

The influence of Atticism on the textual transmission of I John with particular reference to the Alexandrian text type

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DEDICATION

Not a day has passed throughout the duration of this study that I did not long for my mother, Leentie de Lange, who passed away in July 2011. I dedicate this study to her memory and love.

Vir my moeder,
Leentie de Lange,
in liefdevolle en verlangende herinnering.

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Summary and key terms

Key terms:

Alexandrian text type
Attic dialect
Atticism
Eclecticism
I John
Koine
Textual criticism

The main research focus of this study was to determine more clearly to what extent Atticism influenced textual variants that are considered to belong to the Alexandrian text type.

Since the time of Westcott and Hort, the Alexandrian text type has been regarded as a manuscript tradition which is representative of relatively high stylistic Greek. This assumption seems likely, especially given the fact that Alexandria and the areas which gave rise to the manuscripts comprising the Alexandrian text type were cultural centres of learning as well as of a newly-found Hellenistic awareness within the Roman Empire. One of the movements stemming from this newfound awareness was Atticism, which was, amongst other things, an artificial literary movement which strove towards emulating the classical Attic literary dialect.

However, in the last few decades the question of the alleged presence of Atticist influence in the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament has received its share of conflicting scholarly treatment among textual critics, especially since the 1963 publication of G.D. Kilpatrick's influential article, "Atticism and the text of the Greek New Testament". On the one hand, there is common assent that Atticism exerted a profound influence on *all* Greek prose of the first century. On the other hand, some difference of opinion exists as to whether Atticism actually influenced the composition of the New Testament *text* in any significant way. The influence on the *transmission* of the New Testament texts is another question that still needs a fuller treatment in order to proceed from mere scholarly opinion to a more established empirical degree of certainty.

The current study is an investigation into the nature of Atticism and its relationship with the classical Attic dialect. The results of this investigation were then used as basis for an evaluation of the alleged Atticisms in the Alexandrian witnesses, taking the witnesses to the text of I John as sample. In the process, thoroughgoing eclecticism as text-critical method is evaluated, and an adapted reasoned eclectic method proposed with which to conduct the investigation of the variants in I John.

The results have shown that in the textual tradition of I John, inconsistencies of correction and scribal usage occur frequently within the Alexandrian text type and that the correction was predominantly not towards Attic, but rather displayed a tendency towards Hellenistic-Koine usage.

In summary, the investigation demonstrates that the uniformity of the Alexandrian text type as a whole, if not completely suspect, should at least be judged very critically when it comes to matters of characteristic features which have for decades been accepted as true, such as the Alexandrian text type's reputation as one displaying stylistically polished Greek.

The investigation of I John has shed valuable light on the methodological presupposition that categories of text types are fixed above all doubt, and that they display general typical characteristics. This presupposition has been exposed as false and indicates that one follows it at one's methodological peril.

Opsomming en sleuteltermes

Sleuteltermes:

Aleksandrynse tekstipe
Attiese dialek
Attisisme
Eklektiese metode
I Johannes
Koine
Tekskritiek

Die hoofokus van hierdie studie was om duideliker te bepaal tot watter mate die ontstaan van teksvariante in die Aleksandrynse tekstipe aan die invloed van die eerste eeuse neiging tot Attisisme toegeskryf kan word.

Sedert die tyd van Westcott en Hort is die Aleksandrynse tekstipe feitlik sonder teësprak deur tekskritici beskou as 'n manuskrip-tradisie wat betreklike hoë gestileerde Grieks handhaaf. Die waarskynlikheid van gestileerde Grieks in manuskripte van Aleksandrynse oorsprong word verhoog deur die feit dat Aleksandrië homself binne die Romeinse Ryk gevestig het as kulturele sentrum van geleerdheid en van 'n nuutgevonde Hellenistiese herlewing. Een van die bewegings wat uit hierdie herlewing ontstaan het, was Attisisme, wat (onder andere) 'n kunsmatige literêre beweging van die eerste eeue was wat die nabootsing van die klassieke Attiese dialek nagestreef het.

In die afgelope dekades was daar egter toenemende meningsverskille onder gerekende tekskritici oor die beweerde Attisistiese invloed op die manuskripte van die Griekse Nuwe Testament, veral sedert G.D. Kilpatrick se invloedryke artikel, "Atticism and the text of the Greek New Testament", in 1963 gepubliseer is. Aan die een kant is daar ooreenstemming dat Attisisme 'n noemenswaardige invloed op *alle* Griekse prosa van die eerste eeu uitgeoefen het. Aan die ander kant bestaan daar 'n meningsverskil oor die vraag of Attisisme enige noemenswaardige invloed op die samestelling van die Nuwe Testament se *teks* gehad het. Origenes bly die beweerde invloed van Attisisme op die *oorlewing* van die Nuwe Testament teks 'n vraagstuk wat indringende ondersoek vereis, aangesien standpunte oor hierdie aangeleentheid tans op weinig meer as blote opinies berus, en daar 'n behoefte aan meer bevestigde empiriese sekerheid bestaan.

Die studie in hierdie verhandeling is 'n poging om die beweerde invloed van Attisisme op die teksoordrag van die Nuwe Testament in opnuut in oënskou te neem. Die studie ondersoek die aard van Attisisme, en die verhouding tussen Attisisme en die klassieke Attiese dialek. Die resultate van hierdie ondersoek is geneem as basis vir evaluering van die beweerde Attisismes in die Aleksandrynse teksgetuies, met die teksgetuies van I Johannes as proefsteek-ondersoek. In die proses is die radikale (*thoroughgoing*) eklektisisme as tekskritiese metode geëvalueer, en word 'n aangepaste gematigde (*reasoned*) eklektiese metode voorgestel om die variante in I Johannes te ondersoek.

Die resultate het getoon dat daar in die tekstradisie van I Johannes dikwels inkonsekwentheid binne die Aleksandrynse tekstipe bestaan met betrekking tot die redigering deur en gewoontes van die skriptors. Verder is bevind dat die korreksies wat in Aleksandrynse manuskripte aangebring is, nie na Attiese Grieks neig nie, maar eerder na gebruike wat eie is aan Hellenistiese-Koine-Grieks.

Die ondersoek het gewys dat die algemene beskouing dat die Aleksandrynse tekstipe 'n eenvormigheid vertoon, baie meer krities beoordeel moet word, en selfs in sy geheel onder verdenking staan. Dit sluit in die tradisionele kenmerke van tekstipes wat dekades lank as onaanvegbaar waar beskou is, spesifiek die Aleksandrynse tekstipe se reputasie dat dit 'n Grieks bevat wat stilisties afgerond is.

Die ondersoek in I Johannes het waardevolle lig gewerp op die metodologiese voorveronderstelling dat die indeling van tekstipes bo alle twyfel vasstaan, en dat hulle tipiese kenmerke vertoon. Hierdie voorveronderstelling is uitgewys as vals, en dui aan dat 'n mens hierdie voorveronderstellings op eie metodologiese risiko volg.

Table of Contents

| | <i>page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| Acknowledgements..... | 2 |
| Summary and key terms: English..... | 4 |
| Summary and key terms: Afrikaans (<i>Opsomming en sleuteltermes</i>)..... | 6 |
| Chapter I | |
| Introduction: the problem, argument, aims and methodology..... | 10 |
| I.1. Contextualizing the problem..... | 10 |
| I.2. Central theoretical argument..... | 16 |
| I.3. Demarcation of the primary text to be investigated..... | 18 |
| I.4. Research questions and aims..... | 19 |
| I.5. Methodology..... | 22 |
| Chapter II | |
| Attic and Atticism..... | 24 |
| II.1. Prelude..... | 24 |
| II.2. Historical overview: from Attic to Koine..... | 26 |
| II.2.1. Understanding dialect: preliminary considerations..... | 26 |
| II.2.2. Pre-Attic development of the Greek dialects..... | 30 |
| II.2.3. <i>Imperium Atticum</i> : Athens in germination and bloom..... | 34 |
| II.2.4. The literary dialect and its features..... | 40 |
| II.2.5. The continuous influence of Attic and the Koine..... | 47 |
| II.3. Attic and Atticism in the post-Macedonian era..... | 50 |
| II.3.1. Roman Hellenism..... | 50 |
| II.3.2. The Second Sophistic..... | 52 |
| II.3.3. Atticism..... | 53 |
| II.4. Atticism in the New Testament?..... | 58 |
| II.5. Conclusion..... | 60 |
| Chapter III | |
| The method of investigation re-evaluated..... | 64 |
| III.1. Prelude..... | 64 |
| III.2. Current methods in New Testament textual criticism..... | 65 |
| III.3. The place of eclecticism in New Testament textual criticism..... | 68 |
| III.3.1. General remarks..... | 68 |
| III.3.2. Eclectic specialist methods and the thoroughgoing eclecticism..... | 70 |
| III.3.3. Eclectic generalist methods and the reasoned eclecticism..... | 74 |

| | <i>page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| III.4. Conclusion: Proposed method for investigating the Atticist question..... | 76 |
| III.4.1. Shortcomings thus far..... | 76 |
| III.4.2. Additional external considerations..... | 78 |
| III.4.2.1. Demarcation of the text: I John..... | 78 |
| III.4.2.2. The Alexandrian text type..... | 79 |
| III.4.3. Proposed method..... | 82 |
| Chapter IV | |
| Variants of I John: under the Atticist lens..... | 84 |
| IV.1. Orthography..... | 85 |
| IV.1.1. Exhibit 1: <i>εωρακα/εορακα</i> | 85 |
| IV.1.2. Exhibit 2: <i>-εια-/ια-</i> | 86 |
| IV.1.3. Exhibit 3: <i>γιν- / γιν-</i> | 87 |
| IV.1.4. Conclusion from the data..... | 88 |
| IV.2. Conjugation..... | 88 |
| IV.2.1. Exhibit 4: Paradigm shifts..... | 88 |
| IV.2.2. Conclusion from the data..... | 89 |
| IV.3. Idiom..... | 89 |
| IV.3.1. Exhibit 5: <i>τας εντολας</i> + verb..... | 89 |
| IV.3.2. Conclusion from the data..... | 94 |
| IV.4. Miscellaneous considerations..... | 95 |
| IV.4.1. Particle usage..... | 95 |
| IV.4.1.1. Exhibit 6: Correlative particle usage..... | 95 |
| IV.4.1.2. Exhibit 7: <i>δε</i> | 96 |
| IV.4.1.3. Exhibit 8: Particle usage for discourse/direct speech (<i>ὅτι-recitativum</i>)..... | 97 |
| IV.4.2. Participle usage..... | 98 |
| IV.4.2.1. Exhibit 9: formation of <i>oratio obliqua</i> | 98 |
| IV.4.3. Conclusion from the data..... | 98 |
| IV.5. General conclusion..... | 99 |
| Chapter V | |
| Conclusion and recommendations..... | 101 |
| V.1. Summary and results of investigation | 101 |
| V.2. Central theoretical argument re-evaluated..... | 105 |
| V.3. Method evaluated..... | 105 |
| V.4. Recommendations..... | 106 |
| Bibliography..... | 108 |

Chapter I

Introduction: the problem, argument, aims and methodology

I.1. Contextualizing the problem

The question of the alleged presence of Atticist influence in the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament has received its share of conflicting scholarly treatment among textual critics, especially since the 1963 publication of Kilpatrick's influential article, "Atticism and the text of the Greek New Testament". The current study is an attempt to determine, by using an adapted method of that previously used, the alleged influence of Atticism on the textual transmission of the New Testament (specifically during its transmission of the first four centuries A.D.), by systematically investigating the Alexandrian text type's variant readings of I John.

The relationship between the classical Attic and Ionic dialects and the subsequent development of the Hellenistic Koine was well documented throughout the 20th century as well as in literature that is more recent. In this regard, a few of these works worthy of mention include those by Buck (1955: 3-14, 141-143, 173-180); Browning (1969: 27-49); Frösén (1974); Kazazis (2007:1201); Panayotou (2007: 413); Papanastassiou (2007: 610-617); Horrocks (2007: 618-631; 2010: 67-78, 80-123) and Kim (2010: 470). Since Schmid's (1964) in-depth discussion of various Atticist authors, originally published in 1887, the so-called movement of Atticism has also enjoyed a fair share of scholarly treatment (Browning, 1969: 49-55; Reynolds & Wilson, 1974: 38-69; Kazazis, 2007: 1200-1212; Kyrtatas, 2007: 351-352; Horrocks, 2010: 99-100, 133-141, 155 *et saepe*; Kim, 2010: 468-482; *cf.* Swain, 1996 also).

Although the definition of *Atticism* has proven to be elusive, we may use Kazazis' (2007: 1201) concise phrasing as a starting point when working towards an understanding of what the term connotes, viz. that Atticism had its origins as a "literary revolution" rather than a "purely linguistic movement". Kim's (2010: 468) definition, "the emulation of the style and language of Classical Athens", highlights the important fact that it is to be historically distinguished from the classical Attic dialect, which reached its literary peak during the 5th – 4th centuries B.C. during

the rise of Athens (Browning, 1969: 28-29; Horrocks, 2010: 67-70 ff.). This distinction is of some importance since Atticism was but a literary attempt of the later Hellenistic period to re-invoke the classical style as written by the original Attic writers.

Albeit that the movement flourished, whether this resurrection of the Attic dialect was successfully achieved is disputed. The general conclusion is that it was a highly “artificial” attempt (Reynolds & Wilson, 1974: 40-41), in which the writers “continuously fail in their purpose” (Browning, 1969: 52). For all its unrealistic pretensions and artificial literary ambitions, the movement lasted an astonishingly long time. In sum, it started at around the 1st century B.C., peaking at the turn of the 1st century A.D., its influence continuing long thereafter, even up to the post-Roman Byzantine period (Browning, 1969: 49-51; Reynolds & Wilson, 1974: 40-41; Kazazis, 2007: 1203; Horrocks, 2010: 135, 213-214). For the purpose of this study, the term *Atticism* will be used with a particular focus on the first four centuries A.D.

Atticism as a movement reached its zenith at a time coinciding roughly with the era known as the Second Sophistic, a term initially used by Philostratus (Kazazis, 2007: 1200-1201; Horrocks, 2010: 134; see also Chapter II) to describe an intellectual movement which placed renewed emphasis on rhetoric and the study of oratory in the Roman Empire (Reynolds & Wilson, 1974: 39-40). It was termed the *Second* Sophistic to avoid any confusion with the earlier, better-known Sophists (Kyrtatas, 2007: 352). This movement forms an important background to the shaping of Atticism, since this newfound literary awareness, as expressed in Atticism, was merely one extension of a greater and more complex Hellenistic cultural awareness.

In a certain sense, if we consider Schaps’ (2011: 6-11) introductory remarks on what is “classical”, viz. the “conscious and even extreme Hellenization” of Rome, “in which its literature, its artwork and its architecture refashioned themselves on Greek models”, we might be justified in thinking of Atticism as one of the first results of a truly *classical* awareness that was starting to grow in the young Roman Empire (cf. Swain, 1996).

Since Atticism was a reactionary movement stemming from “the painfully reawakened self-pride of many Greek intellectuals” (Kazazis, 2007: 1200), one might expect that this awareness took

form most strongly in the major neo-Hellenic cultural centres such as Alexandria and throughout Asia Minor, apart from the whole of Greece and the city of Rome itself. Swain (1996) and Whitmarsh (2009: 114-128) provide historical overviews of this awareness while Kim (2010: 468-482) presents an in-depth treatment on the relationship between the two movements. Horrocks (2010: 135) attributes the enduring success of Atticism “to the fact that it found its natural milieu in the context of the antiquarianism of the Second Sophistic”, since the two movements are deeply rooted in the same fertile soil of Hellenistic cultural awareness.

The New Testament writings were composed against the background of this growing awareness, particularly in the realm of literature. Moreover, thanks to the long duration and slow progression of the Atticist movement, the New Testament text was also undergoing the first phase of its history as a transmitted text while Atticism was still in progress. However, there is some dispute as to whether or not the Atticist movement actually had an effect on the *autographs* of the New Testament writings. In fact, some discrepancy seems to exist in recent treatments of the subject, as to exactly how deeply the Atticist movement influenced the Greek literature of the first two centuries A.D.

On the one hand, there is common assent that Atticism exerted a profound influence on *all* Greek prose of the first century A.D., therefore, including the New Testament. This is asserted as a proven fact by Browning (1969: 51), “No prose literature of the first century A.D. was unaffected by the Atticist movement”. It is also strongly stated by Kazazis (2007: 1203): “Characteristic of the general prevalence of Atticism is the fact that *not a single writer* of the first century AD escaped its influence” (my emphasis).

On the other hand, some difference of opinion exists as to whether it actually influenced the composition of the New Testament *text* in any significant way. For example, Silva (1990: 73) maintains: “It is interesting that the language of the New Testament is quite free from the usual Atticizing features... even the Epistle to the Hebrews, whose author must have had some literary pretensions, avoids the stilted expression that characterized the Atticists”. In addition, Kilpatrick (1983: 200) is careful to attribute the Atticisms visible in the New Testament to an influenced

author: “Most of the New Testament writers are unaffected by Atticism though we may think that the Acts of the Apostles shows light traces of this influence.”

Wasserman (2013: 591 ff.) draws attention to the recent work of Flink (2009), which seems to be the only serious investigation into this subject worthy of mention, since that of Frösén’s (1974). Horrocks (2010: 149), given this lack of thorough investigation, provides the safest evaluation in terms of the available *prima facie* evidence: “In general...the language of the New Testament reflects quite closely the natural development of the language in the early centuries AD, always allowing for stylistic variation determined by the level of education of the author. Thus Hebrews and James are in some respects quite ‘classical’ (though far from Atticist), while Luke, Acts and the Pauline epistles are written on a higher level than Matthew, Mark and John.”

Whatever the scope of influence on the *authors* of the time, the influence on the *transmission* of their texts is another question that still needs a fuller treatment in order to proceed from mere scholarly opinion to a more established empirical degree of certainty. Since the publication of Kilpatrick’s article in 1963 the current debate has been, and is, far from decided. For, as Kilpatrick has continuously indicated (e.g. 1963; 1965; 1967; 1977; 1979; 1983;), there can be no doubt that Atticist variants exist in the New Testament text (of which Martini’s [1974] insightful article also notices important potential for further, albeit more controlled, investigation). The definite answer to the question of their origin, however, has proven to be somewhat elusive.

Speaking of Greek texts in general, Kazazis (2007:1205) suggests two ways in which “Atticist correction” came about, i.e.:

- (1) “through the systematic reading and excerpting of the canonical authors, as well as of books which one had to read in order to achieve the Atticist effect: βιβλία ἃ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀττικίζειν ἀναγινώσκομεν (Dio Cassius 55.12)”; and

- (2) “through unceasing perusal of specialized lexica” which were becoming increasingly known and used during the first two centuries (full examples and treatment of such tools of the trade and other ancient criticisms of Atticism can be found in Dickey, 2007; Kilpatrick, 1963: 16-19; Browning, 1969: 52-53; Elliott, 1972: 133-138; Reynolds & Wilson, 1974: 38-42; Kazazis, 2007: 1206-1207; Horrocks, 2010: 137 ff.).

Whether or not the writers of the New Testament autographs indulged in either one of these practices which Kazazis suggests, is of course near impossible to prove. However, at first glance this seems highly unlikely given the comparatively ‘un-Greek’ prose of the New Testament, and taking into account their probable un-Hellenistic educational background. With the possible exception of Luke (Palmer, 1980:194; *cf.* also Kim, 2010:469) and possibly Paul, would any of the other New Testament authors have had access to such typically Second Sophistic theoretical works on writing, let alone be trained in employing such works? Much more likely is that the later copyists of the texts benefited from access and more exposure to these secondary sources that guided the aspiring Atticist writers and, owing to their training as copyists and stylists, the sriptors were also more likely to have been influenced by such material.

Thus the consideration merits a shift in focus, i.e. from the possible influence of Atticism on the writers of the New Testament *autographs*, to the possible influence of Atticism on the *transmission* (and inevitable corruption) of the text. Such a shift may be seen in Reynolds and Wilson (1974: 41-44) as well as Horrocks (2010: 155). The former work highlights the importance of educated transcription, whereas the latter attributes the “elevation” of Christian discourse to the spread of the religion among the more educated classes and the influence of “intellectual apologists” such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Eusebius and the style they employed in their writings. Both recognise the time during which the text was subjected to considerable polishing: not during its composition, but during the stages of its transmission.

During the past five decades, there have been very few ventures into determining the scope of the possible Atticist influence on the text of the New Testament. This is particularly so in the Anglo-American world, where the greatest debate took place. The awareness of possible

influence on the transmission of the New Testament text seems to have been regarded as of rather trivial importance. The exhortations by Kilpatrick (1963: 15, 31-32; 1967: 62), Elliott (1972: 138), and especially the criteria added by Martini (1974: 155) to promote in-depth investigation have largely gone unheeded, apart from a few reactionary articles and *en passant* criticism, most notably by Colwell (1969: 154 ff.); Lee (1980); Metzger (1992: 177-179); Epp (2005 l: 83-85; 2005 k) and Fee (1993 d: 125; 129-130; 131-136; 1993 a: 179-180; 1993 c: 269). It is important to note that the nature of this criticism has been overwhelmingly focused on the methodology of eclecticism (see Chapter III).

More recently, Royse (2008: 737) blew some dust off the topic in saying that “Further investigation of the relations that may exist between [scribes’] singulars and the state of Greek at various times, the influence of the Septuagint, the influence of Atticism, and questions of the authors’ styles, could also prove to be revealing”, as regards the papyri he studied.

Although there is little doubt of the existence of Atticist variants in the New Testament, the evidence for Atticism as a *significant influence* on the transmission of the New Testament as a whole (Kilpatrick, 1963; 1965; 1967; 1977; 1979; 1983; Elliot, 1972 and Martini, 1974) does not seem conclusive. Neither do the arguments against it refute the possibility of a significant influence altogether; but the strength of the arguments for this influence is undermined by what many scholars (such as Epp and especially Fee) deem to be a too heavy reliance on thoroughgoing eclecticism (Elliott, 2010: 41-49; 2013), the method in question being that applied and promoted by Kilpatrick and Elliott.

A search of the NEXUS database reveals the research drought with respect to textual criticism in South Africa, where no substantial work has been published in the discipline since Petzer (1987) and Comfort (1996), apart from a text-critical study of Jude in-between these two authors by Landon (1995). A search on PROQUEST reveals that the scope of Atticist study after 2000 is limited to Brown’s (2008) analysis of the work of Philemon (the author of an Atticist lexicon). The only postgraduate work on New Testament textual criticism worthy of mention seems to be a methodological study of the epistle of James by Miller (2003). A glance at the dates of publications in the bibliography of Kazazis’ chapter on *Atticism* (Christidis, 2007: 1215-1217)

also reveals that the debate has died down *in medias res*, and Kazazis (2007: 1208-1209) himself acknowledges as much in stating that the last serious study prior to that of Flink's (2009), viz. that of Frösén (1974), did not truly find "followers".

This apathy in research on Atticism is surprising in the light of relatively recent admonitions by authoritative scholars such as Bruce Metzger (2003:201-203) as regards the decline of Classics and its impact on "[a]ncillary studies" such as linguistics and textual criticism. In the same important overview, entitled *The future of New Testament textual studies*, Metzger mentions that "problems and investigations in the area of New Testament textual studies that urgently clamour for attention" include, amongst others, problems "to do with the proper methodology to be followed in assessing variant readings (eclecticism or local genealogical analysis)." He further lists "Other Problems" of textual criticism "that still await future investigation", amongst which remains that to "[t]race the presence of Atticizing tendencies in Greek manuscripts" (Metzger, 2003:206).

More recently, in concluding his overview of the most recent works on the subject, Kazazis joins Kilpatrick's, Elliott's and Metzger's earlier exhortations by adding his voice from the side of the Classics: "It is time once again to confront Atticism as a whole, as something more than a 'technical literary phenomenon', a deviation in grammatical and philological inspiration" (2007:1209).

I.2. Central theoretical argument

In the context sketched above, the central theoretical argument of the current study will be that the scope of Atticist influence on the transmission of the New Testament, specifically those manuscripts of the Alexandrian text type, may be methodically investigated and determined. Given the fact that there has been some debate and disagreement between scholars as to the extent of this influence, one might also expect that the traces of Atticism will be either very limited to textual variants or rather obscure in the text.

Westcott and Hort's elevated opinion of the manuscripts of the Alexandrian and what they called the "Neutral" text type (Metzger, 1992: 133-134; 215-216), gave rise to these text types being regarded as representative of stylistically polished Greek. Since then, the text type's reputation as a stylistically sensitive and even "sophisticated" text (Jordaan, 2009: 196-197; see also Fee, 1993 e: 7; Petzer, 1990: 71-73; Martini, 1974: 151-152) has been widely accepted. This is understandable since the text indeed displays some characteristics which were also associated with Atticism and "the qualities of Attic style" such as "τὸ σαφές and τὸ λιτόν" and "Attic brevity, its spareness and frugality, τὸ ἰσχνόν" (to borrow a description of Kilpatrick's, 1963: 17-18; cf. Chapter II).

One might expect to find that the readings of the manuscripts traditionally constituting the Alexandrian text type tend to display more Atticist influence, for two reasons:

- (1) the assertions that in particular the Alexandrian and/or Byzantine text type was subjected to careful recension (Metzger, 1992: 215-216; Fee, 1993 e: 7; 1993 c), and
- (2) Alexandria was considered to be a centre not only of learning but one probably promoting the neo-Atticist movement, as may be assumed in the light of the surveys by Reynolds and Wilson (1974: 38- 69); Metzger (1992: 133) and Kazazis (2007). This is the opinion held by Martini, who states, "The atticistic tendency seems to have been at work especially in Alexandria. Therefore the so-called 'Alexandrian Text' was, according to this theory, the most exposed to this type of change" (1974:151-152).

The research focus of this study is consequently placed on the alleged Atticisms in the Alexandrian textual family, which is reputed to have been of a higher stylistic standard.

I.3. Demarcation of the primary text to be investigated

Most of the work in this debate concentrates on readings of the Gospels, whereas there is still a thorough search to be undertaken for Atticist traces in the epistles (Kilpatrick, 1957: 9). I John seems a suitable choice for this study. Not only does it provide a searchable unit on its own, it might also prove to have been a text that tempted scribal emendation to a more ‘classical’ style, given John’s reputation for “his imperfect command of Greek”, according to Horrocks (2010: 149) and also Turner (1976:132-137). Most notable is the fact that it resembles not Greek style, but rather “that the Greek is Jewish”, also containing influences from Aramaic (Turner, 1976:135-136).

I John is a much smaller corpus than the harmonized Gospels (Fee, 1993 a), itself not nearly as much in danger of being harmonized, and the investigation may be easier controlled when studying such a tight unit. On the other hand, it is a large enough unit containing enough variant readings from which valid conclusions may be drawn.

The text and apparatus used is the Münster Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung’s *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maiora* (= ECM; Aland *et al.*, 1997 a; 1997 b; 2003 a; 2003 b). This edition, which, according to Hernández (2013:703) and Parker (2012:124), stands at the spearhead of the digital era in critical editions, includes among others the following major advantages for the current study: a “splendidly clear *apparatus*” (Elliott, 2010:498), and a design which “encourages meaningful interaction between text and apparatus” (Hernández, 2013:704). It includes a text for I John as well, which, for “the first time in decades...has been established afresh” (Hernández, 2013:703) using a “consistent methodology” which is accompanied by a “full explanation and justification” (Parker, 2012:112-124). Overall, modern criticism is anticipating the completion of the ECM as a definitive critical edition for the new digital age.

I.4. Research questions and aims

The main question that this study poses is whether the case for an Atticist influence in the New Testament text can be seriously reconsidered on the grounds of a revised methodological investigation.

In order to approach this overarching, superordinate question, the following subordinate questions need to be investigated:

- (1) What is to be understood by *dialect* and *language*? How did the ancient Greeks understand them? What are the modern views on historical dialectology? (Chapter II)
- (2) What were the differences, similarities and affinities: what was the *relationship* between the ancient classical dialect of Athens and the new movement of Atticism's language? (Chapter II)
- (3) Why is there such *difference in interpretations* of the data which current text critical research supplies? What is the *criticism* of the methods of investigation employed? Is this criticism justified? Is there room for *improvement in the methods* used? (Chapter III)
- (4) What does this *text-critical inquiry* into a sample of the Alexandrian text type of the New Testament (i.e. I John) reveal? (Chapter IV)
- (5) How can such a *text-critical inquiry* into a sample of the Alexandrian text type contribute to a more controlled text-critical investigation of possible Atticisms in the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament? (Chapter V)

As stated at the outset, this study will thus attempt to determine the alleged influence of Atticism on the textual transmission of the New Testament, specifically during its transmission of the first two centuries A.D., by systematically investigating the variant readings in I John.

The main aims of this study may now be summarized as follows:

- (1) To form a clear historical picture of the development of the Greek dialects as well as of the concept of dialect.
- (2) To achieve greater clarity on the defining characteristics of Attic and Atticism respectively.
- (3) To re-evaluate the text-critical methods used in the debates regarding Atticism up to the present.
- (4) To systematically investigate whether there are variants in the New Testament which show Atticist influence, using I John as a sample, and thus examining variants on the text of I John as found in the Alexandrian text type for Atticism.
- (5) In the light of the findings of (4), to formulate methodological suggestions for a more controlled text-critical investigation of possible Atticisms in the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament.

The newly introduced controls for this search will thus include *manuscript tradition*, *provenance* and *date*, and not merely a hunt for certain idioms.

The hypothesis that Atticism would be restricted to certain manuscript traditions and localities is a possibility to which Kilpatrick did not pay sufficient attention, and understandably so, however, given the eclectic method he employed. One would do well to heed Martini's (1974:155) advice, which summarizes the necessary *compromise and balance* of methods in his concluding remarks and exhortation:

...the claim of atticistic influence on Egyptian manuscripts should be carefully examined case by case before we could arrive at a general conclusion. Some kind of atticistic rewriting has been certainly at work in the textual tradition of the New Testament. But it is not certain that it was already at work in the second and third century in the manuscripts at Alexandria. This means that ‘eclecticism’ should always be connected with a careful study and evaluation of the manuscript tradition.

From the survey for the proposed study, three main criteria for the readings have emerged thus far, that will be investigated, viz.:

- (1) readings prior to 400 A.D. (which should encompass the period of not only the first stages of transmission, but also of the peak of the Atticist movement and the sphere where most uncertainty exists);
- (2) readings of I John; and
- (3) readings of the Alexandrian text type (for a greater account of these criteria, *cf.* section 5, Methodology, below).

With these criteria, if we compare the list of the church fathers and the manuscript division of Metzger (1992: 88-89; 213-216) with the manuscript information supplied in the Introduction to the UBS⁴ (Aland *et al.*, 1993) and particularly the latest information of the ECM, the Alexandrian witnesses earlier than 400 A.D. of I John that will require specific attention can be supplied as follows:

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|---|
| <i>Papyri:</i> | Date: | Contains: |
| P9 | III | I John 4.11-12; 4:14-17 |
| <i>Uncials:</i> | Date: | Contains: |
| 01 (8) | IV | Whole of I John |
| 03 (B) | IV | Whole of I John (defective, with lacunae) |
| <i>Church fathers:</i> | Date: | |
| Clement (of Alexandria) | †212 | |
| Origen | †253/4 | |

If the influence of Atticism on the textual transmission of the text of I John is proved significant, it should merit a greater appreciation and awareness of this influence among textual critics. Furthermore, it will justify more systematic research into this phenomenon in the rest of the New Testament corpus, not taking the variants as merely controls, but rather adding the manuscripts, and thus applying the best that both methods focusing on internal and external considerations have to offer.

This awareness will help textual editors better to distinguish textual corruptions from prior or more pure readings where there are Atticist variants involved. A clearer understanding of the textual transmission within the Alexandrian text type will further empower us, when confronted with Atticist variant readings, to make more responsible and informed choices between variant readings.

Thus, this research project poses the possibility of contributing a clearer understanding that will help textual editors as well as Bible translators to make a more informed and thus more responsible choice where relevant variant readings are concerned.

I.5. Methodology

This study has been undertaken using the following methods:

- (1) Literature surveys of both primary texts and secondary sources for historical and linguistic investigations.
- (2) A critical examination of the criticism on the eclectic method, *as used by proponents of the Atticist theory*, was conducted from the secondary literature.
- (3) In the light of the findings of (1) and (2) above, and by means of a literature survey, the existing methodological treatment of Atticism was evaluated as a possible cause of textual variation in the manuscripts of the New Testament.

- (4) Using the insights gained in (1), (2) and (3), a text-critical investigation was conducted on the relevant manuscripts of I John.
- (5) In the light of the results of (4), methodological suggestions are offered for a more controlled text-critical investigation of possible Atticisms in the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament.

Since there has been no systematic and narrower search to discover why Atticist readings exist in particular manuscripts, nor how and where they came into being in those particular manuscripts, the readings merit greater investigation *as regards the manuscripts in which they appear*. I therefore, in summary, selected the following controls that should guide the investigation:

- (1) The *Alexandrian text type*'s reputation as a representative of stylistically polished Greek has already been mentioned. The current investigation uses witnesses from this text type as a control when investigating the variants in search of greater clarity on this point.
- (2) For reasons stated above (see section I.3), *I John* seemed a suitable primary text to investigate as a sample. Thus, this study focused on manuscripts of the Alexandrian text type that contain readings of I John.
- (3) The synchronization of the textual transmission of I John with the Atticist movement is also an important control. In investigating the earlier stages of transmission, *manuscripts dating not later than 400 A.D* were thus given particular consideration.

Employing these controls, the current study is an attempt to aim at a methodologically accountable approach to the question of the alleged Atticist influence on the textual transmission of the Alexandrian text type.

Chapter II

Attic and Atticism

Note: translations from Greek and Latin, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

All quotations from the New Testament, unless otherwise stated, are from the UBS⁴.

II.1. Prelude

This chapter outlines the defining characteristics of Attic, Koine¹ and Atticism, as well as their interrelatedness. This is necessary to obtain a clear understanding of the historical roots of the Atticist movement as well as of the elements that played a role in the formation of the Atticist phenomenon. As the confusion in the debates around Atticism shows, when conducting a text-critical investigation on Atticist readings, it is of paramount importance to be able to recognise and distinguish variants, which show characteristics of Atticism. Therefore, a historical description at the outset of the current study is called for. Although the scope of a textual study is in a sense restricted to a literary form of a dialect, the spoken dialect, which influenced the writing as well as the transmission of texts, played a significant role in the shaping of the dialect's identity and is thus considered in broad terms. Since Attic and Koine are historically related forms of language, the starting point of the investigation should be an historical one. The scope of this chapter stretches from the beginnings of Greek language up to and including the composition and transmission of the New Testament.

The historical distinction between the recognised classical Attic dialect and a “literary revolution” such as Atticism, to use Kazazis’ term (2007:1201), which occurred within the Koine, is an important distinction if one is investigating *emulation* of a dialect. As much as Homeric Greek was identifiable to speakers of Attic as a *Kunstsprache* rather than a spoken dialect, speakers of Koine should have recognised the Attic dialect as something distinct from their own tongue, even if related to it.

¹ Throughout this study, “Koine” is used to designate the Hellenistic Koine, rather than any one of the modern languages within what Bubenik (2007 b: 342) calls “the pointlessly broad scope of the term” acquired in modern linguistics. For other ancient Greek forms of Koine, refer to Buck (1955:173-180).

However, for a modern investigator, the differences may be less apparent. Browning (1969:29) describes the Koine dialect as a “modified Attic”, whereas, for instance, Morpurgo Davies (2002:155) assumes that the Koine in fact wholly replaced the older Ionic, Attic, Doric and Aeolic dialects. This slight contrast in emphasis illustrates the point that before attempting to trace a clear line of historical development from one dialect to another, it is also necessary to strive for clarity on the *elements* comprising a given dialect: elements which either separate it from another dialect, or which both dialects have in common.

As an illustration, these examples of two similar thoughts are compared; they were written about 450 years apart, and expressed in different dialects: the point to consider is, what the characteristic linguistic features are, which make Plato’s words in *Republic* 612 E,

Τῷ δὲ θεοφιλεῖ οὐχ ὁμολογήσομεν, ὅσα γε ἀπὸ θεῶν γίγνεται,
πάντα γίνεσθαι ὡς οἶόν τε ἄριστα...,

an *obvious* example of the Attic dialect, whereas the corresponding or differing elements make Paul’s words in his Epistle to the Romans 8:28,

οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, τοῖς
κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν

an *obvious* sample of the Koine? Sometimes the distinction between dialects is clear (*cf.* again the *prima facie* characteristics which distinguish the Homeric dialect-blend from Attic), at other times, less so. This is a remarkable testimony to the Greek language’s ability to have remained as relatively uniform as it did over such a long period. The nature of the discrepancy in the critical literature, as to how far emulation of Attic actually took place during the time of the New Testament’s composition, suggests that, at least from a 21st century vantage-point, the matter is hardly as straightforward as, say, telling German from Dutch or Medieval English from Modern English would be.

The standard criteria for discerning between dialects might be phonological, morphological, syntactical, orthographical, lexical or stylistic.

Since this study seeks to define criteria as controls when weighing Atticist variant readings displaying characteristics of the Attic dialect, the question of dialect identification is of some importance.

II.2. Historical overview: from Attic to Koine

II.2.1. Understanding dialect: preliminary considerations

The Greek terms *διαλέγομαι* and *ἡ διάλεκτος*, from which the modern word “dialect” derives, vary between denoting “converse with”, “talk distinctively”, and “language”, “speech”, “regional idiom”, “dialect” etc., and do not always draw a clear distinction between what we call “dialect” as opposed to mere “language” (Colvin, 2010:201).

Certainly, even in modern linguistic theory, the term “dialect” has proven hard to distinguish satisfactorily from the term “language” (Crystal, 2010:25). In an insightful article, Morpurgo Davies (2002:154) stresses the fact that such a distinction “...cannot be made in purely linguistic terms”. When dealing with extinct spoken dialects, the epigraphic and literary evidence takes on great importance in distinguishing between dialects, since it is the only evidence available from which to draw conclusions, however general as regards the spoken language: “Our access to the ancient Greek dialects cannot be achieved through direct communication with their speakers, but only through written evidence” (Brixhe, 2007:489). On the other hand, as Christidis (2007:384) as well as Brixhe (2007:490-494) recognize, this type of linguistic evidence should be supplemented from cultural history if one is to arrive at a clear understanding of which elements played a role in the making of a dialect, for cultural history concerns the speakers of the dialect. Their consciousness of their mother tongue gave them a certain sense of cultural identity, and this awareness shaped and was in turn, shaped by several of their cultural achievements, such as their art and language, political prestige and power.

It does seem that the Greeks themselves had an understanding of the various dialects of their language in terms of speech in general, rather than a strictly defined standard of literary Greek. Since before the 5th century B.C. among the Greeks a concept of Pan-Hellenistic culture had

existed, or τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, which Herodotus (8.144) famously defined as ἐὸν ὁμαιομόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα, i.e. a “Greekness” comprising of blood relationship, language-relatedness, common shrines of the gods, sacrificial rites and similar practices. Thucydides (2.68.5) further attests to the existence of this concept of a Greek *homoglosson* during the 5th and 4th centuries by using the expression ἐλληνίζειν τὴν γλῶσσαν, or, we may say, “to Hellenize the tongue”. This awareness, notwithstanding continuous tensions between *poleis*, was kindled, particularly after the common Persian threat, contributing significantly to the formation of the Greek versus Barbarian stereotype (Cartledge, 2007; Veligianni-Terzi, 2007 b: 297; Hammond, 1999:5; and Swain, 1996:17-18). Thus, amongst other shared features of cultural heritage, Greek language came to be regarded as more of a binding factor than a culturally denominating one (Morpurgo Davies, 2003 b: 653); the Greeks were more than aware, though, of their differences in speech as well.

After the Mycenaean age (Christidis, 2007:383-386) however, the Greeks did make a distinction between at least three major ethnic groups, viz. Aeolians, Dorians, and Ionians (Morpurgo Davies, 2003 a: 461-462; Horrocks, 2010:14; Tribulato, 2010:388). The more general division, which they later employed for their differences in speech, was four different tongues: Aeolic, Doric, Ionic and Attic (Buck, 1955:3; Smyth, 1956:4-5; Morpurgo Davies, 2002:162-163 concurred with this position, while Colvin (2010:202), linking ethnicity with the dialects, suggests that the Greek division of three, rather than four, dialects corresponded to the three ethnic groups). A fragment from Hesiod, naming the three sons of Hellen as the mythical ancestors of the Aeolians, Dorians and Ionians (Chadwick, 1956:38; Colvin, 2010:202) suggests a common basis for these ethnic divisions.

Modern dialectological research (for example, researchers such as Palmer, 1980:57-64; Morpurgo Davies, 2003 a: 462; Karali, 2007 a: 390 and so forth) usually recognizes five major dialects, though the divisions and subdivisions still vary somewhat: Attic-Ionic, Doric, Aeolic, North West Greek (or West Greek), and Arcado-Cypriot (previously and ambiguously called Achaean). Colvin (2010:203) warns that the division is an inheritance from the Greeks and that, in addition, it is based on non-linguistic factors. He suggests a “standard classification of

dialects” as follows: Arcado-Cypriot, Attic-Ionic, Aeolic, West Greek and Pamphylian, a classification which “emerged out of nearly two centuries of modern debate on the dialects” which he then goes on to survey (2010:204-206). Whatever the modern classifications will be (and they are sure to stay in flux), from the broad ethnic divisions the Greeks created their abstract notion of what it meant to be the same People, even if they were different peoples.

Morpurgo Davies (2002) has convincingly shown that Herodotus’ notion of a common “Greekness”, to which also language contributed, had more substance to it than being a mere sweep of patriotic rhetoric against the common Persian enemy. Herodotus recognized a Greek *homoglosson*, but it was a *homoglosson* in which a degree of dialect switching took place to suit certain genres (Buck, 1955:14-16; Palmer, 1980:82 -173; Morpurgo Davies, 2002:157; Horrocks, 2010:43-44; Tribulato, 2010:388). This certainly “...must have contributed to the contemporary feeling that the various Greek dialects were joined by a special relationship which separated them from other non-Greek speech varieties” (Morpurgo Davies, 2002:157-158).

This Greek “feeling” may be exemplified by a quick glance at the Doric-like choral lyric which is found in Attic tragedy, or the Ionic-like so-called *Kunstsprache* peculiar to epic poetry, universally understandable and claimed as a truly Greek heritage throughout the Greek world. The expletive of the listed “foreigner” Kebes in Plato’s *Phaedo* (59b, 11-c, 62a 8) and the Spartan speech of Lampito throughout Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, amidst the Attic cast with whom they both converse, are two examples which further support the assumption that a standard form of the *homoglosson* up to and including the advent of the Koine did not exist. These examples reveal that different dialect speakers acknowledged different dialects and recognised them as having merit of their own in contributing to the larger heritage of what it meant to be Greek (Browning, 1969:28; Colvin, 2010:200-203). This, despite the various speakers mocking each other’s dialects, as comedy suggests, and even if the local dialects contributed to Greece being “...politically and linguistically fragmented” (Palmer, 1980:174). In the descriptive words of Morpurgo Davies (2002:168): “‘Greek’ was and remained an abstract concept which subsumed all different varieties, much as a federal government subsumes the component states or an *ethnos* subsumes a number of individuals and a *polis* a number of citizens”.

This ancient abstraction of the Greek language is remarkably close to modern notions of dialect and language. Crystal (2010:24) suggests that a dialect itself is indeed an "...abstraction, deriving from an analysis of a number of idiolects" (the latter indicating an individual's personalized manner of speaking) whereas a language "...is an abstraction deriving from a number of dialects". This leads to the natural assumption that a dialect, when it starts its life as an exponent of a certain language, is often at first associated with a certain geographical location where one will find a society comprising of related idiolect-speakers.

Morpurgo Davies (2002:153) draws attention to the fact that the mediaeval Byzantine grammarian Gregory of Corinth defined "dialect" along more or less the same geographical lines, and the connection between geography and dialectology is by no means a new one. That is not to say that a dialect will stay restricted to its specific location or region; but in considering the origins of a dialect, one has to consider at least the geographical origins of its speakers (Crystal, 2010:24), and the influence they had on shaping their dialect wherever they went. Thus, there are two geographical considerations to take into account when trying to define a dialect, viz. the country of origin's speakers' influence on the dialect, and the influence of the dialect's speakers outside the country of origin, taking care in distinguishing *dialect*, i.e. grammatical features and features of vocabulary, from mere *accent*, i.e. a distinctive local pronunciation (Crystal, 2010:24). The modern approach to dialectology and theory of dialect has recognized these considerations by making a shift to the more urban manifestations of dialect (Mesthrie *et al.*, 2009:59), where speakers from various origins and backgrounds meet and influence each others' speech.

In the same way as geography, a dialect is, *mutatis mutandis*, associated with a specific moment in time. Since it is subjected to change and linguistic evolution over a period, a dialect, which started in a specific location at a specific time, might be unrecognisable after the passage of centuries. It might even become obsolete in its region of birth, replaced by newer forms of the old speech, unintelligible to its original speakers. Therefore, when attempting to identify characteristics of a specific dialect, it is advisable to be aware of the historical factors that shaped that dialect in both its oral and written form.

This chronological dialect continuum may be geographically applied as well: a continuum which Crystal (2010:25) calls a dialect “chain”; Finkelberg (1994) refers too. Wherever such a geographical dialect continuum exists, political and ethnic identity becomes almost impossible to separate from linguistic identity; Crystal (2010:34-35), focuses on very relevant modern political issues in this regard. Morpurgo Davies (2002:153) suggests that the connection between ethnic and linguistic identity has not been adequately appreciated in discussing Greek dialects and that this should be heeded in any investigation.

Concerning the above, the traditional focus in dialectology did not pay sufficient attention to political factors such as urbanisation and colonization (Mesthrie *et al.*, 2009:63). These factors most certainly played a role in shaping language, specifically in the light of Greek colonialism, as well as Attic and Macedonian imperialism, and thus a survey of any Greek dialect needs to be a brief historical survey as well.

II.2.2. Pre-Attic development of the Greek dialects

As Athens rose to cultural prominence during the 5th century B.C., the Attic dialect achieved “quasi-mythical status” (Kim, 2010:468), and ascended to literary prominence. The dating of the rise of Athens and her classical era varies arbitrarily and for the sake of convenience the survey presented here follows the lead of the traditional date of 479 B.C. as the starting point of classical Athens, and considers events prior to c. 500 B.C. as pre-Attic.

The precise origins of a recognizable proto-Greek language are shrouded in the obscure history of the pre-historical Indo-European migrations. Nevertheless, from an early stage in the development of the language, contact with “non-proto-Greek” speakers certainly played a great role in shaping what was later to become the Greek dialects (Hawkins, 2010:216). The history of Greek pre-historical dialectology is a complex one, with many twists and turns of ongoing theories on regional development (Chadwick, 1956; Palmer, 1980:3-26; Colvin, 2010:204-205), and the complexities are often inextricably linked to the pre-historical development of various cultures around the Aegean Sea.

A traditional theory, assuming at least three different waves of migrations into mainland Greece, has long held sway due to the ancient classification of the Greeks into the three ethnic groups (viz. the Dorians, Ionians and Aeolians). Nonetheless, the said theory has been exceedingly modified and straightened out since the decipherment of the Linear B script in the 1950s (*cf.* the re-evaluation of this theory by Chadwick, 1956) and in the light of new archaeological discoveries (Horrocks, 2010:18-19, 21). Palmer (1980:3), when describing “...the first half of the second millennium B.C.”, provides a rough conjecture of dating the hypothetical “Greek migration”. He does however mention the possibility that the proto-Greeks were not the first to enter mainland Greece, and that they in fact had replaced another Indo-European people (*ibid.*, 4, 9), most likely akin to the early inhabitants of Asia Minor. These assumptions stand or fall on linguistic as well as archaeological evidence, which Palmer (1980:3-26) goes on to survey in detail, with interesting results.

Recent archaeological evidence does indeed show frequent linguistic contact between the Mycenaean peoples and coastline Anatolians since c. 1400 B.C. (due largely to diplomatic trade), and despite controversial debate, proto-Greek etymology has been shown to share a link with Hittite etymology (Palmer, 1980:16-26; Hawkins, 2010:217-218).² Further contacts in Anatolia include a host of peoples such as the Luwians, Lycians, Phrygians, Carians and Lydians (Hawkins, 2010:218-220).

Despite all the uncertainties still surrounding the dating of the Indo-European migrations, Palmer (1980:25-26) gives a workable evaluation of both the linguistic and archaeological evidence:

Speakers of an Indo-European dialect, who had remained in contact with the central group of dialects and in particular with Indo-Iranian, during the second millennium moved south into their historical homeland (possibly as highly mobile warrior bands) and wrested the country from their Anatolian linguistic cousins, who had left the Indo-European cradle-land at a considerably earlier date and had crossed into Greece and Crete after establishing themselves in Asia Minor.

² Interesting examples of this link, as Hawkins (2010:217-218) illustrates, can be supplied from geographical names: the Hittite *Aḫḫiyawā* has been identified as Achaea, *Wiluṣ(iy)a* as Ilion (*Ἰλῖος* ≈ *Ἰλιος*), and *Apasa* as Ephesus.

Horrocks (2010:9, 21) confirms this generally held view, though also prudently pointing out the gaps in current knowledge, particularly as concerns the identity and languages of Palmer's "Anatolian linguistic cousins". It is at least worthy of note how closely the legends of the *Iliad* echo this relationship between mainland Greece and Asia Minor: mention of the "strange-sounding Carians" (2.867) and the renewed friendship of the Achaean Diomedes and the Lycian Glaukos (6.119-236) are but two examples that bear witness to the pre-historical contacts in and around the Aegean, in matters other than war.

From the nebulous dark ages before the Homeric poems came into existence, however, there is very little evidence to suggest that anything like a "common" or "standard" language was being spoken throughout the Greek world (*cf.* Karali, 2007 b: 274). The nearest comparable concept is perhaps the pre-Dark Ages language of the Mycenaean Linear B texts, the "first epigraphic attestation of the Greek language" (Ferrara, 2010:11; Palmer, 1980:53-56), which was in use c. 1400-1200 B.C. in Crete as well as mainland Greece, as "presumably" a "semi-standardized written language" (Horrocks, 2010:19). Still, the one factor that largely disqualifies Linear B as a "common" language is just the fact that it was most likely a fossilized "chancellery language" (Palmer, 1980:53, 57; Horrocks, 2010:19), hardly used in the home or street. After the violent and sudden collapse of the Mycenaean palace cultures, traditionally believed to have culminated with the destruction of Knossos, the so-called illiterate Dark Age (c. 1200-800 B.C.) of Greece began.

Whether it is possible at all to identify a common parent language stemming from either this Dark Age or the preceding eras, is a matter of some controversial debate (Horrocks, 2010:15-24). Since the 1950s in particular, modern research on isoglosses (shared features between dialects)³ has intensified the debate on the inter-relatedness of the various Greek dialects, although the interpretations of the data often lead to divergent theories regarding the elusive source of the dialects and their subsequent genetic qualification. This is likely to remain a contested and conjectural research field for the foreseeable future, given the limited factual evidence currently available.

³ For instance, vocabulary (isolex), morphology (isomorph), phonology (isophone), semantics (isoseme) and sociocultural use (isopleth) (Crystal, 2010: 451).

There is agreement at least upon the broad dialect variations of the classical era probably being of post-Mycenaean origin (Horrocks, 2010:21). Considering all the available evidence, the current consensus assumes the elusive and definitive “Proto-Greek”, from which the various dialects stemmed, to have been a result of the meeting between a gradually immigrating Indo-European population into mainland Greece and the languages of the indigenous tribes (Horrocks, 2010:21). Since the so-called Greek renaissance, and the adoption of the North/West Semitic Phoenician alphabet in the 9th or early 8th century B.C. (Palmer, 1980:202-204; Pirie *et al.*, 2003:66; Horrocks, 2010:13; Powell, 2010:76-79) there had been strong regional developments in dialects. Despite this, the inter-relatedness of the various dialects is today still investigated mostly on a conjectural and hypothetical basis (Palmer, 1980:64-80; Horrocks, 2010:17-24).

The formation of the identity of Ionic, from which Attic developed, is of specific interest for the current study. In the light of linguistic comparisons, Palmer (1980:71-72) conjectures that Attic-Ionic had evolved as a distinct dialect as early as the Mycenaean age. A commonly held view is that around 1000 B.C. Attic-Ionic acquired a recognized identity as an independent dialect in eastern Attica and the Western colonized Aegean, though simultaneously sharing some features with other Aeolic and Doric dialects (Horrocks, 2010:22).

The independent regional dominance and development of the various dialects may be largely ascribed to there being no recognised standard language in the pre-literary age. Many scholars, including Browning (1969:28), Palmer (1980:82) and Horrocks (2010:14) suggest that the political isolation of city-states also played a significant role in keeping the *status quo* until the unification under Macedonia and the subsequent rise of the Koine. The growth of regional identity did however contribute to the development of a standardized form of writing in the various cultural centres, and this promoted the spread of the dialects as regional administrative and literary languages (Horrocks, 2010:14).

In a certain sense one can view, as does Colvin (2010:200), the language of the Homeric poems themselves as the first real, standardized language to be recognised as a common cultural

heritage among the various Greek tribes. The Homeric poems are merely one case exemplifying the curious pre-classical development which linked certain dialects to certain literary genres.

The archaic oral tradition of Epic reached its zenith probably sometime during the 8th century B.C. during which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* came into being, blending features of Ionic, Aeolic and obsolete archaic language, as well as mnemonic formulae, to form the recognized genre of Epic *Kunstsprache* (Horrocks, 2010:43-45). The influence, prestige and impact of the Homeric poems on the ancient Greek mind were invaluable and Horrocks (2010:47) justly writes of the poems:

They were felt to embody the very essence of Greek culture... It was therefore entirely appropriate, though also entirely accidental, that their dialect was not that of a particular region but a “poetic” variety which, while clearly related to contemporary Ionic, transcended the parochialism of local and even official varieties.

The awareness of such a high literary standard paved the way towards the classical literary ideal, which later came to be associated with Athens and her Attic masterpieces, coinciding with her rise to political prominence.

II.2.3. *Imperium Atticum*: Athens in germination and bloom

In order to understand the development of the Attic dialect against its socio-cultural backdrop more clearly, a short survey of the political and cultural history of Athens is called for. This is the case because the political factors which played a part in the lives of the speakers also played a part in shaping their world by exposing them to various other languages, enabling them to form their own dialect.

After the Dark Age of c. 1200-800 B.C., the most influential developments in the ancient Greek renaissance life were probably the development of the *polis* and the Greek expansion across the Mediterranean Sea (Hammond, 1999; Veligianni-Terzi, 2007 a: 288). The *polis*, the “hallmark of classical civilization” (Hammond, 1999:3; Van Rooy, 1980:94-104), embodied a shift from a more primitive form of government by monarchy to a more aristocratic form of government

(ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, after all, according to the famous echo of Thucydides 7.77). However, this also contributed to the first political divides in mainland Greece and the ironic situation where rival *poleis* shared that common Greekness to which Herodotus alluded. It was also during this time that the dialects began to emerge as significant elements in cultural identity, which Colvin (2010:201-202) summarizes:

Language is so mixed up with politics and collective identity that it is difficult to predict in a given case what the factors influencing the choice of an “official” language variety will be: candidates are likely to include distinctiveness (from neighbours), reference to prestigious literary/poetic traditions, and the linguistic features of a political elite.

The following survey includes brief glimpses of all of these possible “factors”.

Alongside the *polis*, other binding factors were the founding of various defensive alliances or leagues of *poleis*, and the pan-Hellenic festivals and games (such as the Olympics starting in 776 B.C.) as well as common cultural/religious centres (such as Delphi and Olympia), which increasingly played a role in assuring cohesion of the common Greekness from c. 650 B.C. (Van Rooy, 1980:96; Hammond, 1999:20-22; Veligianni-Terzi, 2007 a: 295-296). Hammond (1999:5) describes the abstract notion of being Greek during this era pertinently when he writes of the Greek world as “a mosaic of very many colours and it had no national pattern at all”.

Once the *polis*-system of government was being firmly established on Greek soil, the Mediterranean saw a host of *poleis* springing up along her northern and north-western coasts, along the southern shores of the Italian peninsula, as well as in the eastern island regions. Factors triggering Greek migration-cum-colonization included an increase in indigenous population, flourishing trade and even the distribution of political power as a prophylactic against local unrest and risings against the ruling aristocracy, since the new *polis*, whilst maintaining the mother-city’s customs, became very much a new political entity with its own laws and constitution. (For a survey of Greek expansion, see Bury, 1951:86-119; a more recent treatment is Van Rooy, 1980:103, 128-129, 200-201; see also Hammond, 1999:5, 19.)

It is interesting that the first phase of colonization by migration was strongly influenced by the dialect zones, seeing speakers of a certain dialect made for areas known to speak the same dialect (Hammond, 1999:41-42). It is during this first phase of colonization and expansion, and indeed, in the colonies, that the Greek mind began cultivating its genius: an age which saw the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and the creative development of a host of poetical meters, as well as the birth of natural philosophy. The Greek creative spirit was kindled in art and specifically in craft.

State education was one of the first great advances in *poleis*, most famously in Sparta, where it largely comprised military training (Hammond, 1999:14-16), and “graduating” for men meant a respectable place in society and, more importantly, an active place in politics. Nevertheless, it is from this modest beginning that education flourished, especially with the advent of philosophy, into a rich blend of ideas and investigation, where language played an invaluable role in moulding Greek minds, young and old alike.

Initially the development of *polis* cultural life was perfected by the Dorian states (Hammond, 1999:23-26), while Athens, not yet overrun by the Dorian invasions of c. 1000 B.C., at first retained a more Mycenaean character. This led to what is still, in the words of Hammond, (1999:27-28), an enigmatic stagnation in cultural development in Athens, while her Doric neighbours flourished under the effect of the Greek renaissance. However, after Solon’s pioneering reforms (c. 590-550 B.C.), Athens was rejuvenated in matters legal, economic and even religious and soon joined her rivals as leaders in the fields of art, crafts and economy (Van Rooy, 1980:222-227). Solon’s political reforms proved less sustainable, resulting in various phases of constitutional instability throughout the 6th century B.C., reaching its high point of *tyranny* (in the ancient, more positive denotation) and eventually culminating in the rise of democracy at the end of the 5th century B.C.

During the age of Peisistratus (*fl.* 565-527 B.C.), Athens experienced an unprecedented increase in trade, and Peisistratus did much to rekindle the old traditional Ionic bonds (Hammond, 1999:57). This policy strongly promoted the appreciation of the Homeric poems in Athens, and subsequently the exposure to literary *Kunstsprache*. But it was during the time of Peisistratus’ sons Hippias (*r.* 527-510 B.C.) and Hipparchus († 514 B.C.) that the Persian threat first began to

make itself known uncomfortably close to home, with the Persians at last crossing into Europe (513 B.C.).

This put great pressure on the newfound economic and political stability of Athens. After the public assassination of Hipparchus, aristocratic partisans seriously threatened Hippias' position, and his reign ended in Spartan involvement with the so-called liberation of Athens in 510 B.C. Not a moment too soon, in the eyes of the Spartans (with the Persians starting to encircle Greece from North, East and South), Athens was incorporated into the Spartan league (Hammond, 1999:58, 68-69). Though initially greeted with enthusiasm, the Spartan entanglement in Athens' political affairs soon resulted in considerable unhappiness, especially after the Spartans delegated an armed force to intervene between rival oligarchic groups at Athens.

The subsequent political reforms by Cleisthenes (*fl.* c. 530-510) saw "the electoral map of Attica" redrawn "from bottom to top", and thus "Cleisthenes brought into effect an equality of rights... which matched the equality before the law that had been introduced by Solon" (Hammond, 1999:61-62). This was a major step towards the formation of this democracy, since Cleisthenes started a strong shift from the traditional autocracy and oligarchy towards a constitution which gave more power to the common citizen (*idem*, 64; Veligianni-Terzi, 2007 b: 298).

In the light of the looming war on a grand scale with Persia, reconciliation between traditional rival *poleis* was much easier to achieve, or at least to compromise for the time being, and in 490 B.C., with Darius' crossing of the Aegean, full scale war was indeed at hand. The history and details of the Persian wars need not concern us here as much as their aftermath (for a very comprehensive survey of the wars 499-479 B.C., see Van Rooy, 1980:253-258). The successful resistance to such an overwhelming imperial force was something every Greek felt pride in, and the co-operation between *poleis* during the time of universal crisis was as unprecedented as it was unparalleled (Hammond, 1999:95).

Although the inevitable post-war impoverishment was an initial obstacle for economic growth, the control of virtually the entire eastern Mediterranean now belonged to Greece, with a great

part of the western Mediterranean also under Greek influence after the combined defeat of Persia and Carthage, so that commerce and maritime trade entered a phase of hitherto unknown prosperity. Political stability and the ensuing peace led to the germination of the great cultural achievements which Athens bestowed on the Greek world (Hammond, 1999:10, 95-102; Low, 2009:72-73) and subsequently on the entire Western tradition. Specifically the 5th century B.C. enlightenment and maturing of the Attic intellect, which became manifest in the areas of literary art and philosophy, played a significant role in elevating the Attic dialect to a permanent place of prominence and influence throughout the Greek world.

Following embarrassing exploits of the Spartan admiral Pausanias in 478 B.C., Sparta withdrew him, and in effect itself, albeit unofficially, from the leadership of the allied Hellenic forces, and in so doing, created a minor vacuum which Athens was quick to fill. Shortly afterwards, Athens formed the Delian league: an alliance comprising mostly of *poleis* with naval power, initially for the purpose of Persian “clean-up” duty in the Eastern Aegean and Mediterranean (Van Rooy, 1980:277; Hornblower, 2011:8-17). Soon the newfound maritime supremacy of Athens as Hellenic leader in the post-Persian war period sparked a flame of Attic imperialism (Van Rooy, 1980:314-317 and Hammond, 1999:161-162 as well as Bury, 1951:263-264, 321-345 for an older, but in-depth analysis). Athens’ expansion troubled her Peloponnesian neighbours and rival *poleis*, and the conflicts that ensued in the two Peloponnesian wars saw the old rivalries of the pre-Persian war days renewed to a new level of bitterness. For comprehensive year-by-year surveys of the Peloponnesian Wars, see Van Rooy (1980: 339-390); Hammond (1999:111) and Bury (1951:390-457) for an earlier survey of the war.

During the brief inter-war period of 445-431, however, Athens reaped the rewards of being the centre of Greek trade. One of the results of being a cosmopolitan trade-centre was the influx of new ideas and philosophies, moulded in their own dialects and particularly moulded in the Ionian East and Italian West. Xenophanes (*fl.* 545 B.C.), Heraclitus (*fl.* 500 B.C.), Parmenides (*fl.* 450 B.C.) and Anaxagoras (c. 500-428 B.C.) are just a few names worthy of mention of this era.⁴ These groundbreaking thinkers were the fathers of the so-called Sophists, i.e. peripatetic professional teachers of philosophy-cum-science, of whom the rhetorician Protagoras (c. 450-c.

⁴ For an overview of “Ionian Reason”, see Bury, 1951:319-321.

420 B.C.) is considered one of the first. The impact of the Sophists on Athens was all the greater considering that, in comparison to Sparta, what the Athenians possessed in commerce and prosperity, they had hitherto lacked in proper state education (Hammond, 1999:131).

Another important change in the intellectual enlightenment of this era was the gradual rise of prose, since a written medium of expression was no longer considered as inferior to poetry. Herodotus (c. 485-c. 428 B.C.), most famous of the *logographoi* and writer of Ionian prose, is in a certain sense the very personification of post-Persian war freedom and Attic expansion. His home, Halicarnassus, was liberated from the Persians by Athens and his travels were the direct result of Athens' control of the Eastern seas and commercial bonds with the East. He stayed and wrote as a visitor in cosmopolitan Athens and ended his days at the Attic colony of Thurii in southern Italy, in whose founding he had been involved (Palmer, 1980:146; Hammond, 1999:129-131).

As for Attic prose, the rhetoricians alongside Protagoras, such as Gorgias (c. 485-380 B.C.) and Thrasymachus (c.459- c.400 B.C.), as well as the chronicler of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides (c. 460-c. 400 B.C.) are generally considered as the first major writers of Attic prose. One should however be cautious of attempting to identify a single founder of Attic prose with certainty (Horrocks, 2010: 67-68; Tribulato, 2010:399); even if in a more "international" version of the dialect, Thucydides' more complex, rhetorical prose embodied much of the Athenian spirit in the time of Pericles (c. 495-429 B.C.).

Epic poetry, though not brushed aside by any means, was mostly revered as belonging to the Archaic period. The greatest poetical works of the Attic enlightenment under Pericles were, rather, composed for the stage of tragedy, with Sophocles (c. 496-406 B.C.) being the successor of Aeschylus (c. 520-455 B.C.), who had been regarded as the most successful playwright. During the Second Peloponnesian War, which had a more dire effect on Attic spirit, Euripides (c. 484-406 B.C.) took Attic tragedy to unknown heights of realism. Though Euripides was not nearly as acclaimed a playwright as Sophocles in his own day, his influence on later generations of dramatists was profound, and modern scholars generally regard him as the greatest of the Attic

tragic poets. As for comedy, Aristophanes (c. 450-c. 385 B.C.), whose witty use of dialects in his plays sheds a little light on the Attic vernacular of the day, is worthy of notice.

The teachings and discussions of Socrates (469-399 B.C.), the most famous philosopher of this period, were vividly portrayed in the prose of his pupil Plato (c. 429-347 B.C.). As is the case with Aristophanes, dialect variation and colloquial speech between speakers in Plato's dialogues give us a glimpse of the language spoken between Greeks of all backgrounds in cosmopolitan Athens.

“The Periclean Age”, writes Hammond (1999:139), “opened up to the Athenians new vistas in almost every sphere of human activity... The capacity of one city-state to create so much which is still deeply woven into the fabric of our modern world is indeed amazing”. Thus by the turn of the 4th century B.C., the prominence of the Attic dialect in literature also increased at an astonishing rate and enjoyed an unprecedented level of excellence; the development of the literary dialects was in full motion. Veligianni-Terzi (2007 b: 297 ff.) attributes this to two main historical phenomena, viz. “the consolidation and expansion of the democratic system of government...and multilateral international relations”, and rightly so, considering the historical events surveyed thus far.

II.2.4. The literary dialect and its features

Against the historical background sketched above, it is easier to appreciate and comprehend the complexities which a cosmopolitan society such as Athens imposed on the formation of a written language, let alone a spoken one. The unique linguistic features of the Attic dialect as well as the unique phenomenon of literary dialects as developed in classical Greece, and specifically as regards the Attic dialect, are briefly investigated here. It is necessary at this point to clarify that this textual investigation restricts itself to literary dialects and does not pay attention to epigraphic dialects, which tend to reflect the spoken form.

Some characteristics of the dialects

Before one can get a good idea of what is meant by “Attic” at all, clarity is required on the defining linguistic features of the dialect as well as on the literary features. Apart from Attic vocabulary, as attested to by epigraphic and other literary evidence, some of the main linguistic features of the Attic-Ionic dialect that are of note, but are not nearly exhaustive, may be summarized as follows:⁵

Some features of the Attic-Ionic dialect:

- early loss of the *F*;
- the interchange of Ionic -*η* and Attic -*α*;
- the use of the *nu-ephelestikon* after dative plural nouns (in -*σι*) and the 3rd person singular verbs (in -*σι* and -*ει*);
- the use of the conjunction *εἰ* and also the modal particle *ἄν* (for *κε/κα*);
- new declensions of personal pronouns such as accusative *ἡμέας/ἡμᾶς* for *ἄμες/ἄμε* etc.;
- new conjugations of verbs (e.g. aorist 3rd person plural active in -*σαν*; *ἦν* and *ἦσαν* for *ἦς* and *ἦεν*); etcetera.

It may also be of interest to note how Ionic is distinguished from Attic:⁶

Differences between Ionic and Attic:

- Ionic tends to prefer -*η*, where Attic uses the -*α*;
- Ionic is mainly un-contracted, while Attic is almost notorious for its parochial contraction of vowels, and where contraction does occur in Ionic, it differs greatly from the Attic rules;
- Ionic tends to lengthen certain vowels and diphthongs where Attic does not (for instance, *ξεῖνος* versus *ξένος*);
- Ionic uses -*σσ* where Attic uses -*ττ*;

⁵ For summaries and detailed historical discussions see Buck (1955:141-142); Palmer (1980:62-64); Panayotou (2007), and Colvin (2010:209).

⁶ Waddell (1964:261-266) and Palmer (1980:62) provide summaries.

- Ionic does not use aspirates as much as Attic (αὔτις versus αὐθις), though the aspirates and mutes sometimes interchange;
- Ionic differs from Attic in various respects of declension and conjugation; etcetera.

These examples suggest that the dialects exhibited clear linguistically distinguishing features, although note should be taken of Panayotou's (2007:405) *caveat* that the identification and classification of dialects on the grounds of differences remains a "theoretical construction" with "subjective elements", and above all, that "...in language there are no watertight compartments". It is however clear enough that the more classical Greek, even if slightly, showed a "tendency...to become more analytical" during the transitional phase towards the Koine (Papanastassiou, 2007:611), and that this resulted, amongst other things, in the "restructuring of the morphological system". Thus it is worthwhile to briefly present a few examples of the Koine's characteristics:⁷

Characteristics of Koine:

Phonology

- The appearance of itacism or iotacism (ι, ει and η tended towards the same value of [i]);
- General changes in prosody, pitch and accentuation as well as the "blurring of vowel length" (Palmer, 1980:177);

Vocabulary and Orthography

- The replacement of "anomalous substantives" (Browning, 1969:35) by more common synonyms (e.g. πλοῖον for ναῦς, πρόβατον for οἶς, χοῖρος for ὕς, etcetera);
- The preference for -σσ- over -ττ-, thus spelling θάλασσα, γλῶσσα, etcetera, and similarly the preference for -ρσ- over -ρρ-, spelling ἄρσην, θάρσος, etcetera;

⁷ As discussed *inter alia* by Papanastassiou (2007) and also by Palmer (1980:176-189); see also George (2010); Christidis (2007, part IV); Teodorsson (1979) and Browning (1969:31-49) for more detailed treatments and general works such as Moule (1963) or Blass & Debrunner (1961) for extensive examples.

Morphology: Substantives

- The complete abandonment of the dual number;
- The restriction of the dative (with classically unorthodox substitutes such as εἰς + accusative or μετά + genitive);
- remodelling of the declensions (e.g. the tendency of nouns in -ιος/ιον to change into -ις/ιν);
- Comparative forms of the adjectives ending in -ίων and -ιστος were replaced by -τερος and -τατος; etcetera.

Morphology: Verbs

- The gradual shift from the declension in -μι to -ω;
- Simplification of irregular forms (e.g. the ancient paradigm of οἶδα, οἶσθα, οἶδε, ἴσμεν, ἴστε, ἴσασιν transformed to οἶδα, οἶδας, οἶδε, οἶδαμεν, οἶδατε, οἶδαν)
- Changes in the aorist and imperfect, mostly on account of the second aorist (e.g., interchangeable forms such as ἔλαβον and ἔλαβα, and a bit later, ἦλθα for ἦλθον);
- The diminishing use of the optative mood, the middle voice, and later also of the infinitive; and so on.

With regard to the problem as stated in the prelude to this chapter: what then is the reason for ambiguity when attempting to identify the scope of Attic influence in the later Koine? If the linguistic features listed above make it clear that Attic is distinguishable (as German is from Dutch or Medieval English from Modern English), the ambiguity which led to a discrepancy might stem from another domain. The literary and stylistic identity of Attic comprise the next exhibit.

Greek in progress

It is firstly of importance to note the ancients' attitude towards the literary dialects. "The crucial insight", writes Matthews (2007:1195), "of the early Alexandrians lay in their identification of

ἀναλογία as a principle in the formation of words”. He further makes the important observation that *circa* the start of Atticist practice,

...this had become a major tool in establishing literary texts: if the form of a particular word is doubtful, choose the one which leads to the greatest regularity... the ‘calculation of analogy’ (ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός) is one of six parts. By the first century BC it was a general criterion for the cultivation of correct Greek (Ἑλληνισμός), written and spoken, and a dispute had arisen, whose echoes continue in the early centuries of the empire, as to whether proportional regularity is more important than conformity to usage.

Style

Similarly, Setatos (2007:966-967) draws attention to the complexities involved in investigating style, and writes that in comparing texts, “stylistic markers” are determined, “stylistic features” including “wealth of vocabulary, length of phrases, frequency of punctuation” and so on. This is more of a step in the right direction when attempting to identify where the emulation of the Attic dialect took place, viz. in its literary achievement over and against its linguistic peculiarities. It has to be kept in mind, however, that an investigation cannot be wholly concerned exclusively with either linguistic or literary features. Colvin (2010:202-203) mentions the distortion that may be caused when restricting investigation to literary dialect, as was the case when “technical literature on the dialects from the Hellenistic and Roman periods” concerned itself with a dialect awareness “based mostly on literary dialect”, and one would do well to learn from the ancients’ mistakes in this regard.

Literary dialect and genre

The literary dialects were mentioned in previous sections of this chapter. The specifics of the elements that defined a particular literary dialect are an important issue when attempting to define what exactly it is that constitutes a dialect such as Attic. At this stage, one might point out a specific feature of the dialects as regards diction: Tribulato (2010:388) suggests that one has to

do with “literary languages” rather than dialects, thanks to the artificiality and mingling that take place between dialects which constitute a literary genre. This again brings to mind the Homeric poems and, as already mentioned, the influence of their literary language on all subsequent Greek literature is the first feature that should be recognised in the long process of dialect mingling (section II.2.2; Karali, 2007 b: 977-979; Horrocks, 2010:47). Apart from the metrical peculiarities, this influence is most visible in vocabulary and diction, and even perhaps in the register (Keep, 1883: ix).

Considering that the tragedy genre was mostly an Attic product, one should be aware that, as Tribulato (2010:388) suggests, in a manner similar to the Homeric epics, Attic tragedy took to the stage in a literary, artificial dialect. It is a blend of “...archaisms, a systematic use of Dorisms in the choruses, and Ionic/epic features in the dialogues” (Karali, 2007 b: 985; who also adds concrete examples from the poets). The point here is one of some importance: in the Attic tragedies, a literary language took form, which differed from the vernacular. That is not to say that the tragedies are so artificially written that they cannot be called Attic; Palmer (1980:132) classifies them as Attic “through and through... with only a slight admixture of Doric, Epic and Aeolic elements”. Thus, while conceding that the mixed literary languages used in certain genres did differ from the vernacular, this does not mean they altogether lost their identification as, or association with, a spoken dialect.

The reasons for their differing from the vernacular are various. One example of note will suffice for the current investigation: Palmer (1980:134-135) draws attention to Dionysus’ words in *The Frogs* (1604), where he describes Aeschylus as *πρῶτος... πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά*, *the first to build towers with majestic diction*; and he further makes the accurate observation that “Poetic diction is remote from, and raised above, the language of everyday life. What is dignified, elevated and ‘remote’ is *σεμνός*” (*ibid.*). Karali (2007 b: 986-987) draws the same conclusion. On the basis of these observations and the association which the Attic literary language probably instilled, one may therefore conjecture that a piece of writing, when written in Attic literary language, attained a certain sense of *gravitas*, and maybe even a more nuanced sense of *gravitas* which differs from the *gravitas* of epic poetry. The Attic dialect’s prominence as a literary dialect connected specifically to poetry becomes even clearer if one takes into

account the fact that "...the Koine never succeeded in becoming a vehicle of high poetic expression" (Papanghelis, 2007:1046).

As regards Attic prose, Thucydides has been accredited with its first "masterpiece" (Palmer, 1980:152), even though Gorgias is generally regarded as the earliest exponent of Attic prose (Tribulato, 2010:399). A stylistic feature of note in Thucydides' work, though also traced to sophists and poets before him, is antithesis (*cf.* Palmer, 1980:163-167 for detailed examples and discussion). This is but one of many figures of speech and rhetorical techniques he implemented in his writing. However, it was with the orators themselves that Attic prose reached a pinnacle, with elements such as clarity of expression enjoying more priority than they had in Thucydides. The effect of rhetorical expression on all genres, not only oratory, was profound (Horrocks, 2010:69; Tribulato, 2010:398). Palmer (1980:167-168) specifically points out the orators' sentence structure as a major difference from the style of Thucydides: sentences are more compact and "easy to grasp", while further aids to clarity were periods composed from rhythmical cola. Moral philosophy also contributed greatly to the formation of Attic prose (Horrocks, 2010:69), and Plato should be mentioned as a master of the linguistic palette. But it is with Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) that Attic prose is considered to reach "its technical perfection" (Palmer, 1980:169). Upon his death in 338 B.C., simultaneously with Philip of Macedon's victory at Chaeronea over Athens and her allies, the grandeur of Attic fell into decline.

As Horrocks (2010:70) suggests, the influence of Attic prose in ancient times is attested to by the fact that such an overwhelming majority of extant prose available is in Attic. Whether, in itself, this is enough evidence to infer such a vast influence or not, it is supported by the evidence that the Attic dialect had become "...the international language of cultural debate and learned exposition... the model for literary composition in drama and prose" with an influence lasting "the next two thousand years" (*ibid.*). This official, not-exclusively Athenian form of the dialect has been dubbed Great Attic, and contains features of both Attic and Ionic (Horrocks, 2007:618; 2010:73-75; Tribulato, 2010:399): it was this blend from which the Koine eventually arose.

II.2.5. The continuous influence of Attic and the Koine

The status of Attic as a language of literary prestige might have been a mysterious phenomenon in the light of the political events which followed the classical age of Athens, had it not been for the fact that the Macedonians adopted Great Attic as their official language of state. The details of the political decline of Athens and rise of Macedon need not concern us here (for full treatments, old and new, see Bury, 1951:681-836, and Hornblower, 2011:217-320). More significant for the present purposes are the details of the decline of the ancient dialects; it will suffice to leave the course of political history at this point and follow the line of the language development. As the historical survey above has confirmed, the Attic dialect, after all, was “on the summit of its innovative evolution” (Teodorsson, 1979:72) when adopted by the Macedonians.

With the rise of Philip II of Macedon (*r.* 359-336 B.C.) and Macedonian imperialism, Horrocks (2007:618) attributes the adoption of the Attic language for administration to the anxiety of the Macedonian court “to associate itself with high Hellenic culture and to employ a prestigious written variety commensurate with its imperial ambitions” (Browning 1969:29; Veligianni-Terzi 2007 b: 303 and Horrocks 2010:79-80). This is understandable given the ancient “politicized” dispute as to whether the Macedonians were in fact Greek or not (Horrocks, 2010:79). The adoption moreover led to a newfound and twofold significance of Great Attic. Firstly, due to its implementation as the administrative language, it quickly became the common *spoken* language throughout the ever increasing Macedonian empire, gradually replacing traditional dialects in the Greek territories and conquering the east as Alexander (356-323 B.C.) advanced. Secondly, its classical works, though already moving into the sphere of historical rather than the spoken language, became model *texts* for education (Horrocks, 2007:618-619). It was also during this era that textual scholarship began to appear in earnest, especially in Alexandria (Dickey, 2007:3; Matthews, 2007:1193; Papanghelis, 2007:1047).

While Alexander’s death (323 B.C.) is the traditional starting point of the Hellenistic era (as argued by, for instance, Stephens, 2009:86; Horrocks, 2010:80), concurring with Missiou (2007:325), I however, suggest that the starting point rather be Phillip’s victory over the

Athenians and her allies at Chaeronea (338 B.C.). With this victory came the unification of Greece under a single monarch as well as the preparations for a unified campaign into the east. Albeit Macedonian was officially adopted as the language of state during Philip's time, Horrocks (2010:80) traces the "introduction of Greek civilization from the south" and "Atticization of the Macedonian aristocracy" to the 5th century visit of Euripides, amongst other artists, to the Macedonian court of Archelaus. Ever since then, the influence of classical Greece revealed its capacity to spread, even where there were no mother-tongue speakers of Greek.

Notwithstanding the decisive Macedonian defeat to the Romans at the battle of Pydna in 168 B.C. and Macedonia's annexation by the Romans in 146 B.C., the Hellenistic culture and its Koine continued to dominate the lands of the eastern Mediterranean.

The Koine used by Macedon was basically indistinguishable from the internationalized Attic, or better, "panhellenic" Attic, as Horrocks (2010:82) calls it, excepting for the most extreme and parochial Attic features such as -ττ-, -ρσ- and so on. This type of literary evidence suggests that Frösén's (1974:81-84; 110-112; 166) highly theoretical assumption, that the Koine is a type of creolized Attic, needs revising and substantiation. In fact, Frösén admits as much by inserting "Prolegomena" into his title and stating in his conclusion (1974:230) that the "purpose of this study has not been to present concrete results of research", although he does draw valuable attention to methodological considerations in historical linguistics.

It is also interesting to note that Horrocks (2010:83) and Brixhe (2010:230) draw attention to a particular feature of the Koine, which we might call quantitative metathesis in reverse: the Koine prefers the more universal Doric forms of *λαός* and *ναός* to the so-called "Attic declension" like *λεώς* and *νεώς*.

Missiou (2007:334-336) and Horrocks (2010:83-84) classify two regions, as regards the language development of the era. Firstly mainland Greece and the Greek islands, and secondly the newly acquired lands in the east, where the Koine, carried over by the advance of Alexander, unsurprisingly met with some resistance from the indigenous speakers (such as speakers of Coptic and Aramaic). Even in mainland Greece, the transition appears to have been a slow one

(Bubenik, 2007 a; Missiou, 2007:335), again understandably so, given the sensitive balance between dialect and ethnic identity (Setatos 2007: 973; Colvin, 2010:201-202; Horrocks, 2010:84-88; section II.2.1; section II.2.3 above). Nonetheless, in the descriptive words of Palmer (1980:175), the Koine in the end “smothered” the local dialects throughout Greece.

Regardless of the initial resistance in the newly acquired territories outside of Greece and Macedonia, in some urban areas the Koine also gradually displaced indigenous languages as well as the reactionary bilingualism (Stephens, 2009:87; Horrocks, 2010:88-89). As Horrocks (2010:88) suggests, the combination of spoken Koine and the classical literary Attic, “...fulfilled an important unifying function”, throughout the newfound Hellenistic kingdoms. Probably the most famous “Hellenized ethnic group” in this regard is to be found in the Jewish settlements of Ptolemaic Egypt (Missiou, 2007:336-337), whose native Aramaic, though still continuing in homeland Palestine, fell into disuse locally. In addition, in Egypt, a vast treasury of papyrus finds which dates from the Hellenistic period, provides invaluable samples of all sorts of texts. The Septuagint (LXX), probably translated sometime during the first half of the 3rd century B.C., remains one of the richest sources for the study of Hellenistic Koine (Horrocks, 2010:106-108).

A clear feature of the Koine’s syntax is that it tended to simplify most of the classical constructions. In the light of this, it may appear curious that Papanghelis (2007:1046) describes the Koine as “a continuation of fourth-century Attic prose”. Tribulato (2010:388-389), on the other hand, states that the literary genres still dictated the dialect, and adds, “Even after *Koine* became the common language of the Greeks, eventually permeating literary communication as well, many literary (predominantly poetic) works remained free of any *Koine* influence” (Papanghelis, 2007:1050-1051). This is a point of some importance, since Hellenistic writers such as Polybius (c. 200-120 B.C.) and Plutarch (c. A.D. 46-120) wrote in a language that merits description as a developed literary Koine.

It is also important to note here that the literary *status quo* was characterized by *literary tension* between the more classical Attic and the more colloquial Koine, rather than being a mere “passive imitation of the classics”, as Papanghelis (2007:1047) reminds us. Specifically, in the field of rhetoric, new developments which departed from the traditional Attic model, as set by

Isocrates, added to the tension, with the so-called Asianism calling for a return to the “Gorgianic precepts” (Horrocks, 2010:99-100; Palmer, 1980:172-173). This tension reached a climax during the first century, drastic enough to be discussed in terms of “linguistic politics” (Colvin, 2010:201) such as the “literary revolution” (Kazazis, 2007:1201): the start of Atticism.

II.3. Attic and Atticism in the post-Macedonian era

II.3.1. Roman Hellenism

It is both a curious and at the same time remarkable testimony to the Hellenistic culture and language that Greek was retained as the *lingua franca* after the Romans gained control of the eastern Mediterranean. The status of the Hellenistic culture was much admired throughout the Mediterranean, and so much so by the Romans that they were content not to enforce Latin in the eastern areas. On the contrary, quite the opposite effect occurred, as Horace so famously stated (Epist. 2.1. 156-157), and very soon Greek was considered as a language of Rome herself (*cf.* Horrocks, 2010:126-132, for a survey of the reciprocal influence). The role, which the predominance of the Greek language played in Hellenism’s survival, should not be underestimated, as Whitmarsh (2010:120) maintains.

The Roman reaction towards Hellenism, however, may certainly be described as “a paradox” and as “deeply ambiguous” (Whitmarsh, 2010:120-121). To be fair, it seems to have been more of a love-hate relationship where love, in spite of a little cultural jealousy, was the stronger feeling; the “Greek past functioned as a common framework of communication between the Greeks and their rulers” (Swain, 1996:67). The following lines from two Roman authors may briefly illustrate this early imperial sentiment and general recognition of Greek culture’s contribution to the Romans’ military and cultural expansion on the brink of the imperial age. Horace’s (Epist. 2.1.156-157), just mentioned: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis / intulit agresti Latio*, *Greece, though captured, seized her fierce conqueror and imported art into the rural land of Latium*; to which we may add Vergil’s famous words in the *Aeneid* 6.847-853:

*excudent alii spirantia mollius aera
(credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*

*Others will forge breathing bronzes with more skill,
(of that I am sure); they will bring forth living faces from marble;
they will be better at delivering orations; and the ways of heaven
they will describe with a measuring stick, and fix the rising of the stars:
you – to rule the nations with might – Roman, you remember that.
That is what will be your art; also to impose the law of peace,
to show mercy to subjects, but to utterly crush the proud in war.*

The “others” mentioned here are generally assumed to be the Greeks (Whitmarsh, 2010:122), which may be readily conjectured from the allusion to sculpture and oratory. However, the description of astronomy may also be a collective overview of the conquered nations who were respected for their learning, such as the Egyptians (and the peoples of ancient Babylon later incorporated into the empire). Nevertheless, the conclusion, which may be drawn from these two glimpses of the Roman self-image, is that the Romans acknowledged their cultural debt to other nations, and among those, their greatest debt was to Greece.

An interesting counter-effect to Hellenism by conservative Romans highlighted the necessity of distinguishing the older, more civilized Greeks from the new, more decadent ones. This requirement emerged as some of these conservatives, while unable to deny the contribution the ancient Greek culture made to their own civilization, felt their *Romanitas* threatened by what they perceived as “frivolous, self-indulgent and insincere” contemporary Greek practices (Horrocks, 2010:133; Whitmarsh, 2010:122). The Greeks in turn “objected furiously to republican generals’ practice of looting artworks” (Whitmarsh, 2010:119). Thus, this notion of a glorified Greek past was increasingly prevalent among the Greeks themselves, a feeling common to a conquered nation (Whitmarsh, 2010:114); and while the Romans excluded the Greeks from their classification of *barbari*, the Romans remained βάρβαροι to the Greeks, at least initially (Whitmarsh, 2010:118-120; Cartledge, 2007:311). Whatever the opinions of the two peoples may have been about each other (see Whitmarsh, 2010:122-126 for current debates), it is

important to note that Hellenism, at the commencement of the Roman Empire, drew immense interest in various features of the classical Greek and Athenian past.

II.3.2. The Second Sophistic

One of the features of particular note for the present study of the Greek past is rhetoric. Among the intellectual and aristocratic classes, especially Greek and Roman, *inter alia* (Whitmarsh, 2010:115 and 121), rhetoric not only took on a new role in the public sphere and especially in education (Horrocks, 2010:133; Whitmarsh, 2010:115), but also became a means by which to express their cultural feelings. The classical Attic authors, such as Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes, as was the case under Macedonian domination, retained an almost holy, canonical status as model educational texts. At the dawn of the Roman Empire, the theoretical ideologies endorsed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus may be seen as the foundations of what was later to become a more developed system amongst certain rhetoricians striving towards Atticism (Horrocks, 2010:133-134; Kim, 2010:472-473; Swain, 1996:21-27).

This system, which reached its high point in the 2nd century, is deeply rooted in the movement called the Second Sophistic – a term used initially by Philostratus (Kazazis, 2007: 1200-1201; Horrocks, 2010: 134; Swain, 1996:1; and others) and was termed *Second Sophistic* to avoid any confusion with the 5th century First Sophistic (Horrocks, 2010:134; Kyrtatas, 2007:352; Swain, 1996:1). Horrocks (2007:620) gives perhaps the best descriptive idea of the comprehensive use of the term as the “...rampant Greek nationalism of the Second Sophistic”. Whitmarsh (2010:116), however, makes an important observation that should be kept in mind, viz. that this broad Hellenism of the Second Sophistic age was by no means a “systematic, state-led ideology”, which led to “...great variance between individuals and communities in the particular pasts fixated upon”.

One of the defining characteristics of the Second Sophistic was a style of writing with “archaizing nostalgia” (Kim, 2010:475), the most famous and prevalent “particular past” (Whitmarsh, 2010:116) of which was a striving towards the classical Attic models. As the historical survey above has shown, the reasons for the Attic dialect’s prevalence were both

historical and political; Whitmarsh (2010:117) further confirms this view. Apart from the invaluable influence of the Homeric ideals, the prestige of classical Athens in reality set the standard for true classicism.

The pedantic nature of the Second Sophists, who slavishly strove towards that classical ideal, may be seen from their obsession with ὀρθοέπεια and ὀρθότης τῶν ὀνομάτων, i.e. “correctness of diction” and “of names” respectively, as Kotzia (2007:1094-1095), points out and translates. This is further confirmed by Kim (2010:470), who writes that “The most striking contrast between Atticist and colloquial language... is in vocabulary; Atticizing writers avoid using words not attested in Classical texts, substituting the Attic equivalent”. Another feature of the Second Sophistic was that fluent rhetorical skills were increasingly being associated with the elite, also with “wealth and status”, and “as a result, proper language and education become increasingly important in defining one’s place within the social hierarchy” (Kim 2010:468; Reynolds & Wilson 1974: 38-40). A further result of this was that a discernible split gradually developed between the spoken Koine and the written Greek, modelled on the classical Attic texts. Kim (2010:470) acknowledges the fact that such “a state of diglossia” had already been visible since the early Hellenistic period (Brixhe, 2007:489).

Against this background, Atticism, as a separate phenomenon, may be considered.

II.3.3. Atticism

As mentioned at the outset of this study, Atticism needs to be distinguished from Attic: according to Tribulato’s (2010:389) criteria, the language of Atticism is much more a *Kunstsprache*, but not a dialect, while Attic is of course a historical dialect. Indeed, the fact that the practitioners of Atticism regarded Attic as the classical dialect *par excellence* already hints at it being something distinct. Kazazis’ (2007:1201) phrase “literary revolution”, referred to above, is in a sense a more accurate description than most definitions of the movement, especially as a revolution “promising a new road to Parnassus”.

However, it should be mentioned that definitions and terms such as *Kunstsprache* are still limited to the movement's *literary* aspects, and thus Kyrtatas' (2007:352) description of an "ideological attitude" is perhaps nearest to an encompassing and accurate description for the movement as a whole. While there are many comprehensive definitions of Atticism, for example, Horrocks' "response" to style and language, (2010:135) and Kim's "emulation" of dialect (2010: 468) and so forth, they tend to be either limited in scope or an oversimplification of the complex reality. At the least, the definitions become somewhat vague when one delves deeper into the complexities of Greek identity during the first centuries. As the survey above has indicated, Atticism was so entangled in the attempt at the formation of a cultural identity that it is necessary to blend the boundaries of language, culture and political history when investigating this phenomenon which echoes the Hellenistic "high culture" (Papangelis, 2007:1049) as a whole.

However, this study, being a text-critical study focussed on textual transmission, is most concerned with the traces of Atticism found in the texts. Atticism, to be sure, did encompass so much more than simply linguistic purism (Swain, 1996:21); it was the spirit of classical Greece lingering like a restless shade throughout the Roman world. Sometimes she could be seen lingering among architecture, at other times among the works of literature. To be more definite, one might say that she certainly left traces of herself such as the Greek columns in buildings or Attic style in the words and sounds of the texts and where, in the literary works, a textual critic might pursue those traces. The study of Atticism, as a literary phenomenon, is also valuable for cultural studies, since "...it is a disclosure of social and political events quite as much as an expression of literary tastes" (Swain, 1996:7).

Most scholars recognize the cultural bed from which Atticism sprung as a *condicio sine qua non* for an understanding of the movement itself (Horrocks, 2010: 99-100, 134-137; Kim, 2010:468-471; Kazazis, 2007; etc.), and rightly so. Yet it is possible, and indeed necessary for a textual study, to focus on the linguistic part rather than the cultural whole; Browning (1969:49-50) lists a few cases which illustrate the complexities in question. Although this does imply starting at the cultural whole, viz. the "painfully reawakened self-pride of many Greek intellectuals" (Kazazis, 2007:1200), as well as keeping an eye on the said whole, viz. the "widespread archaizing

nostalgia for the past” (Kim, 2010:468) during the process, for the sake of clarity one needs to focus closely.

The question is where: towards what form of Attic did Atticism as a linguistic or literary movement strive? Extant lexica, for example that of Phrynichus,⁸ provide clues as to which classical texts were regarded as models, although except with explicit mention by the writer, it is difficult, in fact, nearly impossible, to specify a specific text an Atticist had in mind when “Atticizing”. In the light of these clues, we might assume that at various phases of composition, various classical authors would have been used as models. Thus a good grasp of their style, vocabulary and so forth, may be used as a platform from which to draw a comparison between classical Attic texts and post-classical Atticizing texts.

Taking this route, one runs into difficulties, as Kim (2010:469) illustrates: comparing the evidence for Atticism, i.e. “(i) explicit discussions, dictates, or complaints about Atticizing language, and (ii) texts written in Atticizing Greek”, the picture that arises is obscure, between “an oppressive polemical milieu populated by an elite obsessed with recreating the minutiae of the Attic dialect and catching the mistakes of their peers” on the one hand, and on the other “a body of literary texts in which Atticizing language is skillfully [*sic*] employed in a fairly relaxed and creative way in a manner faithful to rather than slavishly dependent upon Classical models”. The reason for this confusing picture is that in fact, despite more than 200 years of zealous Atticist practice, there were no systematic manifestos, guidelines or controls for Atticists, but instead various and conflicting attempts at a theoretical outline.

For convenience, a synopsis is provided here of some linguistic and stylistic markers which identify Atticist practice (a survey of Horrocks, 2010:138-139; Kazazis, 2007:1208-1210; and Browning, 1969:52-53; in contrast to section II.2.4. above). Needless to say, in the light of the inconsistent practice and sheer vastness of scope, a survey such as this can be neither authoritative nor exhaustive, but it does give an indication of the “[i]mportant hallmarks of correct Attic

⁸ Cf. Dickey (2007, Chapter 3.2) for a thorough survey, and further treatments of these tools are Horrocks (2010: 137 ff.); Kazazis (2007: 1206-1207); Reynolds & Wilson (1974: 38-42); Elliott (1972: 133-138); Browning (1969: 52-53); and Kilpatrick (1963: 17-19).

usage” (Horrocks, 2010:138). It should be noted that most of the revived forms were obsolete by the time of the Koine, not merely a question of preference:

Phonology and Orthography

- Revival of -ττ- and -ρρ- for -σσ- and -ρσ- e.g. θάλαττα;
- ξύν for σύν;
- Redundant use of Attic vowel contraction;
- Revival of -γν- for simple -ν- (γίγνωσκω).

Vocabulary and idiom

Usage is heavily based on classical authors’ mannerisms, of which only a few examples are given here:

- ἔτι for ἀκμήν;
- χάριν εἰδέναι for εὐχαριστεῖν;
- ὕει for βρέχει;
- Variations on -εδομαι for φάγομαι;
- ναῦς for πλοῖον; ὕς for χοῖρος; etcetera (cf. II.2.4. above).

Morphology: Nouns

- Revival of the dual;
- Revival of the Attic declension, e.g. λεώς for λαός.

Morphology: Verbs

- Extensive use of the middle forms.

Syntax

- Extensive and overuse of the dative, very often erroneously;
- Use of the synthetic perfect (e.g. λέλυνται) for periphrasis (λελυμένοι εἰσὶ);
- Revival of the optative uses;
- Revival of the classical infinitive constructions, for instance the infinitive absolute after ὥς; the accusative and infinitive, rather than a ὅτι-clause, and the like.

Style

Of all the features, style seems to have been the most confused. Atticist writers' styles differ arbitrarily from each other as well as from the classical authors to such an extent that a very detailed dissection of various authors would be necessary to identify defining markers.

Kim (2010:469) provides a comprehensive glance at the vast linguistic sphere of Atticism by explaining that to “‘Atticize’ (ἄττικίζειν)” was to imitate the Attic writers in full, “...employing Attic orthography, morphology, vocabulary, and syntax and simultaneously ‘purifying’ their own language of postclassical forms, words, and constructions”. However, in reality, the matter was hardly as systematic as that, as Horrocks (2010:135-136) and Reynolds and Wilson (1974:40) point out. Not only was there little consensus on which of the old masters to use as models, the imitation was a highly inconsistent practice, “artificial in the extreme” (Reynolds & Wilson, 1974:40) and even a quite arbitrary affair while “the all-important distinction between classical Attic and the Koine was in practice far from absolute” (Horrocks, 2010:136). The almost complete unattainability of the attempt at a reproduction of classical Athens is well described by Swain (1996:43) as a movement “looking to a mythically pure standard”. Many of the classical constructions were erroneously applied. To further stress the point of general confusion, Dickey (2007:9) and Kazazis (2007:1206) draw attention to the fact that there are even some examples of professing Atticists who are in fact imitating Homer and Herodotus, imitations which are nevertheless likely “as mediums for occasional belletristic display” (Swain, 1996:410).

Given these facts, it is no wonder that one finds some discrepancy as to which texts were influenced by Atticism and to what extent they were influenced. We can thus safely put a *caveat* on, if not condemn altogether, the bold assumption reflected in statements by Kazazis (2007:1203) and Browning (1969:51), viz. that in the 1st century neither “a single writer”, nor any “prose literature” respectively, was free of Atticist influence.

II.4. Atticism in the New Testament?

As already mentioned, the first traces of Atticism began to appear after the rise and establishment of the Alexandrian and Roman empires, or during the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Horrocks (2010:135) mentions two phases of revival experienced by the movement, viz. during the time of Nero (*r.* A.D. 54-68) and during that of Hadrian (*r.* A.D. 117-138). This places the New Testament’s composition, as well as the earlier stages of transmission, very neatly within the bounds of the Atticizing zenith. Further, the influence of classical literature continued into the Christian era, and the classical texts continued to be used as models (Reynolds & Wilson, 1974:42-43; for a discussion on the influence of Homer and Vergil on the Gospels, see Sandnes, 2011).

Given the scope of the movement, it might therefore be surprising at first that the extent of Atticist influence on the New Testament composition is not agreed upon at all; some uncertainty, discrepancy, and one might even say confusion exists as to what degree Atticist traces may be found in the New Testament. Scholars such as Browning (1969:51) and Kazazis (2007:1203) assert the omnipresent influence of Atticism on every single text of the first century as an undisputed truism. On the other end of the spectrum, scholars such as Silva (1990:73) and Kilpatrick (1983: 200) are wary of accepting Atticist influence on the authors of the New Testament as a rule. On *prima facie* evidence, it is much more likely that one should accept the composition of the text as taking place in a “semitized Koine” (Rico, 2010:65) rather than an Atticizing Koine (see also Janse, 2007, for further details). Horrocks (2010: 149), given the lack of thorough investigation into the subject, expresses the safest evaluation in terms of this available evidence:

In general...the language of the New Testament reflects quite closely the natural development of the language in the early centuries AD, always allowing for stylistic variation determined by the level of education of the author. Thus Hebrews and James are in some respects quite ‘classical’ (though far from Atticist), while Luke, Acts and the Pauline epistles are written on a higher level than Matthew, Mark and John.

Despite the apparent lack of Atticizing influence on the authors of the New Testament, the fact that *variants* exist, indicates that tendencies towards being Atticized, as Kilpatrick (1963; 1965; 1967; 1977; 1979; 1983), Elliott (1972) and Martini (1974) maintain, can certainly not be ignored. Discussing Atticism, Palmer (1980:173) maintains that the “...more successful such literary antiquarianism is, the less interest it holds for the historian of Greek language”; and on the whole one has to agree that an artificial movement such as Atticism rather reflects regression than progression of the historical language. Yet literary Atticism, comprising those traces left by the Hellenic shade, does hold interest for any textual critic on texts *transmitted* during that age.

In the past, textual criticism has been linked to dialect studies, to good effect (e.g. Colvin, 1995, on the text and dialect of Aristophanes). This contributed to a better understanding of the language of composition as well as the process of transmission (the worth of which Probert, 2010:702-704, also recognizes). Reynolds and Wilson (1974:41) are among the few who appreciate this result of Atticist awareness visible in transmission, citing a few classical examples:

...the minute linguistic observations of the schools... had the effect of instilling the forms and inflections of the Attic dialect so deeply that, when an educated man was transcribing a text, he tended to replace forms drawn from other dialects by Attic forms which he knew so well. This is clear in works which contain Doric dialect, such as the lyrics of tragedy or Theocritus’ *Idylls*; in many parts of the text original Doric forms have been eliminated by successive generations of copyists. The text of Xenophon has suffered in the same way.

How much interest literary Atticism should hold for textual critics is, of course, disputed (e.g. the debates of Kilpatrick versus Fee from 1963 onwards), and it is hoped that this study will contribute to a more precise understanding of this problem.

Since the historical survey above has demonstrated that Atticist language was associated with the educated elite, a language “more prestigious and esthetically [*sic*] superior” (Kim, 2010:470), it is much more likely that the later copyists of the New Testament texts, rather than the authors of the texts, had access and more exposure to secondary sources that guided the aspiring Atticist writers. The exception to this may be Luke, “who undoubtedly had enjoyed the contemporary literary education” (Palmer, 1980:194). Swain (1996:19) cites the Gospels as an example of work written in a “non-uneducated pen”, while Kim (2010:470), again with the notable exception of Luke, in fact treats the “Gospels ...and other early Christian literature” as samples of a non-Atticizing corpus used to compare with Atticizing texts and lexica. The silence on the epistles is noteworthy.

Given their training as copyists and stylists, the scribes, more than the authors, were likely to have been influenced by such secondary material, and as the influence of Christianity spread among the upper classes, the levels of education among Christians increased correspondingly (Horrocks, 2010:155; Kyrtatas, 2007:353-354; Browning, 1969:54-55). Overall, any presence of Atticizing language in the New Testament is therefore likely to have been introduced later into the text rather than at the stage of composition. Thus, the consideration merits a shift in focus: from the possible influence of Atticism on the writers of the New Testament *autographs*, to the possible influence of Atticism on the *transmission* of the text; a shift that may be seen in the work of Reynolds and Wilson (1974: 41-44) and Horrocks (2010: 155). The former work highlights the importance of educated transcription, while the latter attributes the “elevation” of Christian discourse to the spread of the religion among the more educated classes and the influence of “intellectual apologists” such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Eusebius and the style they employed in their writings. Both recognise the time during which the text was subjected to considerable polishing: the stages of its transmission, not its composition.

II.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the historical development of the Attic dialect has been traced from its pre-classical origins up until its artificial revival during the Second Sophistic age and the cultural movement known as Atticism, which reached its zenith during the 2nd century. Dialectology has

been broadly discussed, and the ancient concept of dialect was also briefly reviewed. The importance of the role which language and dialect play in forming a cultural identity has been pointed out as being significant since ancient times. Conversely, political identity and imperialism raised dialect to a status of prestige.

The cultural achievements of Athens have been highlighted, since they secured her dialect an almost world-wide recognition in ancient times as the dialect of cultural excellence. This was acknowledged first by her eventual conqueror, Macedon, who adopted her dialect, and subsequently by Rome, who conceded being strongly influenced by the Greek, and specifically Athenian, culture as a whole. The newfound awareness of classical Greek cultural achievements shaped, amongst other things, the educational system of the Roman Empire. During the first centuries of Roman dominance, there was also a Greek nostalgia concerning their more glorious past. In broad terms, this awareness may, as a whole, be linked to the Atticist movement, which initially started life in the sphere of rhetoric, but gradually encompassed all spheres of cultural identity.

This chapter focused on the linguistic sphere, and especially on the literary Atticism, which influenced many first century writings. The New Testament's composition, although certainly occurring during the time of Atticist practice, does not seem to have borne the full weight of the Atticist influence. There are, however, some variants of the New Testament text, which display Atticist-like influence and it has been conjectured that where the composition of the New Testament text might not have been greatly influenced by Atticism, the same cannot be said for its transmission. This gives further cause for text-critical investigation.

Postscript

At the outset of this chapter, the following comparison was used as an illustration: what are the characteristic linguistic features which make Plato's words in *Republic* 612 E,

Τῷ δὲ θεοφιλεῖ οὐχ ὁμολογήσομεν, ὅσα γε ἀπὸ θεῶν γίγνεται,
πάντα γίγνεσθαι ὡς οἶόν τε ἄριστα...,

an *obvious* example of the Attic dialect, whereas the corresponding or differing elements make Paul's words in his Epistle to the Romans 8:28,

οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, τοῖς
κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν.

an example of the Koine?

These are obviously two isolated sentences, out of their literary context, and we should be wary of drawing any universal conclusions from a single comparison such as this. Yet, for the mere illustrative purpose of dialect features, and taking them at face value, we can at least make the following tentative observations, which will be seen to agree with what the historical survey conducted in this chapter reveals:

| Features: | Plato's sentence in classical Attic | Paul's sentence in Koine |
|------------------|--|--|
| Word order | Plato guides the word order <i>synthetically</i> , with the main verb (οὐχ ὁμολογήσομεν) at the end of the phrase. The <i>dativus commodi</i> is placed early in the sentence. | Paul's sentence is rather more <i>analytically</i> guided, with the main verb (οἶδαμεν) at the start of the phrase. As is the case in Plato, the <i>dativus commodi</i> is placed early in the sentence. |
| Particles | Density: 3 particles (δὲ, γε, τε) / 16 words = 19%. The use of δὲ, taking the sentence in isolation, appears to be a standard connective, and the uses of γε and τε show sensitivity to fine nuanced emphases of classical construction, with γε strengthening ὅσα (for ὡς οἶόν τε, see below under <i>Vocabulary</i>). | Density: 1 particle (δὲ) / 16 words = 6%. The use δὲ of conforms to the classical connective use. Owing to less particle density, the sentence is not as coloured in meaning and emphasis as Plato's is. |

(continues on next page)

| Features: | Plato's sentence in classical Attic | Paul's sentence in Koine |
|---|---|---|
| Morphology / Orthography / Inflection | Characteristic Attic conciseness ("qualities of Attic style τὸ σαφές and τὸ λιτόν... Attic brevity, its spareness and frugality, τὸ ἰσχνόν [Kilpatrick, 1963: 17-18]): θεοφίλης, -ές, where Paul uses a paraphrase, τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν θεόν; typically Attic spelling of γίγνεται, where the Koine would be γίνεται. | The normal rules of contraction are observed: ἀγαπῶσιν and συνεργεῖ. οἶδαμεν is an example of the development and simplification in inflection, where ἴσμεν would have been the corresponding Attic form. τοῖς...κλητοῖς οὖσιν, though not exactly a periphrastic construction (which usually comprises of an indicative form of εἶναι + a participle), is still an example of the increasing use of periphrastic writing, where a classical perfect form such as τοῖς κεκλημένοις would have sufficed. |
| Syntax | Plato uses a relative clause in parenthesis (ὅσα γε ἀπὸ θεῶν γίγνεται) where Paul exegetically uses τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν rather than inserting a relative clause. The classical accusative and infinitive construction is also employed: ὁμολογήσομεν...πάντα γίνεσθαι. | The use of ὅτι, as employed here after a verb of thinking, is very rare in classical Greek (cf. Smyth, 1956:583, 449 §§2580, 2018 etc.). Paul also displays a transitive use of an verb originally intransitive: συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν (cf. Blass & Debrunner, 1961:82, §148); in exegesis Paul uses the participle of ὦν as a substantive along with adjuncts to the predicate: τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν (Blass & Debrunner, 1961:212-213, §413). |
| Vocabulary | ὥς οἶόν τε used for the strengthening of the superlative (Liddell & Scott, οἶος, III.3.). | Typical words of Christian writing and theological thought are employed: ἀγαπῶσιν, κατὰ πρόθεσιν, κλητοῖς. |
| Style | Though Plato uses a rhetorical question, both use the first person plural in rhetorical address. | |
| Figures of Speech | Diatribic style rhetorical question: οὐχ ὁμολογήσομεν; <i>Casus pendens</i> : ὅσα...πάντα. | Periphrasis has already been mentioned; a slight parallelism and anaphora in exegesis: τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν... τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν. |

Chapter III

The method of investigation re-evaluated

III.1. Prelude

Since the publication of his 1963 article “Atticism and the text of the Greek New Testament”, Professor G.D. Kilpatrick has been what we may call the leading rekindler of the Atticist-question, and remained one of the great pioneers in this field of research until his death; Rodgers (1992) surveys his contribution to the field. He and his successor, Professor J.K. Elliott, have been the most ardent defenders of the case in favour of significant Atticist influence in the New Testament text as a criterion to be taken into account when dealing with variants.

While the evidence for Atticism as a significant influence on the New Testament, then, does not seem conclusive, nor do the arguments against it altogether refute the possibility of a significant influence. Kilpatrick (1963; 1965; 1967; 1977; 1979; 1983); Elliott (1972) and Martini (1974) maintain that as variants with Atticist rewriting tendencies do exist, they cannot be ignored. Furthermore, they should not be too quickly waved aside as mere scribal fancies or errors, as Royse (2008: 166-167; 197, remark 4) demonstrates in his discussion on the variants found in P⁴⁵. More recently still, the work of Flink (2009) encourages further investigation along Atticist lines.

Despite the evidence in favour of significant Atticist influence at first glance being promising and meriting serious consideration, it seems to be defective in light of the critique on the deficiencies of the method employed and defended by Kilpatrick and Elliott (2010)

The particular method in question, as applied and promoted by Kilpatrick and Elliott, is termed “Thoroughgoing eclecticism” (Elliott, 2010: 42; 2013). Kilpatrick in particular, who “pioneered the eclectic method in New Testament textual criticism” (Rodgers, 1992: 388), has been heavily criticised for his rigorous eclecticism in putting forward evidence for his arguments. A few examples by relevant authors clarify this point. Metzger (1992: 178-179) warns of the dangers involved in a too one-sided approach to the question of Atticism, since it blinds the critic to all

other possible, and indeed sometimes more plausible, influences on the transmission and considerations that are to be taken into account. Colwell (1969: 155) and Royse (2008: 197, remark 3) mention harmonization as an example of other such influences. Fee (1993 d: 131-136; 1993 c: 269) moreover suggests that the Atticist reading might even be the original and that scribes were perhaps changing from classical to Koine idiom, although this in itself is a statement that needs further substantiation (*cf.* Elliott, 2013: 754-755, for his reply). Elsewhere, Fee also remarks, “both Kilpatrick and Elliott appear oblivious to other alternatives whenever Atticism is seen as a possible cause of textual corruption” (1993 d: 131). If this is indeed the case, one should exercise vigilance when examining the results of their method.

It is therefore clear that during the last five decades there has been little consensus among New Testament textual critics as to what the most accurate method would be, either to substantiate, or refute with authority, any claims for Atticist influence. Indeed, the *status quaestionis* of methodology in modern New Testament textual criticism poses a complex challenge in itself,⁹ and is a subject of study that merits more than may be done here: it ranks amongst “problems and investigations”, as Metzger (2003: 203) recently identified, “that urgently clamour for attention.”

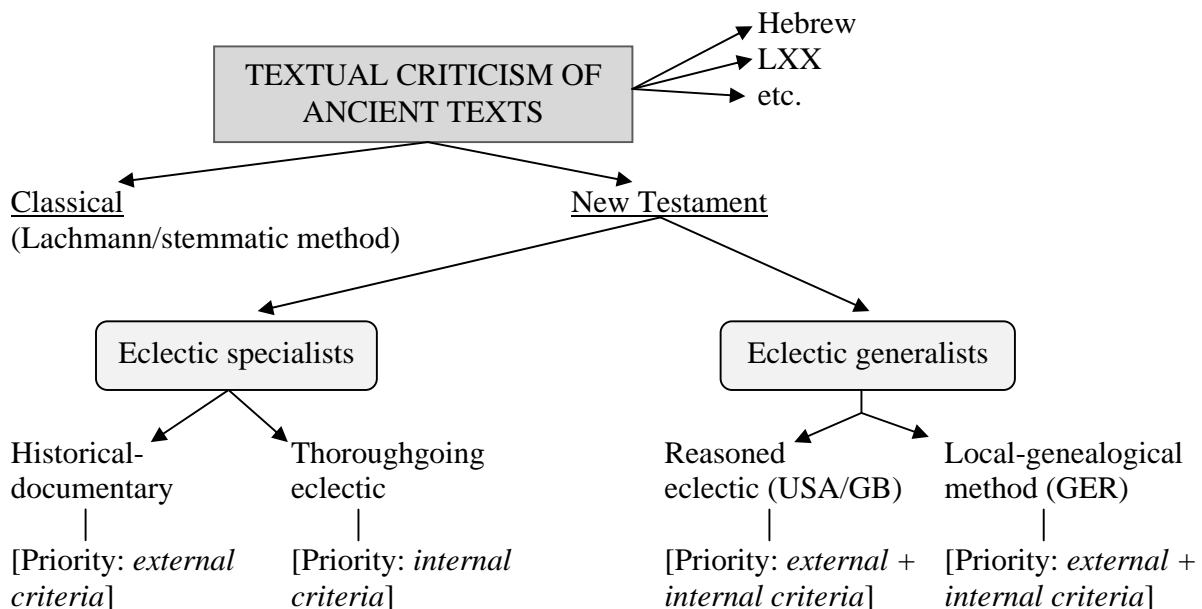
It would not be possible to offer a completely innovative method in the current study, but the issue at hand does at least require an evaluation of the criticism on eclecticism, even if a brief one, since it is criticism which currently undermines progress in the debate on Atticist influence in the New Testament. The present chapter furnishes a brief introductory overview of current methods in textual criticism (III.2) and of eclecticism in general. In addition, it offers a critical examination of thoroughgoing eclecticism in particular, as practiced by Kilpatrick and Elliott (III.3), after which an accountable *modus operandi* is proposed for the current study (III.4).

III.2. Current methods in New Testament textual criticism

“Now comes the hard part: methods”; thus Epp (2011 a: 89) rather ominously introduces the methodology of textual criticism. It is of course assumed that consensus on methodology

⁹ For examples that illustrate this complexity, see Epp, 2005 a; 2005 e; 2005 f; 2005 g; 2005 h; 2005 i; and Fee, 1993 b.

remains an ideal to be striven for (cf. Metzger, 2003: 203; Epp, 2011 a: 91). However, things need hardly be as bleak as this. In comparing categories by acknowledged textual critics and theorists (viz. Holmes, 2013: 774; Epp, 2005 c: 127-128; 158-165; Petzer, 1990: 159-170; 1991) we may produce here a stemma of methods pertaining to the textual criticism of ancient texts from which we can launch our survey:¹⁰



As scholars such as Epp and Petzer have demonstrated in their writings, the 20th century has been a somewhat experimental chapter in the history of New Testament textual criticism, and the 21st century (at least initially) should be no different, being the awakening stage of the digital age of textual criticism. The stemma provided above may thus be regarded as the results delivered by the experimentation, up to the present. They should not, however, be viewed as final; at most, they may be viewed as a summary of the methods current at the turn of the century, since the methodological stream will remain, as ever, in flux. For instance, Gerd Mink's (2011: 148-151) currently developing *Coherence-Based Genealogical Method* (CBGM) has shown promising

¹⁰ For matters pertaining to Old Testament textual criticism, see the standard introduction by Würthwein (1995). For a standard and concise treatment of Classical textual criticism, see West (1973); for more recent overviews, see Schaps (2011: 257-264) and Battezzato (2009: 773-787). For an overview of reconstruction models, see Jordaan (2009: 196-202). For a manifesto and defence of thoroughgoing eclecticism, see Elliott (2010; 2013). For a manifesto and justification of reasoned eclecticism, see Holmes (2013). For detail on external and internal criteria, see Epp (2011 a: 92-103).

results as a workable method in the digital age and will surely bring new methodological considerations and insights to the fore. Yet it is a method still in process, and “it remains to be embraced broadly by the text-critical community” (Epp, 2011 a: 97; the conclusions of Wachtel & Holmes, 2011: 224-226, also refer).

The first observation arising from the stemma is that all New Testament textual critics are classed as practicing one form of eclecticism or another, merely separated by the *degree* or *nature* of their eclecticism (III.3 refers). Epp (2011 a: 91) expresses this succinctly in stating: “Naturally, full agreement on methodology has been elusive, but virtually all agree that an eclectic method is essential, that is, utilizing all relevant measures that might help to identify the earliest attainable text, even if some procedures at times may conflict with others”. Fee articulates it as: “...eclecticism is the currency of the realm and will undoubtedly be so for years to come” (1993 d: 124; see also Fee, 1993 e: 15-16). The intervening years have undeniably confirmed the accuracy of his prediction.

The main division between the various eclectic methods rests on the weight given to either *external considerations*, *internal considerations*, or both (Epp, 2011 a: 92-103). The eclectic specialists prefer one above the other, while the eclectic generalists, at least in theory, do not as a rule regard the one set of considerations to be superior and are willing to accord both sets equal consideration.

The first **eclectic specialist** method, the *historical-documentary method*, relies heavily, if not exclusively, on manuscript prominence in considering variants. This was the method which steered the work of Westcott and Hort¹¹ At the other end of the eclectic specialist spectrum, the *thoroughgoing eclectics* such as Kilpatrick and Elliott rely heavily, if not exclusively, on internal considerations such as style rather than manuscript prominence.

The **eclectic generalists** attempt to merge the strengths of these two methods, and in theory consider both external and internal evidence on its own merit. In the English-speaking world, the method is referred to as the *reasoned eclectic* method, whereas in Germany preference is given to the term *local-genealogical method*. Well-known scholars employing an eclectic generalist approach are, amongst many others, the late Bruce Metzger, Holmes and the Alands.

¹¹ For an overview of more modern developments of this method, see Epp (2005 b: 261-265).

This, in theory, summarizes the division, although it must be conceded that in practice, the external-internal boundary is often crossed. For example, Epp (2011 a: 95) illustrates how theoretical assumptions in textual criticism are often “relative and subjective” and that what may be seen as an established external consideration sometimes rests on internal findings, and vice versa. He further concedes, by giving an example, that “internal criteria” may at times “trump the impressive external support” (*ibid.*, 98), regardless of the methodological presuppositions a critic may have. The reverse may also be the case from time to time.

Until fairly recently, the value of this type of interaction between the methods has been much overlooked. In 1983, and from the field of modern textual editing, Tanselle (1983: 67-68) expressed appreciation for the insights of Bruce Metzger, who realized that a methodology of textual criticism which tries to be exclusive in its considerations would only be an impoverished and crippled one. This becomes clear from the investigation in the next section.

III.3. The place of eclecticism in New Testament textual criticism

III.3.1. General remarks

The eclectic nature of general textual methodology has been under debate in the fields of modern as well as ancient textual editing (Tanselle, 1983: 27-28). The situation has been no different in New Testament textual criticism, due to the general debate over methodology that has been ongoing throughout the 20th century and into the 21st, as well as to the fact that “[a]ll modern printed critical editions of the Greek New Testament are eclectic editions” (Elliott, 2010: 41).

During the 20th century, the eclectic nature of New Testament criticism was not widely embraced, and in truth seemed to have been cause for much frustration and even embarrassment for some critics. Writing in 1974, Epp (2005 1: 60) rather gloomily contrasted “...that period between the self-confident, optimistic, and resolute textual criticism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and *the diffuse, indeterminate, and eclectic* New Testament textual criticism of our own present and recent past” (my emphases). In the same article (*ibid.* 83), he also states rather strongly that

...lack of definitive theory and history of the early text and the lack of progress in critical editions has caused, during the twentieth century, a chaotic situation in the evaluation of variant readings in the New Testament text. The result has been the almost universal employment of the “eclectic” method, and this is perhaps the most visible evidence that we are in an interlude. The “eclectic” method is, in fact, *the* twentieth century method of New Testament textual criticism, and anyone who criticizes it immediately becomes a self-critic, for we all use it, some of us with a certain measure of reluctance and restraint, others with complete abandon. (Italics in original.)

A general prevailing sentiment during this period, and one which still prevails among some scholars, is that the eclectic method is only a substitute or transitory method, mostly due to “unsatisfactory reconstructions of textual history” (Jordaan, 2009: 207; Epp, 2005 l). A recent summary, by Wachtel and Holmes (2011: 10-12), confirms Epp’s “diagnosis” of 1976, viz. that the eclectic method is “...symptomatic of the basic problem of our discipline: the lack of ‘objective’ criteria (in the Lachmannian or genealogical sense) for determining originality of readings” (Epp, 2005 b: 274-278; 2005 d: 644-657). Although it cannot be denied that eclecticism was a symptom of this problem, it is no longer so universally ostracized as merely a transitory method, but is presently instead regarded as a method in development which, as yet, renders transitory results.

Since the days of scepticism and theoretical apprehension, eclecticism has thus achieved more recognition. Rodgers (1992: 390), though perhaps slightly biased toward the prominence that should be given to internal considerations, nevertheless provides a fair summary of the *status quo*: “Compared with the work of previous generations, textual criticism today takes a much more eclectic approach. More weight is being given generally to internal criteria, and no one rule of thumb dominates”.

This last remark, especially, is testimony to the achievements of those ventures using the eclectic approach and the result has been advantageous for the discipline as a whole, now and in the future. In the words of Epp (2005 l: 84-85):

...the broad utilization of an eclectic methodology by numerous scholars throughout the twentieth century has helped us to sharpen our critical senses, to evaluate the traditional canons and principles of textual criticism, and to maintain a plausible critical text for use in exegetical and historical studies in the general New Testament field. In short, eclecticism is a holding action, a temporary and interim method with presumably equally temporary results. It is, however, what the twentieth century has produced and worked with...

Here Epp makes several important observations, of which the permanency of the eclectic method was the one most debated in the closing decades of the 20th century. The debate, though not yet formally concluded, has in the meantime moved into a slightly more definitive direction. In 1992, Rodgers (1992: 394) hit the methodological nail on the head by anticipating that “[w]hat we are headed toward in New Testament textual criticism is a *new eclecticism*, a method that considers both external and internal criteria as of equal importance in determining the original text” (italics in original). Such a balance of methodological strong-points, if not crucial for the development of a unified method, even if this is at all possible, should at least be striven for by modern textual critics, that is if they are to avoid any form of “unprincipled eclecticism”, to borrow a term of Tanselle’s (1983: 52).

Sections III.3.2 and III.3.3 provide descriptions of seeking this balance.

III.3.2. Eclectic specialist methods and the thoroughgoing eclecticism

One would be hard put to define the eclectic specialist methods more concisely and accurately than Epp (2005 c: 163), who writes: “An *eclectic specialist* recognizes quite clearly the polarity between external and internal evidence, and he or she tries to overcome it by *specializing* in or by *emphasizing* one of the poles to the minimizing or even exclusion of the other” (italics in original). In sum, eclectic specialists view this specialisation or emphasis as *the* great advantage of the method, whilst critics often attack it as *the* great weakness, which produces an unbalanced methodology and consequently undermines the validity of any conclusions reached by the eclectic specialists.

When surveying modern literature which comments on eclectic specialist methods (as used in New Testament textual criticism) it becomes strikingly clear that eclectic specialists are not only

a minority group within the broader text-critical community (Elliott, 2010: 42), but that their theories were also heavily criticized in the recent past. This criticism has often been very negative (sometimes even aggressive), yet it has frequently occurred without any truly realistic suggestions for improvement, other than calling for a complete abandonment of an eclectic specialist method. In defence, Elliott (2010: 42) has protested that critics of the method actually themselves often use certain corresponding eclectic specialist principles in their own practice. Elliott (2010: 44-49) provides eclectic examples from the UBS as does Rodgers (1992: 390 ff.) who discusses “instances in which the chosen reading [in the UBS³] lacks support in both the papyri and the great uncials”. This defensive stroke by Elliott should alert one when investigating not only the justness of the criticism against the specialist method, but also when investigating any proposed alternative methods, even if this might turn out to be a mere matter of terminological clarification (for the alleged “terminological inconsistency” in the method, *cf.* Epp, 2005 c: 169 ff.).

Although methodological criticism is, more often than not, justified, the rigorous criticism of the eclectic specialists has often resulted in an undervaluation and lack of appreciation for their contributions to the field of textual criticism. Speaking specifically of thoroughgoing eclecticism, for instance, Petzer (1991: 49-50) keenly observed that: “[n]otwithstanding this criticism...this method has called attention to the value and importance of internal evidence in the solving of textual problems. This is an aspect of the methodology that has been largely neglected by supporters of the traditional classical or genealogical approaches.” Whatever the faults of the eclectic specialists, they have shown the text-critical community that there is always room for methodological improvement and refinement.

In particular, the eclectic specialist method known as thoroughgoing eclecticism deserves attention when investigating the Atticist question, since it was the method used by Kilpatrick to reach his conclusions on Atticist variants (the validity of which has been doubted precisely on methodological grounds). Amongst the practitioners of this type of eclecticism, few have undertaken its exposition and defence more vigorously than Kilpatrick’s successor, J.K. Elliott (2010; 2013).¹² Instead of producing a summary of his publications here, it is better to let Elliott

¹² For other brief overviews of the method, see Jordaan, 2009: 203, and Epp, 2005 b: 265-267).

speak for himself through a few, selected, key passages which I judge to be definitive of the thoroughgoing eclectic method:

Thoroughgoing text critics prefer to edit a text by solving textual variation with an appeal primarily to purely internal considerations... Thoroughgoing eclecticism is the method that allows internal considerations for a reading's originality to be given priority over documentary considerations (2013: 745);

Although the method ... emphasizes the cult of the best reading rather than the cult of the best manuscript(s), manuscripts in thoroughgoing eclecticism are more than mere carriers of readings, as some critics of this method have implied. Knowledge of readings should precede a knowledge of manuscripts, but one should not apply that principle uncritically... One would not judge a manuscript by a preconceived assessment of it based on its age, provenance, or background, but would arrive at an assessment after analyzing the individual manuscript's performance over a whole range of textual variation of differing types (2013: 760);

The principles [of thoroughgoing eclecticism] that I try to defend and demonstrate are based on the following:

1. An awareness of the individual authors' language and style in so far as these can be reconstructed from the established usage in undisputed examples in the manuscripts,
2. Our knowledge of the kind of semiticized Greek used by the New Testament writers,
3. An appreciation of the palaeographical changes found in handwritten copying (and here we learn from classical palaeography and papyrology),
4. An awareness of the changes in Christian doctrine particularly in the early centuries that might have been responsible for the deliberate rewriting of the New Testament text in one direction or the other.

These and other criteria are fundamental to a thoroughgoing eclectic approach to textual criticism. They are by no means subjective (2010: 19).

At first glance, having conceded that the main focus will fall on internal considerations due to the eclectic specialist approach, thoroughgoing eclecticism seems to be a workable method undeserving of the harsh criticism it has received. Yet, as Metzger (1992: 178) warned "...the weaknesses inherent in the [rigorous eclectic] method should not be overlooked". Although Elliott skilfully answers the critics on some points, there is still a major methodological flaw inherent in the thoroughgoing approach that has not been convincingly defended. This is the assumption that basically all intended changes to the text occurred very early in the history of the text, and that a final text existed before the 4th century. As Elliott (2010: 13) proposes:

In the case of the New Testament there is a significant gap between the dates of the original compositions and the period in which the earliest, complete, surviving manuscripts begin to emerge. And that gap is the second Christian century. That is the century when most changes occurred to the words that had been composed a century before. The second century is something of a dark age as far as the history of the New Testament is concerned;

and adds, “Vogels was, in my opinion, quite right to pronounce that all the deliberate alterations to the New Testament text would have been introduced by 200 A.D.” (Elliott, 2010: 36). Elliott is here merely echoing the sentiment expressed earlier by Kilpatrick (1963: 19; 1976: 68).

This, in my opinion, may be the greatest methodological flaw which undermines the thoroughgoing critics’ evaluations: their findings are based on a somewhat unsubstantiated rule of thumb, a truism, which for them seems to be a proven fact. It is thus all the more noticeable that Elliott himself conceded the 2nd century to have been “something of a dark age” in the history of the text, and that he was aware of the uncertainty surrounding the textual history of that time.

Martini (1974: 152) has been somewhat sceptical of the workability of this theory from the start, and so is Holmes (2010: 85). Nevertheless, Fee (1993 d: 125-126), in particular, has been vigilant in exposing this weakness:

...the inadequacy of rigorous eclecticism as a total method...is essentially twofold:

(1) It assumes a faulty theory of textual corruption and transmission, and therefore an unrealistic – and unhistorical – attitude toward the various textual witnesses.

(2) Having abandoned the evidence of the witnesses, it leaves textual judgements to the whims of the individual practitioner. This problem is especially acute whenever variation can be shown to have two equally plausible explanations...choices are made in a most random and arbitrary fashion.

Fee (1993 d: 126-127), driving the final nails into the coffin, argues in a discussion which merits being quoted at length:

In place of a careful study of documents and their history, Kilpatrick has tended to relegate that history to the period *before* the documents – the second century. He has frequently cited with approval the contention of Vogels that, “apart from errors, the great majority of variants in the New Testament text have come into being before AD 200”...

The importance of this argument for Kilpatrick’s methodology cannot be

overestimated. The assumption that all textual corruption derives from the second century, plus the general disregard for knowledge of individual MSS, textual relationships, and the citing habits of individual Fathers allows him to posit that the original text may be found *anywhere* in the later witnesses. It is as if the original text were scattered during the second century as pieces of a puzzle, to reappear in the most random geographical or chronological fashion – even a single MS from the medieval period, although *all* of that MS's hundreds of relatives do *not* have the reading. (Italics in original.)

These are serious allegations against the thoroughgoing eclectic method, and I concur that they are valid. As long as the method rests on a tentative assumption such as this, it cannot be hailed as a “final method”, nor “a permanent procedure”, as Epp (2005 l: 83) warns. Thus thoroughgoing eclecticism indeed “becomes a great leveller – all variants are equals and equally candidates for the original text, regardless of date, residence, lineage, or textual context” (*ibid.*, 84).

Until there is more accountability over the textual variations during the 2nd century, this argument against the method will undermine any results achieved. This will remain the case, regardless of the fact that they contributed to our understanding of hitherto neglected features of the text, and albeit that the “eclectic method provides us with detailed indications of the difficulties in New Testament textual theory and method” (Epp, 2005 c: 172). This accountability is dependent on external as well as internal criteria rather than exclusively internal ones, and therefore one cannot utilize an eclectic specialist approach in the investigation of the Atticist question.

III.3.3. Eclectic generalist methods and the reasoned eclecticism

As the previous section concluded, one cannot work exclusively with either internal or external considerations and expect such a method to be a final or even authoritative one. That is most likely the reason why, as Epp (2005 c: 161) states, “[m]ost contemporary New Testament critics, if asked to classify themselves, probably would affirm that they belong to this eclectic generalist class”, seeing that they attempt “to employ external evidence and internal evidence in a responsible balance” (Jordaan, 2009: 203).

In theory, this seems to be a realistic venture and a better alternative to an eclectic specialist approach: by adding the local genealogical priority, which states that the “earliest attainable text most probably is the variant that is able to account for the origin, development, or presence of all other readings in its variation unit” (Epp, 2011 a: 92), one takes external factors into account that surely one would be reckless to neglect when evaluating readings.¹³ Thus an eclectic generalist approach, and more specifically, a reasoned eclecticism, seems likely to compensate for the alleged imbalance of the eclectic specialists.¹⁴

Fee (1993 d: 140), having identified reasoned eclecticism as the “reigning method” back in 1976, predicted that the then “present methodological task” would entail “the implementation and refinement of rational eclecticism.” This has proven to be the case over the years. Holmes (2013: 771; *cf. ibid.* 2010: 84-85) summarizes the most important result of this process well:

In this approach, one fundamental guideline governs all other considerations: at any given point of variation, the variant most likely to represent the initial text is the one that best accounts for the existence of the others. It is important to emphasize that “best accounts for” is to be understood as encompassing both internal and external considerations.

By considering the variants’ internal natures *as well as* taking into account the manuscripts in which the variant is found, one is merely employing a more comprehensive method and should therefore expect more reliable results. The results of Kilpatrick and Elliott (as regards Atticist rewriting in the New Testament text) can thus be tested against the results acquired by a reasoned eclecticism, which should make up for the methodological drawbacks of thoroughgoing eclecticism, viz. the neglect of external evidence and the dubious assumptions regarding the history of the variants.

In the previous section, it was necessary to elaborate on the criticisms against thoroughgoing eclecticism in order to illustrate here that reasoned eclecticism poses solutions for those particular criticisms. This is not to say that it is a fully developed final method itself, nor that it

¹³ *Cf.* Holmes (2010: 81-82) for a motivation of the importance of genealogy.

¹⁴ For a concise overview of such an approach, see Epp (2005 b: 267-269).

is exempt from criticism. As in any methodological theory, there are certain pitfalls to be taken into account when employing it. For instance, Epp (2005 c: 163) pointed out that, *in practice*, “contemporary textual critics for the most part are to be classed as eclectic specialists, whether on the right wing of that subdivision [i.e. preferring external evidence as authoritative] or on the left [i.e. preferring internal evidence as authoritative].” It would be a challenge to remain “without prejudice” (*ibid.*, 160) and without preference for a single criterion; though on merit, the criteria should be allowed to “trump” one another (Epp, 2011 a: 98).

This is precisely the point at which the eclectic specialists contributed to the discipline: due to a greater awareness of what internal considerations entail, textual critics are now in a better position to weigh up the evidence more responsibly and knowledgeably when faced with a “trump”-situation. In some cases, no doubt, the best that even reasoned eclectics can hope for will still be tentative results; yet, as the previous section has demonstrated, these should nevertheless be preferred to thoroughgoing eclectics’ results as being more accountable on methodological grounds. (Since this study will ultimately employ a reasoned eclectic approach, its possible weak points are discussed in greater detail in section III.4.)

In concluding this brief overview of the reasoned eclectic method, or, “our only methodological option” and “the only way forward”, according to Holmes (2013: 780 and 783), we may also note the recognition it is awarded by Tanselle. He states, “There can be no question that the general drift of the genealogical approach is correct: that scholars must examine all the extant documents, learn as much about them as possible, and attempt to establish the relationships among the texts they contain” (1983: 52). Hopefully, the current study’s findings will contribute a little in this regard.

III.4. Conclusion: Proposed method for investigating the Atticist question

III.4.1. Shortcomings thus far

As noted in the introductory chapter, Kilpatrick and Elliott’s canon of Atticism in the New Testament text has failed to be taken seriously due to dubious methodological presuppositions,

“limited applications and serious shortcomings” (Epp, 2005 l: 84). Fee (1993 d) also discusses these. In the preceding two sections, this apprehension about the thoroughgoing eclectic method has also been seen to be valid. Kilpatrick (1963: 31-32) himself, before drawing his conclusions and making his exhortations, concedes realistically:

Not all deliberate changes of the first and second centuries were stylistic...Nor among stylistic considerations is Atticism the only one to be taken into account... But we submit that on the evidence before us there is a case for the view that the New Testament text has on occasion been revised in the direction of Atticism and that one form of enquiry necessary for any attempt to recover the original form of the Greek Testament is the enquiry in detail into the Atticist element in the transmitted New Testament text.

Discussion over the Atticist question, raised by Kilpatrick in 1963, has been going on for the best part of fifty years now, extending back from Wasserman (2013: 590-592), and Epp (2011 a: 99-100; 2011 b: 119-122; 2005 d: 649-650) to older criticism such as that of Colwell (1969: 155-157), to mention only three critics. If we evaluate Elliott’s (2010: 48-49) summary of the thoroughgoing eclectic method’s advantages, while keeping Epp’s (2005 c: 163-164; 2005 j: 480-482) lists of criteria for the priority of readings in mind, one may comment briefly on the specific deficiency of their version of this method as follows:

- (1) Even though, as Elliott (2010: 48) says, looking “at textual problems independently of the manuscript support” may be “refreshingly open and instructive”, it will not do to virtually ignore manuscript support and manuscript traditions when investigating Atticism in the text. The danger is that we are misled by the misconception that Atticism was a general influence all throughout the empire and at every centre where textual transmission took place. This is an unrealistic supposition, which thoroughgoing eclecticism, due to its methodological presuppositions of the history of variants, nonetheless considers to be possible:
- (2) The author’s style cannot *as a rule* be more heavily weighted than external evidence, let alone wholly replace it, Metzger (1992: 178-179) also warns against the “weaknesses inherent” in any method that “disregards” both age and quality of

the external evidence, while Epp (2005 l: 83-85) and Colwell (1969: 154-156) also object strongly to the disregard of historical factors such as date and provenance of manuscripts, which are essential for the current study;

- (3) While Fee (1993 d: 131-136) discusses Kilpatrick's propositions in depth, he arrives at the conclusion that Atticism is not to be excluded as a cause of corruption, though he is sceptical of the importance Kilpatrick attaches to it. One reason for this scepticism is that the examples that Kilpatrick uses to illustrate his point, as becomes clear in Fee's treatment, seem somewhat arbitrary as there are no real controls for the investigation, other than a few known Attic idioms for which Kilpatrick chooses to hunt, in the entire New Testament (Kilpatrick, 1967: 55-62). This *modus operandi* is understandable given the use of the thoroughgoing eclectic method, but it can certainly be improved upon by adding external considerations as controls for the investigation.

III.4.2. Additional external considerations

III.4.2.1. Demarcation of the text: I John

The first external decision to be made is that as to which text is to be investigated. It is curious to note that the Catholic Epistles are seldom subjected to systematic searches for Atticist readings. Most of the work done in this debate focuses on readings of the Gospels, whereas there is still a thorough search to be done for Atticist traces in the epistles (Kilpatrick, 1957: 9). For instance, Epp (2011 a: 99-100) lists a few examples, but it is noteworthy that they are taken from the Gospels, Pauline epistles, and Revelation, and not from the Catholic Epistles. Kilpatrick himself barely works through a text systematically when arguing for Atticist influence. As has been mentioned, he tended to identify a certain idiom and then searched the whole of the New Testament for samples of it (Kilpatrick, 1967: 55-62), which he then used as evidence.

I John seems a suitable choice for this study, since not only does it provide a searchable unit on its own, but it might also prove to have been a text that tempted scribal emendation to a more “classical” style, given John’s reputation for “his imperfect command of Greek” (Horrocks, 2010: 149, particularly as regards the Gospel of John and Revelation) as is also exhibited in the Johannine epistles which share “common stylistic features” with the other Johannine writings (*cf.* Turner, 1976:132-137). Most notable is that it resembles not Greek style, but rather “that the Greek is Jewish”, also containing influences from Aramaic (Turner, 1976:135-136).

Along these lines, Kilpatrick (1983: 200) observed, “Are we to think that John used $\zeta\eta\sigma\omega$ because he believed that this was the Hellenistic form, and used $\zeta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ believing this to be the Attic...? John was a thoroughgoing writer of Koine. There is no evidence to show that he was capable of the subtleties that this suggestion requires.” He further contextualized John as an evangelist against the background of the Atticist era: “...for the century A.D. 100-200 we have to count on Atticism as an effective force in literary fashion. For a book like John it meant that for the whole of the period during which the Gospel was liable to deliberate change Atticism was operative” (Kilpatrick, 1963: 24). These observations are also valid for the Johannine epistles. The survey in Chapter II of this study confirms Kilpatrick’s reasoning, yet he treated this view as confirmed rather than tentative and open for investigation.

I John is a much smaller corpus than the harmonized Gospels (Fee, 1993 a), itself not nearly as much in danger of being harmonized, and the controls can be accurately checked when studying such a tight unit. On the other hand, it is a large unit containing enough variant readings from which valid conclusions may be drawn.

III.4.2.2. The Alexandrian text type

Any study which uses external controls needs to account for its choice of manuscripts or text type. When dealing with the Atticist question, the Alexandrian text type presents itself as a very natural choice for investigation. In the main, this is due to the text type’s reputation as a stylistically sensitive and even “sophisticated” text (Jordaan, 2009: 196-197; Fee, 1993 e: 7; Petzer, 1990: 71-73; Martini, 1974: 151-152): in short, a text displaying characteristics which

were also associated with Atticism and “the qualities of Attic style” such as “τὸ σαφές and τὸ λιτόν” and “Attic brevity, its sparseness and frugality, τὸ ἰσχνόν ” to borrow a description of Kilpatrick’s (1963: 17-18).

Because of Westcott and Hort’s high opinion of them, the manuscripts of the Alexandrian and what they called “Neutral” text type (Metzger, 1992: 133-134; 215-216) have been regarded as representative of stylistically polished Greek. Given the assertions that while, on the one hand, the Alexandrian and/or Byzantine text type specifically was more subjected to careful recension (Metzger, 1992: 215-216; Fee, 1993 e: 7; 1993 c) and, on the other, that Alexandria was considered to be a centre not only of learning, but one probably promoting the neo-Atticist movement, one might expect to find that the readings of the manuscripts traditionally constituting the Alexandrian text type, tend to display more Atticist influence. (This may be confidently assumed in the light of the surveys of Reynolds and Wilson, 1974: 38- 69, Metzger, 1992: 133; and Kazazis, 2007).

It is curious that this reputation of the Alexandrian text type as a carefully edited text has not, until relatively recently, been seriously questioned (Fee, 1993 e: 7; 1993 c; Petzer, 1990: 72). It is possible that this awareness might have come about due to eclectic specialist methods. It is my hope that this study could contribute to a fuller picture of the text type’s nature by investigating one tile in the whole mosaic.

Mink (2011: 148) draws attention to a possible weak point of the representatives of this text type methodology’s proposed approach:

It is without doubt a preeminent task of textual research to investigate structures inherent in the collated material. It is not recommended, for this purpose, to sort the material by types, families, or groups at the outset. The traditional text-type approach, in particular, should be avoided in favor of the structure that will emerge if we focus on the relationships between all individual witnesses and thus determine their places in the transmission history.

In calling for a revised construction of the textual history and manuscript interrelatedness, Mink is touching upon one of the biggest methodological problems current in modern textual criticism:

for overviews, see Jordaan (2009: 196-202); and Epp (2005 c: 163 ff; 2005 d: 657-666). On the other hand, Epp (2011 a: 97-98), commenting on the traditional criterion of manuscript groups of good reputation, is of the opinion that “[t]he older structure of text types is the context of this last external criterion, though it should retain its validity with whatever conclusions may be drawn in the future with respect to textual clusters or other kinds of groupings of manuscripts or texts.” One should therefore acknowledge that the traditional divisions of manuscripts are, at most, tentative and might be refined, if not drastically altered, in the future. These criticisms and possible weak points of reasoned eclecticism should be taken into account when evaluating any results obtained using this method.

Yet, as Holmes (2013: 792) points out, 21st century textual criticism is well on its way towards either refining or confirming the traditional text type divisions:

With regard to “external” criteria, what has always been both a theoretical desideratum and a practical impossibility – the utilization of all the manuscript evidence in making textual decision – has now become a reality for the Catholic Letters. Wasserman’s outstanding study of Jude [¹⁵] utilized virtually every known continuous-text manuscript of that letter, and the *Editio Critica Maiora* provides virtually the same thing for the rest of the Catholic Letters.

The scope of the current study does however make it inadvisable to venture too deeply into the troubled waters of reconstructing textual history (Holmes, 2013: 784 ff.). Therefore, regardless of Mink’s recommendation of a method which is itself still in progress, I have chosen to confine this study to the standard constructions of the Alexandrian text type as given by authoritative scholars such as Metzger (1992: 88-89; 213-216), the editors of the UBS⁴ (Aland *et al.*, 1993), and especially the latest information of the *Editio Critica Maiora* (Aland *et al.*, 1997 a; 1997 b; 2003 a; 2003 b).

Epp (2005 c: 164) points out the danger of tentative reconstructions of the textual history; albeit intended for eclectic specialists, by implication, his warning should be heeded by all who consider external evidence:

¹⁵ Not included in this bibliography: Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (ConBNT 43; Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2006).

...in the final analysis an eclectic specialist as one who emphasizes external criteria, characteristically will flee for refuge to any historical-development and documentary considerations that will permit a resolution of the problem...The major difficulty with an eclectic approach that specializes in external evidence emerges precisely at this point, that is, with the uncertainty as to which historical-development scheme to adopt as normative...This inconclusiveness...is...perhaps the weakness – of modern New Testament textual theory in general.

Tanselle (1983: 38) does, however, suggest how the effects of such a danger can be minimized:

Distinguishing “external” and “internal” as they refer to evidence is finally not so important as recognizing the interrelatedness of all evidence. Neither kind of evidence has a monopoly on demonstrable conclusions; because generalizations based on inductive evidence are inevitably provisional, some historical “facts” may be more conjectural than emendations based on an editor’s judgment.

In conclusion, this is also a reassuring motivation for the necessity of an eclectic generalist approach, such as reasoned eclecticism.

III.4.3. Proposed method

Since this study employs both internal and external controls, it will be conducted using a **reasoned eclectic** approach. The criteria which have emerged from the previous chapters and preceding sections are:

- (1) Readings prior to 400 A.D., which should encompass the period of not only the first stages of transmission, but also of the peak of the Atticist movement and the sphere where there exists most uncertainty. The synchronization of the textual transmission of I John with the Atticist movement is also an important control;
- (2) Readings of I John; and
- (3) Readings of the Alexandrian text type, following traditional constructions.

Keeping these criteria in mind, if we compare the list of Church Fathers list and manuscript division of Metzger (1992: 88-89; 213-216); the manuscript information supplied in the Introduction to the UBS⁴ (Aland *et al.*, 1993); and especially, the latest information of the *Editio Critica Maiora*, or ECM (Aland *et al.*, 1997 a; 1997 b; 2003 a; 2003 b), the Alexandrian witnesses earlier than 400 A.D. of I John that will require specific attention can be supplied as follows:

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|---|
| Papyri: | Date: | Contains: |
| P9 | III | I John 4.11-12; 4:14-17 |
| Uncials: | Date: | Contains: |
| 01 (8) | IV | Whole of I John |
| 03 (B) | IV | Whole of I John (defective, with lacunae) |
| Church fathers: | Date: | |
| Clement (of Alexandria) | †212 | |
| Origen | †253/4 | |

Employing these internal as well as external controls, the reasoned eclectic investigation conducted in the following chapter thus aims at a methodologically accountable approach to the question of the alleged Atticist influence on the textual transmission of the Alexandrian text type, in particular on I John.

Chapter IV

Variants of I John: under the Atticist lens

Rationale: a note on the data

In this chapter, the data collected from I John have been assessed in the light of the theory that supports alleged Atticist transmission of the Alexandrian text. The controls and criteria set out in Chapter III (III.4.3.) have been followed, and thus the witnesses investigated include P9, 01 (ⲡ), 03 (B), Clement and Origen as representatives of the Alexandrian text type. The text consulted was the ECM instalment on I John (Aland *et al.*, 2003 a), and accordingly, the same apparatus is followed here (the general introduction in the instalment on James, Part 2, pp. B1-B7, and the instalment on I John, Part 2, pp. B91-B94 refer; see Aland *et al.*, 1997 b; 2003 b)

The total number of variants in I John collected from these witnesses, albeit with some overlapping evidence, exceeds 650 cases. Of these approximately 650 variants, not all were relevant to the question of Atticist rewriting. Therefore, the data used in this chapter have already been reduced to cases of apparent Atticism or cases which might have a bearing on the question of Atticism in the text.

The criteria for inclusion of a certain case are less fixed than the criteria set out in Chapter III for the witnesses cited; yet this is not a wholly arbitrary process. The features of dialect and their historical development, discussed in Chapter II, were used as a broad guideline in making a decision on how the 650 variants, more or less, should be reduced to *prima facie* relevant cases for investigation. However, the data presented and discussed here were not reduced to such an extent that sensible and responsible conclusions could not be drawn. The cases discussed in this chapter are the results of this elimination process. They represent some of the basic questions a textual editor faces when confronted with a possible Atticist variant.

IV.1. Orthography

IV.1.1. Exhibit 1: *εωρακα/εορακα*

| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | Alexandrian text type represented in variants | | |
|-----------------------------|---|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | 01 | 03 | |
| 1:1 <i>εωρακαμεν</i> | no variant | <i>εορακαμεν</i> 03* | <i>εωρακαμεν</i> 03C2 |
| 1:2 <i>εωρακαμεν</i> | no variant | <i>εορακαμεν</i> 03* | <i>εωρακαμεν</i> 03C2 |
| 1:3 <i>εωρακαμεν</i> | <i>εωρακαμεν</i> 01 | <i>εορακαμεν</i> 03* | <i>εωρακαμεν</i> 03C2 |
| 3:6 <i>εωρακεν</i> | no variant | <i>εορακεν</i> 03* | <i>εωρακεν</i> 03C2 |
| 4:20 <i>εωρακεν</i> (x 2) | no variant | <i>εορακεν</i> 03* | <i>εωρακεν</i> 03C2 |

In this first exhibit, the *ο-ω* interchange is the feature at hand (see Chapter II.2.4 and II.2.5). The Hellenistic-Koine variant *εω-* (*cf.* Blass & Debrunner, 1961: 37-38, §68) is followed consistently by the ECM as well as by other modern editions (e.g. UBS⁴). What is especially intriguing is the fact that the Hellenistic-Koine *εω-* is *consistently* found in a *corrector's* hand of 03 (B), where the original 03* contains what would originally have been a more Attic variant, *εο-* (see also Liddell & Scott, 1990: 1244). This feature tentatively suggests that the correcting process tended towards creating a more Hellenistic text. Furthermore, this is not only the case for I John, nor only for the New Testament, but indeed for the whole of the manuscript 03 (B), even in its LXX variants: “*Ἐώρακα* ist allerdings noch häufig, aber *ἑώρακα* ist sehr gut bezeugt und öfters nur durch die Korrektoren von B in *Ἐώρακα* verändert” (Helbing, 1979: 78).

Only in 1:3 does 01 contain a variant reading, cited as a witness here merely on the basis of a difference in word order; what is more, 01 is cited in favour of *εω-*. However, 03 is another matter entirely: the fact that these variant spellings occur so consistently throughout a single MS and its corrector's hand respectively, suggests that it is not a variant which owes its existence to a mere error of the eye or ear, but rather that it was indeed deliberately used as the orthography the scribe and corrector deemed acceptable. Walters (1973: 73) also stressed the point that the original form, and indeed the more Attic form, *ἑώρακα* is much better supported throughout the LXX, and that *Ἐώρακα*, wherever it occurs, is likely to be a later variant. The evidence cited here from I John also confirms this view where the New Testament is in question.

IV.1.2. Exhibit 2: -εια-/ια-

| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | Alexandrian text type represented in variants | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--------------|----------------|
| | 01 | 03 | |
| 2:16 αλαζονεια | αλαζονια 01 | αλαζονια 03* | αλαζονεια 03C1 |

The question of what has traditionally been called *itacism* / *iotacism* is at hand in this exhibit, a subject which Robertson (1923: 198) long ago felt “[i]t is impossible to be dogmatic” on.

However, heeding the warnings of Caragounis (2004: 496 ff.; 580) on the matter of unscientific errors of modern scholarship, scholars in the 21st century became more dogmatic and scientific on matters of orthography and phonological features such as *itacism*.

Panayotou (2007: 415-416) cites an interesting discussion from Plato’s *Cratylus* (418 b-c) as “one of the oldest pieces of evidence of *iotacism*”: νῦν δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἰῶτα ἢ εἰ ἢ ἦτα μεταστρέφουσιν. At the very least, this demonstrates that since Attic times there has been confusion in orthography due to pronunciation, as may be expected in any language at any time. In discussing phonological developments of Greek in the Roman periods, Horrocks (2010: 117-118; 160 ff.) sheds light on this feature of the language which needs to be reckoned with. He indicates how the confusion in pronunciation between εἰ and ι has been in development since Attic times, which would suggest that subsequent spelling variation will reflect this confusion rather than a preference towards a dialect.

This can be confirmed by a brief survey of the evidence for the spelling of ἀλαζονεία. In Liddell and Scott (1990:59-60) the spelling ἀλαζονεία is cited as classical. Of these examples cited in Liddell and Scott, the extant MSS of Plato (Burnet, 1962), Aristophanes (Hall & Geldart, 1945-1978), Aristotle (Susemihl, 1903), and Demosthenes (Butcher, s.a.) all contain the determined spelling of ἀλαζονεία without any variants supporting spelling in -ια. Even in the LXX ἀλαζονεία is by far the dominant variant (*cf.* the examples cited by Muraoka, 2009: 24), while in the New Testament’s other occurrence of the word in James 4:16, no variant spellings at all are cited in the ECM for ἐν ταῖς αλαζονεῖαις.

This strong evidence in favour of ἀλαζονεία as the exclusively correct spelling (regardless of its pronunciation), both in classical as well as in Hellenistic texts, suggests that the original

reading in 01 and 03* is probably the result either of great ignorance or, more likely, unintentional scribal error due to confusion between sounds, and not a deliberate spelling preference of the scribe. Thus Atticist rewriting does not seem to be in question here.

IV.1.3. Exhibit 3: $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu-$ / $\gamma\iota\nu-$

| | Alexandrian text type represented in variants | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | 01 | 03 | Or. |
| 3:20 $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\eta$ | $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\eta$ 01 | $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\eta$ 03 | no variant |
| 3:21 $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\eta$ | \leftrightarrow 01*f | $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\eta$ 01C2 | $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\eta$ |
| 4:7 $\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ | $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ 01 | no variant | no variant |

(At 3:21, the apparatus indicates by using the *siglum* \leftrightarrow that it cannot be determined whether 01*, which contains an error by the original scribe [$f = Fehler$], supports the reading of 01C2 cited here or another reading.)

The orthography $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu-$ is generally considered one of the most characteristic features of the high Attic dialect, where the variant spelling $\gamma\iota\nu-$ and alteration towards $\gamma\iota\nu-$ is more generally associated with other dialects and especially with the Hellenistic development of the language.

It is important to note that throughout I John $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$ and its compounds are found. However, only at the instances cited above do we find variants in our selected Alexandrian MSS. 01 is the only relevant Alexandrian MSS which contains possible Attic variants; although, due to doubts as to the exact reading of 01 at 3:21, only the occurrences at 3:20 and 4:7 can be regarded as verified variants.

It is important to note here that the corrector of 01 has not been consistent: whereas in 3:21 the emendation follows the more Hellenistic-Koine spelling, the other two instances are left intact and in their more Attic form.

Of further note here is that nowhere does 03 have any variant suggesting an inclination to the Attic spelling. This concurs with what we have seen in the first exhibit: that the corrector of 03 is thus far consistent in his preference for Hellenistic-Koine forms.

IV.1.4. Conclusion from the data

In the light of the evidence discussed above, the following conclusions may be drawn as to matters of orthography:

- (1) Both 01 and 03 contain variants of Attic orthography.
- (2) However, correctors who were at work in these MSS, tended to correct the orthography to a more Hellenistic-Koine form.
- (3) The scribe of 01 sometimes followed the Attic spelling and sometimes the Hellenistic-Koine. The corrector tends to change the Attic towards Hellenistic-Koine. Of note here is that it was not consistently done.
- (4) 03, on the other hand, has been corrected slightly more consistently. The corrections in orthography tend more towards contemporary Hellenistic-Koine spelling, and *not* towards Atticistic rewriting.

IV.2. Conjugation

IV.2.1. Exhibit 4: Paradigm shifts

| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | Alexandrian text type represented in variants | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------------|---------|
| | 01 | 03 | Clem. |
| 2:19 ἐξελθαν | ἐξελθον 01 | ἐξελθαν 03 | ἐξελθαν |

Horrocks (2010: 109-110; 143-144) provides a discussion of the Hellenistic changes that took place in the “strong”, or “classical” aorist paradigm in **-ον**, where he finds that “...in the higher Koine many strong aorists resisted such assimilation to the weak paradigm for a considerable period, and we find many classical forms widely retained” (*idem*, 143; *cf.* also Blass & Debrunner, 1961: 43-44). It was only later that “the strong aorist/imperfect paradigm... succumbed to the model of the numerically superior weak aorists” (*idem*, 144).

It is therefore not surprising to find variants such as in 2:19. What is of note is that while 03 and Clement both support what would be a Hellenistic-Koine variant, 01 supports a more classical variant. The lack of any interference on the part of a corrector in any of the witnesses cited is suggestive here: since no change was deemed necessary, we might infer from this evidence something of the correctors' preferences in form, that is to say if this silence on the correctors' part were to remain consistent throughout the MSS. However, as we have already observed in IV.1.4, the correctors of 01 have *not* been consistent in this regard. We have also already noticed that 03 tends to be corrected towards Hellenistic-Koine variants, and this is again reflected here at 2:19 in the silence on behalf of 03's correctors.

IV.2.2. Conclusion from the data

In the light of the evidence discussed above, the following conclusions may be drawn as to matters of conjugation:

- (1) In this one case, 01 contains what would be a more classical Attic variant, whereas 03, as was the case in the manuscript's orthographic tendencies, contains the more Hellenistic-Koine variant of conjugation.
- (2) The fact that no correction in any witness is found at this instance, suggests a preliminary preference in the MSS: 01 being slightly in favour of Attic variants, and 03 slightly in favour of Hellenistic-Koine variants. This already shows that two MSS within the Alexandrian text type differ as regards the question of Atticist rewriting in general.

IV.3. Idiom

IV.3.1. Exhibit 5: Verb of 'keeping/doing/guarding' + τας εντολας

| | Alexandrian text type represented in variants | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--------------|-------------|------------|
| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | 01 | | 03 | Clem. |
| 2:3 τηρωμεν | φυλαξωμεν 01* | τηρωμεν 01C2 | no variant | τηρωμεν |
| 3:22 τηρουμεν | τηρωμεν 01 | | τηρουμεν 03 | no variant |
| 5:2 ποιωμεν | τηρωμεν 01 | | ποιωμεν 03 | no variant |
| 5:3 τηρωμεν | τηρωμεν 01 | | τηρωμεν 03 | τηρωμεν |

The expression *to keep* τὰς ἐντολάς / τὸν λόγον / τὸν νόμον is a very common one throughout the New Testament as well as in the LXX. In most New Testament cases, the accompanying verb is a form of τηρεῖν. Although the expression is also found in the New Testament with forms of φυλάσσειν, these cases are by far in the minority and not as well attested as those with τηρεῖν. In contrast with the New Testament, however, the use of τὰς ἐντολάς τηρεῖν in the LXX is highly restricted and the expression τὰς ἐντολάς φυλάσσειν dominates. The following tables make this clear from a mere glance at the quantity of occurrences:

(continues on next page)

New Testament:

| Direct object | Verb form | | |
|----------------|--|--|---|
| | τηρεῖν | ποιεῖν | φυλάσσειν |
| ἐντολὰς | Mt 19:17 Jh 14:15, 21 Jh 15:10 (<i>bis</i>) I Cor 7:19 I Tim 6:14 I Jh 2:3,4 I Jh 3:22, 24 I Jh 5:3 Re 12:17 Re 14:12 | I Jh 5:2 | Mt 19:20 Mk 10:19-20 Lk 18:20-21 |
| λόγον | | Mt 7:24-26 Lk 6:47-49 Lk 8:21 | Lk 11:28 |
| νόμον | | Lk 10:26-28 Jh 7:19 Rom 2:14 (τὰ τοῦ νόμου) Gal 5:3 | Acts 7:53 Acts 21:24 Gal 6:13 Rom 2:26 (τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου) |
| ῥήμα | | | Jh 12:47 |
| δόγμα | | | Acts 16:4 |
| Other cognates | Mt 23:3 πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν ποιήσατε καὶ τηρεῖτε. | Mt 23:3 πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν ποιήσατε καὶ τηρεῖτε. Jh 8:37-38 ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. ἃ ἐγὼ ἑώρακα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ λαλῶ· καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἃ ἠκούσατε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ποιεῖτε. Jh 14:31 ἐνετείλατό (cognate variant ἐντολήν) Jh 15:14 ἐὰν ποιῇτε ἃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν. Acts 21:23 τοῦτο οὖν ποιήσον ὃ σοι λέγομεν. | |

LXX:

| Direct object | Verb form | | |
|---------------|------------------------------------|--|--|
| | τηρεῖν | ποιεῖν | φυλάσσειν |
| ἐντολὰς | Si 35 (32):23 (τήρησις ἐντολῶν) | Le 4:22; 5:17; 26:15; Nu 15:22, 40; De 6:24, 25 (combination: ἐὰν φυλασσώμεθα ποιεῖν πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας...); 16:12 (combination: καὶ φυλάξῃ καὶ ποιήσῃς τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας...); 19:9; 27:10; 28:1 (combination: ἐὰν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσης τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ...); 30:8; I Ch 29:19; II Ch 14:3; To 3:5; Ps 102:18 | Gen 26:5 Ex 12:17 Le 22:31 (combination: Καὶ φυλάξετε τὰς ἐντολὰς μου καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτάς...); 26:3 (combination: καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς μου φυλάσσησθε καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτάς...); De 4:2, 40; 5:29 (26); 6:17; 7:9, 11; 8:1 (combination: Πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς, ἃς ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον, φυλάξεσθε ποιεῖν...); 8:2, 6, 11; 10:13; 11:1, 8; 13:4 (5), 18 (19); 17:19 (combination: φυλάσσεσθαι πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα ταῦτα ποιεῖν αὐτά...); 26:18; 27:1; 28:15 (combination: φυλάσσειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς...); 28:45; 30:10, 16; Jo 22:3, 5 (<i>bis</i> ; once in combination: φυλάξασθε ποιεῖν σφόδρα τὰς ἐντολὰς...); I Ki 13:13 III Ki 2:3; 43; 3:14; 6:12; 8:58, 61; 9:4, 6; 11:11, 38; 13:21; 14:8; IV Ki 17:13, 19; 18:6; 23:3; I Ch 28:7; II Ch 34:31 Ps 88:32; 118 (119):60, 63, 134, 168 Pr 4:5; 7:2; 15:5; 19:16; Eccl 8:5; 12:13 Ezek 18:21 I Mac 2:53 |
| λόγον | I Ki 15:11 | | |
| νόμον | To 14:9 | | |
| ρήμα | Pr 3:1 | | |

In Attic literature the expression *to keep* τὰς ἐντολάς is hardly found at all, due to the usage of the word ἐντολή being very rare in both Attic tragedy and prose (Schrenk, 1964:545 and Liddell & Scott, 1990:576). There are, however, Homeric examples of ἔπος φυλάσσειν (Iliad 16.686: εἰ δὲ ἔπος Πηληϊάδαο φύλαξεν...) as well as Attic examples of the expression νόμον φυλάσσειν (Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 616: ἀλλ' ἔρπε, καὶ φύλασσε πρῶτα μὲν νόμον...; Plato, *Politicus* 292 a: ...καὶ ἐάντε τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβῶς φυλάττον ἐάντε μή...). Schrenk (1964:546) elaborates on this: “The term ἐντολαί (more rarely ἐντολή) first receives its solemn religious character...in the LXX.” He also notes that the original Hebrew form (נִצְוָה) is variously translated into ἐντολαί, νόμοι, λεγόμενα, ἐντάλματα: cognate meanings that are reflected in the New Testament, and to a lesser extent in the LXX. In the light of these examples, it would therefore appear that the idiom is one particular to Judaism, and not one for which Atticists would have had any clear precedent.

As for the verb *to keep*, the various synonyms are also difficult to distinguish in nuance. In an in-depth discussion of various examples on the relation between the classical cognates of φυλάσσειν, τηρεῖν and φρουρεῖν, Schmidt (1969: 682-688) remarks:

So liegt es in der Natur dieser Bedeutungen, dass sie nicht scharf abgegrenzt werden können, und wir können in solchen Sachen in keiner Sprache eine überall wahrnehmbare Schneidigkeit, Bestimmtheit und Unzweideutigkeit erwarten... Τηρεῖν ist begrifflich schwer von φυλάσσειν zu trennen, und stimmt namentlich ganz mit diesem in der speziellen Bedeutung ‘bewachen’ im Sinne von ‘behüten’; wie in der anderen, ‘bewahren’, ‘aufbewahren’.

This observation seems to be reflected in the New Testament as well: the typical varying Johannine usage in the Gospel of John 17:12 (ὅτε ἤμην μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, καὶ ἐφύλαξα) suggests mere synonymy. Abbott’s (1906:434) suggestion, that ἐτήρουν “implies the continually watchful care of the Lord during His incarnate life”, while ἐφύλαξα “implies action regarded simply as past”, may be valid for this particular case, but seems somewhat arbitrary to apply as a rule of thumb when dealing with the various other examples of these words: cf. Mt 19:17-20, where, regardless of the direct object τὰς ἐντολάς, the same synonymy seems to be implied, as in John 17:12.

Given this variation of expression, it is remarkable that the four occurrences in I John are so uniform in favour of **τηρεῖν**, even more so, since we have already seen that the scribes have not been consistent throughout this document. 03's reading at 5:2 in favour of **ποιεῖν** is the only real exception here. What is even more remarkable is that 01 particularly contains a correction in 2:3 that, if followed, makes its use of the verb form **τηρεῖν** consistent in all four cases.

As already mentioned in Chapter III, Fee (1993 d: 131-136; 1993 c: 269) suggested that scribes were perhaps more willing to change the text to current 1st century idiom than scholars such as Kilpatrick are willing to admit. Here, this suggestion is substantiated to a small degree: if one should conclude from the LXX survey that the expression most characteristic of the LXX is **ἐντολὰς φυλάσσειν**, one cannot conclude that in I John the corrector of 01 at 2:3 is conforming to the LXX idiom, but indeed rather to the New Testament idiom. As far as Attic usage is concerned, the lack of definite examples of *to keep* **τὰς ἐντολὰς** leads to a stalemate, and suggests that here we are dealing with a LXX idiom and not an Attic one. One should be wary of drawing conclusions based on such a restricted usage, though the three examples supporting the verb **φυλάσσειν** from Sophocles and Plato as well as Homer also suggest that Fee might just have a point in this case, though further substantiation is necessary to confirm his notion.

IV.3.2. Conclusion from the data

In the light of the evidence discussed above, the following conclusions may be drawn as to the idiom *to keep* **τὰς ἐντολὰς**:

- (1) The witnesses are surprisingly uniform in their usage of the idiom *to keep* **τὰς ἐντολὰς**, preferring the verb **τηρεῖν**.
- (2) The witnesses conform to the general New Testament usage of this idiom (**τηρεῖν**), rather than to the LXX usage (**φυλάσσειν**). There is also evidence that suggests the witnesses, *after correction*, do not conform like the LXX to what is (probably) the more classical or Attic usage (**φυλάσσειν**).

- (3) 01* (at 2:3) contains what would have been a reading in favour of LXX/classical usage. However, 01 has been altered by a corrector so that the idiom is consistent throughout. The origin of 01*'s use of φυλάσσειν is puzzling, though the lack of other similar variants suggests that this was an unintentional oversight. The nature of this occurrence in turn suggests that the scribe was strongly exposed to the LXX usage.
- (4) 03, on the other hand, has not been corrected in any of the cases, and thus represents one exception to the idiomatic usage. Atticism does not seem to be the cause when one regards the strong evidence from the LXX, and it is much more likely that the scribe here had a lapse of memory, with an idiom conforming to the LXX in mind.

IV.4. Miscellaneous considerations

It was found that a few of the cases investigated were easily explained by causes other than those related to Atticism:

IV.4.1. Particle usage

IV.4.1.1. Exhibit 6: Correlative particle usage

| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | Alexandrian text type represented in variants | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| | 01 | | 03 | Clem. | Or. |
| 1:3 απαγγελομεν και | και απαγγελομεν και 01C1(*f) | | απαγγελομεν και 03 | no variant | no variant |
| 2:22 αρνουμενος τον | και 01* | om. και in αρνουμενος [και] τον 01C2 | no variant | no variant | om. και in αρνουμενος [και] τον |
| 3:4 εστιν η | και 01* | om. και in εστιν [και] η 01C1 | no variant | no variant | no variant |
| 3:18 μηδε | και 01 | | no variant | μηδε | no variant |

At 1:3, the insertion of a correlative seems somewhat redundant, and spoils the balance of the phrases which would then read ο εωρακαμεν και ακηκοαμεν, και απαγγελομεν και υμιν. The insertion of 01C1 may therefore be explained as an error, perhaps parablepsis, with the corrector's eye catching the και before ακηκοαμεν for a second time before continuing with

the next verb, which has a similar beginning and ending. It does not seem likely that Atticism is in question here at all.

On the other hand, at 2:22 the insertion of **καὶ** renders a well balanced correlative. The “corresponsive” use of **καὶ**, usually rendered as “both...and”, is well attested in classical Greek (Denniston, 1970:323-324). What is suggestive is that 01*’s corrector changed the construction, and therefore changed away from what would have been an established classical construction, which is also commonly found in John’s Gospel (Blass & Debrunner, 1961:230). The sense expounded in the next verse, 2:23, also supports the corresponsive use.

As was the case at 1:3, the insertion of **καὶ** at 3:4 seems redundant and does not render a proper correlative construction. Here the reading of 01* is questionable. At 3:18, the use of **καὶ** does not seem to support the sense of the phrase and would in fact spoil a well-balanced correlative. Therefore, 01 seems to be very inconsistent as regards the correlative **καὶ**.

IV.4.1.2. Exhibit 7: δε

| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | Alexandrian text type represented in variants | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--------------|------------|
| | 01 | 03 | Clem. |
| 1:3 δε | δε 01 | δε 03 | no variant |
| 1:7 εαν • εν | εαν δε εν 01 | εαν δε εν 03 | εαν δε εν |
| 2:26 ταυτα εγραψα | ταυτα δε εγραψα 01 | no variant | no variant |
| 5:5 •δε εστιν• | δε εστιν 01 | εστιν δε 03 | no variant |

The position of δε in 1:3, as used in both 01 and 03, is not unknown in classical usage (Denniston, 1971:185-186), and the sense may easily be explained as continuative. In this regard, the usage agrees with classical usage. At 1:7 the insertion of δε would balance the previous sentence in a typically classical style, being a subordinate adversative and not to be rendered as one of a series of conditional clauses, as the misleading verse division suggests:

Conditional #1 (1:6):

ΕΑΝ ΕΙΠΩΜΕΝ ΟΤΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΝ ΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΜΕΤ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΣΚΟΤΕΙ
ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΩΜΕΝ, ΨΕΥΔΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ.

Subordinate condition for contrast (1:7):

ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΦΩΤΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΩΜΕΝ...ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΝ ΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΜΕΤ' ΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ...

Conditional #2 (1:8):

ΕΑΝ ΕΙΠΩΜΕΝ...

Conditional #3 (1:9):

ΕΑΝ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΩΜΕΝ...

Conditional #4 (1:10):

ΕΑΝ ΕΙΠΩΜΕΝ...

Again, both 01 and 03 suggest a classical feel for structure. At 2:26 δε would strengthen the classical structure, reminiscent of the inceptive use in speeches (Denniston, 1971:172), but here indicating a mere shift in the rhetoric, rather than the start of a new speech. In this instance, 01 alone supports the reading, and again at 5:5 the word order of 01 is the more classical reading: the use of the apparently misplaced δε in the question at 5:5 is very well attested in Attic (Denniston, 1971:173-176).

Therefore, we can conclude that as far as the use of the particle δε is concerned, both 01 and 03 are sensitive to classical use, with 01 perhaps the more classical of the two, by the slightest of margins. It should also be noted that no corrector changed the original hands.

IV.4.1.3. Exhibit 8: Particle usage for discourse/direct speech (ὅτι-*recitativum*)

| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | Alexandrian text type represented in variants | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------------|------------|
| | 01 | 03 | Clem. |
| 2:4 •οτι• | οτι 01 | οτι 03 | om. |
| 4:20 οτι | om. | no variant | no variant |

The use of ὅτι-*recitativum* to introduce direct quotations is a commonly attested use in classical Greek as well as in John's Greek (Smyth, 1956:584; Blass & Debrunner, 1961:205, 246-247). It is therefore interesting to note the inconsistency of 01, which attests a classical usage at 2:4 and *not* at 4:20. One can scarcely believe the omission at 4:20 to be intentional, though failure of the

correctors to amend the reading indicates that the rewriting process might not have been so thorough.

IV.4.2. Participle usage

IV.4.2.1. Exhibit 9: formation of *oratio obliqua*:

| | Alexandrian text type represented in variants |
|--|--|
| ECM <i>Ausgang</i> -reading | 03 |
| 4:2 ομολογει ιησουν χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθοτα | ομολογει ιησουν χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθεναι 03 |

This accusative and participle construction after ομολογειν is only found here in 4:2 and in II John 7: οι μη ομολογουντες Ισουν Χριστον ερχομενον εν σαρκι - statistics which demonstrate the rarity of this particular classical construction in the New Testament. In general, the New Testament prefers ὅτι+ indicative in forming *oratio obliqua* (e.g. Acts 24:14; I John 4:15, Hebrews 11:13; in contrast with Titus 1:16 which represents a supposed accusative and infinitive construction; cf. also Porter, 1994:270-274).

This may illustrate that the sense in 4:2 is perhaps intended to be “Jesus Christ who has come in the flesh”, and not “*that* Jesus Christ has come in the flesh”. Given John’s anti-Gnostic agenda (Gundry, 2003:260; Marksches, 2003:71), this seems plausible. As to the grammatical construction, however, Horrocks (2010:92) lists some “‘post-classical’ features...” including “occasional replacement of the classical accusative and participle construction after ‘factive’ verbs of knowledge and perception...with the more common accusative and infinitive construction”, such as the case in 03. In this regard, 03 appears to be following a more Koine-type of construction.

IV.4.3. Conclusion from the data

The following conclusions may be drawn regarding the miscellaneous considerations discussed above:

- (1) As regards particle usage, 01 seems to be very inconsistent in its use of one particle but very consistent (and typically classical) in its use of another. 03 tends to be sensitive to classical use of at least one particle.
- (2) The rewriting process, as revealed by correctors' hands, does not seem to have been thoroughly systematic with regard to particle usage.
- (3) The classical accusative and participle construction after *ομολογειν* is found in two instances in the New Testament. 03 attests to a Koine variant in a construction that was becoming increasingly standard in post-classical usage.

IV.5. General conclusion

In this chapter, the witnesses of I John, from which data were collected, included P9, 01 (8), 03 (B), Clement and Origen as representatives of the Alexandrian text type. With the exception of P9, all the witnesses contained cases of interest. The results of the investigation conducted in this chapter may be summarized as follows, with the cases receiving a verdict either in favour of *predominantly* Classical-Atticist evidence (CA), Hellenistic-Koine evidence (HK), inconsistent evidence between the two (X), and other causes, such as errors (-).

| Exhibits | Witnesses representing the Alexandrian text type | | | | | | |
|--|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|--------|
| | P9 | 01 | 01C | 03 | 03C | Clement | Origen |
| Exhibit 1: <i>εωρακα/εορακα</i> | | HK | | CA | HK | | |
| Exhibit 2: <i>-ετα-/τα-</i> | | - | | - | CA=HK | | |
| Exhibit 3: <i>γιν- / γιν-</i> | | CA | HK | HK | | | HK |
| Exhibit 4: Paradigm shifts <i>-ον/-αν</i> | | CA | | HK | | HK | |
| Exhibit 5: 'keeping' <i>τας εντολας</i> | | X | HK | HK | | HK | |
| Exhibit 6: <i>και...και</i> | | X | - | | | CA | - |
| Exhibit 7: <i>δε</i> | | CA | | CA | | CA | |
| Exhibit 8: <i>οτι-recitativum</i> | | X | | CA | | - | |
| Exhibit 9: formation of <i>oratio obliqua</i> | | | | HK | | | |
| Total Attic/Koine/Inconclusive | 0/0/0 | 3/1/4 | 0/2/1 | 3/4/1 | 1/2/0 | 2/2/1 | 0/1/1 |
| General verdict on the witness: | - | CA | HK | HK | HK | CA=HK | HK |

Grand total for the Alexandrian text type across 9 exhibits:

| | | |
|---|----|-----------|
| Evidence for predominant Classical-Attic usage: | 9 | instances |
| Evidence for predominant Hellenistic-Koine: | 12 | instances |
| Inconclusive evidence: | 8 | instances |

Thus within the Alexandrian text type, inconsistencies of correction and scribal usage occur, notwithstanding the general tendency towards predominantly Hellenistic-Koine usage.

This investigation proves that the uniformity of the Alexandrian text type as a whole, if not under complete suspicion, should be very critically judged when it comes to matters of characteristic features which have for decades been accepted as true.

The MSS within the text type differ a great deal when compared in terms of Classical and Hellenistic tendencies, with 01 the only witness really living up to the text type's famous polished or Classical reputation. The other witnesses all tend towards a dominant Hellenistic rewriting. This inconsistency within the text type makes it clear that it would be an error to blindly accept that the Alexandrian text type has a fixed characteristic, such as being a more polished or Classical text type. This tag is only able to be applied to very isolated, individual MSS within the group of witnesses, 01's original hand being the closest example of an Attic type of text.

The text type either as a whole will have to be redefined considerably more clearly, or at least the MSS contained within the text type should be re-evaluated in the light of evidence such as this presented in the current study.

In conclusion, the results of the investigation conducted in this chapter thus hold implications, not only for our understanding of the nature of Atticist rewriting in the New Testament text, but also for our reconstruction of the textual history of the New Testament.

Chapter V

Conclusion and recommendations

V.1. Summary and results of investigation

The focus of the current study has been to investigate the scope of Atticist influence on the transmission of manuscripts in the Alexandrian text type.

The introductory chapter has pointed out that the debates surrounding the question of Atticist influence on the Greek literature of the 1st century A.D. are far from decided and, furthermore, that some discrepancies still exist in secondary literature regarding the scope of such influence. The New Testament, as literature of the 1st century, is no exception. Since Kilpatrick's (1963) evaluation that the influence of Atticism on the transmission of the New Testament text was significant enough for serious consideration in deciding variant readings, there has been an ongoing debate, not only as regards the value of these evaluations, but also with regard to the methodological soundness of Kilpatrick's thoroughgoing eclecticism. A survey of the literature makes the need for a methodological reconsideration quite clear, while the question of Atticism has also been neglected for some time (Metzger, 2003:201-203; 206; Kazazis, 2007:1209; Royse, 2008: 737 *et al.*).

Chapter II investigated the relationship between the Attic dialect and the Atticist movement in order to gain greater clarity on the origins and particularly the characteristics of the Atticist movement. This was achieved by means of an historical overview of the Greek dialects and the genesis of the cultural movement of Atticism. Certain linguistic features, which the literary Atticism strove to imitate, were identified as characteristic of the Attic dialect. The linguistic and stylistic features, which proved to be significant, included matters of orthography, conjugation, idiomatic usage, particle usage and participle usage. Historical investigation revealed that it is not wholly clear whether the New Testament's transmission has been subjected to a great Atticist influence, and this provided sufficient cause for further text-critical investigation.

Chapter III dealt with methodological considerations entailing an evaluation of the methods employed in the debate thus far and deliberation on what method would be most appropriate in the current study. The results of research into this subject to date revealed it as a controversial one, due to dubious methodology, and this has led to conflicting opinions as to the nature of the question at hand. The eclectic method was described and evaluated, and adapted accordingly for the current investigation, employing a *reasoned eclectic* method, i.e. a method that takes internal, as well as external, considerations into account when investigating variant readings.

This was deemed necessary after identifying the following deficiencies in the thoroughgoing eclectic method:

- (1) Manuscript support and manuscript tradition need to be taken into account, since Atticism cannot be expected to be an established influence at every single centre where manuscript transmission took place, even though the thoroughgoing eclectics take this for granted,
- (2) The author's style cannot, *as a rule*, be weighted more heavily than external evidence, let alone wholly replace the evidence; historical factors such as date and provenance of manuscripts need to be taken into account if one is to arrive at more controlled conclusions.
- (3) One has to employ accountable scientific controls rather than a *modus operandi* which consists of arbitrarily hunting for certain idioms.

To improve on these methodological deficiencies of the thoroughgoing eclectic method, the reasoned eclectic method employed in this study included the following external considerations:

- (1) Readings prior to 400 A.D. were investigated, since this era encompassed the period of not only the first stages of transmission, but also the high point of the Atticist movement and the period about which most uncertainty exists.

- (2) Selection of I John as the text to be investigated was influenced by two important factors: firstly, the Catholic Epistles have thus far been neglected in the investigation regarding Atticism, and secondly, John's reputation for stylistically inferior Greek seems to be the perfect hunting ground for scribal emendation towards more polished Greek. I John is also a much smaller corpus than the harmonized Gospels (meaning that the controls could be accurately checked when studying such a tight unit), while still being a large enough unit containing enough variant readings from which valid conclusions may be drawn.
- (3) Finally, given the Alexandrian text type's famous reputation as stylistically superior and polished, the manuscripts investigated were restricted to this text-type, since one might thus expect to find that the readings of the manuscripts, traditionally constituting the said text type, tend to display more Atticist influence.

This meant that the Alexandrian witnesses of I John, earlier than 400 A.D., that were in question were Papyrus 9 (P9), *Codex Sinaiticus* (01/ ⲥ), *Codex Vaticanus* (03/ B), Clement and Origen.

A text-critical examination of the text of I John was conducted in Chapter IV, using the controls as set out in Chapter III (i.e. manuscript provenance, date and classification). The results have shown that in the textual tradition of I John, inconsistencies of correction and scribal usage occur frequently within the Alexandrian text type and that the correction was predominantly not towards Attic, but rather displayed a tendency towards predominant Hellenistic-Koine usage.

The results of the investigation were tabulated as follows, with the cases receiving a verdict either in favour of *predominantly* Classical-Atticist evidence (CA), Hellenistic-Koine evidence (HK), inconsistent evidence between the two (X), and other causes, such as errors (-):

| Exhibits | Witnesses representing the Alexandrian text type | | | | | | |
|---|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|--------|
| | P9 | 01 | 01C | 03 | 03C | Clement | Origen |
| Exhibit 1: $\epsilon\omega\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha/\epsilon\omicron\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha$ | | HK | | CA | HK | | |
| Exhibit 2: $-\epsilon\iota\alpha/-\iota\alpha-$ | | - | | - | CA=HK | | |
| Exhibit 3: $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu-/\gamma\iota\nu-$ | | CA | HK | HK | | | HK |
| Exhibit 4: Paradigm shifts $-\omicron\nu/-\alpha\nu$ | | CA | | HK | | HK | |
| Exhibit 5: ‘keeping’ $\tau\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ | | X | HK | HK | | HK | |
| Exhibit 6: $\kappa\alpha\iota\dots\kappa\alpha\iota$ | | X | - | | | CA | - |
| Exhibit 7: $\delta\epsilon$ | | CA | | CA | | CA | |
| Exhibit 8: $\tilde{\omicron}\tau\iota$ - <i>recitativum</i> | | X | | CA | | - | |
| Exhibit 9: formation of <i>oratio obliqua</i> | | | | HK | | | |
| Total Attic/Koine/Inconclusive | 0/0/0 | 3/1/4 | 0/2/1 | 3/4/1 | 1/2/0 | 2/2/1 | 0/1/1 |
| General verdict on the witness: | - | CA | HK | HK | HK | CA=HK | HK |

With the exception of P9, all the witnesses contained cases of interest.

As may be observed from the table of results, 01’s original hand was found to be somewhat more Attic, though, and notably, 01’s corrector altered two of the three clearly Attic usages towards a more Hellenistic-Koine usage.

03’s original hand, as well as Clement, were found to contain both Attic and Hellenistic features, neither of which were conclusive enough to characterize these witnesses as predominantly containing either of the two. One of the Attic usages in 03, however, was corrected into a more Hellenistic-Koine usage, which suggests that the correctors were not very strongly in favour of polishing the text into the more archaic Attic. This is further substantiated by the fact that 03 contained three instances of Hellenistic-Koine usage, which were not altered in any way by a corrector. Clement supported two of these particular three readings, and Origen the other one, which further confirms this conclusion.

In summary, the investigation demonstrated that the uniformity of the Alexandrian text type as a whole, if not completely suspect, should at least be very critically judged when it comes to matters of characteristic features which have for decades been accepted as true, such as this text type's reputation as one displaying stylistically polished Greek.

V.2. Central theoretical argument re-evaluated

In the light of the findings of Chapter IV, the central theoretical argument, viz. that the scope of Atticist influence on the transmission of manuscripts of the Alexandrian text type can be methodically investigated and determined, has been confirmed. The investigation has demonstrated that similar studies, using other controls and different texts, should bring further insights into the question of Atticist influence. The traces of Atticism in the demarcated text were confirmed as being very limited, as was anticipated.

The Alexandrian text type, however, has been found to be not as stylistically polished as is generally assumed, and this finding demands caution and a more critical approach to presuppositions as regards text type characteristics when dealing with similar investigations.

V.3. Method evaluated

The findings of the current study, conducted by means of a reasoned eclectic approach, have revealed that the alleged influence of Atticism is not as strong as the thoroughgoing eclectic method concludes it to be. This sharp contrast in conclusions accentuates the methodological problems of modern textual scholarship: finding an accountable balance between internal and external criteria.

The choice of I John as the text to investigate has shed valuable light on the methodological presupposition that text types are fixed and typically display general characteristics. This presupposition has been exposed as false and indicates that one follows it at one's methodological peril. Other studies thus far have focused largely on the Gospels, Pauline epistles and Revelation, but have been revealed to be generalizations when one takes the findings

of the current study into account. This is due to the previous studies having drawn conclusions based on the assumption that all manuscripts of a certain text type display the same internal characteristics such as a polished style. I John has been shown to be a sample of an anomaly in relation to the other studies' findings, giving cause for serious methodological reconsideration.

The reasoned eclectic approach employed in the current study has confirmed that one should be wary of drawing conclusions regarding a text type, based on the findings of one or two texts alone as well as on findings which do not additionally take external considerations into account.

The current study was conducted using internal as well as external criteria, thereby providing a trustworthy basis for the controls employed as well as accountability for the findings.

V.4. Recommendations

The findings of the current study result in the following recommendations:

- (1) Using a reasoned eclectic approach, further samples should be taken from other texts to substantiate the conclusion that the Alexandrian text type is not as uniform as has been believed;
- (2) A systematic investigation throughout the whole New Testament corpus should determine which texts, if any, have been predominantly altered towards Hellenistic-Koine usage or towards Atticist usage;
- (3) The Alexandrian text type needs to be more clearly defined, and the manuscripts it contains should be better accounted for, in terms of internal characteristics.

Broadly speaking, the results of this investigation substantiate the view that one of the greatest methodological issues in contemporary New Testament textual criticism is the revision or reconstruction of its textual history and manuscript interrelatedness (Chapter III; Mink, 2011; Jordaan, 2009: 196-202; and Epp, 2005 c: 163 ff; 2005 d: 657-666 all refer). What the future

will hold for the traditional text type constructions is still unclear, but the fact remains that both eclectic generalists as well as eclectic specialists need to identify what their distinctive methods can and cannot do, and accordingly, implement their methods to achieve the same goal: a clearer understanding of the textual history of the New Testament.

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