξας τὰ ἱμάτιά σου καὶ ἐκλαυσας κατεναντίον μου καὶ ἐγὼ ἤκουσά φησιν κύριος.

-R⁴⁷⁹

2 Chronicles 34:28: ἰδοὺ προστίθημί σε πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου καὶ προστεθήσῃ πρὸς τὰ μνήματά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς κακοῖς οἷς ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν καὶ ἀπέδωκαν τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον.

-R⁴⁸⁰

2 Chronicles 34:30: καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς οἶκον κυρίου καὶ πᾶς Ἰουδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀπὸ μεγάλου ἕως μικροῦ καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐν ὧσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς πάντας λόγους βιβλίου τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ εὐρεθέντος ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου.

-R

2 Chronicles 34:31: καὶ ἔστι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν στῦλον καὶ διέθετο διαθήκην ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ πορευθῆναι ἐνώπιον κυρίου τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ μαρτύρια αὐτοῦ καὶ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐπὶ τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.

-R

2 Chronicles 35:6: καὶ θύσατε τὸ φασεχ καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἐτοιμάσατε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑμῶν τοῦ ποιῆσαι κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου διὰ χειρὸς Μωυσῆ.

-R

2 Chronicles 35:19: τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἰωσια καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ τοὺς γνώστας καὶ τὰ θαραφιν καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ τὰ καρασιμ ἃ ἦν ἐν γῆ Ἰουδα καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ ἐνεπύρσιεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσιας ἵνα στήσῃ τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βιβλίου οὗ εὗρεν Χελκίας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου ὅμοιος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ὃς ἐπέστρεψεν πρὸς κύριον ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα τὸν νόμον Μωυσῆ καὶ μετ' αὐτόν οὐκ ἀνέστη ὅμοιος αὐτῷ πλὴν οὐκ ἀπεστράφη κύριος ἀπὸ ὀργῆς θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου οὗ ὠργίσθη θυμῷ κύριος ἐν τῷ Ἰουδα ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ παροργίσματα ἃ παρώργισεν Μανασσης καὶ εἶπεν κύριος καὶ γε τὸν Ἰουδαν ἀποστήσω ἀπὸ προσώπου μου καθὼς ἀπέστησα τὸν Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἀπώσαμην τὴν πόλιν ἣν ἐξελεξάμην τὴν Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ὃν εἶπα ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ.

-R

2 Chronicles 35:22: καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστρεψεν Ἰωσιας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ἡ πολεμεῖν αὐτόν ἐκραταιώθη καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν τῶν λόγων Νεχωῶ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ καὶ ἦλθεν τοῦ πολεμῆσαι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Μαγεδων.

-R

2 Chronicles 35:26: καὶ ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι Ἰωσια καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου.

479 In 2 Chr 34:27 God refers to his own words.

480 In 2 Chr 34:28 they passed on the prophecy (revelation) to the king.

-T

2 Chronicles 35:27: καὶ οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι ἰδοὺ γεγραμμένοι ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ καὶ Ἰουδα.

-T

2 Chronicles 36:5: ὧν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν Ἰωακὶμ ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔνδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζεχωρα θυγάτηρ Νηριου ἐκ Ραμα καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν Ναβουχοδοноσορ βασιλεὺς Βαβυλώνης εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ δουλεύων τρία ἔτη καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν κύριος ἐπ' αὐτούς τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ ληστήρια Σύρων καὶ ληστήρια Μωαβιτῶν καὶ υἰῶν Ἀμμων καὶ τῆς Σαμαρείας καὶ ἀπέστησαν μετὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἐν χειρὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν προφητῶν πλὴν θυμὸς κυρίου ἦν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαν τοῦ ἀποστήσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας Μανασση ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐν αἵματι ἀθώῳ ᾧ ἐξέχεεν Ἰωακὶμ καὶ ἔπλησεν τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ αἵματος ἀθώου καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν κύριος ἐξολεθρεῦσαι αὐτούς.

-T

2 Chronicles 36:5: ὧν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν Ἰωακὶμ ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔνδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζεχωρα θυγάτηρ Νηριου ἐκ Ραμα καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν Ναβουχοδοноσορ βασιλεὺς Βαβυλώνης εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ δουλεύων τρία ἔτη καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν κύριος ἐπ' αὐτούς τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ ληστήρια Σύρων καὶ ληστήρια Μωαβιτῶν καὶ υἰῶν Ἀμμων καὶ τῆς Σαμαρείας καὶ ἀπέστησαν μετὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἐν χειρὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν προφητῶν πλὴν θυμὸς κυρίου ἦν ἐπὶ Ἰουδαν τοῦ ἀποστήσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας Μανασση ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐν αἵματι ἀθώῳ ᾧ ἐξέχεεν Ἰωακὶμ καὶ ἔπλησεν τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ αἵματος ἀθώου καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν κύριος ἐξολεθρεῦσαι αὐτούς.

-R

2 Chronicles 36:8: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωακὶμ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωακὶμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Γανοζα μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰεχονίας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

-T

2 Chronicles 36:8: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωακὶμ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωακὶμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Γανοζα μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰεχονίας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

-T

2 Chronicles 36:16: καὶ ἦσαν μυκτηρίζοντες τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουδενούντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίζοντες ἐν τοῖς προφήταις αὐτοῦ ἕως ἀνέβη ὁ θυμὸς κυρίου ἐν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἕως οὐκ ἦν ἴαμα.

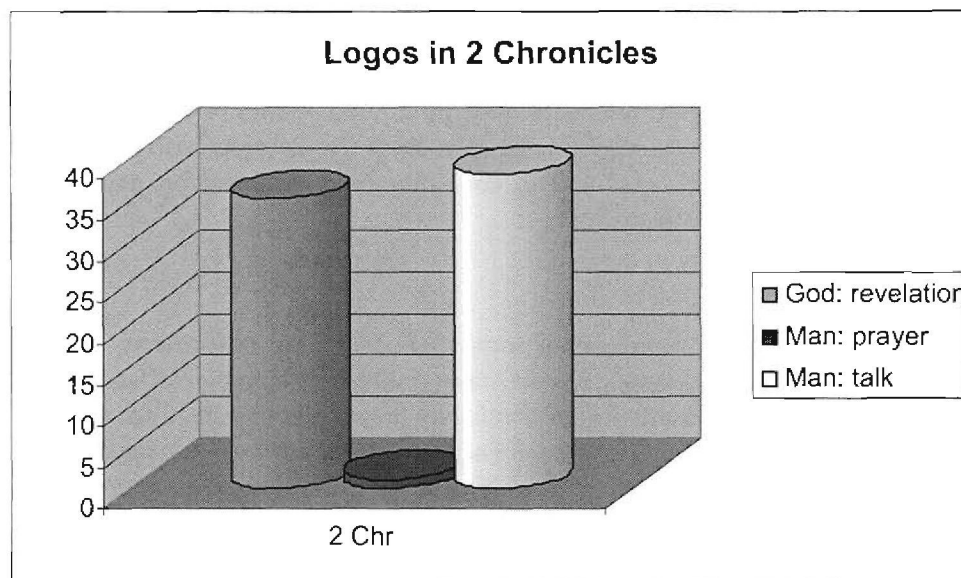
-R⁴⁸¹

481 2 Chr 36:16 refers to words of God spoken by those whom he sent.

2 Chronicles 36:21: τοῦ πληρωθῆναι λόγον κυρίου διὰ στόματος Ἰερεμίου ἕως τοῦ προσδέξασθαι τὴν γῆν τὰ σάββατα αὐτῆς σαββατίσαι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐρημώσεως αὐτῆς ἑσαββάτισεν εἰς συμπλήρωσιν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα.

-R

2.14.1 2Chronicles graphics



2.15 Esther occurrences

Esther 1:1⁴⁸² ἔτους δευτέρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μεγάλου τῆ μιᾶ τοῦ Νισα ἐνύπνιον εἶδεν Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ιαιρου τοῦ Σεμειου τοῦ Κισαιου ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμιν ἄνθρωπος Ἰουδαῖος οἰκῶν ἐν Σούσοις τῆ πόλει ἄνθρωπος μέγας θεραπεύων ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν δὲ ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἧς ἠχμαλώτευσεν Ναβουχοδοноσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς Βαβυλώνας ἐξ Ἱερουσαλημ μετὰ Ἰεχονίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ἰδοὺ φωναὶ καὶ θόρυβος βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός τάραχος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο δράκοντες μεγάλοι ἔτοιμοι προῆλθον ἀμφότεροι παλαίειν καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν φωνὴ μεγάλη καὶ τῆ φωνῇ αὐτῶν ἠτοιμάσθη πᾶν ἔθνος εἰς πόλεμον ὥστε πολεμῆσαι δικαίων ἔθνος καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡμέρα σκότους καὶ γνόφου θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία κάκωσις καὶ τάραχος μέγας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐταράχθη δίκαιον πᾶν ἔθνος φοβούμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ καὶ ἠτοιμάσθησαν ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ἐβόησαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς βοῆς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο ὥσανεὶ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς πηγῆς ποταμὸς μέγας ὕδωρ πολὺ φῶς καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνέτειλεν καὶ οἱ ταπεινοὶ ὑψώθησαν καὶ κατέφαγον τοὺς ἐνδόξους καὶ διεγερθεὶς Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ ἑωρακῶς τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦτο καὶ τί ὁ θεὸς βεβούλευται ποιῆσαι εἶχεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ ἤθελεν ἐπιγνῶναι αὐτὸ ἕως τῆς νυκτός καὶ ἠσύχασεν Μαρδοχαῖος ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ μετὰ Γαβαθα καὶ Θαρρα τῶν δύο εὐνούχων τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν φυλασσόντων τὴν αὐλὴν ἤκουσέν τε αὐτῶν τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ τὰς μερίμνας αὐτῶν ἐξηρεύνησεν καὶ ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἐτοιμάζουσιν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβαλεῖν Ἀρταξέρξῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑπέδειξεν τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξήτασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς δύο εὐνούχους καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπήχθησαν καὶ ἔγραψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λόγους τούτους εἰς μνημόσυνον καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος ἔγραψεν περὶ τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ ἐπέταξεν ὁ

482 The Greek version of Esther is in many places much more extensive than the Hebrew.

βασιλεὺς Μαρδοχαίῳ θεραπεύειν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δόματα περὶ τούτων καὶ ἦν Ἀμαν Ἀμαδαθου Βουγαῖος ἔνδοξος ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐζήτησεν κακοποιῆσαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον καὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν δύο εὐνούχων τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀρταξέρξου οὗτος ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ χωρῶν ἐκράτησεν.

-T

-T

-T

-T

Esther 1:21: καὶ ἤρρεσεν ὁ λόγος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καθὰ ἐλάλησεν ὁ Μουχαιος.

-T

Esther 2:1: καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐκόπασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ οὐκέτι ἐμνήσθη τῆς Ἀστιν μνημονεύων οἷα ἐλάλησεν καὶ ὡς κατέκρινεν αὐτήν.

-T

Esther 2:22: καὶ ἐδηλώθη Μαρδοχαίῳ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐσήμανεν Ἐσθηρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐνεφάνισεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς.

-T

Esther 3:4: καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐλάλουν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουεν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπέδειξαν τῷ Ἀμαν Μαρδοχαῖον τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λόγοις ἀντιτασσόμενον καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Μαρδοχαῖος ὅτι Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν.

-T

Esther 4:9: εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀχραθαῖος ἐλάλησεν αὐτῇ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

-T

Esther 4:12: καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀχραθαῖος Μαρδοχαίῳ πάντας τοὺς λόγους Ἐσθηρ.

-T

Esther 4:17/5:1E: καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ὡς ἐπαύσατο προσευχομένη ἐξεδύσατο τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς θεραπείας καὶ περιεβάλετο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς καὶ γενηθεῖσα ἐπιφανῆς ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα παρέλαβεν τὰς δύο ἄβρας καὶ τῇ μὲν μιᾷ ἐπηρείδετο ὡς τρυφερευομένη ἢ δὲ ἑτέρα ἐπηκολούθει κουφίζουσα τὴν ἔνδυσιν αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτὴ ἐρυθριῶσα ἀκμῇ κάλλους αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἰλαρὸν ὡς προσφιλές ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῆς ἀπεστενωμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα πάσας τὰς θύρας κατέστη ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν στολὴν τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ ἐνεδεδύκει ὄλος διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ ἦν φοβερός σφόδρα καὶ ἄρας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένον δόξῃ ἐν ἀκμῇ θυμοῦ ἔβλεψεν καὶ ἔπεσεν ἡ βασίλισσα καὶ μετέβαλεν τὸ χρῶμα αὐτῆς ἐν ἐκλύσει καὶ κατεπέκυψεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς ἄβρας τῆς προπορευομένης καὶ μετέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πραύτητα καὶ ἀγωνιάσας ἀνεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγκάλας αὐτοῦ μέχρις οὗ κατέστη καὶ παρεκάλει

αὐτὴν λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ τί ἐστὶν Εσθηρ ἐγὼ ὁ ἀδελφός σου θάρσει οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνης ὅτι κοινόν τὸ πρόσταγμα ἡμῶν ἐστὶν πρόσελθε.

-T

Esther 5:5: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασπεύσατε Ἀμαν ὅπως ποιήσωμεν τὸν λόγον Εσθηρ καὶ παραγίνονται ἀμφοτέρω εἰς τὴν δοχὴν ἣν εἶπεν Εσθηρ.

-T

Esther 6:10: εἶπεν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Ἀμαν καθὼς ἐλάλησας οὕτως ποιήσον τῷ Μαρδοχαίῳ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ τῷ θεραπεύοντι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ καὶ μὴ παραπεσάτω σου λόγος ὧν ἐλάλησας.

-T

Esther 9:20: ἔγραψεν δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοὺς λόγους τούτους εἰς βιβλίον καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείᾳ τοῖς ἐγγύς καὶ τοῖς μακρὰν.

-T

Esther 9:26: διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκλήθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι αὗται Φρουραὶ διὰ τοὺς κλήρους ὅτι τῇ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Φρουραὶ διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης καὶ ὅσα πεπόνθασιν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο.

-T

Esther 9:32: καὶ Εσθηρ λόγῳ ἔστησεν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐγράφη εἰς μνημόσυνον.

-T⁴⁸³

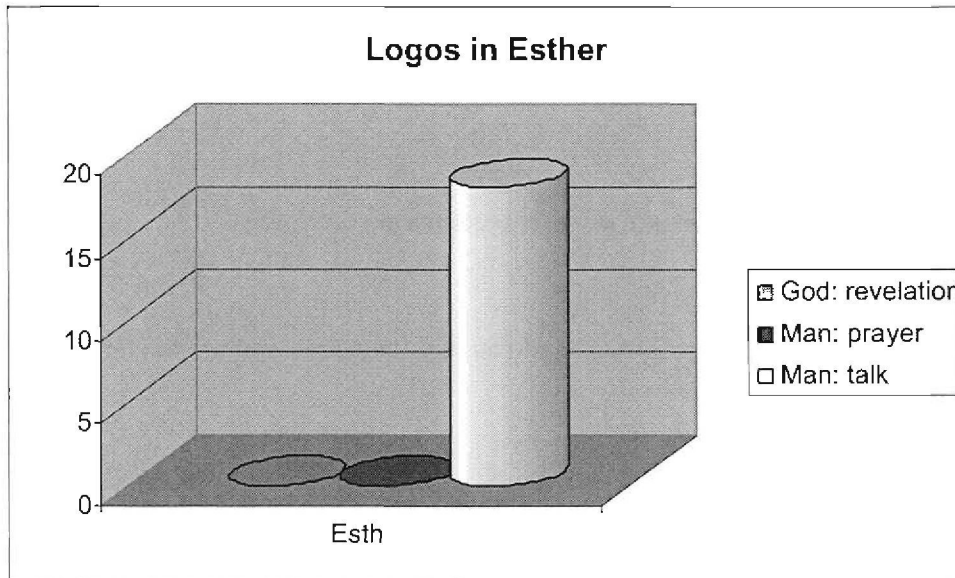
Esther 10:3: ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος διεδέχετο τὸν βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην καὶ μέγας ἦν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ δεδοξασμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ φιλούμενος διηγείτο τὴν ἀγωγὴν παντὶ τῷ ἔθνεϊ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Μαρδοχαῖος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο ταῦτα ἐμνήσθην γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου οὗ εἶδον περὶ τῶν λόγων τούτων οὐδὲ γὰρ παρήλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λόγος ἢ μικρὰ πηγὴ ἢ ἐγένετο ποταμός καὶ ἦν φῶς καὶ ἥλιος καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ Εσθηρ ἐστὶν ὁ ποταμός ἦν ἐγάμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐποίησεν βασιλίσσαν οἱ δὲ δύο δράκοντες ἐγὼ εἰμι καὶ Ἀμαν τὰ δὲ ἔθνη τὰ ἐπισυναχθέντα ἀπολέσαι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τὸ ἐμὸν οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰσραὴλ οἱ βοήσαντες πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ σωθέντες καὶ ἔσωσεν κύριος τὸν λαόν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο κύριος ἡμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα τὰ μεγάλα ἃ οὐ γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν κλήρους δύο ἓνα τῷ λαῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἓνα πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἦλθον οἱ δύο κληροὶ οὗτοι εἰς ὥραν καὶ καιρὸν καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσονται αὐτοῖς αἱ ἡμέραι αὗται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀδαρ τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ καὶ τῇ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς μετὰ συναγωγῆς καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ γενεάς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἔτους τετάρτου βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας εἰσήνεγκεν Δωσίθεος ὃς ἔφη εἶναι ἱερεὺς καὶ Λευίτης καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν τῶν Φρουρῶν ἦν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ ἐρμηνευκέναι Λυσίμαχον Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

-T

-T

483 Esther 9:32 refers to a command.

2.15.1 Esther graphics



2.16 Job occurrences

Job 4:12: εἰ δέ τι ῥῆμα ἀληθινὸν ἐγεγόνει ἐν λόγοις σου οὐθὲν ἂν σοι τούτων κακὸν ἀπήντησεν πότερον οὐ δέξεταί μου τὸ οὖς ἐξαίσια παρ αὐτοῦ.

-T⁴⁸⁴

Job 7:13: εἶπα ὅτι παρακαλέσει με ἢ κλίνη μου ἀνοίσω δὲ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἰδίᾳ λόγον τῆ κοιτῆ μου.

-T

Job 9:3: ἐὰν γὰρ βούληται κριθῆναι αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ ὑπακούσῃ αὐτῷ ἵνα μὴ ἀντείπῃ πρὸς ἕνα λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐκ χιλιῶν.

-O

Job 11:12: ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἄλλως νήχεται λόγοις βροτὸς δὲ γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ἴσα ὄνω ἐρημίτη.

-T

Job 14:3: οὐχὶ καὶ τούτου λόγον ἐποίησω καὶ τοῦτον ἐποίησας εἰσελθεῖν ἐν κρίματι ἐνώπιόν σου.

-R⁴⁸⁵

Job 15:3: ἐλέγχων ἐν ῥήμασιν οἷς οὐ δεῖ ἐν λόγοις οἷς οὐδὲν ὄφελος.

-T

Job 19:2: ἕως τίνος ἐγκοπον ποιήσετε ψυχὴν μου καὶ καθαίρειτε με λόγοις.

-T

484 In Job 4:12 Eliphaz refers to words of Job.

485 Job 14:3 refers to God's assessment.

Job 19:28: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔρειτε τί ἐροῦμεν ἔναντι αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥίζαν λόγου εὐρήσομεν ἐν αὐτῷ.

-T

Job 21:2: ἀκούσατε ἀκούσατέ μου τῶν λόγων ἵνα μὴ ἦ μοι παρ ὑμῶν αὕτη ἢ παράκλησις.

-T⁴⁸⁶

Job 22:4: ἢ λόγον σου ποιούμενος ἐλέγξει σε καὶ συνεισελεύσεταιί σοι εἰς κρίσιν.

-T

Job 26:14: ἰδοὺ ταῦτα μέρη ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ἰκμάδα λόγου ἀκουσόμεθα ἐν αὐτῷ σθένος δὲ βροντῆς αὐτοῦ τίς οἶδεν ὅποτε ποιήσει.

-R

Job 32:11: ἐνωτίζεσθέ μου τὰ ῥήματα ἐρῶ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἀκουόντων ἄχρι οὗ ἐτάσητε λόγους.

-T

Job 32:15: ἐπτοήθησαν οὐκ ἀπεκρίθησαν ἔτι ἐπαλαίωσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν λόγους.

-T

Job 33:32: εἰ εἰσὶν λόγοι ἀποκρίθητί μοι λάλησον θέλω γὰρ δικαιωθῆναί σε.

-T

Job 34:3: ὅτι οὓς λόγους δοκιμάζει καὶ λάρυγγι γεύεται βρῶσιν.

-T

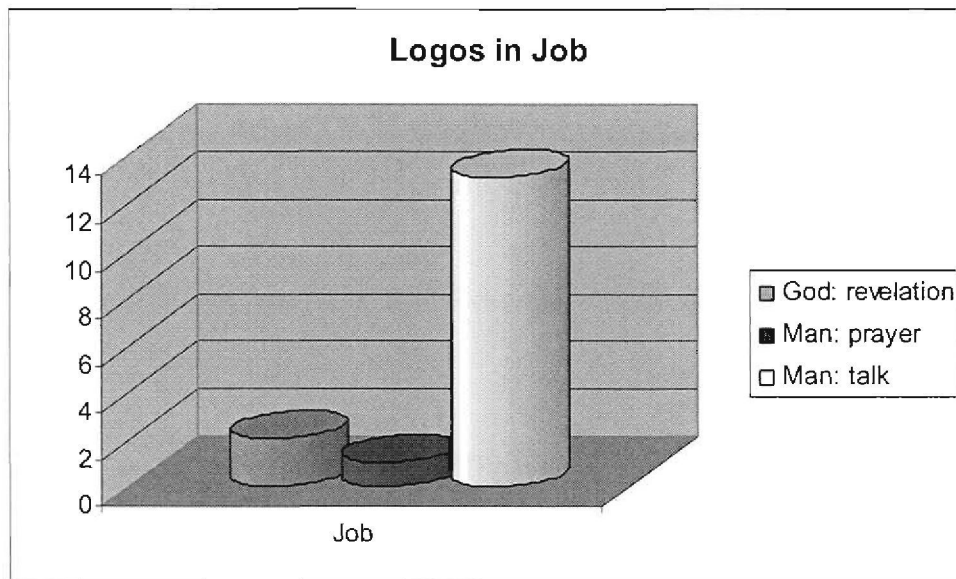
Job 41:4: οὐ σιωπήσομαι δι' αὐτόν καὶ λόγον δυνάμεως ἐλεήσει τὸν ἴσον αὐτοῦ.

-T⁴⁸⁷

486 In Job 21:2 Job addresses his friends.

487 Although God speaks in Job 41:4, λόγον δυνάμεως merely refers to the matter of the animal's power.

2.16.1 Job graphics



2.17 Psalms occurrences

Psalms 7:1: ψαλμός τῷ Δαυιδ ὃν ἤσεν τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων Χουσι υἱοῦ Ἰεμενι.

-T

Psalms 16:4: ὅπως ἂν μὴ λαλήσῃ τὸ στόμα μου τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν χειλέων σου ἐγὼ ἐφύλαξα ὁδοὺς σκληράς.

-R⁴⁸⁸

Psalms 17:1: εἰς τὸ τέλος τῷ παιδί κυρίου τῷ Δαυιδ ἃ ἐλάλησεν τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς λόγους τῆς ᾠδῆς ταύτης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς Σαουλ.

-O

Psalms 18:4: οὐκ εἰσὶν λαλιαὶ οὐδὲ λόγοι ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν.

-R⁴⁸⁹

Psalms 21:2: ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου πρόσχες μοι ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς σωτηρίας μου οἱ λόγοι τῶν παραπτωμάτων μου.

-T⁴⁹⁰

Psalms 32:4: ὅτι εὐθὴς ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν πίστει.

-R

488 Ps 16:4 speaks about the words of God's lips.

489 Ps 18:4 deals with the heavens and firmament glorifying God and witnessing to men.

490 In Ps 21:2 the accounts of the psalmist's trespasses feature.

Psalms 32:6: τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν.

-R⁴⁹¹

Psalms 40:9: λόγον παράνομον κατέθεντο κατ' ἐμοῦ μὴ ὁ κοιμώμενος οὐχὶ προσθήσει τοῦ ἀναστῆναι.

-T

Psalms 44:2: ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν λέγω ἐγὼ τὰ ἔργα μου τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡ γλῶσσά μου κάλαμος γραμματέως ὀξυγράφου.

-R⁴⁹²

Psalms 49:17: σὺ δὲ ἐμίσησας παιδείαν καὶ ἐξέβαλες τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.

-R⁴⁹³

Psalms 50:6: σοὶ μόνῳ ἤμαρτον καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.

-R

Psalms 54:22: διεμερίσθησαν ἀπὸ ὀργῆς τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤγγισεν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ ἡπαλύνθησαν οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἔλαιον καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν βολίδες.

-R⁴⁹⁴

Psalms 55:5: ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐπαινέσω τοὺς λόγους μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ἤλπισα οὐ φοβηθήσομαι τί ποιήσει μοι σάρξ.

-O

Psalms 55:6: ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν τοὺς λόγους μου ἐβδελύσσοντο κατ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν εἰς κακόν.

-T

Psalms 55:11: ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ αἰνέσω ῥῆμα ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ αἰνέσω λόγον.

-R⁴⁹⁵

Psalms 58:13: ἀμαρτίαν στόματος αὐτῶν λόγον χειλέων αὐτῶν καὶ συλλημφθῆτωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπερηφανίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀρᾶς καὶ ψεύδους διαγγελῆσονται συντέλειαι.

-T

491 Ps 32:6, τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου, speaks about God's powerful creative word.

492 Ps 44:2 uses word as a word of positive prophecy.

493 Ps 49:17 provides a textual context of God addressing the sinner.

494 Ps 54:22 introduces God's smooth and penetrating words.

495 Ps 55:11 contains a Hebraism (reinforcement of the same idea by repetition using different words conveying the same idea), ῥῆμα and λόγον functioning on the same level.

Psalms 63:6: ἐκραταίωσαν ἑαυτοῖς λόγον πονηρόν διηγήσαντο τοῦ κρύψαι παγίδας εἶπαν τίς ὄψεται αὐτούς.

-T⁴⁹⁶

Psalms 64:1: εἰς τὸ τέλος ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ ᾠδὴ Ἱερεμίου καὶ Ἰεζεκιηλ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῆς παροικίας ὅτε ἐμελλον ἐκπορεύεσθαι.

-R

Psalms 64:4: λόγοι ἀνομιῶν ὑπερεδυνάμωσαν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰς ἀσεβείας ἡμῶν σὺ ἰλάσθη.

-T

Psalms 90:3: ὅτι αὐτὸς ῥύσεται με ἐκ παγίδος θηρευτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου ταραχώδους.

-T

Psalms 102:20: εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι ποιοῦντες τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς φωνῆς τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ.

-R

Psalms 102:20: εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι ποιοῦντες τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς φωνῆς τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ.

-R

Psalms 104:8: ἐμνήσθη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διαθήκης αὐτοῦ λόγου οὐ ἐνετείλατο εἰς χιλίας γενεάς.

-R

Psalms 104:19: μέχρι τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τὸ λόγιον κυρίου ἐπύρωσεν αὐτόν.

-R⁴⁹⁷

Psalms 104:27: ἔθετο ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς λόγους τῶν σημείων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τεράτων ἐν γῆ Χαμ.

-R

Psalms 104:28: ἐξαπέστειλεν σκότος καὶ ἐσκότασεν καὶ παρεπίκραναν τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ.

-R

Psalms 104:42: ὅτι ἐμνήσθη τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀβρααμ τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ.

-R

Psalms 105:12: καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦσαν τὴν αἴνεσιν αὐτοῦ.

-R

Psalms 105:24: καὶ ἐξουδένωσαν γῆν ἐπιθυμητὴν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ.

-R

496 The textual context of Ps 63:6 suggests evil planning.

497 Ps 104:19 concerns Joseph's prophecies about his life and family that were revealed in his dreams.

Psalms 106:20: ἀπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἴασατο αὐτούς καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτούς ἐκ τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν.

-R

Psalms 108:3: καὶ λόγοις μίσους ἐκύκλωσάν με καὶ ἐπολέμησάν με δωρεάν.

-T

Psalms 111:5: χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ οἰκτίρων καὶ κυχρῶν οἰκονομήσει τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐν κρίσει.

-T⁴⁹⁸

Psalms 118:9: β# βῆθ ἐν τίνι κατορθώσει ὁ νεώτερος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ φυλάσσεσθαι τοὺς λόγους σου.

-R

Psalms 118:16: ἐν τοῖς δικαίωμασίν σου μελετήσω οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαι τῶν λόγων σου.

-R

Psalms 118:17: γ# γιμαλ ἀνταπόδος τῷ δούλῳ σου ζήσομαι καὶ φυλάξω τοὺς λόγους σου.

-R

Psalms 118:25: δ# δελθ ἐκολλήθη τῷ ἐδάφει ἡ ψυχὴ μου ζήσόν με κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου.

-R

Psalms 118:28: ἔσταξεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἀπὸ ἀκηδίας βεβαίωσόν με ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου.

-R

Psalms 118:42: καὶ ἀποκριθήσομαι τοῖς ὀνειδίζουσί με λόγον ὅτι ἤλπισα ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους σου.

-T⁴⁹⁹

Psalms 118:42: καὶ ἀποκριθήσομαι τοῖς ὀνειδίζουσί με λόγον ὅτι ἤλπισα ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους σου.

-R

Psalms 118:43: καὶ μὴ περιέλης ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου λόγον ἀληθείας ἕως σφόδρα ὅτι ἐπὶ τὰ κρίματά σου ἐπήλπισα.

-R

Psalms 118:49: ζ# ζαι μνήσθητι τὸν λόγον σου τῷ δούλῳ σου ᾧ ἐπήλπισάς με.

-R

Psalms 118:65: θ# τηθ χρηστότητα ἐποίησας μετὰ τοῦ δούλου σου κύριε κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου.

-R

498 Ps 111:5 deals with the words of a good man, rather than revelation from God.

499 Ps 118:42 contains David's reply to those who reproach him.

Psalms 118:74: οἱ φοβούμενοί σε ὄψονταί με καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται ὅτι εἰς τοὺς λόγους σου ἐπήλπισα.

-R

Psalms 118:81: ἰα# χαφ ἐκλείπει εἰς τὸ σωτήριόν σου ἡ ψυχὴ μου καὶ εἰς τὸν λόγον σου ἐπήλπισα.

-R

Psalms 118:89: ἰβ# λαβδ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κύριε ὁ λόγος σου διαμένει ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

-R

Psalms 118:101: ἐκ πάσης ὁδοῦ πονηρᾶς ἐκάλυσα τοὺς πόδας μου ὅπως ἂν φυλάξω τοὺς λόγους σου

-R

Psalms 118:105: ἰδ# νουν λύχνος τοῖς ποσίν μου ὁ λόγος σου καὶ φῶς ταῖς τρίβοις μου.

-R

Psalms 118:107: ἐταπεινώθην ἕως σφόδρα κύριε ζῆσόν με κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου.

-R

Psalms 118:114: βοηθός μου καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ μου εἶ σύ εἰς τὸν λόγον σου ἐπήλπισα.

-R

Psalms 118:130: ἡ δὴλωσις τῶν λόγων σου φωτιεῖ καὶ συνετιεῖ νηπίους.

-R

Psalms 118:139: ἐξέτηξέν με ὁ ζήλος τοῦ οἴκου σου ὅτι ἐπελάθοντο τῶν λόγων σου οἱ ἐχθροί μου.

-R

Psalms 118:147: προέφθασα ἐν ἁωρία καὶ ἐκέκραξα εἰς τοὺς λόγους σου ἐπήλπισα.

-R

Psalms 118:154: κρίνον τὴν κρίσιν μου καὶ λύτρωσαί με διὰ τὸν λόγον σου ζῆσόν με.

-R

Psalms 118:160: ἀρχὴ τῶν λόγων σου ἀλήθεια καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα πάντα τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου.

-R

Psalms 118:161: κα# σεν ἄρχοντες κατεδίωξάν με δωρεάν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων σου ἐδειλίασεν ἡ καρδιά μου.

-R

Psalms 129:5: ἔνεκεν τοῦ νόμου σου ὑπέμεινά σε κύριε ὑπέμεινεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου εἰς τὸν λόγον σου.

-R

Psalms 136:3: ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐπηρώτησαν ἡμᾶς οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς λόγους ῥόδων καὶ οἱ ἀπαγαγόντες ἡμᾶς ὕμνον ἄσατε ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ῥόδων Σιων.

-T

Psalms 138:4: ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν λόγος ἐν γλώσση μου.

-T

Psalms 140:4: μὴ ἐκκλίνης τὴν καρδίαν μου εἰς λόγους πονηρίας τοῦ προφασίζεσθαι προφάσεις ἐν ἀμαρτίαις σὺν ἀνθρώποις ἐργαζομένοις ἀνομίαν καὶ οὐ μὴ συνδυάσω μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτῶν.

-T

Psalms 144:13: ἡ βασιλεία σου βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἡ δεσποτεία σου ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ πιστὸς κύριος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.

-R

Psalms 147:4: ὁ ἀποστέλλων τὸ λόγιον αὐτοῦ τῇ γῆ ἕως τάχους δραμεῖται ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.

-R⁵⁰⁰

Psalms 147:7: ἀποστελεῖ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τήξει αὐτὰ πνεύσει τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥυήσεται ὕδατα.

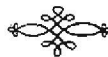
-R

Psalms 147:8: ἀπαγγέλλων τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰακωβ δίκαιώματα καὶ κρίματα αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰσραηλ.

-R

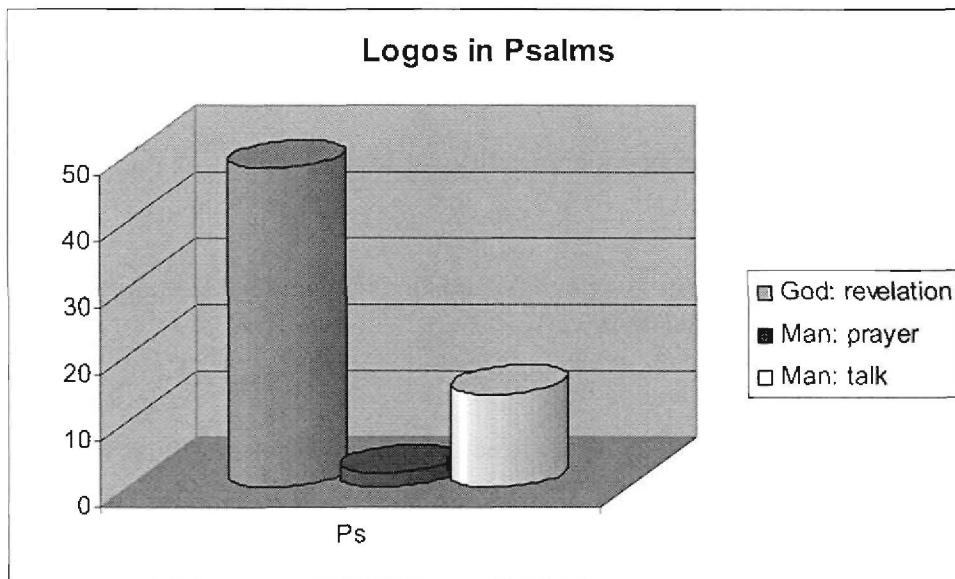
Psalms 148:8: πῦρ χάλαζα χιών κρύσταλλος πνεῦμα καταγίδος τὰ ποιοῦντα τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ.

-R



500 Ps 147:4 contains a Hebraism (τὸ λόγιον αὐτοῦ and ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ), conveying a similar message, and by repetition reinforcing the statement about God's revelation.

2.17.1 Psalms graphics



2.18 Proverbs occurrences

Proverbs 1:2: γνῶναι σοφίαν καὶ παιδεῖαν νοῆσαί τε λόγους φρονήσεως.

-T

Proverbs 1:3: δέξασθαί τε στροφὰς λόγων νοῆσαί τε δικαιοσύνην ἀληθῆ καὶ κρίμα κατευθύνειν.

-T

Proverbs 1:6: νοῆσει τε παραβολὴν καὶ σκοτεινὸν λόγον ῥήσεις τε σοφῶν καὶ αἰνίγματα.

-T

Proverbs 1:23: καὶ ὑπεύθυνοι ἐγένοντο ἐλέγχους ἰδοὺ προήσομαι ὑμῖν ἐμῆς πνοῆς ῥῆσιν διδάξω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον.

-R⁵⁰¹

Proverbs 1:24: ἐπειδὴ ἐκάλουν καὶ οὐχ ὑπηκούσατε καὶ ἐξέτεινον λόγους καὶ οὐ προσείχετε.

-R

Proverbs 4:4: οἱ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐδίδασκόν με ἐρειδέτω ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος εἰς σὴν καρδίαν.

-T

Proverbs 4:10: ἄκουε υἱέ καὶ δέξαι ἐμοὺς λόγους καὶ πληθυνθήσεται ἔτη ζωῆς σου ἵνα σοι γένωνται πολλαὶ ὁδοὶ βίου.

-R

Proverbs 4:20: υἱέ ἐμῆ ῥῆσει πρόσσεχε τοῖς δὲ ἐμοῖς λόγοις παράβαλε σὸν οὖς.

501 Prov 1:23 speaks about Personified Wisdom.

-R

Proverbs 5:1: υἱέ ἐμή σοφία πρόσεχε ἐμοῖς δὲ λόγοις παράβαλλε σὸν οὖς.

-R

Proverbs 5:7: νῦν οὖν υἱέ ἀκούέ μου καὶ μὴ ἀκύρους ποιήσης ἐμούς λόγους.

-R

Proverbs 7:1: υἱέ φύλασσε ἐμούς λόγους τὰς δὲ ἐμὰς ἐντολάς κρύψον παρὰ σεαυτῷ υἱέ τίμα τὸν κύριον καὶ ἰσχύσεις πλὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ φοβοῦ ἄλλον.

-R

Proverbs 7:2: φύλαξον ἐμὰς ἐντολάς καὶ βιώσεις τοὺς δὲ ἐμούς λόγους ὥσπερ κόρας ὀμμάτων.

-R

Proverbs 7:5: ἵνα σε τηρήσῃ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐάν σε λόγοις τοῖς πρὸς χάριν ἐμβάληται.

-T

Proverbs 12:6: λόγοι ἀσεβῶν δόλιοι στόμα δὲ ὀρθῶν ῥύσεται αὐτούς.

-T

Proverbs 12:25: φοβερός λόγος καρδίαν ταρασσει ἀνδρὸς δικαίου ἀγγελία δὲ ἀγαθὴ εὐφραίνει αὐτόν.

-T

Proverbs 13:5: λόγον ἄδικον μισεῖ δίκαιος ἀσεβῆς δὲ αἰσχύνεται καὶ οὐχ ἔξει παρησίαν.

-T

Proverbs 14:15: ἄκακος πιστεύει παντὶ λόγῳ πανούργος δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς μετάνοιαν.

-T

Proverbs 15:1: ὀργὴ ἀπόλλυσιν καὶ φρονίμους ἀπόκρισις δὲ ὑποπίπτουσα ἀποστρέφει θυμὸν λόγος δὲ λυπηρὸς ἐγείρει ὀργάς.

-T

Proverbs 16:13: δεκτὰ βασιλεῖ χειλὴ δίκαια λόγοις δὲ ὀρθοῦς ἀγαπᾷ.

-T

Proverbs 16:21: τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ συνετοὺς φαύλους καλοῦσιν οἱ δὲ γλυκεῖς ἐν λόγῳ πλείονα ἀκούσονται.

-T

Proverbs 16:24: κηρία μέλιτος λόγοι καλοὶ γλύκασμα δὲ αὐτῶν ἴσιν ψυχῆς.

-T

Proverbs 17:14: ἐξουσίαν δίδωσιν λόγοις ἀρχὴ δικαιοσύνης προηγείται δὲ τῆς ἐνδείας στάσις καὶ μάχη.

-T

Proverbs 18:4: ὕδωρ βαθὺ λόγος ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀνδρός ποταμὸς δὲ ἀναπηδύει καὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς.

-T

Proverbs 18:13: ὃς ἀποκρίνεται λόγον πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι ἀφροσύνη αὐτῷ ἐστὶν καὶ ὄνειδος.

-T

Proverbs 19:7: πᾶς ὃς ἀδελφὸν πτωχὸν μισεῖ καὶ φιλίας μακρὰν ἔσται ἔννοια ἀγαθὴ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτὴν ἐγγιεῖ ἀνὴρ δὲ φρόνιμος εὐρήσει αὐτὴν ὃ πολλὰ κακοποιῶν τελεσιουργεῖ κακίαν ὃς δὲ ἐρεθίζει λόγους οὐ σωθήσεται.

-T

Proverbs 22:12: οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου διατηροῦσιν αἴσθησιν φαυλίζει δὲ λόγους παράνομος.

-R

Proverbs 22:17: λόγοις σοφῶν παράβαλλε σὸν οὖς καὶ ἄκουε ἑμὸν λόγον τὴν δὲ σὴν καρδίαν ἐπίστησον ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι καλοὶ εἰσιν.

-T

Proverbs 22:17: λόγοις σοφῶν παράβαλλε σὸν οὖς καὶ ἄκουε ἑμὸν λόγον τὴν δὲ σὴν καρδίαν ἐπίστησον ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι καλοὶ εἰσιν.

-R

Proverbs 22:21: διδάσκω οὖν σε ἀληθῆ λόγον καὶ γνῶσιν ἀγαθὴν ὑπακούειν τοῦ ἀποκρίνεσθαι λόγους ἀληθείας τοῖς προβαλλομένοις σοι.

-R

Proverbs 22:21: διδάσκω οὖν σε ἀληθῆ λόγον καὶ γνῶσιν ἀγαθὴν ὑπακούειν τοῦ ἀποκρίνεσθαι λόγους ἀληθείας τοῖς προβαλλομένοις σοι.

-T

Proverbs 23:8: μηδὲ πρὸς σὲ εἰσαγάγῃς αὐτὸν καὶ φάγῃς τὸν ψωμὸν σου μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐξεμέσει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ λυμανεῖται τοὺς λόγους σου τοὺς καλοὺς.

-T

Proverbs 23:9: εἰς ὦτα ἄφρονος μηδὲν λέγε μήποτε μυκτηρίσῃ τοὺς συνετοὺς λόγους σου.

-T

Proverbs 23:12: δὸς εἰς παιδείαν τὴν καρδίαν σου τὰ δὲ ὦτά σου ἐτοίμασον λόγοις αἰσθήσεως.

-R

Proverbs 23:16: καὶ ἐνδιατρίψῃ λόγους τὰ σὰ χεῖλη πρὸς τὰ ἐμὰ χεῖλη ἐὰν ὀρθὰ ᾧσιν.

-O

Proverbs 24:22: ἐξαίφνης γὰρ τείσονται τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας ἀμφοτέρων τίς γνώσεται λόγον φυλασσόμενος υἱὸς ἀπωλείας ἐκτὸς ἔσται δεχόμενος δὲ ἐδέξατο αὐτόν μηδὲν ψεῦδος ἀπὸ γλώσσης βασιλεῖ λεγέσθω καὶ οὐδὲν ψεῦδος ἀπὸ γλώσσης αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ μάχαιρα γλώσσα βασιλέως καὶ οὐ σαρκίνη ὅς δ' ἂν παραδοθῆ συντριβήσεται ἔαν γὰρ ὀξυνθῆ ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ σὺν νεύροις ἀνθρώπους ἀναλίσκει καὶ ὅσα ἀνθρώπων κατατρώγει καὶ συγκαίει ὥσπερ φλόξ ὥστε ἄβρωτα εἶναι νεοσσοῖς ἀετῶν.

-R

Proverbs 24:26: χεῖλη δὲ φιλήσουσιν ἀποκρινόμενα λόγους ἀγαθούς.

-T

Proverbs 30:1: τοὺς ἔμους λόγους υἱὲ φοβήθητι καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς μετανόει τάδε λέγει ὁ ἀνήρ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν θεῷ καὶ παύομαι.

-R

Proverbs 30:5: πάντες λόγοι θεοῦ πεπυρωμένοι ὑπερασπίζει δὲ αὐτὸς τῶν εὐλαβουμένων αὐτόν.

-R

Proverbs 30:6: μὴ προσθῆς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ ἐλέγξῃ σε καὶ ψευδῆς γένῃ.

-R

Proverbs 30:8: μάταιον λόγον καὶ ψευδῆ μακρὰν μου ποίησον πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ πενίαν μὴ μοι δῶς σύνταξον δέ μοι τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὰ αὐτάρκη.

-O⁵⁰²

Proverbs 30:33: ἄμελγε γάλα καὶ ἔσται βούτυρον ἔαν δὲ ἐκπιέζῃς μυκτῆρας ἐξελεύσεται αἷμα ἔαν δὲ ἐξέλκῃς λόγους ἐξελεύσονται κρίσεις καὶ μάχαι.

-T

Proverbs 31:1: οἱ ἔμοι λόγοι εἴρηνται ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλέως χρηματισμός δὲ ἐπαίδευσεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ.

-R⁵⁰³

Proverbs 31:8: ἄνοιγε σὸν στόμα λόγῳ θεοῦ καὶ κρῖνε πάντας ὑγιῶς.

-R

Proverbs 32:2: δόξα θεοῦ κρύπτει λόγον δόξα δὲ βασιλέως τιμὰ πράγματα.

-R

Proverbs 32:11: μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἐν ὀρμίσκῳ σαρκίου οὕτως εἰπεῖν λόγον.

502 Prov 30:8 might also be interpreted as idle talk to other men in God's sight.

503 In Prov 30:8 λόγοις is used in a profound oracular context. Not only are these words εἴρηνται ὑπὸ θεοῦ, but they are said to be the oracular answer uttered by a king, βασιλέως χρηματισμός.

-T

Proverbs 32:12: εἰς ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν σάρδιον πολυτελές δέδεται λόγος σοφός εἰς εὐήκοον οὖς.

-T

Proverbs 32:27: ἐσθίειν μέλι πολὺ οὐ καλόν τιμᾶν δὲ χρῆ λόγους ἐνδόξους.

-T

Proverbs 33:6: ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ποδῶν ὄνειδος πίεται ὁ ἀποστείλας δι' ἀγγέλου ἄφρονος λόγον.

-R

Proverbs 33:18: ὥσπερ οἱ ἰώμενοι προβάλλουσιν λόγους εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὁ δὲ ἀπαντήσας τῷ λόγῳ πρῶτος ὑποσκελισθήσεται.

-T

Proverbs 33:18: ὥσπερ οἱ ἰώμενοι προβάλλουσιν λόγους εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὁ δὲ ἀπαντήσας τῷ λόγῳ πρῶτος ὑποσκελισθήσεται.

-T

Proverbs 33:22: λόγοι κερκώπων μαλακοὶ οὗτοι δὲ τύπτουσιν εἰς ταμίεια σπλάγχνων.

-T

Proverbs 34:11: σοφός γίνου υἱέ ἵνα εὐφραίνηταί μου ἡ καρδιά καὶ ἀπόστρεψον ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπυνειδίστους λόγους.

-T

Proverbs 36:12: βασιλέως ὑπακούοντος λόγον ἀδικῶν πάντες οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν παράνομοι.

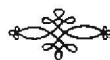
-T

Proverbs 36:19: λόγοις οὐ παιδευθήσεται οἰκέτης σκληρός ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ νοήση ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπακούσεται.

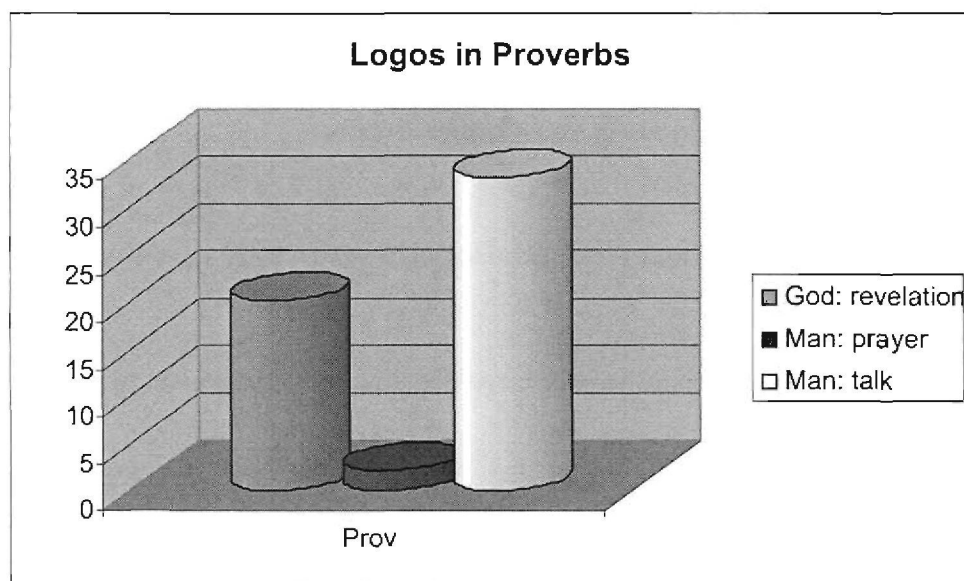
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Proverbs 36:20: ἐὰν ἴδῃς ἄνδρα ταχὺν ἐν λόγοις γίνωσκε ὅτι ἐλπίδα ἔχει μᾶλλον ἄφρων αὐτοῦ.

-T



2.18.1 Proverbs graphics



2.19 Ecclesiastes occurrences

Ecclesiastes 1:8: πάντες οἱ λόγοι ἔγκοποι οὐ δυνήσεται ἀνὴρ τοῦ λαλεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐμπλησθήσεται ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ ὄρᾱν καὶ οὐ πληρωθήσεται οὐς ἀπὸ ἀκροάσεως.

-T

Ecclesiastes 5:1: μὴ σπεῦδε ἐπὶ στόματί σου καὶ καρδία σου μὴ ταχυνάτω τοῦ ἐξενέγκαι λόγον πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ σὺ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔστωσαν οἱ λόγοι σου ὀλίγοι.

-O

Ecclesiastes 5:1: μὴ σπεῦδε ἐπὶ στόματί σου καὶ καρδία σου μὴ ταχυνάτω τοῦ ἐξενέγκαι λόγον πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ σὺ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔστωσαν οἱ λόγοι σου ὀλίγοι.

-O

Ecclesiastes 5:2: ὅτι παραγίνεται ἐνύπνιον ἐν πλήθει περισπασμοῦ καὶ φωνὴ ἀφρονος ἐν πλήθει λόγων.

-T

Ecclesiastes 5:6: ὅτι ἐν πλήθει ἐνυπνίων καὶ ματαιότητες καὶ λόγοι πολλοὶ ὅτι σὺν τὸν θεὸν φοβοῦ.

-T

Ecclesiastes 6:11: ὅτι εἰσὶν λόγοι πολλοὶ πληθύνοντες ματαιότητα τί περισσὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

-T

Ecclesiastes 7:8: ἀγαθὴ ἐσχάτη λόγων ὑπὲρ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν μακρόθυμος ὑπὲρ ὑψηλὸν πνεύματι.

-T

Ecclesiastes 7:21: καὶ γε εἰς πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὐς λαλήσουσιν μὴ θῆς καρδίαν σου ὅπως μὴ ἀκούσης τοῦ δούλου σου καταρωμένου σε.

-T

Ecclesiastes 8:2: στόμα βασιλέως φύλαξον καὶ περὶ λόγου ὄρκου θεοῦ μὴ σπουδάσης.

-O⁵⁰⁴

Ecclesiastes 8:3: ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πορεύσει μὴ στήῃς ἐν λόγῳ πονηρῶ ὅτι πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν θελήσῃ ποιήσει.

-T

Ecclesiastes 9:16: καὶ εἶπα ἐγὼ ἀγαθὴ σοφία ὑπὲρ δύναμιν καὶ σοφία τοῦ πένιτος ἐξουδενωμένη καὶ λόγοι αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀκούμενοι.

-T

Ecclesiastes 9:17: λόγοι σοφῶν ἐν ἀναπαύσει ἀκούονται ὑπὲρ κραυγῆν ἐξουσιαζόντων ἐν ἀφροσύναις.

-T

Ecclesiastes 10:12: λόγοι στόματος σοφοῦ χάρις καὶ χεὶλη ἄφρονος καταποντιοῦσιν αὐτόν.

-T

Ecclesiastes 10:13: ἀρχὴ λόγων στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀφροσύνη καὶ ἐσχάτη στόματος αὐτοῦ περιφέρεια πονηρά.

-T

Ecclesiastes 10:14: καὶ ὁ ἄφρων πληθύνει λόγους οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ ἄνθρωπος τί τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τί τὸ ἐσόμενον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ τίς ἀναγγελεῖ αὐτῶ.

-T

Ecclesiastes 10:20: καὶ γε ἐν συνειδήσει σου βασιλέα μὴ καταράση καὶ ἐν ταμιείοις κοιτώνων σου μὴ καταράση πλούσιον ὅτι πετεινὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀποίσει σὺν τὴν φωνὴν καὶ ὁ ἔχων τὰς πτέρυγας ἀπαγγελεῖ λόγον.

-T

Ecclesiastes 12:10: πολλὰ ἐζήτησεν Ἐκκλησιαστὴς τοῦ εὐρεῖν λόγους θελήματος καὶ γεγραμμένον εὐθύτητος λόγους ἀληθείας.

-T⁵⁰⁵

504 Eccl 8:2 has the context of oath before God.

505 Eccl 12:10 emphasizes acceptability to the will that pursues knowledge and truth.

Ecclesiastes 12:10: πολλὰ ἐζήτησεν Ἐκκλησιαστὴς τοῦ εὐρεῖν λόγους θελήματος καὶ γεγραμμένον εὐθύτητος λόγους ἀληθείας.

-Γ⁵⁰⁶

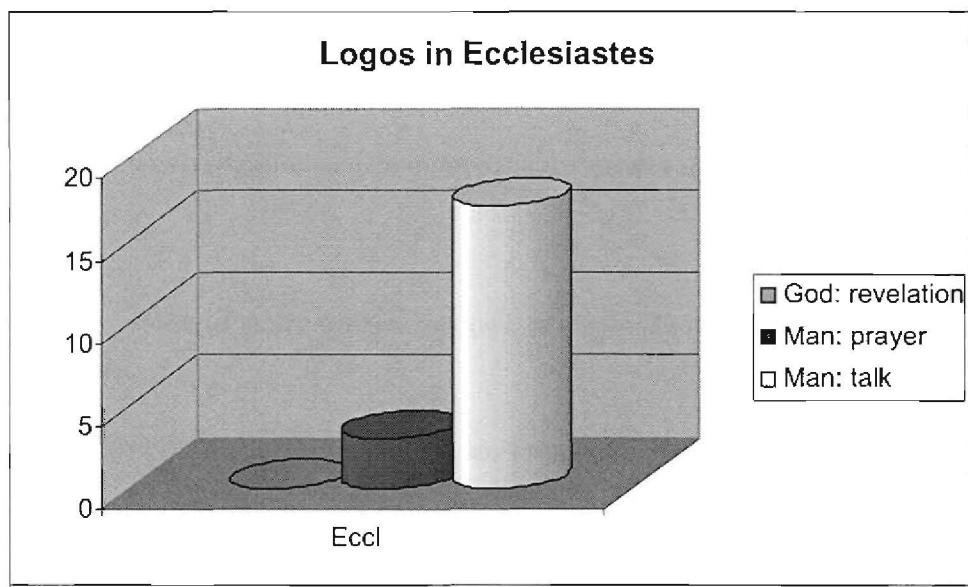
Ecclesiastes 12:11: λόγοι σοφῶν ὡς τὰ βούκεντρα καὶ ὡς ἡλοὶ πεφυτευμένοι οἱ παρὰ τῶν συναγμάτων ἐδόθησαν ἐκ ποιμένος ἑνὸς καὶ περισσὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

-Γ

Ecclesiastes 12:13: τέλος λόγου τὸ πᾶν ἀκούεται τὸν θεὸν φοβοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ φύλασσε ὅτι τοῦτο πᾶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

-Γ⁵⁰⁷

2.19.1 Ecclesiastes graphics



2.20 Song of Songs occurrences

Song of Songs 5:6: ἤνοιξα ἐγὼ τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ μου ἀδελφιδός μου παρήλθεν ψυχὴ μου ἐξῆλθεν ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐζήτησα αὐτὸν καὶ οὐχ εὗρον αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσέν μου.

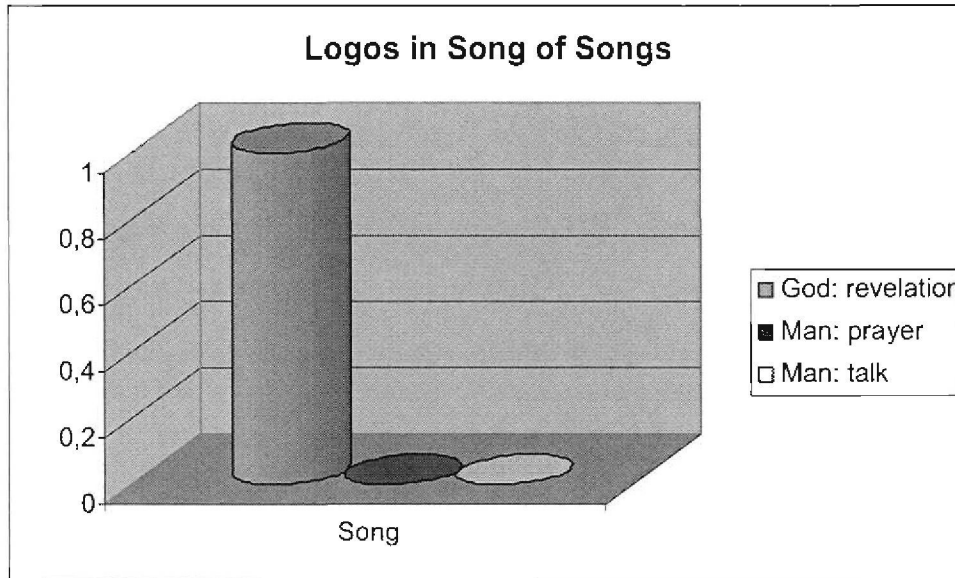
-R/Γ⁵⁰⁸

506 Eccl 12:10 shares a general concept of words of truth.

507 Eccl 12:13 contains human encouragement to listen to God's revelation (commandments).

508 Depending on the interpretation of the genre Song 5:6 is revelation or mere talk. If Song of Songs is read traditionally as a parable, the companion is the personification of God's love. Alternatively, as a love story, the companion is just a human lover and his words mere horizontal communication.

2.20.1 Song of Songs graphics



2.21 Isaiah occurrences

Isaiah 1:10: ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου ἄρχοντες Σοδομων προσέχετε νόμον θεοῦ λαὸς Γομορρας.

-R

Isaiah 2:1: ὁ λόγος ὁ γινόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ἠσαιαν υἱὸν Ἀμωσ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ περὶ Ἱερουσαλημ.

-R

Isaiah 2:3: καὶ πορεύσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ ἐροῦσιν δεῦτε καὶ ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακωβ καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορευσόμεθα ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκ γὰρ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται νόμος καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλημ.

-R

Isaiah 8:10: καὶ ἦν ἂν βουλευθήσθε βουλήν διασκεδάσει κύριος καὶ λόγον ὃν ἐὰν λαλήσητε οὐ μὴ ἐμμεῖνη ὑμῖν ὅτι μεθ ἡμῶν κύριος ὁ θεός.

-T⁵⁰⁹

Isaiah 10:22: καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραηλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν σωθήσεται λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

-R

Isaiah 10:23: ὅτι λόγον συντετημένον ποιήσει ὁ θεός ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη.

-R

509 Isaiah 8:10 refers to the word of the Gentiles.

Isaiah 11:4: ἀλλὰ κρινεῖ ταπεινῶ κρίσιν καὶ ἐλέγξει τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τῆς γῆς καὶ πατάξει γῆν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι διὰ χειλέων ἀνελεῖ ἀσεβῆ.

-R

Isaiah 28:14: διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου ἄνδρες τεθλιμμένοι καὶ ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου τοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ.

-R

Isaiah 28:23: ἐνωτιζέσθε καὶ ἀκούετε τῆς φωνῆς μου προσέχετε καὶ ἀκούετε τοὺς λόγους μου.

-R⁵¹⁰

Isaiah 29:4: καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται οἱ λόγοι σου εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου δύσονται καὶ ἔσται ὡς οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἢ φωνὴ σου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος ἢ φωνὴ σου ἀσθενήσει.

-T⁵¹¹

Isaiah 29:4: καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται οἱ λόγοι σου εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν οἱ λόγοι σου δύσονται καὶ ἔσται ὡς οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἢ φωνὴ σου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος ἢ φωνὴ σου ἀσθενήσει.

-T

Isaiah 29:11: καὶ ἔσονται ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου τούτου ὃ ἐὰν δῶσιν αὐτὸ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπισταμένῳ γράμματα λέγοντες ἀνάγνωθι ταῦτα καὶ ἐρεῖ οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι ἐσφράγισται γάρ.

-R

Isaiah 29:18: καὶ ἀκούσονται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ κωφοὶ λόγους βιβλίου καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ ὀμίχλῃ ὀφθαλμοὶ τυφλῶν βλέψονται.

-R⁵¹²

Isaiah 29:21: καὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες ἀμαρτεῖν ἀνθρώπους ἐν λόγῳ πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας ἐν πύλαις πρόσκομμα θήσουσιν καὶ ἐπλαγίασαν ἐν ἀδίκοις δίκαιον.

-T

Isaiah 30:12: διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραηλ ὅτι ἠπειθήσατε τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις καὶ ἠλπίσατε ἐπὶ ψεύδει καὶ ὅτι ἐγόγγυσας καὶ πεποιθῶς ἐγένου ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ.

-R

Isaiah 30:12: διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραηλ ὅτι ἠπειθήσατε τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις καὶ ἠλπίσατε ἐπὶ ψεύδει καὶ ὅτι ἐγόγγυσας καὶ πεποιθῶς ἐγένου ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ.

-R⁵¹³

Isaiah 30:21: καὶ τὰ ὠτά σου ἀκούσονται τοὺς λόγους τῶν ὀπίσω σε πλανησάντων οἱ λέγοντες αὕτη ἢ ὁδὸς πορευθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ εἴτε δεξιὰ εἴτε ἀριστερά.

510 Isaiah 28:23 contains words that are spoken on behalf of God.

511 Isaiah 29:4 deals with words of the inhabitants of the city that faces God's judgement.

512 Isaiah 29:18 emphasizes God's revelation that would be transmitted in writing.

513 Isa 30:12 refers to God's command.

-T⁵¹⁴

Isaiah 31:2: καὶ αὐτὸς σοφὸς ἤγεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κακά καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἀθετηθῆ καὶ ἐπαναστήσεται ἐπ' οἴκους ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῶν τὴν ματαίαν.

-R

Isaiah 32:2: καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἄνθρωπος κρύπτων τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ κρυβήσεται ὡς ἀφ' ὕδατος φερομένου καὶ φανήσεται ἐν Σιών ὡς ποταμὸς φερόμενος ἐνδοξος ἐν γῆ διψώσῃ.

-T

Isaiah 32:7: ἡ γὰρ βουλή τῶν πονηρῶν ἄνομα βουλεύσεται καταφθεῖραι ταπεινοὺς ἐν λόγοις ἀδίκους καὶ διασκεδάσαι λόγους ταπεινῶν ἐν κρίσει.

-T

Isaiah 32:7: ἡ γὰρ βουλή τῶν πονηρῶν ἄνομα βουλεύσεται καταφθεῖραι ταπεινοὺς ἐν λόγοις ἀδίκους καὶ διασκεδάσαι λόγους ταπεινῶν ἐν κρίσει.

-T

Isaiah 32:9: γυναῖκες πλούσιαι ἀνάστητε καὶ ἀκούσατε τῆς φωνῆς μου θυγατέρες ἐν ἐλπίδι ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους μου.

-R

Isaiah 36:5: μὴ ἐν βουλῇ ἢ λόγοις χειλέων παράταξις γίνεται καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τίνι πέποιθας ὅτι ἀπειθεῖς μοι.

-T

Isaiah 36:12: καὶ εἶπεν Ραψακῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὴ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ κύριός μου λαλῆσαι τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει ἵνα φάγωσιν κόπρον καὶ πίωσιν οὖρον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἅμα.

-T

Isaiah 36:13: καὶ ἔστη Ραψακῆς καὶ ἐβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Ἰουδαιοῖσι καὶ εἶπεν ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.

-T

Isaiah 36:14: τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς μὴ ἀπατάτω ὑμᾶς Ἐζεκιᾶς λόγοις οἱ οὐ δυνήσονται ῥύσασθαι ὑμᾶς.

-T

Isaiah 36:21: καὶ ἐσιώπησαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ λόγον διὰ τὸ προστάξαι τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα ἀποκριθῆναι.

-T

514 Isa 30:21 refers to calls to idolatry.

Isaiah 36:22: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἐλιακὶμ ὁ τοῦ Χελκιου ὁ οἰκονόμος καὶ Σομνας ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Ἰωαχ ὁ τοῦ Ἀσαφ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος πρὸς Ἐζεκιαν ἐσχισμένοι τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους Ραψακου.

-T

Isaiah 37:4: εἰσακούσαι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου τοὺς λόγους Ραψακου οὓς ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ὄνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ ὄνειδίζειν λόγους οὓς ἤκουσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου καὶ δεηθῆση πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου περὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων τούτων.

-T

Isaiah 37:4: εἰσακούσαι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου τοὺς λόγους Ραψακου οὓς ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ὄνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ ὄνειδίζειν λόγους οὓς ἤκουσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου καὶ δεηθῆση πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου περὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων τούτων.

-T

Isaiah 37:6: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἡσαιας οὕτως ἐρεῖτε πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν τάδε λέγει κύριος μὴ φοβηθῆς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων ἧν ἤκουσας οὓς ὠνειδισάν με οἱ πρέσβεις βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.

-T

Isaiah 37:17: εἰσάκουσον κύριε εἰσβλεψὸν κύριε καὶ ἰδὲ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀπέστειλεν Σενναχηριμ ὄνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα.

-T

Isaiah 37:22: οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν ἐλάλησεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐφάυλισέν σε καὶ ἐμυκτήρισέν σε παρθένος θυγάτηρ Σιών ἐπὶ σοὶ κεφαλὴν ἐκίνησεν θυγάτηρ Ἱερουσαλημ.

-R

Isaiah 38:4: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἡσαιαν λέγων.

-R

Isaiah 39:5: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἡσαιας ἄκουσον τὸν λόγον κυρίου σαβαωθ.

-R

Isaiah 39:8: καὶ εἶπεν Ἐζεκιᾶς πρὸς Ἡσαιαν ἀγαθὸς ὁ λόγος κυρίου ὃν ἐλάλησεν γενέσθω δὴ εἰρήνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις μου.

-R

Isaiah 41:26: τίς γὰρ ἀναγγελεῖ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἵνα γινῶμεν καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ προλέγων οὐδὲ ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν τοὺς λόγους.

-T

Isaiah 45:23: κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὁμνύω ἢ μὴν ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου δικαιοσύνη οἱ λόγοι μου οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ.

-R

Isaiah 50:4: κύριος δίδωσίν μοι γλώσσαν παιδείας τοῦ γινῶναι ἐν καιρῷ ἥνικα δεῖ εἰπεῖν λόγον ἔθικέν μοι πρωὶ προσέθηκέν μοι ὠτίον ἀκούειν.

-R

Isaiah 51:16: θήσω τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὸ στόμα σου καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν τῆς χειρὸς μου σκεπάσω σε ἐν ᾗ ἔστησα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐθεμελίωσα τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐρεῖ Σιων λαὸς μου εἰ σύ.

-R

Isaiah 58:13: ἐὰν ἀποστρέψῃς τὸν πόδα σου ἀπὸ τῶν σαββάτων τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ θελήματά σου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καλέσεις τὰ σάββατα τρυφερὰ ἅγια τῷ θεῷ σου οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὸν πόδα σου ἐπ' ἔργῳ οὐδὲ λαλήσεις λόγον ἐν ὀργῇ ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου.

-T

Isaiah 59:13: ἠσεβήσαμεν καὶ ἐψευσάμεθα καὶ ἀπέστημεν ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐλαλήσαμεν ἄδικα καὶ ἠπειθήσαμεν ἐκύομεν καὶ ἐμελετήσαμεν ἀπὸ καρδίας ἡμῶν λόγους ἀδίκους.

-T

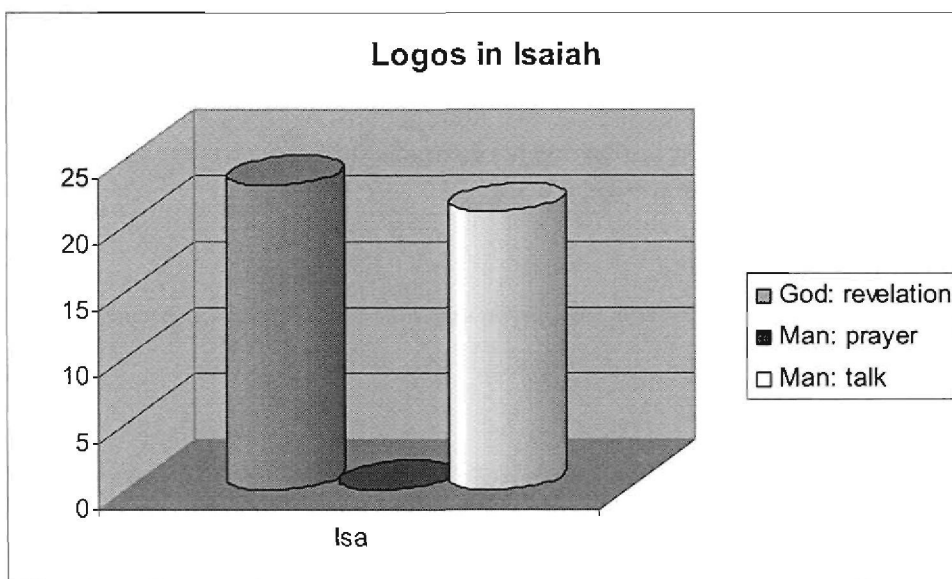
Isaiah 66:2: πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ χεὶρ μου καὶ ἔστιν ἐμὰ πάντα ταῦτα λέγει κύριος καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα ἐπιβλέψω ἄλλ ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντα τοὺς λόγους μου.

-R

Isaiah 66:5: ἀκούσατε τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου οἱ τρέμοντες τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ εἶπατε ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ βδελυσσομένοις ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου δοξασθῇ καὶ ὀφθῇ ἐν τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ αὐτῶν ἡ κακεῖνοι αἰσχυνθήσονται.

-R

2.21.1 Isaiah graphics



2.22 Jeremiah occurrences

Jeremiah 1:2: ὃς ἐγενήθη λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰωσια υἱοῦ Ἀμωσ βασιλέως Ἰουδα ἔτους τρισκαιδεκάτου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ.

-R

Jeremiah 1:4: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 1:9: καὶ ἐξέτεινεν κύριος τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ πρὸς με καὶ ἤψατο τοῦ στόματός μου καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με ἰδοὺ δέδωκα τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὸ στόμα σου.

-R

Jeremiah 1:11: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων τί σὺ ὄρας Ἰερεμια καὶ εἶπα βακτηρίαν καρυίνην.

-R

Jeremiah 1:12: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με καλῶς ἐώρακας διότι ἐγρήγορα ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους μου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς.

-R

Jeremiah 1:13: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με ἐκ δευτέρου λέγων τί σὺ ὄρας καὶ εἶπα λέβητα ὑποκαϊόμενον καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου βορρά.

-R

Jeremiah 2:4: ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου οἶκος Ἰακωβ καὶ πᾶσα πατριὰ οἴκου Ἰσραηλ.

-R

Jeremiah 2:31: ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος μὴ ἔρημος ἐγενόμην τῷ Ἰσραηλ ἢ γῆ κεχερσωμένη διὰ τί εἶπεν ὁ λαός μου οὐ κυριευθησόμεθα καὶ οὐχ ἤξομεν πρὸς σέ ἔτι.

-R

Jeremiah 3:12: πορεύου καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ ἐρεῖς ἐπιστρέφῃτι πρὸς με ἢ κατοικία τοῦ Ἰσραηλ λέγει κύριος καὶ οὐ στηριῶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἐλεήμων ἐγὼ εἰμι λέγει κύριος καὶ οὐ μηνιῶ ὑμῖν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

-R

Jeremiah 5:13: οἱ προφῆται ἡμῶν ἦσαν εἰς ἄνεμον καὶ λόγος κυρίου οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕτως ἔσται αὐτοῖς.

-R

Jeremiah 5:14: διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἄνθ' ὧν ἐλαλήσατε τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δέδωκα τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὸ στόμα σου πῦρ καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ξύλα καὶ καταφάγεται αὐτούς.

-R

Jeremiah 6:19: ἄκουε γῆ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον κακὰ τὸν καρπὸν ἀποστροφῆς αὐτῶν ὅτι τῶν λόγων μου οὐ προσέσχον καὶ τὸν νόμον μου ἀπώσαντο.

-R

Jeremiah 7:2: ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία.

-R

Jeremiah 7:4: μὴ πεποιθατε ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ λόγοις ψευδέσιν ὅτι τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ὠφελήσουσιν ὑμᾶς λέγοντες ναὸς κυρίου ναὸς κυρίου ἐστίν.

-T

Jeremiah 7:8: εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς πεποιθατε ἐπὶ λόγοις ψευδέσιν ὅθεν οὐκ ὠφεληθήσεσθε.

-T

Jeremiah 7:27: καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ὃ οὐκ ἤκουσεν τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου οὐδὲ ἐδέξατο παιδείαν ἐξέλιπεν ἡ πίστις ἐκ στόματος αὐτῶν.

-R

Jeremiah 8:9: ἠσχύνηθησαν σοφοὶ καὶ ἐπτοήθησαν καὶ ἐάλωσαν ὅτι τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἀπεδοκίμασαν σοφία τίς ἐστίν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

-R

Jeremiah 9:11: τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ συνετός καὶ συνέτω τοῦτο καὶ ᾧ λόγος στόματος κυρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναγγελάτω ὑμῖν ἔνεκεν τίνος ἀπώλετο ἡ γῆ ἀνήφθη ὡς ἔρημος παρὰ τὸ μὴ διοδεύεσθαι αὐτήν.

-R⁵¹⁵

Jeremiah 9:19: ἀκούσατε δὴ γυναῖκες λόγον θεοῦ καὶ δεξάσθω τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν λόγους στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάξατε τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν οἶκτον καὶ γυνὴ τὴν πλησίον αὐτῆς θρῆνον.

-R

Jeremiah 9:19: ἀκούσατε δὴ γυναῖκες λόγον θεοῦ καὶ δεξάσθω τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν λόγους στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάξατε τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν οἶκτον καὶ γυνὴ τὴν πλησίον αὐτῆς θρῆνον.

-R

Jeremiah 10:1: ἀκούσατε τὸν λόγον κυρίου ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραηλ.

-R

Jeremiah 11:1: ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ἰερεμῖαν λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 11:2: ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης καὶ λαλήσεις πρὸς ἄνδρας Ἰουδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἱερουσαλημ.

515 Jer 9:11 emphasizes the direct link between prophecy and God. God uses the prophet to make the words from his mouth available to men.

-R

Jeremiah 11:3: καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐκ ἀκούσεται τῶν λόγων τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης.

-R

Jeremiah 11:6: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με ἀνάγνωθι τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν πόλεσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἔξωθεν Ἱερουσαλὴμ λέγων ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης καὶ ποιήσατε αὐτούς.

-R

Jeremiah 11:6: καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με ἀνάγνωθι τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν πόλεσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἔξωθεν Ἱερουσαλὴμ λέγων ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης καὶ ποιήσατε αὐτούς.

-R

Jeremiah 11:10: ἐπεστράφησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀδικίας τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν τῶν πρότερον οἱ οὐκ ἤθελον εἰσακοῦσαι τῶν λόγων μου καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτοὶ βαδίζουσιν ὀπίσω θεῶν ἀλλοτρίων τοῦ δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς καὶ διεσκέδασαν οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἶκος Ἰουδα τὴν διαθήκην μου ἣν διεθέμην πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν.

-R

Jeremiah 13:2: καὶ ἐκτησάμην τὸ περιζῶμα κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου καὶ περιέθηκα περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν μου.

-R

Jeremiah 13:3: καὶ ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 13:8: καὶ ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 13:10: τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην ὕβριν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ὑπακοῦειν τῶν λόγων μου καὶ πορευθέντας ὀπίσω θεῶν ἀλλοτρίων τοῦ δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔσονται ὡσπερ τὸ περιζῶμα τοῦτο ὃ οὐ χρησθήσεται εἰς οὐθέν.

-R

Jeremiah 14:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἱερεμῖαν περὶ τῆς ἀβροχίας.

-R

Jeremiah 14:17: καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς τὸν λόγον τοῦτον καταγάγετε ἐπ' ὀφθαλμούς ὑμῶν δάκρυα ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός καὶ μὴ διαλιπέτωσαν ὅτι συντριμματι συνετριβή θυγάτηρ λαοῦ μου καὶ πληγῇ ὀδυνηρᾷ σφόδρα.

-R

Jeremiah 15:16: ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθετούντων τοὺς λόγους σου συντέλεσον αὐτούς καὶ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ἐμοὶ εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ χαρὰν καρδίας μου ὅτι ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' ἐμοὶ κύριε παντοκράτωρ.

-R⁵¹⁶

Jeremiah 15:16: ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθετούντων τοὺς λόγους σου συντέλεσον αὐτούς καὶ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ἔμοι εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ χαρὰν καρδίας μου ὅτι ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' ἐμοί κύριε παντοκράτωρ.

-R

Jeremiah 17:15: ἰδοὺ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι πρὸς με ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος κυρίου ἐλθάτω.

-R

Jeremiah 17:20: καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου βασιλεῖς Ἰουδα καὶ πᾶσα Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶσα Ἱερουσαλημ οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις.

-R

Jeremiah 18:1: ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ἰερεμῖαν λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 18:2: ἀνάστηθι καὶ κατὰβηθι εἰς οἶκον τοῦ κεραμέως καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀκούσῃ τοὺς λόγους μου.

-R

Jeremiah 18:5: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 18:18: καὶ εἶπαν δεῦτε λογιώμεθα ἐπὶ Ἰερεμῖαν λογισμόν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπολεῖται νόμος ἀπὸ ἱερέως καὶ βουλή ἀπὸ συνετοῦ καὶ λόγος ἀπὸ προφήτου δεῦτε καὶ πατάξωμεν αὐτὸν ἐν γλώσση καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ.

-R

Jeremiah 18:18: καὶ εἶπαν δεῦτε λογιώμεθα ἐπὶ Ἰερεμῖαν λογισμόν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπολεῖται νόμος ἀπὸ ἱερέως καὶ βουλή ἀπὸ συνετοῦ καὶ λόγος ἀπὸ προφήτου δεῦτε καὶ πατάξωμεν αὐτὸν ἐν γλώσση καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ.

-T⁵¹⁷

Jeremiah 18:22: γενηθήτω κραυγὴ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις αὐτῶν ἐπάξεις ἐπ' αὐτούς ληστὰς ἄφνω ὅτι ἐνεχείρισαν λόγον εἰς σύλλημψίν μου καὶ παγίδας ἔκρουσαν ἐπ' ἐμέ.

-T

Jeremiah 19:2: καὶ ἐξελεύσῃ εἰς τὸ πολυάνδριον υἰῶν τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων πύλης τῆς χαρσιθ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι ἐκεῖ πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἂν λαλήσω πρὸς σέ.

-R⁵¹⁸

Jeremiah 19:3: καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀκούσατε τὸν λόγον κυρίου βασιλεῖς Ἰουδα καὶ ἄνδρες Ἰουδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς

516 With ὁ λόγος σου and τοὺς λόγους σου (Jer 15:16) the prophet refers to God's Word in his prayer.

517 Jeremiah's enemies refer to the prophet's unwelcome words (Jer 18:18).

518 The textual context of Jer 19:2 is God addressing Jeremiah.

Ισραηλ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον κακὰ ὥστε παντὸς ἀκούοντος αὐτὰ ἠχήσει ἀμφότερα τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ.

-R

Jeremiah 19:15: τάδε λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς ἅπαντα τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἐλάλησα ἐπ' αὐτήν ὅτι ἐσκλήρυναν τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ εἰσακούειν τῶν λόγων μου.

-R

Jeremiah 20:1: καὶ ἤκουσεν Πασχωρ υἱὸς Εμμηρ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ οὗτος ἦν καθεσταμένος ἡγούμενος οἴκου κυρίου τοῦ Ἰερεμίου προφητεύοντος τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

-R

Jeremiah 20:8: ὅτι πικρῶ λόγῳ μου γελάσομαι ἀθεσίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπικαλέσομαι ὅτι ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου εἰς ὄνειδισμόν ἐμοὶ καὶ εἰς χλευασμὸν πᾶσαν ἡμέραν μου.

-R

Jeremiah 20:8: ὅτι πικρῶ λόγῳ μου γελάσομαι ἀθεσίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπικαλέσομαι ὅτι ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου εἰς ὄνειδισμόν ἐμοὶ καὶ εἰς χλευασμὸν πᾶσαν ἡμέραν μου.

-R

Jeremiah 21:1: ὁ λόγος ὁ γινόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ἰερεμیان ὅτε ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεδεκίας τὸν Πασχωρ υἱὸν Μελχιου καὶ Σοφονίαν υἱὸν Μασαίου τὸν ἱερέα λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 21:11: ὁ οἶκος βασιλέως Ἰουδα ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου.

-R

Jeremiah 22:1: τάδε λέγει κύριος πορεύου καὶ κατάβηθι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουδα καὶ λαλήσεις ἐκεῖ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

-R

Jeremiah 22:2: καὶ ἐρεῖς ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου βασιλεῦ Ἰουδα ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου Δαυὶδ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου καὶ ὁ λαός σου καὶ οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι ταῖς πύλαις ταύταις.

-R

Jeremiah 22:4: διότι ἐὰν ποιῶντες ποιήσητε τὸν λόγον τοῦτον καὶ εἰσελεύσονται ἐν ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ οἴκου τοῦτου βασιλεῖς καθήμενοι ἐπὶ θρόνου Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐφ' ἄρμάτων καὶ ἵππων αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ λαός αὐτῶν.

-R⁵¹⁹

Jeremiah 22:5: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσητε τοὺς λόγους τούτους κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὥμοσα λέγει κύριος ὅτι εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἔσται ὁ οἶκος οὗτος.

-R

519 Jer 22:4 contains a message from God, cf. Jer 22:5.

Jeremiah 22:29: γῆ γῆ ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου.

-R

Jeremiah 23:16: οὕτως λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ μὴ ἀκούετε τοὺς λόγους τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι ματαιοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ὄρασιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν λαλοῦσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ στόματος κυρίου.

-T⁵²⁰

Jeremiah 23:17: λέγουσιν τοῖς ἀπωθουμένοις τὸν λόγον κυρίου εἰρήνη ἔσται ὑμῖν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς πορευομένοις τοῖς θελήμασιν αὐτῶν παντὶ τῷ πορευομένῳ πλάνη καρδίας αὐτοῦ εἶπαν οὐχ ἤξει ἐπὶ σὲ κακὰ.

-R

Jeremiah 23:18: ὅτι τίς ἔστη ἐν ὑποστήματι κυρίου καὶ εἶδεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τίς ἐνωτίσατο καὶ ἤκουσεν.

-R

Jeremiah 23:22: καὶ εἰ ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει μου καὶ εἰσήκουσαν τῶν λόγων μου καὶ τὸν λαόν μου ἂν ἀπέστρεφον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν.

-R

Jeremiah 23:28: ὁ προφήτης ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐστὶν διηγησάσθω τὸ ἐνύπνιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ᾧ ὁ λόγος μου πρὸς αὐτόν διηγησάσθω τὸν λόγον μου ἐπ' ἀληθείας τί τὸ ἄχυρον πρὸς τὸν σῖτον οὕτως οἱ λόγοι μου λέγει κύριος.

-R

Jeremiah 23:28: ὁ προφήτης ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐστὶν διηγησάσθω τὸ ἐνύπνιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ᾧ ὁ λόγος μου πρὸς αὐτόν διηγησάσθω τὸν λόγον μου ἐπ' ἀληθείας τί τὸ ἄχυρον πρὸς τὸν σῖτον οὕτως οἱ λόγοι μου λέγει κύριος.

-R

Jeremiah 23:28: ὁ προφήτης ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐστὶν διηγησάσθω τὸ ἐνύπνιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ᾧ ὁ λόγος μου πρὸς αὐτόν διηγησάσθω τὸν λόγον μου ἐπ' ἀληθείας τί τὸ ἄχυρον πρὸς τὸν σῖτον οὕτως οἱ λόγοι μου λέγει κύριος.

-R

Jeremiah 23:29: οὐχὶ οἱ λόγοι μου ὡσπερ πῦρ φλέγον λέγει κύριος καὶ ὡς πέλυξ κόπτων πέτρων.

-R

Jeremiah 23:30: διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ πρὸς τοὺς προφήτας λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοὺς κλέπτοντας τοὺς λόγους μου ἕκαστος παρὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

-R

Jeremiah 23:36: καὶ λῆμμα κυρίου μὴ ὀνομάζετε ἔτι ὅτι τὸ λῆμμα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔσται ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.

520 The warning μὴ ἀκούετε τοὺς λόγους τῶν προφητῶν (Jer 23:16) refers to prophesies that do not come from God, but have been invented by the prophets themselves.

-R

Jeremiah 23:38: διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἄνθ' ὧν εἶπατε τὸν λόγον τοῦτον λῆμμα κυρίου καὶ ἀπέστειλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγων οὐκ ἐρεῖτε λῆμμα κυρίου.

-R

Jeremiah 24:4: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 25:1: ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος πρὸς Ἰερεμῖαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν Ἰουδα ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ τοῦ Ἰωακὶμ υἱοῦ Ἰωσῖα βασιλέως Ἰουδα.

-R

Jeremiah 25:8: διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε τοῖς λόγοις μου.

-R

Jeremiah 25:13: καὶ ἐπάξω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην πάντας τοὺς λόγους μου οὓς ἐλάλησα κατ' αὐτῆς πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.

-R⁵²¹

Jeremiah 25:20: ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλεύοντος Σεδεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετο ὁ λόγος οὗτος περὶ Αἰλαμ.

-R

Jeremiah 27:1: λόγος κυρίου ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα.

-R

Jeremiah 28:59: ὁ λόγος ὃν ἐνετείλατο κύριος Ἰερεμῖα τῷ προφῆτῃ εἰπεῖν τῷ Σαραῖα υἱῷ Νηριου υἱοῦ Μασαίου ὅτε ἐπορεύετο παρὰ Σεδεκίου βασιλέως Ἰουδα εἰς Βαβυλώνα ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ Σαραίας ἀρχῶν δώρων.

-R

Jeremiah 28:60: καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰερεμίας πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἤξει ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα ἐν βιβλίῳ ἐνὶ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα.

-R

Jeremiah 28:61: καὶ εἶπεν Ἰερεμίας πρὸς Σαραῖαν ὅταν ἔλθῃς εἰς Βαβυλώνα καὶ ὄψῃ καὶ ἀναγνώσῃ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

-R

Jeremiah 32:30: καὶ σὺ προφητεύσεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἐρεῖς κύριος ἄφ' ὑψηλοῦ χρηματιεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ λόγον χρηματιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰδαῶ ὥσπερ τρυγῶντες ἀποκριθήσονται καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

-R

521 Jer 25:23 adds κατ' αὐτῆς πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ; the written version of these words emphasizing that God won't forget about these words and is bound to fulfill them.

Jeremiah 32:30: καὶ σὺ προφητεύσεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἐρεῖς κύριος ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ χρηματιεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ λόγον χρηματιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰδαὸ ὡσπερ τρυγῶντες ἀποκριθήσονται καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

-R⁵²²

Jeremiah 33:1: ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλέως Ἰωακὶμ υἱοῦ Ἰωσῖα ἐγενήθη ὁ λόγος οὗτος παρὰ κυρίου.

-R

Jeremiah 33:2: οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος στήθι ἐν ἀύλῃ οἴκου κυρίου καὶ χρηματιεῖς ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐρχομένοις προσκυνεῖν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς συνέταξά σοι αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαι μὴ ἀφέλης ῥῆμα.

-R⁵²³

Jeremiah 33:5: εἰσακούειν τῶν λόγων τῶν παίδων μου τῶν προφητῶν οὓς ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀρθοῦ καὶ ἀπέστειλα καὶ οὐκ εἰσηκούσατέ μου.

-R

Jeremiah 33:7: καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Ἰερεμίου λαλοῦντος τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου.

-T⁵²⁴

Jeremiah 33:10: καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες Ἰουδα τὸν λόγον τοῦτον καὶ ἀνέβησαν ἐξ οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς οἶκον κυρίου καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐν προθύροις πύλης κυρίου τῆς καινῆς.

-R⁵²⁵

Jeremiah 33:12: καὶ εἶπεν Ἰερεμίας πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ λέγων κύριος ἀπέστειλέν με προφητεύσαι ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὓς ἠκούσατε.

-R⁵²⁶

Jeremiah 33:15: ἀλλ' ἢ γνόντες γνώσεσθε ὅτι εἰ ἀναιρεῖτέ με αἷμα ἀθῶον δίδοτε ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἀπέσταλκέν με κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς λαλήσαι εἰς τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

-R

Jeremiah 33:20: καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν προφητεύων τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου Ουριας υἱὸς Σαμαιοῦ ἐκ Καριαθιαριμ καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους Ἰερεμίου.

-R⁵²⁷

Jeremiah 33:21: καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωακὶμ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐζήτησαν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν καὶ ἤκουσεν Ουριας καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

522 Jer 32:30 has an oracular context of warning, cf. χρηματιεῖ.

523 Jer 33:5 has an oracular context of warning, cf. χρηματιεῖς.

524 Jer 33:7 speaks up against the words of the false prophets.

525 Jer 33:10 deals with Jeremiah's prophecy against the false prophets.

526 In Jer 33:12 Jeremiah confirms all his words were from God.

527 Jer 33:20 has as subject another prophet who proclaimed the same words of God.

-T⁵²⁸

Jeremiah 34:12: καὶ πρὸς Σεδεκιαν βασιλέα Ιουδα ἐλάλησα κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους λέγων εἰσαγάγετε τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν.

-R

Jeremiah 34:16: ὑμῖν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλάλησα λέγων οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος μὴ ἀκούετε τῶν λόγων τῶν προφητῶν τῶν προφητευόντων ὑμῖν λεγόντων ἰδοὺ σκευὴ οἴκου κυρίου ἐπιστρέψει ἐκ Βαβυλώνας ὅτι ἄδικα αὐτοὶ προφητεύουσιν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀπέστειλα αὐτούς.

-T⁵²⁹

Jeremiah 34:18: εἰ προφήται εἰσιν καὶ εἰ ἔστιν λόγος κυρίου ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντησάτωσάν μοι.

-R

Jeremiah 35:6: καὶ εἶπεν Ἰερεμίας ἀληθῶς οὕτω ποιῆσαι κύριος στήσαι τὸν λόγον σου ὃν σὺ προφητεύεις τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι τὰ σκευὴ οἴκου κυρίου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκ Βαβυλώνας εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον.

-T⁵³⁰

Jeremiah 35:7: πλὴν ἀκούσατε τὸν λόγον κυρίου ὃν ἐγὼ λέγω εἰς τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ ὦτα παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ.

-R

Jeremiah 35:9: ὁ προφήτης ὁ προφητεύσας εἰς εἰρήνην ἐλθόντος τοῦ λόγου γινώσκονται τὸν προφήτην ὃν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς κύριος ἐν πίστει.

-R⁵³¹

Jeremiah 35:12: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰερεμیان μετὰ τὸ συντρίψαι Ἀνανιαν τοὺς κλοιούς ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτοῦ λέγων.

-R

Jeremiah 36:1: καὶ οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι τῆς βίβλου οὓς ἀπέστειλεν Ἰερεμίας ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας ἐπιστολὴν εἰς Βαβυλώνα τῇ ἀποικίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν.

-R⁵³²

Jeremiah 36:10: ὅτι οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὅταν μέλλη πληροῦσθαι Βαβυλώνη ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη ἐπισκέψομαι ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπιστήσω τοὺς λόγους μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ὑμῶν ἀποστρέψαι εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον.

-R

528 Jer 33:21 gives an account of what the other prophet was doing.

529 Jer 34:16 addresses the words of the false prophets.

530 Jer 35:6 refers to the hopeful, but false prophecy that was uttered in the Lord's name.

531 Jer 35:9 speaks about words of prophecy that come true.

532 Jer 36:1 refers to written revelation.

Jeremiah 36:23: δι ἦν ἐποίησαν ἀνομίαν ἐν Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐμοιχῶντο τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτῶν καὶ λόγον ἐχρημάτισαν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου ὃν οὐ συνέταξα αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγὼ μάρτυς φησὶν κύριος.

-T⁵³³

Jeremiah 36:30: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰερεμῖαν λέγων.

-R

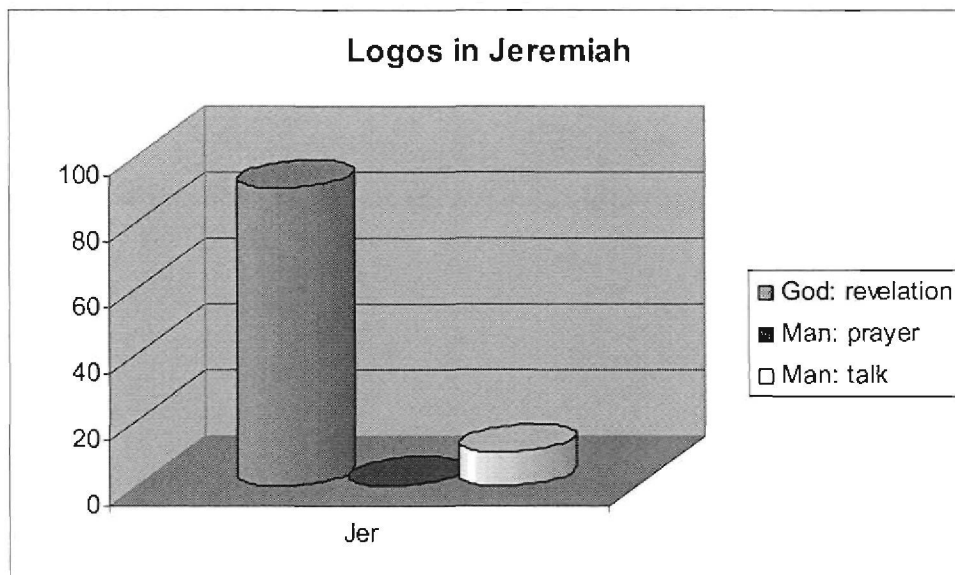
Jeremiah 37:1: ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος πρὸς Ἰερεμῖαν παρὰ κυρίου εἰπεῖν.

-R

Jeremiah 37:2: οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ λέγων γράψον πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐχρημάτισα πρὸς σέ ἐπὶ βιβλίου.

-R⁵³⁴

2.22.1 Jeremiah graphics



2.23 Ezekiel occurrences

Ezekiel 1:3: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰεζεκιηλ υἱὸν Βουζι τὸν ἱερέα ἐν γῇ Χαλδαίων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Χοβαρ καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐμέ χεὶρ κυρίου.

-R

Ezekiel 2:6: καὶ σύ υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου μὴ φοβηθῆς αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἐκστῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν διότι παροιστρήσουσι καὶ ἐπισυστήσονται ἐπὶ σέ κύκλω καὶ ἐν μέσῳ σκορπίων σὺ κατοικεῖς τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆς καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν μὴ ἐκστῆς διότι οἶκος παραπικραίνων ἐστίν.

533 Jer 36:23 deals with false prophecy.

534 Jer 37:2 shares a combination of revelation (λόγους from God), writing (γράψον) and oracular context (ἐχρημάτισα).

-T

Ezekiel 2:7: καὶ λαλήσεις τοὺς λόγους μου πρὸς αὐτούς ἐὰν ἄρα ἀκούσωσιν ἢ πτοηθῶσιν διότι οἶκος παραπικραίνων ἐστίν.

-R

Ezekiel 3:4: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου βάδιζε εἰσελθε πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραηλ καὶ λάλησον τοὺς λόγους μου πρὸς αὐτούς.

-R

Ezekiel 3:6: οὐδὲ πρὸς λαοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλοφώνους ἢ ἀλλογλώσσους οὐδὲ στιβαροὺς τῇ γλώσσει ὄντας ὧν οὐκ ἀκούσῃ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν καὶ εἰ πρὸς τοιούτους ἐξαπέστειλά σε οὔτοι ἂν εἰσήκουσάν σου.

-T

Ezekiel 3:10: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς λελάληκα μετὰ σοῦ λαβὲ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου καὶ τοῖς ὤσιν σου ἄκουε.

-R

Ezekiel 3:16: καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 3:17: υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου σκοπὸν δέδωκά σε τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἀκούσῃ ἐκ στόματός μου λόγον καὶ διαπειλήσῃ αὐτοῖς παρ ἐμοῦ.

-R

Ezekiel 6:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 6:3: καὶ ἔρεῖς τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραηλ ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς καὶ ταῖς φάραξι καὶ ταῖς νάπαις ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ῥομφαίαν καὶ ἐξολεθρευθήσεται τὰ ὑψηλὰ ὑμῶν.

-R

Ezekiel 7:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 11:14: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 11:25: καὶ ἐλάλησα πρὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ κυρίου οὓς ἔδειξέν μοι.

-R

Ezekiel 12:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 12:8: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με τὸ πρῶτὸ λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 12:17: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 12:21: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 12:23: διὰ τοῦτο εἶπὸν πρὸς αὐτούς τάδε λέγει κύριος ἀποστρέψω τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ εἴπωσιν τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι λαλήσεις πρὸς αὐτούς ἠγγίκασιν αἱ ἡμέραι καὶ λόγος πάσης ὀράσεως.

-R⁵³⁵

Ezekiel 12:25: διότι ἐγὼ κύριος λαλήσω τοὺς λόγους μου λαλήσω καὶ ποιήσω καὶ οὐ μὴ μηκύνω ἔτι ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν οἶκος ὁ παραπικραίνων λαλήσω λόγον καὶ ποιήσω λέγει κύριος.

-R

Ezekiel 12:25: διότι ἐγὼ κύριος λαλήσω τοὺς λόγους μου λαλήσω καὶ ποιήσω καὶ οὐ μὴ μηκύνω ἔτι ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν οἶκος ὁ παραπικραίνων λαλήσω λόγον καὶ ποιήσω λέγει κύριος.

-R⁵³⁶

Ezekiel 12:26: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 12:28: διὰ τοῦτο εἶπὸν πρὸς αὐτούς τάδε λέγει κύριος οὐ μὴ μηκύνωσιν οὐκέτι πάντες οἱ λόγοι μου οὐς ἂν λαλήσω λαλήσω καὶ ποιήσω λέγει κύριος.

-R

Ezekiel 13:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 13:2: υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου προφήτευσον ἐπὶ τοὺς προφήτας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ προφητεύσεις καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου.

-R

Ezekiel 13:6: βλέποντες ψευδῆ μαντευόμενοι μάταια οἱ λέγοντες λέγει κύριος καὶ κύριος οὐκ ἀπέσταλκεν αὐτούς καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ ἀναστήσαι λόγον.

-T⁵³⁷

Ezekiel 13:8: διὰ τοῦτο εἶπὸν τάδε λέγει κύριος ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ λόγοι ὑμῶν ψευδεῖς καὶ αἱ μαντεῖαι ὑμῶν μάταιαι διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς λέγει κύριος.

535 In Ezek 12:23 vision and word are connected in a revelatory sense.

536 In Ezek 12:25 God emphasizes that he is the powerful who also accomplishes his Word.

537 The equivalent of false prophecy is found in Ezek 13:6, unless it should be read as an attempt to establish the Word of God.

-T

Ezekiel 14:2: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 14:12: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 15:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 16:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 16:35: διὰ τοῦτο πόρνη ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου.

-R

Ezekiel 17:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 17:11: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 18:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 20:2: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 21:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 21:3: καὶ ἔρεῖς τῷ δορυμῷ Ναγεβ ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀνάπτω ἐν σοὶ πῦρ καὶ καταφάγεται ἐν σοὶ πᾶν ξύλον χλωρὸν καὶ πᾶν ξύλον ξηρὸν οὐ σβεσθήσεται ἢ φλόξ ἢ ἐξαφθεῖσα καὶ κατακαυθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶν πρόσωπον ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου ἕως βορρᾶ.

-R

Ezekiel 21:6: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 21:13: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 21:23: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 22:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 22:17: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 22:23: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 23:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 24:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ ἐνάτῳ ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ δεκάτη τοῦ μηνὸς λέγων.

-R⁵³⁸

Ezekiel 24:15: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 24:20: καὶ εἶπα πρὸς αὐτούς λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με ἐγένετο λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 25:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 25:3: καὶ ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Αμμων ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος ἄνθ ὧν ἐπεχάρητε ἐπὶ τὰ ἁγία μου ὅτι ἐβεβηλώθη καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ ὅτι ἠφανίσθη καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰουδα ὅτι ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ.

-R

Ezekiel 26:1: καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει μιᾶ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 27:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 28:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 28:11: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

538 Ezekiel mentions the specific date when a particular Word of God came to him, cf. 26:1; 29:1; 29:17; 30:20; 31:1; 32:1; 32:17. See also Dan 9:2; 10:1; Hag 1:1; Zech 1:7; 7:1.

Ezekiel 28:20: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 29:1: ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ δεκάτῳ ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ μηνὶ μιᾶ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 29:17: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει μιᾶ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ πρώτου ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 30:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 30:20: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μηνὶ ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 31:1: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ μηνὶ μιᾶ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 32:1: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ μηνὶ μιᾶ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 32:17: καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 33:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 33:7: καὶ σύ υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου σκοπὸν δέδωκά σε τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἀκούση ἐκ στόματός μου λόγον.

-R

Ezekiel 33:23: καὶ ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 34:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 34:7: διὰ τοῦτο ποιμένες ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου.

-R

Ezekiel 35:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 36:1: καὶ σύ υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου προφήτευσον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραηλ καὶ εἰπὸν τοῖς ὄρεσιν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου.

-R

Ezekiel 36:4: διὰ τοῦτο ὄρη Ἰσραηλ ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς καὶ ταῖς φάραγξιν καὶ τοῖς χειμάρροις καὶ τοῖς ἐξηρημαμένοις καὶ ἠφανισμένοις καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς ἐγκαταλελειμμέναις αἱ ἐγένοντο εἰς προνομὴν καὶ εἰς καταπάτημα τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσιν ἔθνεσιν περικύκλω.

-R

Ezekiel 36:16: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 37:4: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με προφήτευσον ἐπὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀστᾶ τὰ ξηρὰ ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου.

-R

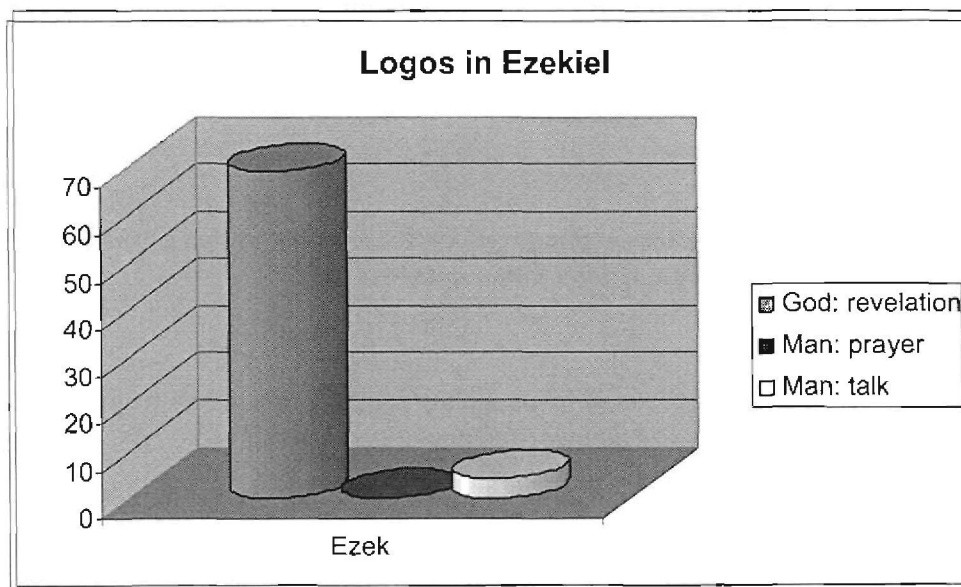
Ezekiel 37:15: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Ezekiel 38:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

2.23.1 Ezekiel graphics



2.24 Daniel occurrences

Daniel 2:5: ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ὁ λόγος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη ἔὰν μὴ γνωρίσητέ μοι τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσεσθε καὶ οἱ οἴκοι ὑμῶν διαρπαγῆσονται.

-T

Daniel 2:11: ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπερωτᾷ βαρὺς καὶ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἀναγγελεῖ αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλλ' ἢ θεοὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κατοικία μετὰ πάσης σαρκός.

-T

Daniel 4:17: διὰ συγκρίματος ἰσὺς ὁ λόγος καὶ ῥῆμα ἀγίων τὸ ἐπερώτημα ἵνα γνῶσιν οἱ ζῶντες ὅτι κύριός ἐστιν ὁ ὑψίστος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν δόξη δώσει αὐτὴν καὶ ἐξουδένημα ἀνθρώπων ἀναστήσει ἐπ' αὐτήν.

-R⁵³⁹

Daniel 4:31: ἔτι τοῦ λόγου ἐν στόματι τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος φωνὴ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο σοὶ λέγουσιν Ναβουχοδοноσορ βασιλεὺς ἡ βασιλεία παρήλθεν ἀπὸ σοῦ.

-T

Daniel 4:33: αὐτὴ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὁ λόγος συνετελέσθη ἐπὶ Ναβουχοδοноσορ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξεδιώχθη καὶ χόρτον ὡς βοῦς ἦσθιεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐβάφη ἕως οὗ αἱ τρίχες αὐτοῦ ὡς λεόντων ἐμεγαλύνθησαν καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ ὡς ὀρνέων.

-R⁵⁴⁰

Daniel 6:3: καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτῶν τακτικούς τρεῖς ὧν ἦν Δαυιηλ εἰς ἕξ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἀποδιδόναι αὐτοῖς τοὺς σατράπας λόγον ὅπως ὁ βασιλεὺς μὴ ἐνοχλήται.

-T

Daniel 6:13: καὶ προσελθόντες λέγουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὀρισμὸν ἔταξας ὅπως πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἂν αἰτήσῃ παρὰ παντός θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου αἴτημα ἕως ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ σοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐμβληθήσεται εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ δόγμα Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν οὐ παρελεύσεται.

-T

Daniel 7:11: ἐθεώρουν τότε ἀπὸ φωνῆς τῶν λόγων τῶν μεγάλων ὧν τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἐλάλει ἕως ἀνηρέθη τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἀπώλετο καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐδόθη εἰς καύσιν πυρός.

-R⁵⁴¹

Daniel 7:16: καὶ προσήλθον ἐνὶ τῶν ἐστηκότων καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐζήτησαν παρ' αὐτοῦ περὶ πάντων τούτων καὶ εἶπέν μοι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν τῶν λόγων ἐγνώρισέν μοι.

-R⁵⁴²

539 Dan 4:17 deals with the Word of God that was revealed in vision.

540 Dan 4:33 speaks about a prophecy concerning the life of Nebukadnezzar that was fulfilled.

541 Dan 7:11 deals with the words of God's opponent that are revealed in vision.

542 Dan 7:16 portrays an angel who interprets the visionary account.

Daniel 7:25: καὶ λόγους πρὸς τὸν ὑψίστον λαλήσει καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ὑψίστου παλαιώσει καὶ ὑπονοήσει τοῦ ἀλλοιώσαι καιροὺς καὶ νόμον καὶ δοθήσεται ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἕως καιροῦ καὶ καιρῶν καὶ ἡμισυ καιροῦ.

-R⁵⁴³

Daniel 7:28: ἕως ὧδε τὸ πέρασ τοῦ λόγου ἐγὼ Δανιηλ ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ μου συνετάρασσόν με καὶ ἡ μορφή μου ἠλλοιώθη ἐπ' ἐμοί καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου συνετήρησα.

-R⁵⁴⁴

Daniel 9:2: ἐν ἔτει ἐνὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ Δανιηλ συνήκα ἐν ταῖς βύβλοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐτῶν ὅς ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἱερεμῖαν τὸν προφήτην εἰς συμπλήρωσιν ἐρημώσεως Ἱερουσαλημ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη.

-R

Daniel 9:12: καὶ ἔστησεν τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ οὓς ἐλάλησεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κριτὰς ἡμῶν οἱ ἔκρινον ἡμᾶς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κακὰ μεγάλα οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ὑποκάτω παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ.

-R⁵⁴⁵

Daniel 9:23: ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δεήσεώς σου ἐξήλθεν λόγος καὶ ἐγὼ ἦλθον τοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαί σοι ὅτι ἀνῆρ ἐπιθυμῶν σὺ εἶ καὶ ἐννοήθητι ἐν τῷ ῥήματι καὶ σύνες ἐν τῇ ὄπτασίᾳ.

-R⁵⁴⁶

Daniel 9:25 καὶ γνώση καὶ συνήσεις ἀπὸ ἐξόδου λόγου τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι Ἱερουσαλημ ἕως χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου ἑβδομάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομάδες ἐξήκοντα δύο καὶ ἐπιστρέψει καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσεται πλατεῖα καὶ τείχος καὶ ἐκκενωθήσονται οἱ καιροί.

-R⁵⁴⁷

Daniel 10:1: ἐν ἔτει τρίτῳ Κύρου βασιλέως Περσῶν λόγος ἀπεκαλύφθη τῷ Δανιηλ οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπεκλήθη Βαλτασαρ καὶ ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ δύνამις μεγάλη καὶ σύνεσις ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὄπτασίᾳ.

-R

Daniel 10:1: ἐν ἔτει τρίτῳ Κύρου βασιλέως Περσῶν λόγος ἀπεκαλύφθη τῷ Δανιηλ οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπεκλήθη Βαλτασαρ καὶ ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ δύνამις μεγάλη καὶ σύνεσις ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὄπτασίᾳ.

-R

Daniel 10:6: καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θαρσις καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ὄρασις ἀστραπῆς καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες πυρός καὶ οἱ βραχίονες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκέλη ὡς ὄρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὄχλου.

-R⁵⁴⁸

543 Dan 7:25 contains words of God's opponent revealed in vision.

544 Dan 7:28 refers to the end of the vision and revelation.

545 In Dan 9:12 God confirms his words in the history of Israel.

546 Dan 9:23 speaks about God's message of comfort for Daniel, or the message responding to his prayers.

547 Dan 9:25 deals with God's authoritative command that rules the course of history.

Daniel 10:9: καὶ ἤκουσα τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀκούσαι με αὐτοῦ ἤμην κατανευγμένος καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

-R

Daniel 10:11: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με Δανηλ ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν σύνες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἷς ἐγὼ λαλῶ πρὸς σέ καὶ στήθι ἐπὶ τῇ στάσει σου ὅτι νῦν ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σέ καὶ ἐν τῷ λαλήσαι αὐτὸν πρὸς με τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέστην ἔντρομος.

-R

Daniel 10:11: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με Δανηλ ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν σύνες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἷς ἐγὼ λαλῶ πρὸς σέ καὶ στήθι ἐπὶ τῇ στάσει σου ὅτι νῦν ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σέ καὶ ἐν τῷ λαλήσαι αὐτὸν πρὸς με τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέστην ἔντρομος.

-R

Daniel 10:12: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με μὴ φοβοῦ Δανηλ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἣς ἔδωκας τὴν καρδίαν σου τοῦ συνιέναι καὶ κακωθῆναι ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ σου ἠκούσθησαν οἱ λόγοι σου καὶ ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου.

-O

Daniel 10:12: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με μὴ φοβοῦ Δανηλ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἣς ἔδωκας τὴν καρδίαν σου τοῦ συνιέναι καὶ κακωθῆναι ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ σου ἠκούσθησαν οἱ λόγοι σου καὶ ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου.

-O

Daniel 10:15: καὶ ἐν τῷ λαλήσαι αὐτὸν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἔδωκα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ κατενύγην.

-R

Daniel 12:4: καὶ σὺ Δανηλ ἔμφραξον τοὺς λόγους καὶ σφράγισον τὸ βιβλίον ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας ἕως διδαχθῶσιν πολλοὶ καὶ πληθυνθῆ ἡ γνῶσις.

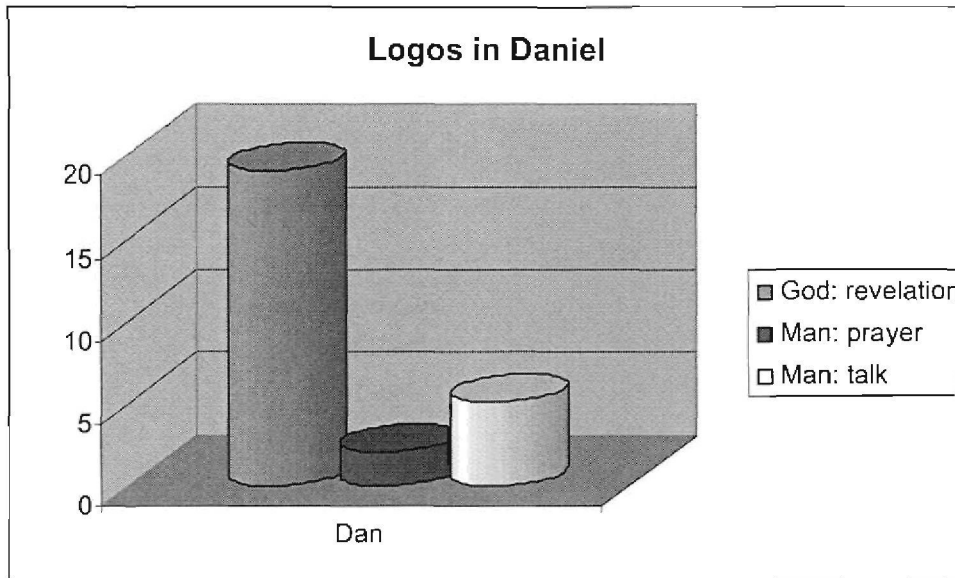
-R

Daniel 12:9: καὶ εἶπεν δεῦρο Δανηλ ὅτι ἐμπεφραγμένοι καὶ ἐσφραγισμένοι οἱ λόγοι ἕως καιροῦ πέρας.

-R

548 Dan 10:6 refers to the words of the Man who was revealed to Daniel in vision.

2.24.1 Daniel graphics



2.25 Hosea occurrences

Hosea 1:1: λόγος κυρίου ὃς ἐγενήθη πρὸς Ὡση τὸν τοῦ Βεηρι ἐν ἡμέραις Οὔριου καὶ Ἰωθαμ καὶ Ἀχαζ καὶ Ἐζεκιου βασιλέων Ἰουδα καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις Ἰεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ἰωας βασιλέως Ἰσραηλ.

-R

Hosea 1:2: ἀρχὴ λόγου κυρίου πρὸς Ὡση καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Ὡση βάδιζε λαβὲ σεαυτῶ γυναῖκα πορνείας καὶ τέκνα πορνείας διότι ἐκπορνεύουσα ἐκπορνεύσει ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ κυρίου.

-R

Hosea 4:1: ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ διότι κρίσις τῷ κυρίῳ πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν διότι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλήθεια οὐδὲ ἔλεος οὐδὲ ἐπίγνωσις θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

-R

Hosea 13:1: κατὰ τὸν λόγον Ἐφραιμ δικαίωμα αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὰ τῇ Βααλ καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

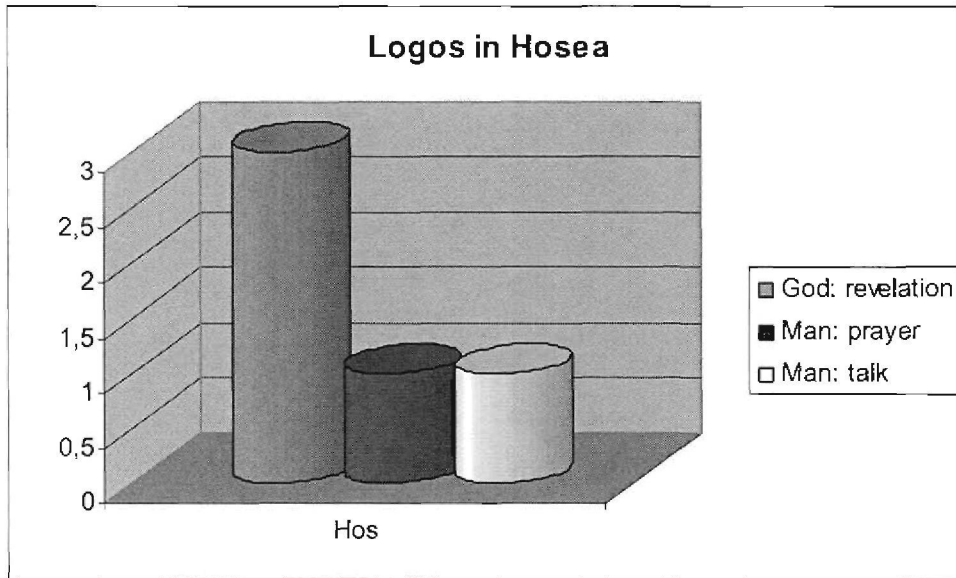
-T

Hosea 14:3: λάβετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν λόγους καὶ ἐπιστρέφητε πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν εἶπατε αὐτῷ ὅπως μὴ λάβητε ἀδικίαν καὶ λάβητε ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀνταποδώσομεν καρπὸν χειλέων ἡμῶν.

-O⁵⁴⁹

549 In Hos 14:3 the Israelites are encouraged to turn back to God and communicate with him.

2.25.1 Hosea graphics



2.26 Joel occurrences

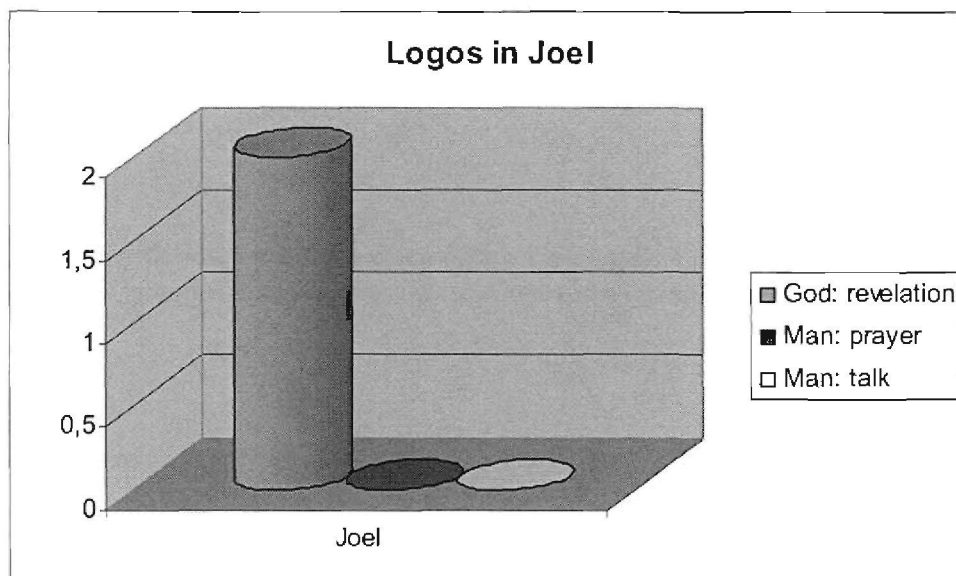
Joel 1:1: λόγος κυρίου ὃς ἐγενήθη πρὸς Ἰωηλ τὸν τοῦ Βαθουηλ.

-R

Joel 2:11: καὶ κύριος δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ὅτι πολλή ἐστιν σφόδρα ἡ παρεμβολή αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ ἔργα λόγων αὐτοῦ διότι μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου μεγάλη καὶ ἐπιφανὴς σφόδρα καὶ τίς ἔσται ἰκανὸς αὐτῇ.

-R

2.26.1 Joel graphics



2.27 Amos occurrences

Amos 1:1: λόγοι Αμως οἱ ἐγένοντο ἐν νακκαριμ ἐκ Θεκουε οὓς εἶδεν ὑπὲρ Ιερουσαλημ ἐν ἡμέραις Οζιου βασιλέως Ιουδα καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις Ιεροβοαμ τοῦ Ιωας βασιλέως Ισραηλ πρὸ δύο ἐτῶν τοῦ σεισμοῦ.

-R⁵⁵⁰

Amos 3:1: ἀκούσατε τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὃν ἐλάλησεν κύριος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς οἶκος Ισραηλ καὶ κατὰ πάσης φυλῆς ἧς ἀνήγαγον ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου λέγων.

-R

Amos 4:1: ἀκούσατε τὸν λόγον τοῦτον δαμάλεις τῆς Βασανίτιδος αἱ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Σαμαρείας αἱ καταδυναστεύουσαι πτωχοὺς καὶ καταπατοῦσαι πένητας αἱ λέγουσαι τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτῶν ἐπίδοτε ἡμῖν ὅπως πίωμεν.

-R

Amos 5:1: ἀκούσατε τὸν λόγον κυρίου τοῦτον ὃν ἐγὼ λαμβάνω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς θρηῆνον οἶκος Ισραηλ.

-R

Amos 5:10: ἐμίσησαν ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντα καὶ λόγον ὄσιον ἐβδελύξαντο.

-R⁵⁵¹

Amos 6:13: οἱ εὐφραινόμενοι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λόγῳ οἱ λέγοντες οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἡμῶν ἔσχομεν κέρατα.

-T⁵⁵²

Amos 7:10: καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν Αμασιας ὁ ἱερεὺς Βαιθηλ πρὸς Ιεροβοαμ βασιλέα Ισραηλ λέγων συστροφᾶς ποιεῖται κατὰ σοῦ Αμως ἐν μέσῳ οἴκου Ισραηλ οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἡ γῆ ὑπενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ.

-R⁵⁵³

Amos 7:16: καὶ νῦν ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου σὺ λέγεις μὴ προφήτευσε ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραηλ καὶ οὐ μὴ ὀχλαγωγῆσης ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ιακωβ.

-R

Amos 8:11: ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται λέγει κύριος καὶ ἐξαποστελώ λιμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐ λιμὸν ἄρτου οὐδὲ δίψαν ὕδατος ἀλλὰ λιμὸν τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λόγον κυρίου.

-R

Amos 8:12: καὶ σαλευθήσονται ὕδατα ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως ἀνατολῶν περιδραμοῦνται ζητοῦντες τὸν λόγον κυρίου καὶ οὐ μὴ εὔρωσιν.

-R

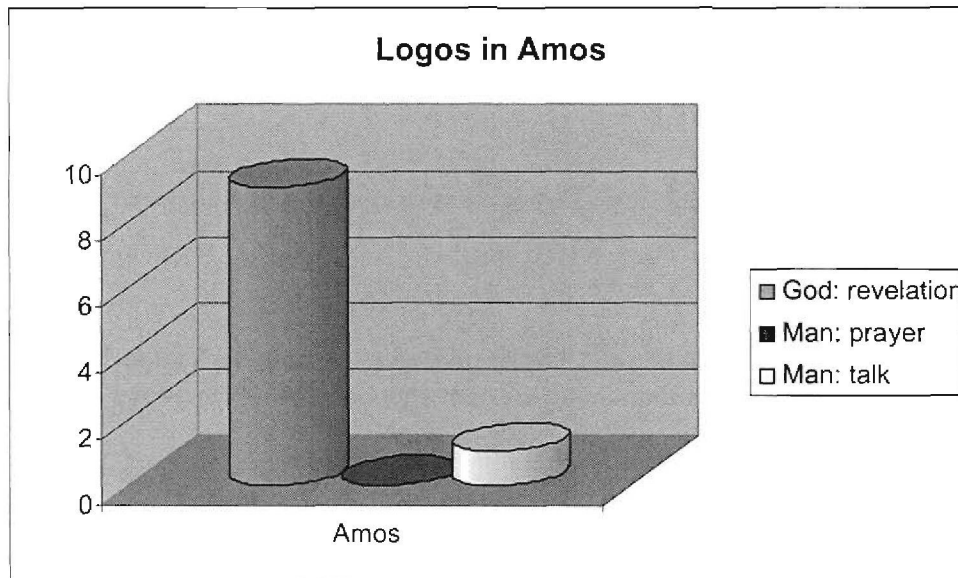
550 In Amos 1:1 the words do not refer to Amos speaking, but the words came to Amos: λόγοι Αμως οἱ ἐγένοντο.

551 Amos 5:10 refers to speech consecrated to God: λόγον ὄσιον.

552 Amos 6:13 refers to what is not worth mentioning, vanity.

553 Amos 7:10 speaks about prophecies concerning a violent demise of the king.

2.27.1 Amos graphics



2.28 Jonah occurrences

Jonah 1:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰωναν τὸν τοῦ Ἀμαθι λέγων.

-R

Jonah 3:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰωναν ἐκ δευτέρου λέγων.

-R

Jonah 3:6: καὶ ἤγγισεν ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Νινευη καὶ ἐξανέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ καὶ περιείλατο τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περιεβάλετο σάκκον καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ σποδοῦ.

-R⁵⁵⁴

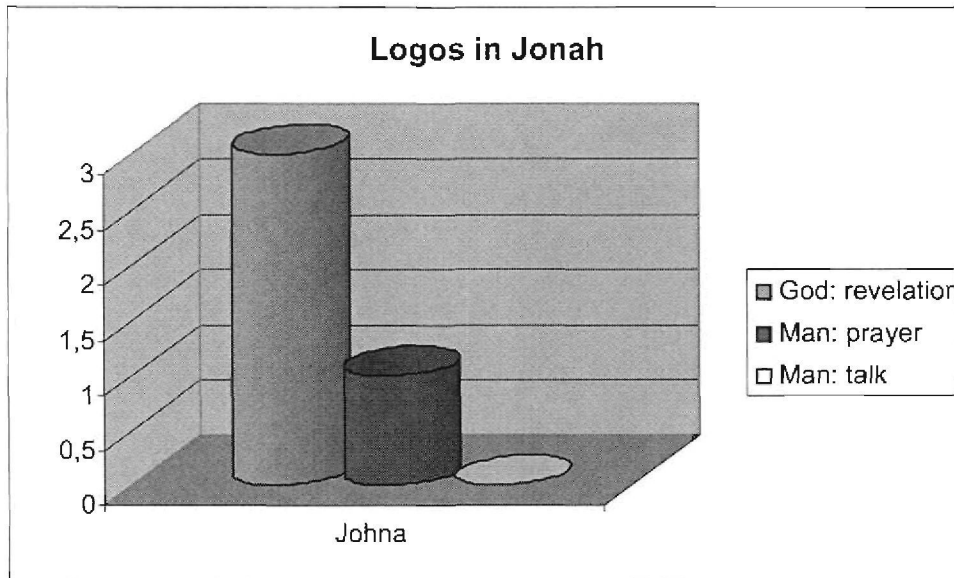
Jonah 4:2: καὶ προσεύξατο πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἶπεν ὦ κύριε οὐχ οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου ἔτι ὄντος μου ἐν τῇ γῆ μου διὰ τοῦτο προέφθασα τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς Θαρσις διότι ἔγνων ὅτι σὺ ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτιρῶν μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ μετανοῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς κακίαις.

-O⁵⁵⁵

554 Jonah's prophecies (revelation from God) were passed on to the king (Jonah 3:6).

555 Jonah 4:2 refers to Jonah's initial response to God.

2.28.1 Jonah graphics



2.29 Michah occurrences

Micah 1:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Μιχαιαν τὸν τοῦ Μωρασθι ἐν ἡμέραις Ιωαθαμ καὶ Αχαζ καὶ Εζεκιου βασιλέων Ιουδα ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶδεν περὶ Σαμαρείας καὶ περὶ Ιερουσαλημ.

-R

Micah 1:2: ἀκούσατε λαοὶ λόγους καὶ προσεχέτω ἡ γῆ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἔσται κύριος ἐν ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον κύριος ἐξ οἴκου ἁγίου αὐτοῦ.

-R

Micah 2:7: ὁ λέγων οἶκος Ιακωβ παρώργισεν πνεῦμα κυρίου εἰ ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν οὐχ οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ εἰσιν καλοὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρθοὶ πεπόρευνται.

-R

Micah 4:2: καὶ πορεύσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ ἐροῦσιν δευτε ἀναβώμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ Ιακωβ καὶ δείξουσιν ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορευσόμεθα ἐν ταῖς τρίβουσιν αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ Σιων ἐξελεύσεται νόμος καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ.

-R

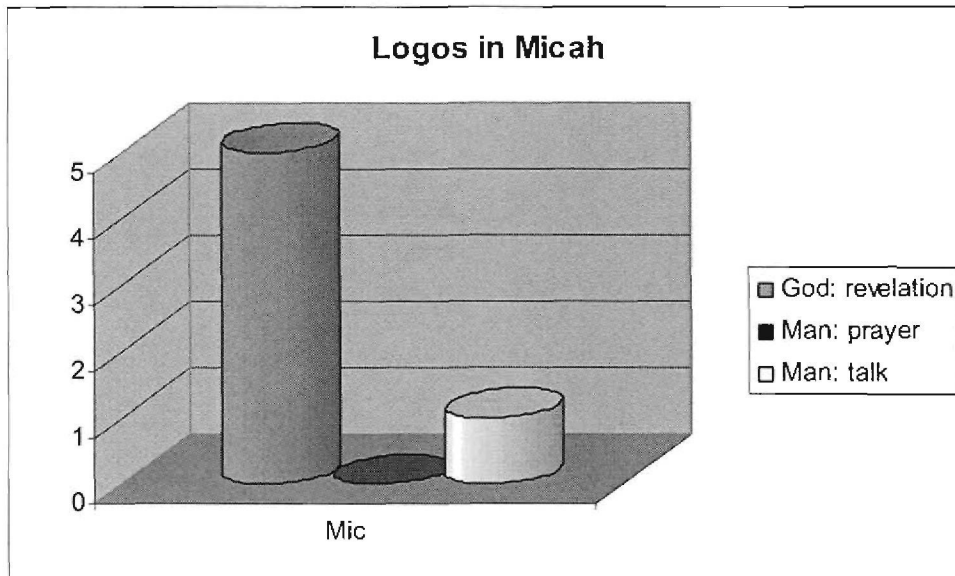
Micah 6:1: ἀκούσατε δὴ λόγον κυρίου κύριος εἶπεν ἀνάστηθι κριθῆτι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἀκουσάτωσαν οἱ βουνοὶ φωνὴν σου.

-R

Micah 7:3: ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐτοιμάζουσιν ὁ ἄρχων αἰτεῖ καὶ ὁ κριτὴς εἰρηνικούς λόγους ἐλάλησεν καταθύμιον ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔστιν καὶ ἐξελοῦμαι.

-T⁵⁵⁶

2.29.1 Michah graphics

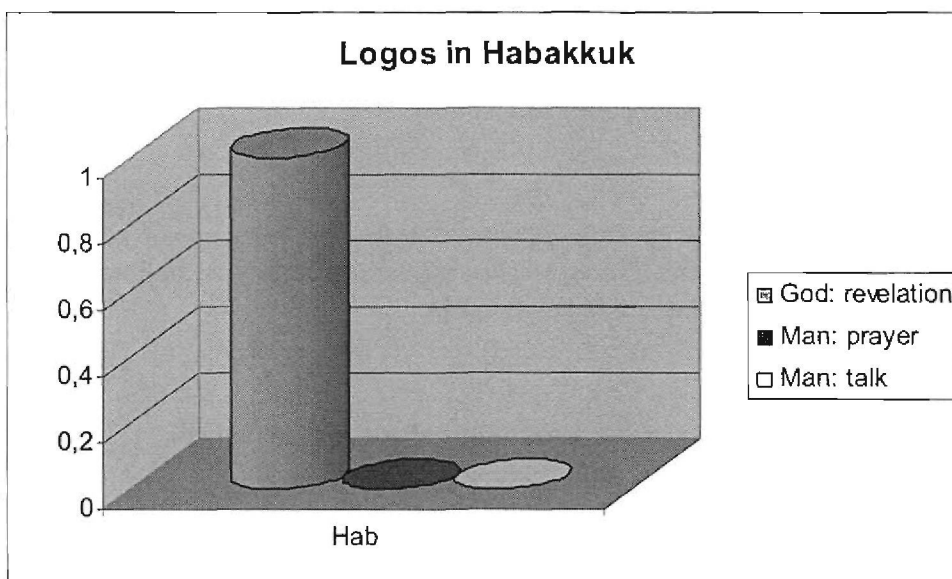


2.30 Habakkuk occurrences

Habakkuk 3:5: πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πορεύσεται λόγος καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐν πεδίλοις οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ.

-R⁵⁵⁷

2.30.1 Habakkuk graphics



556 Mic 7:3 is an example of perverted justice, part of a description of men who do not order their way according to God's commandments.

557 Hab 3:5 contains an announcement of God's arrival.

2.31 Zephaniah occurrences

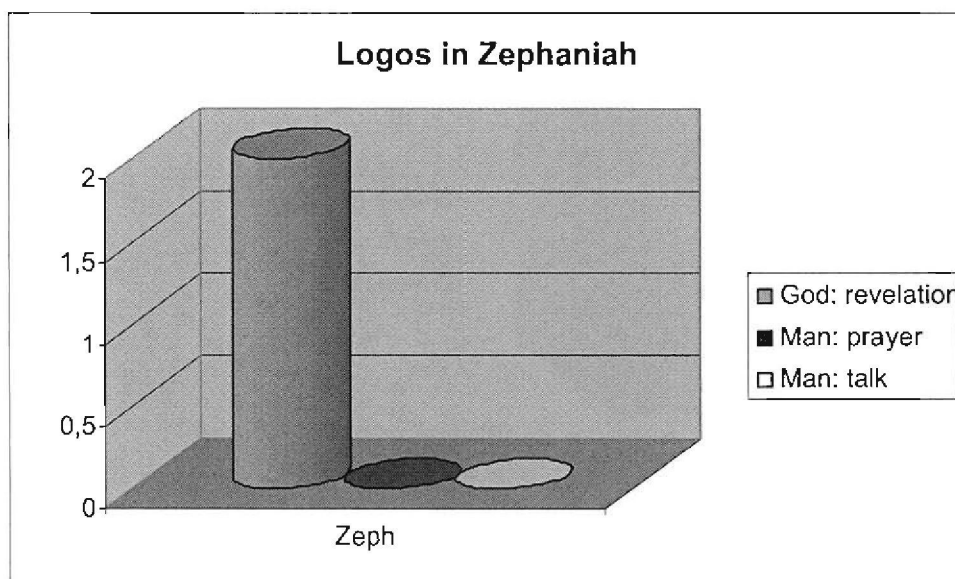
Zephaniah 1:1: λόγος κυρίου ὃς ἐγενήθη πρὸς Σοφονιαν τὸν τοῦ Χουσι υἱὸν Γοδολιου τοῦ Αμαριου τοῦ Εζεκιου ἐν ἡμέραις Ἰωσιου υἱοῦ Αμων βασιλέως Ἰουδα.

-R

Zephaniah 2:5: οὐαὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸ σχοίνισμα τῆς θαλάσσης πάροικοι Κρητῶν λόγος κυρίου ἐφ ὑμᾶς Χανααν γῆ ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἀπολῶ ὑμᾶς ἐκ κατοικίας.

-R

2.31.1 Zephaniah graphics



2.32 Haggai occurrences

Haggai 1:1: ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ μιᾶ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγένετο λόγος κύριου ἐν χειρὶ Αγγαιου τοῦ προφήτου λέγων εἰπὸν δὴ πρὸς Ζοροβαβελ τὸν τοῦ Σαλαθιηλ ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰουδα καὶ πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Ἰωσεδεκ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν λέγων.

-R

Haggai 1:3: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου ἐν χειρὶ Αγγαιου τοῦ προφήτου λέγων.

-R

Haggai 1:12: καὶ ἤκουσεν Ζοροβαβελ ὁ τοῦ Σαλαθιηλ ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰουδα καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδεκ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ πάντες οἱ κατάλοιποι τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν λόγων Αγγαιου τοῦ προφήτου καθότι ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ ἐφοβήθη ὁ λαὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου.

-R

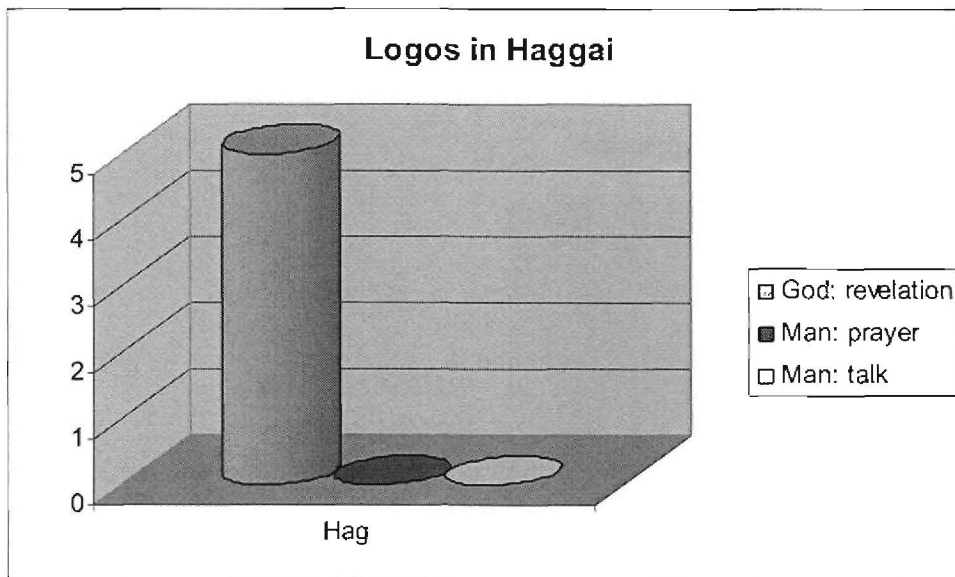
Haggai 2:10: τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνὸς ἔτους δευτέρου ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἀγγαῖον τὸν προφήτην λέγων.

-R

Haggai 2:20: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου ἐκ δευτέρου πρὸς Ἀγγαῖον τὸν προφήτην τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς λέγων.

-R

2.32.1 Haggai graphics



2.33 Zechariah occurrences

Zechariah 1:1: ἐν τῷ ὄγδῳ μηνὶ ἔτους δευτέρου ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ζαχαριαν τὸν τοῦ Βαραχίου υἱὸν Ἀδδῶ τὸν προφήτην λέγων.

-R

Zechariah 1:6: πλὴν τοὺς λόγους μου καὶ τὰ νόμιμά μου δέχεσθε ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ἐν πνεύματί μου τοῖς δούλοις μου τοῖς προφήταις οἱ κατελάβοσαν τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπαν καθὼς παρατέτακται κύριος παντοκράτωρ τοῦ ποιῆσαι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ὑμῶν οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὑμῖν.

-R⁵⁵⁸

Zechariah 1:7: τῇ τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ μηνὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μὴν Σαβὰτ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ζαχαριαν τὸν τοῦ Βαραχίου υἱὸν Ἀδδῶ τὸν προφήτην λέγων.

-R

558 Zech 1:6 refers to words spoken by God.

Zechariah 1:13: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη κύριος παντοκράτωρ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ λαλοῦντι ἐν ἐμοὶ ῥήματα καλὰ καὶ λόγους παρακλητικούς.

-R

Zechariah 4:6: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με λέγων οὗτος ὁ λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ζοροβαβελ λέγων οὐκ ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλη οὐδὲ ἐν ἰσχύι ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν πνεύματί μου λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.

-R

Zechariah 4:8: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Zechariah 6:9: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Zechariah 7:1: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ζαχαριαν τετράδι τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνάτου ὃς ἐστὶν Χασελεῦ.

-R

Zechariah 7:4: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Zechariah 7:7: οὐχ οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι εἰσὶν οὓς ἐλάλησεν κύριος ἐν χερσὶν τῶν προφητῶν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὅτε ἦν Ἱερουσαλημ κατοικουμένη καὶ εὐθηνούσα καὶ αἱ πόλεις αὐτῆς κυκλόθεν καὶ ἡ ὄρεινὴ καὶ ἡ πεδινὴ κατωκεῖτο.

-R

Zechariah 7:8: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ζαχαριαν λέγων.

-R

Zechariah 7:12: καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἔταξαν ἀπειθῆ τοῦ μὴ εἰσακούειν τοῦ νόμου μου καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐξάπέστειλεν κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἐν πνεύματι αὐτοῦ ἐν χερσὶν τῶν προφητῶν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐγένετο ὀργὴ μεγάλη παρὰ κυρίου παντοκράτορος.

-R

Zechariah 8:1: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου παντοκράτορος λέγων.

-R

Zechariah 8:9: τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ κατισχυέτωσαν αἱ χεῖρες ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκούοντων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐκ στόματος τῶν προφητῶν ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας τεθεμελίωται ὁ οἶκος κυρίου παντοκράτορος καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἀφ' οὗ ὠκοδόμηται.

-R

Zechariah 8:16: οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οὓς ποιήσετε λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ κριμα εἰρηνικὸν κρίνατε ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ὑμῶν.

-R⁵⁵⁹

Zechariah 8:18: καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου παντοκράτορος πρὸς με λέγων.

-R

Zechariah 9:1: λῆμμα λόγου κυρίου ἐν γῆ Σεδραχ καὶ Δαμασκοῦ θυσία αὐτοῦ διότι κύριος ἐφορᾷ ἄνθρώπους καὶ πάσας φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ.

-R

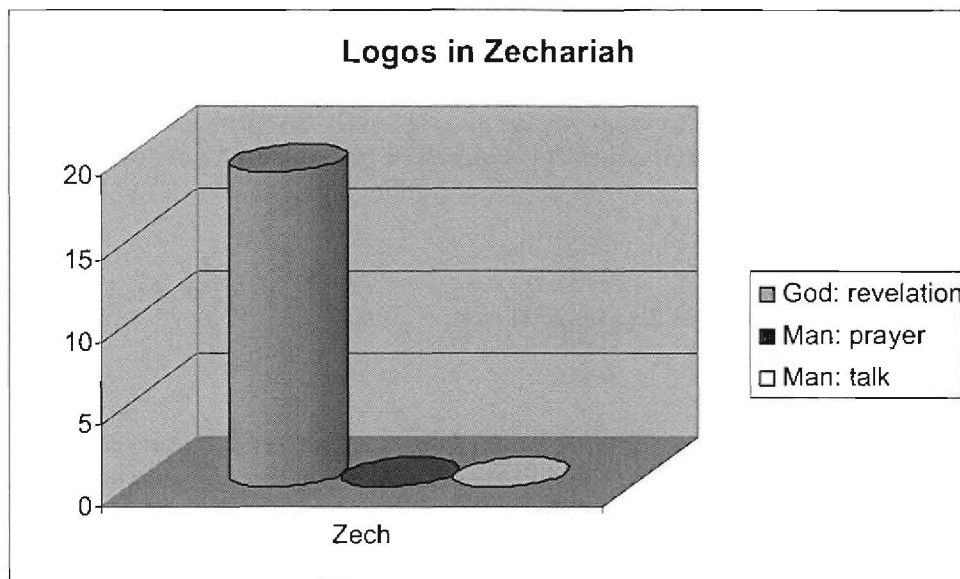
Zechariah 11:11: καὶ διασκεδασθήσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ γνώσονται οἱ Χαναταῖοι τὰ πρόβατα τὰ φυλασσόμενα διότι λόγος κυρίου ἐστίν.

-R

Zechariah 12:1: λῆμμα λόγου κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλ λέγει κύριος ἐκτείνων οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιῶν γῆν καὶ πλάσσων πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου ἐν αὐτῷ.

-R

2.33.1 Zechariah graphics



2.34 Malachi occurrences

Malachi 1:1: λῆμμα λόγου κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλ ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ θέσθε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

-R

559 Zech 8:16 contains God's commandments to his people.

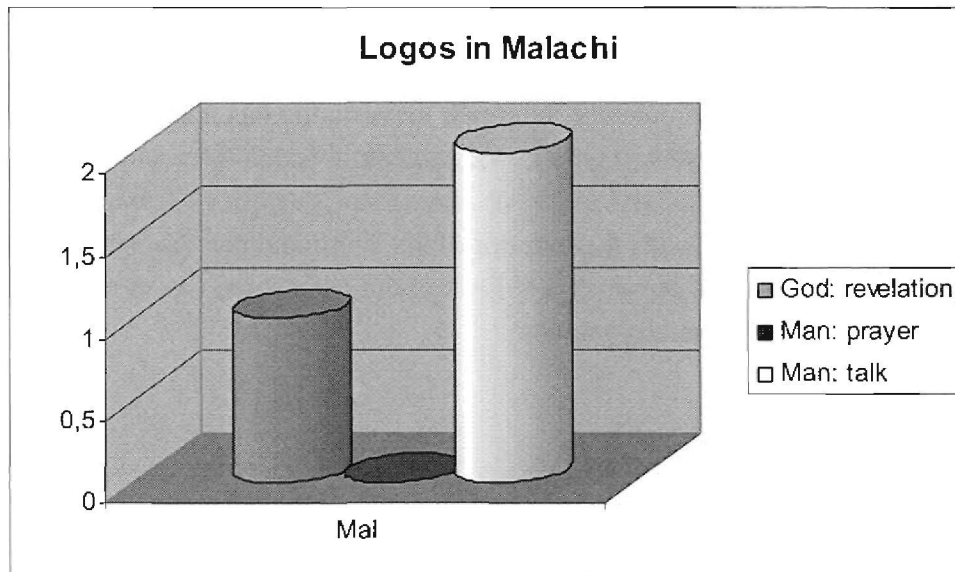
Malachi 2:17: οἱ παροξύνοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑμῶν καὶ εἶπατε ἐν τίνι παρωξύναμεν αὐτόν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὑμᾶς πᾶς ποιῶν πονηρὸν καλὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς εὐδόκησεν καὶ ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

-T

Malachi 3:13: ἐβαρύνετε ἐπ' ἐμὲ τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν λέγει κύριος καὶ εἶπατε ἐν τίνι κατελαλήσαμεν κατὰ σοῦ.

-T

2.34.1 Malachi graphics



3 Conclusion about λόγος in the LXX

The use of λόγος (2.1-2.34) shows:

- that λόγος, like λόγιον, can be used for specific revelatory speech of God as he relates to people.
- that λόγος, unlike λόγιον, can also express human communication to God, like prayer and oaths in God's sight.
- that λόγος, unlike λόγιον, can also express human communication to other people.
- that consequently λόγος can be said to have a wider application than λόγιον.
- that λόγος as such is less specific than λόγιον, and consequently its meaning depends on the context it is used in.

f) that consequently λόγος needs further qualifications in its context to warrant the translation "oracle". When it has the latter as reference, the context specifies its use with a description of the oracle or adding qualifications to λόγος like τοῦ θεοῦ or κυρίου.

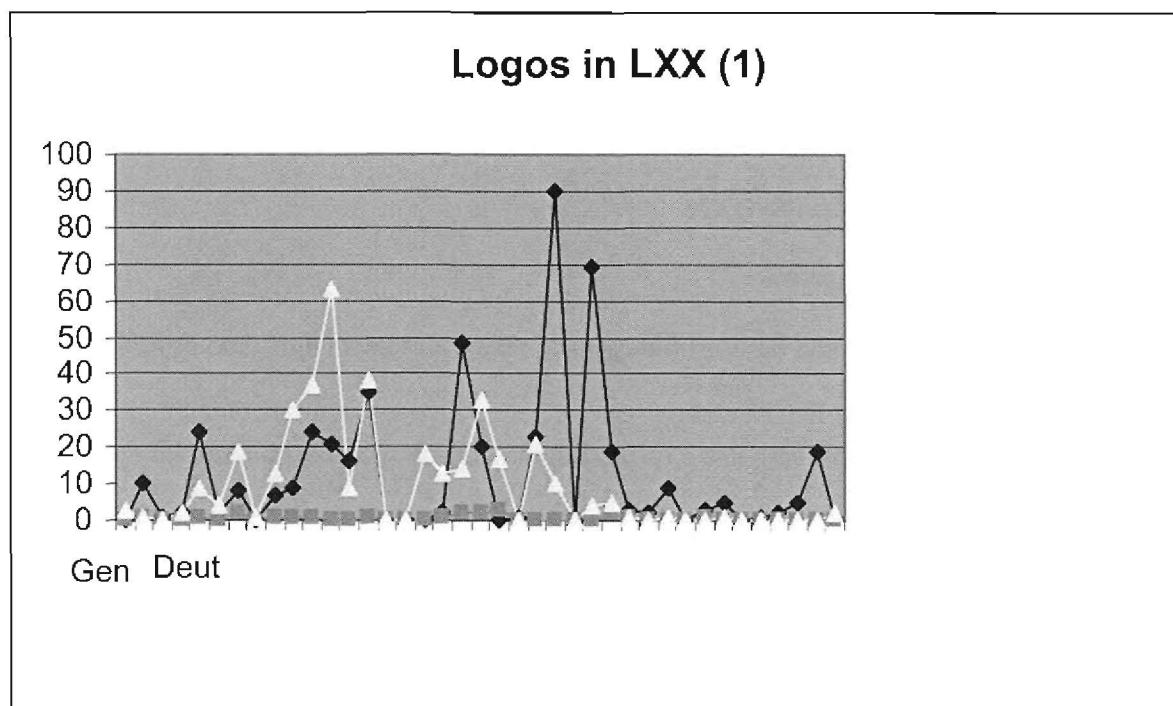
f) that the contexts of the Psalms and the Prophets, where communication with God plays an important role, often calls for λόγος in a relevatory sense.

g) that, especially in the Major Prophets, λόγος is used for specific pronouncements by God, being revealed to a Prophet on a certain day, making the use of λόγος virtually identical to that of λόγιον in its classical use. Consequently the translation "oracle" is warranted for λόγος in these passages.

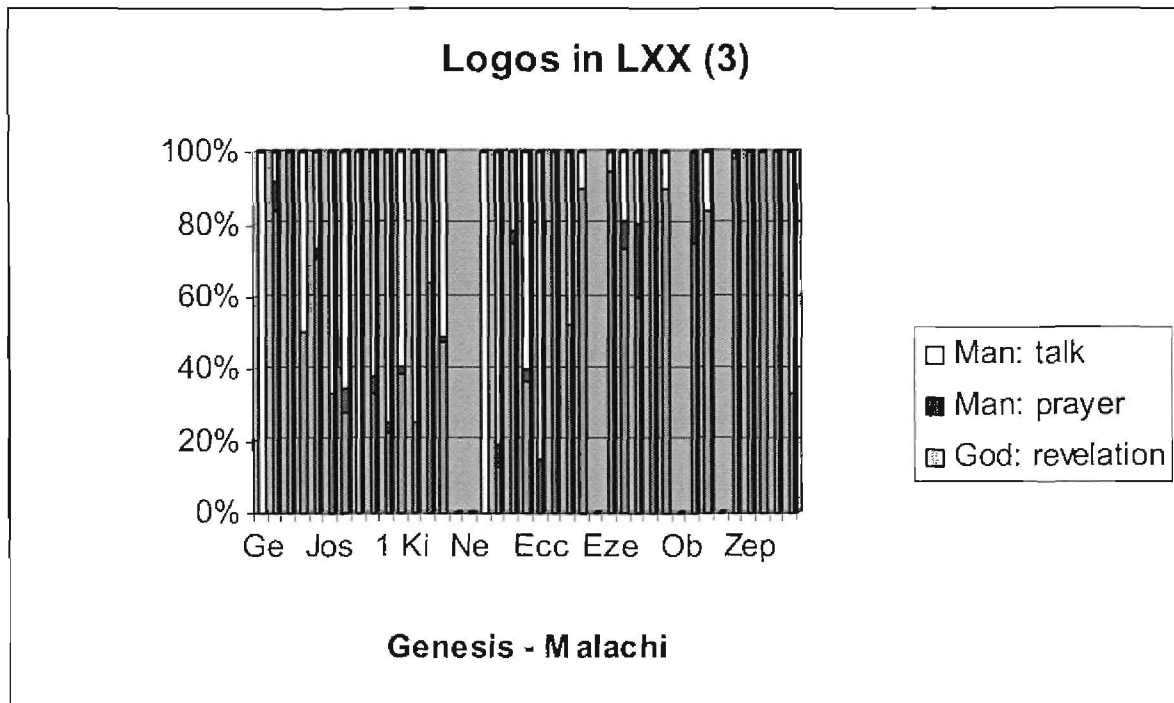
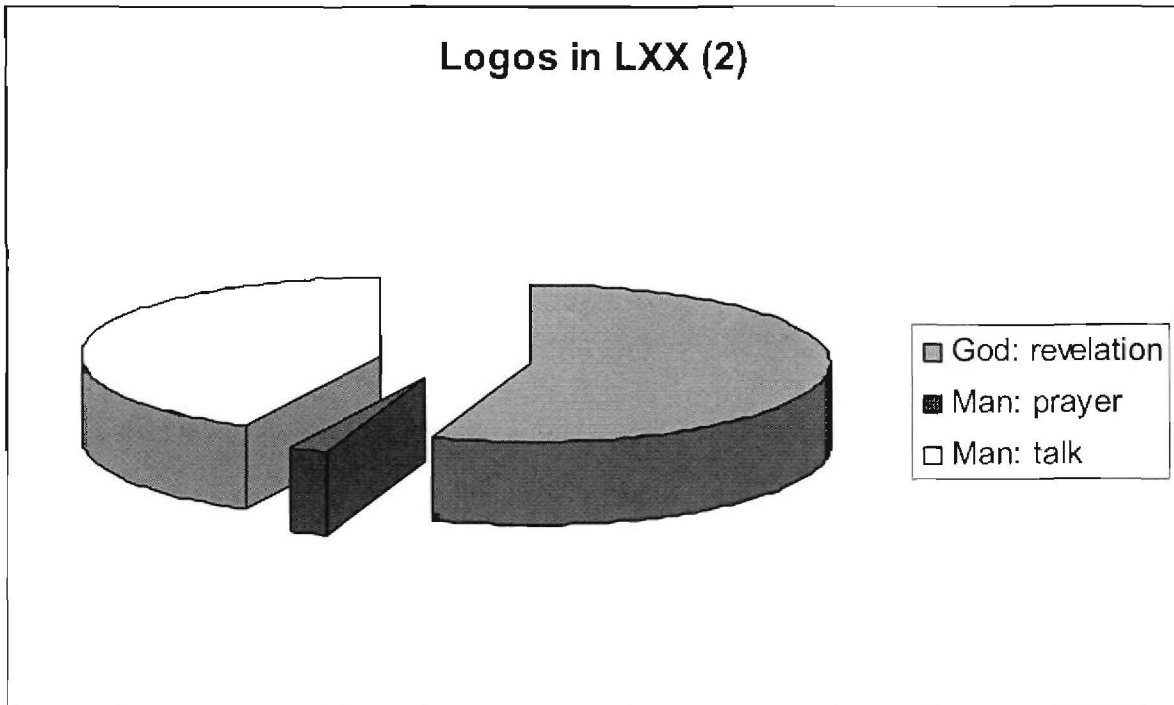
h) While in the prophets other than Isaiah λόγιον is not used at all, in Jeremiah and Ezekiel λόγος seems to take over its function completely. Jeremiah in particular has many grammatical indications of an oracular context (see 12.4). Already in Isaiah the use of λόγος is combined with ἐγένετο (cf. Isaiah 38:4 καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ησαϊαν λέγων). This reinforces the idea that God is the initiator of his Word and that the prophets are its mere recipients and mediators. In Jeremiah and Ezekiel the phrase καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων is especially popular.

3.1 Graphic overview of λόγος in the LXX

The following graph shows the spread of the occurrences of λόγος in the Septuagint.



This second and third general graph shows the nature of the occurrences of λόγος in the Septuagint.



4 Linguistically related words

4.1 λογεῖον in the LXX

Morphologically related is the word λογεῖον (Liddell & Scott 1996:1056), the oracular breast pouch of the Mosaic high priest. Its oracular significance shows in expressions like "oracle of judgment" (Ex 28:30, cf. Lev 8:8). As τό λογεῖον is important only to the extent that it provides a wider context to the use of λόγιον in the Septuagint, the occurrences are provided, but without translation.

Exodus 28:15: καὶ ποιήσεις λογεῖον τῶν κρίσεων ἔργον ποικιλοῦ κατὰ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῆς ἐπωμίδος ποιήσεις αὐτὸ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου κεκλωσμένου καὶ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης ποιήσεις αὐτό.

Exodus 28:22: καὶ ποιήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον κροσσούς συμπεπλεγμένους ἔργον ἀλυσιδωτὸν ἐκ χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ.

Exodus 28:29: καὶ λήμψεται Ααρων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ ἐπὶ τοῦ λογεῖου τῆς κρίσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ ἅγιον μνημόσυνον ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον τῆς κρίσεως τοὺς κροσσούς τὰ ἀλυσιδωτὰ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλιτῶν τοῦ λογεῖου ἐπιθήσεις καὶ τὰς δύο ἀσπίδισκας ἐπιθήσεις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὤμους τῆς ἐπωμίδος κατὰ πρόσωπον.

Exodus 28:30: καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους Ααρων ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ οἶσει Ααρων τὰς κρίσεις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους ἐναντίον κυρίου διὰ παντός.

Exodus 29:5: καὶ λαβὼν τὰς στολὰς ἐνδύσεις Ααρων τὸν ἀδελφόν σου καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν ποδήρη καὶ τὴν ἐπωμίδα καὶ τὸ λογεῖον καὶ συνάψεις αὐτῷ τὸ λογεῖον πρὸς τὴν ἐπωμίδα.

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Exodus 35:27: καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἤνεγκαν τοὺς λίθους τῆς σμαράγδου καὶ τοὺς λίθους τῆς πληρώσεως εἰς τὴν ἐπωμίδα καὶ εἰς τὸ λογεῖον.

Exodus 36:15: καὶ ἐποίησαν λογεῖον ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικιλία κατὰ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἐπωμίδος ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου διανενησμένου καὶ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης.

Exodus 36:16: τετράγωνον διπλοῦν ἐποίησαν τὸ λογεῖον σπιθαμῆς τὸ μῆκος καὶ σπιθαμῆς τὸ εὖρος διπλοῦν.

Exodus 36:22: καὶ ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον κροσσούς συμπεπλεγμένους ἔργον ἐμπλοκίου ἐκ χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ.

Exodus 36:28: καὶ συνέσφιγγεν τὸ λογεῖον ἀπὸ τῶν δακτυλίων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς δακτυλίους τῆς ἐπωμίδος συνεχομένους ἐκ τῆς ὑακίνθου συμπεπλεγμένους εἰς τὸ ὕφασμα τῆς ἐπωμίδος ἵνα μὴ χαλάται τὸ λογεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπωμίδος καθὰ συνέταξεν κύριος τῷ Μωυσῆ.

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Leviticus 8:8: καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπ' αὐτήν τὸ λογεῖον καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

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Sirach 45:10: στολῆ ἁγία χρυσῶ καὶ ὑακίνθῳ καὶ πορφύρᾳ ἔργῳ ποικιλτοῦ λογεῖῳ κρίσεως δῆλοις ἀληθείας κεκλωσμένη κόκκῳ ἔργῳ τεχνίτου.

4.2 μαντεῖον in the LXX

As background information it is valuable to note the use of μαντεῖον (Liddell & Scott 1996:1079) in the LXX. Like the related μαντεία it seems to emphasize the human involvement and activity in divination. They are rarely used in the LXX, with only a handful of occurrences (in Numbers, Deuteronomy, Proverbs and Ezekiel).

The lips of the king may be touched by divine influence. Proverbs 16:10: μαντεῖον ἐπὶ χεῖλεσιν βασιλέως ἐν δὲ κρίσει οὐ μὴ πλανηθῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.

Otherwise μαντεῖον is used in a context of pagan divination (μαντεία). Ezekiel 21:27-28: ἐγένετο τὸ μαντεῖον ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλημ τοῦ βαλεῖν χάρακα, τοῦ διανοιῆσαι στόμα ἐν βοῇ, ὑψῶσαι φωνὴν μετὰ κραυγῆς, τοῦ βαλεῖν χάρακα ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῆς καὶ βαλεῖν χῶμα καὶ οἰκοδομησαὶ βελοστάσεις.²⁸ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς ὡς μαντευόμενος μαντεῖαν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναμιμνήσκων ἀδικίας αὐτοῦ μνησθῆναι. (Ez 21:21-22, ANETS: And the oracular response came against Jerusalem, to throw up a palisade, to open wide a mouth in a shout, to raise up high a voice with a cry, to throw up a palisade against its gates and to put up a ramp and to build batteries of war-engines. And he shall be to them as one divining vain things before them, and he shall be as one recalling injustice to be seized.) Otherwise in Ezekiel the divine angle of the one true God is regularly expressed by λόγος κυρίου (cf. e.g. 21:1 καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων).

The use of μαντεία has a pagan connotation as well. Numbers seems to treat μαντεῖον as the implements used in this divination. Numbers 22:7: καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἡ γερούσια Μωαβ καὶ ἡ γερούσια Μαδιαμ καὶ τὰ μαντεῖα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς Βαλααμ καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ τὰ ῥήματα Βαλακ (Translation: And the elders of Moab went, and the elders of Madiam, and their divining instruments were in their hands; and they came to Balaam, and spoke to him the words of Balac). The use of τά (τὰ μαντεῖα) in this passage indicates a neuter plural, pointing to μαντεῖον. The plural for the nominative plural of the feminine μαντεία (in nominative singular equalling neuter plural of μαντεῖον) would have been μαντεῖαι (cf Grosvenor & Zerwick 1988:v). If one does not suppose that the translator or transcriber mistakenly, or conform the use at the time, wrote the neuter plural for the feminine nominative (identical declension), one should take Numbers 22:7 as a case of mytonomy, *an abstractum pro concreto*, which uses the result (μαντεῖον) to describe the elements involved in bringing this about.

Deuteronomy 18:10 (a prohibition against divination) and Ez 21:26 (the king of Babylon practicing divination) also refer to pagan (illicit) divination.

These words are not found in the New Testament. Proverbs 16:10 contains the only positive reference.

4.3 χρηματίζω in the LXX

Although by the first century AD *χρηματίζω* was widely used as "to utter an oracle," this is not the original meaning of the verb. Earlier it described engagement in a transaction of some sort. We see this use e.g. in 1 Kings, where Elaijah mocks the prophets of Baal, and also in the book of Job.

1 Kings 18:27: καὶ ἐγένετο μεσημβρία καὶ ἐμυκτήρισεν αὐτοὺς Ἡλίου ὁ Θεοσβίτης καὶ εἶπεν ἐπικαλεῖσθε ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλη ὅτι θεὸς ἐστὶν ὅτι ἀδολεσχία αὐτῷ ἐστὶν καὶ ἅμα μήποτε χρηματίζει αὐτός ἢ μήποτε καθεύδει αὐτός καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται.

Job 40:3: μὴ ἀποποιῶ μου τὸ κρίμα οἶει δέ με ἄλλως σοὶ κεχρηματικένοι ἢ ἵνα ἀναφανῆς δίκαιος.

In Jeremiah this verb is used to describe marriage deals, where the neighbour's wife literally changed hands.

Jeremiah 5:8: ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐχρημέτιζον.

Later in Jeremiah one finds *χρηματίζει* in an oracular setting, as a warning from above. Notice the use of *τοὺς λόγους* / *λόγον* in combination with *χρηματίζει* in these instances.

Jeremiah 32:30: καὶ σὺ προφητεύσεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἐρεῖς κύριος ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ χρηματιεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ λόγον χρηματιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰδαδ ὥσπερ τρυγῶντες ἀποκριθήσονται καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

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Jeremiah 33:2: οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος στῆθι ἐν αὐλῇ οἴκου κυρίου καὶ χρηματιεῖς ἅπασι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐρχομένοις προσκυνεῖν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς συνέταξά σοι αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαι μὴ ἀφέλης ῥῆμα.

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Jeremiah 36:23: δι' ἣν ἐποίησαν ἀνομίαν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐμοιχῶντο τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτῶν καὶ λόγον ἐχρημάτισαν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου ὃν οὐ συνέταξα αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγὼ μάρτυς φησὶν κύριος.

Jeremiah 37:2: οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ λέγων γράψον πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐχρημάτισα πρὸς σέ ἐπὶ βιβλίου.

Jeremiah 43:2: λαβὲ σεαυτῷ χαρτίον βιβλίου καὶ γράψον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐχρημάτισα πρὸς σέ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας λαλήσαντός μου πρὸς σε ἀφ' ἡμερῶν Ἰωσὶα βασιλέως Ἰουδα καὶ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.

Jeremiah 43:4: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἱερεμίας τὸν Βαρουχ υἱὸν Νηριου καὶ ἔγραψεν ἀπὸ στόματος Ἱερεμίου πάντας τοὺς λόγους κυρίου οὓς ἐχρημάτισεν πρὸς αὐτόν εἰς χαρτίον βιβλίου.

4.3.1 χρηματίζω in the New Testament

Matthew uses χρηματίζω exclusively as a divine forewarning. The verb no longer needs extra indicators to signal its oracular meaning.

Matthew 2:12: καὶ χρηματισθέντες κατ' ὄναρ μὴ ἀνακάμψαι πρὸς Ἡρώδην δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

Matthew 2:22: ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδου ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν χρηματισθεὶς δὲ κατ' ὄναρ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

In Luke's Gospel χρηματίζω describes a positive divine intimation.

Luke 2:26: καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν ἢ ἂν ἴδῃ τὸν Χριστὸν κυρίου.

Relevant for this research (as they also carry "oracles of God"-passages), Acts, Romans and Hebrews exclusively apply χρηματίζει in its oracular sense.

Acts 10:22: οἱ δὲ εἶπαν Κορνήλιος ἑκατοντάρχης ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεὸν μαρτυρούμενός τε ὑπὸ ὄλου τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐχρηματίσθη ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἁγίου μεταπέμψασθαι σε εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ῥήματα παρὰ σοῦ.

Acts 11:26: καὶ εὐρῶν ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ὄλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διδάξαι ὄχλον ἱκανόν χρηματίσαι τε πρῶτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς.

Romans 7:3: ἄρα οὖν ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μοιχαλὶς χρηματίζει ἐὰν γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν μοιχαλίδα γενομένην ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ.

Hebrews 8:5: οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσιν τῶν ἐπουρανίων καθὼς κεχρημάτισται Μωϋσῆς μέλλων ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν ὅρα γὰρ φησὶν ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

Hebrews 11:7: πίστει χρηματισθεὶς Νῶε περὶ τῶν μηδέπω βλεπομένων εὐλαβηθεὶς κατεσκεύασεν κιβωτὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ δι' ἧς κατέκρινεν τὸν κόσμον καὶ τῆς κατὰ πίστιν δικαιοσύνης ἐγένετο κληρονόμος.

Hebrews 12:25: βλέπετε μὴ παραιτήσησθε τὸν λαλοῦντα εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἐξέφυγον ἐπὶ γῆς παραιτησάμενοι τὸν χρηματίζοντα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς οἱ τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ἀποστρεφόμενοι.

4.4 χρηματισμός in LXX and New Testament

Morphologically related to χρηματίζω is the proper noun χρηματισμός, which probably had an earlier oracular connotation that reflected on the use of the verb in later times.

Proverbs 31:1: οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι εἰρηνται ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλέως χρηματισμός ὃν ἐπαίδευσεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ.

This word is also used similarly in the deuterocanonical writings of the LXX.

2 Maccabees 2:4: ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ὡς τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ προφήτης χρηματισμοῦ γενηθέντος αὐτῷ συνακολουθεῖν ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος οὗ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀναβάς ἐθεάσατο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κληρονομίαν.

2 Maccabees 11:17: Ἰωαννης καὶ Ἀβεσσαλωμ οἱ πεμφθέντες παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιδόντες τὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον χρηματισμὸν ἤξιον περὶ τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ σημαινομένων.

In the New Testament χρηματισμός is found only once. The Apostle Paul presents it as an oracular pronouncement from God.

Romans 11:4: ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμὸς κατέλιπον ἑμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ.

4.5 Relevance related words

This brief overview of some words grammatically related or providing a linguistic context to the use of λόγος and λόγιον in the LXX shows λογιεῖον, as the oracular breast pouch of the Mosaic high priest. As the LXX does not give any description of its operation, nor specifically connect it to the production of λόγος or λόγιον, it is not relevant for the aims of this research. The use of μαντεῖον, "divination," and μαντεία is very similar to that of Plutarch's in *De Defectu Oraculorum*, emphasizing respectively the human experience of and activity or implements involved in divination. Although by the first century AD χρηματίζει was widely used as "to utter an oracle," this is not the earlier meaning of the verb. In earlier days it referred to engagement in a transaction of some sort. This use was observed in 1 Kings, where Elaijah mocks the prophets of Baal; and also in the book of Job. Jeremiah uses this verb to describe marriage deals that involved neighbour's wives literally changing hands. Later in Jeremiah one finds χρηματίζει in an oracular setting, as a warning from above. This latter use is continued in the first century writings of the New Testament. Significant for λόγος in the Septuagint, in those oracular settings in the book of Jeremiah χρηματίζει is used in combination with τοὺς λόγους/ λόγον.

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Samevatting in Afrikaans

Orakels van God: 'n vergelykende studie van die Apostoliese Christendom en sy Grieks-Romeinse wêreld.

Die sentrale teoretiese bevinding van hierdie studie is dat, volgens die beoordeling van die oorspronklike ontvangers, die gebrek aan persepsionele egte goddelike openbaring 'n wesentlike rol gespeel het by die val van die Griekse orakels en die opkoms van die Christelike orakels in die Grieks-Romeinse wêreld van die eerste eeu na Christus.

Uit die ondersoeksgegewens van hoofstukke 3-5 kom na vore dat Plutarchos se *De Defectu Oraculorum* 'n kommerniswekkende agteruitgang van die Griekse orakel diens boekstaaf. Dit was vir die betrokkenes allereers 'n saak van godsdiens en geloof. Dit was nie bloot die probleem dat die orakels besig was om te verdwyn nie. Die mense het ook nie langer belang gestel om hulle te raadpleeg vir belangrike aangeleenthede in die maatskaplike en politieke lewe nie. Die invloed van die orakels het verminder tot trivialiteite en dinge wat selfs is. Die orakels van Plutarchos het opgehou werk omdat die Grieks-Romeinse wêreld van sy tyd orakels nie meer aanvaar het as 'n betroubare bron van egte goddelike kommunikasie nie. Die oorsaak van hierdie agteruitgang moes volgens Plutarchos gesoek word in die afwesigheid van die gode, wat hulle nie langer sou bemoei het met die meeste van die ou orakel-plekke nie. Gevolglik was daar nie meer egte goddelike openbaring beskikbaar by die orakel-plekke van weleer nie. Op 'n dramatiese hoogtepunt van sy boek *De Defectu Oraculorum*, stel Plutarchos voor dat hierdie verskynsel van die agteruitgang van die orakels toegeskryf moet word aan die afwesigheid en selfs die dood van die gode.

Terselfder tyd was die apostoliese Christendom (hoofstuk 6-12) veel positiewer gestem. Hierdie beweging het vol oortuiging geproklameer dat hulle Orakels van God ontvang het. Hulle God was nie besig om te verdwyn of dood te gaan nie. Sy Woorde was beskou as egte openbaring uit die hemel. Die Christene het dit as sodanig ontvang en gesien as 'n boodskap wat praktiese inhoud vir hulle totale lewe het. Hierdie boodskap van die apostoliese Christendom het sterk veld gewen in die Grieks-Romeinse wêreld van die eerste eeu na Christus.

Die belangrikste gevolgtrekking van hierdie ondersoek is dat die respektiewelike opkoms en ondergang van die orakels in die Grieks-Romeinse wêreld van die eerste eeu, soos skrywers uit daardie tydperk dit gesien het, veral verklaar moet word in terme van geloof (hoofdstuk 13).

Summary in English

Oracles of God: a comparative study of Apostolic Christianity and its Greco-Roman world.

The central theoretical argument of this study is that the lack of perceived authentic divine speech in the experience of the recipients played a crucial role in the fall of the Greco-Roman oracles in favour of the Christian oracles of God.

The data presented in chapter 3-5 establish that Plutarch's *De Defectu Oraculorum* suggests a dramatic decline of the Greek oracle religion. This was an issue of faith. Not only were the oracles disappearing, but they were no longer consulted for important decisions. Their relevance was reduced mostly to the area of trivial and even shameful enquiries. The oracles of Plutarch ceased because the Greco-Roman world did no longer appreciate these oracles as a source of authentic and relevant divine communication. In Plutarch's mind the reason for this was in the disappearance of the presence of the gods from most of the sites that had been oracular previously. Consequently genuine communication from the gods was no longer available. In a dramatic and desperate climax *De Defectu Oraculorum* suggests the departure and even the death of the gods to explain the phenomenon of the disappearance of the oracles.

Apostolic Christianity (chapter 6-12), on the other hand, claimed that it had received oracles from God. Its God was not disappearing or dying. His messages were considered to be genuine revelation from the realms of glory and embraced as relevant by Apostolic Christianity. Theirs was a message that convinced many in the Greco-Roman world of the first century.

The respective rise and fall of the oracles in the Greco-Roman world of the first century as it was perceived by writers of that era should be primarily explained in terms of faith (chapter 13).

Resumen en Español

Los oráculos de Dios, un estudio comparativo de la Cristiandad Apostólica y su mundo Greco-Romano.

El argumento teórico central de este estudio es que la falta de percepción de auténtica expresión divina en la experiencia de los recipientes jugaron un rol crucial en la caída de los oráculos Greco-Romanos, a favor de los oráculos del Dios cristiano.

Los datos presentados en los capítulos 3 – 5 establecen que el *De Defectu Oraculorum* sugiere un dramático declinar de la religión de los oráculos griegos. Esto era un asunto de fe. No sólo estaban desapareciendo los oráculos, sino que dejaban de ser consultados ante decisiones importantes. La relevancia de éstos se redujo mayormente al área de las consultas triviales y aún vergonzosas. Los oráculos de Plutarco cesaron porque el mundo Greco-Romano no apreció más estos oráculos como fuente de una auténtica y relevante comunicación divina. En la mente de Plutarco el motivo de esto era la desaparición de la presencia de los dioses de la mayoría de los lugares que previamente habían sido oraculares. Consecuentemente la genuina comunicación de los dioses ya no estaba disponible. En un clímax dramático y desesperado *De Defectu Oraculorum* sugiere que la partida y aún muerte de los dioses para explicar el fenómeno de la desaparición de los oráculos.

La Cristiandad Apostólica (capítulos 6 – 12), por otro lado, afirmaba que había recibido oráculos de Dios. Su Dios no estaba desapareciendo o muriendo. Sus mensajes eran considerados genuina revelación desde las esferas de gloria y abrazados como relevantes por el Cristianismo Apostólico. El de ellos era un mensaje que convencía a muchos del mundo Greco-Romano del primer siglo.

Los respectivos surgimiento y caída de los oráculos en el mundo Greco-Romano del primer siglo tal como fue percibida por los escritores de aquella época deberían ser primariamente explicadas en términos de fe (capítulo 13).

Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch

Orakel Gottes: eine vergleichende Studie zum apostolischen Christentum und seiner graeco-römischen Welt.

Das zentrale theoretische Argument der vorliegenden Studie besteht darin, dass der Mangel an wahrgenommener authentischer göttlicher Rede in der Erfahrung der Rezipienten eine entscheidende Rolle im Niedergang der graeco-römischen Orakel zugunsten der christlichen Orakel Gottes spielte.

Die Aussagen in Kapitel 3-5 zeigen, dass Plutarchs *De Defectu Oraculorum* einen drastischen Niedergang der griechischen Orakelreligion konstatiert. Dies war eine Sache des Glaubens! Abgesehen davon, dass viele Orakel verschwanden, wurden auch selbst die verbleibenden nicht mehr für wichtige Entscheidungen herangezogen. Ihre Bedeutung beschränkte sich zumeist auf den Bereich trivialer und sogar ehrenrühriger Anfragen. Plutarchs Orakel verstummten, weil die graeco-römische Welt diese nicht mehr als Quelle einer authentischen und relevanten göttlichen Kommunikation wahrnahm. Der Grund dafür bestand nach Plutarchs Meinung in der zunehmenden Abwesenheit der Götter an den vorher als orakelhaft angesehenen Orten. Eine echte Kommunikation seitens der vorhandenen Göttern fand nicht mehr statt. Dieses Phänomen des Verschwindens der Orakel erklärt Plutarch in einem ebenso drastischen wie hoffnungslosen Höhepunkt von *De Defectu Oraculorum* damit, dass die Götter die Orakelorte verlassen hätten oder diese gar tot seien.

Das apostolische Christentum (Kapitel 6-12) behauptete andererseits, dass es Orakel von Gott empfangen hätte. Der Gott des Christentums war nicht im Schwinden oder sterbend. Seine Botschaften wurden als echte Offenbarungen der himmlischen Welt angesehen und als solche auch angenommen. Die Christenheit verfügte somit über Botschaften, die viele in der graeco-römischen Welt des ersten Jahrhunderts überzeugten.

Aufstieg und Niedergang der christlichen bzw. paganen Orakel in der graeco-römischen Welt, wie sie von den zeitgenössischen Autoren wahrgenommen wurden, sollten vornehmlich vor dem Hintergrund der jeweiligen Glaubenserfahrung erklärt werden (Kapitel 13).

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Orakels van God: een vergelijkende studie van de apostolische Christenheid en haar Grieks-Romeinse wereld.

De centrale theoretische bevinding van deze studie is, dat naar de beoordeling van de respectievelijke ontvangers, het gebrek aan of de beschikbaarheid van echte goddelijke openbaring een centrale rol speelde bij de val van de Griekse orakels en de opkomst van de christelijke.

Uit de onderzoeksgegevens in de hoofdstukken 3-5 blijkt dat Plutarchus' *De Defectu Oraculorum* een kammernis wekkende achteruitgang van de Griekse orakel dienst signaleerde. Dit was voor de belanghebbenden allereerst een zaak van godsdienst en geloof. Niet alleen waren de orakels bezig om te verdwijnen, ze werden ook niet langer geraadpleegd voor belangrijke beslissingen. Hun invloed was teruggebracht; er werden vooral zaken voorgelegd die er niet veel toe deden of zelfs als schandelijk gezien werden. De orakels van Plutarchus stopten te functioneren omdat de Grieks-Romeinse wereld van zijn tijd deze orakels niet langer algemeen zag als bron van echte communicatie door de goden wier inspraak op het menselijk leven gezocht moest worden. De reden hiervoor moest volgens Plutarchus gezocht worden in het vertrek van de goden, die hun bemoeienis met de meeste aloude orakel plaatsen hadden opgezegd. Zodoende was er niet langer echte goddelijke openbaring verkrijgbaar bij vele van de orakels van weleer. Als dramatisch hoogtepunt in het betoog van *De Defectu Oraculorum*, stelt Plutarchus voor dat het gedwongen vertrek en zelfs de dood van de goden het verschijnsel van de verdwenen orakels zou kunnen verklaren.

Terzelfder tijd was het apostolische christendom (hoofdstuk 6-12) veel positiever gestemd en proclameerde vol overtuiging dat zij Godsspraken had ontvangen. Haar God was niet bezig om te verdwijnen of dood te gaan. Zijn woorden werden beschouwd als echte openbaring vanuit hemelse sferen, en als zodanig ontvangen en als relevant voor het menselijk leven gezien door het apostolische christendom. Hun boodschap vond ingang bij velen in de Grieks-Romeinse wereld van de eerste eeuw na Christus.

De hoofdconclusie van dit onderzoek is dat de respectievelijke opkomst en ondergang van de orakels in de Grieks-Romeinse wereld van de eerste eeuw, zoals schrijvers van dit tijdperk het zagen, met name moet worden verklaard vanuit het religieuze geloof van die tijd (hoofdstuk 13).

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