

PLUTARCH'S  
THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS AND  
EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

STUDIA AD  
CORPUS HELLENISTICUM  
NOVI TESTAMENTI

EDIDERUNT  
H. D. BETZ • G. DELLING  
W. C. VAN UNNIK

VOLUMEN TERTIUM

HANS DIETER BETZ

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LEIDEN  
E. J. BRILL  
1975

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EDITED BY

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## PREFACE

The present volume is the result of a decision reached by several American and European scholars during a meeting in April 1970 at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont, California, that it would be fruitful, and indeed highly desirable, to initiate an investigation of the "theological" writings of Plutarch of Chaeronea under the auspices of the "Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti."<sup>1</sup> Professor W. C. van Unnik's encouragement to go in that direction should be noted here with appreciation.

It may not be as obvious to everyone as it was to the group why of all the important authors of the hellenistic literature, Plutarch<sup>2</sup> was the choice. To mention the embarrassing first, there was the awareness among the members of the group that familiarity with Plutarch's writings is at present not part of the common *répertoire* of the New Testament exegete or the historian of primitive Christianity. Not only is there an unjustifiable tendency in present New Testament scholarship to neglect the study of non-Christian and non-Jewish texts from the hellenistic world, there are even authors who are being studiously ignored, often for reasons which have nothing to do with the requirements of sound scholarship. One of these authors is Plutarch, a contemporary of primitive Christianity. Yet he was a man who had an unlimited access and the insider's comprehension of the two centers of the Greek intellectual and religious life of the time, the Platonic Academy<sup>3</sup> and the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.<sup>4</sup> Being a member of the highly privileged class

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. D. Betz, "Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti" (Annual Report 1969-70 and 1970-71), *Bulletin of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity*, No. 3, 1972, 4-7.

<sup>2</sup> On the present state of research cf. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia* (*PW* 21, 1951, 636-962; 2nd edition, published separately, Stuttgart 1964); R. Flacelière, "État présent des études sur Plutarque" (Association Guillaume Budé, Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès [Paris, 5-10 avril 1968], Paris 1969, 483-506); R. H. Barrow, *Plutarch and His Times* (Bloomington, Ind., 1967).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Merlan, "Greek Philosophy from Plato to Plotinos," in: *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1967, 58 ff.; H. Dörrie, "Die Stellung Plutarchs im Platonismus seiner Zeit," in: *Philomathes, Studies and Essays in the Humanities in Memory of Philip Merlan*, ed. by R. B. Palmer and R. Hammerton-Kelly (The Hague, 1971), 36-56.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. Roux, *Delphi* (Munich, 1971).

of educated Greeks, he was able to satisfy his truly Athenian curiosity by gaining information not only from books, but from many friends as well as from the travellers visiting Delphi, and through his own journeys to points of importance, especially Egypt and Rome.

Plutarch's life-time can be determined with some probability: "Nach allem darf die Datierung 'Geburt kurz vor 50, Tod bald nach 120' als hinreichend gesichert gelten."<sup>1</sup> He came from a prominent and wealthy family at Chaeronea. Having studied first rhetoric, then philosophy under the Egyptian-born Ammonius in the Platonic Academy in Athens, Plutarch was certainly one of the best educated men in his time. His interest in religion was at least in part due to the influence of his teacher Ammonius.<sup>2</sup> Although he preferred to spend most of his life in the small town of Chaeronea, he was able to perform an amazing range of activities. Next to being a philosopher and author, he was constantly involved in political activities, locally as well as nationally and internationally. Decisive for him, however, was his life-long connection with the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi; in his later years he officiated as one of the two priests of Apollo for at least 20 years.<sup>3</sup>

If one wants to study the philosophical and religious situation in the Greek world of the first century A.D., its problems, fears, hopes, its *spiritualité*, just before it came into conscious contact with Christianity, one must read Plutarch. Fortunately, the most significant of his works on religious subjects are extant. These writings not only furnish a wealth of data concerning current religious and philosophical concepts and practises, but they are also primary testimonies of a Greek philosopher-theologian who with great competence and admirable sensitivity interpreted his traditions while facing, in many ways, the same political, intellectual and religious problems which the Christians who wrote the New Testament had to face. It is intriguing to see from case to case, how close and how far apart these authors can be, the Christians often divided among themselves in regard to the same issues. Soon one feels tempted to predict at which points the later Christian apologists, when both worlds have become aware of each other, might join in,

<sup>1</sup> Ziegler, *Plutarchos*, 2nd ed., 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 ff.; cf. C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford, 1971).

either in approval or rejection or modification of the Greek traditions.

This is to say that Plutarch never mentions Christianity, and most probably did not know of its existence.<sup>1</sup> About Judaism which he does mention he has only second-hand and distorted information.<sup>2</sup>

However, the present investigation stops just before the apologists of the second century A.D., with the exception of Luke, who opens up that period of early Christian history, and the Epistle to Diognetus, which W. Bauer included in his "A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature".<sup>3</sup> For practical purposes, rather than conviction, the present volume agrees with Bauer's Lexicon as to what should be included among the "early Christian literature" (ECL). To be sure, historical investigation cannot remain bound to the limits of the canonical New Testament, but no historically satisfactory definition of ECL, in distinction to the patristic literature, has been yet proposed.

Equally pragmatic is the attempt to classify a number of Plutarch's writings under the heading "theological." With some reason, one could argue that all of Plutarch's writings are "theological" in the sense that, in one way or another, they address themselves to questions of a religious nature, and thus engage in "theology." But the present volume limits "theological" to the so-called Pythian dialogs, which treat matters related to the cult of the Delphic Apollo (*De E apud Delphos*, *De Pythiae oraculis*, *De defectu oraculorum*), and others of a similar nature.

The way the material is presented expresses concern for Plutarch's writings themselves, that they should not simply become "quarries," from which "material" can be extracted. Each work has its own integrity, and it is important for understanding it not to destroy it first. Therefore, each treatise is prefaced by a brief introduction. The arrangement of following the text of Plutarch may be taken as an encouragement to read the treatises as a whole even in seminars or courses.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ziegler, *Plutarchos*, 311.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De sup.* 169C; *De Is. et Os.* 363 C-D, and J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch. De Iside et Osiride*, edited with an introduction, translation and commentary (Cambridge, 1970), 418 f.; *Quaest. conv.* 4:4 (669 CD), 4:5 (669 Eff.), 4:6 (671 Cff.). On the treatment of the Jews in Plutarch cf. Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme* (Paris, 1895), No. 66-74; I. Heinemann, *PW*, Suppl. 5, 1931, 19-35.

<sup>3</sup> Trans. by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich (Chicago, 1967), xxvii.

In order to avoid complication it was decided to leave matters of a commentary nature to the commentaries, except where they are of direct importance for the understanding of the parallels.<sup>1</sup> Regrettable as it sometimes was, references to other literature had to be left out. Duplication of work and resources has been reduced as much as possible. Therefore, whenever possible, reference has been made to Bauer's Lexicon, and the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*.<sup>2</sup> The contributors were asked to concentrate on significant parallels not yet registered. Common terminology and concepts have been passed over, but technical terminology has been listed throughout.

Not only because of the limitation of space, but also for reasons related to the interests and insights of the individual contributors, the amount of "parallels" gathered does not exhaust all that there is. However, with due modesty it is hoped that most of the significant material will be found in these pages.

A word should be said at this point about the relationship between the present volume and the study published by H. Almqvist<sup>3</sup> in 1946 on the same subject. Strangely, Almqvist was convinced that on his c. 110 pages "das Wichtigste der Plutarchparallelen zum N.T. gesammelt vorliegt, ein Kernbestand, der später von ihm und anderen erweitert werden kann."<sup>4</sup> His study includes both the *Vitae* and the *Moralia*. The index shows, however, that for most of the writings treated in the present volume Almqvist lists not more than 5 parallels each, with the exception of *De Iside et Osiride*, for which there are 18 parallels given. Moreover, Almqvist is mostly interested in parallels related to style, ethics and cultural history, while our present volume is primarily interested in matters pertaining to religion, theological and philosophical ideas, ethics, forms of speech and composition. In this sense the studies reflect the change of orientation and interest which has occurred in New Testament scholarship since World War II.

Several problems should be mentioned which could have been

<sup>1</sup> As a by-product of the project, an annotated bibliography on Plutarch's religion will be made available hopefully soon.

<sup>2</sup> ed. G. Kittel (Stuttgart, 1933 ff.); Engl. Trans.: G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, 1964 ff.)

<sup>3</sup> H. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das Neue Testament, Ein Beitrag zum Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti. Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis*, XV (Uppsala, 1946). Cf. the review by H. Braun, *ThLZ* 77, 1952, 352-354.

<sup>4</sup> Almqvist, 1 note 3.

discouraging, had the team not decided to live with them rather than to despair. It was not possible to go through J. J. Wettstein's<sup>1</sup> classical collection, and similar works,<sup>2</sup> including New Testament commentaries, for the sole reason to gather those parallels which are already listed there. Furthermore, the work would have been greatly helped, if a concordance better than that of D. Wytttenbach<sup>3</sup> would have been available. It was only after the completion of this volume that we learned of the existence of the unpublished *Index Verborum Plutarcheus*, begun by William C. Helmbold and being completed by Edward N. O'Neil of the University of Southern California.

The fact that the present volume has come the long way it has calls for expressions of gratitude to many individuals and institutions for their encouragement and help. The *National Endowment for the Humanities* gave substantial financial assistance by two grants in 1970/71 and 1971/72. The Director of the *Institute for Antiquity and Christianity*, Dr. James M. Robinson, and the Associate Director, Dr. Irving Alan Sparks, as well as our secretaries, Mrs. Joyce D'Oyen and Miss Sandra Miller, provided every kind of assistance needed. Dean F. Thomas Trotter of the *School of Theology at Claremont* made additional resources available at several occasions. Research associates at the Institute carried major burdens in connection with tedious checking through manuscripts and assembling indexes. Some of them became involved in contributions themselves (Peter A. Dirkse, Edgar W. Smith); others contributed to the redactional process and the indexes (William Grese, Ruth Dannemann, Walter Taylor). Certainly every contributor could provide his own list of people who in one way or another furthered the project. To all of them we are sincerely grateful.

Claremont, California, U.S.A.  
April 1973

H. D. Betz

<sup>1</sup> J. J. Wetstenius, H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Graecum editionis receptae cum lectionibus variantibus, Codicum MSS., Editionum aliarum, Versionum et Patrum, nec non commentario pleniore Ex Scriptoribus veteribus Hebraeis, Graecis et Latinis Historiam et vim verborum illustrante opera et studio. Tomus I. II. (Amstelaedami, 1751-52). Cf. W. C. van Unnik, "Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti" (*JBL* 83, 1964, 17-33).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Delling, "Zum Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti" (*ZNW* 54, 1963, 1-15).

<sup>3</sup> D. A. Wytttenbach, *Lexicon Plutarcheum*. (Oxford, 1830).

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of early Christian and other Biblical literature follow the list in Bauer's Lexicon, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
Bauer	W. Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated by W. F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich (Chicago, 1957).
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie.
BDF	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated and edited by R. W. Funk (Chicago, 1961).
CIQ	Classical Quarterly.
ECL	Early Christian Literature.
EvT	Evangelische Theologie.
GGR	M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion Vol. I, 3rd ed., II, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1967, 1961).
HS	E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha. Vol. I-II. Translated by R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia, 1963, 1965).
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review.
IDB	Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JThC	Journal for Theology and the Church.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford, 1961; Supplement 1968).
NovT	Novum Testamentum.
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements.
NT	New Testament.
NTS	New Testament Studies.
OT	Old Testament.
PhW	Philologische Wochenschrift.
PW	Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.
RArch	Revue Archéologique.
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes.
REG	Revue des Études Grecques.
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
RGVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology.
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.

TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche.
ZRGG	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte.
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.

## I

DE SUPERSTITIONE <sup>1</sup> (MORALIA 164E-171F)

BY

MORTON SMITH

New York, New York

The tractate Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας (hereafter ΠΔ) is found in the thirteenth-century Planudean corpus of Plutarch's *Moralia* <sup>2</sup> and the title appears in the "Lamprias Catalogue" of Plutarch's works.<sup>3</sup> The author twice refers to himself as "Plutarch" (170A). Accordingly the work has generally been accepted as Plutarch's,<sup>4</sup> but the evidence is not strong. The Planudean corpus is a late collection and the catalogue, though its beginnings may have been early, was always liable to expansion.<sup>5</sup> The self-identification is so atypical<sup>6</sup> that it rather requires defense than affords proof of authenticity; it might be explained as a clumsy attempt to pass the work off as Plutarch's.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This article was read by Prof. H. D. Betz and Miss Ruth Dannemann; Miss Dannemann also verified the references of the first draft. To both of them I am indebted for many corrections.

<sup>2</sup> As no. 21. F. Babbitt et al., edd., *Plutarch's Moralia* (London, 1927 ff.), vol. I, p. xxii. References to the *Moralia* throughout this article are to this edition, unless otherwise specified. References to the *Lives* are to B. Perrin, ed., *Plutarch's Lives* (London, 1914-26), 11 vols. (again, unless otherwise specified).

<sup>3</sup> As no. 155. *Moralia* XV, p. 22; K. Ziegler, "Plutarchos von Chaironeia," *PW* XXI/1, 1951, 636 ff (henceforth cited as "Ziegler, *PW*"), col. 700. Here the title is followed by the words πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον, either an erroneous addition, or an indication that the title referred to some other—now lost—tractate, or itself a title of another—now lost—work.

<sup>4</sup> So by Ziegler, *PW* 825 f and by the more recent monograph of H. Moellering, *Plutarch on Superstition*, revised ed. (Boston, 1963) (henceforth "Moellering"). Moellering mentions, as having denied the work to Plutarch, only J. Hartmann, *De Plutarcho Scriptore et Philosopho* (Leiden, 1916).

<sup>5</sup> On the date of the catalogue see F. Sandbach in *Moralia* XV, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ziegler, *PW*, 826 *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> This attempt might have been made by a forger who composed the whole work after Plutarch's time, or by an editor who revised the work and wished to pass off his revision as Plutarch's, or by a mere interpolator who inserted Plutarch's name in 170A, either because he thought Plutarch the author, or because he wished others to think so. (The opinion might have increased the acceptability of the work, or its monetary value.)

The style has many parallels with Plutarch's other works, but the content is not what one would expect of Plutarch. The tractate is not merely "About δεισιδαιμονία", but, "About δεισιδαιμονία, that it is worse than atheism", and the argument goes as follows: Ignorance of the gods produces, in the tough-minded, atheism, in the soft-headed, fear (δεισιδαιμονία). Of these two, atheism is the less harmful because: 1. Atheism is mere error, while δεισιδαιμονία involves both error and πάθος (emotional disturbance). Moreover this πάθος, fear (φόβος), is particularly bad. It inhibits action and so prevents escape, it affects all aspects of life, there is no relief from it in sleep nor in waking, nor by flight nor by change of masters, nor in asyla nor even in death. 2. Although atheism is blindness to the gods, blindness is preferable to misapprehension, and fear of the gods rests on misapprehension. 3. In misfortune fear of the gods is worse than atheism because it adds to the actual misfortune the fear of further evils from the gods, and it inhibits preventative and curative measures, as resistance to the gods; it inspires disgraceful apotropaic rites, and finally it produces despair which sometimes makes even minor misfortunes fatal. 4. In good fortune, too, fear of the gods is worse than atheism; especially in religious festivals the atheist merely mocks, the man who fears the gods is in terror. 5. Fear of the gods is worse impiety than atheism, for it is less impious to deny the existence of the gods than to think them evil—as mythology and popular religion represent them. 6. Fear of the gods makes for atheism, since those who fear the gods must hate them, and those who hate them must wish they did not exist and wish to disbelieve in them, without daring to do so. 7. Fear of the gods is the cause of atheism, for nothing in the order of the physical world, but only the absurd rites of those who fear the gods, lead men to deny them. 8. The cultic consequences of fear of the gods are worse than those of atheism, as shown by numerous examples. Conclusion: Flee, therefore, the fear of the gods, but do not fall into atheism. Piety lies between them.

From this outline it is clear that Babbitt's title for the tract, "Superstition", is a mistranslation. The tractate touches only occasionally and incidentally on what are commonly called superstitious practices; they are among the evil consequences of the fear of the gods, but are not even the major consequences, let alone the fear itself. "Scrupulosity" would be better, but its reference is limited to self-examination and the performance of obligations,

whereas δεισιδαιμονία includes fear of the gods as dangerous objects, without reference to any individual's offences. The best translation seems therefore "fear of supernatural beings", since the treatise pays no attention to the distinction between gods and demons, but lumps all together.<sup>1</sup> However, "supernatural beings" is a cumbersome expression, so we shall translate simply "fear of the gods".

The argument of the work depends wholly on the supposition that the gods are not to be feared *at all*. They are purely benevolent and devoid of wrath (167 D); the notion that they can do harm is the result of ignorance and a fundamental error (165 C); the notions that they are capable of anger, hate evil, and are grieved by blasphemy, are errors proved false by the impunity of the myth-makers (170 C); consequently *no* fear of them is justified, and one of the good things to be said for atheism is that it does get rid of this fear (165 B). In this life the atheist suffers by his neglect of them only as a blind or deaf man suffers by his inability to perceive beautiful things (165 B-C, 167 A-D). As "human life ends with death" (166 F), after that there is nothing to fear. Threatening dreams are to be laughed at (165 F); stories of Hades and the like are mere fantasies of δεισιδαιμονία (167 A). The same argument applies without distinction to demons and gods alike (168 A-D, 171 C), though generally the gods alone are mentioned, as the more important group. There is no suggestion of the existence of evil or dangerous demons who might have to be placated or driven off. The myths telling of divine punishments are impious (170 B-D) and there is no hint that they should be explained allegorically. The myths of Apollo are mentioned as disgraceful (170 B); so are the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians (171 E).

All these characteristics are antithetical to those of Plutarch, who elsewhere defines the proper attitude towards the gods as εὐλάβεια<sup>2</sup>—"handle with care"—prefers the fear of the gods and even superstition to atheism,<sup>3</sup> describes at length the divine punishment of the wicked in the afterlife,<sup>4</sup> is full of divine warnings

<sup>1</sup> This is the meaning δεισιδαιμονέστερος has in Ac xvii 22. In Ac xxv 19 the δεισιδαιμονία of the Jews is approximately equivalent to *religio*, the complex of practices both official and private, resulting from fear of the gods, a meaning it does not have in ΠΔ but may have in some passages of Plutarch, e.g., *Camillus* 19; *Numa* 10. See below, n. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Camillus* 6 end; *Coriolanus* 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Non posse suaviter* 21; *Adversus Colotem* 30 f.

<sup>4</sup> *De sera numinis vindicta*.

given in dreams,<sup>1</sup> distinguishes gods from demons, and assigns an important role to evil demons who have to be placated even by human sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> Moreover Plutarch regularly allegorizes embarrassing myths and is particularly concerned to defend Apollo and the Egyptian cults.<sup>3</sup>

These discrepancies have often been recognized more or less clearly<sup>4</sup> and have been explained by the supposition that ΠΔ was

<sup>1</sup> *Septem sapientium convivium* 15 end; *Quaestiones convivales* VIII 10; *Caesar* 63; *Cimon* 18; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Moellering, 128 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Moellering, 96 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Moellering, 96-147, discusses at length a number of the major points and reviews earlier "explanations." One requiring special attention is that of H. Erbse, "Plutarchs Schrift Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας," *Hermes* 80, 1952, 296 ff (hereafter, "Erbse"), an attempt to defend Plutarch from the charge of superstition. Erbse finds it "eindeutig klar" (p. 298) that in ΠΔ δεισιδαιμονία can refer only to "false fear of gods" as opposed to demons. (But there is no opposition between gods and demons in the text, and the author seems to equate them in 166A-B where the ἐνυπνιον φάντασμα is presumably demonic, 168A-D, and 171C. Nor is there any distinction in the text between "true" and "false"—read "proper" and "improper"—fear of the gods; the author never says anything about any "proper" fear of the gods, and he repeatedly bases his argument on the supposition that the gods are wholly and solely beneficent and that any fear of them is therefore unjustified. P. Koets, *Δεισιδαιμονία*, Purmerend, 1929, 102, finds that Christian authors were the first to use the term for fear of demons as opposed to gods.) Neglecting these facts, Erbse goes on to argue that since Plutarch later held that rejection of belief in the afterlife undermined morality, his rejection of it in ΠΔ must not be taken at face value (p. 302). When Plutarch later reports prodigies and the like, he is merely repeating his sources and his occasional expressions of scepticism about some indicate that he held a rationalistic attitude towards all (p. 302-303). Of course Plutarch had an elaborate demonology—in fact, he had at least two inconsistent demonologies, but he should not therefore be thought uncritical (p. 304), and when the passages exemplifying gross superstition are removed from consideration, because exceptional, there are no passages that exemplify gross superstition (p. 305 and n. 2). Moreover, all this has nothing to do with δεισιδαιμονία as discussed in ΠΔ, because that by Erbse's definition, refers only to fear of gods. Admittedly, Plutarch often does use θεός and τὸ θεῖον in the sense of δαίμων and vice versa, but all such instances are to be explained as copied from his sources (pp. 306-7). All improper opinions about the gods can thus be taken as referring to demons; therefore Plutarch's opinions about the gods were of the purest philosophical rationality (pp. 307, 309). As for his demonology, that does, indeed, by modern standards, look like superstition, but since it can be seen as the expression of a philosophical system (except when it doesn't fit that system) and since Plutarch thought that some men by virtue could escape the power of the demons, he cannot be called superstitious (pp. 313-314). Q.E.D. Contrast the recognition by H. Braun, *Plutarch's Critique of Superstition in the Light of the NT*, Claremont, N.D. (Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, *Occasional Papers* 5) p. 4, that the gods of

an early work<sup>1</sup> and the fact that it was a rhetorical one. It is said that Plutarch, when he set himself the task of abusing fear of the gods, was prepared to represent it as worse than atheism; when he was abusing atheism, he would tip the scales to the other side. In either case he would say nothing about modifying considerations, the more so because his purpose was always moral as well as rhetorical; he wished not only to display his skill but to dissuade his readers from whichever evil he was attacking.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly the contradictions between ΠΔ and his supposedly later works show a considerable change of attitude and emphasis, but not a radical conversion (of which there is no evidence in his many references to his own life, nor in the reports about him).

This explanation is less than completely convincing. It is supplemented, however, by the supposition that in ΠΔ Plutarch was using a source—a diatribe by the cynic Bion of Borysthenes, whom he quotes for one detail (168E)<sup>3</sup>—and appropriated this source by slight changes, mainly those representing true piety as a mean between the extremes of superstition and atheism. In favor of attribution of the revised work to Plutarch is the fact that the notion of piety as a mean, and some of the general statements about atheism, piety, and δεισιδαιμονία, are strikingly paralleled in Plutarch's undoubted works.<sup>4</sup> However, it remains difficult to explain why Plutarch should have appropriated a work which contradicted not only a number of his particular beliefs—in divine admonitions, rewards and punishments, the allegorical significance of myths, and so on—but also his general attitude of superstitious piety. He was—*pace* Erbse—a regular reporter of omens and prodigies and instances of divine favor and resentment and cases of nemesis and so on, and he sometimes goes out of his way to find reasons why such causes may have been active and to cast doubt on

ΠΔ are wholly benevolent. This destroys the basis for Erbse's notion of a "proper" fear of them.

<sup>1</sup> So Ziegler, *PW*, 826, though he admits that the rhetorical development is not the work of a student, but of an experienced rhetorician.

<sup>2</sup> J. Oakesmith, *The Religion of Plutarch* (London, 1902), 185 ff.

<sup>3</sup> So especially G. Abernethy, *De Plutarchi qui fertur de superstitione libello* (Königsberg, 1911), who thought he could distinguish Plutarch's additions from the original Cynic material. Ziegler, *PW*, 826 *infra*, thinks the attribution to Bion too definite—there must have been many intermediaries between his work and Plutarch's. The attempt to distinguish Plutarch's additions, he thinks naive.

<sup>4</sup> *De Iside* 71 end; *Alexander* 75; *Camillus* 6 end; more in Erbse, 300 f.

rationalistic explanations of the events he reports.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, the piety of ΠΔ is Epicurean—the gods exist, and men should believe in them, but they are indifferent to human opinion and harm no one, so the unbeliever is afflicted only by his own blindness.<sup>2</sup> This basically Epicurean attitude—which certainly did not come from Plutarch—does something to discredit the notion of general dependence on a Cynic source.

Further discussion of the reliability of the attribution of ΠΔ to Plutarch would not be germane to the purpose of this article. What has been said is sufficient to indicate that some caution should be observed in citing material from ΠΔ as evidence of Plutarch's usage. The tractate presents us with a problem of authenticity comparable to those presented by Ephesians, Colossians, and the Pastorals. One more factor of this problem may be mentioned. ΠΔ is remarkable because it takes its subject so seriously. By contrast, Theophrastus' treatment is comic and reduces δεισιδαιμονία to "superstition".<sup>3</sup> Theophrastus was followed by Menander, the cynics, and Lucian.<sup>4</sup> ΠΔ, on the other hand, though it uses the peripatetic definition of piety as the mean between atheism and fear of the gods,<sup>5</sup> stands closest to Lucretius in its extended, systematic attack on all forms of the fear of the gods, including fear of retribution after death. This resemblance has been concealed by the

<sup>1</sup> Omens and prodigies, *Romulus* 24, 27 f.; *Numa* 2, *Poplicola* 13; *Camillus* 3, 14, 30; *Fabius* 2 f.; *Coriolanus* 37; *Timoleon* 8, 12 end; *Paulus* 24 f.; *Pelopidas* 31; *Marcellus* 4, 28 f.; etc. Divine favor/resentment, *Marcellus* 30; *Sulla* 6; *Phocion* 30; *Romulus* 28; *Dion* 2; etc. Nemesis, *Theseus* 2; *Camillus* 13; *Paulus* 22 end, 36 end; *Philopoemen* 18; etc. Reasons for belief, or for doubting rationalistic explanations, *Brutus* 37, 48; *Dion* 2; *Pericles* 6; *Coriolanus* 38; *Paulus* 25; *Sulla* 7, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Gods exist, ΠΔ 165B, 167B, D; etc. H. Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, 1887), 60. Men should believe in them, ΠΔ locc. citt. and 171E-F; Usener 60. They are indifferent to human opinion, ΠΔ 170C; Usener 71. They harm no one, ΠΔ 166D-E, 167D; Usener pp. XXf. Thus the unbeliever suffers only from his own blindness, ΠΔ 165C, 167A-B, D; Usener p. XXI. Other traits, too, are borrowed from Epicureanism, see A. Festugière, *Epicure et ses dieux*, 2 ed. (Paris, 1968), 78 and n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Contrast P. Steinmetz' commentary in his edition of Theophrastus, *Charaktere*, vol. II (Munich, 1962) (*Das Wort der Antike* VII), 186. But Steinmetz is concerned with the abstract definition of δεισιδαιμονία rather than the question of its practical meaning, which includes that of the attitude towards it.

<sup>4</sup> P. Koets, *Deisidaimonia* (Purmerend, 1929), 34-41.

<sup>5</sup> Koets, 43 f.; Erbse, 299. The peripatetic notion appears mainly at the beginning and the end of ΠΔ and has little to do with the main course of the argument. It is most likely an editorial addition.

fact that the object of Lucretius' attack is *religio*,<sup>1</sup> but *religio* may be Lucretius' translation of δεισιδαιμονία, the word he probably found in his Greek sources.<sup>2</sup> Any careful study of the authenticity of ΠΔ will have to seek the source of this serious concern about the fear of the gods as a major factor in human unhappiness.

The fact that the work is a diatribe leads to another line of investigation we shall not follow here. As a diatribe, the NT works which stand closest to it in literary form are Hebrews (apart from its pseudoepistolary ending) and James. Bultmann described in his doctoral thesis<sup>3</sup> the many respects in which the diatribe has influenced NT writings, especially Paul's, so examination of the parallels in literary form between the NT books and ΠΔ qua diatribe would at best add more details to a large body of evidence for an already familiar relation.

It seems therefore more important to discuss the parallels of content between ΠΔ and the NT, especially because these are more complex than might be supposed. Christianity, like Judaism, was attacked by the pagans not only as δεισιδαιμονία, but also as atheism,<sup>4</sup> and it returned both compliments. An important side of Christian propaganda was its rationalistic attack on pagan myths and practices,<sup>5</sup> an attack which carried on the traditions—and probably did much to save the texts—of Greek philosophy.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, the NT yields two sets of content-parallels to ΠΔ, one set exemplifying the Christians' fear of their own god and its

<sup>1</sup> Consequently Lucretius' work is not considered by Koets.

<sup>2</sup> For δεισιδαιμονία as a translation of *religio* see Polybius vi 56 6; Strabo i 2 8; Josephus, *Antiquities* xiv. 228, 232, 237, 240; more in H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, edd. C. Hase and G. and L. Dindorf (repr. Graz, 1954), s.v. δεισιδαιμονία. The Latin parallels to Polybius vi 56 collected by W. Otto, "Religio und Superstitio", *ARW* 12, 1909, 542 are striking evidence of the equivalence of the two terms (which Otto overlooks).

<sup>3</sup> R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (Göttingen, 1910).

<sup>4</sup> Δεισιδαιμονία (=superstitio) used of Judaism, Agatharchides of Cnidus in Josephus, *Ant.* xii 5; *C. Apion.* i 208; Dg i; of Christianity, Tacitus, *Annals* v 44 4. "Atheism" used of Judaism, Josephus, *C. Apion.* ii 14; of Christianity, MPol iii 1; ix 2; Lucian, *Alexander* 25; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Pagans accused of atheism, MPol locc. citt.; of δεισιδαιμονία, passages collected by Koets, 89 ff; these contain also many charges of atheism. The two accusations—ignorance of the true god and worship of false ones—are closely connected.

<sup>6</sup> See the classical study by Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 4 ed. (Leipzig, 1924), Book II, Ch. VI, "Die Religion . . . der Vernunft", pp. 239 ff.

issuance in the sorts of practices that ΠΔ attacks, another set exemplifying Christian attacks on fear of the pagan gods and on similar pagan practices. Having to deal with these two sets, we shall limit ourselves to matters of content which are substantial elements in the argument of ΠΔ. Other parallels, to incidental remarks, words, etc., will be mostly passed over.

We begin with those passages exemplifying the Christians' fear of god. (Both the notion and the experience were commonly expressed in antiquity and particularly in the OT, see the passages in TWNT s.v. φοβέω. Ps ii 11, which commands, "Serve Yahweh with fear and rejoice with trembling," presents a remarkable parallel to ΠΔ 169E—the man who fears the gods "when he wears a wreath (in a religious festival) turns pale, he sacrifices and is terrified, he prays with a quavering voice and puts incense on the fire with trembling hands.")

164E IGNORANCE OF THE GODS PRODUCES, IN THE TOUGH-MINDED, ATHEISM, IN THE SOFT-HEADED, FEAR. OF THESE TWO, ATHEISM 165B IS THE LESS HARMFUL, BECAUSE: I. ATHEISM IS MERE ERROR, WHILE ΔΒΕΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ INVOLVES BOTH ERROR AND ΠΑΘΟΣ. (EXAMPLES INCLUDE AN ATTACK ON THE LOVE OF MONEY AS A PASSION WHICH DESTROYS ALIKE PEACE OF MIND AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION — ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ.)

*Ignorance of god* is, for the NT too, a basic cause of evil and a condition from which men must be saved, cf. Bultmann, TWNT I, s.v. ἄγνοια. This ignorance is said in I Cor i 20 f.; 2 Th ii 10 ff. to be caused by the Christian god. Even some Christians still suffer from ignorance of god, at least to some degree, I Cor xv 34. It is also caused by one of the lower gods—the god of this world, 2 Cor iv 4. As for ΠΔ, so for Paul, it leads to enslavement, Gal iv 8—for Paul the observance of the Law given by the angelic-cosmic powers, for ΠΔ 166D scrupulous observance of the requirements of pagan belief. (Unlike ΠΔ, Paul thought it would lead its victims to eternal destruction, 2 Th ii 11f.) Paul and ΠΔ agree that knowledge of god brings release from servitude—Gal iv 9; ΠΔ 167D-E—but in Paul this is servitude to false gods, in ΠΔ, unreasonable concern about true ones. Also Paul thinks knowledge (of god) may be dangerous as a cause of arrogance (I Cor viii 2); ΠΔ has no such fear—it is, in fact, a good example of the sort of argument Paul would have attacked as arrogant. For 2 Peter knowledge of god is the source of

all good gifts and especially, as for ΠΔ, the basis of true piety (εὐσεβεία), i 3ff. The same notion is found in I Jn ii 3. Competing Christian groups also claim knowledge of god, that is to say, of the depths, perhaps of Satan—it is hard to decide whether or not the specification comes from the author of Rv ii 24.

*The tough-minded are atheists, the soft-headed, believers.* Ac vii 51; xix 9; Ro ii 5; ix 18; Hb iii 8, 13, 15; iv 7 (showing the OT background of the antithesis).

*The notion that atheism is less harmful than fear of the gods is unparalleled in the NT.*

*Fear of the gods:* The Christian material is ambivalent. It divides supernatural beings into five classes: the high god or Father, his son Jesus, the holy spirit, angels, and evil spirits. The boundaries of these classes are not always sharp—Jesus is said to be the (holy) spirit, 2 Cor iii 17. Satan has his angels, who are presumably evil spirits, Rv xii 7; xx 2; 2 Cor xii 7; and in which group of angels we should locate the cosmic powers through whom the Law was given, is not clear.

Of these groups the evil spirits (including Satan, the devil, etc.) are to be feared, I Cor vii 5; x 20; xi 10; 2 Cor ii 11; x 3ff; xi 14f; Eph ii 2; iv 27; vi 11ff; cf. Mt vi 13; I Th ii 18; iii 5; 2 Th ii 8f; I Ti iii 6f; iv 1; v 14; I Pt v 8; I Jn iii 8ff; iv 1ff; v 18ff; Rv ii 10, 13; iii 9; viii *passim*. These many passages, together with the exorcism stories in the Gospels, show that the early Christians thought they lived in a world full of δαιμόνια who threatened them constantly with everything from assault to seduction. Fear of δαιμόνια therefore seemed to them necessary and normal. But the δαιμόνια can also be used by god or by Christians to punish the wicked—Paul gave over to Satan the man who practiced incest, I Cor v 5; cf. 2 Cor xii 7; I Ti i 20; Rv ix 3ff; etc. Moreover, with the help of Jesus and the spirit the Christian can resist or escape them successfully—this is shown by the apostles' exorcisms, further Ro viii 38f; xvi 20; Gal i 4; Eph vi 11-16; Js iv 7; I Pt v 9; Rv *passim*. Jesus came into the world to defeat the devil, did so, and has thereby liberated those who through fear of death were in lifelong slavery, Hb ii 14f; cf. I Jn iii 8f; I Cor xv 57. So the fear of these δαιμόνια should engender, in the Christian, proper caution rather than the sorts of servitude attacked by ΠΔ and by Paul.

As in the public press, so in the NT, the bad guys get more attention than the good, demons have a much more conspicuous

role than angels. But angels, too, are dangerous and occasionally objects of fear, Mt xxviii 4; Lk i 12; Ac x 4; xii 23; Rv vi ff; and *passim*. Some Christians are even accused of worshipping them (that seems, at least, to be the more likely interpretation of Col ii 18)<sup>1</sup>, and such worship may have been fairly common in Judaism, the *Sepher ha-Razim* (ed. M. Margoloth, Jerusalem, 1966) gives us adequate examples, the angel of the Apocalypse warns John not to worship him, xix 10; xxii 8f, and there are a number of other references. But for the NT in general, fear of good angels is not a major concern; nor is any affection shown them, though they occasionally appear as divine messengers to help the heroes (Lk xxii 43; Ac xii 11; Rv vi ff; and *passim*).

A more important class of divine messengers who are and should be objects of fear are the apostles. They are dangerous—Peter kills Ananias and Sapphira, Ac v 5ff, and not only is the church terrified, but also the fear of the apostles in the church is reflected by the fear of the Christians in the surrounding world, and the author of Acts obviously thinks this is a good thing (v 13). Paul blinds Elymas, Ac xiii 10, and makes sinners over to Satan, I Cor v 1-5, and warns the Corinthians of the power he has over them, the clear implication being that they had better fear, 2 Cor xiii 1-10. He himself was afraid of the Jerusalem apostles, Gal ii 2. The consequence of apostolic power was awe, if not fear: Ac x 25; xiv 11ff; xxviii 6; Gal iv 14; etc. and the apostles are represented as prohibiting men to worship them. (Perhaps these prohibitions were intended to be exemplary; Simon Magus and perhaps some other gnostics did not prohibit worship.)

The power of the apostles is commonly represented as the work of the holy spirit, but the spirit itself is not (never?) an object of fear.<sup>2</sup> It directs the apostles' actions and can prevent them from doing as they want, Ac xiii 2f; xv 28; xvi 6f; xx 22; etc., but its guidance is sometimes rejected, Ac xxi 4f, 10-14, and Paul directs that the spirits of the Christian prophets should be subject to the prophets, I Cor xiv 32. (Which spirits were these, if not the holy

<sup>1</sup> I am not persuaded by attempts to explain this verse as referring to the angels' worship.

<sup>2</sup> That blasphemy against it was thought by some an unforgivable sin (Mk iii 28 f and parallels) need not indicate fear of it; the spirit does not seem to be the active authority either in determining the offense or in imposing the penalty. There is no mention of fear, for instance, in the account of the epiphany of the spirit in Ac ii.

spirit? Were any Christians still prophesying by Apollo, like the girl in Ac xvi 17?)

Jesus is an object of fear mainly in two respects, because of his miracles, and because of his destined role as judge in the last judgement. While his miracles were commonly beneficial (though he did blast the fig tree, Mk xi 12ff, and the revelation of him struck Saul blind, Ac ix 8; xxii 11, and made John drop as if dead, Rv i 17) they commonly produced fear—as do NT miracles generally, Mt viii 33f; ix 8; xiv 16; xvii 6; xxiv 48; xxvii 54; Mk iv 41; v 15, 33; vi 49; Lk i 12, 65; ii 9; v 8f, 26; vii 16; viii 25, 35ff; ix 34, 45; xxiv 37; Jn vi 19; Ac v 1-13; xix 17-19; etc. These passages adequately indicate what the early Christians thought to be the primary and proper reaction to the supernatural, cf. Jn xix 8. Jesus' activity has not ended with his death—he is still dangerous. He hates the works of the Nicolaitans, and the church of Ephesus does well to do likewise, Rv ii 6; he threatens to kill Jezebel's followers, Rv ii 22f. But his coming role in the end is a particular cause of fear. It is mainly conceived as that of judgement, Mt xxiv 30; Jn ix 39(?); Ac x 42; xvii 31; Phil i 10; 2 Th i 8f; etc. But 2 Th and Rv present the no less frightening picture of the leader of the angelic army sent to defeat the evil, Rv xix 11ff, and subsequently to preside over their torture, Rv vi 16f; xiv 10. This material is countered to some extent by a number of passages in which Jesus tells his followers not to fear him, Mt xiv 27; xxviii 10; Mk vi 50; Rv i 17. The notion of final judgement evidently gave some trouble in John's circle. Jn iii 17ff contradicts it and reduces the judgement to presentation of a revelation which must be accepted or rejected, but this is an eccentricity of the Johannine material. And for John as for the rest of the NT fear is an important and proper element in the attitude toward Jesus.

Finally, fear of the Father: This is not only a major motif in the literature, but a major structural factor in the religion which the literature presents. It is motivated by the Father's nature—he is a devouring fire, Hb xii 28f, and it is a fearful thing to fall into his hands, Hb x 31. He is liable to wrath, even to fury, and these will be major factors in his coming destruction both of the wicked and (sometimes) of the whole world, Jn iii 36; Ro i 18; ii 5, 8; iii 5; v 9; ix 22; Eph v 6; Col iii 6; I Th i 10; ii 16; Rv xi 18; xiv 10, 19; xv 17; xvi 19; xix 15; Hb xii 25-27. Eschatological threats recur frequently throughout all the books of the NT and form not merely the back-

ground, but an essential element in the explanation of the whole course of events, Mt v 19; vii 23; 25ff; viii 12; x 15, 23; xi 22ff; xii 36f, 42ff; xiii 30; xxiv-xxv; Mk viii 36ff; ix 42-49; xiii 26-37; Lk vi 24ff, 49; xii 47f; xiii 3, 5, 9; xiv 24; xvii 26-30; xix 27; xxi 25ff; xxiii 28-31; Ro ii 2f, 5ff, 16; xiv 10ff; I Cor iii 13ff, 17; vii 29; x 11f; xi 32; 2 Cor v 10; I Th v 2f; 2 Th i 8f; Hb vi 4-8; x 26ff; xiii 4; I Pt iii 12; iv 5; 2 Pt ii 9, 12, 17; iii 10-13; I Jn ii 17; Rv i 1 and *passim*. (Note the emphasis on the proximity of the End, its sudden and unexpected coming, etc. Most such passages contain an element of threat.)

Besides planning to destroy the world, the Father also destroys individuals. The prayer, "Lead us not into temptation," Mt vi 13; Lk xi 4, indicates a fear that he may do so, a notion Paul accepted in 2 Th ii 9-12; I Cor x 13—God creates temptations—and James found it necessary to contradict in i 13. He made the Israelites worship the cosmic powers, Ac vii 42 (cf. above, on the ignorance of god) and he was the cause of their rejection of Jesus, Ro xi 8; Jn xii 40 (cf. Mt xiii 14; Ac xxviii 26f). Indeed Paul thought that God deliberately creates some men as "instruments of (his) wrath," that is, for the sake of destroying them, Ro ix 22. In this matter his choice is absolutely arbitrary and is not affected by any consideration of human merits, Ro ix 16f; nor is even his arbitrary choice irreversible, therefore Paul says, he is particularly to be feared, Ro xi 21. He makes foolishness of the wisdom of this world, and rejects all human virtues, I Cor i 19ff, 27ff; iii 19ff; 2 Cor i 12. But even those whom he arbitrarily chooses are not safe. He tests and punishes those he loves, Rv iii 19; Hb xii 17, so that Christians, too, are in danger of falling and should therefore fear, Rv ii 5, 10, 25; iii 3, 11, 15ff; 2 Pt iii 17; 2 Jn 8; I Cor x 21; xi 32; Paul himself does not feel quite safe, I Cor ix 27. And Jesus is credited with the saying "I'll show you whom to fear. Fear him who, after killing, has the power to cast into Gehenna. Yes, I tell you, fear him," Lk xii 5; Mt x 9. The command to fear God is repeated in Phil ii 12; Rv xiv 7. The righteous are those "who fear him," Rv xix 5; Ac x 2 (= εὐσεβής); x 22 (= δίκαιος); Lk i 50; but even a murderer may be expected to feel this fear (Lk xxiii 40). Any man who does not fear God is absolutely wicked, Lk xviii 2. Good Christian behaviour is to live in fear, I Pt iii 2; Hb xii 28f; Phil ii 12; Ac ii 43; ix 31. Piety is εὐλάβεια—timidity, Ac ii 5 (so it is for Plutarch generally, in contrast to ΠΑ). And a good presentation of the gospel produces fear, Ac xxiv 25 (but contrast I Ti i 5).

It must be made clear, first, that all this is only one side of Christian teaching. There is another, that of grace, peace, confidence, and joy, which is equally well-attested—beginning with the word εὐαγγέλιον, "good news." Christianity made large use of fear and threats, but its primary instrument seems to have been hope and it seems to have spread as a promise of a salvation which was often conceived as spiritual tranquillity. Galatians as a whole is an example of this, and to a lesser degree the other Pauline letters. See also Mt xi 29; Jn xiv 27; xvi 33; Ac x 36; Eph vi 15. Notice the frequent recurrence of the command, "Fear not," with reference to religious fear: Mt i 20; xiv 27; xvii 7; xxviii 5, 10; Mk vi 50; Lk i 13, 30; ii 10; v 10; xii 32; Jn vi 20; xiv 1; etc., and also the recurrence of "grace" and "peace" in the greetings of almost all the epistles. 2 Ti i 7 declares "God has not given us a spirit of timidity, but of peace and love and self-control." And I Jn iv 18 even looks forward to the complete elimination of fear, declaring, "There is no fear in love, but perfect love casts out fear, because fear entails punishment and he who fears is not perfected in love."

In the second place, the role of fear in the NT is a continuation of its role, already mentioned, in the OT and intertestamental Judaism. Christian threats and promises alike seem to have been especially effective with those groups in the synagogues known as "the god-fearing," Ac xiii 16, 26, etc. This suggests that scrupulosity—a painful psychological condition to which adherents of legalistic religions are particularly exposed—played a considerable part in the success of Christianity. This suggestion is supported by a number of NT texts which attack the Law as "a yoke neither we nor our fathers were able to bear," Ac xv 10; Gal iii 10, cf. Mt xi 30, and which promise Jewish hearers "remission . . . from all those (sins) from which you could not by the law of Moses be justified," Ac xiii 38; cf. v 31; x 43; Hb ix 9; x 1ff; Gal ii 16; etc. Such a background would explain the unusually acute contrasts of the NT texts, which combine the most outspokenly terrifying apocalyptic framework with a constantly reiterated and perhaps slightly nervous insistence on grace, mercy, love, peace, confidence, and joy.

*Avarice:* It is typical of the philosophical and moral fashion of the time that ΠΑ 164F should choose the notion "that wealth is good" as its first example of an error combined with passion that destroys the soul. NT attacks on avarice reflect not only current Greco-

Roman fashion, but also an OT tradition already fully expressed in Psalms; thus Lk xii 15; xvi 14; I Cor v 10f; vi 10; Eph v 3; Col iii 5; Hb xiii 5. These are merely passing references which reflect the common convention of abuse; I Ti vi 9f has a brief development which follows the same line as that in ΠΔ: the desire for wealth is wicked not because it leads to injustice to the poor (the OT line) but because it destroys the peace and threatens the spiritual development of those who indulge in it—the Stoic commonplace.

*Boldness* (παρρησία) is a Cynic virtue. ΠΔ 165 warns that the desire for wealth destroys it, and this warning is the end and climax of its attack. In the NT παρρησία plays a large role not only in Paul, but also in John's portrait of Jesus, and in Acts' of the apostles. It is also prominent in Hebrews and I Jn as a virtue which the writers exhort their readers to enjoy or display, cf. TWNT (TDNT), s.v. In the NT this is not only a reflection of Cynic influence—it has no (?) OT root (but cf. Jer xv 20; xx 11; Ex iv 11)—but also an element of the confidence-complex discussed at the end of the note on fear, above (and see also πεποθησις and καθήματα). That the NT authors in their use of the term meant just what Plutarch meant is unlikely, but their appropriation of it is significant as an example of the way in which Christianity was taking over the terms of approval and laying claim to the virtues of pagan society.

165D OF THE ΠΑΘΗ, FEAR IS PARTICULARLY BAD BECAUSE: A. IT INHIBITS ACTION AND PREVENTS ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE. B. FEAR OF THE GODS AFFECTS ALL ASPECTS OF LIFE (EARTH, SEA, AIR, HEAVEN, DARKNESS, LIGHT, SOUNDS, SILENCE, DREAMS).

Πάθος: That the πάθη are bad is a Stoic commonplace, probably not reflected in Ro i 26 where the construction suggests a Hebrew construct state (cf. M. Pohlenz, "Paulus und die Stoa", ZNW 42, 1949, 82). The other NT usages (Col iii 5; I Th iv 5) are also unfavorable, but otherwise nondescript.

Φόβος as a πάθος: Discussed in the NT only in I Jn iv 18: There is no fear in love, etc. quoted above. Even such a brief psychological comment is surprising in the NT and an unexpected contact with the ΠΔ.

*Fear of earth, sea, air, etc.* The man who fears the gods fears all of these not only because they may be instruments of divine punishment, but even more because they are the means by which the gods give omens, therefore their least details may portend

disaster. In the NT *earth* and *darkness* are represented as sources of omens by the earthquake and darkness at the crucifixion, Mt xxvii 45, 51; Mk xv 33; Lk xxiii 44f; the earthquake at the resurrection, Mt xxviii 2; other earthquakes, Rv vi 12; viii 5; xi 13; 19; xvi 8. Light is a sign of the supernatural in the transfiguration story, Mt xvii 2; Mk ix 3; Lk ix 29; the appearances of the angels at the resurrection, Mt xxviii 2ff; Lk xxiv 4f; and at the deliverance of Peter, Ac xii 7; Jesus' appearance to Paul, Ac ix 3; xxii 6; xxvi 13; etc.; *sounds*, the voices at the baptism, Mt iii 17; Mk i 11; Lk iii 22; the transfiguration, Mt xvii 5; Mk ix 7; Lk ix 35; 2 Pt i 17; the voice from heaven in Jn xii 28 (thought to be thunder, xii 29); in the Apocalypse these become almost a conversation; *silence*, Rv viii 1; *dreams*, see the following section. This makes no pretense of being a complete list.

165E C. THERE IS NO ESCAPING FEAR OF THE GODS BY SLEEP—IT  
165F MAKES SLEEP A TERROR—NOR BY WAKING—IT DRIVES  
166 MEN TO ABSURD APOTROPAIC RITES [IMMERSION IN THE SEA,  
SITTING ON THE GROUND, SMEARING WITH MUD, WALLOWING  
IN MUD; IMMERSIONS, FALLING ON THE FACE, SITTING BEFORE  
166B (THE GODS?), ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΙΣ, THE USE OF FOREIGN NAMES AND  
166C BARBAROUS WORDS] AND CUTS THEM OFF FROM THE COMMON  
WORLD.

*Sleep and dreams*: Sleep in the NT is treated matter-of-factly (except for one metaphorical usage, of moral negligence, in Ro xiii 11). Dreams play a surprisingly small part except in Matthew's birth stories (Mt i 20; ii 12, 13, 19, 22). Lk uses "visions in the night," Ac xvi 9; xxvii 23, which he probably did not think of as dreams. The only properly frightening dream—a god-sent admonition—is that of Pilate's wife, Mt xxvii 19—also a Matthaean addition. Cornelius, in Ac x 4, was frightened when the angel appeared—the normal reaction to angels, see above—but this was a "vision," not a dream, and the content was reassuring.

*Apotropaic rites: Immersions.* Baptisms for remission of sins begin with John in Mt iii. As to Jesus' practice we have the contradictory testimony of Jn iii 22; iv 1 f. They resume with Ac ii 38 and are thenceforth frequent. With Acts (ib.) appears the connection between the gift of the spirit and baptism; with Ro vi 3ff the interpretation of baptism as participation in Christ's death and resurrec-

tion. I Pt iii 21 insists that baptism is not efficacious qua washing; i.e. not its natural but its magical effect is what matters—it is precisely the sort of rite attacked by ΠΔ. Hb ix 10; xiii 9 is parallel to ΠΔ in its contempt for the *διάφοροι βαπτισμοί* prescribed by Jewish law; it dismisses them as ineffectual. In x 22 it refers obscurely to the cleansing of the body by water. Other purifications by ablution appear in John's footwashing, xiii 5ff—here again with the insistence that its efficacy is not merely physical, xiii 10—and in Pilate's handwashing, Mt xxvii 24, which Matthew probably understood as effective: Matthew wanted to put the blood-guilt on the Jews, xxvii 25.

*Sitting on the ground* is not directly paralleled in the NT, but another manifestation of the same basic belief may appear in the command to go barefoot on holy ground, an OT fossil in Ac vii 33. *Smearing with mud and wallowing in the mud.* The latter does not appear in the NT; the former (or something like it) is prohibited in Mt vi 16. (Jesus use of mud in healings, Jn ix 6, is probably not relevant here; it belongs to a different branch of magic, medical rather than apotropaic.) *Fallings on the face—as distinct from προσκύνησις—and sitting before (the gods?) as religious practices* have no NT parallels. *Προσκύνησις* occurs often—see the concordance—and is occasionally prohibited when addressed to men or angels (Ac x 26; Rv xix 10; xxii 8f) but is the approved way of approaching a deity. H. Bolkestein, *Theophrastos' Charakter der Deisidaimonia*, Giessen, 1929 (RGVV XXI.2), 38ff, has tried to show it was common and respectable in Greece by Theophrastus' time. It certainly was so by the time of ΠΔ—Roman imperial—and the complaint about it is perhaps a bit of archaism, softened by the obscure *ἀλλόκοτος*. *The use of foreign names and barbarous words* may be prohibited in Mt vi 7f (*μὴ βατταλογήσατε*). Belief in the efficacy of such words may account for the preservation of some phrases of Jesus' Aramaic in healing formulae, Mk v 41; vii 34; and in the words from the cross, Mt xxvii 46; Mk xv 34 par.; and of Paul's *μαρναθα* I Cor xvi 22. *Μαμωνας* may have been saved in part by the belief that it was a demon's name (Mt vi 24; see, however, Lk xvi 9-13), like Beelzeboul. Ro viii 26 and the Pauline references to speaking with tongues show the use, not of "foreign names and barbarous words," but of inarticulate (*ἀλόγητοι*) sounds, which, however, were believed to belong to some foreign language. The two categories were not sharply distinguished.

166D-F NOT BY FLIGHT, NOR BY CHANGE OF MASTERS—THOSE WHO FEAR THE GODS ARE SLAVES WITHOUT HOPE OF ESCAPE—NOR IN ASYLA, NOR IN DEATH.

*Flight*: Ps cxxxix 7-9 is so striking a parallel that it must be quoted: "Whither shall I flee from your presence? If I go up into the heavens, you are there, if I make my bed in Sheol, there you are; if I take the wings of the dawn and dwell at the end of the sea, there too your hand will lie upon me . . . If I say, surely darkness will cover me, the night is like light." The story of Jonah comes also to mind. There are no NT parallels. The attempt of H. Hommel, "Der allgegenwärtige Himmels-gott," *ARW* 23, 1925, 193-206, to prove a common Indo-European source for ΠΔ, Ps 139, Jer xxxiii 23, and Atharvaveda iv 16 1-5, fails.

*Change of masters*: Paul plays on this idea in Ro vi 15-23, and his thought has another parallel in Jn viii 31-36, but in the latter case the notion is of liberation. Romans thinks of exchange of masters—first sin, then righteousness—and in that respect is closer to ΠΔ, but not so close as to call for further comment.

*Slaves of the gods*: This the NT authors regularly style themselves (see the concordance, s.v. *δοῦλος*), but they make no attempt to escape. The only parallel for that (after Jonah) is Paul's disobedience before he realized his enslavement, and the comment of Jesus, Ac xxvi 14.

*For all men the end of life is death* (166F). This appears in Demosthenes, *De corona* 97, but was perhaps proverbial already in his time. Plutarch quotes it again in *Moralia* 333C (on which see Babbitt's note); "Lucian" in *Demosthenis encomium* 5; Clement of Alexandria in *Stromateis* VI 22 5. In ΠΔ another proverb is used in 167F: "To fail in some things is common to all men." Parallels are collected by Wyttenbach<sup>1</sup> on *Moralia* 103B. Appeal to proverbs is a common phenomenon of popular literature, represented in the NT by Mt xi 17; Mk ix 18; Lk iv 23; vii 32; I Cor xv 32f; Tit i 12; 2 Pt ii 22; etc. Pronouncements about "all men" are likely to be Greek in background; for the same purpose Hebrew prefers "the children of men" (frequent in rabbinic literature, in NT only Mk iii 28; Eph iii 5) or the singular, either anarthrous or with the definite article in the sense of the English indefinite ("a/any man"): Mt iv 4;

<sup>1</sup> D. Wyttenbach, ed. *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia* (Oxford, 1795-1829) 8 vols. in 16.

xii 35, 43; xv 11, 18; xix 10; Mk vii 15, 18, 20, 23; x 7; Lk iv 45; vi 45; ix 25; Jn iii 27; Ro iii 28; vii 1; I Cor xi 28; Gal i 12; ii 6, 16; iii 15; vi 7; Eph v 31; Js i 23; etc. NT sayings with the plural and πάντες do occur (Lk vi 26; Ac xvii 30; xxii 15; Ro v 12, 18; xii 17; I Cor vii 7; 2 Cor iii 2; Phil iv 5; I Th ii 15; I Ti ii 1, 4; iv 10; Tit ii 11), but the more common form of generalization in the NT is simply the plural with or without the article (Mt xii 31; xix 26; Mk vii 21; x 27; Lk vi 22; xvi 15; xviii 27; Jn i 4; iii 19; v 41; vi 10; xii 43; xvii 6; Ac iv 12; v 29, 38; Ro ii 16, 29; I Cor i 25; Gal i 10; Hb vi 16; I Pt ii 4; Rv xiv 4; xvi 8). Πᾶς without ἄνθρωπος for generalizations occurs in the NT (e.g. Mt vii 21; Lk xii 8, 10) but is comparatively rare; Paul has a number of quite anomalous forms (ὁ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς Ro ii 1; ix 20; πᾶσα ψυχὴ/συνείδησις ἀνθρώπων Ro ii 9; 2 Cor iv 2). It is remarkable that almost all these sayings refer to all men only indirectly—"when all men praise you," or "the light of men," or the like. Statements that "all men do" this or that, with the interest in the general rule about all men, like the proverb in ΠΔ, are very rare. Examples are Jn ii 10; Hb vi 16; cf. Js iii 8. One is tempted to say that Greek literature is interested in general rules about human behaviour, the NT in divine actions by which men are affected.

In ΠΔ the proverbial saying, "Death is the end of life," is given an unusual interpretation; instead of being a sigh of resignation, it is taken by the Epicurean tradition as a assurance of safety. The notion appears once in the NT, but only to be denied: In the End men shall seek death, but shall not find it (Rv ix 6). The NT passages that welcome death as a means to eternal life (so Christ's death, Ro v 10; vi 3ff; Phil iii 10; Col i 22; Hb ii 9, 14; ix 15; but also the believer's death, 2 Cor v 8; Phil i 21, 23) reflect a quite different world view—one that even the NT does not consistently sustain; many passages absentmindedly reflect the common dislike of death (Mt iv 16; x 21; xv 4; xvi 28; xx 18; xxvi 38, 66; Mk vii 10; ix 1; etc.) Other NT notions of death (a demon, Rv vi 8; xx 13; I Cor xv 26, 54ff; etc.) do not here concern us. That all men are mortal is explicitly denied in Hb xi 5 (Enoch did not die), contrast Ro v 12ff (death passed to all men as a result of Adam's sin); Paul was interested in developing his general argument and did not want to be bothered with awkward details.

167A FEAR OF THE GODS ADDS TERRORS TO DEATH BY IMAGINING HADES AND ITS HORRORS. ATHEISM IS IMMUNE FROM THESE.

*The horrors imagined are:*

(1) *The gates of Hades.* These appear in Mt xvi 18, their keys in Rv i 18. NT writers freely refer to Hades (see the concordance), apparently the original reference to a pagan deity has been forgotten. That it becomes a demon in the Apocalypse (vi 8; xx 13) is probably not a reflection of the old mythology, but a beginning of the new one. Death, too, is made a demon in the Apocalypse, see above.

(2) *Rivers of fire.* The future fire that will consume or eternally torment the wicked is one of the fundamental elements of NT faith, see the concordance and TWNT (TDNT), s.v. πῦρ. The localization of the fire in a river or rivers is a classical trait not found in the NT.

(3) *The Styx.* Not in the NT.

(4) *Darkness.* In the NT this present world is most often the realm of darkness: Mt iv 16; Lk i 79; xxii 53; Jn i 5; xii 46; Ro ii 19; Eph vi 12; Col i 13; I Th v 5; I Pt ii 9; I Jn ii 9, 11. References to darkness in the after-life or the End are most conspicuous in Mt (viii 12; xxii 13; xxv 30—all of the "outer" darkness into which the wicked will be cast). Also in Ac ii 20; 2 Pt ii 17 = Jd 13; cf. 2 Pt ii 4. All these are in eschatological contexts. In the Apocalypse the luminaries are repeatedly darkened and darkness appears among the plagues of the End (xvi 10, reflecting the plague of Egypt, Ex x 21). It is typical of their different world views that the NT should be interested in general eschatology, ΠΔ in the individual after-life; but the NT's interest in the End should not be understood as a denial of an immediate after-life, which Lk certainly expected (xxiii 43 etc.)

(5) *Demons.* The god-fearing man of ΠΔ conceives them as ugly, wailing, judges, and torturers. The NT, like the OT and the Rabbinic material, is not usually sensitive to *ugliness* and never specifies it as an attribute of the demons. The monsters of the Apocalypse are terrible and unnatural but not specifically ugly; contrast the Greek feeling of ΠΔ. *Mourning*, like darkness, is most prominent in Mt, where the two go together—in the darkness there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth (viii 12; xiii 42, 50; xxii 13; xxiv 51; xxv 30; Lk xiii 28). In ΠΔ the god-fearing conceive the *judgment* after death as a trial in a Greek court with indefinitely plural and hostile *δικασταί*, for the NT it is a trial before a single *κριτής*, Jesus (Ac x 42; 2 Ti iv 8; Js v 9; etc.) who is commonly conceived as a king (Mt xxv 34ff; etc.) and who will condemn the wicked, but reward the righteous (loc. cit.). Nevertheless, for Christians too

the final judgment is an occasion of fear, and the terms *δίκη* and *κρίμα* may be used by themselves for "damnation" (2 Th i 9; Jd 7; Lk xx 47; Ro ii 2f; iii 8; Hb vi 2; etc.) The only NT passage that seems to refer to a demonic judge, I Ti iii 6, is ambiguous; it may refer to a judgment imposed on the devil; the best review of the discussion and evidence is that of C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, Paris, 1947, ad loc. By contrast, *torturers*, presumably demonic, are plentiful: Mt v 25; xviii 34; Lk xii 58; I Ti iii 6; Rv xiv 10; cf. 2 Pt ii 9; Mt xxv 46; Rv xx 10 (eternal torture).

(6) *Chasms*. A great chasm separates Dives from Lazarus after death, though conversation can be carried on across it (Lk xvi 26). The Apocalypse refers to an abyss from which demons emerge and into which they will eventually be cast (ix 1; xx 3; etc.)

*None of these horrors of hell confronts the atheist.* (The punctuation in the Loeb edition is misleading. This is the concluding clause of the preceding discussion. The new paragraph should begin with ἄλλ' ἡ μὲν which introduces an imagined objection to the trend of the argument. Such use, without explanation, of imaginary objections, is a regular feature of diatribe style, and therefore frequent in Paul, e.g., Ro iii 1-9, 27-31; vi 1, 15; vii 7, 13; etc.). Eph ii 12 gives us the converse of this; the gentiles have no hope, since they are ἄθεοι. But here ἄθεοι means rather "without any divine protector" than "without belief in gods."

167 A-B BUT IGNORANCE IS ALWAYS BAD, AND ATHEISM, BEING IGNORANCE OF THE GODS, IS A GREAT MISFORTUNE—THE BLINDNESS OF THE SOUL'S BEST EYE.

*Ignorance.* This reflects the Stoic usage of *ἄγνοια*, also reflected in Ac xvii 30; Eph iv 18; I Pt i 14; cf. Bultmann, TWNT (TDNT) s.v. *ἀγνοέω*.

*The eye of the soul*, already metaphorical, none the less reflects the peculiar belief that souls are anthropomorphic. Similar reflection appears in Lk xii 19 where the rich fool says to his soul, "Relax, eat, drink, enjoy yourself;" and probably in the story of Lazarus and Dives, xvi 26. Similarly the souls John saw in Rv vi 9; vii 9; xx 4; etc., would certainly have been in human form.

*Νόησις* does not appear in the NT, which uses *γνώσις* for knowledge of God. For the idea see Bultmann, TWNT (TDNT), on *ἀγνοέω* and *γινώσκω*.

167B-D (BUT FEAR OF THE GODS ALSO RESULTS FROM IGNORANCE, AND IGNORANCE COMPLICATED BY FALSE OPINION) TO WHICH DISTURBING PASSIONS ARE ATTACHED. PLATO EXPLAINS THE USE OF MUSIC TO HARMONIZE THE SOUL, BUT PINDAR SAYS EVIL BEINGS FLEE MUSIC AND IT DRIVES TIGERS TO SUICIDE. FOR THEM, DEAFNESS WOULD BE PREFERABLE, AS IGNORANCE WOULD HAVE BEEN FOR TIRESIAS, ATHAMAS, AGAVE, AND HERACLES.

*All this is completely alien to the NT*, which never uses *δόξα* to mean "opinion" (TWNT [TDNT], s.v. *δόξα*), never refers to "music" as such,<sup>1</sup> never refers to Plato, let alone Pindar, never uses the word *ἀρμονία* (the notion of salvation as restoration of harmony, with its psychotherapeutic possibilities, is completely absent), has none of the pseudo-learned zoology that circulated in the upper classes, uses examples from Israelite, not Greek, mythology, and does not even declare *explicitly* that those who hear the gospel and reject it, or those who are converted and then relapse, would have been better off had they remained in ignorance. This conclusion is fairly clear, however, in Mt xi 20ff; Lk x 13ff; Jn ix 41; xv 22, 24; Ro vii 9f etc.; Hb vi 4ff; x 26ff; and is latent in other passages. It was soon drawn by later Christians, and underlies, for instance, Constantine's delay of baptism to the threshold of death, and Basilides' conception of the salvation of most of the world as restoration of its ignorance of God. (Miss Dannemann remarks that the NT has only two groups, those who know and the ignorant, while Plutarch has three, those who know, the merely ignorant, and those who hold false opinions, which are worse than mere ignorance.) Therefore the NT implies that ignorance may sometimes be preferable to knowledge (if those to whom the knowledge has been made available reject it) whereas Plutarch argues that mere ignorance is always preferable to false opinion.

167D-E THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ATHEISTS AND THE GOD-FEARING IS THAT ATHEISTS DO NOT PERCEIVE THE GODS AT ALL BUT THE GOD-FEARING THINK THEM EVIL AND ARE PERSUADED BY ARTISANS THAT THEY ARE ANTHROPOMORPHIC. CONSEQUENTLY THE GOD-FEARING WORSHIP IDOLS. MOREOVER THEY ARE CONTEMPTUOUS OF PHILOSOPHERS AND STATES-

<sup>1</sup> Μουσικός in Rv xviii 22 probably means "singers," by contrast to the named instrumentalists.

MEN WHO REPRESENT THE GODS AS WHOLLY BENEVOLENT. THUS ATHEISTS ARE INSENSITIVE, BUT THE GOD-FEARING SUFFER FEAR AND DISTURBANCE, AND ARE AMBIVALENT TOWARDS THE GODS.

*The structure of this passage* is remarkably similar to that of Ro i 18-32 where misapprehension of the divine nature also leads to idolatry, folly, and moral corruption. The differences between the passages are equally remarkable. ΠΔ says nothing of the causes of ignorance of the gods and their nature, but Paul begins by insisting that the essential facts of his god's existence and power can be inferred from creation, and that consequently misapprehension is due to man's wickedness. Therefore he cannot distinguish between misapprehension and mere ignorance, as ΠΔ does. For Paul the bad consequences are divinely inflicted punishments that fall on all the ignorant alike; for ΠΔ they are the natural results of misapprehension and therefore do not affect the merely ignorant. (Ac xiv 15ff and xvii 24ff show the same conception as Paul's, though less clearly.)

*Of the divine attributes*, εὐμενές, πατρικόν, κηδεμονικόν, and ἀμήνιτον, only πατρικόν has a closely cognate term in the NT (at Eph iii 15, where the Father is he from whom every πατριά—family—in the heavens and on earth derives its name).

*Of the attributes falsely predicated of the deity by the godfearing*, φοβερόν, τυραννικόν, βλαβερόν, ἄγριον, and θηριῶδες, only φοβερόν has, in the NT, any connection with divinity. Hebrews says it is φοβερόν to fall into the hands of the living god (x 31) and describes his epiphany at Sinai as φοβερόν (xii 21—even Moses was scared).

*All these attributes are in the neuter in ΠΔ* because they refer to τὸ θεῖον (understood here, expressed in 167E etc.) which occurs only once in the NT, significantly in Acts' mission speech in Athens (xvii 29), an attempt to argue for Christianity from pagan concepts.

*Idolatry instituted by artisans*: This theory is not propounded in the NT; Is xlv 9-20 comes close to it (though the artisan's persuasion of others is not made clear). Artisans defend idolatry in Ac xix 23-40.

*The attack on idolatry* does not make clear whether its basic objection is, (1) that the gods are not actually similar in form to the images; or, (2) that the images are not the gods and therefore should not be worshiped; or, (3) both of these. Likewise most references to

idolatry in the NT are simply contemptuous, without alleging their reasons (see the concordance under εἰδωλολάτρης, εἰδωλολατρία, εἴδωλον). This probably happens because both the Epicureans and the Christians did think the gods human in form—Jesus certainly was; the Father probably was conceived thus (Ac vii 55; Rv iv 3ff); the Epicureans thought men's visions of the gods were produced by effluence from the divine forms and revealed their true shapes (Aetius I.7.34 = H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin, 1879, 306f; W. Cronert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, Leipzig, 1906, 112; the importance of Epicurean ideas in ΠΔ has already been noticed). In the NT, passages like Ro i 23 and Ac xvii 29 that deny any resemblance between the deity and the images are exceptional polemic, and, in the case of Romans, weasel—worded; cf. I Cor xv 47f; Phil ii 6; Col i 15.

Προσκύνησις to images is attacked particularly in Rv ix 20. The meaning is uncertain, with Bolkestein, cited above on 166B, cf. E. Bickermann, "A Propos d'un passage de Chares de Mytilène," *La Parola del Passato* 91, 1963, 241-255.

*The contempt of the god-fearing for philosophers and prominent men* is exemplified in the NT, but indirectly. Ac xvii 18, the only mention of philosophers in the NT, is not explicitly contemptuous; I Cor i 18-31; Mt xi 25f // Lk x 21f (I thank thee, Father) are contemptuous, but do not refer explicitly to philosophers; Col ii 8 thinks philosophy a danger. Contempt of rulers is mainly directed at the Jewish rulers (Lk xxiii 35; xxiv 20; Jn vii 48; cf. xii 42; Ac iii 17; iv 5, 26; xiii 27; xxiii 3f); to other municipal or imperial authorities the attitude of the NT varies with the various books, from hostile (Rv vi 15; xvii-xviii) to respectful (Ro xiii 1-8). They are never represented as teaching theological principles, which is their role in ΠΔ. ("The rulers of this age" of I Cor ii 6 are probably demonic.)

*Of the divine attributes inculcated by the philosophers and rulers*, σεμνότης, χρηστότης, μεγαλοφροσύνη, εὐμενεία, κηδεμονία (and, by implication, ἀγαθότης), four are not used of God in the NT, but χρηστότης is frequent there as a divine attribute (Ro ii 4; xi 22; Eph ii 7; Tit iii 4; χρηστός Lk vi 35; Ro ii 4; I Pt ii 3) and ἀγαθός is a divine attribute in Mk x 18 and parallels.

*The παραχή of the god-fearing* appears in the synoptics as the response of its heroes to the supernatural (Mt xiv 26; Mk vi 50; Lk i 12; xxiv 38, all forms of the cognate παράσσομαι) but in each

case is followed by a command, from the supernatural being concerned, not to be terrified. Thus the NT agrees with ΠΔ in thinking terror a common but improper attitude toward the supernatural; they differ in the reasons for their disapproval, ΠΔ thinking the supernatural always beneficent, the NT limiting its beneficence to the elect. (On fear of the gods in general, see above on 164E-165B.)

*The ambivalence of the god-fearing*—they both fear and flee to, flatter and abuse, pray to and blame the gods. *Fear in approaching* the gods is illustrated especially by Hb xii 12-29 (note δέους in the climax, 28); Paul thought it the proper attitude of the believer (Ro xi 20). *Flattery* of a perfect deity is impossible, but praise of the Father and Jesus in the NT is of course common (see the doxologies in the epistles, e.g. Ro xvi 25ff) and the acclamations of the heavenly court in Rv iv 11; v 9, 12, 13, etc. resemble, both as a procedure and in general tone, those of the Roman senate in the *acta* prefixed to the Theodosian code (sec. 5). *Abuse and blame* of the gods appears in Rv xvi 9 as a reaction of the wicked to the plagues of the End; it was not uncommon in antiquity: Odyssey xx 201f; Herodotus iii 40; vii 46; etc.; Appian, *Punic (Libyan) Wars* 56, 92; *Macedonian Affairs* xix; see the abusive epithets in C. Bruchmann's *Epitheta deorum*, Leipzig, 1893 (= W. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der . . . Mythologie, Supplement*).

167F TO FAIL IN SOME THINGS IS COMMON TO ALL MEN; ONLY THE GODS ARE BEYOND MISFORTUNE.

*On the use of proverbs*, see above, 166F. *For this proverb* the NT has no parallel; not only διευτυχεῖν, but even εὐτυχεῖν and δυστυχεῖν, and τύχη itself are not in its vocabulary.

*A quotation from Pindar* "proves" the commonplace about the unique felicity of the gods. ΠΔ uses the classics, as the NT the OT, as a mine of proof texts for its own opinions, but does not find classical stories typologically fulfilled in current history.

*The attributes of the gods* adduced from Pindar are freedom from sickness, old age, troubles, and death. The first two the NT never considers. *Freedom from age* is strikingly contradicted by Dan vii 13, 22 where the deity is "ancient of days." Was it more advantageous to be old in Jewish society than in Greek? ἀπειροί πόνων has a verbal resemblance to ἀπειραστός κακῶν in Js i 13, but the content is

reversed: in James he is not tempted to do evil things. *Immortality* appears as a divine attribute in I Ti vi 16; I Jn v 20.

167F-168C THE ATHEIST REACTS TO MISFORTUNE, AT BEST SENSIBLY, AT WORST WITH COMPLAINTS OF THE WORLD'S INJUSTICE; THE GOD-FEARING MAN TAKES MISFORTUNE AS A SIGN OF DIVINE DISPLEASURE, HENCE FEARS, LAMENTATIONS, AND NEGLECT OF THE ACTUAL CAUSES. THIS DIFFERENCE IS ILLUSTRATED BY THEIR REACTIONS TO SICKNESS, FINANCIAL LOSSES, LOSS OF THEIR CHILDREN, AND POLITICAL FAILURES, WHICH THE GOD-FEARING MAN SEES AS DIVINE BLOWS AND DEMONIC ATTACKS.

*The picture of the sensible man* is unparalleled in the NT, where the adjective μέτριος, so important for classical morality, never occurs.

*The world's injustice* is a common theme in the epistles (Gal i 4; I Jn v 19; etc.) and is particularly important in John (i 5; xvi 33; xvii 14, 25; etc.) but ΠΔ by its praise of the man who takes practical measures to meet misfortune and does not worry about divine displeasure, implies that any injustice is due to lack of supernatural control; in the NT it is due to the rule of the demons (Jn xii 31; I Cor ii 8; Eph vi 12; etc.). It is interesting that πρόνοια is never used in the NT for divine governance of the world.

*That misfortunes are signs of divine displeasure* is commonly stated or supposed in the NT, most often with reference to particular cases (I Cor x 6-11; xi 30; Hb xii 4-11; I Pt iv 17-19; Lk xiii 2-4; Jn ix 2f; Rv *passim*). Of the examples mentioned by ΠΔ, *sickness* is specified as a result of unworthy communion in I Cor xi 30; *financial loss* does not appear as an affliction in the NT; *the death of children* is to be part of God's punishment of Jezebel of Thyatira in Rv ii 23 (cf. Lk xix 44; xxiii 28; Mt xxvii 25; the classical case is 2 Sam xii 13-23; cf. I Sam ii 31-34).

"*Divine blows*" and "*demonic attacks*" are tautologous for ΠΔ. In the NT πληγαὶ θεοῦ appear, e.g., in Rv viii-xxii *passim* (most are administered by angels; cf. 2 Cor xii 7: God (?) sent an angel of Satan to humiliate Paul); these are distinct from misfortunes caused by the devil or Satan, presumably *motu proprio* (Lk xiii 16; Ac x 38; I Ti iii 6f; Hb ii 14f; Rv ii 10). In I Cor v 5 and I Ti i 20 Paul and his imitator make individuals over to Satan for punishment.

168C CONSEQUENTLY THE GOD-FEARING MAN DOES NOT DARE TRY

TO RELIEVE OR RESIST HIS MISFORTUNE, LEST HE SHOULD RESIST THE GODS. HE REFUSES ADVICE AND CONSOLATION, SAYING "LET ME, HATED BY THE GODS, PAY THE JUST PENALTY".

*The parody of an opponent's imagined speech* is a literary device used occasionally in the NT, the most famous example being the Pharisee's prayer, Lk xviii 11f.

*The language and concepts* of this passage are frequently paralleled in the NT, but *the essential notion*, that because misfortunes are sent by the gods nothing may be done to relieve them (cf. 168E), does not appear. (βοηθέω in appeals for help: Mt xv 25; Mk ix 22, 24; Ac xvi 9; θεραπεύω, constantly used of Jesus and the apostles: 15 instances in Mt, 5 in Mk, 12 in Lk, 1 in Jn, 4 in Ac). *Resistance to supernatural beings* is advocated, but the being to be resisted is the devil (and the verb is not ἀντιτάσσομαι but ἀνθίστημι: Js iv 7; in iv 6 God ὑπερηφάνους ἀντιτάσσεται; the classical passage is Eph vi 10-18). The essential difference is that for paganism the supernatural world was not well organized, therefore supposedly supernatural afflictions were not seen as part of a larger pattern; for Christianity the supernatural world is organized in two opposing parties and the evils emanating from it are therefore to be distinguished—those which come from the enemy are to be resisted, those which come from the high command of one's own party are to be understood as punishments or trials or necessary hardships, and born with submission and patience, I Pt i 6; v 5f; Ro v 3ff; 2 Cor xii 9. It is of course permissible to ask for relief from them, Mk xiv 35f is the *locus classicus*, cf. 2 Cor xii 8.

Κολάζω of divine punishment of the wicked, 2 Pt ii 9; cf. above, on 167A, item 5. θεομαχεῖν, verb, is not in the NT, but Gamaliel warns the Pharisees in Ac v 39 that they may be θεομάχοι if they oppose Christianity. δίκη meaning "divine punishment" is not "given" in the NT, but "paid," 2 Th i 9, and "endured," Jude 7; again see above, on 167A, item 5. ἀσεβής is freely used for opponents of the Christians (10 instances), but not of Christians. ἐπάρατος is used only by the high priests and Pharisees, of the crowd ignorant of the law, Jn vii 49 (κατάρατος, Gal iii 10 = Dt xxvii 26, LXX ἐπικατάρατος). μισέω of the Father, Ro ix 13 (Esau); of Jesus, Rv ii 6 (the Nicolaitans).

168D AN ATHEIST AFTER MISFORTUNE MAY WIPE AWAY HIS TEARS,

SHAVE HIS HEAD AND CHANGE HIS CLOTHING, BUT THE GOD-FEARING INDULGES IN ABSURD PENITENTIAL AND APOTROPAIC PRACTICES.

*Wiping away tears*, Rv vii 17; xxi 4; in the NT the afflicted do not wipe away their own tears, but wait for the deity to do it. *Shaving the head*, Ac xviii 18, for a prayer or vow (εὐχή) of unknown nature (E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Philadelphia 1971, and H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Tübingen 1963, recognize the obscurity); *changing clothing*, not in the NT as a reaction to misfortune.

*Of the god-fearing man's behaviour* ΠΔ specifies: *sitting in sack and dirty clothes*, indicated as a penitential practice by Mt xi 21 // Lk x 13 (for the cities of Galilee; Luke adds καθήμενοι, cf. Rv xi 3); *rolling naked in the mud*, not done in the NT; *confessing* (ἐξαγορεύειν) *sins and failings*, the NT uses ἐξομολογοῦμαι for confession of sins, which in the Gospels, is practiced only by the clients of the Baptist, never by Jesus' followers; it is recommended by Js v 16 and I Jn i 9, but may perhaps be attacked by Ro iv 7, "Blessed are they . . . whose sins are covered."

*The sins that the god-fearing man will confess* are specified as *eating and drinking* (prohibited) *things* and "walking a road the δαίμων did not permit." As to the former the range of NT opinions about food laws is known to run the gamut from the flat declaration of Jesus in Mk vii 15 "There is nothing that, going into a man from outside, can make him impure," through the casuistry of Paul ("All things are permitted, but not all things are beneficial," I Cor x 23; see chs. viii-x entire and cognate passages) and the prudential prohibition of Ac xv 29; xxi 25; to the attitude of the Apocalypse, which equates fornication and eating things sacrificed to idols (ii 14, 20)—the attitude held by much of the early church (Justin, *Dialogue* xxxiv 8f; Irenaeus, i. 6.3 (ed. Stieren); Tertullian, *De idolatria* xiii; Novatian, *De cibis iudaicis* vii; Origen, *Contra Celsum* viii 30f; Cyprian, *De lapsis, passim*). *Roads forbidden by a supernatural being* are implied by the NT references to the limitation of travel on the sabbath (Mt xxiv 20; Ac i 12—evidently this taboo was observed by some early Christian communities); see also Mt ii 12; x 5; Ac xvi 6f; Ro i 13. The metaphorical use of "walk in a way" for "practice a sort of behaviour" ("walk in the way of Yahweh," etc.) is probably here irrelevant.

Either in expiation of these offenses or to prevent further misfortunes the god-fearing may stay at home, call in a witch, and have himself *fumigated* and *wiped off* and *hung with amulets*, practices unknown to the NT except for the scornful reference to *tefillin* as *φυλακτήρια* in Mt xxiii 5.

168E THESE GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ARE CONFIRMED BY THE EXAMPLE OF TIRIBAZOS.

*Examples from classical history* in ΠΔ are replaced by examples from Israelite history in the NT. Have you not read what David did? (Mk ii 25; etc.).

168E-F WHILE OTHERS RESIST MISFORTUNES, THE GOD-FEARING MAN TELLS HIMSELF THAT HE SUFFERS AT THE COMMAND OF A GOD AND THEREWITH GIVES OVER HOPE AND EFFORT, AND REJECTS HELP.

*At the command of a god* sufferings are sent, in the NT, both on individuals and on the world (2 Cor xii 7, Paul's thorn in the flesh; Rv *passim*; see above on 168C). That some of these must be born without resistance because sent by God is implied in 2 Cor xii 9 ("My grace is enough for you."); cf. Ac v 39; xxvi 14 (kicking against the prick).

*Rejection of help*: The most famous case in the NT is that of Jesus at his arrest. In Mt xxvi 52ff and Jn xviii 11 he commands his followers not to fight, and in Mt he also rejects the assistance of more than twelve legions of angels (72,000), his reason being, as the preceding prayers have made clear, and as John makes him say explicitly, that he must bear the suffering to which the Father has destined him. Mt also adds to the scene a reminiscence of the Lord's prayer (xxvi 42, "Thy will be done"), but neither this petition nor the corresponding commandments *μη αντιστηναι τῷ πονηρῷ*, etc. (Mt v 39ff; Lk vi 29f) seem to have done much to inhibit defensive action by Christians, so the refusal of assistance by Jesus remains isolated in the NT.

168F-169B MODERATE MISFORTUNES MAY BE MADE FATAL BY FEAR OF THE GODS WHICH CAUSES DESPAIR. THE EXAMPLES OF MIDAS, WHO COMMITTED SUICIDE BECAUSE OF DREAMS, ARISTODEMUS, BECAUSE OF PORTENTS AND PROPHETS, AND NICIAS, FRIGHTENED BY AN ECLIPSE.

*Dreams*, see above, 165F.

*Portents* accompany the Markan crucifixion (xv 33, 38, the sun darkened, the veil of the temple split) and are greatly increased in the Matthaean version (xxvii 51ff, earthquake, resurrection, etc.). They frighten the centurion and his companions. Others are promised for the End by Mk xiii 8, 24f. and parallels (wars, earthquakes, famines; eclipses of sun and moon, shooting stars, etc.). Lk xxi 25f adds that these will cause general helplessness and terror. But nobody in the NT is paralyzed by a private portent (cf. above 165 D).

*Prophets* were plentiful in early Christianity, but in Ac xxi 4, 11ff, Paul carried out his plans regardless of them. On other occasions, when their prophecies were taken seriously, Christians took practical measures to counter the predicted events, Ac xi 27ff (for a full collection of references see TWNT s.v. *προφήτης*).

*Eclipses* taken as signs of divine displeasure and impending doom Mk xiii 24 and parallels; xv 33 and parallels; Ac ii 20; Rv vi 12; viii 12; ix 2. They are a standard class of portents.

169B-C EXAMPLES FROM ARCHILOCHUS, HESIOD AND HOMER TO SHOW THAT PRAYER SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY SELF-HELP, CONCLUDING WITH THE PRINCIPLE, GOD IS THE HOPE OF VIRTUE, NOT THE EXCUSE OF COWARDICE. CONTRAST THE JEWS, WHO LOST THEIR CITY BECAUSE THEY FEARED TO DEFEND IT ON A SABBATH.

Θεοῦς ἐπικαλεῖται σωτήρας. No one in the NT is directly addressed as *σωτήρ*, but both the Father and Jesus are often described as such (24 instances, see concordance; bibliography in TWNT (TDNT), s.v. *σῶζω*).

*εὔχεσθαι* *κελεύειν* τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς. Requesting the prayers of others is a NT practice: I Th v 25; 2 Th iii 1; Col iv 3; Hb xiii 18; so is prayer for others, Mt v 44; xix 33; Lk vi 28; Ac vi 6; viii 15; xiv 23; xxviii 8; Phil i 9; Col i 3, 9; 2 Th i 11; I Ti ii 8; Js v 14ff; etc.

ἀρετῆς γὰρ ἐλπίς ὁ Θεός ἐστιν, οὐ δειλίας πρόφασις. In Ac xxvii 21-36 Paul has been told by an angel that they will be saved, but takes practical measures to make the prophecy come true. The most important application of the principle is Paul's struggle against the idle in the churches, who presumably relied on the Lord for their support, appealing to sayings like those collected in Mt vi 19-34 (*μη θησαυρίζετε . . . μη . . . μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὐριον*,

κ.τ.λ.); against these Paul argues in 2 Th iii 6-12; cf. I Th iv 11; cf. Eph iv 28.

ἀρετή in the NT is rather moral than practical virtue (Phil iv 8; 2 Pt i 5); elsewhere "miracle" or "supernatural power" (I Pt ii 9; 2 Pt i 3). These are all the instances of its use. The discussion by Bauernfeind is, as usual in TWNT, distorted by the imposition of modern theology on ancient thought.

ἐλπὶς ὁ θεός, in the NT, for the resurrection, Ac xxiv 15; Ro xv 13; I Pt i 21. Χριστός ἡ ἐλπὶς I Ti i 1; Col i 27 (τῆς δόξης).

δειλία: 2 Ti i 7 οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα δειλίας, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ. This is the only NT use.

ἀλλ' Ἰουδαῖοι: *The story* was famous; variants appear in Dio Cassius xxxvii 16; xlix 22 4; Josephus *Ant.* xii 6; xiv 63f; *Apion* i 205ff.

*Christian attacks on sabbath observance*: Jesus, Mk ii 23-28 and parallels; iii 1-4 and parallels; Lk xiii 10-16; xiv 1-5; Jn v 1-16; vii 22f; ix; Paul, Ro xiv 5; Gal iv 10; Col ii 16. Evidence for early *Christian observance of the sabbath*, Lk xxiii 56; Ac i 12; Ro xiv 5; Gal iv 10; Col ii 16. Hb iv 1-13 conceives of salvation as a sabbath. *Jewish δεισιδαιμονία* was proverbial, Josephus, *C. Apion.* i 205ff, etc.; Ac xvii 22 puts a reference to it into the mouth of a pagan (probably irony); it begins its career as a Christian cliché in Dg i 1.

169D-E BAD IN MISFORTUNES, THE FEAR OF THE GODS IS EQUALLY BAD IN HAPPY OCCASIONS. THE GOD-FEARING ARE TERRIFIED IN RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND APPROACH THE TEMPLES OF THE GODS AS IF THEY WERE LAIRS OF MONSTERS.

ἡδιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐορταί. Hb xii 22f, salvation compared to the approach to Jerusalem in a festival; cf iv 1-13, salvation a sabbath. Are these unique in the NT? It often mentions religious festivals, but never (?) elsewhere as occasions of rejoicing.

*The god-fearing man* θύει καὶ φοβεῖται . . . χερσὶν ἐπιθυμιᾷ τρεμούσαις. Ps ii 11, serve Yahweh with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Hb xii 18-21, the fear of the Israelites and Moses at Sinai.

ὥσπερ ἄρκτων φωλεοῖς . . . τοῖς τῶν θεῶν μεγάροις . . . προσιόντες. In Mk xi 17 and parallels, the Jerusalem temple is compared to a robbers' cave, but the reason for the comparison is the priesthood, not the deity.

169F-170D IT IS LESS IMPIOUS TO DENY THE EXISTENCE OF THE GODS THAN TO SAY OF THEM WHAT THE MYTHS SAY.

*This and the following section* (170B-D) are examples of the *application to the gods of human moral standards*. The process has two forms. One, the attribution to the gods of human virtues (justice, mercy, etc.) is so common as to need no illustration; the other is the criticism of the gods, exemplified in this passage. Here, as often, it is based on mythology; elsewhere it arises when the god is made responsible for the cosmos, the facts of human life (notably, death), or unpleasant social practices, especially cultic. Examples of this latter type are frequent in gnosticism. Both types are common in Greek literature. In the NT see Ro iii 3f, 5; ix 14, 19; Js i 13; Rv xvi 5. The passages from Romans show the influence of the style of the diatribe in which false conclusions were often attributed to imaginary opponents in order to provide opportunities for refutation.

ἀβέβαιος, εὐμετάβολος, εὐχερῆς πρὸς ὀργήν, . . . τιμωρητικός, μικρόλυπος. Such lists of vices are prominent in the NT, e.g. Ro i 28-32; Gal v 19-21; Eph iv 31; v 3ff; Col iii 5, 8; I Ti i 9; vi 4; 2 Ti iii 2-4; Tit iii 3; I Pt iv 3; Rv ix 21; xxi 8; xxii 15; see S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im NT*, Berlin, 1959 (*ZNW Beihefte* 25). The NT lists are mainly concerned with serious vices, sins, and crimes—murder, adultery, theft, drunkenness, etc.—ΠΔ lists the moral failings of a would-be philosophic gentleman; of the five terms given, only one, εὐχερῆς πρὸς ὀργήν, is paralleled in the NT (Tit i 7; Col iii 8; I Ti ii 8; Js i 19; Mt v 22). Since the ΠΔ list is a catalogue of the failings of pagan gods, it is interesting to see how those of the NT come off by these standards: μικρόλυπος: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ is grieved by evil speaking, Eph iv 30. ἀβέβαιος: ἀλήθεια and ἀληθής are often specified as attributes of the Father or of Jesus, Jn i 17; iii 33 and *passim*; Ro i 25; iii 4, 7; v 8; etc. Hb vi 18, however, reports that when the Father wished to prove his unchangeable determination about one matter he swore by two things ἐν οἷς ἀδύνατον ψεῦσασθαι θεόν (for the various interpretations see C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, Paris, 1952-3, 2 vols., *ad loc.*). εὐμετάβολος: Js i 17 denies any τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα in God. εὐχερῆς πρὸς ὀργήν: ὀργή is a prominent attribute of the Father; "the coming wrath" is one of the main motive factors of the religion, Ro i 18; Eph v 6; Col iii 6; I Th i 10; Rv xix 15; etc. Anger is attributed to

Jesus in Mk i 43 and iii 5. τιμωρητικός: the Father is the source of τιμωρία in Hb x 29. The ΠΔ list recurs with variations in 170E, see there.

*Punishment sent by the gods for neglect of their cults:* They (1) eat men, not in the NT; (2) kill their children—the general principle that children are punished for their parents' sins is stated in the ten commandments, Ex xx 5; Dt v 9; denied in Ez xviii; cf. Jn ix 2; (3) send wild beasts to destroy their property, Lev xxvi 22; Ex xiv 15. None of this appears in the NT, except perhaps in Paul's notion of the consequences of Adam's sin, Ro v 12. αἴτε κακ νεκρῶ παροῦσα ἀμπεφυρμένα ἐσῆλθες. Is lxiii 1-6: "Who is this that comes from Edom, with crimson garments from Bozrah? . . . I . . . who am mighty to save . . . Why is your clothing red? . . . I have trodden the winepress alone . . . I stamped them down in my anger, and their blood is sprinkled on my garments, and I have polluted all my clothes." This is echoed in Rv xiv 14-20; xix 11-16; but the pollution of the deity is not specifically mentioned. The criticism of the old religious text, explicit in ΠΔ, is tacit in the NT.

τρέμουσι καὶ δεδοίκασι (οἱ δεισιδαίμονες τοὺς θεούς): I Pt ii 10, the wicked δόξας οὐ τρέμουσιν βλασφημοῦντες. Hb xii 28, the worship pleasing to the Father is that μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους. δειδω is too classical for the NT.

*Divine penalties for trifling offenses are disproportionately severe.* The NT conceives of both reward and punishment as eternal (Mt xix 16, 29; xxv 41, 46; Rv xx 10; etc.). Consequently some passages contrast the brevity of human action with the eternity of consequences (usually brief suffering with eternal reward): Jn xii 25; 2 Cor iv 17; Phlm 15; Hb v 7ff; ix 12. There is no question of the justice of the system. The contrast was to play a large role in Christian homiletics.

*Attributes implicitly denied the gods:* χολήν εἶχε, cf. Ac viii 23 (not clear). μισοπόνηρος ἦν, for μισέω see above, 168C, end. Leto ἤλγει κακῶς ἀκούουσα, no verbal parallels in the NT; for the idea see the concordance, s.v. βλασφημέω and βλασφημία (that against the spirit is unforgivable, Mk iii 29 and parallels). μὴ κατέγελα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀμαθίας. Yahweh laughs at the wicked, i.e. the gentiles, Ps ii 4; lix 9; but this does not imply that he will let their sins go unpunished—quite the contrary; he laughs because he intends to punish them. The NT never uses γελᾶω or γέλως of the Father or Jesus. ἀλλ' ἡγανάκτει, Mk x 14 uses the verb of Jesus; never of the Father.

*Sickness sent by the gods:* Lev xxvi 16; Dt xxviii 21ff; Ez xiv 8ff; often in the OT, especially in apocalyptic; Lk xxi 11; Rv vi 8; xvi 2, 8ff.

170D-F IT IS THOUGHT, NOT UTTERANCE, THAT CONSTITUTES BLASPHEMY. SINCE THE GOD-FEARING THINK THE GODS EVIL THEY MUST HATE THEM, BE THEIR ENEMIES, AND SERVE THEM ONLY AS MEN SERVE TYRANTS; THEY WOULD BE ATHEISTS IF THEY DARED.

*It is thought, not action, that constitutes a sin:* Mt v 21f, 28; I Jn iii 15.

ἐμπληκτοι, ἄπιστοι, εὐμετάβολοι, τιμωρητικοί, ὁμοί, μικρόλυποι—attributes of the gods as conceived by the god-fearing. For lists of vices, and for τιμωρητικοί and μικρόλυποι, see above, 170A. None of the other vices in the list is mentioned in the NT. A further list in 171B adds ὑβρισταί and μικρολόγοι; the NT uses ὑβριστής only of men, Ro i 30; I Ti i 13; and never uses μικρολόγος.

*Enmity to the gods.* H. Braun (op. cit. sup. 4 n. 4, end) compares Ro viii 7 τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἐχθρὰ εἰς θεόν. In Paul the hatred results in all men from a conflict of wills, in Plutarch it is merely the consequence in some men of their misconception of the gods' nature.

*The god-fearing man* κ' ἂν δεδοίκη, προσκυνεῖ γε καὶ θύει καὶ κάθηται πρὸς ἱεροῖς. Fear of the gods, above 164E; προσκύνησις, 166A; κάθηται πρὸς ἱεροῖς only of a beggar, Ac iii 2, 10. *Unwilling worship*, in the NT, not by men, but by demons, Mk i 24; iii 11; v 7; etc.; Phil ii 10f.

πιστεύει δ' ἄκων, Js ii 19 καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια πιστεύουσιν καὶ φρίσσουν.

ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τῇ προαιρέσει ἄθεος ὢν ἀσθενέστερός ἐστιν ἢ ὥστε δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν ὃ βούλεται. This reverses Mk ix 24, πιστεύω, βοήθει μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ. ἀσθενής and cognates are used of faith in Ro iv 19; xiv 1 f., 21 v.l.; xv 1; I Cor viii 7-12; ix 22; I Th v 14. From the NT this would seem a peculiarly Pauline usage, to find it in ΠΔ is therefore a warning against reliance on NT evidence alone. As in Paul, too, the opposite of the ἀσθενής is the ἐλεύθερος.

171A-B ATHEISM DOES NOT CAUSE FEAR OF THE GODS, BUT FEAR OF THE GODS CAUSES ATHEISM BY INSPIRING RIDICULOUS RITES AND PASSIONS AND BY REPRESENTING THE GODS AS EVIL.

οὐ γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ τι μεμπτόν οὐδ' ἐν ἄστροις (κ.τ.λ.) . . . οὕτως ἀθεότητα τοῦ παντός κατέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἔργα καὶ πάθη καταγέλαστα. Ro i 18-32 is stronger: the cosmic order not merely gives no occasion for atheism, but proclaims the existence and nature of the deity; the ridiculous practice of idolatry is not the cause of atheism but the result of men's turning from the creator to the creature. In Paul, however, as in ΠΔ, the reprehensible rites are the cause of moral evils in the worshipers, though the πάθη of Ro i 26ff are mainly sexual and moral offenses, those of ΠΔ are primarily philosophical failings—fear, emotional disturbance, etc. The general notion that wickedness causes disbelief is expressed in the NT by the Hebraic use of σκάνδαλον, σκανδαλίζω, for which see the concordances. The types of wickedness are different: for the NT, Jesus' crucifixion, the persecution of Christianity, teachings of which the writers disapprove, behaviour that violates common rules, especially in regard to purity and sex; for ΠΔ, ritual practices. Contemptuous references to rival rites are found in the NT (Mk vii 3f; Eph v 11f; Col ii 18; Hb ix 9f; Rv ii 21, 24; etc.) but they are not attacked as causes of disbelief.

γοητεῖαι καὶ μαγεῖαι . . . ἀκάθαρτοι μὲν καθαρμοὶ ῥυπαραὶ δ' ἀγνεῖαι. In these the author would probably have classed baptism and the eucharist, had he thought of them, but nothing indicates that he did.

ὕβιστάς, . . . μικρολόγους καὶ μικρολύπους, of the gods. See above, 170E.

171B-E WORST OF THESE RITES OF THE GOD-FEARING IS HUMAN SACRIFICE, AS SHOWN BY EXAMPLES: THE GAULS, SCYTHIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, AND AMESTRIS.

*Human sacrifice* is often attacked in the OT, Lev xviii 21; xx 2ff; 2 Kings xxiii 10; Jer xxxii 35; etc. In the NT its rejection is taken for granted, except for that of Jesus (Hb ix 11-x 22; Jn i 29, 36; xix 36; Ac viii 32; I Cor v 7; xi 24f and parallels; I Pt i 19; Rv v 6, 9f, 12) and the living self-sacrifice of the faithful (Ro xii 1; xv 16; Hb xiii 15; I Pt ii 5; etc.).

ἄρνας ἢ νεοσσούς: common sacrificial animals, classical forms of the nouns. The NT uses ἄρην only once (Lk x 3), ἀρνίον commonly (sacrificial in Rv vff); for νεοσσός it has νεσσός (Lk ii 24).

φιλόανθρωπον . . . καὶ σοφὸν καὶ πλούσιον, attributes of Hades. φιλόανθρωπος is not in the NT, but Tit iii 4 speaks of ἡ

φιλοανθρωπία . . . τοῦ . . . θεοῦ. σοφός, Ro xvi 27 μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ, cf. I Cor i 25; πλούσιος, 2 Cor viii 9, Jesus δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὢν. (Eph ii 4 shows a metaphorical usage, here irrelevant.)

171E MOURNING FOR THE GODS IS ALSO RIDICULOUS, AS REMARKED BY XENOPHANES.

εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσι, μὴ θρηνεῖτε αὐτούς· εἰ δ' ἄνθρωποι, μὴ θύετε αὐτοῖς. This antithesis is part of the background of I Cor i 23: Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον, ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν; cf. Gal v 11.

171E-F FLEE, THEREFORE, THE FEAR OF THE GODS, BUT DO NOT FALL INTO ATHEISM. PIETY LIES BETWEEN THEM.

νόσημα, of an opinion, cf. I Ti vi 4: νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεις καὶ λογομαχίας.

φευκτέον, of sins, errors, etc., I Cor vi 18; x 14; I Ti vi 11; 2 Ti ii 22. In the NT there is only one instance of this classical use of a verbal adjective in -τέος, and even that one (in Lk v 38) produced textual variants. (Mk ii 28 was corrupted from Lk.)

εὐσέβεια is also an ideal in the NT, where it is characteristic of the deutero-Pauline material (one usage in Ac, eight in I Ti, one in 2 Ti, one in Tit, four in the framework of 2 Pt). It is thus an evidence of the influence of the Greco-Roman environment.

## II

## DE ISIDE ET OSIRIDE (MORALIA 351C-384C)\*

BY

HANS DIETER BETZ and EDGAR W. SMITH, Jr.

Claremont, California

The treatise *De Iside et Osiride* is surely one of the most important of Plutarch's theological works. He probably wrote it in his later years (c. A.D. 120) at Delphi (cf. 378C), and dedicated it to Clea, who was a priestess of Isis (351C, 352C), consecrated in the Osirian mysteries and the ἀρχητής of the Thyiades at Delphi (364E; cf. J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch: De Iside et Osiride* [Cambridge: University of Wales Press, 1970; henceforth cited as Griffiths], 16ff., 253f.). The literary form of the work is difficult to define. R. Hirzel (*Der Dialog* [Leipzig 1895] 2.217) uses the terms *Halbdialog* and *Brief*; the catalogue of Lamprias calls it λόγος, while some codices have ἱερὸς λόγος as part of the title. The composition is equally difficult to determine. The introduction (Chs. 1-2) contains a summary of Plutarch's philosophy of religion and an outline of the mystery cult of Isis and Osiris (cf. H. D. Betz, "Ein seltsames mysterientheologisches System bei Plutarch" in *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren Oblata* [Leiden, 1972], I, 347-354). This is followed by descriptions of various rituals and customs of Egyptian religion with comments upon them (Chs. 3-11). Chapters 12-21 constitute a long report about the myth of Osiris and the gods related to him. Plutarch draws heavily on sources, but their identity and delimitations cannot always be established, e.g., no identification is given for the source of the myth in Chs. 12-21 (cf. Griffiths, 75ff.). In spite of these problems, Plutarch's intention is clear. He is in agreement not only with Clea, but with the Platonism of his time, that the ancient myths and rituals, particularly those of Egypt, are repositories of wisdom and very important sources for philosophy. However, they must be appropriated philosophically, and this is what

\* The text of Plutarch used here is that of Griffiths, *Plutarch: De Iside et Osiride*.

Plutarch does in most of the treatise. The purely superstitious material is distinguished from that which can be interpreted "scientifically", i.e., by comparison with other religious and natural phenomena, and by allegory. This process yields a universal knowledge which leads those who contemplate it to "eternal life," "immortality" and "deification" (351E; cf. Griffiths, 18ff., 48f., 70ff.). Although this tractate deals with matters of religious myth and cult, the parallels to ECL are found more in its philosophical sections. Among resources, the most important is the new edition, translation and commentary by Griffiths (see above), which also has a valuable introduction and bibliography. The older commentary by Th. Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris*, Teil I & II (Prague, 1940; reprinted 1967) should also be consulted. See also G. Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque* (Paris, 1942), 83ff.; H. J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik* (Amsterdam, 1964), 92ff.

## Ch. 1

(351C)

The introduction sets forth a number of fundamental assumptions of

Greek religion which are partly shared by early Christian theology. πάντα...δεῖ τάγαθὰ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.

This statement is one of the fundamental religious doctrines of antiquity; it is shared by early Christianity. Cf. Mt vii 7-11// Lk xi 9-13; Jn xi 22; xiv 13f.; xv 7; xvi 24; Ro x 12; Js i 17; 1 Jn iii 22; B vii 1; xxi 5; Hm 9:4; Hs 6 : 3 : 6.

νοῦν ἔχοντας. Cf. Rv xiii 18; xvii 9; Bauer, s.v. νοῦς, 1.

αἰτεῖσθαι... μάλιστα... τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμης. Cf. Col i 9f.; Hs 5:4:3f.; B vi 10; xxi 5; and Bauer, s.v. ἐπίγνωσις; also Betz and Smith, 385C.

ὅσον ἐφικτόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις. Plutarch is cautious with regard to the possibility of knowledge about God; cf. I Cor xiii 9 and H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen, 1969), 267ff.

(351D)

οὐθὲν ἀνθρώπων... μεῖζον... ἀληθείας. See also 378C. On the whole, ECL would agree with Plutarch's statement. Cf., by contrast, 1 Cor xii 31; xiii 2, 13.

τἄλλα... ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς ὧν δέονται δίδωσιν. That God supplies man's needs is also believed in ECL. Cf. Mt vi 8, 25-33; Ac xiv 17; xvii 25; Js i 17.

οὐ γὰρ ἀργύρω καὶ χρυσῷ μακάριον τὸ θεῖον. For the same *topos* cf. Ac xvii 29; iii 6; viii 20; xix 24ff.; xx 33; 1 Cor iii 12; 1 Pt i 18; Rv ix 20; Dg ii 7.

οὐδὲ βρονταῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἰσχυρόν. The popular mythology which Plutarch rejects here is shared partly by apocalypticism; cf. Rv vi 1 and Bauer, *s.v.* βροντή.

φρονήσει. This term, together with ἐπιστήμη, is Platonic (see also ἐπιστήμη καὶ σοφία in this paragraph). Cf. Eph i 8; Dg ii 1.

ἀναφθεγξάμενος. Homer is a source of revelation for Plutarch, like the LXX for most of ECL. Cf. F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris 1956), 521ff. and *passim*.

τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς. This concept, which is prominent also in ECL, seems to occur here for the first time outside of the NT and Jewish sources. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ζωή, 2, b, β; Griffiths, 71, 255.

## (351E)

εὐδαιμον. Contrary to Greek religious thinking, ECL seems to avoid this concept; it is taken up only in Dg x 5.

τὴν ἀθανασίαν. The definition states that immortality implies knowledge; cf. D x 2 (ὕπερ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῶν); also Griffiths, 71, 255.

## Ch. 2

θειότητος ὄρεξις. On this definition of philosophy cf. Betz, "System," 348, n. 4. Cf. Ac xvii 27 (ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὐροιεν). Also cf. Hm 10:1:4-6; 2 Pt i 4. On ὄρεξις cf. Betz and Smith, 384F.

τὴν ζήτησιν. This term is used here in the philosophical sense. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385 D.

ἀγνείας. This technical term is used only in later writings of ECL. Cf. 1 Ti iv 12 and Bauer, *s.v.*

νεωκορίας. Cf. νεωκόρος in Ac xix 35.

ἔργον ὀσιώτερον. With many Greek writers, Plutarch devalues ritual observances in favor of philosophical thinking (cf. Griffiths, 256; Betz, "System," 349, 354). In ECL there is a similar criticism in favor of ethical responsibility; cf., e.g., Mt xxiii 23; Jn iv 24; Ro vi 3ff.; xii 1f.; Hs 5:1:2-5.

θεραπεύεις. On this technical term, cf. Ac xvii 25; also 359C.

σοφὴν καὶ φιλόσοφον. These terms are used here to characterize Isis. Cf. Griffiths, 256f.; Betz and Smith, 386C; Betz, "System," 349 n. 2.

τοῦνομα. . . φράζειν. See Griffiths, 257ff. This type of etymologizing (Isis = εἰδέναι, ἐπιστήμη) is found in ECL also. Cf. Mt xvi 18 and Bauer, *s.v.* πέτρα, 1, b; Πέτρος; also I. Opelt, *RAC* 6, 798ff., esp. 809 f. (without consideration of ECL).

## (351F)

ὁ Τυφών. The figure of Typhon/Seth corresponds to that of Satan in ECL. Cf. the dualistic scheme of Christ/Beliar in 2 Cor vi 15 and H. D. Betz, "2 Cor 6:14-7:1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?" *JBL* 92, 1973, 88-108; also Griffiths, 28, 58f., 259, 388ff.; W. Foerster/K. Schäferdiek, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 7, 151ff.

πολέμιος <ὄν> τῇ θεῷ. Cf. 1 Eph xiii 2 (πόλεμος . . . ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων); ECL prefers ἐχθρός. Cf. Ro v 10 and Bauer, *s.v.* ἐχθρα, ἐχθρός.

δι' ἄγνοιαν. A manifestation of Typhon. Cf. 1 Cor ii 8 and R. Bultmann, *TWNT* 1, 119f. = *TDNT* 1, 118f.

ἀπάτην. Another manifestation of Typhon. Cf. Col ii 8; 2 Th ii 9f.; also A. Oepke, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 1, 384; Bauer, *s.v.*

τετυφωμένος. Another manifestation of Typhon. See Griffiths, 259; also 1 Ti vi 4 and Bauer, *s.v.* τυφώω; Betz, "System," 350 n. 2.

διασπῶν καὶ ἀφανίζων τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον. The translation of the term λόγος is disputed (cf. Griffiths, 260, 557; Betz, "System," 350). Perhaps λόγος refers not only to the myth but also to the σῶμα τοῦ Ὀσίριδος (see 354A, 358A, 375A). Cf. 1 Ro vii 1; 1 Cor i 13 (μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός;).

τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον. If this refers only to the myth, this concept does not occur in ECL. But there may be a connection with the christological title ὁ λόγος. Cf. 373A; Griffiths, 260; H. Conzelmann, "The Mother of Wisdom" in *The Future of our Religious Past* (London, 1971), 243.

ἡ θεὸς συνάγει. The following describes the work of Isis. Cf. MPol xxii 3, of the gathering together of manuscripts—but probably more is intended by Plutarch (cf. 375C); cf. Mt xii 30//Lk xi 23; Jn iv 36.

παραδίδωσι. This technical term is used frequently in ECL. Cf. Griffiths, 260; Betz, "System," 350 n. 5; Bauer, *s.v.*, 3.

τοῖς τελουμένοις. See Griffiths, 260f. This technical term does not occur in ECL; however, cf. τέλειος in Phil iii 15; Col i 28 (on which see Bauer, *s.v.*, 2, b; E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* [Philadelphia, 1971] 78); τετελείωμαι in Phil iii 12 (see Bauer, *s.v.*, 3).

θειώσεως. The precise meaning of the *hapax legomenon* θειώσις is not known. Cf. Griffiths, 261; Betz, "System," 350.

σώφρονι μὲν ἐνδεδεχῶς διαίτη. It is stated in Dg v 4 that the Christians have their own διαίτα.

βρωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀποχαΐς. Early Christianity in general was an ascetic movement, exhibiting varying degrees of rigor. Cf. Griffiths, 261f.; J. Bergman, "Decem illis diebus" in *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren Oblata*, I, 332-346; H. Strathmann, *RAC* 1, 749ff., 758ff.

κολούουσις. The purpose of the regimen is to cut down the manifestations of Typhon; cf. Betz, "System," 351. The term κολουεῖν is not found in ECL, but see Ro vi 11ff.; viii 13; 1 Cor ix 24-27; Gal v 24; Col iii 5; also 2 Cor vi 17; vii 1 and Betz, "2 Cor 6:14-7:1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?" *JBL* 92 (1973), 88-108.

τὸ ἀκόλαστον. This important term does not occur in ECL; it is the opposite of σωφροσύνη and sums up what is found in the "catalogues of vices" (e.g. Ro i 28ff.).

#### (352A)

φιλήδονον. Cf. the list of vices in 2 Ti iii 4 (with τετυφωμένοι).

λατρείας. This cultic term is found in ECL; cf. Ro ix 4 and Bauer, s.v.

ἐπιζούσις. This technical term is found also in Lk ii 27.

ὑπομένειν. It is not clear whether the term refers to the "endurance" of the ritual or to the purpose of the ritual. Cf. Bauer, s.v., 2.

ὧν τέλος ἐστίν. The "goal" of the mystery is the γνῶσις of Osiris. Cf. Betz, "System," 352. Early Christian τέλος-definitions are different; cf. Ro vi 21f.; x 4; 2 Cor xi 15; Phil iii 19; 1 Pt i 9. See also Bauer, s.v., 1, c; G. Delling, "Telos-Aussagen in der griechischen Philosophie" in *Studien zum NT und zum hellenistischen Judentum* (Göttingen, 1970), 17ff.

ἡ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κυρίου καὶ νοητοῦ γνῶσις (i.e., of Osiris). On the term γνῶσις see Betz, "System," 347f. Cf. esp. Phil iii 8, 10 and Bauer, s.v., 2.

τοῦ πρώτου. For this epithet of Osiris, cf. the same epithet of Christ in Rv i 17; ii 8; xxii 13.

κυρίου. Cf. the christological title ὁ κύριος in ECL.

νοητοῦ. This is not an epithet of Christ in ECL. Cf., however, the list of epithets of Christ in Dg ix 6 (including νοῦς); also 1 Cor ii 16; Ro i 20.

παρακαλεῖ. For παρακαλεῖν as an activity of God, cf. esp. 2 Cor i 3f.; v 20; Ro xv 5. See G. Stählin/O. Schmitz, *TWNT* 5,771 ff. = *TDNT* 5, 773ff.

ζητεῖν. Cf. ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν Ac xvii 27; also Mt vi 33; Jn v 44; vi 26; vii 18, 34, 36; Ro iii 11; 1 Cor i 22; Col iii 1; 1Ro vi 1.

παρ' αὐτῆ καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ὄντα καὶ συνόντα. Isis functions here as a mediator between Osiris and the initiates. For the emphasis upon the close relationship between Isis and Osiris, cf. the similar emphasis by John and Paul in regard to Christ and his Father (e.g., Jn i 1; Phil ii 9ff.). Cf. also Betz, "System," 352.

ἂν μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὁσίως εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ παρέλθωμεν. Cf. Lk ii 27ff.; xviii 9-14; Ac xxi 26-30; Ro v 2 (προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν); 1 Cor iii 16f.; vi 19; 2 Cor vi 16.

#### Ch. 3

εὐρετὴν. This concept of gods or heroes as εὐρεταί has no analogy in ECL. Cf. Dg vii 1-2.

#### (352B)

Ἰσιν ἅμα καὶ Δικαιοσύνην καλοῦσι. Because Isis was identified with σοφία, she was also called "justice." See Griffiths, 264f. Cf. 1 Cor i 30; 2 Cor vi 14f.

δεικνύουσαν τὰ θεῖα. On δεικνύειν as a revelatory concept cf. 551C; for the whole context cf. Mt xi 27: καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούλεται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.

ἱεραφόροις καὶ ἱεροστόλοις. See Griffiths, 265ff. The technical terms do not occur in ECL, but similar ones are used by Ignatius; cf. *I Eph* ix 2; also 1 Cor xv 49.

οὗτοι δ' εἰσίν. These words introduce a definition of the true worshippers. Cf. also the end of this paragraph and Rv xiv 4. See below 352C: ἀλλ' Ἰσιακός ἐστιν . . .

τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον. Cf. above, 351F.

δεισιδαιμονίας. The term is used negatively in *De Iside et Osiride*. Cf. Dg i; iv 1.

περιεργίας. Cf. Ac xix 19: τὰ περιεργα πράσσειν, of magic.

ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες. In ECL, the καρδιά usually occupies the place of ψυχή in Plutarch. Cf. Lk viii 15; Ro ii 15, 29; v 5; x 8f.; 2 Cor i 22; Gal iv 6; Eph iii 17; Col iii 15f.; B ix 9; also 1 Ti iii 9. See J. Haussleiter, "Deus Internus," *RAC* 3, 794ff.

ὡσπερ ἐν κίστη. Probably this refers to the cultic object and is an

influence of spiritualization of cultic terms. Cf. Betz and Smith, 387C.

τὰ μὲν μέλανα καὶ σκιώδη τὰ δὲ φανερά καὶ λαμπρά. See Griffiths, 267f. Both black and bright clothing play a role in ECL apocalyptic texts. Cf. Rv xv 6; xix 8 and Bauer, *s.v.* λαμπρός, 3; Rv vi 12; 1 Cl viii 3. τὸν λόγον. Cf. 351F.

## (352C)

οὔτε γὰρ φιλοσόφους πωγωνοτροφίαι . . . καὶ τριβονοφορίαι ποιοῦσιν οὔτ' Ἰσριακοὺς αἰ λινοστολῖαι καὶ πᾶσα ξύρησις. Cf. Mt vii 21-23; xxiii 26; Ro ii 25-29; iii 1. See Griffiths, 268f.

λινοστολῖαι. Cf. Rv xv 6; Hs 9:2:4; 9:11:7. See below ch. 4.

ξύρησις. On ritual shaving in ECL cf. Ac xxi 24. See Griffiths, 268f.; and below ch. 4.

τὰ δεικνύμενα καὶ δρώμενα. These technical terms do not occur in ECL. Cf. 352B; Griffiths, 269.

παραλάβη. The term is used here in the technical sense of receiving a tradition; cf. 1 Cor xv 1 ff. and passages in Bauer, *s.v.*, 2, b, γ.

νόμῳ—λόγῳ. This contrast has a parallel in that of νόμος—πνεῦμα in Paul. Cf., esp., Gal iii 2.

ζητῶν καὶ φιλοσοφῶν. Cf. 351E and Betz and Smith, 385C.

## Ch. 4

σεβομένους. A technical term used in ECL also. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, W. Foerster, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 7, 168ff.

ἀπέχεσθαι. On this technical term cf. Ac xv 29 and Bauer, *s.v.*, 3.

## (352D)

καθαροῦ γὰρ . . . οὐ θεμιτὸν ἄπτεσθαι μὴ καθαροῦ. Plutarch quotes a "cultic law" from Plato (*Phaedo* 67B). Cf. the "law" Paul quotes 1 Cor vii 1; also 2 Cor vi 17; Col ii 21. See also the opposite Ro xiv 14, 20; Tit i 15; Ac x 15.

ἐν ταῖς ἀγνείαις. Cf. above, 351E; also 352F; and Ac xxi 24.

## (352E)

δεῖ καθαροὺς τῶν τοιούτων γενομένους ἐορτάζειν. Plutarch here refers to another "cultic law" of antiquity. ECL does agree but derives purity from the redemption through Christ. Cf., e.g., 1 Cor i 30;

iii 16f.; Jn xiii 10; 2 Cor vii 1; Eph v 26; 1 Jn i 7, 9; Js i 27; 2 Pt i 9.

δεῖ. Here referring to the divine will.

ἐορτάζειν. This technical term occurs in 1 Cor v 8 (metaphorically).

ἱερουργίας. This technical term occurs in Rom xv 16.

ἀφαιρέσει. Not in ECL, but cf. ἀφαιρέω 352F and Hb x 4 and Bauer, *s.v.*, 1.

## Ch. 5

## (352F)

παρατεῖσθαι τῶν ὀσπρίων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν κρεῶν τὰ μήλεια καὶ ὕεια.

Cf. Aune, *passim*. In ECL see Ro xiv 21; 1 Cor viii 13; x 25, but the avoiding of surplus fat plays no role there. See Griffiths, 272.

τοὺς ἄλας. ECL agrees with Plutarch against Aristagoras that salt is nothing impure. Cf. Mk ix 49f.: καλὸν τὸ ἄλας. See also 363E; Griffiths, 272f.

## (353A)

ἰσχύοντι τῷ θνητῷ καὶ βαρύνοντι τὸ θεῖον. The human body is considered a burden to the divine soul dwelling in it. Cf. 2 Cor v 4.

## Ch. 6

οἶνον. Plutarch reports about various kinds of abstinence from wine and theories justifying it. See Griffiths, 275f. Primitive Christianity shared the anxiety about drinking wine. John the Baptist is said to have abstained from it (Lk i 15; vii 33); "weak" Christians stay away from it (Ro xiv 21). Cf. also Eph v 18; 1 Ti iii 8; Tit ii 3; and H. Seesemann, *TWNT* 5, 163ff. = *TDNT* 5, 162ff.; Bauer, *s.v.* θεραπεύοντες τὸν θεόν. See above, 351E.

## (353B)

τοῦ κυρίου καὶ βασιλέως. Here both titles are attributed to the god of Heliopolis. Cf. Rv xvii 14; xix 16 (where they refer to Christ) and Bauer, *s.v.* βασιλεύς, 2; κύριος, 2.

οἱ δ' ἄλλοι χρῶνται μὲν, ὀλίγῳ δέ. Cf. the recommendation to use a little wine for reasons of health in 1 Ti v 23 (Bauer [*s.v.* οἶνος, 1] cites this passage).

ἀγνείας. Cf. Griffiths, 275, and above, 351E.

αἷμα τῶν πολεμησάντων ποτὲ τοῖς θεοῖς. Plutarch refers to the identification of wine with the blood of those who once fought against the

gods. Cf. Griffiths, 276. In ECL wine is identified with the blood of Christ: Mt xxvi 28//Mk xiv 24 //Lk xxii 20; Jn vi 53-56; 1 Cor xi 25, 27. The myth of the origin of the vines from the blood of the fallen enemies (see Griffiths, 276f.) is not found in ECL.

(353C)

τὸ μεθύειν ἐκφρονᾶς ποιεῖν καὶ παραπλήγας. This was a common view in antiquity. Cf. Ac ii 13 and ὁ οἶνος τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ Rv xiv 10; xvi 19; xix 15 (also xiv 8; xviii 3).

## Ch. 7

ἰχθύων . . . θαλαττίων . . . ἀπέχονται. Plutarch reports various types of abstention from fish and explanations for such abstinence (see: Griffiths, 277f.). Cf. B x 1 where Lev xi; Dt xiv are quoted. In B x 5 an allegorical reason is given for the Jewish prohibition of certain fish, different from those given by Plutarch.

ἀπέχονται. Cf. 352C.

## Ch. 8

(353E)

δεισιδαιμονίας. The concept is synonymous to ἄλογον, μυθῶδες. Cf. 352B.

ἱερουργίας. Cf. 352E.

τὸ κρόμμυον. Abstention from onions is not mentioned in ECL.

(353F)

ἀγνεύουσιν. Cf. B xix 8 and 351E.

ἐορτάζουσι. Cf. 352E.

τὴν ὄν ἀνίερρον ζῶον ἡγοῦνται. Cf. Griffiths, 281. The fact that Judaism also regarded the pig as impure is reflected in ECL. Cf. Mk v 11-13//Mt viii 30-32//Lk viii 32f.; Mt vii 6; Lk xv 15f. Also see B x 1, 3.

(354A)

τροφὴν γε καὶ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἡδυπάθειαν. All three terms are common in Hellenistic ethical preaching and occur in ECL: τροφή Lk vii 25 (and Bauer, s.v., 1); πολυτέλεια Hm 6:2:5; 8:3; 12:2:1; Hs 1:10f.; ἡδυπάθεια 2 Cl xvi 2; xvii 7.

τῆς ἀπλοῦτου καὶ ἀχρημάτου καὶ λιτῆς ἀπήλλαξε διαίτης. In general, primitive Christianity accepted money as a matter of course, but

there are some negative comments about it in ECL. Cf. Mt vi 24; Lk xvi 9, 11, 13; 2 Cl vi 1. Cf. also F. Hauck/W. Kasch, *TWNT* 6, 316-30 = *TDNT* 6, 318-32. However, to lead a "simple life" was also the Christian goal.

(354B)

καταράσασθαι τῷ Μείνι. On the curse against Meinius cf. the woes against the wealthy in Lk vi 24f.

## Ch. 9

μετεῖχε τῆς φιλοσοφίας. The philosophical use of μετέχω has a parallel in the religious use. Cf. 1 Cor x 21; IEph iv 2. See further Bauer, s.v.

τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπικεκρυμμένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις. This statement indicates the reason for Plutarch's interest in ancient mythology. Apart from the term "philosophy," the theory has much in common with Paul's understanding of the OT: cf. 1 Cor x 11 (and Conzelmann, *ad loc.*); 2 Cor iii 4ff.; also 1 Cor ii 7; Eph iii 9; Col i 26; ii 3.

(354C)

ὡς αἰνιγματώδη σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἐχούσης. This is Plutarch's interpretation of the Egyptian sphinx (see Griffiths, 283). Cf. 1 Cor xiii 12; 2 Cor iii 18; v 7. On θεολογία cf. below 369B and Betz and Smith, 388E.

ἐγὼ εἶμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὄν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν. On this inscription of Athena of Saïs see Griffiths, 283-85; J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis: Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien* (Uppsala 1968) 29, 30, 133 n 2. There are numerous parallels to it in ECL, which are listed below.

ἐγὼ εἶμι. This formula is found esp. in John; cf. x 7-14. See R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Freiburg 1971) 2. 59-70. This parallel is also noted by H. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das Neue Testament* (Uppsala, 1946), 138.

πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὄν καὶ ἐσόμενον. Cf. the formula Rv i 4, 8; iv 8; xi 17; xvi 5. See Bauer, s.v. εἶμι, 1; W. C. van Unnik, "A Formula Describing Prophecy," *NTS* 9 (1962-63) 86-94.

τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν. Apart from the obvious reference to sexual violation the meaning of this reference is not entirely clear (see Griffiths, 284f.). Was this understood symboli-

cally, and should passages like Mt xi 25; 1 Cor i 19, 26-29; ii 6ff. be compared?

(354D)

τὸ κεκρυμμένον. Plutarch refers to Manetho, who explained the divine name Amûn as "what is concealed" (see Griffiths, 285). Cf. the interpretation of "Christ" as the hidden mystery in Col ii 2f. (also 1 Cor i 24, 30; ii 6f.; B vi 10).

προσκαλώνται. On this technical term cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 2.

τὸν πρῶτον θεόν. Cf. the self-designation of Christ Rv i 17; ii 8; xxii 13.

ὡς ἀφανῆ καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἔντα. Cf. the Jewish dogma of the invisibility of God which is reflected also in ECL: Mt vi 4, 6, 18; Jn i 18; i Ti vi 16; i Jn iv 12.

παρακαλοῦντες ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι καὶ δῆλον. Cf. Ro x 20; Ac x 40 and Bauer, *s.v.* ἐμφανής.

εὐλάβεια. Cf. Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 549E.

σοφίας Αἰγυπτίων. The famous Egyptian wisdom is referred to in ECL: Ac vii 22. See also the following chapter, Griffiths, 285-87.

#### Ch. 10

(354E)

θαυμασθεις καὶ θαυμάσας. Plutarch refers to the typical reaction to a θεῖος ἀνὴρ, which is known also in ECL. Cf. G. Bertram, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 3, 36-40.

ἀπεμιμήσατο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστηριῶδες ἀναμίξας αἰνίγματα τὰ δόγματα. What Plutarch says here of Pythagoras became more and more "fashionable" in Hellenism. It should be noted here, since Christianity was attractive to many for the same reason.

τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγγελμάτων. None of the commands of Pythagoras cited here are reflected in ECL. Cf. τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραγγέλματα in 1 Cl xlix 1. See Griffiths, 287f.

(354F)

τὸν . . . βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὁσιριν. Cf. 353B.

ὀφθαλμοῖ. Cf. the "eyes of God" Hb iv 13; 1 Pt iii 12; 1 Cl xxii 6; also Rv i 14.

σκήπτρω. See Griffiths, 288. Cf. the scepter of God 1 Cl xvi 2; also Hb i 8; Rv i 16 (?).

(355A)

πολύφθαλμον. Cf. the apocalyptic creatures in Rv iv 6-8.

#### Ch. 11

(355B)

πλάνας. The concept of the "wanderings of the gods" is presupposed also in Ac xiv 11ff.

διαμελισμούς. Cf. Betz and Smith, 389A.

μυθεύματα. The term, if the correction by Markland is correct, has a parallel in IMg viii 1.

γεγονὸς οὕτω καὶ πεπραγμένον. Griffiths (289) correctly points out that Plutarch's emphasis is on οὕτω and that the allegorical interpretation does not preclude the myth having actually happened. No such consideration is found in ECL; cf. Lk i 1.

αἰνιττόμενοι. Cf. above 354C (αἰνιγματώδη) and Griffiths, 419 n. 4. Cf. also Betz and Smith, 385C.

(355C)

δρῶσα μὲν αἰεὶ καὶ διαφυλάττουσα τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νενομισμένα. This qualification of Plutarch's basic position is reminiscent of Mt v 17ff.

τοῦ δ' ἀληθῆ δόξαν ἔχειν περὶ θεῶν. This is, according to Plutarch, the expression of true religion. Cf. 351D/E and, among ECL passages esp., Ac xiv 15ff.; xvii 22ff.

(355D)

οὐδὲν ἔλαττον . . . κακὸν ἀθεότητος δεισιδαιμονίαν. As Griffiths (291) points out, Plutarch here takes the same position as in *De superstitione*. Cf. M. Smith.

#### Ch. 12

(355E)

φωνῆν. For a voice announcing the birth of a divine being, cf. Lk ii 8-18; IEph xix 1; cf. also Mt ii 1-12. This parallel is noted by Almqvist, 40, 62.

ὁ πάντων κύριος. This is cited by Bauer, *s.v.* κύριος, 2, c, γ (in relation to Ac x 36; Ro x 12). Cf. also Griffiths, 296.

εἰς φῶς πρόεισιν. Cf. Griffiths, 296; IEph xix 2. Cf. also H. Conzelmann, *TWNT* 9, 335f., 340-45.

ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς φωνήν. Cf. Rv xvi 1, 17 (the latter has γέγονεν). μέγας βασιλεύς. Cf. Griffiths, 298f. On this title for a divine being, cf. Mt v 35; D xiv 3; Hv 3:9:8; also Bauer, *s.v.* βασιλεύς, 2 and Mt ii 2.

εὐεργέτης. Cf. 1 Cl lix 3 and Bauer, *s.v.* for literature.

(355F)

μὴ καιρῶ. Contrast Gal iv 4.

(356A)

τὴν τρίτην . . . ἀποφράδα νομίζοντες. A different kind of observation of days is found in Gal iv 10; Col ii 16; cf. also Ro xiv 5; Dg iv 5. πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατὰ γαστρός. Conscious activity while still in the womb seems to be implied in Lk i 41. ὑπὸ σκότῳ. Cf. the possible association of σκότος with the pre-natal state in 1 Cl xxxviii 3.

#### Ch. 13

ἀπαλλάξαι. This verb is used in a similar way in Hb ii 15. νόμους θέμενον. Cf. this expression in Gal iii 19D; also νομοθεσία (Ro ix 4), νομοθετέω (Hb vii 11; viii 6; 1 Cl xliii 1; B x 11) and νομοθέτης (Js iv 12; B xxi 4). θεοῦς . . . τιμᾶν. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* τιμάω, 2.

(356B)

ἡμερούμενον. This term is used only once in ECL, Hm 12:1:2. ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἔπλων δεηθέντα. Cf. 2 Cor x 4 for another way of expressing weaponless conquest. πειθοῖ . . . λόγῳ. Cf. this terminology with a negative connotation in 1 Cor ii 4, esp. v. 1. νεωτερίσαι. Cf. νεωτερισμός in 1 Cl xxx 1. ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο. This passage is cited by Bauer with regard to Lk x 1 and x 17.

#### Ch. 14

(356D)

πάθος. This term is used for the suffering and death of Christ by two writers of ECL, Ignatius and "Barnabas." Cf. esp. I Mg xi; I Sm vii 2; xii 2; also B vi 7; Bauer, *s.v.*, 1. αἰφνιδίους. This term is used three times in ECL (in the NT only in eschatological contexts): Lk xxi 34; 1 Th v 3; 1 Cl i 1.

ταραχάς. Used only twice in ECL. Luke also considers this sort of "demonic." Cf. esp. Ac xix 23; also xii 18; and Gal v 10; i 7.

κείρασθαι . . . τῶν πλοκάμων ἓνα. Cf. κείρασθαι in Ac xviii 18; xxi 23f.; also 1 Cor xi 6. But this act as a sign of mourning is not in ECL. Cf. also ξύρησις above, 352C.

πένθιμον στολήν. There is no similar expression in ECL; the equivalent is simply σάκκος.

Κοπτῶ . . . κόπτειν. In ECL also, κόπτω is used in both of the ways found here. Cf. Griffiths, 314f.

(356E)

ἀποροῦσαν. Cf. Lk xxiv 4 for this verb as a response to not finding the body of Jesus in the tomb.

τὰ παιδάρια μαντικὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν κτλ. Cf. especially the quotation of Ps viii 2 in Mt xxi 16; also Mt xi 25//Lk x 21; and Griffiths, 315. Cf. Almqvist, 42.

φθεγγομένων. Used in ECL only in Ac iv 18; 2 Pt ii 16, 18. Cf. ἀποφθέγγομαι in Ac ii 4, 14; xxvi 25; Bauer, *s.v.*

(356F)

ἐκθεῖναι. Cf. Ac vii 21; AP fgm. 1, p. 12, 12; fgm. 3, p. 12, 37; also Dg v 6.

ἐκτραφῆναι. Cf. ἀνατρέφω in Ac vii 20f.

#### Ch. 15

(357A)

φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. Cf. φιλοφρόνως in Ac xxviii 7. θαυμαστὴν εὐωδίαν. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* εὐωδία (esp. the *tochos* of the divine fragrance), M Pol xv 2; 2 Cor ii 15. Cf. also Griffiths, 325.

#### Ch. 16

(357C)

περικαίειν τὰ θνητά. Cf. Griffiths (328), who mentions an "ordeal by fire" in the Eleusinian mysteries. Cf. also 1 Cor iii 15 (purification by fire [in order to attain immortality]) and Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther, ad loc.*

ἀφελῆσθαι τὴν ἀθανασίαν αὐτοῦ. Cf. Rv xxii 19 (ἀφελεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς).

σέβεσθαι . . . τὸ ξύλον. Cf. J. Schneider, *TWNT* 7, 579 = *TDNT* 7, 579f. Cf. also Griffiths, 329. On σέβεσθαι, cf. above 352C.

(357D)

θυμωθεῖσαν ἀναξηρᾶναι τὸ ρεῖθρον. This punishment miracle is similar to the "cursing of the fig tree" in Mk xi 12-14, 20//Mt xxi 18f.

## Ch. 17

(357F)

ὑπόμνημα. Cf. the use of ἀνάμνησις for a ritual in Lk xxii 19; 1 Cor xi 24f.

παρακαλοῦντες αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἀπολαύειν. For this exhortation cf. 1 Cor xv 32.

ἀπολαύειν. Cf. ἀπόλαυσις in 2 Cl x 3f.; also 1 Ti vi 17; Hb xi 25; and 1 Cl xx 10; D x 3 for other uses of this term.

ἐπίκωμον. This concept is used only negatively in ECL; cf. Ro xiii 13; Gal v 21; 1 Pt iv 3.

## Ch. 18

(358A)

ἢ φοβουμένων ἢ σεβομένων διὰ τὴν θεόν. Although both of these responses to the divine are found in ECL, this combination does not occur.

## Ch. 19

(358B)

τί κάλλιστον ἡγεῖται κτλ. Cf. Griffiths, 344f. The question is of the same type as the question of the "greatest commandment." The answer, however, is not typical for ECL, in which vengeance is generally prohibited (cf. e.g. Mt v 38ff.; Ro xii 14-20; Betz, Dirkse, Smith, *passim*), and other matters may take precedence over obligations to one's family (cf. Mk iii 31-35//Mt xii 46-50//Lk viii 19-21; Mk x 29//Mt xix 29//Lk xviii 29; Mt x 37//Lk xiv 26).

(358C)

ἔφικε. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 3; Griffiths, 348f.

(358D)

μάχην ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι. In contrast to the primordial battle, in the eschatological battle between good and evil in Rv xix 19f.; xx 8-10, the outcome seems to be swift, if not immediate.

οὐκ ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λῦσαι καὶ μεθεῖναι. (Cf. Griffiths, 349f.) Compare the treatment of the leaders of vanquished forces in Rv xix 20f.; xx 9f.; 2 Th ii 8. Cf. also below 362E.

βούκρανον αὐτῇ κράνος. Beings with heads like other animals are common in apocalyptic imagery. Cf. Rv ix 7, 17; xiii 1-3.

δυσὶν ἄλλαις μάχαις. For the idea that more than one battle is required to subdue the forces of evil, cf. Rv xix 20 and xx 10.

## Ch. 20

(358E)

Ἔρου διαμελισμόν. Cf. Griffiths, 355; Betz and Smith, 389A.

τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου φύσεως, καθ' ἣν . . . τὸ θεῖον. This is apparently Plutarch's definition of the divine. Although ἀφθαρτός may be used to imply divinity (or relation to divinity) in ECL, μακάριος is not used in this way. Cf. 2 Pt i 4.

οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν πρὸς σέ. On this figure of speech cf. 1 Th i 8f. and Almqvist, 123.

παρὰ νόμους καὶ βαρβάρους δόξας. Cf. 1 Ti iv 1; Hb xiii 9. Also ἑτεροδοξία in 1 Ti i 3; vi 3; I Pol iii 1; ἑτεροδοξία in I Sm vi 2; ἑτεροδοξία in I Mg viii 1. Concern for a proper opinion about God is also expressed in Ac xiv 11ff.; xvii 22ff. Cf. above 355C.

μυθεύμασιν. Cf. above 355B.

πλάσμασιν. Cf. πλαστοὶ λόγοι in 2 Pt ii 3.

(359A)

ὁ μῦθος . . . ἐμφασίς ἐστίν. Cf. above 354B and 355B, *s.v.* αἰνιττόμενοι. σκυθρωπόν. In ECL this term is found only in Mt vi 16; Lk xxiv 17.

(359B)

ἐνὶ δὲ καιρῷ. Cf. Hb ix 7, 12, 25.

## Ch. 21

(359C)

σχίσιν λίνου. Of these burial rites, only the linen is mentioned in ECL (Mk xv 46//Mt xxvii 59//Lk xxiii 53 [cf. xxiv 12]//Jn xix 40 [cf. xx 5-7]).

ἄφθαρτοι. Cf. 1 Cor xv 52 and Bauer, *s.v.* ἀφθαρσία, ἀφθαρτος.

τάς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα. (Cf. Griffiths, 371ff.) For stars identified as divine beings, cf. Rv i 20; viii 11; xxii 16; also 2 Pt i 19.

(359D)

ἀγέννητον. Cf. IEph vii 2 (of Christ).  
ἀθάνατον. Used of God in 1 Ti i 17 v. 1.; of Christ in Dg ix 2.

## Ch. 22

(359E)

τὸν δὲ Τυφῶνα τῆς χροῆς πυρρόν. Typhon's red color is also mentioned in 362E, 363A, 364B. Cf. Griffiths, 375, 408f., and his article "The Symbolism of Red in Egyptian Religion" (in *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren Oblata*, 1, 81-90). Cf. Rv xii 3 (δράκων μέγας πυρρός); vi 4.

## Ch. 23

(359F)

τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν. A proverbial expression; cf. Griffiths, 378. Cf. Mk xi 23//Mt xxi 21; Mt xvii 20//Lk xvii 6; 1 Cor xiii 2.

κατόχοις. The concept of κάτοχος, prominent in Hellenistic religion, does not occur in ECL.

ἐξ οὐρανοῦ μεταφέρειν ἐπὶ γῆν. Cf. 359D: ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους μεταφέρουσιν. Because of the attribution of the divine to the human, Euhemerism was considered blasphemous and a destruction of religious faith. See Griffiths, 375. Although ECL does not refer to Euhemerism, a similar argument is found in Ac xii 22f.; xiv 14f.; xvii 29; Ro i 23.

(360A)

ἀθεότητα. The description of euhemeristic "atheism" in this section is interesting. It is identified as the dissolution of the traditional religion and is called ἐξανθρωπίζειν τὰ θεῖα. Cf. MPol iii; ix 2; Ac xiv 14; xvii 29; xix 26. See Griffiths, 378f.

οὔτε βάρβαρος . . . οὐθ' Ἑλλην. Cf. the different order of the terms in ECL: Ro i 14; Col iii 11.

## Ch. 24

(360B)

μεγάλαι . . . ὑμνοῦνται πράξεις. This concept refers to the great deeds of "divine men and women" like Semiramis, Sesostris, Cyrus, Alexander, etc.; cf. Bauer, s.v. πράξεις, 4.

τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τῶν ἔργων. On the ἔργα of God and Jesus cf. Bauer, s.v., 1, a and c.

(360C)

In a polemic against the worship of "divine men," Plutarch quotes Plato (*Leges* 716A), who expresses the Delphic concern about "hybris." Paul shares this concern; cf. H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition* (BHTh 45; Tübingen, 1972) *passim*. The quotation from Plato contains a number of important terms, which are referred to below.

ἐξαρθέντες ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας. Cf. 2 Cor xii 7 and Betz, *Paulus*, 95f.

ἀνοία. This term is used for "heretics" 2 Ti iii 9.

φλεγόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν μεθ' ὕβρεως. Cf. GP xii 50. "Ὑβρις is the judgment about the cult of "divine men." Cf. esp. Ac iii 12; x 26; xii 22f.; xiv 15.

κενότητα καὶ ἀλαζονείαν μετ' ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας. Being all of these, Plutarch argues, the worship of "divine men" lasts only a short time and then evaporates. A similar argument underlies Gamaliel's speech Ac v 35ff. On κενότης cf. esp. 1 Cor ix 15; xv 14; on ἀλαζονεία cf. Betz and Smith, 385E.

Ἡλίου παῖδα καὶ θεὸν ἀναγορεύοντος. Plutarch refers to an apophthegm directed against calling a ruler "Son of Helios and god." The ruler, Antigonus, refutes such blasphemy by affirming his humanity. See Ac iii 12; x 26; xiv 15; cf. by contrast Ac xii 22f.

## Ch. 25

(360D)

παθήματα. Cf. below 361E.

δαιμόνων μεγάλων. The following section (chs. 25-31) is important because of the introduction of Plutarch's demonology. These "great demons" are neither θεοί nor ἄνθρωποι; they are ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἀνθρώπων . . . καὶ πολὺ τῆς δυνάμει τὴν φύσιν ὑπερφέροντες ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐκ ἀμιγῆς οὐδ' ἄκρατον ἔχοντες. Rather they have the divine mixed up with "the nature of the soul" and σώματος αἰσθησις, so that they can experience pleasure, pain, and other kinds of changes. On this demonology see Griffiths, 383ff.

θεολόγοις. Cf. Betz and Smith, 388 E.

(360E)

ἐπιταράττει. Cf. 361D, ταραξίας.

ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ κακίας. There are good and evil demons, a view which is shared by ECL, where they are mostly called ἄγγελοι.

Cf. 2 Cor xi 14 and Bauer, s.v. ἄγγελος, 2; δαιμόνιον, δαίμων. Plutarch lists important evil demons of Greek and Egyptian mythology in 360E-F. See Griffiths, 385f.

Πύθωνος ἀντιτάξεις πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα. Cf. 2 Cor vi 15: Beliar versus Christ. See Griffiths, 386.

πλάναι. Cf. 355B.

(360F)

πᾶσιν ἔξεστιν ἀνέδην . . . ἀκούειν. Plutarch distinguishes myths which can be told openly and ὅσα τε μυστικοῖς ἱεροῖς περικαλυπτόμενα καὶ τελεταῖς ἄρρητα διασφύζεται καὶ ἀθέατα πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς. See O. Perler, "Arkandisziplin," *RAC* 1, 667-76.

#### Ch. 26

(361A)

καὶ πάλιν. This use of πάλιν in a series of quotations is noted by Bauer, s.v., 3.

τὰ δεξιά. The right side is the good side and, therefore, belongs to the gods. See also 363E. Cf. Bauer, s.v. δέξιος.

(361B)

τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς ἀποφράδας καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν. On these cultic activities cf. Ro xiv 5; Gal iv 10; Col ii 16.

ὄσαι πληγὰς τινὰς ἢ κοπετοὺς ἢ νηστείας ἢ δυσφημίας ἢ αἰσχρολογίαν. For a closer description of such rites cf. *De defectu oraculorum* 417C; and G. Soury, *La Démonologie de Plutarque*, 51ff. Cf. Ac viii 2 (ἐποίησαν κοπετὸν μέγαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ). The terms δυσφημία (cf. 2 Cor vi 8; 1 Cor iv 13) and αἰσχρολογία (Col iii 8; D v 1; cf. iii 3) have a more general meaning in ECL; νηστεία occurs often in ECL (cf. Ac xxvii 9; B vii 4, and Bauer, s.v.).

φύλακας ἀνθρώπων. Plutarch quotes this concept of the "guardian demon" from Hesiod. See Griffiths, 387. It has a parallel in the concept of the "guardian angel" (Mt xviii 10; Ac v 19; xii 7ff.). See *De defectu oraculorum* 417B.

(361C)

γένος . . . διακονικὸν ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, εὐχὰς μὲν ἐκεῖ καὶ δεήσεις ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμποντας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μαντεῖα δεῦρο καὶ δόσεις ἀγαθῶν φέροντας. Plutarch refers here to Plato (*Symposium* 202E); the role of demons as messengers and mediators agrees with that

of the "angels" in the Jewish-Christian tradition. See W. Grundmann, G. von Rad, G. Kittel, *TWNT* 1, 72ff. = *TDNT* 1, 74ff.; Bauer, s.v. ἄγγελος, 2, a, b.

δίνας . . . διδόναι τοὺς δαίμονας ὧν <ἀν> ἑξαμάρτωσι καὶ πλημμελήσωσιν. For this idea of sinful demons Plutarch refers to Empedocles. Cf. the Jewish-Christian concept of "fallen angels" and their judgment. Cf. Mt viii 29; xxv 41; Lk x 18; Jn xii 31; 1 Cor vi 3; 2 Pt ii 4; Jd 6; Rv xii 7-12. See W. Foerster, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 2, 1ff.; *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 7, 154ff.

κολασθέντες . . . καὶ καθαρθέντες. The concept that the sinful demons undergo punishment and purification has an analogy in the Jewish-Christian doctrine of the eschatological punishment of Satan. Cf. the previous entry. The concept of the purification of the demons is lacking.

#### Ch. 27

(361D)

φθόνου. Here this is the work of Typhon (cf. 371F); in ECL it is a "vice." See Bauer, s.v.

ταράξας. In Plutarch, this is the work of Typhon/Seth, the "god of confusion." Interestingly, ECL looks at ταρασσειν and ταραχή as events often bordering on the demonic; cf., esp., Ac xv 24. See Bauer, s.v. ταρασσω, 2, and 356D.

δίκτην ἔδωκεν. Cf. Gal v 10 (ὁ . . . ταρασσων ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα); also 361C.

τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. The agon-motif is here applied to Isis. Cf. V. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif* (NovTSup 16; Leiden, 1967).

πλάνας. Cf. 355B.

ἔργα σοφίας . . . ἀνδρείας. On the "works" of divine beings cf. Bauer s.v. ἔργον, 1, c, α.

ἀνδρείας. This common "virtue" does not occur in ECL. Cf. τὰ ἀνδρεῖα 1 Cl iv 3; ἀνδρείως of females Hs 9:2:5 (5:6:6).

(361E)

τελεταῖς. On the institution of the mysteries by Isis cf. 351F; Griffiths, 390ff.

εἰκόνας καὶ ὑπονοίας καὶ μιμήματα τῶν τότε παθημάτων εὐσεβείας ὁμοῦ δίδαγμα καὶ παραμύθιον ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἐχομένοις ὁμοίων καθωσίωσεν. This statement, with many of its terms being

religious technical terms, describes the purpose of the mystery ritual as initiating the worshipper into the imitation of the god. Cf. Griffiths, 73. Comparable is Paul's interpretation of baptism as an initiation into the faith-experience of the imitation of dying and rising with Christ (Ro vi). See H. D. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament* (BHTh 37; Tübingen, 1967) 48ff. (on Plutarch), 174ff. (on Ro vi).

παθημάτων. Cf. 2 Cor i 5-7; Phil iii 10; Hb ii 9, 10; x 32; 1 Pt i 11; iv 13; v 1, 9; 1 Cl ii 1.

παραμύθιον. Cf. the term in Phil ii 1; παραμυθία 1 Cor xiv 3. See G. Stählin, *TWNT* 5, 815ff. = *TDNT* 5, 816ff.

δι' ἀρετήν. Cf. Wicker, 415C.

εἰς θεοῦ μεταβαλόντες. On this concept cf. Wicker, 415B-C; also below 362E. Cf. the resurrection and ascension of Christ, Ro i 4.

πανταχοῦ μέν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν δυνάμενοι μέγιστον. Plutarch argues that deities like Isis, Osiris, Heracles, Dionysus, etc., having moved up from higher demons to gods, now receive the honors of both, having power everywhere. Cf. Phil ii 9-11; Mt xi 27//Lk x 22; Mt xxviii 18-20; Mk xvi 15ff.; Ac ii 33; v 31; Eph i 20-22; Col i 17-20; Hb i 2ff.; Rv i 12ff.

## Ch. 28

(361F)

ὁ Σωτήρ. Here it is Ptolemaeus I. Lagus who carries the title. See Griffiths, 399ff. For the Christological title cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

ὄναρ εἶδε. This dream-revelation leads to the establishment of the cult of Serapis. On the foundation legend, which is told by Plutarch, see Griffiths, 393ff. On dream-revelations in ECL cf. A. Oepke, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 5, 234-38.

οὐκ ἄνευ . . . θείας προνοίας. The fact that the statue was *stolen* with the approval of the divine providence does not seem to offend Plutarch (cf. Dg ii 7).

(362A)

τὸν ἐξηγητήν. This high office belonging here to Timotheus of Athens, a priest of Eleusis, is not found in ECL, but cf. the verb as it is used in Jn i 18 (see also Bauer, *s.v.*). Cf. also 1 Cor xii 30; xiv 5, 13, 26f.; Lk xxiv 27: διερμηνεύειν, διερμηνευτής. See Griffiths, 397f. τὸν Σάραπιν. Only after being transported to Alexandria was the god named Serapis. On the problem see Griffiths, 395ff. Naming a

previously "unknown god" is a method used also in Ac xvii 22ff., even if "Paul's god" is called only ὁ θεός. Cf. 382E.

(362B)

ἀλληγοροῦσι. Cf. above 355B, ἀνιττόμενοι; also below 363D.

διὸ πᾶσι κοινὸς ὁ Σάραπις ἐστίν. As Plutarch shows, the universalization of Serapis was achieved through his identification with other gods. In contrast, Christ's universal position was accomplished by rigorous exclusivism. On the εἰς-formula cf. 369B. See Griffiths, 401.

## Ch. 29

(362D)

ὡς ἔμμορφον εἰκόνα. The way certain Egyptian priests related Apis and Osiris was to regard Apis as the "incorporate image" of the soul of Osiris. See also 380E and Griffiths, 404f. Cf. the concept of εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ in ECL: 2 Cor iv 4; Col i 15; 1 Cor xv 49; esp. Paul's polemic in Ro i 23. See Bauer, *s.v.* εἰκὼν.

τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον. Plutarch refers to the Egyptian concept of the netherworld, where the souls go after death. See Griffiths, 406f. Cf. the concept of souls in Hades Lk xvi 23; Ac ii 27, 31; 1 Pt iii 19ff.; iv 6; Rv xx 13f. See S. Schulz, "Totenreich," *Biblisches-historisches Handwörterbuch* 3, 2014f.

## Ch. 30

(362E)

ἐκ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν εἰς θεοῦς μετέλλαξαν. On this concept cf. 361E; Griffiths, 407.

τὴν . . . τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἡμαυρωμένην καὶ συντετριμμένην δύναμιν. Because Typhon has been defeated by Osiris and Isis, his power has been weakened, but it is still on the scene (ἔτι δὲ καὶ ψυχορραγοῦσαν καὶ σφαδάζουσαν). The same can be said about Satan's powers after his defeat by Christ in ECL. Cf. 367A; 368E. See W. Foerster, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 7, 156ff.

διὰ τὸ πυρρόν. Cf. 359E.

(363A)

τοῖς σεβομένοις. Cf. above 352C.

παρεγγυῶσι. Cf. Papias 4 (hapax legomenon).

δαιμονικὴν . . . δύναμιν. According to Plutarch, the Pythagoreans call Typhon a demonic power. See Griffiths, 412f. Cf. αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ IEph xiii 1 and Bauer, *s.v.* δύναμις, 6.

## Ch. 31

πυρρόχρουν. Cf. above 359E, 364A.

## (363B)

παρατήρησιν. The term is used here in connection with the ritual examination of sacrificial animals. Cf. Lk xvii 20; Dg iv 5; Gal iv 10.

ἄθουτον ἡγεῖσθαι. An animal which has "defects" is regarded as unfit for sacrifice. Cf. Christ as a faultless sacrifice Hb ix 14; 1 Pt i 19. εἰς ἕτερα μεταμορφουμένων σώματα. Plutarch refers to the reincarnation of the souls of the wicked; ECL does not hold such a view, but the concept that man changes from one kind of σῶμα to another is found. Cf. 1 Cor xv 35ff.; 2 Cor iii 18; Phil iii 21 (also ii 7).

καταρασάμενοι. A curse is spoken on the head of the sacrificial victim. See Griffiths, 416. Cf. Gal iii 13.

τῆς σφραγίδος. The use of seals was widespread and is known also in various ways to ECL. Cf. Rv vii 3ff. and Bauer, *s.v.* σφραγίζω, 2, b; σφραγίς. See Griffiths, 415ff.

## (363C)

ἀμαθίαν. Here referred to as a manifestation of Typhon. Cf. 2 Pt iii 16, where it is attributed to "heretics." See Griffiths, 417. μαρόν. Cf. Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 553A.

## (363D)

τὰ Ἰουδαϊκά. Plutarch reports from an unknown source that after the battle with Horus Typhon fled on an ass for seven days and became the father of Hierosolymus and Judaeus. He takes this to be "Jewish material," but it betrays only Plutarch's lack of real knowledge of Jewish matters. See Griffiths, 29, n. 1; 418f.; J. G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, 1972) 82ff.

## Ch. 32

ἀλληγοροῦσι. Cf. above 355B, *s.v.* αἰνιττόμενοι, and Griffiths, 419f.; *JEA* 53 (1967) 79ff.

ἀφανίζεται καὶ διασπᾶται, Cf. above 351F.

## (364A)

αἰνίττεσθαι. Cf. above 355B.

ἔξωθεν εἰρήσθω. The remark shows that Plutarch is constantly observing the rule to protect the "arcana." Cf. above 360F.

## Ch. 34

## (364D)

τιθηνουμένην πάντα καὶ συνεκτρέφουσιν. This is said of Isis. In ECL it is God; cf. esp. Mt v 45; vi 25-32; Ac xiv 17; xvii 25ff.

κύριον τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως. See 365A. Cf. Rv xvi 5: ὁ ἀγγελος τῶν ὑδάτων. See Griffiths, 424. On the divine title ὁ κύριος cf. above 353B.

## Ch. 35

## (364E)

καθωσιωμένην. Cf. also 361E. The term apparently refers to the "consecration" of the priestess Clea, while τελεῖν is used by Plutarch when he refers to the initiation of the regular worshippers. See Griffiths, 431. The term does not occur in ECL. ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρός. Cf. 2 Ti i 5. See Griffiths, 431.

μαρτύρια. Plutarch uses the term in the religious sense, as is often the case in ECL; cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

τὰ . . . ἀπόρητα. It refers to the "arcana" of the mysteries. See 360F, 364A, 365A. The opposite is called ἀ δ' ἐμφανῶς δρωσι. οἱ κάτοχοι. Cf. 359F.

## (364F)

τὸν θεὸν ἐλθεῖν. On the idea of God's coming cf. Jn xiv 23 and Bauer, *s.v.* ἔρχομαι, 1, a, η. See Griffiths, 432f., 48.

ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων. In the spring Dionysus was awakened from death by trumpets. Griffiths (433) points to *Quaestionum convivalium* 671E and to parallels in Judaism. In ECL the trumpet occurs in an eschatological context. Cf. 1 Th iv 16 and Bauer, *s.v.*

Ὁσίριδος διασπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀναβιώσεσι καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις . . . καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφάς. Cf. Griffiths, 71f. Plutarch refers to the similarity of episodes in the myths of Osiris and Dionysus. In ECL the concepts are not commonly used to describe the saving event of Christ. However, cf. 1 Cl xlvi 7 (διασπῶμεν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ); 1 Cor i 13 (μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός); 2 Cl xix 4 (ἀναβιώω with reference to resurrection); Tit iii 5 (παλιγγενεσία with reference to regeneration in baptism; see Bauer, *s.v.*); GP ii 3. Plutarch points to the tombs and tomb-cults of Osiris in Egypt and of Dionysus in Delphi; in ECL one would point to the importance of Jesus'

tomb in general, but no traces of a cult are visible yet. See Griffiths, 434f.

(365A)

Δελφοί τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου λείψανα παρ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκεῖσθαι. On the tomb of Dionysus in Delphi cf. G. Roux, *Delphi: Orakel und Kultstätten* (Munich, 1971), 160.

Θύουσιν οἱ ὅσιοι θυσίαν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. On the office of the ὅσιοι cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 61-63; it has no analogy in ECL, although the concept occurs there. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 1.

αἱ Θυιάδες ἐγείρωσι τὸν Λικνίτην. Cf. the resurrection of Jesus in ECL, for which ἐγείρειν is used, but only in the sense that God raised him or he raised himself. See Bauer, *s.v.*, 1, a, β; 2, c; Griffiths, 435.

κύριον καὶ ἀρχηγόν. The titles refer to Dionysus (with genitives τοῦ οἴνου, πάσης ὑγρᾶς φύσεως); in ECL they are attributed to Christ: κύριος very frequently, cf. 353B; ἀρχηγός Hb ii 10; xii 2; 2 Cl xx 5.

σεβομένοις. Cf. above 352C.

#### Ch. 36

(365B)

ἐορτὴν ἄγοντες. Cf. Mt xiv 6 v.l. (γενέσια ἄ.); PK 2, p. 14, 28-29 (σάββατον, νεομηνίαν ἄ.) (HS 2, 100).

ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὁ θεός. Plutarch refers to this "dogma" as the meaning of the Dionysiac phallus. Cf. Rv iii 14 and Bauer, *s.v.* ἀρχή, 2; however, ECL does not identify God or Christ with the force of begetting and multiplication.

τὸ δὲ πολλάκις εἰώθαμεν καὶ τρεῖς λέγειν. On "three=many" in ECL see G. Dellings, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 8, 219f.

#### Ch. 38

(365F)

τῶν τ' ἄστρων. Isis and Osiris are associated and worshipped together with stars and elemental powers. Perhaps, the "heretics" whose views are reflected in Gal iv 8-10; Col ii 16, 20 created analogous associations with regard to Christ.

(366C)

ὅθεν ἡ μὲν Ἴσις ἔτεκε γνησίως τὸν Ὄρον, ἡ δὲ Νέφθυς σκότιον τὸν Ἄνουβιν. The two sons Osiris has fathered with Isis and Nephthys

are interpreted allegorically. Cf. the interpretation of the two sons of Abraham Gal iv 21-31.

πρῶτον γενέσθαι στεῖραν. Nephthys is said to have been "barren" at first; allegorically she represents τὸ παντελῶς τῆς γῆς ἄγονον καὶ ἄκαρπον ὑπὸ στερρότητος. See Griffiths, 447. In Gal iv 27 (Is liv 1) it is Sarah (= the heavenly Jerusalem = the mother of the sons of freedom) who is first "barren," while the place of Hagar corresponds to that of Nephthys. Cf. also 2 Cl ii 1.

αἰνίττονται. Cf. above 355B.

ἄκαρπον. Nephthys' barrenness is manifested in the unproductive and unfruitful condition of the earth. Cf. the phrase ἔργα ἄκαρπα τοῦ σκότους Eph v 11; also the parables Hs 2:1-7; 4:1-8; 9:19:2; Jd 12; Tit iii 14; 2 Pt i 8:

#### Ch. 39

ἡ . . . Τυφῶνος . . . δύναμις. See 362E.

αἰνίττεται. Cf. above 355B.

(366D)

κατέχων. Here the term describes the activity of Typhon. Cf. 2 Th ii 6 and the discussion in Bauer, *s.v.*, 1, a, γ.

αἰνίττεσθαι. Cf. above 355B.

(366E)

σκυθρωπά. Here the term is used in connection with a mourning ritual for Osiris. Cf. 359A.

ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεοῦ. Plutarch describes the mourning of Isis because of Osiris. Cf. the women mourning because of Jesus' death: Mk xvi 10; Lk xxiii 28; Jn xx 11, 13, 15; and Jesus himself weeping Jn xi 35.

βοῦν γὰρ Ἴσιδος εἰκόνα καὶ γῆς. On εἰκόν cf. above 362D.

(366F)

ἱερὰν κίστην οἱ στολισταὶ . . . κιβώτιον. These and other technical terms found in this section do not occur in ECL.

ὡς εὑρημένον τοῦ Ὄσιριδος. The cry and the context report on the ritual of "The Finding of Osiris" symbolizing his "resurrection." See Griffiths, 452. In ECL the motif of "seeking and finding" Jesus in connection with his resurrection is most interesting. Cf. Mt xxviii 5//Mk xvi 6//Lk xxiv 3, 5, 23; Jn xx 15. The cry

“εὐρήκαμεν, συγχάρομεν” has a parallel in Jn 20:18 (ἐώρακα τὸν κύριον), 25 (ἐωράκαμεν τὸν κύριον); 1 Cor ix 1 (Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐώρακα).

## Ch. 40

(367A)

ἐκρατήθη μὲν, οὐκ ἀνηρέθη δ' ὁ Τυφών. Cf. 362E, 368D, E.

ἡ κυρία τῆς γῆς θεός. A title of Isis. On the christological title ὁ κύριος cf. above 353B.

τὴν ἀντικειμένην τῇ ὑγρότητι φύσιν. Cf. ὁ ἀντικείμενος 2 Th ii 4; 1 Cl ii 1; MPol xvii 1; and Bauer, s.v.

(367B)

εὐκαιρίας ὀμβρίων γενομένης. This is the manifestation of Horus' victory over Typhon. Cf. Mt v 45: (ὁ θεός) βρέχει.

## Ch. 41

(367D)

τὸν ἡλιακὸν κόσμον. Plutarch devotes the following four chs. to the identification of gods with astral and elemental forces; cf. 365F, 367C. See Griffiths, 455ff.

τὸν δ' ἥλιον ἀκράτῳ πυρὶ καὶ σκληρῷ καταθάλλειν τε καὶ κατακαίνειν τὰ φυόμενα. For this vivid description of the effects of the sun (which is identified with Typhon) cf. Mk iv 6//Mt xiii 6; Js i 11.

## Ch. 42

(367E)

τὴν Ὀσίριδος γενέσθαι τελευτήν. On the “death” of a god cf. Wicker, 414D.

τὴν ἡμέραν. Plutarch says that the Pythagoreans call the day of Osiris' death ἀντίφραξις and gives the reasons for it. Perhaps the early Christian change of the days of fasting from Mondays and Thursdays to Wednesdays and Fridays (παρασκευή) is related to the observation of the day of Jesus' crucifixion. Cf. D viii 1 and Bauer, s.v. παρασκευή.

(368A)

ἐν ταῖς . . . Ὀσίριδος ταφαῖς. Cf. above 364F.

εἰς δεκατέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ Ὀσίριδος διασπασμόν. Cf. 351F.

αἰνίττονται. Cf. above 355B.

τὰς ἡμέρας. Cf. above 367E, 361B.

νουμηνίας. On observation of the new moon in Judaism and Christianity cf. Col ii 16; B ii 5; xv 8; PK 2, p. 14, 28 (HS, 2, 100); Dg iv 1. See 368C.

(368B)

ἀγαθοποιός. The term is attributed to Osiris. Cf. 1 Pt ii 14f., and Bauer, s.v. See also 370F ἀγαθουργόν.

κράτος ἐνεργοῦν καὶ ἀγαθοποιόν. Osiris is directly identified with this “power”. Cf. on δύναμις 376A.

εὐεργέτην. On this divine epithet, here belonging to Osiris, cf. 1 Cl lix 3 and Bauer, s.v.

## Ch. 43

(368C)

τὸν δ' Ἄπιν εἰκόνα μὲν Ὀσίριδος ἔμψυχον. Cf. 362D above.

ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν. Cf. 365B above.

τὴν Ὀσίριδος δύναμιν. Cf. 376A.

(368D)

τὴν φθορὰν . . . τὴν Τυφώνειον. ECL also associates perishability with the work of Satan. Cf. Ro viii 21; 1 Cor xv 42, 50; Gal vi 8; 1 Pt i 4; ii 12, 19.

συνδεομένην. On the “binding” of Satan cf. Rv xx 2.

ἀναλύεσθαι. On the “freeing” of Satan cf. Rv xx 3, 7.

διαμάχεσθαι. On Satan's making war on earth cf. Rv xx 8; xi 7; xii 8; xiii 7; xvi 14; xix 19.

ἔστι δ' οὗτος ὁ περίγειος κόσμος οὔτε φθορᾶς ἀπαλλαττόμενος παντάπασιν οὔτε γενέσεως. Cf. 1 Cor vii 31: παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (1 Jn ii 17).

## Ch. 44

ἀίνιγμα. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385C.

(368F)

τοῖς σεβομένοις. Cf. above 352C.

ἀπόρρητον. Cf. above 364E.

μόνος ὁ κύων. Plutarch reports an etiological legend which explains why the dog lost its original primacy among the animals. The low regard for the dog is also shared by the ECL; cf. Bauer, s.v. κύων.

## Ch. 45

(369A)

πᾶν ὅσον ἢ φύσις βλαβερόν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ἔχει, μόνιον τοῦ τυφῶνος εἶναι.

ECL would, in its own terminology, agree. Cf. 1 Cor x 10: ὁ δλεθρωτής; Hb xi 28. See also 368D.

ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἢ φλαῦρον ὄτιοῦν, ὅπου πάντων, ἢ χρηστόν, ὅπου μηδενὸς ὁ θεὸς αἴτιος, ἐγγενέσθαι. This philosophical dilemma exists, in a different way and without being recognized as such, in the ECL.

(369B)

θεολόγων. Cf. Hb i 1f. and Betz and Smith, 388E.

οὐκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον οὐδ' ἐν φήμαις, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τελεταῖς ἐν τε θυσίαις.

Cf. 1 Cor ii 1, 4; iv 20; 2 Cor vi 7; Ro xv 18f. On τελετή cf. 361E above.

βαρβάρους καὶ Ἑλλησι. Cf. 360A.

ὡς οὐτ' ἄνουν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον. Cf. Ac xiv 17: οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον.

(369C)

οὐθ' εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ κρατῶν. The remark rejects strict monotheism. Cf. the εἷς θεός-formula in ECL. See Bauer, *s.v.* εἷς, 2; K. Wengst, *Christologische Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums* (Gütersloh, 1972), 136ff.

πειθηνίοις χαλινοῖς. The comparison is found also in Js i 26; iii 2; Hm 12:1:1; Pol v 3. See also Almqvist, 132f.

ἀπὸ δυεῖν ἐναντίων ἀρχῶν καὶ δυεῖν ἀντιπάλων δυνάμεων. Plutarch believes that "life" and the whole cosmos is a mixture of good and evil, behind which stands a radical metaphysical dualism. Cf. above 351F and below.

τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ κατ' εὐθεΐαν. Cf. 361A.

(369D)

εἰ γὰρ οὐθὲν ἀναιτίως πέφυκε γενέσθαι. Plutarch concludes that, if nothing exists without a cause, and if the good can not become the cause of evil, then ἢ φύσις must in itself have ἀρχὴν ὡσπερ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ. There is no parallel conclusion found in ECL.

## Ch. 46

οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους. Chs. 46-47 deal with the Zoroastrian form of dualism (see 351F). In regard to the ECL the

number of parallels to apocalypticism is remarkable. See Griffiths, 470ff.

δημιουργόν. The divine attribute is used here with reference both to the good and the evil god. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

δαίμονα. The term refers here to the evil god only; Plutarch attributes this understanding to Zoroaster. Cf. above 361C.

ὁ μάγος. Here this is a title of Zoroaster. Cf. Elymas ὁ μάγος Ac xiii 8 (6) and the magi from the east Mt ii 1, 7, 16. See Griffiths, 470ff.; also 370C.

(369E)

φωτί - σκότῳ. The dualism of "light" and "darkness" (Ahura Mazda vs. Ahriman) is also present in ECL. Cf. H. Conzelmann, *TWNT* 9, 336-49.

ἀγνοία. For a dualistic understanding of the term cf. Eph iv 18; 1 Pt i 14; Hs 5:7:3; 1Eph xix 3.

διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν. See Griffiths, 474f.

In ECL Christ and Moses are called μεσίτης; cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

ἐδίδαξε. The basic function of the mediator is described as teaching the proper performance of the cult. ECL applies this function to Christ, Judaism to Moses.

τὸν Ἄϊδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον. It is also believed by ECL that the netherworld is dark. Cf., esp., Mt viii 12; xxii 13; xxv 30; 2 Pt ii 4, 17; Jd 6, 13.

τῶν φυτῶν. ECL did not, as Zoroastrianism did, distinguish between "good" and "evil" plants.

(369F)

τῶν ζῴων. Zoroastrianism's distinction between "good" and "evil" animals is not found in ECL, but primitive Christianity inherited from Judaism the distinction between "pure" and "impure" animals. Cf. Ac x 9ff. and W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte* (Munich, 1970) *passim*.

## Ch 47

ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου φάους. This is said in regard to the origin of Ahura Mazda. Cf. 369D.

ἐκ τοῦ ζόφου. This is said of the origin of Ahriman. Cf. in regard to the netherworld 369E.

πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. Cf. 2 Cor vi 15, and the "war" of Christ with Satan in Revelation (see 368D).

(370A)

δημιουργόν. Cf. above 369D.

τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν. Cf. Rv i 16.

ποίησας τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι θεούς. The twenty-four gods were created by Ahura Mazda. Cf. the twenty-four "elders" in Rv iv 4, 10; v 5-14, etc. (see Bauer, *s.v.* πρεσβύτερος, 2, b, γ). See also Griffiths, 477f.

(370B)

χρόνος εἰμαρμένος. This refers to the destined time when Areimanius will be destroyed. Cf. the apocalyptic *topos* of the destruction of Satan Ro xvi 20; 1 Cor xv 26; Rv xx 1ff.; Lk x 18. See Griffiths, 478f.

λοιμὸν ἐπάγοντα καὶ λιμὸν. This is the work of Ahriman. Cf. both terms among the eschatological signs Lk xxi 11//Mt xxiv 7 v. 1. See Griffiths, 479. Cf. also Almqvist, 69.

τῆς δὲ γῆς. The whole sentence refers to the renewal of the earth and has a parallel in Rv xxi 1; 2 Pt iii 13. See Griffiths, 479.

ένα βίον καὶ μίαν πολιτείαν ἀνθρώπων μακαρίων καὶ ὁμογλώσσων ἀπάντων γενέσθαι. See Griffiths, 479f. Cf. Rv vii 9; xxi 2ff.

κατὰ τοὺς μάγους. Cf. above 369D, 370C.

τρισχίλια ἔτη. On this doctrine of the three-thousand-year period see Griffiths, 480f. Cf. the thousand-year periods Rv xx 2ff.

τέλος δ' ἀπολεῖσθαι τὸν "Αἰδην. Cf. Rv xx 14; 1 Cor xv 26.

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἔσεσθαι. Cf. Rv xx 6, 12; xxi 1ff. See Griffiths, 481f.

μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους. Cf. Ro xiv 17; 1 Cor xv 50; Mk xii 25//Mt xxii 30//Lk xx 35f.; Rv xxi 6c.

(370C)

μήτε σκιάν ποιούντας. This eschatological doctrine is not found in ECL.

θεὸν ἡρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι. God's eschatological "rest" is part of the eschatological doctrine in Hb iii 11; iv 1, 10f.; cf. by implication 1 Cor xv 28; 1 Cl lix 3. Griffiths (482) remarks: "Ahura Mazda's rest does not seem to be mentioned in the Persian sources."

#### Ch. 48

Χαλδαῖοι. Plutarch now turns to the basic doctrines of "Chaldean" astrology. See Griffiths, 482. The Chaldeans are mentioned in Ac vii 4.

(370D)

σκόπει. Cf. Phil iii 17; Ro xvi 17 and Bauer, *s.v.*

πόλεμον . . . πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον πάντων. This famous word of Heraclitus uses divine titles which belong originally to Zeus. See Griffiths, 483 and above 353B, 355E.

τὴν μὲν ἀγαθοῦργόν ἀρχὴν "Φιλότητα" καὶ "Φιλίαν", πολλάκις δ' "Ἀρμονίαν" καλεῖ "θεμερῶπιν." This concept of Empedocles has a parallel in ECL, where God is identified with ἀγάπη (1 Jn iv 8, 16).

(370E)

Νεῖκος οὐλόμενον. This name is given to the evil power by Empedocles; it corresponds to Ares, who is called ἀπηγῆς καὶ φιλόνηκος. On the negative view of φιλονεικία cf. Lk xxii 24; 1 Cor xi 16; MPol xviii 1.

τὸ ἐν. Plutarch refers to a number of names by which the Pythagoreans call the power of the good. One of them, τὸ ἐν, should be compared with Ignatius' concept of the ἐνότης of Christ IPhld v 2; and of God IPhld viii 1; ix 1; ISm xii 2; IPol viii 3 and Bauer, *s.v.* εἶς, 2. See Griffiths, 484, and above 369C, 362B, also Betz and Smith, 393A.

τὸ δεξιόν. Cf. above 361A.

τὸ λαμπρόν. Cf. 369E above on the dualism of light-darkness. See 372A.

τὸ ἀριστερόν. Cf. D xii 1 (left = evil).

τὸ σκοτεινόν. Cf. above 369F.

(371A)

θεολογίαν. The term refers to the Egyptian "theology" and is contrasted with the Platonic "philosophy." See Griffiths, 486.

#### Ch. 49

ἐξ ἐναντίων, οὐ μὴν ἰσοσθενῶν, δυνάμεων, ἀλλὰ τῆς βελτίονος τὸ κράτος ἐστίν. The same is true of forms of early Christian dualism. See Griffiths, 486.

ἀπολέσθαι δὲ τὴν φαύλην παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. Cf. above 362E; Griffiths, 487.

ἐμπεφυκυῖαν τῷ σώματι, πολλὴν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ παντός καὶ πρὸς τὴν βελτίονα ἀεὶ δυσμαχοῦσαν. Plutarch, in his terminology, treats evil as a cosmic force like ECL does. Cf., esp., Ro vii 14ff.

νοῦς καὶ λόγος. Osiris is identified with the upper parts of the world-soul. See also 372A. Cf. Christ as νοῦς Dg ix 6, and as λόγος Jn i 1 and Bauer, s.v., 3.

ἡγεμῶν καὶ κύριος. On these titles of Osiris cf. above 352A; 355E; Griffiths, 487.

## (371B)

τὸ τεταγμένον καὶ καθεστηκός. Osiris is here identified with the force of cosmic order and stability, versus confusion. In ECL it is God and Christ who occupy the place of Osiris. Cf. Ac xvii 26; Ro xiii 1; 1 Cor xiv 33; 1 Cl xx 2; xl 1. See 372A τάξις.

ἀπορροή. See also 375B. This concept of cosmic phenomena as divine "effluxes" does not occur in ECL.

εἰκόν. Cf. above 362D.

Τυφών. The section contains an interesting description of the manifestations of Typhon; some of them ECL ascribes to Satan, e.g., τὸ παθητικόν (cf. Ro vii 5; Gal v 24), τὸ ἄλογον (2 Pt ii 12; Jd 10), τὸ νοσῶδες (ECL regards all diseases as caused by Satanic influence), τὸ καταδυναστεῦον (Hm 12:5:1f.; see Bauer, s.v.), τὸ καταβιαζόμενον (Dg vii 4). See Griffiths, 487 and above 352A.

κρύψεσιν ἡλίου καὶ ἀφανισμοῖς σελήνης. In ECL these phenomena belong to the apocalyptic drama. Cf. Mk xiii 24//Mt xxiv 29//Lk xxi 25; xxiii 45; Rv vi 12; viii 12; xxi 23; xxii 5.

## Ch. 50

## (371C)

ζώων. For this section on Egyptian theriomorphism cf. Ro i 23. However, none of the animals named by Plutarch plays a role in ECL.

τὸ ἀμαθέστατον. This names another manifestation of Typhon/Seth. Cf. 2 Pt iii 16 of heretics. See 351F: δι' ἄγνοιαν.

δύναμιν καὶ ἀρχήν. Cf. above 363A.

## (371D)

ταραπτόμενος. For this activity of Satan cf. above 371B (ταρακτικόν) and 361D.

πάντα καὶ ζῶα καὶ φυτὰ καὶ πάθη τὰ φαῦλα καὶ βλαβερὰ Τυφῶνος ἔργα καὶ μέρη <καὶ> κινήματα ποιούμενοι. ECL could make a similar statement in regard to Satan.

## Ch. 51

## (371E)

τὸν δ' Ὀσίριν . . . ὀφθαλμῶ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφουσιν. See Griffiths, 493.

The "eye" signifies τὴν πρόνοιαν, the scepter τὴν δύναμιν. On the "eyes of God" cf. Hb iv 13; 1 Pt iii 12; 1 Cl xxii 6; on the scepter cf. 1 Cl xvi 2.

τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ βασιλεύοντα. On these divine epithets cf. above 353B; 354F; 355E.

ἐλαχίστη τῇ τροφῇ πέφυκε. The falcon is associated with Osiris because this animal comes close to the divine lack of needs. Cf. Ac xvii 25; Dg iii 3-4.

## (371F)

ἀνθρωπόμορφον. Cf. the use of this term ISm iv 1; furthermore Phil ii 6f. See 376F and Griffiths, 494.

φλογοειδεῖ. Cf. the description of Christ 2 Th i 8; Rv i 14; ii 18; xix 12. See Griffiths, 495.

τὰς εἰκόνας. Cf. above 362D.

## (372A)

ἡλιον. Helios as a god is mentioned 1 Cl xxv 4; cf. Rv xii 1. See Griffiths, 495f.

φῶς. On the association of "light" with God cf. above 370E (cf. also 1 Cor xv 40f.).

ἡλιον . . . φῶς ὄρατὸν οὐσίας νοητῆς ἡγούμενοι. Cf. Ro i 20.

τὴν ἡλίου σφαῖραν Τυφῶνι προσνεμόντων. ECL maintains an ambiguous position: the sun as a symbol of the good appears Mt v 45; xiii 43; xvii 2; Rv i 16; but as a destructive force (ἀρχμόν, ὅς φθείρει πολλὰ τῶν ζώων καὶ βλαστανόντων) Js i 11. See Griffiths, 496.

## Ch. 52

## (372B)

ἐν . . . τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὕμνοις τοῦ Ὀσίριδος. Cf. Bauer, s.v. ὕμνος; Griffiths, 496f.

ἀνακαλοῦνται. This cultic term does not occur in ECL.

ἐορτάζουσιν. Cf. 352E.

τὸν ἥλιον ὄμμα τοῦ Ὄρου καὶ φῶς ἡγούμενοι. Cf. Rv i 14; ii 18; xix 12; and 371E.  
φθινοπωρινήν. Cf. Jd 12.

(372C)

ζήτησις Ὀσίριδος. Cf. above 352A.

θῦσαι τῷ ἡλίῳ. On worshipping astral gods cf. above 365F.

ἐπιθυμιῶσι τῷ ἡλίῳ. Incense-offering is mentioned only rarely in ECL. Cf. Lk i 9-11; Hb ix 4; Rv v 8; viii 3f.; xviii 13. Of the spices mentioned by Plutarch (βητίνην . . . , σμύρναν . . . κῦφι) only σμύρνα occurs in ECL: Mt ii 11; 1 Cl xxv 2. See Bauer, *s.v.*

(372D)

θεραπεύειν. Cf. above 351E.

τοῖς . . . μελανοστόλοις. Cf. Mk xiii 24//Mt xxiv 29, and of the sun alone Rv vi 12; Lk xxiii 45. See Griffiths, 501.

βραβεύειν τὰ ἔρωτικά. On this activity of Isis see Griffiths, 501f. In ECL βραβεύειν is hapax legomenon: Col iii 15.

## Ch. 53

(372E)

ἔχει δὲ σύμφυτον ἔρωτα. Cf. Ro vi 5 and Bauer, *s.v.* σύμφυτος. See Griffiths, 503f.τὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ φεύγει. Cf. 1 Cor vi 18 and Bauer, *s.v.* φεύγω, 3.

(372F)

εἰκῶν. The term here is a synonym of μίμημα. Cf. above 361E.

## Ch. 54

(373A)

ἀτδιον εἶναι καὶ ἀφθαρτον. This is said in regard to the soul of Osiris.

Plutarch explains this by saying: τὸ γὰρ ὄν καὶ νοητὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν φθορᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς κρείττον ἐστίν. See also 374D. Cf. Ro i 20, 23 and Bauer, *s.v.* ἀφθαρσία, ἀφθαρτος. On the philosophical tradition used in this chapter see Griffiths, 48f.

τὸ δὲ σῶμα πολλάκις διασπᾶν καὶ ἀφανίζειν τὸν Τυφῶνα, τὴν δ' Ἴσιν πλανωμένην καὶ ζητεῖν καὶ συναρμόττειν πάλιν. Cf. 351F.

εἰκόνας. Cf. above 362D.

τὸ ἄτακτον . . . καὶ ταραχῶδες. Cf. 371B (τὸ τεταγμένον), 361D (ταράξας).

τὸν Ὄρον, ὃν ἡ Ἴσις εἰκόνα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμον αἰσθητὸν ὄντα γεννᾷ.  
Cf. Ro i 20.

(373B)

οὐκ ὄν καθαρὸς οὐδ' εἰλικρινῆς οἶος ὁ πατήρ (i.e. Osiris). Cf. 2 Cor i 12; ἐν ἀγιότητι καὶ εἰλικρινείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. See also 1 Cor v 8; 2 Cor ii 17; Phil i 10; 1 Cl ii 5.

λόγος αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀμιγῆς καὶ ἀπαθής. Cf. with this statement about Osiris that about Christ IEph vii 2; IPol iii 2.

τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ λόγου. While λόγος was previously identified with Osiris, it is now identified with Hermes. See Griffiths, 505. In ECL, the Logos was identified with Christ (cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 3). Cf. also Ac xiv 12.

πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἢ φύσις μετασχηματιζομένη τὸν κόσμον. Cf. 1 Cl ix 4; Mt xix 28; furthermore Paul's use of the concept of transformation in his doctrine of redemption in Phil iii 21; also 2 Cor iii 18; Ro xii 2.

αἰνίττεται. Cf. above 355B.

(373C)

τὸν θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀνάπηρον ὑπὸ σκότῳ γενέσθαι. When "the elder Horus" was born in the first creation caused by matter, he was maimed by darkness. See on this Griffiths, 505f. Is there any connection between this myth and Jn i 5?

οὐ γὰρ ἦν κόσμος, ἀλλ' εἰδωλὸν τι καὶ κόσμου φάντασμα μέλλοντος. This refers to the "elder" Horus in distinction from the "younger". See Griffiths, 506. Cf. Ro v 14, where the "old" Adam is referred to as τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος (see also Bauer, *s.v.* τύπος, 6).

## Ch. 55

ἀρισμένος. Cf. this attribute of Horus with that of Christ Ac x 42; also Ac xvii 31; Ro i 4.

τέλειος. Cf. this attribute of Horus with that of Christ Eph iv 13; ISm iv 2; and of God Mt v 48.

οὐκ ἀνηρηκῶς τὸν Τυφῶνα παντάπασιν. For the doctrine that Typhon's power has been weakened but not eliminated, cf. above 362E. See also 372D.

(373D)

ἀσθενής. The realm of Typhon is now weak. Cf. the concept of the "weak" στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου Gal iv 9.

σεισμῶν. Although being weak, Typhon is still the cause of earthquakes, droughts, thunderstorms, plagues, and other catastrophes. ECL partly attributes such catastrophes to Satan, esp. in an apocalyptic context. Cf. esp. Mk xiii 8//Mt xxiv 7//Lk xxi 11.

(373E)

αἰνιττόμενοι. Cf. above 355B.

## Ch. 56

ἡ δὲ κρείττων καὶ θειοτέρα φύσις. Plutarch names as its three elements τὸ νοητόν, ἡ ὕλη, and ὁ κόσμος, which is a mixture of the first two. At this point Plutarch follows Plato, while usually he is even more dualistic. ECL does not hold this world-view, but it does value νοῦς (cf. Ro i 20; Dg xi 2, and Bauer, *s.v.* νοέω, 1; νοῦς) positively, while ὕλη (IRo vi 2; 1 Cl xxxviii 3; Dg ii 3) and κόσμος (cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 7) are viewed as opposite to God. Thus, the phrase 2 Pt i 4 θείας . . . φύσεως refers to redemption as opposed to the κόσμος. On ὕλη cf. 374-375A.

(374A)

τὸν μὲν Ὁσίριν ὡς ἀρχήν. Cf. Christ as ἀρχή Rv iii 14; Col i 18; Rv i 8 v.l.; xxi 6; xxii 13; 365B above.

## Ch. 58

(375A)

ὥσπερ [ἄνδρα νόμιμον καὶ δίκαιον ἐρᾶν ἐν δικαιοσύνη] καὶ γυναῖκα χρηστὴν ἔχουσαν ἄνδρα . . . , οὕτως . . . A comparison is made in this section between the longing of the woman for her husband and the longing of Isis for Osiris. Cf. the comparison with Christ's love for the church in the "Haustafel" Eph v 21ff.

## Ch. 59

ὁ Τυφὼν παρεμπίπτει. Cf. 1 Cl li 1 παρεμπτώσεις τοῦ ἀντικειμένου. σπαράγματα τοῦ Ὁσίριδος. Cf. above 351F. Griffiths, 72.

## Ch. 60

(375C)

ὥσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπὸ δυεῖν ῥημάτων τοῦ θεατοῦ καὶ τοῦ θέοντος ἔστιν ὄνομα κοινόν. This etymology is typical for Greek religion and is alien to the concept of God in ECL. See Griffiths, 516ff.

## Ch. 61

(376A)

ἄμφω δ' ἐνὸς θεοῦ καὶ μιᾶς δυνάμεως ἡγούμενος. This reference spells out the presupposition by which the identifications of divine names are being made: a god is nothing but a divine "power"; if the "powers" are the same, so must be the gods. Cf. A. D. Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of Empire," *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1972) 1, 34-41. It is interesting that in ECL God is identified with the power of ἀγάπη, a term which played only an insignificant role prior to its Christian adaptation. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ἀγάπη, 2.

## Ch. 62

(376B)

ὁ δὲ Τυφὼν. On the work of Typhon cf. 351F; 367D; 371BC.

(376C)

αἰνιττεται. Cf. above 355B.

καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς καὶ λόγος ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀφανεῖ βεβηκώς. Cf. Mt vi 4, 6, 18.

## Ch. 63

(376E)

αἰνιττόμενοι. Cf. above 355B.

## Ch. 64

(376F)

ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν τούτοις ἄμετρον καὶ ἄτακτον ὑπερβολαῖς ἢ ἐνδείαις Τυφῶνι προσνέμοντες. Rather than being identical with natural catastrophes themselves, Typhon is identified as the destructive power working in such events. Cf. above 351F and Griffiths, 528. ECL shares the view that ἄμετρον (2 Cor x 13, 15), ἄτακτον (1 Th v 14; 2 Th iii 6, 11; 1 Cl xl 2; Dg ix 1), ὑπερβολή (2 Cor xii 7, but there is also a positive understanding) and excessive needs (cf. the negative view of diseases, poverty, and the catalogs of περιστάσεις 1 Cor iv 10-13; 2 Cor iv 7-10; vi 4-10; xi 23-27) are evils and thus related to Satan.

(377A)

τὸ δὲ κεκοσμημένον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὠφέλιμον. These forces are regarded

as those of Isis/Osiris (see the whole paragraph). Cf. on κοσμεῖν 1 Pt iii 5; 1 Cl ii 8; xliii 2; IEph ix 2; MPol xiii 2; on ἀγαθόν cf. Bauer, s.v., 1, b, α; on ὠφέλιμος cf. 1 Ti iv 8; 2 Ti iii 16; Tit iii 8; 1 Cl lvi 2; lxii 1; Hv 3:6:7. See above 351E.

εἰκόνα δὲ καὶ μίμημα καὶ λόγον Ὀσίριδος. On εἰκών, μίμημα cf. above 361E; on λόγος cf. 351F. σεβόμενοι. Cf. above 352C. τιμώντες. Cf. Bauer, s.v., 2.

## Ch. 65

(377B)

θάπτεσθαι μὲν τὸν Ὀσίριν, ὅτε κρύπτεται τῇ γῆ σπειρόμενος ὁ καρπός, αἰθίς δ' ἀναβιοῦσθαι καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι. Plutarch polemicalizes against an understanding of the dying and rising Osiris as a fertility god, that is, of confusing the god with natural phenomena. Cf. below 377E. See Griffiths, 529f.

(377C)

ἐορτάζειν. Cf. above 352E.

## Ch. 66

(377D)

Ἴσιν δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν θεοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ γινώσκουσιν ἅπαντες. Plutarch prefers this universalism to the narrow understanding of Isis as being only Egyptian. Cf. a similar statement of Paul in regard to God in Ro iii 29: ἡ Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς μόνον; x 12. See Griffiths, 22; 531; 29; 31.

τὴν δύναμιν. Cf. above 376A.

ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τιμώντες. That all nations have understood the power of each God and have worshipped him only by different names is an argument which Luke also has appropriated; cf. Ac xiv 16f.; xvii 23. See also 377F-378A.

(377E)

δεινάς καὶ ἀθέους ἐμποιοῦσι δόξας, ἀναισθήτοις καὶ ἀψύχοις καὶ φθειρομέναις ἀναγκαίως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δεομένων καὶ χρωμένων φύσει καὶ πράγμασιν ὀνόματα θεῶν ἐπιφέροντες. The whole chapter contains a polemic against the identification of natural phenomena with the deities themselves. Cf. the same polemic Ro i 23; Dg ii 1-10. See also 379B.

## Ch. 67

οὐδ' ἄψυχον . . . ὁ θεός. Cf. the polemic in Dg ii 4, 7-9; 1 Cor xii 2. <οὐδ'> ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς ὑποχείριον. ECL would certainly agree; cf. esp. Ac xvii 25, 29; xix 26; Ro i 23; Dg ii 2ff.

τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένους ἡμῖν καὶ παρέχοντας ἀένναα καὶ διαρκῆ θεοὺς ἐνομίσαμεν. Cf. Ac xiv 17; xvii 23ff.; Ro i 20; Js i 17.

(377F)

οὐδὲ βαρβάρους καὶ Ἑλλήνας. Cf. above 360A and Griffiths, 532.

ἐνὸς λόγου . . . καὶ μιᾶς προνοίας. For this monotheistic formula cf. the εἷς θεός-formula Ro iii 30 and above 369C. See Griffiths, 533; 22.

(378A)

δεισιδαιμονίαν. The term is used here in the sense of superstition and is contrasted with ἀθεότητα. Cf. above 352B; 355D; 379E.

## Ch. 68

μυσταγαγωγόν. This technical term does not occur in ECL.

ὁσίων διανοεῖσθαι. This is what Plutarch regards as the task of mystery theology and philosophy. Cf. 351C-E, and Griffiths, 19. τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δραμένων. These refer to the two elements of the mysteries. Cf. above 352C.

(378B)

τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ προτείνοντος ἐνίους τῇ ἀριστερᾷ δέχεσθαι. Cf. the proverb Mt vi 3.

περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἐορτάς. Cf. above 365B.

ἐορτάζοντες. Cf. above 352E.

μέλι. Here this is consumed in a festival for Hermes, symbolizing the sweetness of the truth. Cf. Lk xxiv 42 v.l.

γλυκὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια. Cf. the metaphors in Rv x 9f.; Hm 12:4:5; 1 Cl xiv 3.

(378C)

οὐδὲν γὰρ ὢν ἄνθρωπος ἔχειν πέφυκε θειότερον λόγου. Here Plutarch uses the term λόγος in the Platonic sense. See Griffiths, 225, note, and above 351F.

εὐδαιμονίαν. Cf. 351E.

(378D)

παρεγγυῶμεν. Cf. above 363A. See Griffiths, 537.

ὅσια φρονεῖν, εὐφημα λέγειν. Griffiths (537) relates this paraenesis to the Delphic maxims. In ECL φρονεῖν is also a major concern (cf. Phil ii 5; Mk viii 33//Mt xvi 23 and Bauer, *s.v.*, 2); on εὐφημος cf. Phil iv 8.

οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ γελοῖα δρῶσιν ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐορταῖς. Plutarch couples his paraenesis with this polemic against the religious practice of the many (cf. 2 Cor ii 17; Pol ii 1; vii 2). Ridicule of cultic practices is frequent in ECL; cf., e.g., Mt vi 1-18, Ac xiv 11ff.; Dg *passim*. See above 351E; below 379B.

εὐφημίαν. In contrast with τὰ δυσφημότατα. Cf. 2 Cor vi 8.

προκηρύττοντες. Cf. the use of the technical term in Ac xiii 24; Pol vi 3.

## Ch. 69

ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς καὶ ἀγελάστοις καὶ πενθίμοις θυσίαις. Cf. 366E, 378F. νηστεύουσιν. On the fasting of Greek women by sitting on the ground during the Thesmophoria cf. Griffiths, 537f. No such ritual is attested in ECL.

## (378E)

ἐορτήν. Cf. above 378B.

Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰόμενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν θέρους δ' ἐγρηγορέναι τοτὲ μὲν κατευνασμούς τοτὲ δ' ἀνεγέρσεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῷ τελοῦσι. Reference is made to another dying and rising fertility-god. Cf. above 377B.

## Ch. 70

## (378F)

δῶρα θεῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὸ μὴ ζῆν ἀγρίως καὶ θηριωδῶς. On this view of agriculture as a gift of the gods necessary for civilization see Griffiths, 540. This theory is not mentioned in ECL; it is missing in Ac xiv 15f.; xvii 22ff.; Dg.

## (379A)

ἐπ' ἀδήλω τῷ πάλιν ἐκτελεῖσθαι καὶ συντέλειαν ἔξειν ἀποθέμενοι πολλὰ θάπτουσιν ἕμοια καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἔπραττον. The sowing of the seed is taken to be its burial, with no certainty that it would reappear, so that burial rites were celebrated. See Griffiths, 540. Cf. 1 Cor xv 35ff., and H. Braun ("Das 'Stirb und werde' in der Antike und im Neuen Testament," *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament*

*und seiner Umwelt* [2nd ed.; Tubingen, 1967] 136ff.), who refers to other passages in Plutarch.

## (379B)

οἱ δ' ὕστερον. The section contains another polemic against popular religion. Cf. 378D.

καίτοι τοῦ παραλόγου τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχοντες. Cf. Ro i 20-23; Dg ii 1.

εἰ θεοὺς νομίζουσι, μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δὲ θρηνοῦσι, θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν. Plutarch refers to Xenophanes as the author of this view, which Plutarch shares. See Griffiths, 540f. ECL does not discuss the issue, but it would agree that it is absurd to mourn on behalf of God.

## Ch. 71

## (379C)

εὐχονται δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ δοτῆρσι θεοῖς. Cf. Mt vii 7, 11//Lk xi 9, 13; Jn xi 22; xv 16; xvi 23; Js i 5.

ὥσπερ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ γραπτὰ καὶ λίθινα . . . θεοὺς καλεῖν. The section offers a sarcastic polemic against those who regard the statues as the gods themselves. Cf. Ac xvii 29; xix 26; Ro i 23; 1 Cor xii 2; Dg ii 5. See Griffiths, 541f.

τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Λαχάρης ἐξέδυσσε. Plutarch gives this and other examples which show the ridiculous and blasphemous character of the confusion of statues with the gods. Cf. Dg ii 7-9.

## (379D)

περὶ τὰ τιμώμενα τῶν ζώων. In 379D-E Plutarch attacks the Egyptian worship of animals. Cf. Ro i 23.

θεραπεύοντες. Cf. above 351E.

οὐ γέλωτος μόνον οὐδὲ χλευασμοῦ. Cf. Dg ii 7.

## (379E)

δαισιδαιμονίαν. Cf. above 352B, 355D.

## Ch. 72

τοὺς θεοὺς . . . μεταβαλεῖν. Cf. Phil ii 6f.; Jn i 14.

τερατεῖαν. Cf. Dg viii 4 (hapax legomenon in ECL).

μυθολογίαν. Cf. Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 557F and Betz and Smith, 389A.

(379F)

παλιγγενεσίαν. This term is used of persons only in Tit iii 5 in ECL. See the literature in Bauer, *s.v.* The interpretation of rebirth expressed here would not be found in ECL.

(380A)

πανούργων. Cf. 2 Cor xii 16; Hv 3:3:1; Hm 3:3; Hs 5:5:1. τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους . . . πρὸς μεταβολὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ὄξυρρόπους. Compare the similar statement about Athenians in Ac xvii 21. δεισιδαιμονίαν. Cf. 352B.

Ch. 73

(380C)

ἄλογος. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385D. ἐπάγων. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ἐπάγω. ὑπερβαλλόντως. Used only once in ECL, 2 Cor xi 23. ὀλεθρίους. In ECL this term and ὀλεθρος have a religious, usually eschatological, meaning. See Bauer, *s.v.* συμφοράς. Used only once in ECL, 1 Cl i 1.

(380C-D)

ἀπειλοῦσι . . . μεγίστοις. The idea of holding divine beings responsible for calamities is common, as is the practice of appeasing them with sacrifices, which seems to be the alternative interpretation offered by Plutarch at the end of the passage (ἢ καθαρόν ἄλλως . . .). The concept of sacrifice is found in ECL esp. in reference to the lamb in Rv v 6, 9, 12; xiii 8; also B viii 1f. (cf. O. Michel, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 7, 925-28; on καθαρόν cf. καθαρισμός in ECL). Less common is the idea of threatening and punishing the divine beings (cf. Griffiths, 550f.), for which the closest parallel in ECL would be the exorcism of demons, in which the demons see themselves as being threatened (cf., e.g., Mk v 7, 10).

(380D)

κατεπίμπρασαν. Cf. the passages in Bauer, *s.v.* καίω, 2, esp. the possible meanings of 1 Cor xiii 3. χρόνοις ἀτάκτοις. Cf. ἀτάκτως in 1 Cl xl 2.

(380E)

ἀληθής ὁ λόγος. Cf. ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀληθινός in Jn iv 37; also Dg xii 7. ἐχόντων τὰς τιμάς. Cf. τιμὴν ἔχειν in Jn iv 44; Hb iii 3.

Ch. 74

(381A)

ὡσπερ ἐν σταγόσιν ἡλίου. Cf. 1 Cor xiii 12. Σταγῶν is found in ECL only in Hm 11:20. τῆς τῶν θεῶν δυνάμει κατιδόντες. The only use of καθοράω in ECL is in a similar context, Ro i 20. Cf. also Mt xxii 29. γαλῆν . . . κατὰ τὸ οὖς ὀχευομένην τῷ δὲ στόματι τίχτουςαν. Cf. B x 8, esp. the phrase τῷ στόματι κῦει; and Griffiths, 555.

Ch. 75

(381B)

μίμημα θεοῦ. Μίμημα is used only once in ECL, Pol i 1. For the concept of imitation of Christ cf. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung*. φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεής ἐστι. Cf. 1 Cl lii 1 (ἀπροσδεής . . . ὁ δεσπότης). βλέπειν μὴ βλεπόμενον, ὃ τῷ πρώτῳ θεῷ συμβέβηκεν. Cf. Jn i 18; vi 46; 1 Jn iv 20. But these ideas of God as seer and as unseen are not combined in any one passage in ECL.

(381D)

οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν. Cf. Ac iii 12; Rv xvii 7; also Jn iii 7; v 28; 1 Jn iii 13; Hs 8:1:4.

(381E)

κυρίῳ πάντων. Cf. Mt xi 25//Lk x 21; Ac xvii 24 (κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς). οὐδενὸς ἀκούειν προσήκει. This interpretation of a statue of Zeus with no ears, that it is not proper for the ruler of the universe to listen to anyone, is a polemic against the idea of God being influenced by prayer. The view of God in ECL is not so transcendent as this (cf. G. Kittel, *TWNT* 1, 222f. = *TDNT* 1, 221f.). However, ECL does have the idea of God as impartial; cf. Ac x 34; Ro ii 11; Gal ii 6; Eph vi 9; Col iii 25; 1 Pt i 17. ταῖς δὲ γαμεταῖς οἰκουρίαν καὶ σιωπὴν πρέπουσαν. These customary attitudes concerning women are expressed in 1 Cor xiv 34 (σιγᾶν); 1 Ti ii 11f. (ἡσυχία); v 13 (περιερχόμενοι τὰς οἰκίας); Tit ii 5 (οἰκουργός); 1 Cl i 3 (οἰκουργεῖν). προσηγορίας. In ECL the verb προσαγορεύω as designating is used only with men as the object (Hb v 10; 1 Cl x 1; xvii 2; 2 Cl i 4).

(381F)

τὸ δ' ἐν Ἀπόλλωνα. Cf. Gal iii 20; Eph iv 5f.; PK 2, p. 13, 21 (H-S, 2. 99); 3, p. 15, 20 (HS, 2. 101); Betz and Smith, 393A; 369C above; also μόνος θεός in Jn v 44; xvii 3; 1 Ti i 17.

ἀπλότητα. In ECL ἀπλότης is an ethical term. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 1. ἔριν. Although the Pythagorean numerology is missing, ἔρις is a vice mentioned frequently in ECL (cf. Bauer, *s.v.*), and 1 Cl xlvi 5f. contrasts it with the oneness of God.

τόλμαν. Τόλμα is a hapax legomenon in ECL (1 Cl xxx 8). δίκη. A personified use of δίκη may be seen in Ac xxviii 4. ἐν μέσῳ γέγονεν. Cf. 1 Cor vi 5 (διακρίνει ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ).

## Ch. 76

(382A)

This chapter, esp. the conclusion (382C), has much in common with traditional Jewish and Christian polemic against idols but is used as a means of defending worship of the divine through animals, rather than as an attack on "idolatry" itself. Of course, the demythologizing statement, οὐ ταῦτα τιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων τὸ θεῖον, is a kind of concession to the point made by the anti-idol polemic.

αἰνιγμα. Cf. above 355B.

οὐ ταῦτα τιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων τὸ θεῖον. Cf. Hv 1:1:3 for an interesting expression (δοξάζων τάς κτίσεις τοῦ θεοῦ), and contrast Ro i 25. Cf. also Rollins, 400D.

ἐσόπτρων. Cf. 1 Cor xiii 12 and Almqvist, 102f.

τοῦ πάντα κοσμοῦντος θεοῦ. Κοσμέω is not used in this way in ECL. Cf. similar expressions using κτίζω in Eph iii 9; Col i 16; Rv iv 11.

(382B)

ἄψυχον. Cf. Dg ii 4.

ἀναίσθητον. Cf. Dg ii 4; iii 3; also the verb in ii 8f.

ἡ δὲ ζῶσα καὶ βλέπουσα . . . φύσις. Another definition of the "animate" being (a concept missing in ECL) is found in 404F (Rollins). A contrast to βλέπουσα καὶ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν . . . ἔχουσα may be seen in the description of idols as τυφλά and ἀκίνητα in Dg ii 4; cf. also Rv ix 20.

ὅτω κυβερνᾶται τὸ [τε] σύμπαν. Cf. the use of κυβερνήτης in MPol xix 2; and the only use of σύμπας in ECL in 1 Cl xix 2.

(382C)

χαλκοῖς καὶ λιθίνοις δημιουργήμασιν. These materials for idol-making are mentioned in Rv ix 20; 2 Cl i 6; Dg ii 2f.; PK 2, p. 14, 14 (HS, 2. 99f.) But δημιουργέω (etc.) is used in ECL only for divine creativity.

φθοράς. Cf. φθαρτὴ ὕλη in Dg ii 3; also ii 4 (οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα); αἰσθήσεως . . . ἐστέρηται. Cf. above 382B.

## Ch. 77

The interesting dualism here is not between light and darkness, etc., but between that which combines these opposites and that which remains unmixed.

ποικίλαι ταῖς βαφαῖς. This term is also used in contrast to white (= purity, etc.) for the stones in Hs 9:4:5.

φῶς σκότος, ἡμέραν νύκτα. These terms, here used to indicate inclusiveness and completeness, are used to indicate contrast in 1 Th v 5. ζῶην θάνατον. This pair of terms in ECL sometimes indicates totality (cf. Ro viii 38; 1 Cor iii 22; Phil i 20) and sometimes contrast (Jn v 24; Ro vii 10; viii 6; 1 Jn iii 14; cf. also IEph vii 2).

ἀρχὴν τελευτήν. Cf. Rv xxi 6; xxii 13; IEph xiv 1; IMg xiii 1; B i 6; also Rv i 8, 17—all of which indicate totality. In ECL τελευτή itself is a hapax legomenon meaning "death," Mt ii 15.

ἐν ἀπλοῦν τὸ φωτοειδές. A white garment is a common symbol for purity and divinity and is mentioned often in ECL. Cf. W. Michaelis, *TWNT* 4, 247-56 = *TDNT* 4, 241-50. On ἀπλοῦν cf. above 381F.

ἀρχή. Cf. Christ as ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως in Rv iii 14 (in addition to ἀρχήν, above).

πρῶτον. Cf. 352A and ἀρχὴν τελευτήν above.

(382D)

εἰλικρινοῦς. This word-group is rather rare in ECL. Cf. esp. 2 Cor i 12 and 2 Pt iii 1.

θιγεῖν καὶ προσιδεῖν. Cf. 1 Jn i 1; also Ac xvii 27; and Lk xxiv 39; ISm iii 2; Jn xx 17, 26-29. A similar metaphorical use of "touching" (ἐφάπτεσθαι) is found in 589B.

ἐποπτικόν. Cf. ἐπόπτης in 2 Pt i 16.

(382E)

καθαράς ἀληθείας. This expression is not in ECL. ἐν τελευτῇ τέλος ἔχειν φιλοσοφίας. Cf. Col ii 8, 18.

## Ch. 78

παρακαλυπτόμενοι. Cf. Lk ix 45.

εὐλαβείας. This concept is fairly common in ECL. Cf. R. Bultmann,

*TWNT* 2, 749-51 = *TDNT* 2, 751-54.

ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἄρχει. This verb is not used with God as subject in ECL.

βασιλεύει τῶν τεθνηκότων. On the concept of the ruler of the dead

cf. Rv ix 11; also Mk xii 27//Mt xxii 32//Lk xx 38; Ro xiv 9; and

Ac x 42; 2 Ti iv 1; 1 Pt iv 5; Rv xx 11f.; 2 Cl i 1; Pol ii 1; B vii 2.

οὐχ ἕτερος ὢν. This identification of one god with another is similar to

Ac xvii 23. Cf. 362A.

διαταράττει. This is a hapax legomenon in ECL; cf. Lk i 29.

ἱερὸν καὶ ὄσιον. (Cf. Griffiths, 57, 517, 564). The combination is not in

ECL, and only ὄσιος is used of God or Christ, cf. Ac ii 27; xiii 35;

Hb vii 26; Rv xv 4; xvi 5.

κρύπτεται. Cf. Col iii 3.

τέλος ἔχειν. Cf. Hb vii 3; Mk iii 26.

ἀπωτάτω τῆς γῆς. Contrast Ac xvii 27 (οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα).

## (382F)

ἀμίαντος. This term is used once for Christ in ECL (Hb vii 26) and is never used for God.

φθορὰν . . . καὶ θάνατον. The concepts are related in Hs 6:2:2f.

(καταφθορά). Cf. also the terms ἀφθαρτος and ἀθάνατος, applied to

Christ in Dg ix 2, and occurring as variants applied to God in 1 Ti

i 17.

μετουσία τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. Stoike, 591D.

ὄνειρατος ἀμαυροῦ. Cf. 1 Cor xiii 12; on ἀμαυρός cf. ἀμαύρωσις in 2 Cl i 6.

διὰ φιλοσοφίας. Cf. the rejection of this in Col ii 8.

ἀπολυθεῖσαι. Cf. Lk ii 29 for this as a term for dying.

ἀειδὲς καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀγνόν. Cf. ἀόρατα in Col i 16; ITr v 2;

IRo v 3; IPol ii 2; but none of these terms are used for heaven or

the afterlife in ECL. A similar description is found in 1 Pt i 4.

## (383A)

ἡγεμών. Cf. πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικόν in 1 Cl xviii 12 (Ps 1 14 [LXX]).

βασιλεὺς ὁ θεός. Bauer quotes these words at the beginning of his

section on βασιλεὺς as God (2, b), q.v.; cf. also βασιλεύει, 382E

above.

θεωμέναις . . . τὸ . . . κάλλος. Cf. Jn i 14.

ποθούσαις. This important term is rare in ECL; cf. B xvi 10; Dg iii 1; x 1; xii 8.

τὸ μὴ φατὸν μηδὲ ῥητὸν ἀνθρώποις κάλλος. Cf. AP iii 7 (HS 2, 680); also ἄρρητος in 2 Cor xii 4.

κάλλος. For this term used of the "heavenly realm" Cf. 1 Cl xxxv 3. διώκουσαν. This figurative use of διώκω is found also in ECL; cf.

Bauer, s.v., 4, b.

θεοῖς πρέποντα. Cf. Hb ii 10.

## Ch. 79

θυμωμένων. Cf. Lk i 9 (only use of this word in ECL); also Lk i 10f. (θυμίαμα).

ἐν σπουδῇ. Cf. Ro xii 8.

## (383B)

ἐπιτηδεύματα. The only use of this term in ECL (Dg i) does not have this meaning. Cf., however, Js ii 16 (τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῦ σώματος).

ἱεουργίαις. Cf. Ro xv 16 (ἱεουργέω).

ἀγνείαις. In ECL this term is used only in the singular. Cf. Bauer, s.v.; F. Hauck, *TWNT* 1, 123f. = *TDNT* 1, 122-24.

διαίταις. The singular of this term is used in this way in Dg v 4.

οὐχ ἦττον ἔνεστι τουτουὶ τοῦ ὀσίου τὸ ὑγιεινόν. Although cognates of ὑγιεινός do occur in ECL, with both literal and figurative meanings, the relation of physical health to holiness is not a prominent theme. A possible exception is 1 Ti v 23.

οὐ γὰρ φοντο καλῶς . . . ἀμίαντον. The idea of worshipping with holy bodies is expressed in Ro xii 1f. and 2 Cor vi 14-vii 1. The equivalent thought regarding souls is found in 1 Cl xxix 1.

ἀχλωδῆ. Cf. the figurative use of ἀχλὺς in 2 Cl i 6.

## (383C)

τὸ σύμφυτον τῷ σώματι πνεῦμα. Only Ro vi 5 in ECL has the term σύμφυτος.

πνεῦμα μεμαρασμένον. Cf. Hv 3:11:2.

λοιμικά. This term is used once in ECL, 1 Cl lv 1. Cf. also λοιμοί, above 370B.

## Ch. 80

## (383E)

γραμμάτων ἱερῶν. Cf. 2 Ti iii 15; also 1 Cl xliii 1; xlv 2; liii 1; Ro i 2.

(383F)

προσηγῶς. Cf. 1 Cl xxiii 1.

λυπηρά. Cf. Hm 10:3:2; also 10:2:4.

(384A)

κάτοπτρον. Cf. κατοπτρίζω in 2 Cor iii 18.

ἐξεπάδοντες. Cf. ἐπαοιδός in D iii 4.

## III

## DE E APUD DELPHOS (MORALIA 384C-394C)\*

BY

HANS DIETER BETZ and EDGAR W. SMITH, Jr.

Claremont, California

Plutarch calls *De E apud Delphos* one of the Πυθικοὶ λόγοι which he sent as a gift to his friend Sarapion (cf. R. Flacelière, *REG* 64 1951, 325-327; C. P. Jones, *HSCP* 71, 1966, 205-213) at Athens. The work is a report, told by the author, of a discussion which took place beside the temple of Apollo at Delphi, between Ammonius, Lamprias, Plutarch himself, Theon, Eustrophus, Nicander, and other unknown persons. The discussion deals with the question of the meaning of the letter E which is displayed in front of the temple. The tractate as a whole is significant not only because of the discussion of the inscription, but even more because of the insights which it provides into the interpretation of Apollo by the Delphic theologians.

On the composition of the work, cf. R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog II* (Leipzig, 1895), 197-203; C. Kahle, *De Plutarchi ratione dialogorum componendorum* (Göttingen, 1912); K. Ziegler, *PW* XXI/1, 1949, 827-829. The prooemium is followed by three major sections of dialogue. The first section (384 D - 385 B) begins with Ammonius' brief introduction to the theology of Apollo in general, and then has various members of the group discuss their different views of the meaning of the letter E. The second section consists mainly of Plutarch's praises (391 E) of the number 5 for the various fields of the sciences (387 F - 391 E). In the final part (391 E - 394 C) Ammonius delivers a philosophical discourse which is his own interpretation of the inscription; this, however, is only the consequence of his Delphic theology of Apollo as developed in its theological and anthropological aspects. This whole discourse is nothing other than an interpretation of the maxim γνῶθι σαυτόν (cf. W. Theiler, *Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus*, 2nd ed. [Berlin, 1964],

\* The text of Plutarch used is that of F. C. Babbitt in LCL.

13ff.; J. Whittaker, *CIQ* 19, 1969, 185-192; H. D. Betz, *HTR* 63, 1970, 465-484). On Plutarch's theology, cf. M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* II, 2nd ed. 1961, 402ff. Most valuable is the commentary by R. Flacelière, *Plutarque. Sur l'E de Delphes* (Annales de l'Université de Lyon, 3ème série, fasc. 11, 1941).

## Ch. 1

(384D)

ὦ φίλε Σαραπίων. Cf. the similar forms of address in Lk i 4 (κράτιστε θεόφιλε) and Ac i 1 (ὦ θεόφιλε), which indicate the author's literary ambitions; also Dg i (κράτιστε Διόγνητε).

πολλὰ κεκτημένοις. Cf. Mk x 22 (Mt xix 22): ἔχων κτήματα πολλά. κακοήθειας. Cf. Ro i 29; 1 Cl xxxv 5; D ii 6.

(384E)

τὰ χρηματικά . . . ἀπὸ λόγου καὶ σοφίας. On this contrasting valuation of "material" and "spiritual" gifts, cf. Ac iii 6; Ro xv 27; 1 Cor ix 11. Cf. also 2 Cor ix 12-15.

λόγου καὶ σοφίας. On the combination of these terms cf. 1 Cor i 17; ii 1, 4, 13; xii 8; Col ii 23; iii 16.

διδόναι καλὸν ἐστὶ . . . τῶν λαμβανόντων. A similar saying regarding giving and receiving is found in the saying attributed to Jesus in Ac xx 35.

καλὸν ἐστὶ. This introductory formula of a saying is found in Mk vii 27//Mt xv 26; Mk ix 42, 43, 45, 47//Mt xviii 8f; Ro xiv 21; 1 Cor vii 1, 8, 26; ix 15; Gal iv 18; Hb xiii 9; 1 Cl li 3; I Ro vi 1; B xxi 1 (cf. also Mk ix 5//Mt xvii 4//Lk ix 33 and Mk xiv 21//Mt xxvi 24).

ἀπαρχάς. This technical term of the sacrificial cults is also used metaphorically in Ro viii 23; xi 16; xvi 5; 1 Cor xv 20, 23; xvi 15; 2 Th ii 13; Js i 18; Rv xiv 4; 1 Cl xxiv 1; xlii 4; B i 7. Cf. G. Delling, *TWNT* 1, 483ff. = *TDNT* 1, 484ff.

φίλος. This term is not used of God in the ECL; however, man can be called "friend of God" (cf. Bauer, s.v. φίλος). On Jesus as φίλος cf. Mt xi 19//Lk vii 34.

(384F)

ἀπορίας. Cf. Lk xxi 25 and ἀπορεῖν in Mk vi 20; Lk xxiv 4; Jn xiii 22; Ac xxv 20; 2 Cor iv 8; Gal iv 20; Hs 8, 3, 1. Cf. also the more frequent μέριμνα and μεριμνᾶν, especially in the discussion of earthly and spiritual cares in 1 Cor vii 32-35. Cf. R. Bultmann, *TWNT* 4, 593-98 = *TDNT* 4, 589-93.

ἴσθαι. Metaphorical use of this verb is also found in the ECL, often with regard to sin and its consequences, and often based on OT sources. Cf. the uses of Isa vi 10 in Mt xiii 15; Jn xii 40; and Ac xxviii 27; Isa liii 5 in 1 Pt ii 24; 1 Cl xvi 5; and B v 2; Isa lxi 1 in Lk iv 18 v.l. and B xiv 9; Job v 18 in 1 Cl lvi 7; also the similar uses in Hb xii 13; Js v 16; 2 Cl ix 7; Hv 1, 1, 9; 1, 3, 1; Hs 9, 23, 5; 9, 28, 5.

διαλύειν. Cf. ἐπίλυσις 2 Pt I 20; Mk iv 34.

θεμιστεύων. This term is not used in the ECL. Cf. however, the concept of θεμιτός in 1 Cl lxiii 1; Dg vi 10; and the related uses of ἔξεστι and ἐξουσία.

χρωμένοις. The term χράομαι is not used in the ECL with regard to the consultation of oracles. Cf., however, the following, all of which have to do with divine messages of one kind or another: χρηματίζειν in Mt ii 12, 22; Lk ii 26; Ac x 22; Hb viii 5; xi 7; xii 25; χρηματισμός in Ro xi 4; 1 Cl xvii 5; and χρησιμοδοτεῖν in 1 Cl lv 1.

Of particular interest is the doctrine of revelation which is developed in this passage. As is typical of Greek thinking, man is seen as confronted in his life with two kinds of ἀπορία. First, there are the ἀπορίαὶ περὶ τὸν βίον, which are Apollo's concern as a giver of oracles. Therefore, in order to find a solution to these problems, one should approach the oracle. There are also the ἀπορίαὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον, which cannot be answered by the oracle. To those who are φύσει φιλόσοφοι the god reveals himself in two ways: he is the one who introduces to them the problems as problems, and he is also the one who creates in them the "longing for truth" which enables them to solve the problems. However, it is the philosophers themselves who must find the answers. There are many instances of such ἀπορία, especially the names of the god and the inscriptions at the temple (cf. 394C). The term ὄρεξις is used only negatively in the ECL: Ro i 27. The idea of being or doing something "by nature" (φύσει) occurs in Ro ii 14; Gal ii 15; iv 8; Eph ii 3; also ἐκ φύσεως in Ro ii 27 and κατὰ φύσιν in Ro xi 21, 24; I Tr i 1. The terms φιλοσοφία (Col ii 8) and φιλόσοφος (Ac xvii 18; Dg viii 2) are not used favorably in the ECL. The Colossian "heresy" probably called itself "philosophy." On inspiration in relation to γράμματα, cf. 2 Cor iii 6f; 2 Ti iii 15f; B ix 7f. Cf. also D. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief* (Neukirchen, 1964), index s.v. γράμμα.

περὶ τοῦ εἶ. This phrase introduces the subject of the tractate.

Cf. similar uses of *περί* in Mk xii 26 (Mt xxii 31); Mk xiii 32 (Mt xxiv 36); 1 Cor vii 1, 25; viii 1, 4; xii 1; xvi 1, 12; 2 Cor ix 1; 1 Th iv 9; v 1.

## (385A)

*ἀναθήματος*. Cf. Lk xxi 5.

*δύναμιν*. In the NT cf. esp. the power available in the person (Mk iii 10//Lk vi 19; Mk viii 22) or garments (Mk v 27ff//Mt ix 20ff//Lk viii 44ff; Mk vi 56//Mt xiv 36) of Jesus; similarly with regard to the apostles (Ac v 15; xix 12). Cf. Bauer, s.v.; W. Grundmann, *TWNT* 2, 286-318 = *TDNT* 2, 284-317.

A *περίπατος*, which comes at the beginning of other dialogues, is here assumed to have taken place already, in the actions of the sons and strangers. Cf. Hirzel, *Dialog* II, 198. For a NT *περίπατος*, cf. Lk xxiv 13-32.

## (385B)

*περί τὸν νεῶν*. The holy place inspires the discussion. Cf. Mt xxiv 15 *ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ*; Lk ii 46; Ac vi 13f; xxi 28; Jn iv 20; xi 48; H. Koester, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 4, 187ff, esp. 189f, 204f. Compare also the "unknown god" as a starting point for Paul's speech in Ac xvii.

*ὑπὸ . . . τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν ἀνεμνήσθη*. Cf. the remembering of the words of Jesus, especially after the resurrection: Mk xiv 72//Mt xxvi 75//Lk xxii 61; Mt xxvii 63; Lk xxiv 6, 8; Jn ii 22; xii 16; xiv 26; Ac xi 16; 2 Pt iii 2; 1 Cl xiii 1; xlvii 7f. Cf. also the frequent references to "reminding," as one of their functions, by early Christian letter writers.

## Ch. 2

*μάντις*. Title and function of Apollo (cf. Nilsson, *GGR* I<sup>3</sup>, 174). Related terminology is rare in ECL. On *μάντις* cf. Hm 11:2; on *μαντεύομαι* cf. Ac xvi 16 and Hm 11:4; on *μανία* cf. Ac xxvi 24; and on *μαίνομαι* cf. Jn x 20; Ac xxvi 24f (cf. ii 15); 1 Cor xiv 23. Cf. also H. Preisker, *TWNT* 4, 363ff. = *TDNT* 4, 360f; Nilsson, *GGR* II<sup>2</sup>, 409ff.

*Πύθιος*. Cf. Ac xvi 16, *πνεῦμα πυθῶνα*; cf. also Bauer, s.v. *πύθων*, and W. Foerster, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 6, 917ff.

*Πύθιος μὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις μανθάνειν καὶ διαπυθάνεσθαι*. Cf. Ro viii 26f.

*Δήλιος . . . δηλοῦται*. Cf. Nilsson, *GGR* I, 553, 830. Cf. *δηλοῦν*, used this way in ECL: 1 Cor i 11; iii 13; Col i 8; Hb ix 8; xii 27; 1 Pt i 11; 2 Pt i 14; 1 Cl xviii 6; xxiv 3; 2 Cl xiv 3; ITr i 1; I Ro x 2; ISm vii 2; IPol vii 1; B ix 8; xvii 1; MPol xxii 3; PK 3 p. 15, 21; and often in Hermas. Cf. also R. Bultmann, *TWNT* 2, 60f. = *TDNT* 2, 61f.

*ὁ Φαναῖος . . . ὑποφαίνεται*. Symbolic uses of cognates of *ὑποφαίνειν* are found in ECL, e.g. Jn i 5; v 35; 1 Jn ii 8; Phil ii 15. Cf. also the frequent symbolic uses of terms for light.

## (385C)

*Ἰσμήνιος δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιστήμην*. Cf. Nilsson, *GGR* I<sup>3</sup>, 126, 531, 545, 626. The term *ἐπιστήμη* is used very little in ECL: Phil iv 8 v.l.; B ii 3; xxi 5; Hv 3, 8, 5; 3, 8, 7. On *οἱ ἔχοντες ἐπιστήμην* (cf. Poimandres § 26, *οἱ γινῶσιν ἐσχηκότες*) compare 1 Cor viii 1, 7, 10; 2 Cor xi 6 (also 1 Cor i 5; Ro xv 14; B i 5). The gnostics at Corinth would have said that Christ is *σοφία* for those who are *σοφοί* and *πνευματικοί*.

*ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν . . .* On this definition of philosophy, cf. the definition of faith in Hb xi 1 and especially the uses of *ἀρχή* in IEph xiv 1 and B i 6. On *ζητεῖν* cf. H. Greeven, *TWNT* 2, 894ff. = *TDNT* 2, 892ff. esp. 893; for *ἀπορεῖν* cf. notes to Ch. 1. On *ἀρχή* used in this way, cf. (besides the definitions in IEph and B) ISm vii 2 and PPhil iv 1. The subject matter, if not the term itself, of the *ἀρχή* of faith is found in Lk xxiv 13-32 (cf. Betz, *Interpretation* 23, 1969, 32-46). Cf. also Proverbs i 7; ix 10 LXX. *θαυμάζειν*. Not used in the philosophical sense in the ECL (cf. G. Bertram, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 3, 27ff.).

*αὐνίγμασι*. The only use of this term in the ECL is 1 Cor xiii 12, where also it has to do with revelation. (Cf. G. Kittel, *TWNT* 1, 177ff. = *TDNT* 1, 178ff; Bauer, s.v.) A doctrine of revelation similar to what is found here in Plutarch is that found in Mk iv 11f and parallels. The difference is indicated by the absence of the concepts of *πόθος* and *δρεξίς* in ECL.

*κατακεκρύφθαι*. This particular compound is not found in the ECL. Cf., however, the similar uses of *κρύπτειν* and *ἀποκρύπτειν* in Lk xi 52 v.l.; xviii 34; xix 42; Eph iii 9; Hs 9, 11, 9; and esp. Mt xi 25//Lk x 21; 1 Cor ii 7; Col i 26 (cf. ii 3; iii 3).

*τοῦ πυρός τοῦ ἀθανάτου*. Equivalent terms in ECL (*πῦρ αἰώνιον*, *πῦρ ἀσβεστον*) refer only to a means of punishment.

Μοῦρας. In ECL the term is found only in AP, fgm. 2. πανταχοῦ τριῶν νομιζομένων. Compare Paul's (ecclesiastical) variation of this kind of argumentation in 1 Cor iv 17; vii 17; xiv 33; cf. also Ac xxviii 22. τὸ μηδεμιᾶ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ χρηστήριον εἶναι προσελθεῖν. A "sacred law" with similar content is 1 Cor xiv 34. For the cultic uses of προσέρχεσθαι cf. Hb iv 16; vii 25; x 1, 22; xi 6; 1 Pt ii 4; 1 Cl xxiii 1; xxix 1; 2 Cl xvii 3. Cf. Also γυνή in A. Oepke, TWNT (= TDNT) I, 776-789.

## (385D)

ἀλόγοις. Cf. Ac xxv 27; also (of animals) 2 Pt ii 12; Jd 10. ἀψύχοις. Cf. 1 Cor xiv 7; Dg ii 4. δελιάζει. Cf. Js i 14; 2 Pt ii 14, 18. σκοπεῖν. Cf. ethical uses, esp. Lk xi 35; Ro xvi 17; 2 Cor iv 18; Gal vi 1; Phil ii 4; iii 17. γινῶθι σαυτὸν. Cf. 1 Cor iii 4 (οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἐστε; cf. Betz, HTR 63, 1970, 476 note 60); also Ac x 26; xiv 11, 15; xii 22f; Js v 17. μηδὲν ἄγαν. Cf. H. J. Mette, MHΔEN AFAN (München 1933); J. Defradas, *Lesthèmes de la propagande delphique* (Paris, 1954), 268ff. The maxim is not expressly reflected in ECL. However, cf. Ro xii 3; 2 Cor x 12f; Eph iv 7, 13, 16. In the Pauline tradition there is a clear opposition to any tendency by man to overextend himself, e.g., Paul's opposition to the θεῖος ἀνὴρ idea of Christianity, and to the gnostics (1 Cor iv 8; 2 Cor xii 1-4, 7). Cf. K. Deissner, TWNT 4, 635ff. = TDNT 4, 632ff. ζητήσεις. This term is almost always negative in the ECL: Jn iii 25; Ac xv 2, 7; xxv 20; 1 Ti vi 4; 2 Ti ii 23; Tit iii 9. καθάπερ ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀναπέφυκεν. On this simile cf. esp. Mk iv 31f and parallels; 2 Cor ix 10. Cf. S. Schulz and G. Quell, TWNT 7, 537ff. = TDNT 7, 536ff.

## Ch. 3

ἀπλοῦς. Not used here in the moral sense found in ECL.

## (385E)

ἐξελέγγειν. Cf. this word in Jd 15 v.l.; and ἐλέγγειν, esp. Mt xviii 15 (cf. Lk xvii 3); Lk iii 19; Jn viii 46; 1 Cor xiv 24; 1 Ti v 20; 2 Ti iv 2; Tit i 9, 13; ii 15; Jd 15 (En 1, 9); Rv iii 19; D ii 7; B xix 4; Hv 1, 1, 5. Cf. also Bauer, *Lexicon s.v.*, and F. Büchsel, TWNT 2,

470-74 = TDNT 2, 473-476, which include further examples of this term used in early Christian ecclesiastical legislation. Unlike the Wise Men of Plutarch's dialogue, the Christians did not avoid ἐλέγγειν of those whom they considered to be wrong.

ἀλαζονεῖαν. This term and its cognates are found several times in ECL, esp. in lists of vices: Ro i 30; 2 Ti iii 2; Js iv 16; 1 Jn ii 16; 1 Cl ii 1; xiii 1; xiv 1; xvi 2; xxi 5; xxxv 5; xxxviii 2; lvii 2; D v 1; Hm 6, 2, 5; 8, 5; Dg iv 1, 4, 6. Cf. G. Delling, TWNT 1, 227f. = TDNT 1, 226f.

## (385F)

μαρτυρομένους . . . ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Similar uses of this verb are found in ECL only in Ac xx 26; xxvi 22; Gal v 3; Eph iv 17; 1 Th ii 12. Cf. also μάρτυς in Ro i 9; 2 Cor i 23; Phil i 8; 1 Th ii 5, 10; IPhld vii 2; and μαρτυρεῖν or μαρτυρία in Jn v 31-39; viii 13f, 18; x 25; xv 26f; Ac xiv 3; xv 8; Hb x 15; xi 4; 1 Jn v 7-11; Rv xxii 16; B xv 4. Cf. Th. Klauser, "Beteuerungsformeln," RAC II, 219ff.

ἀποβάλλοντας. The usage of the term here is similar to that of 1 Cl xlv 3f. Cf. also the rejection of the "stones" in Hermas (Hv 3, 2, 7; 3, 5, 5; 3, 7, 5; Hs 9, 7, 1; 9, 8, 3-7; 9, 9, 4f; 9, 12, 4; 9, 13, 3; 9, 13, 6; 9, 13, 9; 9, 30, 1).

The whole discussion in Ch. 3 is reminiscent of the question of true apostleship in the ECL, including the matter of "the Twelve."

## Ch. 4

## (386A)

διεμειδίασεν. Smiling and laughing are generally viewed negatively in the ECL. The only positive valuation of laughing is in the Lukan beatitude vi 21b, and there it is entirely eschatological.

ἰδία . . . δόξη. Cf. ἰδία ἐπίλυσις in 2 Pt i 20.

ἱστορίαν καὶ ἀκοὴν ἑτέρων. Cf. the φιλοσοφία καὶ κενὴ ἀπάτη κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων in Col ii 8, as well as the παράδοσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων in Mk vii 8 and the παράδοσις ὑμῶν of Mk vii 9, 13 and Mt xv 3, 6.

ὁ Χαλδαῖος. This term is used only once in ECL, at Ac vii 4, where it is part of a geographical designation. It appears to designate the kinds of persons who are called μάγοι in Mt ii 1ff.

ἐφλύαρει. Cf. 3 Jn 10 and φλύαρος in 1 Ti v 13, both of which uses

have more of a moral aspect than this usage in Plutarch. Cf. also ὁ σπερμολόγος of Ac xvii 18 (note ξένος in context). ξένος. Cf. Ac xvii 18; Hb xiii 9 and Hs 8, 6, 5 for similar negative uses of this adjective.

(386B)

ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν. This expression is found also in Hb vii 9; cf. BDF, § 391a.

## Chs. 4-5

κοινήν . . . δόξαν. Cf. the κοινή πίστις of Tit i 4, and compare the πανταχοῦ . . . νομιζομένων in 385C.

(386C)

ἐντεύξεως. The term is used in ECL for various kinds of prayer (1 Tim ii 1; iv 5; Hm 5, 1, 6; 10, 3, 2f; 11:9; 11:14; Hs 2:5ff; 5, 4, 3f), and as a designation for both 1 Cl (lxiii 2) and 2 Cl (xix 1). εἰ γαμήσουσιν. Cf. Paul's reply to the question asked by the Corinthians in 1 Cor vii.

σοφὸς ὢν ὁ θεός. Cf. Ro xvi 27 (also 1 Ti i 17 v. 1.; Jd 25 v. 1.); 1 Cor i 25; 1 Cl lx 1; Dg viii 10. For a similar construction, cf. Eph ii 4 and 2 Cor viii 9; Eph ii 20; Hb i 3.

πάσας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις . . . προσιέμενος. This functions as an affirmation of the legitimacy of prayer, as does Mk xi 24//Mt xxi 22.

## Ch. 6

(386E)

On the god intending something other than what was said directly, compare 1 Cor ix 9f; x 11; also Ro iv 23; xv 4; Gal iv 24.

(386F)

ὁ θεὸς αὖξει. This theme is mentioned in 1 Cor iii 6f; 2 Cor ix 10; Col ii 19; Hv 1, 1, 6; 3, 4, 1.

ὁ θεός . . . συνίστησι. Parallel expressions are 1 Cl xxvii 4 and perhaps Ro v 8 (meaning uncertain). Cf. also Col i 17; 2 Pt iii 5; Bauer, Lexicon, s.v. συνίστημι.

θηρία. Comparison of animals and man is found in B vi 18 (based on Gen i 26, 28). Cf. also Js iii 7f and ἄλογα ζῷα in 2 Pt ii 12; Jd 10. παραδέδωκεν ἡ φύσις. Cf. IEph i 1; ITr i 1; also 1 Cor xi 14 for φύσις as perhaps personified. Cf. also φύσει in 384F.

(387A)

ἀποδείξεις. In ECL only at 1 Cor ii 4.

ἀληθείας . . . φῶς. On φῶς related to ἀλήθεια, cf. esp. IPhld ii 1; also Jn i 9; 1 Jn ii 8; Jn iii 21; Eph v 9.

τῷ μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠγαπηκότι θεῷ. A similar expression is the votive inscription ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ in Ac xvii 23. The term ἀγάπη ἀληθείας is found in 2 Th ii 10, and the relation of Christ to truth is a frequent theme in Jn, esp. i 14, 17; xiv 16f; xviii 37; cf. also iii 33 (ὁ θεὸς ἀληθὴς ἐστίν).

(387B)

τὸ μέλλον. For the absolute use of this term in contrast to past and present cf. B i 7; v 3; in contrast to the present, cf. Ro viii 38; 1 Cor iii 22; B xvii 2. Cf. other absolute uses in Lk xiii 9; Col ii 17; 1 Ti vi 19; 1 Cl xxxi 3; PK 3 p. 15, 21.

τῶν παρόντων. Cf. this term in B i 8 and absolute uses of the sg. in Hb xii 11; MPol xx 1; also attributive use in Col i 6; other forms in Jn vii 6; 1 Cl lvii 4. Cf. also ἐνίστημι in ECL.

τῶν . . . παραφημένων. Cf. Ac xiv 16; also τὰ παρεληλυθότα in B i 7; v 3; and ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος in 1 Pt iv 3.

ἄλογος. Used here as in Ac xxv 27. Cf. 385D.

πρόγνωσις. Cf. this term in Ac ii 23; 1 Pt i 2; 1 Cl xlv 2.

(387C)

τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας τρίποδα. Examples of this "spiritualization of cultic language" are found in ECL, e.g., the uses of ναός (Jn ii 19, 21; 1 Cor iii 16f; vi 19; 2 Cor vi 16; Eph ii 21; 2 Cl ix 3; IEph ix 1; xv 3; IPhld vii 2; B iv 11; vi 15; xvi 6ff) and θυσία (Ro xii 1; Phil ii 18; iv 18 [2 Cor ii 15]; Hb xiii 15f; 1 Pt ii 5; Hs 5, 3, 8; and the OT quotes in 1 Cl xviii 16f; xxxv 12; lii 4; B ii 10). Cf. H. Wenschkewitz, "Die Spiritualisierung der Kultbegriffe", *Angelos* 4, 1932, 70-230. On the tripod cf. F. Willemsen, *Jb. d. dt. arch. Instit.* 70, 1955, 85-104.

(387D)

The granting of a place in the cult literature to a former rival (Heracles) is similar to what happened in early Christianity to the figure of John the Baptist (cf. Mk i 4-12 [esp. 7-9]//Mt iii // Lk iii 1-22 // Jn i 19-36; Mk vi 14-29 // Mt xiv 1-12 // Lk ix 7-9; Mk viii

28 // Mt xvi 14 // Lk ix 19; Mt xi 2-19 // Lk vii 18-33; cf. xvi 16; Mt xxi 32; Mt xvii 13; Lk i 5-25, 40f, 57-80; Jn i 6-8, 15).  
 διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν. This is an absurdity in the ECL also.  
 Cf. θεομάχος Ac v 39 and θεομαχεῖσθαι Ac xxiii 9 t.r.

## Ch. 7

(387E)

τὴν λεοντὴν ἐπενδυσάμενος. The figure of the lion is used symbolically in the ECL also. Cf. 2 Ti iv 17; 1 Pt v 8; Rv iv 7; ix 8, 17; x 3; xiii 2 (also v 5); 1 Cl xxxv 11; xlv 6. On ἐπενδύεσθαι cf. 2 Cor v 2, 4 (also ἐπενδύτης in Jn xxi 7). Cf. also μετασχηματίζειν, esp. 2 Cor xi 13-15; Phil iii 21.

ἀπάρξασθαι. Cf. ἀπαρχή in 384E.

σημεῖον. On this important concept in ECL cf. K. H. Rengstorf,

*TWNT* 7, 199ff. = *TDNT* 7, 200ff.

πεμπάδος. Cf. Rv vi 9; ix 1; xvi 10; xxi 20.

## Ch. 8

(387F)

ἀριθμοῦ. For number speculation in ECL cf. B ix 7f; Rv xiii 17f.

(388C)

The use of plant imagery (for similes, metaphors, etc.) is common in the ECL. Cf. for example, Mk iv 3-20 // Mt xiii 3-23 // Lk viii 5-15; Mk iv 26-29; Mk iv 30-32 // Mt xiii 31f // Lk xiii 18f; Mt xvii 20 // Lk xvii 6; Mt vi 28-30 // Lk xii 27f; Mt xiii 24-30, 36-43; Jn xv 1-16; 1 Cor xv 36-38; Ro xi 17-24; and the quotation in 1 Pt i 24.

## Ch. 9

(388E)

On the juxtaposition of Apollo and Dionysus cf. 1 Cor xiv 33.

τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα; Cf. τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί; in Jn ii 4; Mk i 24.

θεολόγων. In ECL only in Rv inscr. v.l.; cf. Bauer, *Lexicon* s.v., for literature on the concept.

(388F)

ὕμνων. Cf. Mk xiv 26 // Mt xxvi 30; Ac xvi 25; Eph v 19; Col iii 16; Hb ii 12. Cf. also G. Dellling, *TWNT* 8, 492-506 = *TDNT* 8, 489-503.

ὡς ἀφθαρτος ὁ θεός. On God as ἀφθαρτος cf. Ro i 23; 1 Ti i 17; PK 2;

Dg ix 2 (Christ); also ἀφθαρσία and ἀφθαρτος in Bauer, *Lexicon*.

ἀίδιος. Cf. Ro i 20.

πεφυκώς. Cf. φύσει under notes to 384F.

εἰμαρμένης. The concept corresponds roughly to δόγμα in Col ii 14;

Eph ii 15.

μεταβολαῖς. This term is not used in ECL, but corresponds to μεταμορφῶσθαι, for which cf. Mk ix 2 // Mt xvii 2; Ro xii 2; 2 Cor iii 18; and Dg ii 3. Cf. also μεταβάλλειν in IMg x 2.

πάνθ' ὁμοίωσας πᾶσιν. Compare 1 Cor ix 22 τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα (cf. H. Chadwick, *NTS* 1, 1955, 261ff).

μορφαῖς. On the changing of μορφή, cf. Phil ii 6f; also Gal iv 19. The subject, although not terminology, is used in Jn i 14. That God could be perceived in the world is typical of Greek thinking. Cf. Ro i 18ff, which is very close to Stoic philosophy.

τὴν . . . εἰς πῦρ μεταβολήν. Fire is important in early Christian apocalyptic language; cf. F. Lang, *TWNT* 6, 927-53 = *TDNT* 6, 928-52.

μονώσει. Cf. ὁ μόνος θεός in Jn v 44; xvii 3; Ro xvi 27; 1 Ti i 17; vi 15f; Jd 25 (of Christ in Jd 4); Rv xv 4; 1 Cl xliii 6, all these being liturgical expressions. Cf. also E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Darmstadt, 1956<sup>4</sup>) index; and εἷς θεός in 393A.

καθαροῦ. This technical term of purification is not applied to God in early Christian literature.

ἀμιάνω. With καθαρός, cf. Js i 27 (Hm 2:7); Hs 5, 7, 1. Cf. also Hb vii 26 (of Christ); xiii 4; 1 Pt i 4; 1 Cl xxix 1; Hs 5, 6, 7.

(389A)

τροπῆς. Cf. τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα in Js i 17, where the context of this difficult expression suggests an astrological meaning (cf. Bauer, s.v.).

διακοσμήσεως. Cf. Papias fragment 4; also διακοσμεῖν, 1 Cl xxxiii 3, of regulation of the heavens (cf. Bauer, s.v.); also Ac xvii 26.

πάθημα. The term is used for the suffering of Christ (as well as of Christians) in ECL: cf. 2 Cor i 5; Phil iii 10; Hb ii 9f; 1 Pt i 11; iv 13; v 1; 1 Cl ii 1.

μεταβολήν. The concept expressed here may have something to do with Gal iv 1-10 and Col ii. Cf. Betz, *NovT* X, 1968, 65.

διασπασιμόν. Cf. διασπᾶν in 1 Cl xlvi 7 (and Bauer, s.v.)

διαμελισμόν. Cf. 1 Cor i 13, μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός;

αἰνίττονται. Cf. αἰνίγματα in 385C.

ἀφανισμούς. Cf. ἀφαντος in Lk xxiv 31.  
 ἀναβιώσεις. Cf. ἀναβιοῦν in 2 Cl xix 4.  
 παλιγγενεσίας. In ECL used of persons only in Tit iii 5 (of a redeemed Christian). Never used for the resurrection of Christ. Cf. also 1 Cl ix 4 and Mt xix 28 (of the world).  
 μυθεύματα. Cf. IMg viii 1 μυθεύματα τὰ παλαιά.

(389B)

τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα. A similar expression is applied to correct worship in 1 Cor xiv 40: εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν.  
 ὁμαλότητα. Cf. ὁμαλός in Hv 1, 3, 4; Hm 2:4; 6, 1, 2; and ὁμαλῶς in Hm 6, 1, 4.  
 τάξιν. Cf. 1 Cor xiv 40 (and xiv 33); Col ii 5; 1 Cl xl 1; Dg viii 7.  
 σπουδὴν ἀκρατον. Of the frequent uses of σπουδή in ECL, cf. esp. Ro xii 8, 11; 2 Cor vii 11; viii 7f; Hb vi 11; 2 Pt i 5. Cf. also σπουδάζειν, σπουδαῖος and σπουδαίως in Bauer. On ἀκρατος cf. Rv xiv 10.  
 μανία. In ECL only at Ac xxvi 24. Cf. 385B.

Ch. 10

(389E)

παρὰ τὸν . . . νόμον. Cf. Ac xviii 13, and similar uses of παρὰ in Bauer, s.v. παρὰ, III, 6.

Ch. 11

(390A)

συμβεβηκός. Cf. Lk xxiv 14; Ac iii 10; GP xiv 59.

Ch. 13

(390E)

ἀτελές καὶ πρὸς οὐδ' ὄτιοῦν. Cf. Mt v 13.

On the whole discussion of the necessity of the ψυχή, cf. the equivalent statement about the πνεῦμα in Js ii 26 (and 2 Cor iii 6).

θεοὶ . . . καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἥρωες καὶ . . . ἄνθρωποι . . . καὶ θηριῶδες. Cf. the different hierarchy of beings mentioned in 1 Cor xi 3 (also 1 Cor iii 23; Eph v 23). Cf. also the comparisons of animals and men under θηρία, 386F.

Ch. 16

(391D)

ξυνετοῖσι. The term is used in a somewhat derogatory sense in Mt

xi 25//Lk x 21; 1 Cor i 19 (Isa xxix 14); IEph xviii 1 (from 1 Cor i 19); B iv 11 (cf. Isa v 21). Other, apparently positive, uses in ECL are Ac xiii 7; 1 Cl lx 1; Hm 5, 1, 1; 12, 1, 2; Hs 5, 5, 4; 9, 2, 6.

κατάγη . . . εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον. This is a phrase similar to κατάγειν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον in Ac xxiii 20, 28 (cf. xxii 30; xxiii 15). The use of κατάγειν apparently has to do not only with going down, but is a standard way of expressing the going to such places.

(391E)

ἄρρητος. Cf. the ἄρρητα ῥήματα of 2 Cor xii 4.  
 ἄχρι οὗ τάληθές . . . γινῶναι παράσχη. Cf. 1 Cor xiii 12.

(391F)

ἐβδομάς. Cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *TWNT* 2, 623-31 = *TDNT* 2, 627-35.

Ch. 17

(392A)

ἐνοιαν. The term is rather rare in ECL: Hb iv 12; 1 Pt iv 1; 1 Cl xxi 3, 9; Pol iv 3; Dg viii 9.

καθιστάσα. Cf. the similar uses of the term in Ro v 19; Js iii 6; iv 4; 2 Pt i 8. Cf. Bauer, s.v.

δυνάμεως. For the connection of word and power, cf. Ro i 16; 1 Cor i 18; also the δύναμις of a φωνή in 1 Cor xiv 11.

ἄψευδῆ. With ἀληθής, cf. MPol xiv 2; I Ro viii 2. Cf. also Tit i 2. It is used only of God or Christ in ECL.

μόνην. Cf. μόνωσις in 388F. In combination with ἀψευδής, cf. esp. Jn xvii 3; 1 Cl xliii 6.

Ch. 18

θνητὴ φύσις. The mortality of man is a theme found often in Paul. Cf. Ro vi 12; vii 24; viii 11; 1 Cor xv 53f; 2 Cor iv 11; v 4; R. Bultmann, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 3, 7-25. But Paul would speak of σῶμα or σάρξ, not the φύσις of man.

γενέσεως. With the meaning "birth," cf. Mt i 18 (and i 1?); Lk i 14.  
 φθορᾶς. As a term for death, cf. Ro viii 21; 1 Cor xv 42, 50; Gal vi 8; Col ii 22; 2 Pt i 4; ii 12, 19.

φάσμα . . . καὶ δόκησιν. These Platonic expressions are not found in the ECL; but cf. 1 Cor xiii 12; 2 Cor iii 18; v 7.

(392B)

διάνοιαν. The term is used rather frequently in ECL, esp. in later

writings of this literature: Mk xii 30//Mt xxii 37//Lk x 27; Lk i 51; Eph ii 3; iv 18; Col i 21; Hb viii 10; x 16; 1 Pt i 13; 2 Pt iii 1; 1 Jn v 20; 1 Cl xix 3; xxi 8; xxiii 1; xxxiii 4; xxxv 2, 5; xxxvi 2; xxxix 1; 2 Cl i 6; iii 4; xix 2; xx 1; IEph xx 2; ITr i 1; Hv 3, 11, 3; Hm 5, 2, 7; 10, 1, 5; Hs 4:7; Dg ii 1. Cf. J. Behm, *TWNT* 4, 961ff. = *TDNT* 4, 963ff.

## (392C)

οὐδέ. As an introduction to an interpretation, cf. 1 Cor xv 50. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σπέρματος . . . ἐπιγιγνομέναις. On change from one form of existence to another, cf. 1 Cor xiii 11; xv 36ff. φοβούμεθα γελοίως θάνατον. This ridiculing of the fear of death, typical for the Greek mind, was not done in early Christianity; fear of death was rejected, but not considered ridiculous (cf. Mt x 28; Ro viii 31ff). θάνατον. For the concept of death between stages of life (instead of a concept of organic development), cf. Ro viii 36; 1 Cor xv 31ff; 2 Cor iv 10f, 16; xiii 4; Phil iii 10f. Cf. H. Braun, "Das 'Stirb und werde' in der Antike und im Neuen Testament," *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (Tübingen 1967<sup>2</sup>), 136-158.

## (392D)

ἐφθάρη . . . εἰς . . . Cf. Ro vi 3; Gal iii 27. Cf. also G. Delling, "Die Bezugnahme von neutestamentlichem εἰς auf Vorgegebenes," *Verborum Veritas*, Festschrift für G. Stählin (Wuppertal 1970), 211-223. μένει δ' οὐδεὶς . . . Cf. 1 Cor vii 31; xiii 13; 1 Pt i 23, 25; 2 Pt ii 4-7, etc. The concept of μένειν is very important in the theology of John (and Gnosticism); cf. J. Heise, *Bleiben: Menein in den johanneischen Schriften* (Tübingen, 1967).

## (392E)

ψεύδεται δ' ἡ αἰσθησις. This dogma of Hellenistic religion and philosophy plays no role in ECL (although Ro i 25; 1 Cor xiii 12; 2 Cor iv 18 come close to it); cf. e.g., the positive use of αἰσθησις in Phil i 9; 2 Cor x 7; xii 6. ἀγνοία. Cf. esp. Eph iv 18; also Bauer, s.v.

## Ch. 19

ὄντως ὄν. Cf. the religiously popularized reflections of the traditional

Platonic term for reality in 1 Ti vi 19 ἡ ὄντως ζωὴ and Dg x 7 ὁ ὄντως θάνατος; also Bauer, s.v. ὄντως.

ἀίδιον. Cf. 388F.

ἀγένητον. Cf. IEph vii 2.

ἀφθαρτον. Cf. τὸ ἀφθαρτον in B xix 8; 1 Pt iii 4; Bauer s.v. ἀφθαρτος, ἀφθαρσία for further references. Cf. also 388F.

The preceding three terms used for speaking of the god are formed with the α-privative. This is typical for Greek thought, and the same thing was used in Christian expressions about God, esp. in later writings of the ECL.

ᾧ χρόνος μεταβολὴν οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπάγει. Cf. Hb vii 24 ἀπαράβατος; also Hb xiii 8; also ἀμετάθετος Hb vi 17f.

κινουμένη . . . ὕλη. Since movement is something peculiar to matter, Plutarch would have found it impossible to say "in God κινούμεθα," as Ac xvii 28 (Cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 19ff). Cf. Bauer s.v. κινέω, 3. Cf. also φθαρτὴ ὕλη Dg ii 3; and negative uses of ὕλη in 1 Cl xxxviii 3; I Ro vi 2; PK 2, p. 14, 15.

ῥέον. Used symbolically, as in Jn vii 38 (different meaning).

μὴ στέγον. Cf. 1 Cor ix 12; xiii 7; also Bauer s.v. στέγω.

ἀγγεῖον φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως. The term ἀγγεῖον is used figuratively of the body in Hm 5, 2, 5. Cf. Ro ix 22f; 2 Cor iv 7; v 1ff; 1 Pt iii 7; etc. (On σκεῦος cf. W. Mauer, *TWNT* 7, 359ff = *TDNT* 7, 358ff.; Bauer s.v., 2.)

## (392F)

ἐξομολόγησις. The term is used in a different sense, "confessional prayer," in Hs 2:5; cf. Hm 10, 3, 2.

ἄτοπον. Cf. Ac xxviii 6; IMg x 3 ἄτοπόν ἐστιν; and Bauer s.v. for other ECL references.

ἐξ ἀνάγκης. Cf. Bauer s.v. ἀνάγκη, 1. Also 2 Cor ix 7; Hb vii 12; Hs 7:3; ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ in Hm 6, 2, 8; Hs 9, 9, 2; κατὰ ἀνάγκην in Phlm 14.

διυστάμενον. Of the passing of time, cf. Lk xxii 59.

## (393A)

οὐδὲν αὐτῆς [i.e. φύσεως] μένον οὐδ' ὄν ἐστιν . . . Cf. 1 Cor vii 29, 31 (cf. H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* [Göttingen 1969], ad loc.); 1 Jn ii 8, 17.

ἑστὸν ἐστιν . . . Cf. Lk i 75; 1 Th ii 10.

παρραλλάξεις. Cf. παρραλλαγὴ in Js i 17.

## Ch. 20

κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα. Αἰών is found often in ECL; cf. Bauer s.v. εἷς ὧν = εἷς θεός, an acclamation which has a long tradition. Cf. Ro iii 30; 1 Cor xii 9, 13; Eph iv 5; Mk ii 7; x 18; xii 29; Mt xxiii 10; Lk xviii 19. Cf. also Bauer s.v. εἷς, 2; E. Peterson, *Εἷς Θεός* (Göttingen, 1926); E. Stauffer, *TWNT* 2, 432-40 = *TDNT* 2, 434-42; Nilsson, *GGR* II, 569ff.

πεπλήρωκε. Temporal, in ECL only passive; cf. Eph iv 10; 1 Cor xv 28; and Bauer s.v., 2.

μόνον. Cf. μόνωσις in 388F and μόνος in 392A.

## (393B)

δεῖ. Often used of the divine will in ECL. Cf. W. Grundmann, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 2, 21ff.

σεβομένους. A technical term used also in ECL. Cf. Bauer s.v.; W. Foerster, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 7, 168ff.

εἶ ἔν. Cf. ITr xi 2; Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 231ff; Whittaker, *CIQ* XIX, 1969, 185ff.

τὸ θεῖον. This impersonal expression is found only once in ECL: Ac xvii 29.

## (393C)

εἷς καὶ μόνος. Attribute of Apollo; cf. 388F, 393A.

ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν ἡμέραις. The term is not used in ECL; but cf. Gal iv 10 (also Col ii 16; Ro xiv 5).

φοιβονομεῖσθαι. Cf. the νόμος of Christ in Gal vi 2, etc.

εἰλικρινές. Cf. 1 Cor v 8; 2 Cor i 12; ii 17; Phil i 10; 2 Pt iii 1; 1 Cl ii 5; xxxii 1; 2 Cl ix 8.

μιασμός. Cf. 2 Pt ii 10 and F. Hauck, *TWNT* 4, 647-50 = *TDNT* 4, 644-47.

## (393D)

ἄκρατον. Cf. Rv xiv 10, of God's wrath.

On the whole matter of mixtures, etc., as being un-godly, cf. ἀπλότης and ἀπλοῦς (Bauer, s.v.; O. Bauernfeind, *TWNT* 1, 385f. = *TDNT* 1, 386f); διπλοκαρδία (Bauer, s.v.).

## Ch. 21

ποθοῦσιν. Cf. B xvi 10; 1 Cl ii 2. It is an old religious theme that men by nature desire God: cf. Ro viii 22f; 2 Cor v 2.

τιμῶσιν [τὸν θεόν]. Cf. Mk vii 6//Mt xv 8; 1 Cl xv 2 (all OT quotes); Jn v 23; viii 49; 2 Cl iii 4f. Cf. J. Schneider, *TWNT* 8, 18of. = *TDNT* 8, 178ff.

ἐπίνουαν. Rare in ECL. Cf. Ac viii 22; Dg v 3; vii 1.

ἐνυπνίων. Only in the Joel quote in Ac ii 17; cf. Jd 8, ἐνυπνιάζεσθαι.

Cf. also Nilsson, *GGR* II, 225ff, 230, 520f, 562.

ἐγείρωμεν. Here used symbolically. Cf. ἐγείρε δὲ καθεύδων in Eph v 14 (also cf. Mt viii 25; Ac xii 7).

παρακαλῶμεν. Technical term of paraenesis, frequent in ECL. Cf. C. J. Bjerkelund, *Parakalō* (Oslo 1967).

ἀνωτέρω προάγειν. Cf. Pol iii 3; and ὑπάγειν, esp. in Jn (Bauer s.v. ὑπάγειν, 3). Going up to have a vision of the real god is a very old theme which Paul treats in 2 Cor xii 1-4.

τὸ ὕπαρ. The distinction between dream visions and waking visions is made in ECL also. Cf. W. Michaelis, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 5, 350ff.

εἰκόνα. The concept of image is prominent in ECL. Cf. Ro viii 29; 1 Cor xi 7; xv 49; 2 Cor iii 18; iv 4; Col i 15; iii 10; etc. Cf. Bauer s.v. and J. Jervell, *Imago Dei* (Göttingen, 1960). That God cannot be seen directly is also a Jewish idea (cf. Jn i 18; 1 Jn iv 12; 1 Ti i 17). Cf. similar uses of δόξα (e.g. Jn xi 40); also Ro i 20; 1 Cor xiii 12.

## (393E)

εἰδῶλα. In ECL this term always means "idol" (not "reflection"), and is therefore used negatively. Cf. Bauer, s.v.

## (393F)

συνδεῖ. Cf. συνδεσμός in Col ii 19; iii 14; Eph iv 3; Bauer, s.v., 1, b. Christ binds together the universe, which, without his power, is weakness, destruction, etc.

κρατεῖ. Cf. the concept of Christ ruling the universe in Rv ii 1. Cf. however Hv 3, 13, 3: ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται (also 3, 3, 5; 3, 8, 7).

ἀσθενείας. The view that the cosmos is weak is expressed also in ECL, esp. Gal iv 9. Cf. also Ro vi 19; viii 26; 1 Cor i 25, 27; ii 3; xv 43; 2 Cor xi 30; xii 5, 9, 10; xiii 4; Hb iv 15; v 2; vii 28.

## (394A)

δαίμονι. On demonology cf. Nilsson, *GGR* I, II, index, and the

survey in W. Foerster, *TWNT* 2, 1ff; also, E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Oxford, 1965), 37ff.

ὁ . . . Ἄιδωνεύς. This is a lengthened form of Ἄιδης; cf. LSJ, s.v.; Bauer s.v. ἄδης, and J. Jeremias, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 1, 146ff. In ECL cf. Mt xi 23; xvi 18; Lk x 15; xvi 23; Ac ii 27, 31; Rv i 18; vi 8; xx 13f; 1 Cl iv 12; li 4; Pol i 2; and Apocalypse of Peter, which describes the nether world.

ὁ . . . Σκότιος. Not attested in ECL, but cf. σκότος, etc. (cf. H. Conzelmann, *TWNT* 7, 424ff. = *TDNT* 7, 423ff.; ὁ μέλας is a name of the devil in B iv 9; xx 1 (cf. Bauer, s.v.)).

(394B)

λοιβαὶ νεκύων. For ritual on behalf of the dead, see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 178ff. In ECL cf. 1 Cor xv 29.

(394C)

λειτουργίαν. Cf. Lk i 23; Ro xiii 6; 2 Cor ix 12; Phil ii 17, 30; Hb viii 6; ix 21; Bauer, s.v.

πάντα πᾶσι. Cf. 1 Cor ix 22; xv 28; Col iii 11; Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 240ff.

τὰ θεῖα πρὸς τὰ δαιμόνια συγγέοντες. Cf. Mk iii 23-26//Mt xii 24-28//Lk xi 15-20; also Mt ix 34; x 25; Jn vii 20; viii 48, 52; x 20.

ταραχήν. Cf. IEph xix 2; also Bauer, s.v. ταρασσω, 2.

ἐκπλήξει. In ECL ἐκπλήσσεισθαι occurs in connection with miracles; cf. Bauer, s.v., 2.

σεβασμῶ. Not in ECL. Cf., however, σεβάζομαι, σέβασμα, σεβάσμιος, σεβαστός, σέβω.

ἀναπεφώνηται. Only at Lk i 42.

ὑπόμνησις. Cf. 2 Ti i 5; 2 Pt i 13; iii 1; Hv 3, 8, 9; ὑπομνήσκω in Lk xxii 61; Jn xiv 26; 2 Ti ii 14; Tit iii 1; 2 Pt i 12; 3 Jn 10; Jd 5; 1 Cl vii 1; lxii 2f; B xii 2. Cf. also ἀνάμνησις (Lk xxii 19; 1 Cor xi 24f), and ἀναμνήσκω.

ἀσθενείας. Cf. 393F.

## IV

DE PYTHIAE ORACULIS (MORALIA 394D-409D) <sup>1</sup>

BY

WAYNE G. ROLLINS

Hartford, Connecticut

The treatise on "The Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse" is written in the form of a framed dialogue <sup>2</sup> set in the *via sacra* at Delphi. The speakers include a young visitor to Delphi named Diogenianus, who functions as the πατήρ τοῦ λόγου; <sup>3</sup> Serapion, an Athenian representing the current Stoicism; <sup>4</sup> Boëthus, a mathematician, speaking for Epicureanism; and Theon, whose lengthy defense of Delphic ἐνθουσιασμός constitutes the second half of the dialogue (403B-409B) and whose point of view, along with that of Philinus, the fifth speaker in the dialogue, most closely resembles that of Plutarch. <sup>5</sup>

The introductory half of the dialogue (394D-403A) is devoted to a guided tour of the monuments and statuary at Delphi. The conversation introduces the reader to historical and mythical oddments of the place and period, including citations of former oracular pronouncements (408A; cf. 399B-C; 402E). <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text used is that of F. C. Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia* V 256-347. For the history of the text and additional textual commentary see R. Flacelière, *Plutarque: Dialogue sur les oracles de la Pythie* (Collection de textes grecs commentés; Presses Universitaires de France; Paris, 1962), henceforth cited as *DSOP*; cf. esp. 23-25, 27-82.

<sup>2</sup> R. Flacelière observes that the Platonic dialogue provides the model for Plutarch and that Platonic influence is visible throughout the treatise; *Sur les Oracles de la Pythie* (Annales de l'Université de Lyon: Fasc. IV, 3<sup>me</sup> série; Paris, 1927), henceforth cited as *SOP*, 11; see also R. M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch* (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1916).

<sup>3</sup> Flacelière, *DSOP*, 13, observes that this expression is applied to Phaedrus in Plato's *Symposium*, 177d.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. Flacelière, "Le Poète stoïcien Serapion d'Athènes ami de Plutarque", *REG* LXIV (1951), 325-27; H. D. Betz and E. W. Smith, "De E apud Delphos", *supra*, Introduction.

<sup>5</sup> For Plutarch's position with respect to Stoicism and Epicureanism, cf. R. Flacelière, "Plutarque et l'épicurisme", *Epicurea in memoriam Hectoris Bignone* (Génova, 1959), 197-216; D. Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme* (Paris, 1969).

<sup>6</sup> For a map reconstructing the site at Delphi, cf. Flacelière, *SOP*, 182-83.

The *De Pythiae Oraculis*, written late in Plutarch's career, is regarded as his "Delphic testament",<sup>1</sup> aimed at defending and restoring the prestige and reputation of the Apollonian oracle (see esp. cc. 9-11, 29-30).<sup>2</sup>

Plutarch's discussion of Delphic ἐνθουσιασμός<sup>3</sup> is of special importance for understanding the phenomena of prophecy,<sup>4</sup> witnessing and visions in the Spirit,<sup>5</sup> speaking in tongues,<sup>6</sup> and "God-taught men"<sup>7</sup> in ECL.<sup>8</sup>

## Ch. 1

(394E)

Ἐσπέραν ἐποιήσατε βαθεῖαν. Compare the *peripatos* of Lk xxiv 29, where the advent of evening signifies a shift in the dialogue. σπείροντες λόγους καὶ θερίζοντες. The sowing of *logoi* (plural) does not occur in ECL. For the sing., cf. Mk iv 14, 15//Mt xiii 19//Lk viii 11ff. Cf. also IEph ix 1, for "sowing evil doctrine." κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. See the use of *en tō hodō* in the *peripatos* of the Emmaus story, Lk xxiv 32, 35.

ὑποφουμένους. The flourishing of the seed (word) is paralleled in the parable of Mt xiii 8, 23//Mk iv 8, 20//Lk viii 8, 15.

For a comparison of Plutarch's tour with the findings of archaeology, see H. Pomtow, *PhW* (1912), 1170 ff. A complete list of the statuary is found in *PW* IV, cols. 2517 ff., *PW Supp.* IV, cols. 1189 ff.; V, cols., 61 ff.

<sup>1</sup> See Flacelière, *DSOP*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Babbitt, *op. cit.*, 256 f., cites Hartmann's opinion that the encomium of Roman rule near the end of the treatise (408B-C) is evidence of Plutarch's hope that the treatise would be read at Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. esp. 397C, 404F, 406B. For recent research on Delphic "enthusiasm" see P. Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes* (Paris, 1950), and further references in the review by H. Berve, *Gnomon* XIV (1952) 5-12, and M. Nilsson, "Das Delphische Orakel in der Neuesten Literatur," *Historia* VII (1958) 237 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ac ii 17-18; I Cor xii 28; xiv 5, 32; Eph iv 11; I Th v 20; I Ti i 18, iv 14; 2 Pt i 20f.; Did xi-xiii; MPol xii 2. See also G. Friedrich, *prophētēs ktl.* TWNT (TDNT) VI, esp. 848-61 on prophecy in the early church.

<sup>5</sup> Jn xv 26; Ac vi 10, vii 55; Ro viii 26, xv 18f.; I Co ii 4, xii 3; I Th i 5. See the comparison of Christian and Delphic manticism in H. Kleinknecht, *pneuma*, TWNT (TDNT) VI, section A II. 2. B., 345-47.

<sup>6</sup> See I Co xii-xiv; Ac ii 1-13, x 44-48, xi 15-17, xix 2-7. See also E. Andrews, "Tongues" *IDB*, R-Z, 671f.

<sup>7</sup> Jn vi 45 (Isa liv 13), xiv 26, xvi 12-14; I Th iv 9; I Jn ii 27. See also G. W. Lampe, "Inspiration and Revelation", *IDB*, E-J, esp. 716f.

<sup>8</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of "enthusiasm" and ecstasy in ECL see Fr. Pfister, "Enthousiasmos" *RAC* V, 455ff., and "Ekstase" *RAC* IV, 944-87, but esp. 955ff (*enthousiasmos*), 981f. (Paul) and 974-76 (ECL and Delphi).

τίνες . . . οἱ λόγοι καὶ τίνες οἱ λέγοντες. Compare the use of this question formula to introduce discussion in the *peripatos* of Lk xxiv 17; cf. Mk viii 27; ix 33.

(394F)

τῷ ξένῳ. Within the structure of the *peripatos*, the *xenos* serves as a foil for raising the central issues of the treatise. Compare Paul functioning as one of the *xenoi* on the Areopagus, Ac xvii 16-34, esp. vv. 18, 21; see also the *peripatos* of Lk xxiv 18, where Jesus is identified as *paroikos*.

φιλοθεάμων . . . φιλήκοος . . . φιλόλογος . . . φιλομαθής. These terms, commonly employed in Hellenistic Greek to describe a learned man, are applied to Diogenianus, the *xenos*. Comparable *phil-*prefix words occur frequently in ECL, however with the tendency to emphasize social and ethical rather than intellectual virtues: *philagathos*, Tit 1 8; *philadelphos*, I Pt iii 8; *philandros*, Tit ii 4 (Plut. *Mor.* 142A); *philanthrōpos*, Dg viii 7; *philodespotos*, MPol ii 2; *philotheos*, 2 Ti iii 4; *philoxenos*, I Ti iii 2; *philosophos*, Dg viii 2; Ac xvii 18; *philostorgos*, Ro xii 10; *philoteknos*, Tit ii 4, Hv I, 3, 1; *philophrēn*, I Pt iii 8. Corresponding vices are *philēdonos*, 2 Ti iii 4; *philargyros*, Lk xvi 14, 2 Ti iii 2, D iii 5; *philautos*, 2 Ti iii 2; *philoneikos*, I Co xi 16; I Cl xlv 1; *philouilos*, I Ro vii 2.

θαυμάζειν. For wonder at the astute questions and answers of a young savant in the context of a sacred *topos*, cf. H. D. Betz and E. W. Smith, Jr., "Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos*," NovT XIII, 1971, 220, *apud* Plut., *Mor.* 385B. In general for reaction to the discourse of a divine man see Lk ii 47; iv 22; xx 26// Mt xxii 22//Mk xii 17; Jo vii 15. Cf. G. Bertram, *TDNT* III, 27-42.

(395A)

πράτης. A popular Hellenistic virtue written as *praiūtēs* in NT. Cf. I Cor iv 21; 2 Cor x 1; Gal v 23; Eph iv 2; Col iii 12; 2 Ti ii 25; Tit iii 2; Js i 21; iii 13; I Pt iii 16.

πολλὴν χάριν ἔχουσα. For "grace" as a descriptive term for the savant or divine man, see Lk ii 40, 52; iv 22; Ac vi 8; Jn i 14.

τὸ μάχιμον καὶ διαπορητικὸν ὑπὸ συνέσεως. For a comparable description of Jesus with the sages, see Lk ii 46-7. Though *diaporētikon* does not occur in ECL, it is used in Hellenistic literature as a t. t. to refer to the capacity of the philosophical mind for entertaining

doubt; cf. Flacelière, *DSOP*, 28. On the distinctive Biblical usage of *synesis*, cf. H. Conzelmann, *TDNT* VII, 888.

τέκος ἀγαθοῦ πατρός. This is a proverbial expression commonly applied to a highly-cultured man; cf. Flacelière, *DSOP* 28; Aristoph. *The Birds*, V, 767; Plato, *Rep.* 368A. Ac xxii 3 and xxvi 4 use this common topos (*peri eugeneias*) in defence speeches. Paul makes a mockery of this topos in 2 Cor xi 22; cf. also I Cor i 26-28 (*ou polloi eugeneis*). Compare the acclamation of the crowds in Jn vii 12. In Lk iv 16-22 Jesus is the Messiah despite his low birth (also Jn i 46).

## Ch. 2

ἐπιγραμμάτων. See Paul's tour of the Areopagus and the inscription he cites, Ac xvii 23. The passages in Ac parallel the *locus dramatis* of this treatise, where Epicureans (cf. 396E; Ac xvii 18) and Stoics (400 B-C; Ac xvii 18), resident and foreign (xvii 21) meet to exchange ideas, to tour the sanctuary, to inspect the statues and inscriptions, and to debate. Paul's citation of the lines from Aratus comports with the convention (cf. 395D, 405F, etc.).

(395C)

μῦθος. Plutarch uses this term to characterize the patent falsity of two legends purporting to explain how bronze was invented. Here as in Plato, *Tim.* 26E, we find the notion of *plasthenta mython* contrasted with *alēthinon logon*; myth means the opposite of truth. For the denunciation of Gnostic myth in ECL, cf. Tit i 14; I Ti iv 7; 2 Pt i 16; 2 Ti iv 4; 2 Cl xiii 3; G. Stählin, *TWNT* 4, 769-803 = *TDNT* 4, 762-795; F. Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms* (1967) 120f. See also *De Sera Numinis* (406E) where *mythos* refers to the hereafter.

## Ch. 3

(395E)

ἀμίαντον. In ECL the term occurs with its usual meaning, i.e. as a moral or religious term; Hb xiii 4; Js i 27; Hm II 7; Hs V, 6, 7; 7, 1; 2 Cl vi 9; I Cl xxix 1; I Pt i 4. As a Christological term cf. Hb vii 26; F. Hauck, *TWNT* 4, 650 = *TDNT*, 4, 647.

## Ch. 4

(396B)

τί γάρ . . . κωλύει. See the parallel expressions in Ac viii 36; see further x 37; xi 17.

## Ch. 5

(396C)

χρημοῦ. Though the noun is absent from ECL, cf. *chrēsmodoteō* (I Cl iv 1); *chrēmatismos* (Ro xi 4; I Cl xvii 5); *chrēmatisō . . . kat' onar* (Mt. ii 12, 22; cf. Hb viii 5; xi 7); . . . *hypo angelou* (Ac x 22; compare Lk ii 26); par. 397C.

τῶν ἐπῶν. Here, lines or verses. Cf. 396D. The term appears in the singular in ECL only in Hb vii 9; it does not occur in the plural as it does frequently in this treatise denoting heroic or epic verse (as opposed to *ta melē*, lyric poetry).

μουσηγέτης ὁ θεός. This epithet, applied to Apollo and Heracles, does not occur in ECL, though see the reference in I Cor xii 3-11, xiv 26, to the practice of the Corinthian congregation of presenting a psalm, revelation, "tongue" or interpretation in public worship, all being interpreted as the product of inspiration. See G. Kittel, *graphē*, *TWNT* 1, 756f. = *TDNT* 1, 757f; E. Fuchs, *Hermeneutik* (Bad Conntatt, 1958) 262-65; A. Wilder, *The Language of the Gospel* (New York, 1964) 97, 125. For David as the inspired poet; cf. Mk xii 36//Mt xxii 43; for the expression *ta epē tou theou*, cf. 396D, 397B.

(396D)

περὶ μέλη καὶ ῥῥᾶς εὐφωνίας. In ECL *melos* is used exclusively to denote members or limbs of the body. The common Hellenistic meaning of song, strain or melody does not occur. In ECL *ōdē* is used to denote sacred song; Rv v 9; xiv 3, xv 3. Cf. *psalmois kai hymnois kai ὄδαις pneumatikais*, Eph v 19; Col iii 16; see also 396C (*epos*).

εὐφωνίας. Although Paul uses the phrase *eusēmos logos* rather than *euphōnos*, compare the musical analogy in I Cor xiv 7-9.

(396E)

τὸν Ἐπίκουρον. See Ac xvii 18 where the image of the Epicurean is advanced as a stereotype of the sceptic; cf 396E; 398A, B, D, F; 399 A-B.

(396F)

χάριτι. For a comparable use of this term as a literary or rhetorical category, cf. Lk iv 22; Col iv 6.

## Ch. 6

νοσοῦμεν . . . καὶ τὰ ὄτα καὶ τὰ ὄμματα. Plutarch here argues that men fail to understand the beauty of the oracles because their eyes and ears are ailing. For comparable metaphorical use of *noseō*, cf. I Ti vi 4. Both refer to a perverted understanding; but while Plutarch is speaking of those who do not appreciate poetic form, I Timothy speaks of those who do not appreciate the content. On the figurative use of failing vision and hearing to denote intellectual short-sightedness and indifference, see the citations of Is vi 9-10 in Mt xiii 14f; Ac xxviii 26-7; compare also Mk iv 12, Lk viii 10, Jo xii 40 and the miracle stories of healing the blind and dead in which the physical healing is increasingly interpreted in a spiritual sense, e.g. Jn ix 1-41, Mt xx 29-34, Mk viii 22-23. A. Oepke, *nosos*, etc., *TWNT* 4, 1084-91 = *TDNT* 4, 1091-98.

διὰ τρυφήν καὶ μαλακίαν. For the association of *tryphē* and the adjective *malakos*, see Lk vii 25. Both cases are typical Hellenistic polemics against luxury; see Bauer *ad loc.* *Malakia* is used in ECL only in the negative sense, to denote bodily sickness or faintheartedness; the adjective *malakos*, however, denotes soft living, effeminacy in ECL.

## (397A)

μεμψόμεθα τὴν Πυθίαν. On the rejection of a prophetic figure for failure to meet expected standards of literary excellence or cultic correctness in ECL, cf. I Cor ii 4, 2 Cor x 10, xi 6, and the controversy stories in the Synoptics. See H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1972) 57ff.

χριομένη. For the anointing of prophets, see GHeb 10.

τὸ μαντεῖον. Though this term is lacking in ECL, the phenomenon of divination is not; see below.

ἐπιθυμιᾶ. Though this verb, "to offer incense", does not occur in ECL, cf. Bauer *ad thymiaō*; *thymiatērion*; *thymiamata*.

κασίαν . . . λήδανον . . . δάφνην . . . κρίθινον. These technical terms are not used in a cultic context in ECL.

λιβανωτόν. For use of this type of incense cultically, see Rv viii 3, 5; xviii 13; MPol xv 2; *libanos*, Mt ii 11; I Cl xxv 2

χάριν. See above 396F.

Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένη στόματι. For *mainomai*, see the discussion in Betz and Smith, *op. cit.*, 221. For *to manteion*, cf. 397A; also H. Preisker, *TWNT* 4, 363-65 = *TDNT* 4, 360-1. On the Sibyl,

cf. Hv II, 4, 1; M. Dibelius, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Tübingen, 1923) 442-3; also 398c *supra*.

φθεγγόμενη. *Phtheggomai* and *apophtheggomai* are technical terms for inspired speech. See Ac ii 14; xxvi 25.

χιλίων ἑτῶν. For "a thousand years" as a symbolic number, see 2 Pt iii 8 (Ps xc 4); the millennium, Rv xx 2-7.

διὰ τὸν θεόν. The preposition *dia* with the accusative to express efficient causality "through the divine" occurs both in Plutarch and in the NT; cf. Jn vi 57; Ro viii 20; and Bauer, s.v., B, II, 4, b.

## Ch. 7

## (397B)

αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι τὸν θεόν. The discussion focuses on God as composer of the oracle. In ECL the verb *poiein* with *theos* as subject refers only to the act of direct creation of man and world. Such a concept—related here to the creation of oracles—is rejected in line with the Greek understanding of creation, where God does not directly create but provides only the *archē*. Cf. Bauer s.v., *poieō*, "God's creative activity"; H. Braun, *TWNT* 6, 457-463 = *TDNT* 6, 458-65.

## (397C)

[θεός] . . . τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κινήσεως. Cf. 404E, *tō kinounti . . . heautēn akinēto*; also 398 C, *ho theos . . . kinēseōs archēn*; for God as one who moves man to speak, cf. Dg xi 8.

ἐνδιδόντος. This term indicates that Plutarch conceives of God as acting directly. He initiates a movement which in turn activates the *physis* of the prophetess. See Ro viii 15-16, where cooperation of the two *pneumata* produces the awareness in man of being a child of God. Yet this awareness is evidenced not in increased knowledge but in inspired prayer. Compare also I Co xiv 14-16; both Plutarch and Paul include the human element as part of the phenomenon of enthusiasm.

εἰ γράφειν ἔδει μὴ λέγειν τοὺς χρησμούς, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ γράμματα νομίζοντες. In contrast with Delphi, which identifies revelation primarily with an oral phenomenon, ECL recognizes both the oral and written as modes of revelation, although there is evidence in the NT of a growing suspicion of the oral mode. See James M. Robinson, "Logoi Sophon: On the Gattung of Q," in *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971),

71-113, 2 Pt i 20-21; 2 Ti iii 15. Yet in the enthusiastic communities, as at Delphi also, the oral prophecy was probably regarded as primary and possibly as a superior to the written word. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι θεοῦ ἢ γῆρυς οὐδ' ὁ φθόγγος οὐδ' ἡ λέξις οὐδὲ τὸ μέτρον ἀλλὰ τῆς γυναικός. The distinction between the sacred content of revelation and its human form was a problem in Paul's congregation, cf. 2 Cor xiii 3; x 10, and iv 7, 13, where Paul argues as Plutarch that even though he is a man he still has the word of God. See also Ac iv 13. However, by the time of Rv xxii 18f. and 2 Ti iii 15f. the problem was solved.

τὰς φαντασίας. The ECL equivalent of *phantasia* would be "dreams" or "visions" (cf. Ac ii 18f.; Bauer, *horama, optasia, horasis, enyption, onar*). The only occurrence of *phantasia* in ECL is Ac xxv 23, "pomp". Also *phantazō* is not used for visions in ECL. Hb xii 21 is the only occurrence.

φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. Here God appropriately creates *phōs* in the *psychē* because both are divine. However, God cannot make (*poiein*) or write *grammata* since these are human functions; cf. 397BC above. For the use of light as a symbol of inspiration see Mt vi 22f.// Lk xi 34-36; Hb x 32. For reverse parallels see Eph iv 18; 2 Cor iii 15; iv 4ff; Jn xi 10; I Jn ii 11. However, in ECL there is little connection of illumination with prophecy.

πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. For the substantival use in relation to prophecy, cf. I Cl xxxi 3, B xvii 2. In the present treatise the function of prophecy is the foretelling of the future, cf. B i 7, v 3; KP 3 (Kleine Texte p. 15 = HS II, 101); 298D-E, 399B-D, 407F.

ἐνθουσιασμός. Plutarch here gives a detailed definition of *enthousiasmos*. In ECL we have the phenomenon but neither the term nor the explanation. This obvious absence despite widespread use in the environment suggests a conscious avoidance. See the definition in Rv xix 10 and the use of *en theō* in ITr viii 2; cf. J. Haussleiter, „Deus internus,” *RAC* III, 794-821, esp. 821.

τοὺς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου προφήτας. The term prophet is used here ironically. For a similar use see Tit i 12.

## (397D)

τὰς πάλαι προφήτιδας. *Prophētis* does occur in Lk ii 36, Rv ii 20. For other prophetesses see Ac ii 17, xvi 16, xxi 8-9. Also I Cor xiv 34 shows the presence of female prophets.

ὃ πρὸς θεῶν. While part of ECL tradition repudiates the use of oaths

(Mt v 33-37, xxiii 16-22, Js v 12), another part does not (Mt xxvii 63, 72//Mk xiv 71, 2 Cor i 23, Gal i 20, Phl i 8, Hb vi 13, 16f., Rev x 6, Hv II, 2, 5).

ἀπορίαν. Cf. H. D. Betz and E. Smith, Jr., *op. cit.*, 384F.

## Ch. 8

## (397E)

We have here a collection of miracle stories associated with statues.

On early Christian collections of miracle stories see Paul Achtemeier, "Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenaes," *JBL* 89 (1970) 265-91 and H.-W. Kuhn, *Ältere Sammlungen im Markusevangelium* (Goettingen, 1971). Here together with the collection of the miracle stories is a discussion about them, the latter being absent from the NT.

ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι κίων τις ἐστὼς ἄνω χαλκοῦς Ἰέρωνος ἔπεσεν αὐτομάτως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἧ τὸν Ἰέρωνα συνέβαινε . . . τελευτᾶν, ἐθαύμασε. For the coincidence of a physical wonder with the moment of death of a famous figure, cf. Mt xxvii 51-54// Mk xv 38// Lk xxiii 45; see esp. GHeb (Kleine Texte II, 8, no. 20) = Gospel of the Nazaraeans (HS I, 150, no. 21) which reports that the massive lintel of the temple fell at the moment of Jesus' death.

## (397F)

ὁ . . . στέφανος, ὃν . . . τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι . . . ἔδωρήσατο. On a ruler's gift to a dancing girl, cf. Mt xiv 6f.//Mk vi 22f.

## (398A)

συγκινεῖσθαι. Contrast this with the description of gods in Dg ii 4. τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ. The technical use of *pronoia* as an attribute of deity appears in ECL only in I Cl xxiv 5; cf. (esp.) Hv I, 3, 4. Plutarch sees the votive offerings as having more significance than just being offerings. The theory is that being filled with divinity they interplay with providence and miracles. ECL implicitly rejects this theory; see the implied opposition to *ta eidōla ta aphōna* in I Cor xii 2.

μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν. . . ἀλλὰ πεπλησθαι πάντα θειότητος. On emptiness and divine fulness in classical antiquity and ECL, cf. G. Delling, *TWNT* 6, 268-96 = *TDNT* 6, 268-98.

μηδ' ἀναίσθητον. Contrast this with the description of the gods in Dg ii 4, iii 3.

τὸν θεὸν εἰς σῶμα καθειργνύναι θνητὸν. Here Plutarch uses a speech of Boëthus to characterize the popular idea of direct indwelling by God. Both Plutarch and ECL exclude God's direct indwelling; they speak instead of intermediary beings. Plutarch assigns this role to demons, cf. De Defectu Oraculorum 414D-415C and particularly 414E: εὐθες γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ παιδικὸν κομιδῆ τὸ οἶεσθαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ὡσπερ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους, . . . ἐνδύμενον εἰς τὰ σώματα τῶν προφητῶν ὑποφθέγγεσθαι, τοῖς ἐκείνων στόμασι καὶ φωναῖς χρώμενον ὀργάνοις. The NT refers to Christ (Gal ii 19-20) or the Spirit (Rom viii 15-16, 26-27; Gal iv 4, 6). Cf. 397C and 406F. Compare the indwelling of God in Christ; Jn i 14; 2 Cor v 9; Col i 19, ii 9.

(398B)

λίθῳ . . . καὶ χαλκῷ συμφοράσομεν αὐτόν [τὸν θεόν]. Boëthus here ridicules the dwelling of God in wood and stone. Comparable is the denunciation of idolatry in ECL, cf. Ac vii 41, xvii 29; I Cor viii 4, x 19, xii 2; Rv ix 20, Dg ii 1-10, iii 3, which in part reflect OT passages (e.g., Isa xlvi 5-7, xl 18-20, xlv 9-20).

τὴν τύχην δημιουργὸν καὶ ταυτόματον. The notion that "chance" and "spontaneity" are the agents responsible for unusual coincidences is unsupported in ECL, which instead sees divine agency at work, even, for example, when *automatos* is used (Mk iv 28; Ac xii 10). The terms *tychē*, *to apeiron*, and *automatōs* are absent from ECL (excepting MPol ix 2; x 1, where Roman sentiment is cited).

## Ch. 9

(398C)

ὡς οὐδ' ἀποθανοῦσα λήξει μαντικῆς. The Sibyl promises that not even death shall be able to stop her activity. Jesus, however, promises that his resurrection shall undo the effects of death; see Mt xvi 21//Mk viii 31//Lk ix 22; Mt xvii 22-23// Mk ix 31; Mt xx 18-19// Mk x 33-34//Lk xviii 31-33. Although Jesus does not predict that he will continue his revelatory activities after his death, in effect he does.

(398D)

Both the spirit and the body of the Sibyl continue prophesying after the death of the Sybil. In the NT Jesus' body is taken away,

but he continues his activity through the Spirit; Jn xvi 7-15, xx 19-23, Ac ii, 2 Cor iii 17.

φήμαις . . . κληδόν . . . προδηλώσεις. These terms are not used in ECL to refer to prophecy. However *prodēloō* is used in Hs 7, 5.

τοῦ μέλλοντος. See Betz and Smith, 387B.

καταγελῶν. Here Boëthus, who represents the Epicurean position, laughs at talk of an afterlife. Compare the response of the Epicureans in Ac xvii 32. See also the scornful laughter at Jesus' statement in Mt ix 24//Mk v 40//Lk viii 53.

μύθοις. Here it means an invented story or fiction. The term is used in the same way in the NT. See G. Stählin, *TWNT* 4, 788-799 = *TDNT* 4, 781-92.

(389D-E)

ταῖς γε μαντείαις ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι πολλαὶ μὲν ἀναστάσεις καὶ μετοικισμοὶ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων, πολλαὶ δὲ βαρβαρικῶν στρατιῶν ἐπιφάνειαι καὶ ἀναιρέσεις ἡγεμονιῶν. Here the political oracles are concerned with the three misfortunes that the ancients especially feared: deportation, invasion of barbarians, overthrow of government. The same fears are reflected in NT oracles: Mt xxiv 2; Rv xviii; Ac vii 43. It should be noted that Ac vii 43 is an OT quotation.

ἀναστάσεις. The NT uses this word only for resurrection of the dead except for Lk ii 34.

(398E)

νέα πάθη περὶ τε Κύμην καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν. Plutarch sees the destruction of these cities as a fulfillment of prophecy, and the NT sees in the destruction of Jerusalem the fulfillment of prophecy. Mt xxiv 15-22//Lk xxi 20-24.

ὑμνούμενα . . . ἄδόμενα. These terms are not used with prophecy in ECL. Yet the OT Psalms are seen as prophetic, Lk xxiv 44, Ac i 20, ii 25-31, iv 24-28, xiii 32-37, Rom xi 9-10.

ὁ χρόνος. This term is not personified in ECL. See also 398F.

ἐκρήξεις πυρὸς ὀρείου καὶ ζέσεις θαλαττίας, καὶ πετρῶν καὶ φλεγμονῶν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀναρρίψεις. Plutarch here describes real events of which only fire became a topos in Jewish apocalyptic. See Friedrich Lang, *TWNT* 6, 927-53 = *TDNT* 6, 928-52.

ἐπελθοῦσιν ἄγνωιαν εἶναι καὶ ἀσάφειαν ὅπου κατόκηνητο. For a similar reference to a destruction of a city that removes all trace of it, see Rv xviii 21.

## Ch. 10

(398F)

τῆ φύσει πάθος ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ὀφείλει. On the personification of *physis* see I Cor xi 4 and H. Köster, *TWNT* 9, 246-71, especially p. 266. On the personification of *chronos* see 398E.

ῥῆψαι καὶ διασπεῖραι λόγους. See 399A.

ἡ τύχη. This is not personified in the NT; see O. Bauernfeind, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 6, 242.

ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα λόγος ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἡμαρτημένον ἔχων. Compare the very different position of Abraham described in Ro iv 17.

(399A)

πάντα τῆς ἀπειρίας φερούσης. The sentiment that infinity brings all things to pass runs counter to the understanding of history reflected in ECL; see Ro ix-xi; Ac xvii; I Cor xv 20-28; Rv xix-xxi.

κατέβαλον καὶ διέσπειραν . . . ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα . . . γιγνομένων ἐνίων. See the parable of the sower (Mk iv 1-9 and par.) and its interpretation (iv 13-20 and par.).

## Ch. 11

(399B)

ὅπου δ' οὐ μόνον λέγεται τὸ γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς καὶ πότε καὶ μετὰ τί καὶ μετὰ τίνος, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰκασμὸς . . . ἀλλὰ . . . προδήλωσις. The question posed by Boethus is whether there can be true prophecy of the future. Plutarch's answer is that exact forecasts of the future have been demonstrated. This question is not raised in the NT; the fact that there can be prophecy, however, is presupposed. The question for the NT is how to determine a true prophet from a false one. The test for a true prophet is not a matter of accuracy but of his Christology (I Jn iv 1-3) or of his life (Mt vii 15-20). See also Friedrich, *TWNT* 6, 826-63 = *TDNT* 6, 826-61.

(399C)

τότ' ἔσσειται ἔργα ἄπιστα. The metered oracle cited here with its emphasis on natural prodigies and portents followed by social upheaval is to be compared with Mk xiii and par.; Rv *passim*. Cf. 398D-E. Such extraordinary occurrences are common in

Jewish apocalyptic literature; cf. D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, 1964) 271-6.

(399D)

ἡ τάξις ἐμφαίνει τὴν πρόγνωσιν. The argument that the real proof of prophecy lies in its capability of predicting events in correct sequence is not common in ECL, though may be reflected in Mt xvi 21//Mk viii 31//Lk ix 22; Mt xvii 22-23//Mk ix 31; Mt xx 18-19//Mk x 33-34//Lk xviii 31-33.

καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίους . . . προειπεῖν τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη πολεμήσουεν ἅμα· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ πολεμῆσαι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀποστᾶσιν. For similar instances of finding hidden and metaphorical allusions to current events in ancient prophecy, see Mt i 23, ii 18, xxi 5 and Rv.

(399E)

πεπρωμένον. This term, closely related to the concept of *tychē*, does not occur in ECL.

τί κωλύει. See 396B.

αὐτομάτως. Behind this word Plutarch would see *tychē* at work while ECL would see the deity (Mk iv 28, Ac xii 10), though the mythological quality of Mk iv 28 (*hē gē karpophorei*) is not to be ignored. Cf. 397E, 398B, F, 399E.

## Ch. 12

(400A)

τῶ θεῷ κόρακας καὶ κύκνους καὶ λύκους καὶ ἰέρακας . . . εἶναι προσφιλεῖς . . . νομίζομεν. These animals are attributed by Plutarch with having special preference from Apollo. In ECL we have no such association of the deity with animals, probably because of the Jewish background.

(400B)

ἀνάψεις καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεις. Both of these Stoic cosmogonic t.t. are absent from ECL, though they bear resemblance to the language of *ekphrōsis* in 2 Pt iii 12. The cosmogonic theories of the various schools discussed in 400A-D are noticeably absent from ECL.

(400C)

ὁ τὸν ἀλεκτρούνα ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. The cock was

often seen as a timegiver, revealer of truth and even as an oracle. See H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Berlin, 1961) 30-32; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York, 1958) 8. 59-70. Thus the cock crows to make Peter realize what he has done: Mt xxvi 34, 74f.// Mk xiv 30, 72//Lk xxii 34, 60f. //Jn xiii 38, xviii 27.

τοὺς βατράχους ἐαρινῆς . . . σύμβολον. The frog, which here is a symbol of spring, and in general is regarded as symbolic of fecundity and renewal (Flacelière, *DSOP*, 48), occurs in ECL (Rv xvi 13) only with negative connotations which may come from the religious significance given to frogs by the Egyptians; see W. S. McCullough, "Frog," *IDB* II, 326.

(400D)

τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον μὴ δύο θεοὺς ἀλλ' ἓνα νομίζειν. The question here is if Apollo should be equated with the sun; cf. Daniel Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme* (Paris, 1969) 446-7. A similar argument on the relation of God (Christ) and *ta stoicheia tou kosmou* may lie behind Gal iv 9, Col ii 8. See Betz and Smith 388F, 393C.

ὁ δ' ἥλιος . . . πάντας ἀγνοεῖν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πεποίηκεν ἀποστρέφων τῇ αἰσθήσει τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπὶ τὸ φαινόμενον. The point here is that Apollo is to be grasped not through perception but through thinking. Compare the tradition in the NT that God is invisible (Jn i 18, I Ti i 17) and must be worshipped in the Spirit (Jn iv 24). Yet see Ro i 18ff. and Betz and Smith 388F s.v. *morphē*. See also Rv i 16, where Christ appears as the sun.

Ch. 14

(400F-401A)

τὰς δεκάτας φέρουσα . . . τῶν μισθῶν. For the tithe as a tenth part of booty taken in battle, cf. Flacelière, *DSOP* 50; Hb vii 2, 4. On the tithe as prescribed by Jewish law, cf. Hb vii 8. See 401C.

(401A)

ἀκρασίας. The common ethical term is found in I Cor vii 5, Mt xxiii 25, Hs 9, 15, 3. Cf. 2 Ti iii 3.

Ch. 15

(401C)

γύναιον εἶργειν τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Theon raises the question whether a prosti-

tute should be excluded from the sanctuary when at the same time votive offerings commemorating wars, murders, and plunderings are being condoned. Cf. Lk vii 36-50, where the conventional exclusion of prostitutes is questioned; Mt xxi 31f. Cf. Betz and Smith 385C.

τὸν νεῶν σκύλων . . . ἀνάπλεων. For a comparable denunciation of bringing ill-gained goods into the temple, cf. Mk xi 15-19//Mt xxi 12-13//Lk xix 45-48.

(401D)

ἐξονειδίζων τὸν πλοῦτον ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχοντα θαυμάσιον οὐδὲ σεμνόν. This kind of rebuke of wealth is common in ECL, cf. Mk x 23 and often. See F. Hauck and W. Kasch, *TWNT* 6, 316-30 = *TDNT* 6, 318-32.

δικαιοσύνης . . . ἀναθήματα. The tendency to "ethicize" religious rituals is shared by primitive Christianity. Cf. especially Ro xii 1. δικαιοσύνης . . . καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλονοίας. Of this short "list of virtues" only the first two concepts are found in ECL, but not in ethical lists in ECL.

Ch. 16

(401E)

φάρμακον δοῦναι. For this crime cf. Gal v 20, B xx 1, D v 1, ii 2.

(401F)

ἐπὶ μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ. Cf. the formula *theos martyrs* I Th ii 5; cf. for other forms, Bauer, s.v. *martyrs*, 2a.

(402A)

ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαῖς δωρησαμένους τὸν θεόν. The phrase seems to refer originally to human sacrifice (cf. Flacelière *ad loc.*, who refers to Plutarch, Theseus 16, 2), which by now has been replaced by statuary. Cf. the figurative use of the sacrificial language, Ro xvi 5, I Cor xvi 15, and Bauer, s.v. *aparchē*, 2, a.

ὡς καρπῶν δοτῆρα καὶ πατρῶν καὶ γενέσιον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον. These attributes of God appear to have come from "liturgy"; cf. Ac xxiv 14 (*tō patrō theō*); Dg viii 7 (*philanthrōpos*); Mt v 45, vi 8. It is noteworthy that Plutarch gives the theological reason for bringing sacrifices.

λόγγην ἔχοντα τὸν θεόν. The statue of the god with a spear in hand is

felt inappropriate for the god. Early Christianity shares the view that God cannot be properly connected with acts of war; cf. Mt xxvi 51f, Mk xiii 7//Mt xxiv 6//Lk xxi 9.

(402B)

πάσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος συλλαβών. For this attribute of the god cf. Rv iii 14, i 8 t.r., xxi 6, also i 11 v.l., xxii 13. See also Bauer, s.v. *archē*, 2.

Ch. 17

τοῦ χρηστηρίου πίστιν. The religious use of *pistis* also occurs in 402DE (*episteuse*); it is common in ECL.

(402C)

τοῦ πνεύματος . . . ἀπεσβεσμένου. For this idiom, cf. I Th v 19 and W. C. van Unnik, "Den Geist löscht nicht aus" *NovT* 10 (1968) 255-69.

τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκλειουπίας. Cf. esp. GP v 19; also Lk xxiii 46, Mt xxvii 50, Mk v 30. The combination of *pneuma* and *dynamis* is often found in ECL.

ὁ τόπος. On the holy place as inspiring, cf. Betz and Smith, 385B. τῷ ὕδατι τούτῳ. Plutarch refers to the still mysterious Cassotis well. Cf. Jean Pouilloux and G. Roux, *Énigmes à Delphes* (Paris, 1963), 81-101. Ritual cleansing through water is known to ECL from Judaism; cf. Mk i 5//Mt iii 5f.; L. Goppelt, *TWNT* 8, 316, 319-21, 323ff. = *TDNT* 8, 317, 320-21, 323ff. On lustrations in Delphi cf. R. R. Dyer, *JHS* 89 (1969) 38-56.

(402D)

παρέδρους τῆς μαντικῆς. The cultic term *paredros* has a parallel in I Cor ix 13, *tō thysiastērīō paredreuein*.

Ch. 18

(402E)

δεῖ. Cf. Betz and Smith, 393B.

μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν. This "dogma" of Hellenistic religion is believed also by ECL; cf. Ac v 39, xxiii 9 t.r., xxvi 14. See A. Vögeli, "Lukas und Euripides," *TZ* 9 (1953) 429ff.; H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1963), 43.

μηδ' ἀναιρεῖν μετὰ τῆς μαντικῆς. Cf. I Th v 20 *prophēteias mē exouthe-neite* (also I Cor xiv 1).

(403A)

εἰ γε Θαλῆς ἐποίησεν, ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένην Ἀστρολογία. The question of authentic authorship (here with respect to a writing of Thales) is seldom raised in ECL, though cf. 2 Th ii 2.

Ch. 19

(403B)

ἀνεῖλε. This technical term of the Delphic oracle often mentioned by Plutarch does not occur in ECL. The precise meaning is disputed. Cf. Pierre Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes. Essai sur le fonctionnement de l'oracle* (Paris, 1950).

νίκην καὶ κράτος. Also the ECL, even if only in a spiritual sense, promises *nikē* to the believer; I Jn v 4. By contrast, *kratos* is reserved for God or Christ. Cf. Col i 11 and Bauer s.v.

βοηθήσειν. This important concept of Greek religion plays only a small role in ECL: Cf. 2 Cor vi 2 (Is xlix 8), Mt xv 25, Mk ix 22, Ac xvi 9, etc. Cf. Bauer s.v.

παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἀπαράκλητος. In this technical sense of pleading for God's help *parakalein* is used in ECL, Mt xxvi 53, 2 Cor xii 8. Cf. Bauer s.v. 1, c.; *aparaklētos* does not occur in ECL, but cf. Mt vi 8.

προσέταξε. In this technical sense the term is also used in Mt i 24, Ac x 33, xvii 26. See also Bauer, s.v.

(403D)

μαντεύσομενον περὶ φυγῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάσεως. The common practice in antiquity of consulting oracles before flight or travel was not followed by primitive Christianity; however, ECL contains other forms of revelations about such matters, cf. Mt ii 12, 19-22, Ac x 5f., xvi 9, xx 23, xxi 4, 10ff.

(403E)

θεσπίζειν. This technical term does not occur in ECL.

Ch. 20

(403F)

τὸν ἱερωμένον ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ γυναικὶ μὴ ὀμιλεῖν. This instance of sexual abstinence for cultic reasons has no parallel in ECL, but such abstinence is recommended for other reasons I Cor vii 1ff.

(404A)

τὴν ἱερωσύνην. This technical term is used also in Hb vii 11, 12, 24; I Cl xliii 2.

ἦν ἐγκρατής. Here the term is used specifically of sexual abstinence, while in ECL the wider use is reflected. Cf. Tit 1 8, 2 Cl iv 3, Pol v 2, Hv I, 2, 4. See also Bauer s.v. *enkrateia*, *enkrateuomai*. μετὰ πότον καὶ χορείαν. To drink is considered morally dangerous also in I Pt iv 3, but dancing apparently is not (Lk xv 25).

παραίτησις ἢ λύσις. These technical terms do not occur in ECL, where the Jewish tradition provides the language for forgiveness of sins.

ἅπαντα τὰναγκαῖα συγχωρεῖ θεός. This theologically interesting oracle has no direct parallel in ECL, but it seems to be in agreement with Paul's own position in I Cor vii, which he formulates in vs. 38.

(404B)

μόνον ἂν ὀρθὰς καὶ καθαρὰς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἔχωμεν. The question of a correct and pure conception of deity is reflected in ECL; cf. Mk x 27//Mt xix 26//Lk xviii 27; Mk viii 33//Mt xvi 23; Mt xxii 21//Mk xii 17//Lk xx 25; Lk xi 13; x 22//Mt xi 27; Jn i 18; Ro ii 11, iii 29; ix 1 ff.; I Co 1 25; ii 7, 11; viii 5f.; xiv 33; Gal iv 8; etc. ὥσπερ ἐκ προσώπων φθεγγόμενον. Cf. 2 Cor xiii 3: *tu en emoi labuntos Christou*.

## Ch. 21

ψυχὴ δ' ὄργανον θεοῦ γέγονεν. The anthropological concept of the soul as god's instrument and of the body and its members as instruments of the soul is absent from ECL. Cf. Ro viii 16; but there is no consistent doctrine in Paul that would define the human *pneuma* as the recipient "organ" for the divine *pneuma*. Cf. also 2 Cl xvii 1.

(404C)

καθαρόν καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον. The doctrine, according to which the soul was originally characterized by these adjectives, is not found in ECL. Paul states in Ro v 12 that originally man was created without sin, a concept he shares with Judaism and most of Christianity. Cf. also the eschatological passage I Th v 23. μεμειγμένον πολλῶ τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ. This statement describes briefly the

present state of the soul. The concept of 'mixture', although very prominent in Plutarch, is of no concern in ECL. Cf., however, I Cor xiii 12; 2 Cor v 7.

ἐν κατόπτροις. For an explanation of Plutarch's view see the following section 404D. Cf. *katoptrisein* 2 Cor iii 18 and Bauer s.v.; I Cor xiii 12.

(404D)

ὁ ἕναξ. This divine title, common to Apollo, is absent from ECL.

(404E)

οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. This famous statement of Heraclitus is most important for the Delphic concept of revelation, but differs fundamentally from the early Christian concept. Cf. e.g. Mt xi 25-27; I Cor ii 9ff.; Rv i 1. See also 407B.

θεὸν χρώμενον τῇ Πυθίᾳ πρὸς ἀκοήν. The words define the position of the Pythia as a prophetic mediator. Cf. 2 Cor. xiii 3.

δείκνυσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀναφαίνει τὰς αὐτοῦ νοήσεις. In distinction to Apollo, God in ECL does not reveal *noēseis*. Cf. however, Ro i 20. *Deiknymy* is used of divine revelation: cf. Rv i 1; iv 1; xvii 1; xxi 9f.; xxii 1, 6, 8; Jn v 20; xiv 8f., etc.; *anaphainō* is not used. See also Beardslee, 941F.

μεμειγμένους δὲ δείκνυσι διὰ σώματος θνητοῦ. Similarly Paul in 2 Cor xiii 3f. insists that Christ reveals himself through the human medium of Paul despite Paul's weaknesses.

τῷ κινεῖντι. The concept that the god inspires the soul by "moving it" is found in ECL only in Dg xi 8; it is conspicuously absent from Ro viii 16. Cf. 397C.

ἀκίνητον ἐξ αὐτῆς. The soul, when the god moves it, is unable to remain by itself unmoved. Cf. ISm i 1 where Christ is called *ho houtōs hymas sophisas*, and the Christians as being *en akinētō pistei*; IPhd i 2, Ignatius praises the bishop and *to akinēton autou*. See J. A. Fischer, *Die Apostolischen Väter* I, Darmstadt 1959, 195, note 5.

(404F)

ὁ καλούμενος ἐνθουσιασμός. Neither the term nor the rather precise description of how "enthusiasm" comes about has a parallel in ECL. But the phenomenon is presupposed widely in primitive Christianity. Cf., however, Dg xi 8 and, on the whole subject

E. Schweizer, *TWNT* 6, 394ff. = *TDNT* 6, 396ff. Cf. 397C. τὸ ἐμψυχον. In this section Plutarch defines as the "animated" being: *autokinēton hormēs te kai logou metechon . . . tēn en autō proūparchousan hexin ē dynamin*. This concept is absent from ECL.

## (405A)

μουσικῶς κινῶν νοῦν ἄμουσον ἢ γραμματικῶς τὸν ἀγράμματον . . . Such an impossibility is described by Paul using different terms, I Cor ii 10-16. See 405C.

## Ch. 22

αἰτία μὲν "ἄνευ θεοῦ" οὐδέν. Early Christian theology would agree. Cf. Mt x 29; Jn i 3; Ro xi 36; I Cor viii 6; xii 6; Eph iv 6; Hb ii 10; iv 13. See also 398B, F; 399A; 414D, and the note by Flacelière, *DSOP*, 65; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Darmstadt, 1956), 240ff.

ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν. Cf. Betz and Smith, 386B.

οὐ μὴν πᾶσι πρὸς πάντα χρώμενον ποιῶν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐκάστῳ καθ' ἣν ἔχει τέχνην ἢ δύναμιν. The view that the god employs each thing according to its "nature" is similar to Paul's doctrine of *charisma*; cf. Ro xii 3ff.; I Cor iii 5; vii 7, 17; xii 4ff. See 405A-B for examples.

## (405B)

κἂν ἐν ἧ τὸ κινῶν ἀπάσας. There may be all kinds of *dynameis* and *physeis*, each of them moved differently, but the agent that moves them is one. Cf. Ro xii 3ff.; I Cor xii 4ff. (esp. vss. 9, 11); Eph i 11; iv 4ff. See 404E, 405A.

## (405C)

ἡ νῦν τῷ θεῷ λατρεύουσα. Plutarch reveals that at his time the Pythia was a simple country girl, coming from a poor, but lawful and in every way proper peasant family. She does not bring to her profession any kind of *technē*, *empeiria* or *dynamis*, but is characterized as *apeiros kai adaēs oligou dein hapantōn*. Cf. the humble origins of Jesus in ECL (cf. esp. Mk vi 3, Mt xiii 55; Gal iv 4 etc.). Cf. also I Cor i 26; compare this with 2 Cor xi 22; Phil iii 5 and see H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition* (Tübingen, 1972) 97.

## (405D)

παρθένος. The Pythia must be a virgin. This high regard for virginity is shared by the ECL. Cf. Mt i 23; Lk i 27; Ac xxi 9; I Cor vii 25ff.; 2 Cor xi 2; Rv xiv 4, etc. See G. Delling, *TWNT* 5, 824ff., 832ff. = *TDNT* 5, 826ff., 834ff.

ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ θεῷ σύνεστιν. The Pythia was considered wed to the god as long as she served him. Cf. Flacelière, *DSOP* 67. Cf. for the concept of the church as the bride or wife of Christ, 2 Cor xi 2; Eph v 22ff.; also J. Gnllka, *Der Epheserbrief* (Freiburg, 1971) 272ff., 290ff.

σημαίνοντα τὸν θεόν. Cf. above, 404E.

θεῶν ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκες. Here used in connection with herons, wrens and ravens. Cf. the dove of Mk i 10 and the role of birds in Rv; cf. Wicker, 409E.

τὴν δὲ τῆς Πυθίας φωνὴν καὶ διάλεκτον. For early Christianity also, the revelation occurred in everyday language; there is agreement between Plutarch and ECL in the polemic against high literary quality as the only adequate measure of authentic revelation. Cf. especially, I Cor i 18-37; ii 3-4; xiv 6-11; 2 Cor x 10; xi 6. See also 408D, E.

## Ch. 23

## (405E)

ἀπεφθέγγοντο. On this technical term cf. Ac ii 4, 14; xxvi 25 and Bauer s.v. See also 405D *phtheggomai*.

## (406B)

ὁ δὲ μαντικὸς ἐνθουσιασμός, ὡς περ ὁ ἐρωτικὸς, χρῆται τῇ ὑποκειμένη δυνάμει καὶ κινεῖ τῶν δεξαμένων ἕκαστον καθ' ὃ πέφυκεν. On this doctrine cf. 405A, B above.

## Ch. 24

τὴν μεταβολήν. Since it is the work of god and providence, the "change" must be for the better. See 398A, 409C; Betz and Smith 388F.

ἀμοιβῆ γὰρ εἶοικε νομισματος ἢ τοῦ λόγου χρεία. Cf. Jesus' use of a coin to explain a matter; Mk xii 13-17//Mt xxii 15-22//Lk xx 20-26.

δόκιμον. This financial term is used metaphorically in reference to persons, e.g. 2 Cor x 18; xiii 7; 2 Ti ii 15; Js i 12. See Bauer, s.v. *dokimos*, 1.

ισχύον. The term is used here as a financial term. Cf. Gal v 6 and Bauer s.v. 4.

(406C)

ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν. Cf. this phrase in Dg vi 1.

ἐνουθέτουν ἐπαρρησιάζοντο παρεκκελεύοντο. All of these common terms occur in ECL; cf. Bauer s.v.

οὐκοῦν . . . ἐφθόνει ὁ θεός. Cf. Tit ii 7 v. 1. On the significance of this concept cf. W. C. van Unnik, ΑΦΘΟΝΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΔΙΔΩΜΙ (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang xxxiii, 1971, no. 4).

(406D)

φαντασίας ἐνεδίδου. That visions connected with prophecy are the gifts of God is also believed by ECL. The term *phantasia* occurs in a different sense only in Ac xxv 23, but corresponds in ECL to *phantazomenon* Hb xii 21 and *phantasma* Mt xiv 26// Mk vi 49; Lk xxiv 37D. Cf. also 397C.

ξυστίδας μαλακάς. Plutarch lists this, along with other kinds of fancy apparel, as being out-of-date and inappropriate. ECL would agree; cf. I Ti ii 9ff.; I Pt iii 3; Js ii 2; also Flacelière, *DSOP* 71, notes.

(406E)

τοῦ μυθώδους ἀπεκρίθη τὸ ἀληθές. The view that the development has gone from the "myths" cherished in the past to the present way of thinking as "truth" is held also by early Christian theology in regard to Judaism and paganism. E.g., see IMg viii 1; Tit i 14 and Bauer, s.v. *mythos*.

τὸ σαφές. This scientific "ideal" is shared by Lk i 4; cf. Dg xi 2.

(406F)

πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν καὶ πιθανὸν ἀρμοζόμενος. Cf. 407A-C, 408C. Theon's view is that Apollo put an end to verisification, strange terms, circumlocution and vagueness in order to make the oracles intelligible and convincing. Cf. Paul who shares an analogous concern with regard to glossolalia; I Cor xiv, esp. vss. 19, 24; also Dg xi 1.

## Ch. 25

(407A)

ἢ πίστις οὕτως ἐστρέφετο. The change of popular religious "faith" from fascination with the obscure to an "enlightened" faith is clearly Luke's goal when in Acts he describes the Christian mission in these terms. Cf. H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition*, 38ff.

τὸ σαφές. Cf. 406E.

(407B)

τὰς μεταφορὰς καὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας. The terms are characteristic of Apollo's revelations, but not of the Christian revelation. Cf. however, I Cor xiii 12 and G. Kittel, *TWNT* 1, 177-79 = *TDNT* 1, 178-80; Betz and Smith, 385C.

ἀγγεῖα. Cf. Betz and Smith, 392E.

(407C)

τὸ ἀγυρτικὸν καὶ ἀγοραῖον καὶ περὶ τὰ μητρῶα καὶ Σαραπεῖα βωμολοχοῦν καὶ πλανώμενον γένος. These words introduce an interesting but stereotypical description of religious charlatans. Cf. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition*, 30, note 108.

πλανώμενον. On the partially figurative meaning of this concept, cf. H. Braun, *TWNT* 6, 230ff. = *TDNT* 6, 228ff.

χρησμοὺς περαίνοντες . . . γυναίους. Cf. 2 Ti iii 6.

ἀπατεῶσι καὶ γόησιν . . . καὶ ψευδομάντεσιν. On this language cf. Betz, *Paulus* 19ff. In ECL only *goēs* occurs (2 Ti iii 13; Dg viii 4), but cf. synonyms like *pseudoprophētēs*, etc.; Bauer, s.v.

## Ch. 26

(407D)

τῶν ἀβουλήτων. Although it might be dangerous for those concerned with the oracle, the function of the oracle is to reveal the truth even if people do not wish to hear it. Cf. Paul's statements in Gal i 10; I Th ii 4.

χρῶμενος . . . θνητοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ προφήταις. The same is true for the concept of divine revelation in ECL. For the term *thnētos* in this connection cf. 2 Cor iv 11; v 4; I Cor i 26-29.

(407E)

ὧν κήδεσθαι προσήκει καὶ φυλάττειν. That God is obliged to protect those who serve him is an assumption not shared by ECL. Cf. esp. Mt xxvi 53; Mk xiv 36//Mt xxvi 39//Lk xxii 42; and the early Christian concept of martyrdom.

ὅπως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀπολοῦνται πονηρῶν. It is interesting that the persons connected with the Delphic oracle saw that their integrity would imply a risk of life. In ECL cf. esp. Jesus' passion and crucifixion and passages like 2 Th iii 2; 2 Ti iii 12; Mt v 10-12; Ro viii 35f.; I Cor iv 9ff.; 2 Cor iv 7ff.; vi 9; xi 23ff.

θεῶ λατρεύοντες. This concept is commonly used in ECL to describe Christian worship. Cf. esp. Ac xxiv 14; Hb ix 14; xii 28 and Bauer, s.v. *latreuō*.

ἀποκρύπτουσαι τὸ φραζόμενον. On the one hand Apollo does not want to hold back his revelation but on the other hand wants to conceal certain truths from despots and enemies and hence expresses them in ambiguities. This interpretation may be compared with Mark's concept of Jesus' parables; cf. Mk iv 11f; also Rv.

(407F)

βοηθεῖν ὁ θεός. That the gods must be "helpful" is a leading concept in Greek religion; it is not prominent in ECL. Cf. 2 Cor vi 2 (Is xlix 8); I Cl lix 3f. See Bauer s.v. *boētheō*, *boēthos*.

συκοφαντῶν. Here a synonym of *enkalōn*; cf. Lk iii 14; xix 8 and Bauer s.v.

## Ch. 27

τοῦ δεθέντα μέτροις τὰ φραζόμενα. The theory that revelations cast in verse can be better remembered is not expressed in ECL; analogous is the structure of the oral tradition of the early church, however. Cf. E. Käsemann, *RGG*<sup>3</sup> II, 993-96; G. Bornkamm, *RGG*<sup>3</sup>, II, 999-1005. One should also refer to the hypotheses of H. Riesenfeld and B. Gerhardsson; cf. N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (New York, 1967) 30f. (bibliography).

πολλὰ . . . ἐφράζετο. Plutarch gives a list of things revealed: *τορῶν σήμεια καὶ πράξεων καιροὶ καὶ θεῶν hiera diapontiōn καὶ hērōōn ἀπορρέτοι θέκαι* . . . Only the first two are of concern to ECL. Cf. Mt ii 1 ff. and H. Köster, *TWNT* (=TDNT) 8, 187ff.; Bauer s.v. *kairos*, 4.

(408A)

τεκμηρίους. Used as a miracle term in Ac i 3; cf. Wicker, 410B.

## Ch. 28

(408B)

πολλὴ γὰρ εἰρήνη καὶ ἡσυχία, πέπαυται δὲ πόλεμος, καὶ πλάναι καὶ στάσεις οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ τυραννίδες . . . This description of the political pacification of Greece by the Romans should be compared to the political ideas of I Clement; cf. esp. I Cl iii and the formula *eirēnē kai homonoia*. See W. C. van Unnik, *Studies over de zogenaamde eerste Brief van Clemens* (Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N. R., Deel 33, No. 4, 1970) 14ff.; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford, 1971), index s.v. "peace."

(408C)

γενναία τὸ ἦθος. This Greek ideal, expressed here with regard to the Pythia, is shared in ECL only by I Cl and MPol in application to the martyrs and to Christians in general. Cf. I Cl i 2; v 1 and Bauer, s.v. *gennaios*, *gennaiotēs*, *ēthos*.

(408D)

γέννηται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. This phrase describes the Pythia's presence with Apollo in the Adyton. Cf. Mt vi 1, and Bauer, s.v. *para*, II, 2, b.

τὸ καθήκον. The phrase is used here in regard to the religious duties of the Pythia. Cf. Ro i 28 and Bauer, s.v. *kathēkō*.

ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινούντων. That the Pythia is concerned only with fulfilling her duties and has no interest in "glory" or in human praise or blame is analogous to Paul's understanding of his apostolic office. Cf. esp. i Cor iv 1-6; Gal i 10; I Th ii 4; furthermore Jn xii 43; Ro ii 29; Col iii 22; Eph vi 6, 9; I Cl i 3.

## Ch. 29

ἔδει δ' ἴσως καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔχειν οὕτως· νῦν δ' . . . This statement reveals an awareness of the religious dilemma of men like Plutarch. He knows that the relationship of naive confidence and obedience with regard to the oracle has virtually disappeared; in its place is the anxiety and fear that the religious tradition of 3,000 years

at Delphi might be discontinued altogether. All that can be done is: ἀπολογούμεθα καὶ πλάττομεν αἰτίας καὶ λόγους ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐτ' ἴσμεν οὐτ' εἰδέναι προσήκον ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, παραμυθούμενοι τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα καὶ πείθοντες, οὐ χείρειν ἐῶντες. Being in its period of youthful beginning, ECL does not show traces of this kind of problem, but on the contrary uses the weapons provided by pagan scepticism in regard to the traditional religion. Cf. e.g., I Th i 9; I Cor xii 2; Ac xiv 15; xvii 16ff.; xix 23ff., Dg and the apologists, *passim*.

ὁ τόπος. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385B.

παραμυθούμενοι. Cf. I Th ii 12; v 14; Jn xi 19, 31. See G. Stählin, *TWNT* 5, 815-22, = *TDNT* 5, 816-23.

πείθοντες. In ECL "persuasion" in religious matters is regarded partly as positive and partly negative. Cf. Ac xiii 43; xiv 19; xviii 4; xix 8, 26; xxvi 28; 2 Cor v 11; in contrast to such passages as I Cor ii 4; Gal i 10; v 8; I Ro iii 3.

(408E)

τὰ προγεγραμμένα τῶν σοφῶν. On this expression cf. Dg viii 2 and J. M. Robinson, "LOGOI SOPHON: On the Gattung of Q," in J. M. Robinson and H. Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (1971) 71ff. See also the related phrase in this paragraph: *ta apophthegmata tōn sophōn*.

γνώθι σαυτὸν . . . μηδὲν ἄγαν. Here Plutarch provides an interesting characteristic of the Delphic maxims. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385D (also Plutarch 164B, 511A).

(408F)

εὐθεῖα πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. The language of the Pythia, since it lacks all "curves, doubling and ambiguity", goes straight to the truth. Paul in 2 Cor x-xiii makes a similar claim in regard to his *logos*, cf. esp. 2 Cor x 10; xi 10; xii 6; xiii 8. See Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition*, 57ff.

(409A)

ἐμπέπληκε. The fact that the oracle has filled the sanctuary with votive offerings, gifts, buildings and decorations is taken as evidence for its claim to reveal the divine truth. Cf. 409B-C. In a similar way Luke regards the success of the Christian mission

as evidence of its truth; cf. the statement by Gamaliel, Ac v 38f. On *empimplēmi* cf. Ac xiv 17.

βαρβαρικῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν. Cf. in ECL, always in the reverse order: Dg v 4; Ro i 14; Col iii 11.

(409B)

τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. The presence of Apollo Galaxios was taken to be demonstrated by an abundant flow of milk. On other names of Apollo and their meaning, cf. Betz and Smith, 385B-C. On *epiphaneia*, cf. 2 Th ii 8; I Ti vi 14; 2 Ti i 10; iv 1, 8; Tit ii 11, 13; iii 4; I Cl lix 4; lx 3; 2 Cl xii 1; xvii 4. See D. Lührmann, "Epiphaneia" in *Tradition und Glaube, Festgabe für K. G. Kuhn*, (Göttingen, 1971), 185-99.

ἀφθονία. Cf. above 406C.

λαμπρότερα καὶ κρείττονα καὶ σαφέστερα σημεῖα. The change from the earlier desolation and poverty of the oracle to its present affluence, splendor and honor is believed to be evidence of the God's presence. On this meaning of *sēmeion*, which was under discussion in primitive Christianity also, cf. esp. 2 Cor xii 12 and Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition*, 70ff., for further literature.

(409C)

μεταβολήν. It is believed that the kind and magnitude of change and the short time during which it occurred cannot be explained by human efforts but only by the presence of the god. Cf. the previous entry and 409A.

δι' ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιμελείας. On human efforts versus the divine power, cf. esp. Ac iii 12; 2 Ti i 9; Mk x 27//Mt xix 26//Lk xviii 27; Mk xiv 36; Lk i 37; and Luke/Acts *passim*; I Cor i 18-ii 16.

θεοῦ παρόντος. Cf. in ECL the term *parousia*; Bauer, s.v.

συνεπιθειάζοντος. According to *LSJ*, s.v., the term with this meaning occurs only here.

Ch. 30

ἀσάφειαν. Cf. above 406F.

αἰτιώμενοι. Here directed against the god; cf. Hs 6, 3, 5.

συκοφαντοῦντες. Cf. above 407F.

(409D)

οὗτοι τὰ αἰνίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀλληγορίας καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς τῆς μαντικῆς

... ἐπιποθοῦσι. The final argument is a denouncement of the present-day mentality of the masses who, like children, are only after the spectacular, the miraculous, and the mysterious, and who turn away from the god altogether if they cannot satisfy their curiosity. For this criticism, cf. esp. Mt xii 39; Jn iv 48; I Cor i 22f.; also Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition*, 70ff.; *JBL* 90, 1971, 314ff. On *ainigma* cf. Betz and Smith, 385C; on *allēgoria* cf. Gal iv 24.

τῷ λογισμῷ. The masses cannot, as they ought to, truly comprehend the god by means of reasoning, because of the reasons mentioned before. ECL goes further in ruling out reason altogether as a way to belief in God; cf. Ro i 18ff; I Cor i 18ff.; iii 19. Things change, however, with the rise of the apologetic literature; cf. Ac xiv 15ff.; xvii 22ff. (the speeches de facto appeal to human reason); Dg ii 1 (and *passim*) makes "intelligence" the basis of faith and "prejudice" the reason for "unbelief."

## V

## DE DEFECTU ORACULORUM (MORALIA 409E-438E)

BY

KATHLEEN O'BRIEN WICKER

Claremont, California

This Pythian dialogue has been dated early and late during Plutarch's career as priest of Apollo at Delphi. (Cf. R. Flacelière, *Sur la Disparition des Oracles* [Paris, 1947], 16-17.) In form, it is a narrative told by Lamprias, Plutarch's brother, to Terentius Priscus of a dialogue in which Lamprias, Cleombrotus, Ammonius, Demetrius, Philippus, Didymus and Heracleon participated. In the dialogue the enigmatic question of why the oracles were becoming obsolete is raised and four possible answers are suggested, though the dialogue ends leaving the question unresolved.

In the first of the three parts of the dialogue (Ch. 1-8), during a peripatos in which the topic of discussion is proposed, the first answer to the question of the reason for the silence of the oracles is given. The moral explanation, that the gods refuse to give answers because of the wickedness of the people, is proposed by Didymus the Cynic (413A). This response is given only brief consideration.

In the second section of the dialogue (Ch. 9-37), the second and third explanations for the silence of the oracles occur. Ammonius, the philosopher and Plutarch's teacher, suggests that the deity himself has restricted the activity of the oracles because the population of Greece has considerably declined in numbers (414A). With Lamprias' objection that the deity creates but does not destroy, and that disintegration must be explained by the instrumentality of matter (414D), the third response involving the demons as mediators is anticipated.

Cleombrotus suggests that the gods use demons as mediators between themselves and men (415A). The sites of oracles are assigned by the gods to the demons who actually give them. When the demons flee, move to another place, or die, the oracle places and persons lose their power (418D). Following a discussion of this thesis, there is an excursus on the question of the number of νόσμοι which exist. (Ch. 22-37).

The third section of the dialogue (Ch. 38-52) reinstates the previous topic of discussion, now raising the further problem of how the inspiration of the prophets works and how they are able to present their visions. Ammonius asks Lamprias to elaborate on the thesis that prophecy is a capacity of all souls, which in embodied souls is stimulated by means of the *ῥεῦμα* and *πνεῦμα* sent out by Earth (432D, 433C). That these powers are subject to change and disappearance is the fourth explanation suggested for the current cessation of oracular activity (434BC).

Of the four explanations offered for the silence of the oracles, those of Cleombrotus and Lamprias clearly contain the two major explanations for the phenomenon, one rooted in demonology, the other in material causality. In their arguments also, we find the major points of comparison with ECL, namely the understanding of demonology which has implications particularly for the Christology of ECL, and of the phenomenon of inspiration. The third major topic in this section, multiplicity of worlds, is not directly comparable with ECL. Christian eschatology deals rather with two worlds which follow each other (apocalyptic) or exist side by side (John) or both.

Both Plutarch and ECL are familiar with a world of demons. For Plutarch they are intermediate beings between gods and men, partly spiritual and partly material. Though as a class they are subject to *πάθη θνητά* and *μεταβολή ἀναγκαία* (416C), yet they are also distinguished by different degrees of virtue and vice (*De Iside et Osiride* 360EF). The most perfect of these beings are the *μεγάλοι δαίμονες*. Some few of them are said to come finally to share in divine qualities (415C, *De Facie in Orbe Lunae* 944E). In ECL, Christ corresponds most closely to Plutarch's category of *μεγάλοι δαίμονες*. In fact, Paul's philosophic audience in Athens referred to Christ as a *δαίμων* (Ac xvii 18). Angels are of lesser rank than Christ, and, though they are considered purely spiritual beings, have limitations on their perfections. The demons, for whom alone in ECL the term *δαίμων* is used, are also considered spiritual beings but belonging to the realm of this world.

There is no general agreement in ECL about Christ's subjection to *πάθη θνητά*. Several passages indicate that he withstood temptation though he was tempted (Cf. Mt iv 3ff//Lk iv 3ff; Hb ii 14; iv 15). In the passages where he is described as feeling or expressing human passions (cf. Mt xi 19; Mk i 41; iii 5; viii 33), the question is whether this is "human passion" or the "reactions" of the divine

man whose behavior represents God's attitudes. ECL was hard pressed to reconcile itself to the necessity of Christ's death which was finally justified as part of God's plan of salvation, not by reference to *πάθη θνητά*.

There is some hint of the *πάθη θνητά* of the angels in ECL but none with reference to the demons. The angels do not seem to be destined for death, but there appear to be three traditions about the demons. One implies their final destruction (cf. I Cor xv 24), another indicates they will experience everlasting punishment (cf. Rv xx 10) and the third suggests a reconciliation of all powers through Christ (cf. Eph i 10; Col i 20).

The functions of the good demons in Plutarch are to be guardians of the sacred rites of the gods and of oracles and prophetic shrines, prompters in the mysteries, and avengers of arrogant and grievous cases of injustice. The evil demons are cruel and vengeful beings who bring about pestilences and failures of crops, stir up wars and civil discords. In ECL both Christ and the angels, like the good demons of Plutarch, have a mediating role. Christ's role as mediator surpasses any assigned to the demons in Plutarch, while the role of the angels is less important, that of being messengers from God to men. The demons are characterized by their impulsive erratic behavior in ECL as in Plutarch, though their role in causing evil for men may be somewhat greater in ECL.

Several traditions about the phenomenon of inspiration occur in *De Defectu Oraculorum* and in ECL. The prevailing understanding of the nature of prophecy at Delphi is that the god enters the Pythia and speaks himself through her, using the Pythia's mouth and voice as his instrument. There are two contexts in ECL in which the idea of prophecy as ventriloquism occurs. One is demon possession (cf. Lk iv 41; viii 27ff; Ac xvi 17). The other is glossolalia, where the unintelligible speech is generally considered to be the *φωνή* of the angels (cf. I Cor xiii 1).

Cleombrotus attempts to preserve the deity from the contamination attendant upon contact with mortals (414E) by suggesting that the divine uses intermediaries to communicate with men. The OT allows for intermediaries also, at least partially, as does ECL, where God uses Christ (cf. II Cor xiii 3), the Holy Spirit (cf. Ro v 5; viii 26f), and angels (cf. Mt i 20) to communicate with men.

Another theory, which Lamprias advances and which reflects Platonic ideas on the nature of inspiration, is that the soul itself has

the power of knowing and revealing the future, but that power can be activated only when the person is favorably disposed and when the earthly πνεῦμα is infused into the soul (432D). Thus God starts the beginning of a movement which also involves the human element. A similar idea occurs in ECL where cooperation is required between the spirit of God and the person or person's spirit (cf. Ro viii 15f; I Th ii 13; I Cor xiv 14ff).

In both Plutarch and ECL the πνεῦμα is divine and functions to cause prophetic utterances. The effects of pneumatic inspiration described in ECL are also similar to those which appear at Delphi (cf. Jn iii 8; Ac ii 1ff). A point of contrast between Plutarch and ECL is that in the former the πνεῦμα is not controlled by men, while in the latter a measure of control is exercised both by the individual and by the community (cf. I Cor xiv 32; I Th v 19).

The confluence of these traditions regarding inspiration is undoubtedly the most significant aspect of this dialogue, both for the ideas expressed and for comparison with ECL, particularly Paul. The dialogue examines the traditional view of the nature of inspiration and that of Platonism. The discussion proceeds in the analytical manner characteristic of Greek philosophical discussion but may well also be an attempt to deal rationally with one of the major religious questions of the day. The rational approach is particularly suitable for Plutarch to use in examining a question concerning the god of wisdom, Apollo. The rational approach is also characteristic of Paul's attempts to purify the concept of inspiration from its naturalistic interpretations. The Christian God was a God not of confusion but of peace (cf. I Cor xiv 33). His concern with this problem appears to be part of his larger attempt to work out an understanding of the nature of the relationship between God and man which is at the heart of the question. Interestingly enough, neither Plutarch, at least in this dialogue, nor Paul succeeded in arriving at a total resolution of this problem.

The following literature is important in a study of inspiration: E. Des Places, *La Religion Grecque* (Paris, 1969), 269ff; 308ff; R. Flacelière, "Le délire de la Pythie est-il une liqueur?", *REA* 52, 1950, 315-324; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion II*<sup>2</sup> (Munich, 1961), 407ff; P. Schäfer, *Die Vorstellung vom Heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur* (Munich, 1972), 89ff; G. Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque* (Paris, 1942), 102ff. The text of *De Defectu Oraculorum* is that of Frank Cole Babbitt in the *LCL*, though

the text of R. Flacelière was also available. The Introduction and notes to the latter edition were invaluable.

(409E)

ἀετούς. This myth, illustrating the centrality of Delphi, serves as an analogy for the meeting of the travelers, Demetrius of Tarsus and Cleombrotus of Sparta, at Delphi. Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias* (New York, 1965), 5, 314f, for other references to the myth. For an eagle associated with the divine in ECL, cf. Rv iv 7, and as having an oracular function, cf. Rv viii 13. Also cf. the eagle's wings in Rv xii 14.

κύκλους. Cf. Rollins, 400A.

μυθολογοῦσιν. This word does not occur in ECL. For the uses of μῦθος in Plutarch and in ECL, cf. Rollins, 395B, 398D.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς γῆς. The idea of the limits of the world is also found in ECL. Cf. Mt xxiv 31; Mk xiii 27. For the four corners of the earth, cf. Rv vii 1; xx 8, and for the four winds, cf. D x 5. For a statement on the infinity of the universe in Plutarch, however, cf. Beardslee, 925F.

ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον. Concern to establish the center of the world is not found in ECL; however, the "symbolism of the Center" in Eliade's terminology does occur. Cf. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (New York, 1954). For the idea of Jerusalem, specifically the rock, altar and temple, as the center of the world in Judaism, cf. Jonathan Z. Smith, "Earth and Gods," *JR* 49 (1969) 103-127. For Jerusalem as a center of Christian cult in ECL, cf. I Cl xi 2; as a center from which the disciples were sent out to the ends of the earth, cf. Mk xvi 15; Ac i 8. For heaven as the new Jerusalem and as the community of believers, cf. Rv xxi; iii 12; Hb xii 22; Gal iv 26.

περὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὀμφαλόν. The word ὀμφαλός does not occur in ECL but is a frequent motif in Greek thought and has been represented in art in many parts of the ancient world. Cf. Smith, *JR*, 49, 103-104, and G. Roux, *Delphi* (Munich, 1971) 9ff.

(409F)

ἐλέγχοντα. Greeks did not find it inappropriate to investigate the truth of a myth with the help of an oracle. The practice does not occur in ECL.

λαβόντα χρησμὸν ἀσαφῆ καὶ ἀμφίβολον. The term χρησμὸς does not occur in ECL. However, cf. Betz and Smith, 384F.

θεοὺς δῆλος θνητοῖσι δ' ἄφαντος. The idea that God or the gods know things not known to human beings is common in Judaism and ECL. Cf. Ro xi 33f; I Cor ii 11; iv 5. Calling men θνητοὶ is common in Greek literature, to contrast them with the gods who are ἀθάνατοι. This idea also occurs in I Cl xxxix 2 and Dg ix 2. D iv 8 calls men sharers ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ however. In Dg vi 8 man's soul is described as immortal in a mortal body. For the idea of the mortal body, cf. also II Cor iv 11; Ro vi 12; viii 11. For man's mortal nature becoming immortal, cf. I Cor xv 53; II Cor v 4.

## (410A)

καθάπερ ζωγραφήματος ἀφῆ διαπειρώμενον. The idea of wanting to investigate or tamper with a divine revelation is also repudiated in Rv xxii 18f. Compare this idea with that in Hm 11:2-6 where the person who allows himself to be consulted as a prophet is automatically considered a false prophet.

## Ch. 2

ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ δύο. For ἱερός as one of the titles of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ, cf. H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Berlin, 1961), 102f. It does not occur in this context in ECL, though the θεῖος ἀνὴρ *topos* is found. Cf. L. Bieler, *THEIOS ANĒR: Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Vienna, 1935). For the literary function of the ξένος, cf. Rollins, 394F.

εἰς Ταρσὸν. Tarsus was the capital of Cilicia and a famed seat of Greek learning. For Tarsus as the home of Paul, cf. Ac ix 11; xi 25; xxi 39; xxii 3.

ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. For the association of Jesus as the θεῖος ἀνὴρ with Egypt, cf. Mt ii 13, 15, 19. For Moses learning the wisdom of the Egyptians, cf. Ac vii 22. Cf. also Bauer, *s.v.* Αἴγυπτος, and Betz, *Lukian*, 108.

ἀνὴρ φιλοθεάμων ὢν καὶ φιλομαθής. Neither of these two attributes of the ἱερός ἀνὴρ occur in ECL. However, cf. Ac xvii 23 where Paul is portrayed as cultured; Ac xxvi 24; Gal i 14 for Paul as learned.

ἔχων ἱκανὴν καὶ τὸ πλεῖονα τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔχειν οὐκ ἄξιον πολλοῦ ποιούμενος. The ideal of the cultured Greek was to spend his money for the

pursuit of science and the arts, while in ECL money was to be spent to meet social needs, cf. Ac iv 33ff; Hs 2:5-7.

## (410B)

ἐχρῆτο τῇ σχολῇ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα. Cf. Ac xix 9.

καὶ συνῆγεν ἱστορίαν οἶον ὕλην φιλοσοφίας θεολογίαν ὡσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκάλει τέλος ἐχοῦσης. The idea that research into natural phenomena can ultimately have its τέλος in θεολογία is a familiar concept of Greek philosophy. Cf. A.-M. Malingrey, *Philosophia: Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque de Présocratiques au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1961). Though this is not true for ECL generally, cf. Ro i 19f; Ac xvii; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 1-8. No comparable τέλος formulation exists in ECL, but cf. Ro x 4; I Ti i 5; I Pt i 9. The term ἱστορία does not occur in ECL, but for the notion of investigating phenomena, cf. Lk i 1ff; Ac xvii 23. For φιλοσοφία cf. Betz and Smith, 384F. Θεολογία does not occur in ECL.

μὴ πάνυ τεθαύμακώς. Cf. Ac xvii for Paul's reaction to the religious phenomena at Athens. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* θαῦμα, 1 for this word as a miracle term in ECL.

καὶ τοῦτο ποιῆσθαι τεκμήριον ἐκείνους τῆς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀνωμαλίας. The typical Greek understanding of miracle is of a deviation in the laws governing nature. This view is different from that found in ECL generally. Τεκμήριον is used as a miracle term in Ac i 3.

## Ch. 3

## (410C)

μεθιστάντας. ECL allows that changes can occur in nature but attributes them to the power of faith, cf. I Cor xiii 2; Mt xvii 20f, or to the power of the creator, cf. Hv 1:3:4.

τὴν μαθηματικὴν. Scientific knowledge is not important for ECL. Christianity prides itself on not having been an achievement of man's intellect, cf. Dg v 3. For the μαθηματικός as astrologer and idolator, cf. D iii 4.

διαταράξει. Contrast their reaction with that of Mary at the appearance of the angel, cf. Lk i 29.

τῆς ἀκριβείας. This is a scientific ideal, which in ECL Luke in particular is interested in achieving. Cf. Lk i 3 and *passim*; Ac xviii 26; xxii 3; xxiii 15, 20; xxiv 22; xxvi 5. Cf also Mt ii 7, 16; Eph v 15; I Th v 2; Hv 3:10:10; Hm 3:4; 4:3:7.

## (410D)

τὸ δὲ μικρὰ μὴ διδόναι σημεῖα γίνεσθαι μεγάλων. The idea under discussion here and below, that the "small things" in nature are models for greater realities, occurs in ECL. Cf. Mt xiii 31f. ὁμόνοια in all of nature is seen as the mark of God's governance, cf. I Cl xx. However, the end time, as ECL describes it, will be marked by signs in nature and disruption of the natural order, cf. Lk xxi; Ac ii 19; D xvi 6. σημεῖον is the common term for miracle in ECL. Cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *TWNT*, 7, 227-260 = *TDNT*, 7, 229-260.

ἀποδείξεις . . . ἀποδείκνυτε. ECL contrasts this scientific demonstration with the wisdom which comes from the Spirit, cf. I Cor ii 4. For use of this as a legal term in ECL, cf. Ac xxv 7.

## (410E)

τῶν ἐκεῖ προφητῶν. Cf. Tit i 12 for the only instance in ECL where a pagan is given the appellation of prophet. The reference here is to the prophets of the oracle of Ammon.

## (410F)

κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὴν νενομισμένην τάξιν ἀπαράβατον. The order in nature is fixed according to both Greek tradition and ECL. Cf. Mt vi 25. For ECL, the order is attributed to God the creator, cf. Dg viii 7. ἀπαράβατος is used here in the sense of unchangeable. For the disputed meaning of this term in Hb vii 24, cf. Bauer, s.v.

## Ch. 4

## (411B)

ἀλαζονείαν. The term here describes false scientific theories. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385E.

## (411C)

ἄσβεστα θεραπεύεται πυρὰ καὶ σφίζεται. Tending the sacred fire is mentioned here as a prominent religious activity. There are no parallels in ECL. For *θεραπεύεται*, cf. Ac xvii 25.

## Ch. 5

## (411E)

περὶ τοῦ μαντείου. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385B. θεϊότητος. Cf. Ro i 20; Col ii 9.

σιωπῶντος. For the silence of the bystanders as a dialogical device in ECL, cf. Mt xxvi 63; Mk iii 4, ix 34, xiv 61. ὑπομαραίνεσθαι. Cf. Hv 3:11:2.

## (411F)

νῦν ἐπιλέλοιπε κομιδῇ καθάπερνάματα. Cf. II Pt ii 17. For the use of ἐκλείπω in ECL, cf. Rollins, 402C.

πολύς ἐπέσχηκε μαντικῆς ἀύχμους τὴν χώραν. For the idea that prophecy had dried up in Judaism of the Hellenistic-Roman period, cf. R. Meyer, *προφήτης*, *TWNT*, 6, 813-817 = *TDNT*, 6, 813-816. On the other hand, prophecy is regarded as reaching its fulfillment with John and Jesus in ECL, cf. G. Friedrich, *προφήτης*, *TWNT*, 6, 838-849 = *TDNT*, 6, 836-848. Cf. D xiii 1-7 for the shortage of prophets in the Christian community.

## (412A)

ἐρημία. For a prophecy of impending desolation in ECL, cf. Mt xxiii 38.

ἀπεπειράθη. A term referring to the process of consulting oracles. For an admonition not to test the prophet, cf. D xi:7. Cf. also Ac v 9.

ὥστε μηδένα ξυνεῖναι ἄλλον τῶν παρόντων ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκεῖνον. Compare the miracle of the god answering Mys in his own tongue, which was not intelligible to the persons attending him, with the Pentecost event described in Ac ii 6, in which everyone hears the apostles speaking in his own tongue.

ἐκ τοῦ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τοῦ προφήτου. Cf. Rollins, Introduction, 397C, 398A, 404F.

προσταττόμενον. The word is used here as a religious term. In ECL it is usually used for what is ordered by the divine. Cf. Bauer, s.v. *προστάσω*.

ὑπηρετοῦσαν. Cf. B xvi 4.

κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου. *ὄναρ* is used instead in ECL for divine commands given in sleep. However, none of the dreams in ECL are allegorical, as here. Cf. A. Oepke, *TWNT*, (= *TDNT*), 5, 234-238. Cf. also Beardslee, 941F.

ὑπηρέτην τοῦ θεοῦ. *ὑπηρέτης* is also used for cultic officials in ECL. Cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*), 8, 539-544.

τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος. ECL in contrast stresses the fact of the presence of God at all times and in all places. In Greek religious thought the gods resided at their shrines only at fixed times and there was

always fear that the gods might depart permanently. However, ECL also looked forward to the *παρουσία*. Cf. A. Oepke, *TWNT*, 5, 863-869 = *TDNT* 5, 865-871.

## (412B)

ταῦτα δ' ἦν ὡσπερ ἀντίφωνα τῶν γενησομένων. In ECL τύπος and related words are used to indicate the fulfillment of prophecy. Cf. L. Goppelt, *TWNT*, 8, 249-260 = *TDNT*, 8, 251-259, and G. Dellling, s.v. πληρώω, *TWNT*, 6, 289-296 = *TDNT*, 6, 295-298. ἀντίφωνος does not occur.

κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. Cf. 412A above.

ἔπου καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν θεόν. For the birthplace of Jesus, cf. Mt ii 1; Lk ii 4ff.

προφητεύοντας. Cf. G. Friedrich, s.v. προφήτης κτλ, *TWNT*, 6, 829-830 = *TDNT*, 6, 829.

ἀνεῖλε. A technical term of prophecy, thought to apply originally to the lot oracle at Delphi. Cf. H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford, 1956), I, 9-10. Cf. also M. Nilsson, *GGR*, I, 167-168, for the lot oracle as the original method of divination at Delphi. This term is not used in ECL, but cf. Ac i 26 for the practice of the lot in the early Christian community. Cf. also Mt xxvii 35; Mk xv 24; Lk xxiii 34; Jn xix 24; B vi 6. Cf. also Rollins, 412B. Cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 146.

## (412C)

προστάττοντα. Cf. 412A above.

τὸν τόπον ἀνευρεῖν ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων. Cf. Mt ii 1ff.

θυσίας τινὰς ἐκεῖ τελέσαι. For the Magi offering gifts when they found the place where Jesus was born, cf. Mt ii 11. For the technical use of τελέω in ECL, cf. Dg iii 5; I Cl xl 3.

θαυμαζόντων δὲ καὶ διαπορούντων. Two terms used commonly to express reactions to manifestations of the divine. Cf. Bauer, s.v. θαυμάζω and διαπορέω.

τὴν Πυθίαν προσανελεῖν ὅτι κορώνη φράσει τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς. An oracle which depends upon further events for the revelation of its meaning is also known in ECL. Cf. Mt xxi 2ff; Mk xi 2ff; xii 12ff; Lk xxii 8ff; Ac ix 3ff.

## (412D)

θύσαντας. A technical religious term for offering sacrifice. Cf. Bauer, s.v. θύω, I.

τυχεῖν καθόδου μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον. Cf. Mt ii 12.

ἐπιφάνειαι. This religious term is used only of Christ's appearing on earth in ECL. Cf. Bauer.

περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα ταῦτα. Cf. 411E above.

νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπεν. Cf. 411F above.

παρὰ τῷ Πυθίῳ. Cf. Rollins, 408C.

διαπορῆσαι. Used here for scientific investigation, not as above, 412C.

## Ch. 6

ἀπὸ τοῦ νεῶ προτόντες ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Κνιδίων λέσχης ἐγεγόνειμεν.

For a discussion of the *peripatos topos* and its parallels in ECL, cf. Betz and Smith, 385A; Rollins, 394EF.

παρελθόντες οὖν εἴσω. Cf. Lk xxiv 29.

## (412E)

φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ζητεῖν. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385CD.

## (412F)

ὄν τοῦ τόπου. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385B.

διὰ τὸν θεόν. Cf. Rollins, 397A.

## Ch. 7

## (413A)

προέβαλεν. For the ξένος as a foil for raising the central issues of the treatise, cf. Rollins, 394F. προβάλλω is not a technical term in ECL.

ὁ κυνικός Δίδυμος. Didymus the Cynic plays the role of troublemaker, a characteristic device of the dialogue form and a typical caricature of the Cynics who had a general contempt of knowledge and of current morality. The Cynics are not referred to specifically in ECL. However, cf. the caricatures of Stoics and Epicureans in Ac xvii-xviii.

ἐπίκλησιν. For the practice of designating persons by symbolic surnames in ECL, cf. Ac i 23; iv 36; x 5, 18, 32; xi 13. Cf. Rollins, 401A.

τῇ βακτηρίᾳ. The staff is a characteristic accoutrement of the itinerant preacher in the Hellenistic world. Cf. Mk vi 8 where the apostles are told to take nothing but a staff (ῥάβδος) on their missionary journeys. But cf. also Mt x 10 and Lk ix 3 where the staff is prohibited.

ζητήσεως. Cf. 412E above and Betz-Dirkse-Smith, 548B.

θαυμαστόν. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385C.

τοσαύτης κακίας ὑποκεχυμένης. This speech reflects Didymus' radical understanding of evil which is comparable to certain elements of apocalyptic thought in ECL. The contrast between Didymus' view and that of ECL lies primarily in the resolution of the problem. The Cynics advocated the renunciation of civilization and the return to nature. ECL demanded the renunciation of evil in the expectation of the immanent coming of Christ and of salvation.

Cf. Mt xiii 36-43; Mk xiii 26f; I Th iv 16f; Rev xviii and *passim*. Αἰδώς και Νέμεσις τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀπολελοίπασιν. Only the first of these terms occurs in ECL where it is a non-personified virtue, cf. Hb xii 28; I Ti ii 9. Cf. also Ro i 24ff where a lack of this virtue is one of the consequences of evil after the fall.

πρόνοια θεῶν. Cf. Rollins, 398A; Beardslee, 927B.

τὰ χρηστήρια. Cf. Betz and Smith, 384F.

οἴχεται. Fear that the gods would desert the earth because of its wickedness was common in the ancient world. In ECL, however, the evil state of the cosmos brings a savior to earth, cf., e.g., Lk xix 10; Jn iii 17; xii 46ff; Ro v 6ff; Phil ii 6ff. Jesus' departure from earth is viewed as a necessary part of the plan of salvation also, cf. Lk xxiv 50ff; Jn xiv 18ff, 28ff; Ac i 9ff.

προβάλλω. Cf. 413A above.

διαπορήσαι, Cf. 412D above.

τὸν τρίποδα. Cf. Betz and Smith, 387C; Flacelière, *SDO*, no. 39, 227.

#### (413B)

αἰσχυρῶν και ἀθέων ἐρωτημάτων. Some questions are ἄθεος because, as is explained below, they test the power of the gods, either to prove their powerlessness or their non-existence. Cf. E. Stauffer, *TWNT*, 3, 120-122 = *TDNT*, 3, 120-121. ECL does not use ἐρωτάω in the sense of questioning or inquiring of God, though cf. I Pt iii 21. However, John and Jesus were often asked questions testing the power of their claims, cf., e.g., Mt xxi 23ff//Mk xi 27ff//Lk xx 1ff; Jn ii 18ff. Cf. R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York and Evanston, 1963), 11-27. Cf. also Jn xvi 23 where part of future salvation will consist in the disciples not needing to ask Jesus anything further.

τῷ θεῷ προβάλλουσιν. It is significant that a term used ordinarily for scientific investigation (cf. 413A above) is used in this context

for the consultation of the oracle. Cf. Betz and Smith, 384F. οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφιστοῦ διάπειραν. For prohibition of the testing of God in ECL, cf. I Cor x 9; Hb iii 9; Ac v 9; xv 10. Cf. also 411F above.

The technical term σοφιστής does not occur in ECL. However, an admonition to beware of the γόης occurs in II Ti iii 13 and Dg viii 4.

ἐξελέγχεσθαι. Cf. 409F above.

βελτίστους ἑαυτῶν γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς βαδίζωσιν. Didymus here refutes the view attributed to Pythagoras that men are at their best when they approach the gods. Scepticism and self-interest are their primary characteristics, in his view. ECL is aware of these dangers of religiosity and cautions against them. Cf. Lk xviii 9ff, which is an anti-Pharisaic polemic in general. Mt vi 1ff dwells at considerable length on the proper attitude in prayer to God.

ἀρνεῖσθαι και ἀποκρύπτειν νοσήματα τῆς ψυχῆς και πάθη. Contrast ECL where people approach Jesus and the apostles with all kinds of problems. Cf. Mt iv 23f; ix 35, 40; x 1; Lk ix 1; Mk i 34; Lk vii 21; I Pol i 3. Cf. also Betz-Dirkse-Smith, 548D.

ταῦτα γυμνά και περιφανῆ κομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν. This is the condition of men before God, according to ECL, cf. Hb iv 13. ECL does not consider this inappropriate, as did Didymus. Rather Christians were urged to make their needs known to God, cf. Mt vi 9ff//Lk xi 2ff.

τοῦ τρίβωνος. The cloak was another characteristic feature of Cynic garb. Cf. 413A above.

#### (413C)

παροξύνων τὸν θεόν. Cf. Gal vi 7; Ac v 3, 9.

εὐόργητος γάρ ἐστι και πρᾶος. Here the Greek philosophical view, that it is improper to associate ὄργη with the deity, is expressed. Cf. Betz-Dirkse-Smith, 550F. For Jesus' designation of himself as πρᾶος, cf. Mt xi 29. Cf. also Rollins, 395A.

εἶθ' ἥλιός ἐστιν εἴτε κύριος ἡλίου και πατήρ και ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ὄρατοῦ παντός . . . οἷς αἰτιός ἐστι γενέσεως και τροφῆς και τοῦ εἶναι και φρονεῖν. Lamprias, the narrator, follows Didymus' charge that the gods have abandoned the earth because of the degeneracy of men with a conciliatory speech on the concern of the gods for men. He declines, however, to take a position on the theory Apollo and the sun are one, an argument discussed elsewhere in Plutarch (cf. *De*

*Iside et Osiride*, 381F; *De E apud Delphos*, 386B, 393C; *An recte dictum sit latenter esse vivendum*, 1130A). Cf. also Betz and Smith, 393C; Rollins, 398C; Flacelière, *SDO*, no. 45, 227-228. The question is also raised as to whether Apollo is lord of the sun and father of creation. ECL absolutely rejects the idea of the lordship of τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, cf. Col ii 8. In ECL Christ is lord of the universe and God the benevolent father of all created things, particularly of man. Cf. Jn i 3; I Cor viii 5f.; Eph iv 6; Ro xi 36; Col i 16f.

τὴν πρόνοιαν. Cf. Rollins, 398D.

μνησικακον εἶναι. Not of God in ECL. Cf. Betz-Dirkse-Smith, 567B. ταύτην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δοῦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Paul agrees that God will not change his mind about what he ordained in the beginning, cf. Gal iii 15, 17. The idea that God changes his mind is incompatible with a doctrine of divine πρόνοια.

ὥσπερ οὐχὶ καὶ τότε πλείονων ὄντων ἐν πλείοσιν ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν. Neither Plutarch nor Paul had the idea of a golden age of mankind. For Plutarch a larger population in the past meant a proportionately larger amount of evil in the world. For Paul the saturation of the world with sinfulness was the reason for the law which was to be kept until Christ would come to justify men by faith, cf. Gal iii 19ff. For a discussion of the depopulation of Greece at this period, cf. Flacelière, *SDO*, no. 50, 228; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford, 1971), 5-8.

#### (413D)

τῷ λόγῳ κολάζειν. λογομαχία was a characteristic device of the sophists. For the Christian attitude toward it, cf. II Cor x 4f; I Ti vi 4; II Ti ii 14; Tit iii 9.

ζήτηι. Cf. 412E above.

ἐκλείψεως τῶν χρηστηρίων. Cf. 411F above.

τὸν δὲ θεὸν εὐμενῆ . . . φύλαττε καὶ ἀμήνιτον. Cf. 413C above.

ἀπελθεῖν διὰ θυρῶν σιωπῆς. For the silence of those confronted in an argument, cf. Mt xxvi 63; Mk iii 4; ix 33f; xiv 60. Also cf. Jesus leaving the midst of a hostile audience, Mk viii 13.

#### Ch. 8

ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπ' ὀλίγον. For the use of this dialogical device in ECL, cf. Lk xiv 4; Ac xi 18; xxi 14; xxii 2.

πρόσεχε τῷ λόγῳ τὴν διάνοιαν. For the use of διάνοια in ECL, cf. Betz and Smith, 392B.

ὅπως μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἀναίτιον ποιῶμεν. This appears to be a polemic against those who deny providence, i.e., the Epicureans and the Hellenistic interpreters of Aristotle, or who oppose oracles, i.e., the Epicureans and the Cynics.

#### (413E)

μὴ θεοῦ γνώμη. For γνώμη with reference to God in ECL, cf. I Phld inscr.; I Eph iii 2; I Ro viii 3; I Sm vi 2.

τὰ παυσάμενα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐκλιπεῖν. For the idea that God's creations will come to an end, cf. Hb i 10ff.

ὑπόνοιαν. Cf. I Ti vi 4 for a similar negative use of this term.

διὰ τὸν θεόν. Cf. Rollins, 397A.

οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη γέ τις ἔστι μείζων οὐδὲ κρείττων δύναμις, ὥστ' ἀναιρεῖν καὶ ἀφάνιζειν ἔργον θεοῦ τὴν μαντικὴν οὖσαν. Prophecy is regarded as a work of God in ECL also. Cf. Ro xii 6; I Cor xii 10. It will cease in heaven, where there will be no further need for it, cf. I Cor xiii 8ff. Both Ammonius and ECL assert the power of the divine to control his creation, cf. Ro ix 21ff. ECL had the analogous problem of explaining how God could allow the Law and the redeemer to be destroyed. Cf. Ro vii-viii; Gal iii.

τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, ἣν περὶ τὸν θεὸν ποιεῖ. For ἀνωμαλία as a miracle term, cf. 410B above. Here it is used to describe the inconsistent picture of the deity presented by Planetiades.

#### (413EF)

τῆ μὲν ἀποστρεφόμενον . . . χρηματίζοι. ECL does not accuse God of the inconsistency of loving and hating the same thing at different times, the ἀνωμαλία discussed above. This is an elaboration of Ammonius' refutation of Planetiades' argument.

#### (413F)

τοῦ δὲ μετρίου καὶ ἱκανοῦ καὶ μηδαμῆ περιττοῦ πανταχῆ δ' αὐτάρκους, μάλιστα τοῖς θεοῖς πρέποντος ἔργοις. None of these virtues are attributed to God in ECL. ECL takes over some elements of this ethical system but not the metaphysical presuppositions on which it is based. Cf. the following as Christian virtues: μέτριος, cf. I Cl i 3; αὐτάρκεια, a favorite virtue of the Cynics and Stoics, cf. I Ti vi 6; Hm 6:2:3; Phil iv 1. For μηδαμῆ περιττοῦ πανταχῆ cf. Betz and Smith, 385D for a discussion of the Delphic maxim μηδὲν ἄγαν.

τῆς κοινῆς ὀλιγανδρίας, ἣν αἱ πρότεροι στάσεις καὶ οἱ πόλεμοι περὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπειργάσαντο. Cf. 413C above for a discussion of the depopulation of Greece. ECL is not concerned with the problem of depopulation as such. It does predict war and civil strife, with accompanying destruction of the population, as signs of the end time. Cf. Mt xxiv 6ff; Mk xiii 7, 12; Lk xxi 9, 20ff; Ro x 18; Hb i 6; Rv iii 10; xvi 14. Jesus also prophesies the impending destruction and desolation of Jerusalem, cf. Lk xix 43f; xxi 21ff. Cf. Rollins, 398E, on the destruction of cities as the fulfillment of prophecy.

## (414A)

οὐδὲν οὖν ἕτερον ἦν τὸ πολλὰ καταλιπεῖν χρηστήρια τὸν θεὸν ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλέγχειν τὴν ἐρημίαν. This is the basic point of Ammonius' argument, that the obsolescence of many oracles in Greece is God's way of providing for the decrease in population. There is nothing comparable in ECL.

ἀκριβές . . . τῆς εὐρησιλογίας. For ἀκριβεία as a scientific ideal, cf. 410C above.

πρεσβύτατον ὃν χρόνῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ. For the appeal to antiquity in ECL, cf. Hb i 1 and *passim*. The claim for the antiquity of the oracle is disputable. For its history, cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 199-200 for the literature.

## (414B)

ὑπὸ θηρίου χαλεποῦ δρακαίνης πολλὸν χρόνον ἐρημον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον ἱστοροῦσιν. The dragon or snake is an evil being in Greek religious thought, cf. J. Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins* (Berkeley, 1959). In ECL it is usually a symbol of the devil, cf. Rv xii *passim*; xvi 13; xx 2.

ἢ γὰρ ἐρημία τὸ θηρίον ἐπηγάγετο μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θηρίον ἐποίησε τὴν ἐρημίαν. For desert places associated in ECL with demons, cf.

Mt xii 43ff//Lk xi 24ff, and with prophets, cf. Hb 2:3:4.

τῷ θεῷ δόξαν. Cf. Js iv 15.

προφήτῃσιν. Cf. Rollins, 397D.

ἐγκαλοῦμεν. For the use of this legal term in ECL, cf. Bauer, s.v.

οὐ τοίνυν αἰτιατέον οὐδὲν τὸν θεόν. Cf. 413D above.

## (414C)

ἱκανῆ. The notion that God provides sufficiently for man's needs is common in ECL, cf. II Cor iii 5; 413C above.

ἐκκλησίαν. This political term was taken over to designate the full meeting of religious groups in Greece, Judaism, and Christianity. Cf. Bauer.

διὰ πλῆθος. This is another t.t. for the whole body of members of religious groups. Cf. Bauer, s.v., 2bδ.

θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν. In Ammonius' view, god giving his gifts in superabundance would be a violation of the principle of μηδὲν ἄγαν, cf. 413F above. In ECL, however, there is a general recognition of the superabundance of God's gifts to men. Cf. Ro ii 4; v 20; Eph i 7ff; ii 7; I Ti i 14.

## Ch. 9

σιωπῶντος. Cf. 411E above.

τὸ καὶ ποιεῖν ταυτὶ τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τὸν θεόν. Cf. 413E above.

## (414D)

ἀναιρεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰτία θεοῦ φημι. Lamprias' objection to Ammonius' argument is that God creates but never destroys. Dissolution and death must be explained by the instrumentality of matter. Cf. Flacelière, *SDO*, no. 58, 229. The whole Platonic-Aristotelian context in which this argument is set is foreign to ECL. In ECL God is acknowledged as creator of all things, cf. 413E above, though αἰτία, a t.t. of Greek philosophy, is not applied to him in ECL. For a prophecy of the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, cf. Mt xxiv 2.

ἢ ὕλη στέρησις οὐσα. In ECL ὕλη is earthly, perishable, non-divine matter, as here. Cf. Bauer, and 414F below. The identification of ὕλη and στέρησις is a Platonic rather than an Aristotelian view.

πολλὰ καλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος ἀνθρώποις ἀθάνατον δὲ μηδέν. For a discussion of the idea of creation in the NT and its subjection to φθορά and ματαιότης, cf. W. Foerster, s.v. κτίζω, *TWNT*, 3, 1027-1034 = *TDNT*, 3, 1028-1035.

θνήσκειν καὶ τὰ θεῶν θεοὺς δ' οὐ. Immortality is characteristic of God and his world in Greek religious thought and in ECL. Cf. I Ti i 17; vi 16. Mortality is a quality of all that is not God. Cf. R. Bultmann, s.v. θάνατος, κτλ, *TWNT*, 3, 13-21 = *TDNT*, 3, 14-21.

## (414E)

τὴν δ' οὐσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ δύναμιν οὐσαν ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ. Cf. Ac xiv 15ff. For Paul, also, creation is the locus of the revelation of God's glory, but men can and do reject this revelation, cf. Ro 1 20ff.

τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς . . . φυλαττομένης. The origin of creation is attributed to God both here and in ECL. Cf. 4I3C above. For the meanings of ἀρχή in ECL, cf. G. Delling, *TWNT*, 1, 479-483 = *TDNT*, 1, 481-484.

τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους, Εὐρυκλέας πάλαι νυνὶ δὲ Πύθωνας προσαγορευομένους, ἐνδύμενον εἰς τὰ σώματα τῶν προφητῶν ὑποφθέγγεσθαι, τοῖς ἐκείνων στόμασι καὶ φωναῖς χρώμενον ὄργανοις. Lamprias here rejects the prevailing understanding of the nature of prophecy at Delphi, namely that the god enters the Pythia and speaks himself through her, using the Pythia's mouth and voice as his instrument. Cf. Flacelière, *SDO*, no. 62, 229. He prefers instead to keep the god free of contamination from contact with mortals. Cf. also *De Pythiae Oraculis*, 397C, 404B for the same view. There are two contexts in ECL in which the idea of prophecy as ventriloquism occurs. One is demon possession, cf. Lk iv 41; viii 27ff; Ac xvi 17, where the demons themselves speak and prophesy through the mouths of the possessed. The other is glossolalia, where the unintelligible speech is generally considered to be the φωνή of the angels, cf. I Cor xiii 1. In both cases the person appears to be merely an instrument through which communication occurs. Paul takes a middle position between that of prophecy as ventriloquism and the rejection of the possibility of direct contact and communication between God and man. For a discussion of his view, cf. Rollins, 397C. Cf. Ac xvi 16 for the only use of πύθων in ECL. For the metaphorical use of ἐνδύω, cf. Bauer, s.v., 2b. For ὑποφθέγγεσθαι as a t.t. of prophecy, cf. Rollins, 397A.

ἑαυτὸν γὰρ ἐγκαταμειγνύς ἀνθρωπίναις χρείαις οὐ φεῖδεται. Basically ECL agrees that God remains totally apart from men, cf. Jn i 18. On the other hand, God sends his son out of love for men, cf. Jn i 14; Phil ii 6ff; I Jn iv 9f. He does not remain aloof because it does not befit his dignity as God.

τῆς σεμνότητος. For God's σεμνότης, cf. Hv 3:5:1.

#### Ch. 10

(4I4F)

τῇ προνοίᾳ. Cf. 4I3A, C above.

ἀστοχοῦσι τοῦ μετρίου καὶ πρέποντες. Cf. I Ti i 6; II Ti ii 18.

τὸ ταῖς γεννωμέναις ποιότησιν ὑποκείμενον στοιχεῖον. ECL is not concerned in general with natural philosophy. For fire as the element underlying all things, cf. AP vii 22. Reference is made to

the theory of the four elements in Hv 3:13:3 and in Dg viii 2, which is an anti-Stoic polemic against the identification of the divine with the elements. This theme also occurs in Gal iv 8ff.

(4I5A)

τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θέντες θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων. Plutarch here gives a definition of the nature of the demons. He leaves open the question of the origin of the doctrine. ECL stands in the Hellenistic-Jewish tradition in using the term δαίμων only for evil spirits and bad angels and in making angels intermediaries between God and men. Cf. W. Foerster, s.v. δαίμων, *TWNT*, 2, 16-20 = *TDNT*, 2, 16-19.

καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ καὶ συνάπτων ἐξευρόντες. The only mediator which unites God and men in ECL is Christ, cf. I Ti ii 5; Hb viii 6; ix 15; xii 24. For the use of κοινωνία in ECL, cf. Beardslee, 926F.

μάγων. Cf. Mt ii 1, 7, 16.

τελεταῖς. A t.t. from the mystery cults which does not occur in ECL. τῶν ὀργιαζομένων καὶ δραμένων ἱερῶν ὀρώντες. Terminology from the mystery cults which does not appear in ECL.

(4I5B)

τοὺς θεοὺς ἔστιν ὅτε δαίμονας προσαγορεύων. According to this text, Homer used the terms θεός and δαίμων interchangeably. In ECL this happens only in Ac xvii 18 where δαιμόνιον is applied to Christ by the Greeks.

τῶν λογικῶν τέσσαρα γένη, θεοὺς εἶτα δαίμονας εἶθ' ἥρωας τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπους. For the different hierarchy of beings in ECL, cf. Betz and Smith, 390E. Cf. also I Cor iii 22f.

τὴν μεταβολήν. Neither of the theories of μεταβολή found here occurs in ECL. For the change from one level of being to another in ECL, cf. I Cor xv 51ff; II Cor v 17ff. Cf. also Betz and Smith, 388F.

(4I5C)

δι' ἀρετῆν. Here ἀρετή is that which allows a few souls to share completely in divine qualities. In ECL Paul takes a strong stand against the pneumatics who think that, because of their wisdom and faith, they are already divine. Cf. I Cor x 12; xiv.

ἐνταῦθα δὲ συμβαίνει μὴ κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑφιεμέναις καὶ ἐνδουμέναις

πάλιν σώμασι θνητοῖς ἀλαμπῆ καὶ ἀμυδρὰν ζωὴν ὡς περ ἀναθυμιάσιν ἴσχειν. The closest parallel in ECL to the idea expressed here, that beings can fall from a higher to a lower state through sin, is the fall of Satan and his angels from heaven. Cf. Lk x 18; Jn xii 31; Rv xii 7ff. For κρατεῖν as an ethical term in ECL, cf. W. Michaelis, *TWNT*, 3, 905-914 = *TDNT*, 3, 905-910. For a higher being clothed with a mortal body, cf. Jesus' incarnation, Jn i 14; Phil ii 5ff; II Cor viii 9. Conversely, for Christians putting on the body of Christ, cf. Ro xiii 14; Gal iii 27, immortality, cf. I Cor xv 53; II Cor v 1ff, the new man, cf. Eph iv 24.

## Ch. 11

περίοδος τισὶ χρόνων γίνεσθαι τοῖς δαίμοσι τὰς τελευτάς. The mortal nature of the demons is a major theme of this dialogue. In Plutarch's terminology, Christ would have been considered a great demon and therefore subject to the possibility and the necessity of death. This is not assumed in ECL where Christ's death has to be justified as part of God's plan of salvation. Cf. R. Bultmann, *θάνατος*, κτλ. *TWNT*, 3, 17-18 = *TDNT*, 3, 18.

## (415D)

τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον εἰς πολὺ πλῆθος ἀριθμοῦ συνάγουσιν οἱ μὴ καλῶς δεχόμενοι τὴν γενεάν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐνιαυτός. This concern to determine the length of time within which an event will occur can be paralleled by the concern about the advent of the parousia in ECL. Cf. Mt xxiv 32ff; Mk xiii 28ff. ECL also uses esoteric terminology in calculating length of time which requires special interpretation. Cf. II Pt iii 8; Rv vii 10; xi 3, 11; xii 6, 14; xiii 5. ἰσοδένδρου τέκμαρ αἰῶνος λαχίσσας. A quotation from Pindar. Cf. Js i 10; I Pt i 24.

## (415F)

πρὸς τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν. Cf. Rollins, 400B.

## Ch. 12

## (416A)

οὔτε τοῦ κόσμου τὴν φθορὰν ἀνέχομαι λεγομένην. ECL agrees with the Stoic position that Cleombrotus refutes, namely that the cosmos will be destroyed. Cf. I Cor vii 31; Gal vi 8; Col ii 22; I Jn ii 17. For ECL this will be in a single definitive event; for the Stoics,

however, there will be a series of destructions. φθορά is associated with the cosmos, both as its fate and as a quality of cosmos. Cf. Ro vii 21; II Pt i 4.

ἀρχὴν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτὴν. Here both a year and a generation are identified as containing the total span of life from birth to death.

ECL takes a larger view and associates the ἀρχή and τέλος of all things with God or Christ, cf. Rv i 8; xxi 6; xxii 13.

ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν τὴν γενεάν λέγειν. In ECL γενεά usually denotes those living contemporaneously rather than a particular span of time. Cf. F. Buchsel, *TWNT*, 1, 660-663 = *TDNT*, 1, 662-663.

## (416C)

φύσεις εἰσὶ τινες ὡς περ ἐν μεθορίῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων δεχόμεναι πάθη θνητὰ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀναγκαίας. ECL is generally more concerned with the task than the nature of Christ, angels and demons. Discussions, as here, do not occur in ECL. There is no general agreement about Christ's subjection to πάθη θνητά. Hb iv 15 argues against it as does the incident of the temptation by Satan, cf. Mt iv 3ff; Lk iv 3ff. However, cf. Mk vii 33 where Christ becomes angry and Mt xi 19 where he is accused of being a glutton, drunkard and friend of sinners. The presence of his women disciples has raised questions about his experience of sexual passions, cf. Lk vii 37ff. For the πάθη θνητά of the angels, cf. I Cor xi 10 and the discussion in Bauer, *s.v.* ἐξουσία, 5. No reference is made in ECL to the πάθη θνητά of the demons. With regard to the quality of mortality, μεταβολή ἀναγκαία, cf. 415C above for a discussion of the death of Christ in ECL. Cf. also Mt xvi 21ff//Mk viii 31ff for Christ's rebuke of Peter for challenging the necessity of his death. The angels do not seem to be destined for death, but there appear to be two traditions with respect to the demons. I Cor xv 24ff implies a final destruction of the demons as part of the total destruction of this αἰών, while Rv xx 10 says they will experience everlasting punishment.

κατὰ νόμον πατέρων. The "law of the fathers" is a familiar concept in Judaism, Greek religion and ECL. Cf. Gal i 14; Ac xxii 3; xxviii 17.

σέβεσθαι. In ECL this term is used with reference to God and men but not to angels or demons, Cf. Bauer. Worship of Christ the lamb occurs in Rv v 8, but angel and demon worship is not to be tolerated, cf. Col ii 18; Rv xxi 27. The opponents of Paul in Gal iv

may have been angel worshippers. In Rv ii 9, 13, in what may be a polemic against a heresy, its practitioners are identified as worshippers of Satan.

## Ch. 13

## (416D)

ἡ δαιμόνων φύσις ἔχουσα καὶ πάθος θνητοῦ καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν. The mixture of divine and human elements is the predominant characteristic of the demons here. For the idea of mixture in ECL which is applied primarily to Christ, cf. 415C, 416C above.

ἡ δὲ φύσις αἰσθητὰς εἰκόνας ἐξέθηκε καὶ ὁμοιότητας ὁρωμένας. Paul agrees that creation reflects the creator, cf. Ro i 19f, but disagrees with the idea that recognition of the creator through nature leads to worship. Cf. Ro i 23, 25. For Christ as the εἰκὼν of God, cf. II Cor iv 4; Col i 15. ECL does not equate its hierarchy of logical beings with elements in the physical universe.

## (416E)

μεικτὸν δὲ σῶμα καὶ μίμημα δαιμόνιον ὄντως τὴν σελήνην. This passage reflects the ancient idea of the demonic power of the moon. Here however, the moon is an εἰκὼν of the demons. For the power of the moon as the cause of epilepsy in ECL, cf. Mt iv 24; xvii 15.

χθονίας ὁμοῦ καὶ οὐρανίας κληρὸν Ἐκάτης προσεῖπον. In ECL, Christ's domain is the whole cosmos, cf. Phil ii 9ff. He descends into hell as well as ascends into heaven, cf. Eph iv 9f; I Pt iii 22; Rv xxi 1.

## (416F)

ταράττειν. For similar effects of false teachings in ECL, cf. Ac xv 24; Gal i 7; v 10.

τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους πάθει καὶ πράγμασι τὸν θεὸν ἐμβιβάζοντας καὶ κατασπῶντας ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας. In ECL, the development of a Christology is an attempt to show how God is involved in human life, cf. Phil ii 5ff.

αἱ Θετταλαὶ λέγονται τὴν σελήνην. Cf. 400B. This is a stereotype in Hellenistic religion.

## (417A)

ἐκείνων μὲν ἐν γυναιξὶ τὸ πανοῦργον ἔσχε πίστιν. For a warning in ECL against belief in myths, cf. I Ti iv 7; with particular reference to women, cf. I Ti v 15. τὸ πανοῦργον always occurs in a negative

sense in ECL, cf. Lk xx 23; I Cor iii 19; II Cor iv 2; xi 3; Eph iv 14. Cf. also H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition* (Tübingen, 1972), 67, 104-106.

ἀστρολογικῆς. Not attested in ECL. μαθηματικός is used instead, cf. Dg v 3. Cf. also Bauer, s.v. μάγος.

γοητεύειν. The verb does not occur in ECL, but cf. γόης, II Ti iii 13; Dg viii 4.

ἡμεῖς δὲ μήτε μαντείας τινὰς ἀθειάστους εἶναι λεγόντων ἢ τελετὰς καὶ ὀργασμοὺς ἀμελουμένους ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀκούωμεν. ECL differs with both of these views. It recognizes false prophets and false prophecies, cf. Mt vii 15; xxiv 11, 24; Mk xiii 22; Lk vi 26; Ac xii 6; II Pt ii 1; I Jn iv 1; Rv xvi 13; xix 20; xx 10; AP i 1; Hm 11:1, 4, 7; D xi 5f, 8ff. It attests that rites may be disregarded by God if they are performed in ritually improper form, cf. I Cor xi 27, or with the wrong attitude on the part of the worshipper, cf. Mt v 23ff; vi 1ff; xv 2ff//Mk vii 5ff; 1 Cor x 1ff, 20ff.

μήτ' αὖ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τούτοις ἀναστρέφειν καὶ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπραγματεῦσθαι δοξάζωμεν. The view rejected here is in fact held in ECL. Cf. particularly the Emmaus story, Lk xxiv 13ff. Cf. also Mt xviii 20; Ac x 41.

λειτουργοὺς θεῶν. This is a common title for a cultic official in ECL also, cf. Lk i 23; Hb viii 1ff; I Cl xl 5; xxxii 2; xliii 4; D xv 1; Hs 9:27:3.

ὑπηρέταις. This term is used for cultic officials in ECL also, cf. Lk i 2; iv 20; I Tr ii 3. Cf. also I Cor iv 1 where all Christians are considered servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God.

γραμματεῦσι. This term is used among the Jews for scholars versed in the law. For its use in ECL, cf. Mt xiii 52; xxiii 34. Cf. also Bauer, 3.

δαίμονας νομίζωμεν ἐπισκόπους θεῶν ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ὀργιαστάς. Cf. *De Facie in orbe lunae*, 944E. These titles are not given to angels or demons in ECL. But for Christ as ἐπίσκοπος, cf. I Pt ii 25, and as the ἀρχιερεὺς of the new covenant, cf. Hb viii.

## (417B)

ἄλλους δὲ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων καὶ μεγάλων τιμωφοῦς ἀδικιῶν περιπολεῖν. The avenging demons are freer here than in Judaism and ECL.

However, cf. Ac xii 23; Rv viii 7ff and *passim*; Hs 6:3:2.

εἰσὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφορὰ. Hierarchies of angels are mentioned in ECL, though there is little interest in

these subtleties of angelology. Cf. Col i 16; Rv i 4, 20; iii 1; iv 5; v 6; viii 2, 6.

ὧν ἕχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχοῦ θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι. Of these religious t.t. ECL uses only θυσία, cf. Bauer, s.v. However, the idea of σύμβολα occurs throughout Barnabas, cf. B vii 10 and *passim*.

σφίζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδισπαρμένα. This theory about the meaning of ritual, the preservation of tradition in verbal and non-verbal forms, does not occur in ECL, though both Judaism and ECL operate implicitly on this theory. For baptism as symbolic of the death and resurrection of Christ, cf. Jn iii 3ff; Ro vi 3f. For the eucharist as the reenactment of the saving death of Christ, cf. Mt xxvi 26ff//Lk xxii 17ff; I Cor xi 26. Cf. also Hb viii 5 for the temple and high priest as a copy of the heavenly sanctuary.

## Ch. 14

(417C)

μυστικῶν. This term is not attested in ECL.

ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις. Cf. 417B above.

"εὐστομά μοι κείσθω." Cf. II Cor xii 4. Cf. also Rollins, 407E, on the *disciplina arcana* in ECL.

ἑορτᾶς. This is a common term in ECL to denote festivals of the Jewish religion, cf. Bauer.

θυσίας. Cf. 417B above.

ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς. This is a criticism of the ancient cults. For similar indictments in ECL, cf. Ro xiv 5; Gal iv 10f; Dg iv 5. For the association of σκυθρωπός with days of fasting, cf. Mt vi 16.

ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοὶ νηστεῖαι τε καὶ κοπετοί. The reference here is to the Dionysiac cult. In ECL ὠμοφαγία is not attested. For διασπάω, cf. I Cl xlvi 7. Cf. Bauer, s.v. νηστεία and νηστεύω for a discussion of public and private fasting. For beating of the breasts in mourning in ECL, cf. Bauer, s.v. κοπετός and κόπτω, 2. πολλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαι πρὸς ἱεροῖς. There is no parallel in ECL. αἰσχρολογία occurs, but with a different meaning. Cf. Bauer, s.v.

παραμύθια. These are apotropaic rituals. Cf. also 418BC below. In ECL, cf. the repudiation of the worship of angels, Gal iv 8ff; Col i 21.

καὶ τὰς πάλαι ποιουμένας ἀνθρωποθυσίας οὔτε θεοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ προσδέχεσθαι πιθανόν ἐστίν. Human sacrifice is refected both here and in ECL. The OT also recognized its inappropriateness, cf. Gen xxii. However, a spiritualized concept of human sacrifice which is acceptable to God occurs in ECL, cf. Lk ii 22; Ro xii 1. Christ's death is also regarded as a sacrifice acceptable to God, cf. Hb ix 11f, 26; x 10, 12; xiii 12f. However, Christ's death should perhaps be understood here as the death of a divine rather than a human being. For a discussion of human sacrifice in ancient religions, cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Menschenopfer," RGG, 4 (Tübingen, 1960) 867.

(417D)

χαλεπῶν καὶ δυστρόπων ὀργὰς καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ ἀποπιμπλάντες ἀλαστῶρων. The reason given here for human sacrifice is the appeasement of the wrath of the deities, apparently the result of human sin. In ECL, God is not above wrath, but wrath is not the cause of Christ's death. It is his death, however, which saves men from the wrath which God might show towards men because of sin. Cf. Ro iii 23ff; I Th i 10. ECL is purposefully obscure about the reason why Christ's death was the necessary condition for salvation.

ἐνίων δὲ μανικούς καὶ τυραννικούς ἔρωτας οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲ βουλομένων σώμασι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων ὀμιλεῖν. In ECL Herod fits the image of this kind of behavior, cf. Mt ii 13ff, 16; xiv 1ff//Mk vi 14ff.

ἰσχυροὶ καὶ βίαιοι δαίμονες. For ἰσχυρός in ECL as an attribute of Christ, angels and Satan, cf. Mt xii 29//Mk iii 27; Lk xi 21; I Cor x 22; Rv v 2; x 1; xviii 21. Cf. also Bauer for a discussion of the Mk and Lk passages.

ἐξαιτούμενοι ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην περιεχομένην σώματι. Cf. I Cl xvi 13.

(417DE)

λοιμούς τε πόλεσι καὶ γῆς ἀφορίας ἐπάγουσι καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις ταραττουσιν, ἄχρι οὗ λάβωσι καὶ τύχωσιν οὗ ἐρῶσιν. This view is partially affirmed in ECL. For the idea that persons receive physical ailments as a punishment for the sins of parents, cf. Jn ix 2. For disease and death as the result of unworthy participation in the eucharist, cf. I Cor xi 30. Cf. also Bauer, s.v. οὐαί for the woes which God sends to force people to repentance.

(417E)

εἶδωλον. This kind of idol is not mentioned in ECL. The passage is an example of an aetiological legend.

## Ch. 15

τοῦτο μὲν ἀρπαγὰς τοῦτο δὲ πλάνας θεῶν κρύψεις τε καὶ φυγὰς καὶ λατρείας. ECL agrees that such mythological events and anthropomorphic escapades are inappropriate to the deity and hence rejects them. For the πλάνη θεῶν, cf. Ac xiv 11f. Cf. also Christ's banishment to Egypt, Mt ii 13, 15, 19 and 410A above, 418C below. λατρεία is used as a religious t.t. exclusively in ECL.

οὐ θεῶν εἰσιν ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων παθήματα καὶ τύχαι. Cf. the παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ in ECL, II Cor i 5; Phil iii 10; Hb ii 10; I Pt i 11; iv 13; v 1; I Cl ii 1.

δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ δύναμιν. For ἀρετή in ECL, cf. O. Bauernfeind, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) I, 460-461. Cf. 416D above for δύναμις.

(417F)

ἀλέκτωρ. Cf. Rollins, 400C.

τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτάνουσιν. To err in religious matters, cf. D iii 2. Δελφῶν θεολόγοι. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* θεολόγος.

πρὸς ὅψιν τῷ θεῷ περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου μάχην γενέσθαι. Cf. 414B above.

(418B)

παγγέλοιον γὰρ ἐστίν, ὃ ἑταῖρε, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κτείναντα θηρίον φεύγειν ἐπὶ πέρατα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγνισμοῦ δεόμενον. Parallel to the problem here of why Apollo needed to be purified is that of why Christ needed to be baptized. Cf. Mt iii 13//Mk i 9ff//Lk iii 21f; Jn i 31ff. For the idea of purification in ECL, cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ἀγνίζω, ἀγνισμός.

(418C)

μιασμάτων. Cf. II Pt ii 20f; AP ix 24.

παράδοξος. Cf. I Cl xxv 1.

(418D)

τοῖς περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ χρηστήρια τεταγμένοις δαιμονίοις ἐκλείπουσί τε κομιδῇ συνεκλείπει ταῦτ' αὐτά. Cf. 411F above.

φυγόντων ἢ μεταστάντων ἀποβάλλει τὴν δύναμιν, εἶτα παρόντων αὐτῶν διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ καθάπερ ὄργανα φθέγγεται. In ECL for demons returning to a place which they had left, cf. Mt xii 43ff//Lk xi 24ff. For the same theory of inspiration, cf. 414E, 417AB above.

For φθέγγεται as a t.t. of prophecy, Cf. Rollins, 397A.

ἐπιστάντων. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ἐπίστημι, 2c. Cf. also 418E below.

## Ch. 16

βεβήλων καὶ ἀμυήτων. These mystery cult t.t. are used figuratively here in a context which combines orthodoxy and apologetics. For βέβηλος, cf. I Ti i 9; Hb xii 16. For μύεω cf. Phil iv 12.

(418E)

τὸ μὲν ἐφεστάναι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, εἶπε, μὴ θεοὺς οἷς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν περὶ γῆν προσήκόν ἐστιν. Cf. also 414E above.

δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν. This title is not given to Christ, angels, or demons in ECL, cf. 417A above.

ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἄτας καὶ πλάνας θεηλάτους ἐπιφέρειν, τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὡσπερ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτίθεσθαι. The idea that this list of vices can be applied even to demons is rejected here. ECL had a similar problem in its uncertainty about whether sin and death can be attributed to Christ. If he were not a sinner, why was his baptism necessary? Cf. 416C and 418B above.

(419A)

τίνοι γὰρ τῶν θεῶν διαφέρουσιν, εἰ καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν τὸ ἀφθαρτον καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τὸ ἀπαθές καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἔχουσι; The argument here is that sin and death are necessary attributes of the demons. If not, they would be identical with the gods, since immortality and virtue equal divinity. This argument is not accepted in ECL, where the difference between creator and creature is always stressed. ECL ultimately identifies Christ as divine, though distinct from the father, cf. I Eph vii 2; I Pol iii 2. The angels have limitations on their perfections. The demons belong to the realm of this world which will be conquered or destroyed, cf. 414D, 416C above.

## Ch. 17

σιωπῆ Cf. 411E above.

φαύλους . . . δαίμονας . . . ἕτερα δυστράπελα καὶ μοχθηρὰς γινώσκων ἔχοντα προαιρέσεις τινὰς καὶ ὄρμας. ECL also recognizes two kinds of spirits, cf. 415A above. For the impulsive behavior of bad spirits in ECL, cf. Mt viii 32//Mk v 13//Lk viii 33, Ac xix 16; περὶ δὲ θανάτου τῶν τοιούτων. Cf. 416C above. For the use of περὶ δὲ to introduce a discussion in ECL, cf. Bauer, 1h.

(419AB)

ἀκήκοα λόγον ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄφρονος οὐδ' ἀλαζόνοσ. This is the beginning of

the famous legend of the death of Pan. Cf. Flacelière, *SDO*, 79-87, no. 129, 238. For ἀκήκοα λόγον ἀνδρός, cf. II Cor xii 2ff. For ἄφρων, cf. II Cor xi 16ff, and ἀλαζών, cf. Ro i 30; II Ti iii 2. Cf. also Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition*, 70ff for a discussion of II Cor xii 2ff.

## (419B)

Αἰμιλιανοῦ γὰρ τοῦ ῥήτορος, οὗ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐνιοὶ διακηρύσσουσιν, Ἐπιθέρης ἦν πατήρ, ἐμὸς πολίτης καὶ διδάσκαλος γραμματικῶν. Legends characteristically begin with the naming of the witnesses, cf. Lk i 2. Here the validity of Epitherses as a witness is established. οὗτος ἔφη ποτὲ πλέων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπιβῆναι νεὼς ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα καὶ συχνοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀγούσης. Note the use of nautical terminology in this travel report, here and below. Cf. Ac xxvii. τὴν ναῦν διαφορομένην πλησίον γενέσθαι Παζῶν. Cf. Ac xxvii 27. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πίνειν ἔτι δεδειπνηκότας. The time of the occurrence is also established to add further credibility to the legend. ἐξαίφνης δὲ φωνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῶν Παζῶν ἀκουσθῆναι, Θαμοῦν τινος βοῆ καλοῦντος. Voices are a common mode of revelation in ECL also. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* φωνή, 2d. For ἐξαίφνης as a miracle term, cf. Bauer, *s.v.* θαυμάζειν. Cf. 412C above.

## (419C)

κυβερνήτης. Cf. Ac xxvii 11; Rv xviii 17; I Pol ii 3. δις μὲν οὖν κληθέντα σιωπῆσαι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ καλοῦντι. Cf. Ac ix 4ff, 10. "ὅποταν γένη κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, ἀπάγγειλον ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε." For ὁ μέγας as a title of dignity or divinity in ECL, cf. Bauer, 2b. For a spirit announcing the death of Herod, cf. Mt ii 19. Cf. MPol xvi 1 for the appearance of a dove marking the death of Polycarp. ἐκπλαγῆναι. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ἐκπλήσσω, 2. προστεταγμένον. This term is used only of divine precepts in ECL. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* οὕτως γινῶναι τὸν Θαμοῦν, εἰ μὲν εἶη πνεῦμα, παραπλεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, νηγεμίας δὲ καὶ γαλήνης περὶ τὸν τόπον γενομένης ἀνεπιεῖν ὃ ἤκουσεν. Thamius lets the decision about following the command given him be made by an oracle. For other forms of the lot oracle in ECL, cf. Jn xx 25ff; Ac v 38f. For παραπλέω, a nautical t.t., cf. Ac xx 16. For γαλήνη, cf. Mt viii 26//Mk iv 39//Lk viii 24.

## (419D)

ἐκ πρῶμνης. For this nautical t.t. in ECL, cf. Mk iv 38; Ac xxvii 29, 41. μέγαν οὐχ ἐνὸς ἀλλὰ πολλῶν στεναγμὸν ἕμα θαυμασμῷ μειγμένον. The groaning here appears to be a sign of mourning over the death of Pan; by whom it is not made clear. For the groaning of the spirit in ECL, cf. Ro viii 26. ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν Ῥώμῃ σκεδασθῆναι. In ECL, for miracle reports reaching Rome, cf. Ac xxviii 14f. τὸν Θαμοῦν γενέσθαι μετὰπεμπτον ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. Cf. Mt ii 7; Lk iii 1. οὕτω δὲ πιστεῦσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Τιβέριον. Cf. Mt ii 3ff. For other Roman believers in ECL, cf. Ac x 1f; xiii 12. διαπυθάνεσθαι. For the use of this term related to the investigation of religious phenomena, cf. Mt ii 4; Ac iv 7; xvii 19; xxi 33; xxiii 20. ζητεῖν. Cf. 412E above. φιλολόγους. This term does not occur in ECL. The equivalent term is γραμματεὺς.

## (419E)

μάρτυρας. This additional mention of witnesses is intended to provide further substantiation for the story, cf. 419B above and Bauer, *s.v.*

## Ch. 18

τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν νήσων. Here begins a legend regarding the death of demons from the British Isles. Cf. Ac xxvii 26 for caution in approaching an unknown island. ἱστορίας καὶ θεᾶς ἕνεκα. Cf. 410B above. ἱεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσύλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας. For the idea that holy men are inviolate in ECL, cf. Ac xxviii 6. σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διοσημίας πολλὰς γενέσθαι καὶ πνεύματα καταραγῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν πρηστῆρας. Compare the phenomena reported on the day of Pentecost. Cf. Ac ii 2ff. Also cf. the exhibition of natural phenomena at the death of Jesus, Mt xxvii 45, 51ff//Mk xv 33, 38//Lk xxiii 44f. διοσημία, a religious t.t., does not occur in ECL.

## (419F)

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐλώφησε, λέγειν τοὺς νησιώτας ὅτι τῶν κρειττόνων τινὸς ἐκλειψίς

γένονεν. For a similar interpretation of natural events, cf. Mt xxvii 54//Mk xv 39; Lk xxiii 47.

αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχαὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναλάμπεις εὐμενεῖς καὶ ἀλύπτους ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ σβέσσει αὐτῶν καὶ φθοραὶ πολλάκις μὲν, ὡς νυνί, πνεύματα καὶ ζάλας τρέφουσι, πολλάκις δὲ λοιμικοῖς πάθει τὸν ἀέρα φαρμάττουσιν. The notion of the kindling and extinguishing of the soul is not found in ECL. However, the description of the gentle entrance and the violent exit into and out of life is comparable with the accounts of the birth and death of Jesus in ECL.

(420A)

πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαίμονας ὀπαδοὺς καὶ θεράποντας. Cf. Mt iv 11.

#### Ch. 19

καὶ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα διελεῖν. Cf. Jn xx 18.

θεῶν ὄντων τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος ἐνὶ χρωμένους ἀδίῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ. While not admitting the existence of many gods as do the Stoics, ECL does agree in attributing eternity and immortality to God, cf. Ro i 20, 23; I Ti i 17. It also attributes these qualities to Christ, cf. Jn i 1f; Dg ix 2.

(420B)

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καὶ γεγονέναι καὶ φθαρῆσθαι νομίζοντας. Cf. 419F above. χλευασμοὺς. Cf. Ac ii 13; xvii 32; I Cl xxxix 1, for unbelievers mocking Christians.

κατὰ τῆς προνοίας μῦθον αὐτὴν ἀποκαλοῦντες. This is an Epicurean refutation of the Stoic doctrine of providence, a doctrine also found in ECL, cf. 413A, C above. For μῦθος, cf. 409E above.

ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἀπειρίαν μῦθον εἶναι φαμεν. ECL supports this Stoic refutation of the Epicurean doctrine of infinity. Cf. I Cl xx 6.

ἐν κόσμοις τοσοῦτοις μηδένα λόγῳ θεῷ κυβερνώμενον ἔχουσαν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκ ταῦτομάτου καὶ γεγονότας καὶ συνισταμένους. Contrary to the Epicurean position, ECL knows only one world which is governed by God, as the Stoics here also hold. Cf. Ac xvii 24ff. For αὐτομάτος, cf. Mk iv 28.

τὰ εἰδῶλα γελαστέον τὰ κωφὰ καὶ τυφλὰ καὶ ἄψυχ'. This is a standard polemic. In ECL it is directed against idols, cf. I Cor xii 2; I Th i 9; Dg ii 4.

#### Ch. 20

(420C)

τί γὰρ κωλύει. Cf. Rollins, 396B.

(420D)

οὐ δυνατόν ἐστὶ φαύλους καὶ ἀμαρτητικοὺς ὄντας μακαρίους καὶ μακροβίους εἶναι. ECL implicitly agrees with this opinion of Empedocles, cf. 416C above.

πολλὴν τυφλότητα τῆς κακίας ἐχούσης καὶ τὸ περιπτωτικὸν τοῖς ἀναιρετικοῖς. ECL is in agreement with this assertion. For those in a state of sin as blind, cf. Mt xxiii 17, 19; II Pt i 9; Rv iii 17; B xiv 7, 9. For death as a consequence of sin, cf. Ro vi 23. οὕτω γὰρ Ἐπικούροσ τε χεῖρων Γοργίου φανεῖται τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ Μητροδώροσ Ἀλέξειδοσ τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ. διπλάσιον γὰρ οὗτοσ ἔζησε τοῦ Μητροδώροσ, Ἐπικούροσ δ' ἐκεῖνοσ πλέον ἢ ἐπίτριτον. ECL would normally agree that virtue is a cause of longevity, cf. Eph vi 3. However, the example of Christ's death makes this not a totally applicable principle. Cf. Phil i 21ff. σοφιστήσ, a t.t. of Greek philosophy, does not occur in ECL.

ἄλλωσ γὰρ ἰσχυρόν ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἀσθενὲσ λέγομεν, οὐ πρὸσ διαμονὴν καὶ διάλυσιν σώματοσ. Cf. I Cor i 25; iv 10; II Cor x 10; xii 9f; xiii 3ff; I Cl xxxviii 2.

(420E)

ὅθεν οὐκ εἶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀιδιότητα ποιοῦσιν ἐκ φυλακῆσ καὶ διακρούσεωσ τῶν ἀναιρετικῶν. ECL agrees with the refutation of the theory that God can be destroyed, cf. Ro i 20.

ἔδει γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ μακαρίου τὸ ἀπαθὲσ καὶ ἀφθαρτον εἶναι, μηδεμιᾶσ πραγματείας δεόμενον. Complete tranquillity and otiosity are characteristic of the Greek view of nature of God. This view is not typical for ECL, though it shares the idea about God's indestructibility. For his love and concern for men, cf. 414E. For μακάριοσ used of God in ECL, cf. I Ti i 11; vi 15.

ἀπαθὲσ is used with reference to Christ, cf. I Eph vii 2; I Pol iii 2.

ἀφθαρτον is used of God, cf. Ro i 23; I Ti i 17; PK ii, and of Christ, cf. Dg ix 2. πραγματεία is not applied to God in ECL.

περὶ τῆσ μεταστάσεωσ καὶ φυγῆσ. Cf. 417E, 418CD above.

#### Ch. 21

(420F)

θαυμάσαιμ'. Cf. 410B above.

ἀτοπώτεροσ. Cf. Ac xxviii 6.

ἀνιγματώδη μετ' εὐλαβείασ. These are key Greek religious t.t. For their use in ECL, cf. I Cor xiii 12; Hb v 7; xii 28; Pol vi 3.

## (421A)

οὐκ ὄκνω χαρίζεσθαι βαρβάρου διήγησιν ἀνδρός. Here begins Cleombrotus' narrative about his meeting with a θεῖος ἀνὴρ. For διήγησις, cf. Lk i 1. In NT times, religious men who were barbarians had a special attraction, cf. Paul in Ac xvii.

ὄν πλάναις πολλαῖς. Cf. the wise men, Mt ii 1f, 8//Lk ii 4ff.

περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν. The setting of the narrative in a faraway place is done to give added enhancement to the account. However, contrast Ac ii 22. For the geographical reference, cf. Ac vii 36; Hb xi 29; 1 Cl ii 5.

πᾶν ἔτος ἀπαξ. Cf. Lk ii 41; Hb ix 7.

τᾶλλα δὲ συνόντα νύμφαις νομάσι καὶ δαίμοσιν. Cf. Mt iv 11//Mk i 13//Lk iv 2; xxii 43; Hs 9:11.

μόλις ἐξανευρών ἔτυχον λόγου καὶ φιλοφροσύνης. This is a typical characterization of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ, friendly and reasonable.

## (421AB)

κάλλιστος μὲν ἦν ὢν εἶδον ἀνθρώπων ὀφθῆναι. Beauty of form was another common characteristic of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ, cf. Ac vi 15, though another tradition about the appearance of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ also occurs in ECL, cf. Betz, *Paulus*, 44ff.

## (421B)

νόσου τε πάσης ἀπαθῆς διετέλει. Cf. II Cor xii 7ff; Gal iv 13ff.

φαρμακώδη. This term and its cognates are often associated with poison and magic in ECL. Cf. Bauer.

γλώτταις δὲ πολλαῖς ἤσκητο χρῆσθαι. For Luke's portrayal of Paul speaking in Hebrew, cf. Ac xxi 40; xxii 2. However, Paul's letters do not verify this portrayal.

πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐδώριζεν οὐ πόρρω μελῶν. For χάρις applied to Jesus' speech in ECL, cf. Lk iv 22.

φθεγγόμενου δὲ τὸν τόπον εὐωδία κατεῖχε τοῦ στόματος ἡδιστον ἀποπνέοντος. For φθέγγομαι, a t.t. of prophecy, cf. 418D above. For εὐωδία in ECL marking a special person or event, cf. M Pol xv 2. Paul also uses this idea metaphorically, cf. II Cor ii 15; Phil iv 18; Eph v 2. Cf. also B ii 10.

ἢ μὲν οὖν ἄλλη μάθησις καὶ ἱστορία συνῆν αὐτῷ τὸν πάντα χρόνον. For abundance of wisdom as a characteristic of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ, cf. Lk ii 40, 46f; Ac xxii 3; xxvi 24. Cf. also 410B above.

εἰς δὲ μαντικὴν ἐνεπνεῖτο μίαν ἡμέραν ἔτους ἐκάστου. For μαντικὴ in ECL, cf. Betz and Smith, 385E. For ἐμπνέω, a t.t. of prophecy, cf. ἀποπνέω above; also cf. I Mag viii 2 and for ἐμφυσάω, cf. Jn xx 22. προεθέσπιζε. This is a t.t. of prophecy not attested in ECL.

κατιῶν. For Jesus on the banks of a lake, cf. Mt iv 18f//Mk i 16f; Lk v 1.

ἐπεφοίτων δὲ καὶ δυνάσται καὶ γραμματεῖς βασιλέων εἴτ' ἀπήεσαν. Cf. Mt iii 5ff; Ac viii 27f.

ἐκεῖνος οὖν τὴν μαντικὴν ἀνῆγεν εἰς δαίμονας. This is verification of the theory proposed at 417A above.

## (421C)

δρωμένων ἱερῶν. The closest parallels in ECL are the Eucharist, cf. I Cor xi; D ix, and Baptism, cf. D vii.

κάκεινα δαιμόνων ἔφασκεν εἶναι πάθη μεγάλα καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ περὶ Πύθωνα. The accounts introduced here of the mythology associated with Delphi have no parallel in ECL. Cf. 417BC above. For the πάθη μεγάλα, cf. 416C. The oracular man selects only parts of the mythology recounted in 414B above regarding the Python and its slaughter.

εἰς ἕτερον κόσμον. The idea of another world is an apocalyptic concept in ECL. Cf. Jesus' ascension, Mk xvi 19//Lk xxiv 50f//Ac i 9; Jn xiii 33.

ἐνιαυτῶν μεγάλων. ECL does not project a series of successive worlds, as here. However, for the apocalyptic concepts of "this world" and the "world to come," cf. H. Sasse, s.v. αἰών, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 1, 204-207.

ἀγνὸν γενόμενον καὶ Φοῖβον ὡς ἀληθῶς. ECL also expected Christ's return after his ascension, cf. Jn xiv 2f; Phil iii 20. For Christ then as pure, cf. I Jn iii 3, and for his face like the sun, cf. Rv i 16.

τὸ χρηστήριον. Cf. 413A above.

τεῶς ὑπὸ Θέμιδος φυλαττόμενον. This kind of accommodation occurs with John and Jesus in ECL. Cf. Betz and Smith, 387D. For the necessity of purification, cf. 418E above.

δαιμόνων μάχας γεγόνεαι πρὸς δαίμονας. Cf. Jd ix; Rv xii 7.

## (421CD)

εἶτα φυγὰς τῶν κρατηθέντων ἢ δίκας ὑπὸ θεοῦ τῶν ἐξαμαρτόντων. Cf. the expulsion of Satan and the demons from heaven, Lk x 18; Rv xii 8ff.

(421D)

αἱ τιμαί. Cf. Dg ii 8; iii 5.

μεταστάντων εἰς ἕτερον κόσμον. Cf. 421C above.

ἀμεληθῆναι. This religious t.t. is used in ECL only in a parable, cf.

Mt xxii 5.

δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ. Cf. Ac xx 20.

(421E)

δυνάμεως καὶ τιμῆς. Cf. Rv ix 11; v 2.

Ch. 22

(421F)

σιωπήσαντος. For this dialogical device, cf. 411E above.

θαυμαστός. Cf. 410B above.

(422A)

ἀπειρίαν αὐτόθεν ἀπέγνω τῶν κόσμων. The world is one and finite for ECL. Infinity is reserved only for God. Cf. Beardslee, 925F. This topic is discussed further at 422B below.

κατὰ στοιχεῖον. Cf. 414F above.

(422B)

ἐν χορείᾳ. Cf. I Cl xx 3; I Eph xix 2.

τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα. These Greek philosophical terms are not found in ECL. Cf. Betz, Dirkse and Smith, 550C.

(422C)

τοῦ αἰῶνος. Cf. Bauer, 1.

τὸν χρόνον. This term does not occur in a philosophical context in ECL.

ὄψιν δὲ τούτων καὶ θεῶν. This is a discussion of cosmology using the language of mystery cults. For similar ideas in ECL, cf. Ro i 20; I Cor ii 9f.

τῶν ἐνταῦθα τελετῶν τὰς ἀρίστας ἐκείνης ὄνειρον εἶναι τῆς ἐποπτείας καὶ τελετῆς. For ἐπόπτης and τελετή, t.t. of the mystery cults, cf. II Pt i 16 and Phil iii 12. For rites as shadows of the actual reality, cf. Col ii 17; Hb viii 5; x 1.

καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀναμνήσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἐκεῖ φιλοσοφεῖσθαι καλῶν. This theory is similar to the theory about interpretation of the parables of Jesus which holds that they have a meaning understandable to the initiate which is not betrayed to the uninitiated. Cf. Mt xiii 10//Mk iv 11f//Lk viii 10.

μάτην περαινέσθαι. Cf. I Cor xv 14.

μυθολογοῦντος. Cf. 409E above.

μυήσει. Cf. Phil iv 12.

ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ λόγου. Contrast I Cor ii 5 where a demonstration of the Spirit and power are given as proofs of the validity of Paul's message.

Ch. 23

(422D)

δογμάτων. For the use of this term to designate religious beliefs, cf. Dg v 3; AP i.

(422E)

κατὰ στοιχεῖον. Cf. 422A above.

(423A)

πολύχυτον καὶ πολύτρεπτον. For use of anaphora in ECL, cf. Hb i 1. μύθων γὰρ ἄλλης. Cf. Rollins, 395B.

(423AB)

ἓνα τοῦτον εἶναι μονογενῆ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀγαπητόν, ἐκ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς παντὸς ὄλον καὶ τέλειον καὶ αὐτάρκη γεγενημένον. This Platonic idea of the completeness and self-sufficiency of the cosmos is not found in ECL. The adjectives used here to describe the world are applied to Christ in ECL. Cf. I Cor viii 6; Jn i 14; Mt iii 17.

(423B)

τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀπειρίαν. Cf. 422A above.

(423C)

ἀφέντας. For this rhetorical t.t. in ECL, cf. Hb vi 1.

παρελθόντας. This rhetorical t.t. does not occur in ECL.

ἀντιλαμβάνόμενον. This rhetorical t.t. does not occur in ECL. ἱστορῆσαι. Cf. 410B above.

Ch. 24

πρόνοιαν. Cf. 413A above.

(423D)

μονογενῆ. Cf. 423AB above. Cf. also Beardslee, 943B.

ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν τελέως οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἐνδεής ἐστίν, ἥμισυ δὲ τῶν περὶ

δικαιοσύνην και φιλίαν. ECL agrees with this philosophical statement of God's nature as good, cf. Mt xix 17//Mk x 18//Lk xviii 19; Dg viii 8, and as lacking no virtue, cf. II Pt i 3. For the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, cf. particularly Ro iii 26. The term φιλία appears seldom in ECL and never of God. For ECL, God's nature is ἀγάπη, the highest proof for which is that he sent his Son to earth, cf. Jn iii 16; Phil ii 6; I Jn iv 8f.

εἰσὶν οὖν ἕκτος ἕτεροι θεοὶ καὶ κόσμοι, πρὸς οὓς χρῆται ταῖς κοινωνικαῖς ἀρεταῖς. ECL does not have other worlds with which the divine interacts. Nor are there other gods. However, the relationship of unity and distinctness between God and the Logos is attested in ECL, cf. Jn i 1, *passim*. κοινωνία and its cognates are usually used in ECL to describe the relationship with God, in Christ, and through the Spirit which the Christian has, cf. Beardslee, 926F.

οὐ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ μέρος αὐτοῦ χρῆσις ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνης ἢ χάριτος ἢ χρηστότητος ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄλλους. This philosophical view that the divine could not practice the social virtues in relation to beings inferior to himself is not held in ECL, cf. I Jn iv 9, 16; Ro v 8. For the association of δικαιοσύνη and χάρις in ECL, cf. Ro iii 21ff. For χρηστός as a characteristic of God's relationship to men, cf. Lk vi 35; I Pt ii 3; Dg viii 8; I Cl lx 1.

(423E)

εἰ γὰρ . . . τί κωλύει. This argument is a mockery of the monotheistic position. For a refutation in ECL, cf. I Cor viii 6; xi 3; Eph iv 4ff. For the expression τί κωλύει, cf. Rollins, 396B.

Ch. 25

(424A)

μέτρον ὠρισμένον. Cf. Ac xvii 26.

(424B)

φιλοφροσύνας. For φιλοφροσύνη as a Christian virtue, cf. I Pt iii 8. οὔτε μυθῶδες οὔτε παράλογον. For μυθός, cf. 409E above. For παράλογος, cf. Dg xi 1.

Ch. 27

(424F)

δημιουργόν. For God as the δημιουργός of creation in ECL, cf. I Cl xx 6, 11; xxvi 1; xxxiii 2; lix 2; Dg vii 2; viii 7.

(425AB)

πολλῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀξιοῦντος εἰς μίαν φλέβα τὸ πανταχόθεν αἷμα συρρεῖν καὶ μιᾷ μήνιγγι τοὺς πάντων ἐγκεφάλους περιέχεσθαι. Analogies with human physiology also occur in ECL, particularly in Paul. Cf. Ro xii 4f; I Cor xii 12ff; Eph iv 4, 16. Cf. also Beardslee, 928C.

Ch. 29

(425E)

εἰμαρμένη μία. This t.t. of Stoic philosophy does not occur in ECL. πρόνοια. Cf. 413A above.

(425F)

ἄρχοντα πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ὅλου. Neither ἄρχων nor ἡγεμών are used of God as ruler of the universe in ECL, though cf. πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶ in I Cl xviii 12. For the term ἄρχων applied both to Christ and to the devil, cf. Bauer, 1, 3.

(426A)

θεὸν ἔχοντα καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον. νοῦς and λόγος do not occur together of God in ECL though they do in Greek philosophy. In ECL Christ is considered to be the embodiment of these attributes of God, cf. Jn i 1, 14; I Jn i 1; Rv xix 13; Dg ix 6; I Mag viii 2.

οἶος ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κύριος ἀπάντων καὶ πατήρ. For the combination of these two titles in ECL, cf. Eph iv 5; Js iii 9.

εἰμαρμένης καὶ προνοίας. Cf. 425E above.

οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐν συνίσταται σῶμα πολλάκις ἐκ διεστώτων σωμάτων, οἷον ἐκκλησία καὶ στρατεύμα καὶ χορός. For Christians conceived as members of the body of Christ in Paul, cf. 425AB above. For the church as σῶμα, cf. I Cor xii 27ff; I Sm i 2; II Cl xiv 2. For the church as ἐκκλησία, cf. 414C above, and as χορός, cf. I Eph iv 2; I Ro ii 2. For the philosophical use of σῶμα imagery, cf. E. Schweizer, *TWNT*, 7, 1025-1042 = *TDNT*, 7, 1025-1044.

(426B)

πρέπει θεοῖς. Cf. Hb ii 10.

οὐδὲ φρουρεῖν συγκλείσαντας τῇ ὕλῃ μᾶλλον δὲ συμφράξαντας. ECL agrees that God should not be identified with any of the elements of nature. Cf. Ro i 20ff and 413C, 414D, F, 416D, 420E above.

οἷον ἡνιόχους ἢ κυβερνήτας ὄντας. Cf. Js iii 3 for this diatribe *topos*. ἀγάλματα. Cf. Ac xvii 29; Dg iii.

## Ch. 30

(426C)

ἀδεσπότες καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς ὄντας. ECL shares this conception of the divine, though not in a polytheistic sense. For δεσπότης as a title of God, cf. Lk ii 29; Ac iv 24; Rv vi 10; I Cl vii 5; ix 4; xi 1; xxiv 1, 5; xxxvi 2, 4; xl 1; B i 7; iv 3; Dg viii 7; Hv 2:2:4; s 1:9. As a title of Christ, cf. II Pt ii 1; Jd 4. αὐτοκράτωρ does not occur in ECL.

οἱ Τυνδαρίδαι τοῖς χειμαζομένοις βοηθοῦσιν. This passage contains the famous concept of the helper gods, common in ancient literature. Castor and Pollux, as divine beings, are able to exercise control over nature to the benefit of man. Parallel in ECL is the account of God coming to the rescue of Paul and his sailing companions in the storm in Ac xxvii 23ff.

οὐκ ἐμπλέοντες αὐτοὶ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντες ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν ἐπιφαινόμενοι καὶ σφύζοντες. In contrast with the behavior of God in Ac xxvii, the synoptic gospels describe Jesus as a θεῖος ἀνὴρ in storms. He is present in the ship, but as θεῖος ἀνὴρ he manifests his power and saves the apostles. Cf. Mt xiv 25ff//Mk vi 47ff//Jn vi 16ff.

τῶν κόσμων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον, ἡδονῇ τε τῆς θεᾶς ἀγομένους καὶ τῇ φύσει συναπευθυνόντας ἕκαστον. Some Greek mythology makes ἡδονή the motivation for the gods' coming to earth. In ECL god becomes man and comes to earth not for his own pleasure but for the salvation of mankind. Cf. Phil ii 5ff. For the role of the Logos in governing the universe, cf. Jn i 3; I Cor xv 27.

(426D)

ἔργα τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ κινήσεις τε καὶ φορὰς ἄστρον ἐν περιόδοις καταθεώμενος. In general, the activity of God is presupposed as self-evident and not of special concern in ECL. However, this picture of the activity of God supervising nature and men is consistent with his activity described in ECL. Cf. particularly Mt vi 30ff.

οὐ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεται μεταβολαῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ χαίρει τὸ θεῖον. The concern in ECL with the need for repentance precludes the idea that God has fun with the world. The notion of the order of the universe implied here is not found in ECL.

(426E)

ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πρόνοια. ἐπιμέλεια is not used of God in ECL. For πρόνοια, cf. 413A above. μετασχηματιζούσης. Cf. II Cor xi 15; Phil iii 21.

Ch. 31

δημιουργόν. Cf. 424F above.

Ch. 36

(429F)

μυθολογοῦσι. Cf. 409E above.

Ch. 38

(431A)

παραινεῖ. Cf. Ac xxvii 9; I Mg vi 1. σοφισμάτων. Cf. II Pt i 16.

(431B)

τὸ γὰρ ἀφισταμένων καὶ ἀπολειπόντων τὰ χρηστήρια τῶν δαιμόνων ὡσπερ ὄργανα τεχνιτῶν ἀργὰ καὶ ἀναυδα κείσθαι. Cf. 418D above.

περὶ τῆς αἰτίας μείζονα καὶ δυνάμειος, ἢ χρώμενοι ποιούσι κατόχους τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς καὶ φαντασιαστικούς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὰς προφήτιδας.

For a discussion of prophecy in ECL, cf. 414E. κάτοχος, a t.t. for possession, does not occur in ECL. For ἐνθουσιασμοῖς, cf. 412A and for φαντασιαστικούς, cf. Hb xii 21. For προφήτιδας, cf. 414B above.

“οἷε γὰρ ἕτερόν τι τοὺς δαίμονας,” εἶπεν, “ἢ ψυχὰς ὄντας περιπολεῖν καθ' Ἡσίωδον ἡέρα ἐσσαμένους”. The ghost theme occurs in ECL, but Luke in particular rejects this view with respect to Jesus. Cf. Mt xiv 26//Mk vi 49; Lk xxiv 37, 39; I Jn i 1.

(431D)

διὰ τὸ μαντεῖαν εἶναι καὶ θυσίαν. Cf. 411E, 412CD.

σχολήν. Cf. Ac xix 9.

ἀκροατάς. For this rhetorical term, cf. Dg ii 1.

ζητεῖν τὰ δὲ μανθάνειν. For ζητεῖν, cf. 412E above. For μανθάνειν, cf. Bauer.

ἔριδος. Cf. Bauer for this rhetorical term.

φιλονεικίας. Cf. I Cor xi 16 for this rhetorical term.

παρρησίας. Cf. Bauer for this rhetorical term.

## Ch. 39

σιωπήσας. Cf. 411E above.

(431E)

οὔτε γὰρ δύναμιν οὔτε μέρος οὐδὲν ἐπιγίγνεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὅταν ἀπολίπωσι τὸ σῶμα, μὴ κεκτημέναις πρότερον εἰκός ἐστιν. The argument here is that souls, while still in the body, have the powers they exhibit when they leave the body at death and are considered demigods. Only the degree to which they can actualize these powers differs. Most of these ideas do not occur in ECL. There are apparently two traditions about death in ECL. One is that it is a sleep without separation of soul and body that will last until the resurrection, cf. I Cor xv 23; I Th iv 16; Rv xx 4, 12ff. The other is that when death occurs the soul leaves the body, cf. Lk xii 20, and goes to live in Hades or some other place outside the earth, cf. Ac ii 27; Rv vi 9; xx 4; AP x 25.

(431F)

ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος οὐχ ὅταν διαφύγη τὰ νέφη γίγνεται λαμπρός, ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἀεὶ φαίνεται δ' ἡμῖν ἐν ὁμίχλῃ δυσφαῆς καὶ ἀμαυρός. Cf. the transfiguration scene in ECL, Mt xvii 2//Mk ix 2f//Lk ix 29. For the limitations of man in his earthly body, cf. II Cor v 7.

(432A)

ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μαντικὴν οὐκ ἐπικτᾶται δύναμιν ἐκβάσα τοῦ σώματος ὡσπερ νέφους, ἀλλ' ἔχουσα καὶ νῦν τυφλοῦται διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν ἀνάμειξιν αὐτῆς καὶ σύγχυσιν. The idea that the soul contains the divine element and that it is blinded by association with the body is a familiar Platonic concept. Though ECL does not have the idea that the soul has inherent mantic capacities, it does talk about its blinding due to sin and mortality, cf. II Cor iv 4.

ἀλλ' ἅμα γίγνεται πάντα καὶ φθείρεται. Contrast Mt xxv 35, where Jesus' words are said to endure forever.

## Ch. 40

(432C)

σύμφυτον. Cf. Ro vi 5.

ἐν τε τοῖς ἐνυπνίοις. Here the argument is made that embodied souls manifest their power of inspiration in dreams. Dream revelations occur in ECL, though they are not explained thus. Cf. 412A above.

περὶ τὰς τελευταίας. Cf. Lk xxiii 43; Ac vii 59; MPol xiv 1ff.

καθαροῦ γιγνομένου τοῦ σώματος. Plutarch's theory here is that souls have the power to prophesy but can exercise it only when the body is purified.

φαντασιαστικῶ. Cf. 431B above.

ἔμφρων μὲν ἀνὴρ καὶ τῶ νοῦν ἔχοντι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μετ' εἰκότος ἡγουμένῳ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπόμενος. ECL agrees that νοῦς is a prerequisite for prophecy. Cf. I Cor ii 16. However, εἰκός is not related to the prophetic phenomenon in ECL.

τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ὡσπερ γραμματεῖον. For Paul's contrast between γράμμα and πνεῦμα, cf. Ro ii 29; vii 6; II Cor iii 6.

(432D)

ἐκστῆ. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ἔκστασις, 2.

ἐξίσταται δὲ κράσει καὶ διαθέσει τοῦ σώματος ἐν μεταβολῇ γιγνομένου, ἣν ἐνθουσιασμὸν καλοῦμεν. This statement defines inspiration as a state in which the body is withdrawn from present reality. For a similar concept in ECL, cf. Col iii 5 where redemption demands asceticism.

(432DE)

τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν βεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα θειότατόν ἐστι καὶ ὀσιώτατον, ἄν τε καθ' ἑαυτὸ δι' ἀέρος ἢν τε μεθ' ὑγροῦ νάματος ἀπερᾶται. πνεῦμα in this passage is a potency coming from air or water which creates an inspired state. For a discussion of the Delphic πνεῦμα, cf. Bauer, 6c. For prophecy coming into being in ECL through the Holy Spirit, cf. Ac xi 28; xxi 11; I Cor ii 10; II Pt i 21; I Cl viii 1; I Phld vii 2. For literature on the πνεῦμα concept, cf. Bauer, 8. The association of spirit with wind occurs in ECL, cf. Jn iii 8; xx 22; Ac ii 2f; viii 39; MPol xv 2. For the spirit associated with water, cf. Jn iv 10, 14; v 7; D vii 1f.

(432E)

καταμειγνόμενον γὰρ εἰς τὸ σῶμα κράσιν ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀήθη καὶ ἀτοπον, ἧς τὴν ιδιότητα χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν σαφῶς. Plutarch recognizes that the experience of inspiration is difficult to describe. ECL does not attempt to describe it, except in regard to devil possession, cf. *e.g.* Mk v 2ff.

θερμότητι γὰρ καὶ διαχύσει πόρους τινὰς ἀνοίγειν φανταστικούς τοῦ μέλλοντος εἰκός ἐστιν, ὡς οἶνος ἀναθυμαθεις. Compare the reaction of

those who thought the apostles were full of new wine at Pentecost, Ac ii 13.

(432 F)

εὐλάβειαν. Cf. Bauer.

ἡ θνητὴ φρόνησις. For the idea that mortality hinders enthusiasm in ECL, cf. II Cor xii; Dg vii 1.

κατασβέννυσι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν. Cf. I Th v 19ff.

Ch. 41

(433A)

προγνωστικόν. For this as a prophetic term in ECL, cf. I Cl xlii 2.

τὴν μαντικὴν ἀναθυμίασιν. This theory of the prophetic vapors was associated with the inspiration of the Pythia at Delphi, according to tradition. It has no parallel in ECL.

Ch. 42

(433C)

πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἄνω ρεύματα μεθιείσης, ταῦτα μόνα τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικῶς διατίθησι καὶ φαντασιαστικῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος. The idea that waters of certain streams contain the power of inspiration is common in Greek thought and in Delphic tradition. This notion does not occur in ECL. For φαντασιαστικῶς, cf. 431B above.

περὶ τὸν τόπον. For τόπος used of a holy place in ECL, Cf. Bauer 1b. ἱστοροῦσιν. Cf. 410B above.

φωνὰς ἀναφέροντος ἐνθουσιώθεις. For φωνή as a term of prophecy in ECL, cf. Bauer, 2cd.

οἱ παραγενόμενοι κατεφρόνουν. The prophet meeting with contempt is a standard theme. Cf. Mt xiii 57//Mk vi 4; Lk iv 24; Jn iv 44; Ac ii 13.

ὑστερον δὲ γενομένων ὧν προεῖπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐθαύμασαν. Cf. Mt xxvii 54//Mk xv 39; Jn xx 27ff.

(433CD)

οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι Δελφῶν καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαμνημονεύοντες Κορήταν λέγουσιν. The preservation of names to give authenticity to the tradition is also characteristic of ECL. Cf. Bauer, s.v. ὄνομα, 1, for a full listing of names in ECL. Cf. also B. Metzger, "Names for the Nameless in the NT," *Kyriakon*, Festschrift

Johannes Quasten, ed. P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (Münster, 1970), I, 79-99.

(433D)

ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τοιαύτην πρὸς τὸ μαντικὸν πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν σύγκρασιν ψυχῆ καὶ σύμπτηξιν, οἷαν πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἢ ὄψις ὁμοιοπαθὲς γιγνόμενον. For the concept of inspiration as illumination in ECL, cf. Jn i 9; I Cor iv 5; II Cor iv 4, 6; Eph i 18; iii 9; II Ti i 10.

ὀφθαλμοῦ τε γὰρ ἔχοντος τὴν ὁρατικὴν δύναμιν οὐδὲν ἄνευ φωτὸς ἔργον ἔστιν. Cf. Mt vi 22f//Lk xi 34ff.

ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἠγοῦντο θεὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἥλιον. The beginning of the comparison of Christ with the sun is found in ECL. Cf. Mt iv 16; Lk i 78f; ii 32; Jn i 4f; viii 12; ix 5; xii 46; Eph v 14; I Jn ii 8.

Ch. 43

(433E)

τὰς μαντικὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις. Cf. 433A above.

(433 F)

οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ αἰδίον καὶ ἀφθαρτον νομίζομεν. Here the argument is made that, while the earth itself is everlasting and imperishable, powers of the earth, such as those causing inspiration, may change, disappear or be destroyed. ECL associates no special powers of inspiration with natural phenomena. It regards the earth as temporal and destined for destruction. Cf. 414D above.

Ch. 44

(434B)

ταῦτα δὲ περὶ μαντικῶν πνευμάτων διανοητέον, ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων αἰδίον οὐδ' ἀγήρων τὴν δύναμιν ἀλλ' ὑποκειμένην μεταβολαῖς. This statement contains the thesis of the dialogue. The obsolescence of the oracles can be explained by the fact that the oracles are run by demons, whose power is subject to change and destruction. Cf. 413D above for the reason ECL gives for the cessation of prophecy.

Ch. 45

(434D)

θαυμασιώτατον. Cf. 412C above.

ὁ γὰρ ἠγεμῶν τῆς Κιλικίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφίδοξος ὧν ἔτι πρὸς τὰ θεῖα,

those who thought the apostles were full of new wine at Pentecost, Ac ii 13.

(432 F)

εὐλάβειαν. Cf. Bauer.

ἡ θνητὴ φρόνησις. For the idea that mortality hinders enthusiasm in ECL, cf. II Cor xii; Dg vii 1.

κατασβέννυσι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν. Cf. I Th v 19ff.

Ch. 41

(433A)

προγνώστικόν. For this as a prophetic term in ECL, cf. I Cl xlv 2.

τὴν μαντικὴν ἀναθυμίασιν. This theory of the prophetic vapors was associated with the inspiration of the Pythia at Delphi, according to tradition. It has no parallel in ECL.

Ch. 42

(433C)

πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἄνω ρεύματα μεθειέσης, ταῦτα μόνα τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικῶς διατίθησι καὶ φαντασιαστικῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος. The idea that waters of certain streams contain the power of inspiration is common in Greek thought and in Delphic tradition. This notion does not occur in ECL. For φαντασιαστικῶς, cf. 431B above.

περὶ τὸν τόπον. For τόπος used of a holy place in ECL, Cf. Bauer 1b. ἱστοροῦσιν. Cf. 410B above.

φωνὰς ἀναφέροντος ἐνθουσιώθεις. For φωνή as a term of prophecy in ECL, cf. Bauer, 2cd.

οἱ παραγενόμενοι κατεφρόνου. The prophet meeting with contempt is a standard theme. Cf. Mt xiii 57//Mk vi 4; Lk iv 24; Jn iv 44; Ac ii 13.

ἕστερον δὲ γενομένων ὧν προεῖπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐθαύμασαν. Cf. Mt xxvii 54//Mk xv 39; Jn xx 27ff.

(433CD)

οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι Δελφῶν καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαμνημονεύοντες Κορήταν λέγουσιν. The preservation of names to give authenticity to the tradition is also characteristic of ECL. Cf. Bauer, s.v. ὄνομα, 1, for a full listing of names in ECL. Cf. also B. Metzger, "Names for the Nameless in the NT," *Kyriakon*, Festschrift

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(433D)

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ὀφθαλμοῦ τε γὰρ ἔχοντος τὴν ὁρατικὴν δύναμιν οὐδὲν ἄνευ φωτὸς ἔργον ἔστιν. Cf. Mt vi 22f//Lk xi 34ff.

ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡγοῦντο θεὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἥλιον. The beginning of the comparison of Christ with the sun is found in ECL. Cf. Mt iv 16; Lk i 78f; ii 32; Jn i 4f; viii 12; ix 5; xii 46; Eph v 14; I Jn ii 8.

Ch. 43

(433E)

τὰς μαντικὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις. Cf. 433A above.

(433 F)

οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ αἰδίδιον καὶ ἀφθαρτον νομίζομεν. Here the argument is made that, while the earth itself is everlasting and imperishable, powers of the earth, such as those causing inspiration, may change, disappear or be destroyed. ECL associates no special powers of inspiration with natural phenomena. It regards the earth as temporal and destined for destruction. Cf. 414D above.

Ch. 44

(434B)

ταῦτά δὲ περὶ μαντικῶν πνευμάτων διανοητέον, ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων αἰδίδιον οὐδ' ἀγήρων τὴν δύναμιν ἀλλ' ὑποκειμένην μεταβολαῖς. This statement contains the thesis of the dialogue. The obsolescence of the oracles can be explained by the fact that the oracles are run by demons, whose power is subject to change and destruction. Cf. 413D above for the reason ECL gives for the cessation of prophecy.

Ch. 45

(434D)

θαυμασιώτατον. Cf. 412C above.

ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμῶν τῆς Κιλικίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφίδοξος ὧν ἔτι πρὸς τὰ θεῖα,

δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστίας οἶμαι. For similar figures in ECL, cf. Mt xxvii 14//Mk xv 1; Jn xviii 38; xix 4; Ac xxiv 25; xxv 25ff; xxvi 31. For ἀπιστία, cf. Mk xvi 11; Lk xxiv 11; Jn xx 27.

ὕβριστης. Cf. Ro i 30; I Ti i 13.

φαῦλος. Cf. I Cl xxxvi 6.

Ἐπικουρείους τινάς. This is a stereotype description of the Epicureans as interested in scientific exploration of nature and disdainful of superstitions. For a reference to Epicureans in ECL, cf. Ac xvii 18. ἐνυβρίζοντας. For this attitude toward religious phenomena in ECL, cf. Hb x 29.

ἀπελεύθερον. This term is only used figuratively in ECL. Cf. Bauer, τὸ ἐρώτημ'. This t.t. of prophecy does not occur in ECL.

(434E)

ἐννυχεύσας οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὡς περ ἔθος ἔστι τῷ σηκῷ, καὶ κατακοιμηθεὶς. This is a description of the process of incubation. The phenomenon is not recorded in Jn v 2ff, but, as Duprez has shown, this passage must be seen in relation to the Asclepius cult. Cf. A. Duprez, *Jésus et les Dieux Guérisseurs, à propos de Jean V.* (Paris, 1970). ἐνύπνιον. Cf. 412A above for a discussion of revelatory dreams in ECL.

ἄνθρωπον ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ καλόν. This is an angelic being of some kind.

Cf. Hb i:4:1; AP xv 3.

ἐπιστάντα. Cf. Lk ii 9; xxiv 4; Ac xii 7; xxiii 11 for this t.t. related to angelic appearances.

φθέγγασθαι. For this t.t. of prophecy, cf. 414E above.

ἐξεπλάγη. Cf. Bauer, s.v.

προσεκύνησεν. Cf. Bauer.

ἐρώτημα. Cf. 434D above.

(434F)

θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν. A t.t. for performing ritual, cf. Hb ix 9; Dg iii 5; I Cl xl 3.

σέβασθαι. Cf. Ac xvi 14; xviii 7.

#### Ch. 46

κεφάλαιον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ. Cf. Hb viii 1.

διαλεχθῆναι. For this rhetorical term, cf. Bauer, s.v. διαλέγομαι, 1.

(434F-435A)

οἴεται γὰρ ὡς περ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἕτερον εἶναι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα

θεὸν ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡλίῳ τὸν αὐτόν. Cf. 413C, 433D. On the relation of the sun to Apollo, cf. also D. Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme* (Paris, 1969), 446f and note 2.

(435A)

ἀγάπουσι τὴν δόξαν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν. Ammonius argues that removing the gods as the source of prophecy and substituting demigods and natural phenomena diminishes rather than enhances the glory of the gods. For a similar idea in ECL, cf. Ro i 20ff.

(435B)

τῇ μεγίστῃ γαστρὶ δαιμόνων. Cf. Phil iii 19.

ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ θύομεν καὶ προσευχόμεθα τί μαθόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις.

ECL sees the sacrificial death of Christ as the single acceptable offering made to God and which does not need repetition, cf. Ro v 2; Hb vii 27. Through Christ, the Christian approaches God with confidence that he will receive favors from God. Cf. Hb iv 16; vii 25; x 22; I Cl xxiii 1; xxix 1.

εἰ δύνανται μὲν ἐν ἑαυταῖς μαντικὴν αἰ ψυχαὶ κομίζουσιν. Cf. 431E-432A above.

(435BCD)

αἰ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων κατασπείσεις τί βούλονται, καὶ τὸ μὴ θεμιστεύειν . . . μετὰ ψόφου τρομώδους. The practice of pouring libations over a sacrificial victim to induce trembling and a vocal response was used to ascertain that the oracle was receptive. The argument here is that the practice is not reasonable, since the presence and reception of the exhalation will excite the soul of the Pythia and of anyone else who might come into contact with it, regardless of the behavior of the animal. Cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 78ff. σπένδω occurs only figuratively in ECL, cf. Phil ii 17; II Ti iv 6. ἱερεῖον and θεμιστεύω, religious and oracular t.t., do not occur in ECL.

(435C)

Πυθίαν. Cf. 414E above.

(435D)

τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν. Cf. 412A above.

φυλάττοντας ἀγνήν. For a discussion of the ritual purity of the Pythia, cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 69f. For the Christian practice, cf. Hm 4:1:1.

καθαρεύουσιν. This t.t. of Delphic theology occurs in ECL only in the context of being free from blood guilt. Cf. GP xi 46.

Κορήτας. Cf. 433D above.

τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον δυνάμεως. Cf. 433C, 434E above.

μῦθος. The use of the term here is synonymous with πλάσμα κενόν.

(435E)

προνοία. Cf. 413A, C above.

κατὰ τύχην. Cf. Bauer.

αὐτομάτως. Cf. Ac xii 10.

#### Ch. 47

συγκέχυκεν. Cf. Ac xix 29, 32; xxi 31.

παρ' ἡλικίαν. Lamprias' defense of his youth is part of the young savant *topos*. Cf. Rollins, 394F-395A. Cf. also Paul's references to the youth of Timothy, II Ti i 2; ii 1, 22; iii 15. For ἡλικία used in reference to youthfulness, cf. I Mg iii 1; MPol iii 1.

μάρτυρα. Cf. 419D above.

(436B)

τῶν γε μιμημάτων τούτων καὶ εἰδώλων ὁ ποιητῆς καὶ δημιουργός. For a description of the makers of the shrines of Artemis in ECL, cf. Ac xix 24ff.

ζητῶν. Cf. 412E above.

(436D)

κατὰ λόγον καὶ πρόνοιαν. The argument here is that the occurrence of natural processes does not necessarily preclude the operation of reason and providence. For πρόνοια, cf. 413A, C above.

#### Ch. 48

δύο πάσης γενέσεως αἰτίας ἐχούσης. This chapter begins the summation of the major argument of the dialogue. There are two causes of creation, neither of which can be considered independently: God, the source, and nature, the agent. ECL opposes this view of nature as a co-agent with God and is more in accord with the view ascribed here to the early theological writers and poets. Cf. 413C above. For θεολόγος, cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλονται. Cf. I Cor viii 6; Rv i 8; xxi 6; xxii 13.

(436E)

τὸ δι' οὗ καὶ ὑφ' οὗ, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἐξ ὧν καὶ δι' ὧν. Compare the variation of prepositions at I Cor vii 6.

(436EF)

οὐ γὰρ ἄθεον ποιούμεν οὐδ' ἄλογον τὴν μαντικὴν, ὕλην μὲν αὐτῇ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν οἷον ὄργανον ἢ πλῆκτρον ἀποδιδόντες. For Greek theology it is possible to bring the spiritual and material together as a unity since ultimately all reality is divine. For the view of ECL, cf. 414E above. For the image of the soul as a musical instrument, cf. 418D, 431B above.

(436F)

γῆ . . . καὶ . . . ἥλιος νόμῳ πατέρων θεός ἐστιν ἡμῖν. For this view, cf. 413C, 433DE above. For the νόμος πατέρων, Cf. 416C above.

δαίμονας ἐπιστάτας καὶ περιπόλους καὶ φύλακας. For a similar view of the function of the demons, cf. 417AB above. ECL uses angels as messengers rather than as guardians. However, cf. Rv xvi 4 and the discussion of this passage by H. D. Betz, "On the Problem of the Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism," *JThC*, 6, 139ff. ἐπιστάτης occurs in ECL as a title of Jesus, cf. Lk v 5; viii 24, 45; ix 33, 49; xvii 13.

#### Ch. 49

(437A)

προθυόμενοι καὶ καταστέφοντες ἱερεῖα καὶ κατασπένδοντες. Cf. 435BCD above. For καταστέφοντες, cf. Ac xiv 13; B vii 9.

ἔσοι. Cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 61ff.

τὸν τρόμον. Cf. 435C above.

σημεῖον. For observable occurrences as signs of the divine presence, particularly in the miracle stories, cf. Bauer.

θεμιστεύειν. Cf. 435B above.

(437AB)

δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον τῷ τε σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀσινές καὶ ἀδιάφορον. For δεῖ used in the context of cultic law, cf. Bauer, 3. The OT law regarding the perfection of the sacrificial animals is applied in ECL to Jesus. Cf. I Pt i 19, Eph v 2.

(437B)

τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν δοκιμάζουσι. Here the testing of sacrificial animals, but cf. AP 3 for testing the souls of men.

κατὰ φύσιν. Cf. Bauer *s.v.* φύσις, 1.

κατάσπεισιν. Cf. 435B above.

θεμιστεύειν. Cf. 435B above.

(437C)

σημεῖα δίδοναι τὸν θεὸν εἰκός ἐστιν. The idea that the deity gives signs is shared by ECL. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* σημεῖον, 1.

## Ch. 50

ἀναθυμίασιν. Cf. 433A above. Here the exhalation is described as having recurrent periods of weakness and strength.

τεκμηρίω. Cf. 410B above.

μάρτυρας. Cf. 419D above.

θεραπεύοντας. Cf. Ac xvii 25. For *θεράπων*, only of Moses in ECL, cf. Bauer.

οἶκος. The t.t. for the room in the temple at Delphi where those consulting the oracle sat. Cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 123ff.

εὐωδίας ἀναπίμπλαται καὶ πνεύματος, οἷας ἂν τὰ ἥδιστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν μύρων ἀποφορᾶς. The Greeks believed the divine was as fragrant as a divine place was. For special fragrance in ECL, cf. MPol xv 2.

ἐκ πηγῆς τοῦ ἄδύτου. The ἄδυτον was the area in the temple where the Pythia gave the oracles. It is not clear whether *πηγή* refers to the chasm or to the Cassotis fountain or is simply used figuratively here. Cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 88f.

(437D)

Πυθίαν. Cf. 414E above.

ἐν πάθεσι καὶ διαφοραῖς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαις ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἴσχειν, ᾧ πλησιάζει τὸ πνεῦμα. The differences in the Pythia's inspired responses are here explained by saying that the spirit of inspiration affects different parts of her soul in different ways. Cf. I Cor xii 4ff where the spirit gives different manifestations to different people. Here the spirit is that element which touches part of the soul. Contrast Ro viii 15f where the spirit of God touches the spirit of man. *πλησιάζειν*, a sexual term, is avoided in ECL. The corresponding term is *συμμαρτυρέω*.

κινήσεις. ECL agrees that any confusion is opposed to the prophetic experience. Cf. I Cor xiv 33.

παρέχειν ἑαυτὴν τῷ θεῷ. Cf. *παριστάνω* and *παρίστημι* in ECL, Ro vi 13; xii 1.

ὄργανον ἐξηρτυμένον καὶ εὐηχέες. Cf. 418D, 431B above. Cf. also I Cor xiv 7.

(437E)

οὔτε γὰρ ὁ οἶνος ὡσαύτως ἀεὶ τὸ μεθυστικόν. This reference to wine is to Bacchic inspiration. Cf. *De Pythiae Oraculis*, 406B. Any kind of drunkenness is rejected in ECL as inappropriate. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* μεθύσκω and μέθυσμα. Cf. also I Cor xiv 23; Ac ii 13.

ἐνθουσιαστικόν. The term is used here of the devotee of a mystery cult. It is not attested in ECL.

τὸ φανταστικόν ἔοικε τῆς ψυχῆς. Cf. 431B, 433C above.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνειρων. For dream revelations, cf. 412A above. Here it is asserted that dreams are affected by wine and temperament.

## Ch. 51

(438A)

Ὅταν οὖν ἄρμοστῶς ἔχη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὡςπερ φαρμάκου κρᾶσιν ἢ φανταστικὴ καὶ μαντικὴ δύναμις, ἐν τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν. This theoretical statement explains the way in which inspiration works. The prophetic power in the soul must be in the proper state of harmony for the reception of the spirit. When this happens, prophecy can occur.

ὅταν δὲ μὴ οὕτως, μὴ γίνεσθαι, ἢ γίνεσθαι παράφορον καὶ οὐκ ἀκέραιον καὶ ταρακτικόν. When the prophetic power is not in a proper state for the reception of the spirit, aberrations occur. Cf. I Cor xiv 39f. Physical harm can even result, as is indicated by the anecdote regarding the Pythia. Cf. also I Cor xi 29f for sickness and death as the result of transgressing proper ritual. *ταρακτικόν* is used of demonic disturbance, cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ταρασσω, 2.

ἀποθανούσης Πυθιάς. Cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 82.

θεοπρόπων. This t.t. for consulting an oracle is not attested in ECL.

κατασπείσεις. Cf. 435B above.

τὸ ἱερεῖον. Cf. 435B above.

τῶν ἱερέων. Cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 55 ff.

(438B)

εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον. The place where the oracles were given, cf. Roux, *Delphi*, 88ff.

ἀλλόλου καὶ κακοῦ πνεύματος. Here the inspiration turns into something demonic. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* πνεῦμα, 4c for evil spirits in ECL.

ἐκταραχθεῖσα. For similar demonic confusion in ECL, cf. Mk ix 17// Lk ix 39f.

θεοπρόπους. Cf. 438A above.

τὸν προφήτην Νίκανδρον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν ὁσίων. Cf. Flacelière, *SDO*, no. 305, 259-260. Cf. also Roux, *Delphi*, 57ff. The problem here is that both the Pythia and the priest whose role is to interpret the ravings of the Pythia and formulate the oracle are called prophets. In ECL the term prophet also appears to have included inspired prophets and prophetesses and persons who could interpret tongues. Cf. I Cor xiv 5. Paul does not identify himself with either group.

## (438C)

συνουσίας ἀγνὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ὅλως ἀνεπίμεικτον ἀλλοδαπαῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἄθικτον. Cf. 435D above. In the OT also sexual abstinence and prophecy go together. This may be the reason why John, Jesus and Paul were unmarried. For ἄθικτον, a t.t., cf. Col ii 21.

τὰ σημεῖα. Cf. 437C above.

τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν. Cf. 412A above.

οὔτε γὰρ πάντα οὔτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ διατίθῃσιν ὡσαύτως ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις. In ECL the spirit also affects different persons in different ways. Cf. Ro xii 6ff; I Cor xii 27ff; Eph iv 12f.

## (438D)

ἔστι δὲ θεία μὲν ὄντως καὶ δαιμόνιος. The power of inspiration is no longer said to be coming from the earth but from the gods and demigods. The ambiguity as to whether the oracle is that of Earth or Apollo is never reconciled.

οὐ μὴν ἀνέκλειπτος οὐδ' ἀφθαρτος οὐδ' ἀγήρω. Cf. I Th v 19f. For the cessation of prophecy in ECL, cf. 413D above.

κάμνει. Cf. Hb xii 3.

παλιγγενεσίαις. In ECL this term is used of the eschatological renewal of the world. Cf. Mt xix 28.

## Ch. 52

παρακαλῶ. For this t.t. in ECL, cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

## (438E)

περὶ ἡλίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. 433D, 434F above.

## VI

## DE SERA NUMINIS VINDICTA (MORALIA 548A-568A)\*

BY

HANS DIETER BETZ, PETER A. DIRKSE, and EDGAR W. SMITH, JR.  
Claremont, California

This dialogue doubtless belongs to the Πυθικοὶ λόγοι (cf. Betz and Smith, 384E; K. Ziegler, *PW XXI*, 849). It is Plutarch's account to Quietus of a discussion at Delphi which included himself, his brother Timon, Patrocleas, Olympichus, and a certain Epicurus (the last of whom has, however, already departed from the group when the account begins). In terms of literary composition, our dialogue consists of two parts, ὁ λόγος and ὁ μῦθος (cf. 557F, 561B, 563B). The purpose of the λόγος (548B-563B) is clear: to present those matters which fall under τὸ εἶδος (561B; cf. 558D). On the other hand, the nature and purpose of the μῦθος remain an open question (561B).

The subject of the treatise is described inadequately by its traditional title. As the dialogue begins, we learn that the accusation that the god apparently delays his punishment of the wicked was the most serious of several objections raised by "Epicurus" against divine providence (cf. 548C-D). However, the full scope of the dialogue is much wider than a simple refutation of this accusation. Ὁ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος (558D) is concerned with the whole problem of theodicy (Ziegler, *PW XXI*, col. 849). Faced with the various objections set forth by the three speakers, and with man's admitted limitation in his ability to recognize the truth, the problem of how the common belief that the deity rewards the good and punishes the evil can be meaningfully explained (cf. 558D) becomes central.

Plutarch tries to show in the first part of his treatise that, in fact, many theological problems can be solved by reason. Absurdities can be identified by the critical examination of those traditions in which they reside (cf. 557E-F), while other difficulties

\* The text of *De sera numinis vindicta* used is that of Ph. H. de Lacy and B. Einarson in the *LCL*, *Plutarch's Moralia VII*, 170-299.

can be explained by the use of analogies. However, the basic problem is more complex. It compels Plutarch to reaffirm the *μεγάλη ὑπόθεσις* of Greek religion, the survival of the soul after death (560A-B). If the survival of the soul is presupposed, then, in Plutarch's view, even the most puzzling forms of divine response to human conduct become intelligible.

Furthermore, Plutarch, in his interpretation, finds it necessary to abandon the concept of divine punishment altogether, and to replace it with what he understands to be a process of therapy for the soul. What popular religion calls "punishments" must, according to Plutarch, be reinterpreted soteriologically as corrective and preventive measures deriving from the divine therapy for the soul. The confirmation of this truth cannot be achieved by the *λόγος*, but only by the *μῦθος*, since it is in this "myth" that we learn about the destiny of the soul in the afterlife.

The composition and literary form of chapters 22-33 (563B-568A) are those of a conversion story. This section consists first of a report of the conversion of Aridaeus-Thespesius (563B-F), and then of his own account of his journey to the afterlife (563F-568A). The latter account is intended to answer the question concerning the *αἰτία* of his conversion (563E; cf. 561B). Taken as a whole, this account is built around the Orphic doctrine alluded to by Plato (*Αἰτία ἐλομένου θεὸς ἀναίτιος*, *Republic* X, 617E).

We also learn from Plato that, in addition to filling intellectual requirements, the purpose of "myths" such as the myth of Thespesius is paraenetic (cf. *Gorgias* 523A-B; 527A-E; *Phaedo* 114D; *Republic* X, 621Bff.). These myths frighten man into a life of virtue (cf. Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi* 1104Bff.; on this point see H. G. Ingenkamp, *Plutarchs Schriften über die Heilung der Seele* [Hypomnemata 34; Göttingen, 1971]; A. Dieterich, *Nekyia* [Darmstadt, 1969<sup>3</sup>] 115, 118f., 226; F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* [New Haven, 1922; reprint New York, 1959] 183). At the same time, the myth of Thespesius has an apologetic purpose, a fact which makes it useful for the treatise as a whole. The vision of punishment occurring in the afterlife ultimately acquits the god of any injustice in his delaying the punishment of the wicked while they are still on earth.

On the myth of Thespesius, see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 145ff.; Cumont, *After Life*, 148ff., 170ff.; R. M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1916) 42ff.; G. Méautis, *Des délais*

*de la justice divine par Plutarque* (Lausanne, 1935) 57ff.; *idem*, "Plutarque et l'Orphisme," (*Mélanges G. Glotz* [Paris, 1932] 575-585); *idem*, "L'apologétique de Delphes dans un traité de Plutarque," (*Mélanges O. Navarre* [Toulouse, 1935] 305-311); *idem*, "Le mythe de Timarque," *REA* 52, 1950, 201-211; G. Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque* (Paris, 1942) 211ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* II (München, 1961<sup>2</sup>) 551f. (On Greek beliefs about the nether world, cf. Nilsson, vol. I [1967<sup>3</sup>], 688f., 815ff.; vol. II, 543ff.; H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* [TU 76; Berlin, 1961] 81ff.; R. Del Re, "De Plutarcho Chaeronensi immortalitas animorum assertore," *Latinitas* 13, 1965, 184-192.)

The work which is most important for the whole dialogue is the commentary by G. Méautis, *Des délais de la justice divine par Plutarque* (Lausanne, 1935). See also K. Ziegler, *PW* XXI, 846-850 = *Plutarchos von Chaironeia* (Stuttgart, 1964<sup>2</sup>) 209-213; E. Des Places, *La religion grecque* (Paris, 1969) 269-273; A.-M. Malingrey, "Les délais de la justice divine chez Plutarque et dans la littérature judéo-chrétienne," *Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès* (Paris, 1969) 542-550.

It has often been observed that this dialogue has many similarities to early Christian literature (cf. Ziegler, *PW* XXI, 850; De Lacy and Einarson, *LCL* text, 170ff.; Des Places, *La religion grecque*, 272f.; H. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das Neue Testament* [Uppsala, 1946]). However, because of the quantity and complexity of the issues to be taken into account, a complete description of the similarities and dissimilarities between Plutarch's dialogue and ECL is a difficult task. The most significant parallel is no doubt the fact that, just as for Plutarch, the concept of the god who punishes sin, a concept which in a radical form was proclaimed by Jewish apocalypticism, was no longer sufficient for early Christian theology. New and powerful teachings of God's redemptive work in Christ have pushed that concept into the background.

However, the idea of divine punishment has not entirely disappeared from ECL. The writers in the primitive church often played upon the fear of God's (or Christ's) judgment to activate the Christian's ethical awareness (cf. 2 Cor v 10f; vii 11; Ro ii 4, 11; Phil ii 12; 1 Pt i 17; 2 Pt iii 9; Rv xxii 11; etc.; see H. Balz, *TWNT* IX, 211ff.). But such intimidation was clearly secondary, and of far greater importance were the new concepts of discipleship to Jesus and imitation of both Christ and God (cf. H. D. Betz,

*Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament* [BHTh 37; Tübingen, 1967]). This shift from emphasizing fear to proclaiming salvation has a parallel in Plutarch, since he, too, replaces the older concept of divine punishment with the platonic concept of the imitation of the deity. Plutarch says that the latter, by curing man's soul, is engaged in his redemption (cf. 550D-E).

However, there is also a difference. In Plutarch we are presented with a consistent philosophical argument, while in ECL all of the various ideas coexist with one another without being harmonized into a theological system. This is especially apparent with Paul, who also feels that the problem of theodicy still exists (cf. Ro i 18-v 21; ix-xi; 1 Cor xv 20-28; etc.).

The dissimilarity between Plutarch and ECL is greatest with the doctrine of God. Plutarch removes anything anthropomorphic from his god (cf. 563D), while in ECL God sends his own son to save the world. Moreover, the doctrine of the survival of the soul after death does not play an important role in early Christianity. Instead, the Christians believed in the resurrection of the dead. For Plutarch, the survival of the soul is the fundamental hypothesis of Greek religion, whereas Paul declares the indispensability of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor xv 12ff.) for the Christian faith. It is noteworthy that, in the development of Christology, as soon as Christ's function is reduced to that of the heavenly judge, man's destiny in the hereafter reoccupies its former place of importance, and the problem of theodicy returns. See K. Goldammer *et alii*, "Theodizee," *RGG*<sup>3</sup> VI, 739-747; G. Lanczkowski *et alii*, "Vergeltung," *RGG*<sup>3</sup> VI, 1341-1355.

## Ch. 1

(548B)

ὁ Ἐπίκουρος . . . ἔχετο ἀπίων. For a treatise which begins very similarly, cf. *De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet* 920B. The person called Epicurus is a literary figure introduced to represent the Epicurean school of philosophy (see the figure of Aristotle in *De facie* 920F and 928Eff., and the discussion of this "speaker" by Cherniss, LCL vol. XII, 6; but see also the LCL text of *De sera numinis vindicta*, 175 note a). It is possible that the sequence of disappearance, amazement and silence is typical of epiphany narratives. If this be the case, Lk xxiv 13-32, 36-51; Jn xx 14ff, 19ff, 26ff; Ac i 9; viii 30-39 should be listed as parallels.

θαυμάσαι. This verb also seems to come from the language of epiphany stories. It is used here, ironically, to describe the reaction to the ἀτοπία of Epicurus. Cf. Gal i 6. In ECL, θαυμάζειν sometimes describes an audience's reaction to the discourse of a "divine man;" cf. Mk xii 17 // Mt xxii 22 // Lk xx 26; Lk iv 22; Jn vii 15; Ac iv 13.

τὴν ἀτοπίαν. This term is used negatively here, as is ἀτοπος (cf. 549Af.) in ECL (Lk xxiii 41; Ac xxv 5; xxviii 6; 2 Th iii 20; IMg x 3; Pol v 3). It should be noted that the term had a positive meaning when connected with Socrates in the platonic tradition (Plato, *Symposium* 215A, etc.; cf. V. de Magalhães-Vilhena, *Le problème de Socrate* [Paris, 1952] 90 notes 2 and 3).

ἐπιστάντες σιωπῆ. This description of a perplexed reaction may be another motif originally connected with epiphany stories. Cf. as parallels: Mk iii 4; ix 34; Lk xx 26 (the parallel passages Mk xii 17 and Mt xxii 22 have θαυμάζειν only); further, Lk xiii 17; xiv 6. See also Betz, *Lukian*, 115.

πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαβλέψαντες. This further gesture of perplexity is attributed to the disciples of Jesus in Jn xiii 22.

περιπατοῦντες. The discussion following this prologue occurs during a περίπατος. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385A.

τί οὖν; This rhetorical question occurs frequently in ECL. See the collection of passages in Bauer, *s.v.* τίς, 1.b.e.

τὴν ζήτησιν. This philosophical term has been applied to theology in ECL; see Betz and Smith, 385D.

καθάπερ παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος. The use of similar phrases in Paul (1 Cor v 3; 2 Cor x 11; xiii 2, 10; also Col ii 5) may indicate the existence of some kind of formula. See, for discussion and references, Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen, 1969) 117 note 33.

ὑπολαβών. This verb here means specifically "taking up an issue" in a debate. Lk x 30 uses it in the same sense. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 3.

τὸ βέλος. This military term is here used in an analogy. Cf. its figurative use in Eph vi 16.

(548C)

τὸ δόρυ. This term for a spear is used figuratively in IPol vi 2. ἀμύνασθαι. Cf. also 548D. In ECL this verb occurs only in Ac vii 24. For its form see BDF, *Grammar*, § 316; Bauer, *s.v.*

ἡμῶν δὲ ἀμύνασθαι . . . οὐδὲν ἔργον ἐστὶ . . . The motivation for this statement is the view that false arguments do not deserve a rebuttal. Such an attitude must not be confused with Jesus' prohibition against taking revenge (Mt v 38f., 43f.//Lk vi 27f.; cf. Lk ix 54f.; Ro xii 17ff.; 1 Th v 15). Cf. comments on ἐξελέγγειν in Betz and Smith, 385E.

ἄτοπον ἢ ψευδῆ λόγον. Cf. 2 Th iii 2, where οἱ ἄτοποι καὶ πονηροὶ ἄνθρωποι are contrasted to ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου (iii 1).

ἄψασθαι τὴν δόξαν. As a verb which can have a cultic meaning, ἄπτειν is perhaps used figuratively with that meaning here. Cf. in this regard 1 Cl lvi 8; 1 Jn v 18. On the cultic usage of the term see Bauer, *s.v.*, esp. 2. a.

ἐκβάλλωμεν. Since δόξα almost assumes the character of a demonic power here, this may be a metaphorical use of ἐκβάλλειν which draws on its technical usage in exorcism. In ECL this verb is often associated with exorcism (Mk i 34, 43, etc.; see F. Hauck, *TWNT* I, 525f. = *TDNT* I, 527f.), but 1 Cl xxxv 8 (λόγους ἐκβάλλειν) comes closer to this usage.

κεκίνημεν. This verb is also used metaphorically to describe intellectual "movements" or reactions in Ac xiv 7 D (cf. xxi 30); Dg xi 8. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 4. b.

ἀθρόα γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τάξιν οὐδέν. This remark criticizes Epicurus' rhetorical abilities. Cf. Lk i 3, where the author promises to avoid such faults.

κατὰ τάξιν. This expression is used by Paul in criticism of glossolalia in 1 Cor xiv 40; cf. Col ii 5.

ὡσπερ ὀργῆ τινι. Ὀργή is ethically inappropriate in ECL; cf. G. Stählin, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 420f.; below, 550F.

λοιδορία. This term is used here in a philosophical context. When it entered ECL, it was probably taken up from popular philosophy. Cf. 1 Ti v 14; 1 Pt iii 9; Pol ii 2; and H. Hanse, *TWNT* IV, 295ff. = *TDNT* IV, 293ff.

σπαράττων. An allusion to the sphere and activity of the demonic is conceivable at this point. In ECL, the verb describes the work of demons (Mk i 26; ix 20, 26; Lk ix 39, 42). Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* σπαράσσω.

τῆς προνοίας. This philosophical concept occurs frequently in Plutarch, but in ECL it is found only in 1 Cl xxiv 5; Hv 1,3,4. Cf. J. Behm, *TWNT* IV, 1007ff. = *TDNT* IV, 1012ff.

## Ch. 2

τὰς τιμωρίας. This term is used technically here, and throughout the treatise, to designate God's punishment. ECL takes up the concept in its later writings (Hb x 29; B xx 1; Hs 6:3ff.; 7). βραδυτῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου. The topic of the entire treatise is defined as ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας . . . τῶν πονηρῶν βραδυτῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ μέλλησις. The question of delayed divine punishment of evildoers as such was not of great concern to primitive Christianity (except for 2 Cl xx and MPol xi), although the problem is known at least to Paul (cf. Ro ix 14; viii 28). Cf. K. Goldammer and H.-H. Schrey, "Theodizee," *RGG*<sup>3</sup> VI, 739-743; G. Lanczkowski *et alii*, "Vergeltung," *RGG*<sup>3</sup> VI, 1341-1349. However, primitive Christians struggled with the problem of the delay of the coming of Christ. Cf. 2 Pt iii 9 (οὐ βραδύνει κύριος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας) and Rv vi 10. The arguments used in discussions relating to this latter problem were similar to those used in the theodicy debates. Cf. H. Conzelmann, "Parusie," *RGG*<sup>3</sup> V, 130-132.

(548D)

μέλλει, τὸ θεῖον δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον φύσει. This quotation from Euripides (Orestes 420) is significant because of 2 Pt iii 9, where a similar view is attributed to "heretics," and emphatically denied by the author (cf. 548C).

ὄξυτάταις ὀρμαῖς. Cf. Js iii 4, where the capricious free will of a ship's pilot is compared to the impulses within man. See G. Bertram, *TWNT* V, 471f. = *TDNT* V, 471.

ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν. The view that τὰ πάθη drive men into moral corruption was widely held in antiquity. Cf. I. Hadot, *Seneca und die griechisch-römische Tradition der Seelenleitung* (Berlin, 1969) 143ff. In ECL τὸ πάθος was understood in a similar way, and this understanding also came from popular thought. Cf. esp. in Paul 1 Th iv 5; Ro i 26; also Col iii 5. See M. Pohlenz, "Paulus und die Stoa," *ZNW* 42, 1949, 82; W. Michaelis, *TWNT* V, 927f. = *TDNT* V, 928.

φερομένουσ. For the figurative use of this verb, cf. esp. Dg ix 1; also 2 Pt i 21; and Bauer, *s.v.*, 3. b.

πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας. Cf. esp. Ro i 18ff., where, however, God is the subject; 2 Th ii 10, 12; 2 Pt ii 13.

τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τῷ παθεῖν . . . ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον. This quotation from Thucydides seems to reflect popular wisdom. ECL rejects

immediate revenge. Cf. Mt v 22, 38ff., 43ff.; Ro xii 14, 17ff.; 1 Cor iv 12; 2 Cor x 6, 8; xiii 2, 10; 1 Th v 15; 2 Th i 6; Eph iv 26; Tit i 7; 1 Pt iii 9 (all instances exclude *de facto* immediate revenge by man). God's imminent revenge (cf. 550E, ταχύ) is affirmed in Lk xviii 7f.; 2 Pt ii 1; Rv i 1; ii 16; iii 11; xxii 6f., 12, 20.

(548E)

τὴν ὁδόν . . . εὐροούση τῇ κακίᾳ. For this figurative sense of the term ὁδός, cf. Mt vii 13 (ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν). More passages are collected in Bauer, *s.v.* ὁδός 2.a. Cf. further the phrase in Tit iii 3, ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες.

τῆς δίκης. This important concept of Greek religion is often used in this treatise, but occurs only infrequently in ECL. Cf. Ac xxviii 4; 2 Th i 9; Jd 7; D i 5; Hm 2:5; Hs 9,19,3. Cf. E. Des Places, *La religion grecque*, 270f.

ἀσθενῆ . . . καὶ ταπεινόν . . . These two terms are also closely related in 2 Cor x 1, 10; xi 7; etc. Cf. H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition* (BHT 45; Tübingen, 1972) 44ff. αὕξει . . . τὸν μοχθηρόν. For the ethical use of the verb αὕξάνειν. cf. esp. 2 Cor ix 10.

θρασύτητι καὶ τόλμῃ. These synonymous terms are also used negatively in ECL. Cf. B xx 1; D v 1; 1 Cl xxx 8; and Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition*, 67f.

τοῖς τολμωμένοις. The verb τολμᾶν is also used in this negative sense in 2 Cor x 2, 12; xi 21.

τὸ παρηγοροῦν. In ECL, only the noun παρηγορία occurs, in Col iv 11.

ἐνοχλεῖ. This common hellenistic verb occurs only twice in ECL, in Lk vi 18; Hb xii 15.

(548F)

οὐ δέδιεν μὴ οὐ δῶ δίκην, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ αὐτοὺς ἐπίδη. This saying of Bias makes the point that punishment of evildoers is of use only if those who have suffered at their hands can see their punishment. Cf. in this regard Lk xvi 19ff., where, however, only the rich man is said to see the reversal of the situation in the afterlife. Also, Mk ix 1//Mt xvi 28//Lk ix 27; Rv xviii 20 should be compared—the imminent coming of the Kingdom of God ensures that the present generation will witness God's redemption and punishment.

τί . . . ὄφελος . . . ; This rhetorical question occurs also in 1 Cor xv 32; Js ii 14, 16; 2 Cl vi 2; Hv 3,3,1.

παραμυθίαν. This noun is a *hapax legomenon* in ECL (1 Cor xiv 3); the verb occurs more often.

ἀψαμένῃ νόσος. Lyciscus is belatedly but effectively slain through a punishment miracle. For this type of miracle cf. Ac i 18; MPol vi 2; and Betz, *Lukian*, 177ff. For the terminology used here, cf. 1 Jn v 18 (οὐχ ἄπτεται αὐτοῦ ὁ πονηρός); also 1 Cl lvi 8.

(549A)

ἀεὶ βάπτων καὶ βρέχων εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. Lyciscus bathes in a river as a means of purification. Related to this is the ritual of baptism in the Jordan, which was also a ritual of purification. Cf. Mk i 5, 9-11//Mt iii 6, 13-17//Lk iii 7, 12, 21f.//Jn i 28. For the use of river water, cf. Jn vii 38; Rv xxii 1; D vii 1f.; for the use of water for purification and healing, cf. Jn v 1ff. See L. Goppelt, *TWNT VIII*, 313ff. = *TDNT VIII*, 314ff.; A. Oepke, *TWNT IV*, 297-309 = *TDNT IV*, 295-307.

ὄμοσε. The swearing of an oath was another means through which one could be healed. In ECL oaths occur in connection with exorcism. Cf. Mk v 7; Ac xix 13. See J. Schneider, *TWNT V*, 177ff., 458ff. = *TDNT V*, 176ff., 457ff.

κατηράσατο. In ECL curses are not employed as a means of healing. "Swearing" and "cursing" occur together in Mk xiv 71.

τῶν ἐναγῶν σωμαίων. Primitive Christianity also held the view that people who have shed blood in violation of a divine rule are under a curse (cf. Mt xxiii 35; xxvii 4-6, 8, 25; Ac i 18ff.; v 28; MPol vi 2). See H. Kosmala, "His Blood on Us and on Our Children," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute VII*, 1970, 94-126.

βίψεις. This primitive act may be reflected in certain eschatological passages; cf. Mt v 29; xviii 8-9//Mk ix 45-47; Mt xxii 13; Rv xx 3, 14f.; 1 Cl lvii 2.

εἰς ἀποτροπὴν κακίας. Cf. 2 Ti iii 5 (καὶ τούτους ἀποτρέπου).

ἡ Δίκη. This goddess is mentioned in Ac xxviii 4.

μὴ τρέσης. In ECL the preferred phrase, often in the context of epiphany, is μὴ φοβοῦ, μὴ φοβεῖσθε (Mk v 36; vi 50 and often; cf. Bauer, *s.v.* φοβέω 1.a).

παίσει. The verb παίω, here describing divine punishment, is used in the same way in 1 Cl xxxix 5 (Job iv 19). Cf. also 1 Cl lvi 7; Rv ix 5.

σῆγα. God's silence is not a prominent theme in ECL, but cf. Ro xvi 25; IMg viii 2.

βραδεῖ ποδί. See above, 548C; 548D. Cf. Lk xxiv 25 (βραδεῖς τῆ καρδία).

μάρψει τοὺς κακοὺς ὅταν τύχη. In primitive Christianity also it was believed that evildoers were punished unexpectedly. Cf. Ac v 1ff.; xii 23; xix 16; also the theme of "coming as a thief" in 1 Th v 2; 2 Pt iii 10; Rv iii 3; xvi 15.

## (549B)

τοὺς κακοὺς εἰκός ἐστιν ἑαυτοῖς διακελευομένους καὶ παρεγγυῶντας ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς παρανομήμασιν. Cf. Paul's quotation of Menander in 1 Cor xv 33 (φθείρουσιν ἕθη χρηστὰ ὄμιλοι κακαί).

τῆς ἀδικίας τόν . . . καρπόν. Καρπός is used in this negative sense also in Ro vi 21; usually, however, it points to something positive in ECL. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 2.a.

τόν . . . καρπόν . . . ἀποδιδούσης. Cf. Hb xii 11.

## Ch. 3

τὴν πίστιν . . . τῆς προνοίας. The term πίστις is used here in the religious sense, as happens often in ECL. Cf. R. Bultmann, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) VI, 180 note 65.

ἀφαιρεῖ (τὴν πίστιν). Paul especially is concerned about destruction of faith in Christ. Cf. 1 Cor xv 12, 14, 17; 2 Cor x 4, 8; xiii 10.

## (549C)

ἐπακολουθοῦν κακόν. The view that evil follows upon the commission of a crime is shared by ECL. Cf. esp. 1 Ti v 24; also Ro v 12; vi 23; etc.; then Rv xiv 13, where good works "follow." Jn ix 2 is critical of this view.

οὐθὲν ὠφελοῦνται. Cf. for this phrase IRo vi 1; also Mt xxvii 24; 1 Cor xiii 3; Gal v 2; Hb iv 2; D xvi 2; B iv 9; Hv 2,2,2; Hs 9,13,2. καθάπερ γὰρ ἔππον. Comparing certain ethical conceptions to the behavior of a horse was a commonplace which is found also in Js iii 3 (cf. M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus* [Göttingen, 1964<sup>11</sup>] 227).

τὸ πταῖσμα. The stumbling of the horse is here used in an ethical comparison. Cf. the figurative meaning of the verb in Ro xi 11; Js ii 10; iii 2; 2 Pt i 10; see also Jd 24; 1 Cl li 1.

πληγή. This term here designates a blow applied to a horse, which is being compared to the punishment of sinful man by the deity. In ECL we find especially the literal meaning related to human punishment (2 Cor vi 5; xi 23; Ac xvi 23; cf. Lk xii 48); but the figurative meaning associated with divine punishment occurs also (Rv ix 18, 20 and often; cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 3).

ἐπανορθοῖ. The verb chosen here to describe the effect of a blow on a horse is a technical term in philosophical ethics. Cf. H. Preisker, *TWNT* V, 452 = *TDNT* V, 450f.; Hadot, *Seneca*, 66. The noun ἐπανόρθωσις appears in ECL in 2 Ti iii 16.

μετάγει. This verb also belongs to the comparison between human conduct and the reining of a horse; it occurs in a similar context in Js iii 3 (cf. also iii 2).

τὸ λυποῦν. Λυποῦν is also used by Paul to describe a particular means of educational correction. Cf. 2 Cor ii 1-5; vii 8-11; and R. Bultmann, *TWNT* IV, 317ff., 321ff. = *TDNT* IV, 316f., 319ff.

ἄνευ τοῦ παιδεύειν. Plutarch's comparison here points to the idea of divine παιδεία. Cf. Hb xii 5-11; Rv iii 19; 1 Cor xi 32; 2 Cor vi 9; 1 Ti i 20; 1 Cl lvi 2-5, 16. See G. Bertram, *TWNT* V, 601ff., 620ff. = *TDNT* V, 602f., 621ff.

πταίει καὶ προπίπτει. These two verbs are used in a metaphorical sense. Cf. τὸ πταῖσμα, above.

## (549D)

τῷ κολάζεσθαι. This verb (and the noun κόλασις) is used both by Plutarch and by ECL as a technical term for divine punishment. Cf. 2 Pt ii 9; 2 Cl xvii 7; Hs 9,18,2; AP vi 21. See J. Schneider, *TWNT* III, 815ff. = *TDNT* III, 814ff.

ταπεινή. Humbleness is seen here as a virtue, the value which it has in ECL also. Cf. Mt xi 29; 2 Cor vii 6; x 1, etc.; and W. Grundmann, *TWNT* VIII, 1ff. (esp. 3, lines 38ff.) = *TDNT* VIII, 1ff.

κατάφοβος πρὸς τὸν θεόν. This phrase points to the real purpose of divine punishment (cf. 549E, τὸν φόβον . . . τῆς κακίας, and esp. the myth of Thespisius, 563Bff.) as well as to the purpose of Plutarch's entire treatise. See the introduction, p. 181 ff.

ὡς ἐφροστῶτα. For ἐφροστᾶναι in the sense of "to be in charge of," cf. Hs 9,6,2.

ἡ . . . ἐπιπίπτουσα Δίκη. Luke uses ἐπιπίπτειν several times to describe the appearance of the Holy Spirit (Ac viii 16, 39 *v.l.*; x 44; xi 15; xix 6 *v.l.*), or the occurrence of an ecstasy (Ac x 10 *t.r.*).

τῶ αὐτομάτῳ. This term is here contrasted with κατὰ πρόνοιαν. Cf. Mk iv 28.

τὸ πεπλανημένον καὶ ὑπερήμερον καὶ ἄτακτον. Things of this kind cannot in any meaningful way be understood as a result of divine providence. ECL would agree. Cf. Rv xii 9; xx 10; Dg xii 6 (on this whole subject see H. Braun, *TWNT* VI, 230ff., esp. 233f., 246ff. = *TDNT* VI, 228ff., esp. 231f., 245ff.); 1 Cor xiv 33, 40; 1 Th v 14; 2 Th iii 6f., 11; 1 Cl xl 2; Dg ix 1. See G. Dellling, *TWNT* VIII, 48f. = *TDNT* VIII, 47f.

οὐχ ὄρω τί χρήσιμον. For this form of argumentation, cf. 2 Ti ii 14, and M. Dibelius & H. Conzelmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (HNT 13; Tübingen, 1966<sup>4</sup>), 82.

τοῖς ὀψὲ δὴ τοῦτοις ἀλεῖν λεγομένοις μύλοις τῶν θεῶν . . . Plutarch here refers to a well-known proverb (cf. the note in LCL text, p. 188); however, it is not attested in ECL.

## Ch. 4

(549E)

τῆς ἀπορίας. This term here refers specifically to a "theological" problem. Cf. Lk xxiv 4; Jn xiii 22; Ac x 17; xxv 20; Hs 8,3,1; UGosp 1. 63.

ἐπενεγκεῖν. Cf. the legal language used in Jd 9; also Ac xxv 18 (αἰτίαν ἔφερον).

κῦμα. Cf. another figurative use of this word in Jd 13.

(ἔστίας . . .) πατρῷας . . . πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβείας. Luke favors the typically Greek concept πατρῷος (Ac xxii 3; xxiv 14; xxviii 17). The concept of εὐλάβεια is one of the most important concepts in Greek religion, since it expresses one's basic attitude toward God. It enters ECL only in later writings. Cf. Hb v 7; xii 28; Pol vi 3; and R. Bultmann, *TWNT* II, 749ff. = *TDNT* II, 751ff.; D. Kaufmann-Bühler, "Eusebeia," *RAC* 6, 1014f.

τὸ μὲν ὡς εἰδότες τι περὶ τούτων. Plutarch here accepts the philosophical argument that it is presumptuous of man to claim to have "knowledge" about τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια (on this subject, cf. W. Fahr, ΘΕΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ. *Zum Problem der Anfänge des Atheismus bei den Griechen* [Spudasmata 26; Hildesheim 1969]). ECL would agree, since it assumes that any knowledge of God must be revealed. Cf. 1 Cor i 20ff.; ii 10ff.; xiii 12; 2 Cor v 7; then esp. Dg xii 6; 1 Cor ii 2; viii 2.

(549F)

περὶ μουσικῶν ἀμούσους καὶ πολεμικῶν ἀστρατεύτους. Cf. Paul's consecutive use of musical and military analogies in 1 Cor xiv 7f. (cf. also 2 Ti ii 4).

ἀνθρώπους ὄντας. This same argument is employed by Paul in 1 Cor iii 4 (cf. H. D. Betz, *HTR* 63, 1970, 476 note 60) and by Luke (Ac xiv 15). Cf. also Ro ii 1, 3; ix 20.

ιατροῦ. The work of a physician is used here as an analogy to the work of God. Cf. the attribute of Christ in IEph vii 2; Dg ix 6.

συμβαλεῖν λογισμόν. For this expression, cf. Lk ii 19 and Bauer, s.v. συμβάλλω 1.a.β.

θνητόν. Cf. above, ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, for the same argument as is used here. Cf. also Paul's use of this concept in Ro vi 12; viii 11; 1 Cor xv 53f.; 2 Cor iv 11; v 4.

τὸν καιρὸν εἰδὼς ἄριστα. The statement that God best knows the καιρός has parallels in Mk xiii 32f., 35f.//Mt xxiv 36, 39, 42-44, 50//Lk xii 39f., 46; Ac i 6f.; xvii 26, 31; 1 Th v 1-3; etc. Cf. G. Dellling, *TWNT* III, 457, 461ff. = *TDNT* III, 455f., 459ff.

(550A)

ἡ περὶ ψυχὴν ἰατρεία. This important concept is not found in ECL. Plutarch calls it πασῶν τεχνῶν μεγίστη. Cf., by contrast, 1 Cor xiii 13.

ἀριστοτέχναν. This epithet of God does not occur in ECL. Cf., however, τεχνίτης in Hb xi 10; Dg vii 2.

τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κύριον πάντων θεόν. There is no parallel to this particular (liturgical?) formula in ECL; but the type of formula does have parallels, as do the individual epithets. Cf., e.g., 1 Cor viii 6; Ac xvii 24; Rv iv 8; xv 3; xvi 7; xix 6; xxi 22; 1 Cl xxxiii 2; lix 3. Cf. H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 170ff.

δίκης . . . δημιουργόν. This epithet of God has parallels in some later writings of ECL (Hebrews, 1 Clement, Epistle to Diognetus). But God does not create δίκη, as in Plutarch; rather, he is δίκαιος and the source of δικαιοσύνη. Cf. Bauer, s.v. δημιουργός; δίκαιος 2; δικαιοσύνη 3.

ἢ προσήκει τὸ πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ μέχρι πόσου κολαστέον ἕκαστον τῶν

πονηρῶν ὀρίζειν. This statement defines the divine justice. Cf. Ac xvii 31 (26); 1 Cor xv 25; Rv x 7; xvii 17; xx 3. Cf. also K. L. Schmidt, *TWNT* V, 453ff. = *TDNT* V, 452ff.

(550C)

τί δὴ θαυμαστόν . . . κολάζουσιν; This is a good example of the conclusion *a minori ad maius*. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* μάλλον 2.b; also 2 Cor xi 14.

## Ch. 5

πρόφασις. Cf. 1 Th ii 5. See also L. Pearson, "Prophasis and Aitia," *TAPA* 83, 1952, 205-223.

εἰς λιμένα. This term occurs in a figurative sense also in I Sm xi 3; I Pol ii 3.

ἐξαναφέρῃ. Nautical language is also used metaphorically in Eph iv 14; Jd 12.

τῷ πιθανῷ. This important rhetorical concept is absent from ECL; but the idea of "plausible speech" is rejected in 1 Cor ii 4; Col ii 4 (πιθανολογία).

(550D)

The section 550D-E contains a summary of Plato's theology, as Plutarch understands this. Cf. C. H. Roberts, "The Codex," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40, 1954, 169-204.

σκοπεῖτε (also in 551E, 560C). This rhetorical imperative is found also in Lk xi 35; Gal vi 1. Cf. Ro xvi 17; and E. Fuchs, *TWNT* VII, 416ff. = *TDNT* VII, 414ff.

ἐν μέσῳ. This phrase seems to express Plutarch's conception of divine revelation. Cf. the different use of ἐν μέσῳ in connection with revelation in Lk xxii 27; Jn i 26; Ac ii 22; Phil ii 15; 1 Th ii 7.

παράδειγμα. This important platonic concept does not occur in ECL, although the LXX has it (cf. Ex xxv 9; 1 Ch xxviii 11-20).

τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀρετὴν. The concept of ἀρετή in a Christian sense was used as early as Paul. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

ἐξομοίωσιν. This important platonic concept does not occur in ECL. Cf., however, the use of εἰκῶν in Ro viii 29; 1 Cor xi 7; xv 49; 2 Cor iii 18; iv 4; Col i 15; iii 10; and the use of ὁμοιοῦν, etc., in Ac xiv 11; Ro i 23; Phil ii 7; Js iii 9. See Betz, *Nachfolge und*

*Nachahmung*, 107ff.; D. Roloff, *Gottähnlichkeit, Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu seligem Leben: Untersuchungen zur Herkunft der platonischen Angleichung an Gott* (Berlin, 1970); Des Places, *La religion grecque*, 361.

ἐνδίδωσιν. It should be noted that the possibility of imitating God is a divine "gift." Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* δίδωμι 1.b.β.

ἔπεσθαι θεῷ. This maxim (cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 247A; *Leges* V, 727A; VIII, 848D) was not taken over by ECL; instead we find the concepts of ἀκολουθεῖν and μιμεῖσθαι in connection with both God and Christ. See G. Kittel, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) I, 210ff.; Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung, passim*; LCL text, 194.

τοῖς . . . δυναμένοις. This seems to be a qualification reflecting the platonic κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. Cf. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung*, 114. In ECL man must be enabled before he can follow God; cf. Mk x 26f. // Mt xix 25f. // Lk xviii 26f.; Mk ix 22-24 (contrast Mt xvii 19f.); Jn vi 44; xv 5; 1 Cor iii 1f.; 2 Cor xii 10. The phrase οἱ δυνατοί in Ro xv 1; 2 Cor xiii 9 (cf. 1 Cor iv 10) also expresses the self-understanding implied by Plutarch.

ἄτακτος. This adjective describes the state of ἡ πάντων φύσις in distinction to ὁ κόσμος. In early Christian apocalyptic thought ὁ κόσμος can be juxtaposed to the primordial chaos, but the idea of κόσμος itself has become something negative. Cf. esp. 2 Pt iii 5f. and H. Sasse, *TWNT* III, 867ff. = *TDNT* III, 868ff.; W. Kranz, "Kosmos," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 2, 1958.

τὴν ἀρχήν. For this creation terminology, cf. Jn i 1f. and Bauer, *s.v.*, 1-2.

ὁμοιότητι καὶ μεθέξει. Neither of these platonic notions occurs in ECL. Cf., however, μετέχειν (IEph iv 2; 1 Cor x 21 [with v. 20]); μετοχή (2 Cor vi 14); μέτοχος (Hb iii 1, 14; vi 4; xii 8; i 9; 1 Cl xxxiv 7; IEph xi 1); ὁμοιότης (IEph i 3; Hb iv 15; vii 15).

τὴν ὄψιν. The faculty of sight plays a great role in platonic philosophy. In ECL, passages such as Mt vi 22f. // Lk xi 34-36; Ro i 20; 1 Cl lx 1 may be compared. See W. Michaelis, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 319ff.

ἀνάψαι. This platonic verb (*Timaeus* 39B) describes the creation of vision. Cf. *LCL* VII 195 note f, and the figurative use of it in Lk xii 49, and the symbolism of tongues of fire in Ac ii 3f.

ὑπὸ θέας. Cf. Ro i 20, νοούμενα καθορᾶται.

τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ φερομένων, Cf. Ro i 20.

θαύματος ἀσπάξασθαι. Man's reaction to the vision of celestial

phenomena is amazement and the beginning of philosophical thinking. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385C. It is important to note that according to Ro i 20 the vision of creation does *not* lead to an adequate understanding and attitude in relation to God.

ἀγαπᾶν . . . τὸ εὐσχημον. The verb ἀγαπᾶν is used here almost soteriologically, as also happens in ECL. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 2.

ἐθιζομένη. This platonic verb is important for Plutarch's concept of religion; cf. *De Iside et Osiride* 352A. See Lk ii 27, κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον τοῦ νόμου, and the use of ἔθος in Luke (i 9; ii 42; Ac vi 14; xv 1; xvi 21; xxi 21; xxvi 3; xxviii 17).

τὸ εὐσχημον . . . καὶ τεταγμένον. Cf. εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν in 1 Cor xiv 40. Paul employs the first concept in Ro xiii 13; 1 Cor vii 35; xii 23f.; 1 Th iv 12; cf. Ac xiii 50. See H. Greeven, *TWNT* II, 768ff. = *TDNT* II, 770ff.

ἡ ψυχὴ. The whole doctrine of the soul developed here by Plutarch has no parallel in ECL. However, some passages may be comparable; cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 1.c.

## (550E)

τοῖς ἀναρμόστοις καὶ πλανητοῖς πάθεσι. Although this combination of terms is not in ECL, Plutarch and ECL share the view of the πάθη expressed by them. Cf. esp. 2 Pt ii 18f.; 1 Cor vi 9f.; and H. Braun, *TWNT* VI, 233f., 244f. = *TDNT* VI, 231f., 243ff. φεύγειν. "Flight" from evil was a well-known platonic concept (cf. *Theaetetus* 176A-B). In ECL cf. 1 Cor vi 18; x 14; 1 Ti vi 11; 2 Ti ii 22; 2 Pt i 4; ii 18, 20; Hv 4,3,4.

τὸ εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ὡς κακίας καὶ πλημμελείας ἀπάσης γένεσιν. This explanation of the origin of evil would not be acceptable to primitive Christian theology. For definitions of the causes of evil, cf., e.g., Ro v 12; 1 Ti vi 10; Js i 13ff.; Pol iv 1.

πλημμελείας. Cf. 1 Cl xli 2; lx 1.

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ τι μεῖζον . . . ἢ . . . This summarizing statement defines man's role by using a characteristic formula. Cf. similar statements in Mk xii 31; Jn xv 13; Ac iv 12; 1 Cor xiii 13; xiv 5; 1 Jn iii 20; iv 4; v 9; etc.

μιμήσει. The platonic concept of the imitation of God has parallels in ECL; cf. Eph iv 32-v 1; 3 Jn 11. ECL also has the concept of the imitation of Christ; cf. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung, passim*.

διώξει. This platonic concept also has parallels in ECL. Cf. 1 Ti vi 11;

2 Ti ii 22 (with φεύγειν); Ro ix 30; xii 13; 1 Cor xiv 1; 1 Th v 15; etc.

καθίστασθαι (εἰς). This phrase seems to have a soteriological meaning here; cf. Ro v 19; Js i 8; 2 Pt i 8.

τὴν δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν. Cf. Rv xxii 18.

ἀμαρτίαν δεδιώς ἢ μετάνοιαν. It would be absurd to think that God could be afraid that he might sin. Cf. the similar arguments in Ro iii 4f.; ix 14; Tit i 2; Js i 13. In contrast to LXX, μετανοεῖν is not used of God in ECL.

τὸ . . . θηριῶδες. Without salvation, man is a beast. This view is not shared by ECL. However, cf. Tit i 12; Js iii 7; 2 Pt ii 12; Jd 10; ISm iv 1.

ἀφαιρῶν. This verb is used in ECL also to describe the removal of sin from man; cf. Ro xi 27; Hb x 4; 1 Cl viii 4; Hs 9,28,3; Eph iv 31.

## (550F)

διδάσκων. One of the basic doctrines of Plutarch's religion is that God teaches man by his own example. The same view is held in ECL, although to a lesser extent, because its place has been taken by various christological concepts. For God as an example, cf. Mt v-vii; Eph iv 21 (also iv 32); v 1f.; Js v 11; IPol vi 2. μὴ σὺν ὀργῇ. For the Greek philosophers it was improper to associate ὀργή with the deity; hence, wrath was improper for man also. Cf. H. Kleinknecht, *TWNT* V, 384-392 (esp. 387 on Plutarch) = *TDNT* V, 385-392 (esp. p. 387); H. G. Ingenkamp, *Plutarchs Schriften über die Heilung der Seele, passim*. In ECL there is some room both for God's wrath and for man's. Among the Greeks, however, such beliefs would be included in their philosophical criticism of religion. Cf. G. Stählin, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 419ff. For a negative attitude toward anger, cf. Mt v 22; also Bauer, *s.v.* ὀργή 1.

μηδ' ὅτε μάλιστα φλέγεται . . . Cf. GP xii 50 (ἐφλέγοντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς); Js iii 6.

καθάπερ δίψαν ἢ πείναν. Cf. the figurative use of hunger and thirst for something good in Mt v 6; Jn vi 35. See Bauer, *s.v.* πεινάω 2; L. Goppelt, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) VI, 12ff.

μιμουμένους. On the imitation of God, cf. above, 550E.

τὴν ἐκείνου πραότητα. The delay of divine punishment is a result of God's πραότης; cf. IPol vi 2; Js v 10f. This term occurs as a

divine attribute in ECL also: Mt xi 29; 2 Cor x 1; and it is used in Christian ethics: Mt v 5; 1 Cor iv 21; Gal v 23; vi 1; Eph iv 2; Col iii 12; etc. See F. Hauck and S. Schulz, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) VI, 645ff.

ἐν τάξει. Cf. 548C, κατὰ τάξιν.

δι' ἀκρασίαν. This ethical concept is found also in Mt xxiii 25; 1 Cor vii 5; Hs 9,15,3 (personified). Cf. 2 Ti iii 3, where it is part of a list of vices.

ὡς Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν. Plutarch strengthens his own argument by adding an authoritative saying of Socrates. Its source and precise form are unknown. Cf. Paul's use of (otherwise unattested) sayings of Jesus in 1 Cor (cf. James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* [Philadelphia, 1971] 41, 227 note 47).

## (551A)

ὀργῆς. Cf. 550F.

μανίας. The term here designates a negative type of conduct. Cf.

Ac xxvi 24f., and Bauer, *s.v.* μανία, μαίνομαι.

καθαρόν. This term, originally cultic in meaning, is here used psychologically. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 3.

ἀπωτάτω κείμενον. The recommendation to allow time to pass between an injury and the taking of revenge is found also in Js i 19f.

τὸ προσῆκον. For this ethical concept cf. MPol x 2.

μέτρια. This ethical concept occurs very infrequently in ECL; cf. 1 Cl i 3.

τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμόν. Cf. Ro ii 8; Eph iv 31.

ἡμεροῦνται. In the sense of "taming" a man's evil desires, this verb occurs only in Hm 12,1,2; cf. IEph x 2; Js iii 8.

τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους παραδείγμασιν. In the following, Plutarch uses illustrations to show how "great men" implemented what they thought and taught philosophically. ECL has also appropriated this method. 1 Clement uses it systematically (cf. v 1; vi 1; xlvi 1; etc.). Cf. also Hb iv 11; xi 1ff., and the term ὑπόδειγμα in Jn xiii 15; Js v 10f.; Bauer, *s.v.*

## (551B)

τὸν θυμόν κολάζων. Cf. D iv 10. Plato "punishes" the anger within himself (see LCL text, 198f. note a). Cf. also 1 Cor ix 26f.

πλημμέλειαν. Cf. 550E.

ἀταξίαν. Cf. 1 Th v 14; 2 Th iii 6f., 11. See 549D.

εὐτυχεῖτε . . . ὅτι ὀργίζομαι ὑμῖν. Form-critically, one should compare this paradoxical "gnome" to Paul's "gnome" in 2 Cor xii 10.

εἴπερ . . . πολὺ μᾶλλον. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* μᾶλλον 2.b, where instances of this typical *argumentum a minori ad maius* are collected.

ἀνδρῶν λόγοι μνημονευόμενοι. Plutarch implies that the value of the words of famous men is that they are remembered. This theory is of influence for the tradition of the words of Jesus and the apostles. See J. M. Robinson in Robinson and Koester, *Trajectories*, 71ff.

καὶ πράξεις λεγόμεναι. Along with their "words," the deeds of famous men are to be narrated. The purpose of such narration is education. This same theory provides the motivation behind the composition of the "praxeis"-literature, of which Acts especially is an example (cf. H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 6ff.).

ἀπαρτύτουσι. The effect of these words and deeds is "therapeutic." Cf. Hadot, *Seneca*, 8ff. In ECL, this theory as such was not influential, but many of the traditions incorporated into ECL were in fact means for the ethical education of Christians.

τὸν θεὸν ὀρῶντας. Plutarch refers to the revelation of God in history. Cf. Ro i 20. On the Greek conception of "seeing God," cf. W. Michaelis, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 320ff.

ᾧ δέος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μετάνοια πράγματος οὐδενός. Cf. 550E and the discussion by J. Behm, *TWNT* IV, 985, lines 39ff. = *TDNT* IV, 989.

## (551C)

In the following section, Plutarch provides another philosophical interpretation of the doctrine of the imitation of God. Cf. 550E. εὐλαβεῖς. This term occurs infrequently in ECL; cf. Lk ii 25; Ac ii 5; xxii 12; MPol ii 1. See above, 549E.

τὴν πραότητα. Here πραότης is defined as being part of the divine ἀρετή. Cf. above, 550F.

ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείκνυται. This terminology, which signifies divine revelation, is found esp. in Ro ix 22; Eph ii 7; 1 Ti i 16; Phil i 28.

ἐπανορθοῦσαν. Cf. above, 549C.

νουθετοῦσαν. Cf. νουθεσία κυρίου in Eph vi 4, and, on this entire subject, J. Behm, *TWNT* IV, 1013ff. = *TDNT* IV, 1019ff.

## Ch. 6

αἱ . . . δικαιοῦσαι αἱ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, μόνον ἔχουσαι τὸ ἀντιλυποῦν.

Plutarch remarks critically that the human system of punishment can only requite pain with pain, and ignores the fact that the soul of the sinner needs to be healed. Similarly, Jesus criticizes the principle of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" (Mt v 38ff.). His point is that one cannot combat evil by applying this principle, and therefore he recommends μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ.

τὸν δεδρακότα. This word is used for a "sinner" in 1 Cl xlv 7 also.

## (551D)

ψυχῆς νοσοῦσης. This concept, important in Greek religious thought, is absent from ECL. Cf. Hadot, *Seneca*, 143ff. However, νόσος and νοσεῖν can be used in a figurative sense; cf. 1 Ti vi 4; Hs 6,5,5. See A. Oepke, *TWNT* IV, 1084ff. = *TDNT* IV, 1091ff. τὰ . . . πάθη. Cf. above, 548D.

διορᾶν. The idea that only God can see into the human soul has analogies in ECL. Cf. Mt vi 4, 6, 18; ix 4//Mk ii 8//Lk v 22; Ac xv 8; Ro viii 27; 1 Cor iv 4f.; Hb iv 12; Rv ii 23; 2 Cl ix 9; I M g iii 2. See also 2 Cor xi 11; Mt xii 25; Mk xii 15; Lk vi 8; xi 17; Jn vi 61; 2 Pt ii 9; etc.; and J. Behm, *TWNT* III, 616 = *TDNT* III, 613.

καμπτόμενα. Cf. 1 Cl lvii 1 (κάμψαντες τὰ γόνατα τῆς καρδίας).

πρὸς μετάνοιαν. Here the term refers to man's repentance from sin, which is seen as the purpose of the delay of the divine punishment (cf. 550E). There are similar views in ECL, esp. 2 Pt iii 9, 15; also Ro ii 4; iii 25f.; ix 22; 1 Ti i 16; 1 Pt iii 20; Rv ii 21; Ac xvii 30f.; 1 Cl viii 2f.; 2 Cl ix 7f.; cf. also Gal vi 10; I Sm ix 1. εἰδὼς ὅσον μοῖραν ἀρετῆς. Plutarch here states more clearly what God's knowledge of the human soul means—God knows the share of ἀρετή with which each soul is endowed. In ECL this specific theory is not found, but there is a predestination and foreknowledge, e.g., Ro ix 22f.; Gal iv 9. Cf. above, διορᾶν.

παρὰ φύσιν. Cf. Ro i 26.

ὑπὸ τροφῆς καὶ ὁμιλίας φαύλης φθειρόμενον. Plutarch apparently alludes to the saying (from Menander?) which Paul quotes in 1 Cor xv 33. Cf. H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 331.

τροφῆς. For figurative uses of this term cf. Hb v 12, 14; I Tr vi 1.

φθειρόμενον. This verb describes man's "eschatological" corruption.

Cf. 1 Cor iii 17; xv 33; Eph iv 22; 2 Pt i 4; ii 12; Jd 10.

θεραπευθέν. The important concept of the "therapy of the soul" does not occur in ECL. But cf. Rv xxii 2; 2 Cl ix 7 in the context of punishment. Cf. also H. W. Beyer, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) III, 128ff.; Hadot, *Seneca*, 7ff.; H. G. Ingenkamp, *Plutarchs Schriften über die Heilung der Seele*, *passim*.

## (551E)

προσήκουσαν. Cf. above, 550A.

αὐτῷ . . . βλαβερώτατον. The idea that sin is most harmful to those who are infected by it is shared by ECL; cf. esp. Ro i 24-27; 1 Cor vi 18. Contrast 2 Cl x 5. Cf. also H. G. Ingenkamp, *Plutarchs Schriften über die Heilung der Seele*, 74ff.

ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ καλοῦ. This phrase describes in a typically Greek fashion the cause of sin. In ECL, Luke especially regards ἀγνοια as a cause of pre-Christian sinfulness (Ac iii 17; xvii 23, 30; cf. H. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das NT*, 81; also Ro ii 4; x 3; 1 Ti i 13; 1 Pt i 14; Eph iv 18; Hb v 2).

δίδωσι μεταβάλλεσθαι χρόνον. For this concept, cf. Rv ii 21; also 2 Cl viii 2; ix 7; I Sm ix 1. Μεταβάλλειν here designates conversion (cf. H. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das NT*, 81) as in I M g x 2; the only other use of the term in ECL is Ac xxviii 6.

ἐπιμένωσι. This verb in the sense of "persevere in sin" is found esp. in Hs 8,8,5; also Ro vi 1; xi 23; Hs 8,9,4; 9,20,4; 9,26,2; Hm 4,1,5.

οὐ γὰρ που δέδιεν μὴ διαφύγωσιν. The view that it is not possible to escape God's punishment is shared by ECL; cf. Ro ii 3; 1 Th v 3; Hb ii 3; xii 25; Lk iii 7//Mt iii 7; Mt xxiii 33; 2 Cor v 10; etc.

ἦθος. For the idea of the change of ἦθος, cf. 1 Cor xv 33.

τὸ ἔθος. Cf. above, 550D, ἐπιζομένη. Here Plutarch explains why a man is able to change his life: etymologically, the τρόπος of a man's life designates its changeable nature; moreover, a man's ἦθος is changeable because of the powerful hold of his life-style (ἔθος). Since a man's life-style is changeable, both his character and self are changeable also. Without sharing Plutarch's etymological speculations, ECL expresses the same view. For example, the function of ἔθος is a decisive problem in the discussion of ἰουδαΐζειν and conversion (Gal i 13f.; ii 14).

κρατεῖ μάλιστα καθαπτόμενον. Human life-styles deeply influence man's character only to the extent that man firmly holds to

them. Cf. Mk vii 3f., 8; 2 Th ii 15; and paraenesis in general.

## (551F)

In the following section, Plutarch presents as illustrations conversions which show that people have changed to a better life because of God's delay of punishments. Although the motif of delay is not expressly articulated in accounts of Paul's conversion, it is nevertheless present in 1 Ti i 12-16 (μακροθυμία). Cf. W. Trillitzsch, *Senecas Beweisführung* (Berlin, 1962) 32ff.

ἐκ χρηστοῦ . . . ἄγριον καὶ δρακοντώδη γενόμενον. This description of the change of Cecrops employs common ethical language. Χρηστός occurs in early Christian paraenesis (Eph iv 32; 1 Cl xiv 4; cf. 1 Cor xv 33); ἄγριος in Hm 12,1,2; 12,4,6; IEph x 2. Rv xii 3ff. describes the devil as a δράκων.

σκολιόν. This ethical term is found in Ac ii 40; Phil ii 15; 1 Pt ii 18; 1 Cl xxxix 4; B xx 1; cf. Hv 3,9,1.

πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως. These two terms are conventional virtues of rulers. Cf. D xv 1, where being πρᾶς is required of church leaders (cf. 550F); for φιλανθρώπως, etc., cf. Ac xxvii 3; xxviii 2; Tit iii 4; Dg ix 2.

## (552A)

μέτριοι. This concept from hellenistic ethics enters Christian ethics in Hb v 2; ITr iv 1; 1 Cl i 3.

σώφρονας. This important ethical concept enters Christian ethics in Paul and the Pastoral Epistles. See U. Luck, *TWNT VII*, 1094ff. = *TDNT VII*, 1097ff.; H. North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Cornell, 1966).

πολύγελων (cf. *apf. crit.*). This term designates the attitude of irresponsible people. Cf. Lk vi 21, 25.

τὰ τέκνα . . . καταθύοντες. Sacrifice of children is not mentioned in ECL; possible exceptions are the references to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (Gen xxii) in Hb xi 17f.; Js ii 21; 1 Cl xxxi 3; B vii 3.

## (552B)

συνόντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ. Cf. Herod's incest mentioned in Mk vi 17f., and V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London, 1955) *ad loc.*

ἀσελγαίνων ἐκώμαζε. Cf. Ro xiii 13; 1 Pt iv 3; also 2 Cor xii 21; Gal v 21.

## (552C)

ἐν σάλῳ διαφέρονται. For the comparison of human temperament to a ship battling a storm, cf. Js i 6; Eph iv 14; and the strange expression in 2 Th ii 2. The nautical expression διαφέρειν occurs in Ac xxvii 27.

ὁ γεωργίας ἄπειρος . . . In the following, agricultural productivity is used as a metaphor for human character. Cf. Mk iv 13-20//Mt xiii 18-23//Lk viii 11-15; Mt vii 15-20; Js i 10f.; Hs 8.

## (552D)

ὁ . . . βελτίων κριτής. For κριτής as a title for a divinity, cf. 2 Ti iv 8; Hb xii 23; Js iv 12; v 9; etc. See Bauer, s.v., i.a.β.

## Ch. 7

## (552E)

πρᾶξιν ἢ βουλήν. Cf. Lk xxiii 51, where both terms occur together. κακόν τι . . . λανθάνον. Cf. 1 Cl xxi 3; xxvii 6; IEph xv 3; Pol iv 3; also the similar uses of κρύφιος and κρυπτός in ECL.

## (552F)

ἐξώλοντο . . . κακοὶ κακῶς. Cf. Mt xxi 41.

οἷον δημοκοίνοις. The idea that God uses one evildoer to punish another does not occur in ECL. But cf. perhaps Rv xvi 12-14.

## (553A)

θηρίων . . . μιαρῶν. For the conception of unclean animals, cf. Ac x 14; xi 8; Rv xviii 2; Mk v 11ff.//Mt viii 30ff.//Lk viii 32ff. Μιαρός is a cultic term occurring in ECL, where, however, it can also pass over into an ethical sense; cf. 1 Cl i 1; xxviii 1; xxx 1; xlv 4.

πικρίαν. This attitude is considered to be sinful in ECL also; cf. Ac viii 23; D iv 10; Eph iv 31.

ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ καθᾶραι. Cf. the use of this medical vocabulary in Lk ix 40 D; Ac v 15 D; xix 12; Hs 9,18,3; Dg ii 1.

διέσπασαν. Cf. Ac xxiii 10.

## (553B)

ιατρείας. Cf. above, 549F.

## (553C)

ἐξέβαλε. The action of throwing a corpse out of the city and tramp-

ling upon it is not reported in ECL. However, cf. Lk iv 29; Ac vii 58; also Mt v 13.

γεωργός . . . συναγαγεῖν. Cf. another comparison of divine forbearance with the toleration (for a while) of an undesirable plant in Mt xiii 24-30. Cf. also above, 552C.

ρίζαν. For "root" symbolism in divine punishment cf. 1 Cl vi 4; C. Maurer, *TWNT* (=TDNT) VI, 985-991.

## Ch. 8

(553D)

ταχὺ καὶ παραχρῆμα. Cf. the instant punishments in Ac v 10; xii 23; xiii 11.

οἷόν ἐστι . . . This phrase introduces a series of "punishment miracles." The miraculous element in each case lies in the fact that the type of punishment inflicted corresponds to the type of crime committed. In general, correspondence of crime and punishment is not a point of concern in such miracles in ECL (except perhaps Ac i 18; cf. Mk xi 12ff.//Mt xxi 18ff.; Ac v 1ff.; xii 22f.; xix 13ff.).

(553E)

Ariston's punishment is for the same crime as that of Ac v 1ff.: embezzlement of gifts dedicated to the god.

(553F)

θαυμάσαντες. Amazement is a common reaction to miracles in ECL. Cf. R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, tr. John Marsh (New York, 1968<sup>2</sup>) 225f.

## Ch. 9

(554A)

ἡ . . . κακὴ . . . βουλή τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη. Plutarch quotes this saying from Hesiod (and another saying of similar content) in order to show that evil generates its own punishment. Cf. the descriptions of Judas' fate in Mt xxvii 5; Ac i 18f.; also Ac xix 13ff.; Ro i 26-32; Js i 15; 1 Jn iv 18; 1 Ti v 24; 1 Cl xxxix 7. ἡ δὲ πονηρία συγγενῶσα τὸ λυποῦν. For a very similar figure of speech, cf. Js i 15; also Hm 5,2,4.

(554B)

καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τῶν κολαζομένων ἕκαστος κακούργων ἐκφέρει τὸν

αὐτοῦ σταυρόν. For this practice, cf. Jn xix 17; Almqvist, *Plutarch und das NT*, 76. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, tr. G. R. Beasley-Murray (Oxford, 1971) 668 note 3, refers to this Plutarch passage.

ἡ δὲ κακία . . . It is remarkable that Plutarch here speaks about "evil" almost as a personified demonic power. This "evil" produces the means of punishment out of itself: a life of wretchedness, fears, passions and endless confusion for the wrongdoer. Cf. Paul's concept of ἁμαρτία (esp. Ro vii 17ff.; Gal v 17ff.). ἀλλ' οὐθὲν ἔνιοι διαφέρουσι παιδαρίων. Human foolishness is compared to childishness in ECL also. Cf. 1 Cor iii 1f.; xiii 11; Hb v 13. ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις. Use of the theater in an illustration or analogy was a common rhetorical device. Cf. 1 Cor iv 9.

ἐν χιτῶσι διαχρύσοις καὶ χλαμυδίαις ἀλουργοῖς ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ πυρριχίζοντας. In the theater, criminals were often dressed in royal apparel before they were put to death. Cf. the treatment of Jesus as reported in Mk xv 16-20//Mt xxvii 27-31//Jn xix 2f.

(554C)

καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ δυνάμεις. These terms, which here designate forms of political authority, occur together in descriptions of demonic powers in ECL; cf. Ro viii 38; 1 Cor xv 24; Eph i 21; vi 12. κατακρημνισθέντες. Throwing a man down from a cliff as capital punishment is mentioned in Lk iv 29.

συντέλειαν. This term in Plutarch designates the culmination of the progressive punishment of an evildoer. In ECL the concept is used in apocalyptic contexts to denote the culmination and end of "this world." Cf. Mt xiii 39f., 49; xxiv 3; xxviii 20; Hb ix 26; Hb 3,8,9; Hs 9, 12,3; G. Dellings, *TWNT* VIII, 65ff. = TDNT VIII, 64ff.

(554D)

ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε θεοῖς πᾶν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου διάστημα τὸ μηδὲν ἐστὶ. There is a similar argument in 2 Pt iii 8 (μία ἡμέρα παρὰ κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη, κτλ.). Cf. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das NT*, 137. Although 2 Pt iii 8 has expressed this idea through an allusion to Ps xc 4, it is interesting that in both texts it occurs in connection with "delays:" in 2 Pt, the delay of the "parousia," in Plutarch, that of the punishment of the evildoer. Cf. also ἄχρονος, IPol iii 2. φρουρούμενον ἐν τῷ βίῳ καθάπερ εἰρκτῆ μηδεμίαν μετανάστασιν ἐχούση

μηδὲ διάφευξιν. The idea that the sinful man's life is a prison, with no possibility of escape, comes close to gnostic pessimism. In ECL cf. Ro vii 23; Eph iv 8. Cf. also the language in Gal iii 23; Dg vi 4, 7. On life as a prison, cf. H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* (Göttingen, 1964<sup>3</sup>) I, index, s.v. *Gefangen*; also 551E. εὐωχίας δὲ πολλάς . . . . During this life (which is itself a prison) there is nevertheless time for all kinds of pleasure and business activity. These activities are comparable to prisoners who play games while the rope hangs over their heads. In ECL there is a parallel in the context of the delay of the "parousia," since the period preceding the final divine punishment is taken by fools as a time for pleasures of all kinds. Cf., e.g., Mt xxiv 49f.//Lk xii 45f.; Mt xxiv 37-39//Lk xvii 26-30; Lk xii 16-21; further, 1 Cor xv 32.

## Ch. 10

τί κωλύει . . . ; This question, which occurs in Ac viii 36, is common language.

## (554E)

τὸν ἔσχατον . . . καιρὸν. This expression in Plutarch designates the culminating moment in a process of progressive punishment; in ECL, the same phrase occurs in the context of eschatology, designating the end of the world. Cf. 1 Pt i 5; D xvi 2; IEph xi 1.

## (554F)

τὸ . . . συνειδὸς ἐγκείμενον. According to Plutarch, sinful man is torn between τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀδικίας and his conscience. Cf. esp. Ro ii 15; vii 5, 14-25; viii 18, 26; xiv 1, 13f.; 1 Cor viii 7; Bauer, s.v. συνειδησις.

ὥσπερ δέλεαρ. Cf. δελεάζω in Js i 14; 2 Pt ii 14, 18; also ἀγκιστρον used as a metaphor in IMg xi.

ἡ γὰρ ἰταμότης. The only occurrence of ἰταμός in ECL is Hm 11:12.

## (555A)

ἀσθενὲς καὶ ταπεινόν. For this combination, cf. above, 548E. τοῖς φόβοις καὶ ταῖς δεισιδαιμονίαις. The combination of these terms here shows a negative understanding of the latter. Cf. Ac xxv 19; Dg i; iv 1; Bauer, s.v. δεισιδαιμονία; Des Places, *La religion grecque*, 330ff.

ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων καὶ φάσματα μεθημερινὰ καὶ χρησμοὶ καὶ καταϊβασίαι.

These phenomena are viewed as interventions by divine powers in order to bring fear to sinners. In his treatise, Plutarch provides several examples from history of such fear-inducing interventions. The early Christians would have accepted Plutarch's view cautiously and with restriction; for them, each phenomenon would have to be explained in its own way.

ἐνυπνίων. ECL prefers ὄναρ. On ἐνύπνιον, cf. Betz and Smith, 393D. μεθημερινά. Cf. Christ's appearance to Paul as described in Ac xxii 6// xxvi 13. Also see Ac x 9ff.; Lk i 10ff.

χρησμοί. Technical terms for oracles are employed with caution by ECL. Cf. Betz and Smith, 384F.

## (555B)

κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὄραν. Cf. the Matthean phrase κατ' ὄναρ in Mt i 20; ii 12f., 19, 22; xxvii 19.

καρδίαν. Here the heart is regarded as the seat of evil. Cf. Ro i 24 and the passages collected by Bauer, s.v., 1.b.e.

φιάλης. The pouring of blood from a φιάλη has a parallel in Rv xvi (angels and their φιάλαι).

## (555C)

βαῖνε. For similar commands in a dream or vision cf., e.g., Mt xxviii 19; Mk xvi 15; Ac ix 11, 15; x 20; xvi 9; Rv xvii 1.

μάλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν ὕβρις. The second part of this oracle is a maxim from popular ethics. Cf. Pr xvi 18; xxix 23. Although the term ὕβρις is not used in 1 Cor x 12, this passage implicitly agrees with the statement in Plutarch.

ἱλασμοῖς. This cultic term occurs in 1 Jn ii 2; iv 10. Cf. Bauer, s.v. εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν. On this feature of a punishment miracle cf. above, 553D.

## Ch. 11

## (555D)

εἰ μὴθὲν ἔστι τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. Plutarch deals with the consequences of the view that nothing awaits the soul after death. Cf. Paul's reaction to a Christian version of this view in 1 Cor xv 29-32 (also 12ff.).

χάριτος πέρας ἀπάσης καὶ τιμωρίας ὁ θάνατος. Paul has a different definition of death in Ro vi 23.

ἐξελεγχομένης . . . τῆς ἀδικίας. Plutarch uses legal language in an eschatological sense, a phenomenon found often in ECL. Cf. Betz and Smith, 385E.

πράγματος ἀκάρπου. The view of sin as "fruitless" is held by ECL also. Cf. Eph v 11; Tit iii 14; 2 Pt i 8; Jd 12; Mk iv 19//Mt xiii 22.

## (555E)

φεῦ τῆς ἐμῆς κακίας. Cf. Ro vii 24.

δι' ἡδονῆν. The use of the story of Lysimachus can be compared with the use of the story of Esau in Hb xii 16f; cf. also 2 Cl x 3f.; and Mk viii 36f.//Mt xvi 26//Lk ix 25.

ἢ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πλεονεξίας ἢ φθόνου πολιτικῆς δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ δι' ἡδονῆν τινα συνουσίας. This is a list of largely political vices. Cf. Ro i 29ff.; Mk vii 21f.; Gal v 19ff.; etc. The terms ἡδονή, πλεονεξία, and φθόνος (in a non-political sense) are part of early Christian ethical terminology and occur together in catalogues of vices. Cf. Mk vii 22; Ro i 29; Gal v 21; Tit iii 30; D v 1; B xx 1.

ἄνομον ἔργον. This expression occurs in ECL only in 2 Pt ii 8, also as a designation of "sin."

## (555F)

τὸ διψῶδες. On this figurative use of the term, cf. above, 550F. τὴν κακίαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διορῶντες. Cf. Ro vii 23; also Mt vii 3-5//Lk vi 41f.

## (556A)

τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπολεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι. Plutarch speaks of the sinner's soul arguing with itself about its sinful acts. Cf. Ro ii 15; Hm 9: 1f.

## (556B)

τὸ συνειδός. Cf. above, 554F.

οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ θαρραλέον οὐδὲ ἄτυφον οὐδὲ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον. Of these virtues, only the last occurs in ECL. Cf., e.g., 1 Cl i 2; ISm viii 2; Pol i 2.

φιλοπλουτία. Here Plutarch lists certain vices. The first, φιλοπλουτία, is not found in ECL. Cf. φιλαργυρία, 556D, below.

φιληδονία. Cf. φιλήδονος in 2 Ti iii 4.

φθόνος. Cf. above, 555E.

ἐνοικίζεται. For the "indwelling" of vices, cf. Ro vii 17.

μετὰ δυσμενείας ἢ κακοηθείας. The latter of these two vices is found in ECL. Cf. Ro i 29; 1 Cl xxxv 5; also D ii 6.

δεισιδαιμονίαν. This term is again used negatively along with other vices. Cf. 555A, above.

μαλακίαν πρὸς πόνον. Cf. μαλακός in the list of evildoers in 1 Cor vi 9; also μαλακία in Hv 3, 11, 2f.; 3, 12, 3.

δειλίαν πρὸς θάνατον. Cf. 2 Ti i 7; Hs 9, 21, 3; MPol iii 1; also δελιάω in Jn xiv 27; MPol iv.

μετάπτωσιν ὀξεῖαν ὁρῶν καὶ χαννότητα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας. Of these vices only the last is in ECL; cf. Betz and Smith, 385E.

## (556D)

τῆς φιλοδοξίας. This vice is not mentioned in ECL.

τὴν φιλαργυρίαν. Cf. 1 Ti vi 10; 2 Cl vi 4; Pol ii 2; iv 1, 3; vi 1; also 2 Cl iv 3.

ἐμίσουν ἑαυτούς. Hating oneself is seen as something positive in Lk xiv 26; Jn xii 25; cf. Eph v 29.

εἰ θέμις ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. Cf. θεμιτόν ἐστιν . . . in 1 Cl lxiii 1; Dg iv 2; vi 10; also see Ac x 28.

## (556E)

συντεταραγμένον. This verb describes here a life totally "confused" by vice. Cf. its usage in Lk ix 42 D.

## Ch. 12

σκοπεῖτε. Cf. above, 550D.

τὴν . . . ἀπορίαν. Cf. above, 549E.

διηγώνισται μετρίως. The verb διαγωνίζεσθαι is used metaphorically here to describe the activity of the philosopher as an "athletic contest." Cf. the use of ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀγών in ECL; also V. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon-Motif* (Leiden, 1967); and 561A, below. On μετρίως, cf. above, 552A.

παρρησιάζεται πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς. Cf. 1 Cl liii 5 (παρρησιάζεται θεράπων πρὸς κύριον).

τοὺς θεοὺς . . . τρέποντας. (Cf. also 557B.) The belief that the gods place the punishment for the sins of parents upon their children was widely held in antiquity. Cf. Jn ix 2f.; Mt xxiii 30-32, 35f.; and the discussion by Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 330f.; also R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895; repr. Hildesheim, 1963) vol. II, 211ff.

αἰτιᾶσθαι. Cf. Hs 6, 3, 5f.

(556F)

δεῖ. This verb is used here, as in ECL, to speak of divine justice. Cf. W. Grundmann, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) II, 21ff.

δίκαι. Plutarch agrees with the common view that a double punishment for the same crime is unlawful. Cf., however, 2 Cl x 5; Jd 12.

θύσσηται τῷ θεῷ. This story has a parallel in Ac v 1-11, since in both cases there is a crime of ἱεροσυλία which is punished by death, although in the case of Aesop this charge was false (cf. the note in LCL text, 233).

(557A)

ἱεροσυλίας. Cf. Ac xix 37; Ro ii 22, where this crime is mentioned. ὤσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας. For this type of punishment, cf. above, 554C. μὴνίσαν τὸ θεῖον. . . ἰδέαν πάσαν. Cf. 1 Cor xi 30, where diseases and even cases of death are regarded as consequences of ritual offenses. The verb μὴνιάω occurs only once in ECL, in Hs 9, 23, 3. ἀφορίαν. . . γῆς. For unproductive earth as a punishment for sin cf. Js v 17f.

ἐπαγαγεῖν. Cf. the use of this verb in Ac v 28; 2 Pt ii 1, 5. πανηγύρεσι. This technical term is used in Hb xii 22.

(557B)

τῶν κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν. Cf. Ac xix 12; Lk ix 40 D. τῶν ἱεροσύλων. Cf. above, 557A.

(557C)

ἰλάσωνται. This verb is also used technically in Lk xviii 13; Hb ii 17.

(557D)

στίζουσιν. Cf. Paul's allusion to tattooing in Gal vi 17 (on this, see also Betz, *Lukian*, 79f).

#### Ch. 13

(557F)

μύθοις. . . καὶ πλάσμασιν. This negative use of μῦθος is also found in ECL; cf. esp. 2 Cl xiii 3; also 1 Ti i 4; iv 7; 2 Ti iv 4; Tit i 14; 2 Pt i 16; and πλαστοὶ λόγοι in 2 Pt ii 3.

(558A)

κῆρυγμα. This term is used here in the technical sense which it had in Greek religion (cf. also the verb κηρύττειν, 557A, F; 558A). In ECL the term has acquired a specifically Christian meaning. Cf. 1 Cor i 21; ii 4; xv 14; etc. See Bauer, *s.v.*, 2; G. Friedrich, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) III, 714ff.

(558B)

στεφανηφορίαν. The ritual of wearing a wreath is mentioned several times in ECL in the context of eschatology. Cf., e.g., 1 Cor ix 25; also W. Grundmann, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) VII, 615ff.

εὐεργετήσας. This verb describes the activities of a god or "divine man." In ECL the concept is used (with caution) to describe the activity of Jesus (cf. Ac x 38) and of other persons (cf. Ac iv 9; Lk xxii 25; and Bauer, *s.v.* εὐεργεσία, etc.).

ἀμοιβῆς. This typically Greek term occurs only twice in ECL. Cf. 1 Ti v 4; ISm ix 2; Bauer, *s.v.*

ἀγῶνος. This term here seems to refer figuratively to some kind of debate (cf. διαγωνίζεσθαι in 549E, 556E). It is used figuratively in ECL also, but there it refers to the struggles of faith and life. Plutarch here combines ἀγών with καλός, for which cf. esp. 1 Ti vi 12; 2 Ti iv 7; also Phil i 30; 1 Th ii 2; Hb xii 1.

(558C)

δεῖ (twice). Cf. above, 556F; also 558B.

#### Ch. 14

(558D)

ὡσπερ ἀντιφράγματα. This military term is attested only here in the in the Greek language (cf. LSJ, *s.v.*). Cf. the similar figurative use of φραγμός in Eph ii 14, where it means that Torah which separates Jews and Gentiles.

τούς ἄγαν πικρούς. Here a reference is made to those who are "bitter" against the god. Cf. above, 553A.

ἐν σκοτεινῷ. Plutarch betrays a certain skepticism about ὁ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος. He compares dealing with this to walking in darkness, with all the dangers, winding paths, wrong turns, etc., attending such activity. This subject does not allow human beings to say anything about it which can be regarded as τὸ σαφές or ἡ ἀλήθεια. What man can do, however, is to approach the problem μετ'

εὐλαβείας and to "guide" himself toward τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ πιθανόν. This kind of philosophical caution is entirely different from early Christian theology, with its doctrine of revelation. Cf., however, 1 Cor xiii 9-12; 2 Cor v 7. On πιθανός cf. above, 550C; also 549E. καθοδηγῶμεν αὐτούς. Cf. the figurative use of ὁδηγός in Ro ii 19, etc. See W. Michaelis, *TWNT* V, 101ff. = *TDNT* V, 97ff. μετ' εὐλαβείας. Cf. above, 549E.

(558E)

δι' ἣν αἰτίαν. For this idiom in ECL, cf. 2 Ti i 6, 12; Tit i 13; Hb ii 11; Bauer, *s.v.* αἰτία 1.

## Ch. 15

(558F)

τά γε δημόσια τῶν πόλεων μηνίματα. Plutarch tries to justify the divine punishment of entire cities—a problem difficult to understand in antiquity. Such punishments are mentioned in 2 Pt ii 6; Jd 7; Mt xxiii 38//Lk xiii 35; Lk xxi 20-24; Rv xvii-xviii; 1 Cl vi 4. Cf. Jesus' reaction in Lk ix 54f. and xiii 4. See also the note in LCL text, 245.

(559A)

ἐν γὰρ τι πρᾶγμα καὶ συνεχὲς ἡ πόλις ὡσπερ ζῶον. In this section, Plutarch describes the city as a living organism. On this idea see J. Horst, *TWNT* IV, 560f., 567 = *TDNT* IV, 555ff., 562; E. Schweizer, *TWNT* VII, 1031ff. = *TDNT* VII, 1032ff.; F. Fuhrmann, *Les images de Plutarque* (Paris, 1964) 253. Although a number of ideas are shared by Plutarch and Paul, Paul's conception of the Christian Church as the σῶμα Χριστοῦ cannot simply be derived from such an understanding of the πόλις. Cf. Ro xii 4f.; 1 Cor x 17; xii 12ff.; also Gal iii 28; and Eph ii 16; iv 4. Plutarch states that, in spite of all historical changes, the city retains its identity and must, therefore, be held responsible not only for its present but also for its past activities. Cf. Jerusalem in Mt xxiii 37-39 //Lk xiii 34f.

συμπαθὲς αἰεί. With this, as well as what follows, Plutarch offers several characteristics of the πόλις. In ECL, the Church is characterized as "sympathetic" in 1 Cor xii 26; 1 Pt iii 8.

πράττει κατὰ τὸ κοινόν. Without using this terminology, Paul argues a similar point in 1 Cor xii 21, 25f.

συνδέουσα. Cf. σύνδεσμος in Col ii 19; iii 14; Eph iv 3.

ταῖς ἐπιπλοκαῖς. Although this term does not occur in ECL, other terminology expresses a similar idea; cf. Col ii 19; Eph iv 16.

κοινωνία. This concept is characteristic of the city for Plutarch, and in ECL it is one of the prominent concepts used to portray the life of the church. See F. Hauck, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) III, 791ff., 804ff.

τὴν ἐνότητα. This concept is important in the ecclesiology of Ephesians (cf. iv 3, 13) and Ignatius (esp. *IEph* iv 2; *IPhd* ii 2; iii 2). See Bauer, *s.v.* ἐνότης.

τὸν ἕνα. . . ἄνθρωπον. In the following (559B-C) Plutarch defends the thesis that an individual man retains his identity in spite of the fact that he changes greatly as he grows older. It should be noted that Plutarch takes quite a different position in *De E apud Delphos* 18, 392C-D. Cf. 1 Cor xiii 11; Eph iv 13; differently, Eph ii 15.

(559C)

πόλιν. The anthropological argument just presented leads Plutarch to the conclusion that the city also must be understood as having a continuous identity in spite of all its changes. Cf. Ro xii 4f.; 1 Cor xii 12ff., where Paul similarly illustrates the unity of the Body of Christ by comparing it to the unity of the human organism. However, Plutarch has in mind the various changes which a man undergoes during his lifetime, while Paul considers the different functions of the organs of the human body.

## Ch. 16

πόλις ἐν πρᾶγμα καὶ συνεχές. Cf. above, 559A.

(559D)

γένος. The foregoing argument for the unity of the city has been used to illustrate the unity of the family. Cf. F. Fuhrmann, *Les images de Plutarque*, 217ff. In ECL the concept of family is not used in connection with ecclesiology.

κοινωνίαν. Cf. above, 559A.

μέρος ἐν αὐτοῦ. In the context of the family, the offspring is here said to have been created "out of" its progenitor, not "by" him (ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ, οὐχ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ); therefore, this offspring carries a portion of its progenitor within itself. The argument for man's

kinship with God in Ac xvii 26-29 comes to another conclusion (ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ . . . ἐσμέν). σῶμα . . . ἐξοριζόμενον. Cf. above, 549A (ρίψεις).

(559F)

τὸ θεραπεύειν τὴν κακίαν. The healing of evil is here stated to be the only purpose of God's punishment. Cf. θεραπευθέν above, 551D. Also see Rv xxii 2.

τὴν ἰατροίαν. Cf. above, 549F.

(560A)

ἐνουθέτησεν. This verb is used here to describe the task of a school-teacher. Cf. above, 551C.

πάντας ἐνέτρησεν. Plutarch here uses the idea that the public punishment of an offender serves as a deterrent to sin for others. ECL does not discuss this proposition at the theoretical level, but stories about miraculous punishments, e.g., Ac v 1-11, are in fact meant to have a deterrent effect upon those who hear or read them. Also see Paul's argument in Ro xi 20f.

διαθέσεις. This philosophical term does not occur in ECL. Cf. below, 562D.

ἐπανορθώσεις. This philosophical term is found in 2 Ti iii 16. Plutarch describes in some detail how such psychological "improvements" take place. The soul is guided by its imaginations and is thereby encouraged toward virtue and deterred from sin. No psychological theories of this kind are found in ECL.

## Ch. 17

(560B)

τὴν ἐπιμονὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. The discussion has developed to the point where Olympichus introduces the μεγάλη ὑπόθεσις upon which the solution to the problem of the entire treatise will ultimately depend. This "great hypothesis" is that the soul survives after the death of the body. ECL sets forth no such doctrine, although some authors do presuppose it (cf. Bauer, s.v. ψυχή). In his argument in 1 Cor v 5, Paul must assume the survival of the πνεῦμα of the Corinthian transgressor in order to make sense of his excommunication—an argument which may be comparable to Plutarch's. The Christian doctrine of final judgment requires some form of survival of the soul or resurrection of the body after death. It

is Paul who states the "necessity" of the latter doctrine in 1 Cor xv 12ff. For Paul at least, the resurrection of the dead occupies that pivotal place which for Plutarch is taken by the immortality of the soul.

τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ νέμειν ἕκαστα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς. The statement that all human affairs are "overseen" by the deity is shared by early Christian theology (cf. esp. Mt vi 4, 6, 18; also 26, 30, 32// Lk xii 24, 28, 30); but, for the most part, this belief is simply assumed rather than stated explicitly as a doctrine.

τὰς ψυχὰς . . . ἀφθάρτους. Cf. 1 Cor xv 42, 50-54, where ἀφθαρσία is attributed to the resurrection body. See also Bauer, s.v. ἀφθαρσία. μικρὸς οὕτω καὶ κενόσπουδος ὁ θεός. . . ; The idea that God is "small" and deeply concerned about frivolities is of course absurd (cf. Mt xxiii 23; Ro ii 4; iii 26). Cf. similar rhetorical ploys in Gal vi 7; Ro ii 11 (with Ac x 34; Eph vi 9; Col iii 25).

μηδὲν ἡμῶν ἐχόντων θεῖον ἐν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ προσόμοιον. Cf. above, 550D (ἔψιν), 551D (μοῦραν).

(560C)

φύλλοις. The comparison of man's transitory life to the short-lived flourishing of leaves is found in ECL also. Cf. Js i 10f.; 1 Pt i 24; Mt vi 30.

ἀπομαραινόμενων. Cf. Js i 11.

ψυχὰς ἐν σαρκὶ τρυφερῶν. Souls embodied in frail flesh are here compared to the "gardens of Adonis" which were planted in earthenware pots. Cf. 2 Cor iv 7.

ὥσπερ ὀμίχλας ἢ καπνοῦς. For the comparison of human life to smoke cf. Js iv 14.

(560D)

ἰλασμοὺς . . . πολλοὺς. Plutarch argues that, if souls really perish at death, then ἰλασμοί for the dead are senseless. Cf. the similar argument in 1 Cor xv 29. See also above, 555C, 557C; below, 560E. προσφέρειν. This cultic term is used technically in ECL also. Cf. Mt ii 11 and Bauer, s.v., 2.

ἐξαπατῶν καὶ φενακίζων τοὺς πιστεύοντας. It is unthinkable that the god of Delphi would deceive those who believe in him (cf. the affirmation of God's honesty in Tit i 2; Ro ii 2; Js i 13). Since the god has prescribed certain rituals regarding the dead, the theological ideas presupposed by such rituals must be correct.

This mode of argumentation is not employed in ECL, except in 1 Cor xi 17-34.

τὸν τρίποδα τῆς Πυθίας. This section contains several technical terms relating to the Delphic oracle (τὸ χρηστήριον, προθεσπίζεσθαι, χρησθῆναι), none of which occur in ECL. Cf. Betz and Smith, 387C.

(560E)

ἐκβληθείς. Cf. Jesus' act of cleansing the temple in Mk xi 15//Mt xxi 12//Lk xix 45//Jn ii 15.

ἱερόν ἄνδρα τῶν Μουσῶν. A "title" given to the poet Amphilocheus by the Pythia. This expression for a divine man does not occur in ECL. Cf. Betz, *Lukian*, 102.

λιταῖς. . . καὶ προστροπαῖς μετὰ δικαιολογίας. None of these cultic terms occur in ECL. Cf., however, λιτανεύω in IRo iv 2.

ἰλάσασθαι. Cf. above, 555C, 557C; also 560F.

(560F)

οἱ ψυχαγωγοί. This type of cultic official is not named in ECL; however, the corresponding verb is in Hv 3, 6, 6.

τὸ εἶδωλον. This term denotes the soul of the dead Pausanias, which is here regarded as a demon, since it has not been ritually appeased. Such a belief has no analogy in ECL. Cf. Betz and Smith, 393E.

#### Ch. 18

(561A)

ἀγωνίζεται γὰρ ὡς περ ἀθλητῆς τὸν βίον. The life of the soul is compared to the struggling of an athlete. ECL figuratively uses athletic competition to describe the struggle of the Christian. Cf. 1 Cl v 1f.; IPol i 3; ii 3; 2 Ti ii 5; 2 Cl xx 22; Hb x 32; and above, 556E.

ὅταν δὲ διαγωνίσῃται, τότε τυγχάνει τῶν προσηκόντων. Like the athlete, the soul receives its reward only after it has fought the contest through to the end. Cf. Paul's use of this comparison in 1 Cor ix 24f.; further, 2 Ti iv 7f.; Mk xiii 13//Mt xxiv 13// Lk xxi 19; Rv ii 26.

(561B)

μῦθος. This term is here contrasted with the word λόγος, and refers to the last section of the tractate. Cf. above, 557F.

#### Ch. 19

(561C)

τὸν θεὸν κολάζοντα τοὺς παῖδας τῶν πονηρῶν. On this, cf. above, 556E. δείκνυνται πᾶσιν. The idea that the divine punishment of one person deters others from sin has been discussed above, 560A.

(561D)

ἀκρασία. This vice is also mentioned in Mt xxiii 25; 1 Cor vii 5; Hs 9, 15, 3; cf. 2 Ti iii 3.

μαλακία. Cf. above, 556B (μαλακῶς occurs also in 555D).

υἷόν. In the following section, the view that God punishes the children of evildoers is defended by a comparison with certain practices of "preventive medicine." No such comparisons are found in ECL.

(561F)

τὰς ἡδονάς. This common term from Greek ethics occurs rather infrequently in ECL. Cf. G. Stählin, *TWNT* II, 911ff. = *TDNT* II, 909ff. See also 555E.

τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀφαιρεῖ. Cf. above, 550E.

ὑπὸ δειλίας. Cf. 2 Ti i 7; Hs 9, 21, 3; MPol iii 1.

μαλακίας. Cf. above, 556B; 561D.

#### Ch. 20

(562B)

ἀνθρωπίνης ἔργον σοφίας (also the beginning of Ch. 20: ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου σοφώτερος;). Cf. 1 Cor ii 13 (with ii 4f.; i 25), where, as in Plutarch, human and divine wisdom are contrasted.

ἔργον. . . θεοῦ. For this expression, cf. Jn vi 28f.; ix 3; Ro xiv 20; and Bauer, s.v. ἔργον I.c.a.

τὸ διορᾶν. Cf. above, 551D.

ἢ δ' ἀνθρώπου φύσις. Plutarch here states an important difference between human nature and that of other animals. Animals are completely determined by their natures and reveal their ἦθος fully from the beginning, while man is able to adjust to various cultural ἔθη καὶ δόγματα καὶ νόμοι, and thereby to conceal his true character. In ECL there is no specific reference to this theory, but early Christian theology would not have rejected it.

κρύπτει τὰ φαῦλα. The view that it is characteristic of human nature to try to conceal its evil is shared by ECL. Cf. Ro ii 16; 1 Cor iv 5; xiv 25; 2 Cor iv 2; 1 Ti v 24f.; 1 Pt iii 4.

τὰ καλὰ μιμεῖται. Cf. 3 Jn 11.  
 ἐξαλεῖψαι. This verb is also used to describe the removal of sin in  
 Ac iii 19; 1 Cl xviii 2 (Ps i 2 LXX), 9 (Ps i 11 LXX); 2 Cl xiii 1.  
 διαφυγεῖν. On the concept of flight from evil cf. above, 550E.

(562C)

τὴν πανουργίαν. This vice is mentioned also in Lk xx 23; 1 Cor iii 19;  
 2 Cor iv 2; xi 3; xii 16; Eph iv 14.

τότε γίνεσθαι. . . ἀδίκους ὅτε ἀδικοῦσιν. Plutarch rejects the view  
 that people become unjust through the commission of a crime.  
 Rather, those who commit crimes have been infected by evil from  
 the beginning, and only bring this to realization when they find  
 an occasion. Plutarch's discussion can be compared with Paul's in  
 Ro v 12ff.; vii 8ff. For Paul, the act of sin is only the result of the  
 power of sin which exists prior to the act. In Plutarch's view, the  
 evil power in a man is part of his natural disposition as an individ-  
 ual, even if it is inherited from his forefathers. For Paul, ἀμαρτία is  
 a demonic force which historically has become part of all human  
 existence. The difference between good and evil people is a result,  
 not of natural disposition, but of God's eschatological judgment.

(562D)

ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς οὔτε ἀγνοεῖ δῆπου τὴν ἐκάστου διάθεσιν καὶ φύσιν. In  
 Plutarch's view, only God knows man's inner disposition and  
 nature, while man can see only the exterior of another man, where  
 he meets much deception. Early Christian theology would  
 certainly agree. Cf. Ro ii 16; 2 Cor v 10; Ac i 24; xv 8; 1 Jn iii 20.  
 ἐν χερσὶ. This unusual prepositional expression also occurs in 2 Cl  
 vii 1. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 2.c.

τὴν ἀναίδειαν. This vice is mentioned in Lk xi 8 also.

οὐ γὰρ ἀμύνεται. Plutarch rejects the view that the god could be  
 emotionally affected by human criminal acts and that he punishes  
 them because of his "passionate" reaction. God's punishment  
 occurs only *λατρείας ἕνεκα*; it is not an act of vengeance. Cf. Paul's  
 reference to divine vengeance in Ro xii 19; 1 Th iv 6; see also  
 Hb x 30. On ἀμύνασθαι cf. above, 548C.

ὀργίζεται. This is considered inappropriate for the god. Cf. above,  
 548C, and αἱ τῶν θεῶν ὀργαί in 557E. ECL, however, can speak of  
 God's wrath; cf. Ro i 18; G. Stählin, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 422ff.;  
 Almqvist, *Plutarch und das NT*, 38.

μισεῖ. Hatred is here considered inappropriate for the god. Contrast  
 Ro ix 13; Rv ii 6; 1 Cl xxx 6; Dg ix 2.

τὸν μοιχικὸν καὶ τὸν πλεονεκτικὸν καὶ ἀδικητικὸν. None of these  
 adjectives occur in ECL.

ὡσπερ ἐπιληψίαν. Human sinfulness is again compared to a disease.  
 Cf. above, 551D, 561D; also 553A.

πρὶν ἢ καταλαβεῖν. Plutarch argues that divine punishment is not  
 really punitive, but rather preventive. Cf. 561D, 563E.

Ch. 21

(562F)

οὐδὲ πάντα τὰ τῶν τεκόντων. . . On the idea that the gods punish the  
 children for the sins of the parents, cf. above, 556E.

ἀφεῖται τῆς τοῦ γένους ποινηῆς. For the concept of forgiveness of sins  
 in ECL, cf. Mt vi 12, and R. Bultmann, *TWNT* I, 506ff. = *TDNT*  
 I, 509ff. Since the concept is clearly expressed in this Plutarch  
 passage, Bultmann's statement on p. 506, line 35 (= p. 509, line  
 19) should be corrected. ECL does not use the term *ποινή*.

Ch. 22

(563B)

Οὕτως οὖν ἔφην ὅτι Σολεὺς ἀνὴρ. . . . With these words, the account of  
 the "myth" begins. Protogenes, as the man whom the participants  
 in the discussion know and to whom Thespesius is related, serves  
 as the "witness" who gives credibility to the story (cf. 563E).  
 Cf. 2 Cor xii 2f. (*οἶδα ἄνθρωπον*).

(563C)

ἐν πολλῇ βιώσας ἀκολασία. Cf. Lk xv 13 (*ζῶν ἀσώτως*).

τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον. This phrase indicates that a conversion is to be  
 reported in what follows (cf. also 551F). Stories about sudden  
 conversion play an important role both in philosophy and in  
 primitive Christian literature. Cf. Lk xix 1ff. and xv 11ff. (the  
 latter with a number of parallels, listed below, to the conversion of  
 Thespesius); also the conversion/calling of Paul in Ac ix 1ff. and  
 parallels (with Gal i 13f., 23; 1 Cor xv 9) and the calling of the  
 apostles (Mk i 16ff.; ii 14, etc.; Jn i 35ff.). For literature, see  
 O. Gigon, "Antike Erzählungen über die Berufung zur Philoso-  
 phie," *Museum Helveticum* 3, 1946, 1-21; A. D. Nock, *Conversion*  
 (Oxford, 1933) esp. 164-186.

ταχύ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσας. Cf. Lk xv 12-14 (διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν).  
 πονηρός. Cf. Lk xv 14-16. It is noteworthy that, in spite of his  
 degradation, it is not said that the "Prodigal Son" becomes  
 "evil."

τὸν πλοῦτον . . . διώκων. A negative view of this activity was common  
 in antiquity. Cf. 1 Ti vi 9f.; Pol iv 1; Hauck/Kasch, *TWNT* VI,  
 325ff. = *TDNT* VI, 327ff.

ἐκ μετανοίας. Thespesius first experiences a wrong kind of conversion;  
 instead of wasting money, he pursues it. Cf. Lk xix 8, which gives  
 a different view.

ἔπασχε πάθος. Cf. 2 Cor i 6.

ἀπεχόμενος. For the technical use of this verb, cf. Ac xv 20 and  
 Bauer, *s.v.* ἀπέχω 3.

## (563D)

μαντεία. Cf. the references to oracles in Ac xvi 16; Hm 11:4. It should  
 be noted that, both in ECL and in Plutarch, it is the lower demons  
 who speak through oracles (cf. *De defectu oraculorum* 416Cff.).

κατενεχθεὶς γὰρ ἐξ ὕψους. Cf. Ac xx 9f.: Eutyches falls from the third  
 story and is believed dead, but his ψυχή is still in his body.  
 Thespesius' soul leaves his body for his heavenly journey, but  
 remains connected with it, and in the end returns to it.

τριταῖος. Part of the tradition reports that Jesus' resurrection took  
 place "on the third day." Cf. 1 Cor xv 4; Mk viii 31// Mt xvi 21//  
 Lk ix 22; Mk ix 31// Mt xvii 23; Mk x 34//Mt xx 19//Lk xviii 33;  
 Mt xii 40; xxvii 63f.; Lk xxiv 7, 21; Jn ii 19ff.; also Mk xiv 58//  
 Mt xxvi 61; Mk xv 29//Mt xxvii 40. Cf. G. Dellling, *TWNT* VIII,  
 219 = *TDNT* VIII, 220.

ἤδη περὶ τὰς ταφάς. Cf. Jn xi 17, 39; xix 33; Lk vii 11-17, where the  
 use of this motif increases the impressiveness of the miracle.

ἀνήνεγεν. The idea of someone coming back from Hades is expressed  
 in Lk xvi 30. In ECL the verb ἀναφέρειν signifies someone's  
 ascending to heaven; cf. Lk xxiv 51 *v.l.* and Bauer, *s.v.*

ταχύ δὲ ῥωσθεὶς. Since ταχύ can represent a stylistic trait of miracle  
 narratives (cf. R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*,  
 225), this rapid resuscitation is possibly understood to be mirac-  
 ulous. Cf. Mk v 41f.; Lk vii 15.

μεταβολὴν ἐποίησεν. Thespesius was able to do what the rich man in  
 Lk xvi 19-31 could not do. On this change of mind, cf. Lk xv 24

(νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν). As the story in Lk xv 11ff. now stands, no  
 actual "death and resurrection" of the Prodigal Son are men-  
 tioned, so that this sentence must here be taken metaphorically.  
 The question arises, however, whether this assertion, νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ  
 ἀνέζησεν, might originally have belonged to a conversion story of the  
 type which we find in Plutarch. If this is the case, Lk xv 24 could  
 in fact emphasize that the younger son was converted *not* by a  
 journey to the beyond, but by remembering the goodness of his  
 father.

τὸ θεῖον. It is significant that the only use of this impersonal expres-  
 sion in ECL is in Ac xvii 29.

ὀσιώτερον. Cf. 1 Ti ii 8; F. Hauck, *TWNT* V, 488-491 = *TDNT* V,  
 489-492.

## (563E)

λυπηρότερον ἐχθροῖς. This ethical posture is here viewed positively,  
 as was true also in the popular ethics of earlier centuries. Cf., by  
 contrast, the early Christian ethic of the love of one's enemy  
 (Mt v 38-48; Lk vi 27-36; Ro xii 14-20; 2 Cl xiii 4; D i 3-5). Cf. also  
 λυποῦν, above, 549C.

αἰτίαν ἀκοῦσαι. Those who meet Thespesius wish to hear the reason  
 for his change of mind. For a polemic against this type of con-  
 version story, cf. Lk xvi 27-31.

ἐπιεικέσι. For this common ethical term, cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

φίλων. This word is the end of the conversion story. What follows  
 is a report about Thespesius' experiences between his "death" and  
 "resurrection." In contrast, Paul has nothing to report after his  
 return from his journey into the third heaven and paradise (2 Cor  
 xii 4). Cf., however, Lk xvi 27ff; Rv i 10ff., and *passim*.

## Ch. 23

ἔξέπεσε τὸ φρονοῦν τοῦ σώματος. The report of Thespesius' heavenly  
 journey (Ἐπεὶ γὰρ . . .) begins with a description of what is  
 happening to his body and soul. Cf. 2 Cor xii 2-4, where Paul does  
 not want to discuss whether "he" went up to heaven with or  
 without his body. Cf. E. Schweizer, *TWNT* VII, 1057 = *TDNT*  
 VII, 1060, correctly showing that Paul is employing common  
 ideas in this passage.

κυβερνήτης. For the comparison of the human mind to a ship's pilot,

cf. MPol xix 2 (Christ as the κυβερνήτης τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν). See Bauer, *s.v.*; also the note in LCL text, 272.

## (563F)

In the following, we find a very detailed description of the soul. On this whole subject see E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951) *passim*; M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* I, 174ff., 687ff.; II, 490ff. In ECL, no consistent description or doctrine of the soul is found. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* ψυχή.

ὡςπερ ἐνός ὄμματος . . . τῆς ψυχῆς. Cf. Eph i 18 (οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας); 1 Cl xxxvi 2; lix 3; MPol ii 3.

ἐώρα. This term occurs often in the visions of the apocalyptic seer. Cf., e.g., Rv iv 1; v 6; also W. Michaelis, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 350ff. Within such contexts, this verb indicates the beginning of a vision.

τὰ ἄστρα. Thespesius' vision is, in the first place, a vision of the stars. Cf. Rv i 12ff.

τὴν ψυχὴν ἐποχουμένην. . . . Thespesius' soul travels on beams of light. Paul in 2 Cor xii 2-4 avoids such descriptions. Cf. also Rv i 10; iv 2; xvii 3; xxi 10.

ὡςπερ ἐν γαλήνῃ. The comparison of a man's soul to a ship on the sea is used in a different way in Js iii 4. Cf. M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, 227ff.

τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τελευτώντων. This description of human souls has no analogy in ECL; cf. 564A, and F. Fuhrmann, *Les images de Plutarque*, 139ff. But, at least for the author of Revelation, souls are "visible" in heaven; cf. Rv vi 9; xx 4.

## (564A)

τεταραγμένην. This verb describes a clearly negative phenomenon here, as it does also in Jn xii 27; xiv 1, 27; Gal i 7; v 10; 1 Pt iii 14.

ἰδὼν γνωρίμους. In the afterlife, souls of acquaintances can be recognized. Cf. Lk xvi 23, where the rich man in Hades recognizes Lazarus; however, no fixed conception of the soul is implied in this passage. See also Betz, *Lukian*, 84.

ἐπειρᾶτο προσμιῖσαι. Cf. Lk xvi 24ff., where the rich man wishes to make contact with Lazarus, but cannot because they are in two different places. Cf. also Jn xx 17, 27; also LCL text, 275 note b.

## (564B)

φωνὰς ἔεσαν. This probably refers to a lament of the soul after death.

Cf. Lk xvi 24, 27f.; also Ro vii 24f. and E. W. Smith, "The Form and Religious Background of Romans vii 24-25a," *NovT* XIII, 1971, 127ff.

φωνὰς . . . ἀσήμους. Cf. 2 Cor xii 4; 1 Cor xiv 8.

ἄνωθεν ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ. The higher the region, the "purer" it is because it is nearer to the divine realm. Cf. the third heaven and paradise in 2 Cor xii 3f. See also Betz and Smith, 388F.

## Ch. 24

## (564C)

The following section contains many motifs common in epiphany narratives, which will be identified as they appear.

χαῖρε Θεοπέσειε. Cf. the greetings by the risen Christ in Mt xxviii 9 and by divine beings in Lk i 28; Hv 1, 1, 4; 1, 2, 2; 4, 2, 2; See also Lk xvi 25; Jn xx 21.

θαυμάσαντος. For this reaction to a miraculous event, cf. Mt viii 27// Lk viii 25, and the collection of passages in Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 225f.

ἀπὸ τοῦδε Θεοπέσειος. Aridaius receives a new name. Cf. Jn i 42 (and Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 101f.); Mk iii 16f.; Mt xvi 18. See also H. Bietenhard, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 281. Paul was not given a new name at his conversion; cf. Ac ix 4; xiii 9; xxii 7; xxvi 14. On this subject cf. H. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, *ad loc.*

μοῖρα τινὶ θεῶν. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* μοῖρα; for literature, cf. Des Places, *La religion grecque*, 365f. ECL prefers terms such as δεῖ, θέλημα, βουλή.

ἦκεις δεῦρο τῷ φρονοῦντι. Only τὸ φρονοῦν of Thespesius ascended to heaven, while his σῶμα and the rest of his soul remained on earth. Paul refers to this state as ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος or χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος (cf. 2 Cor xii 2-4). The platonic concept of τὸ φρονοῦν is not used in ECL. On the whole subject of the ascent of the soul to heaven, see G. Strecker, "Entrückung," *RAC* 5, 461-476; G. Bertram, "Erhöhung," *RAC* 6, 22-43; P. Courcelle, "Flügel (Flug) der Seele" I, *RAC* 8, 30-65.

ὡςπερ ἀγκύριον. A different use of the idea of ἀγκύρα τῆς ψυχῆς is found in Hb vi 19.

## (564D)

διαβλέψας. This verb has the meaning "to look intently at" in Mk viii 25 also. Cf. H. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das NT*, 55f.

μώλωπας. In ECL this term is found only in the quotations of Isa. liii 5 in 1 Pt ii 24; 1 Cl xvi 5; B v 2. On this entire subject cf. Rv xiv 13; Hs 9, 4, 5-8; 9, 6, 4; and Betz, *Lukian*, 85.

## Ch. 25

(564E)

On the demons who punish sin in the nether world, cf. A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 54ff.; F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 170ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* I, 688ff., 815ff.; II, 549ff.

Ἀδράστεια is "the inescapable." In ECL, God is similarly conceptualized—nothing can escape him; cf. Ro ii 3, 16; Mt vi 4, 6, 18; x 26//Lk xii 2; 1 Cor iv 5; 2 Cor v 10. Adrasteia supervises a division of labor in the punishing of man's sin. During man's earthly life he is in the hands of Poine, while Dike is responsible for his fate after his death. If she cannot cure his soul, Erinys takes over. Without assigning different kinds of punishment to different deities, primitive Christianity also believed that divine punishment occurs in this life, as well as that both temporally limited and eternal punishments will occur in the hereafter. See H. Conzelmann, "Gericht Gottes" III, *RGG*<sup>3</sup> II, 1419-1421; B. Reicke, "Hölle" III, *RGG*<sup>3</sup> III, 404-406.

Ἀνάγκης. This word here signifies a personified deity, but its non-personified use in 1 Cor ix 16 is nevertheless close to this. Cf. H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 186.

τιμωρός. Cf. Hs 7:1, 6; 6:3; Bauer, s.v. τιμωρέω, etc.

τέτακται. For this use of τάσσω, cf. Ro xiii 1; B xviii 1; MPol x 2. See G. Dellling, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) VIII, 27ff.

εὐθύς. This adverb refers to the suddenness with which punishment miracles can occur. Cf. Ac v 5, 10; xii 23; xiii 11; and Betz, *Lukian*, 177-179.

ἐν σώμασι. These "bodily" punishments occur in this life. Paul's opponents probably understood his afflictions ἐν σαρκί as punishment (2 Cor xii 7-10; on this passage see H. D. Betz, "Eine Christus-Aretalogie bei Paulus," *ZTK* 66, 1969, 288-305). For the understanding of disease and death as punishment, cf., e.g., Mk ii 5//Mt ix 2//Lk v 20; Jn v 14; ix 2f.; Ro v 12; vi 23; 1 Cor xv 56. See Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 243 note 7, 330 note 8.

διὰ σωμάτων. This probably means "through the elements which constitute the body." On this concept cf. H. D. Betz, "Zum

Problem des religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnisses der Apokalyptik," *ZTK* 63, 1969, 396ff. = "On the Problem of the Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism," *JThC* 6, 1969, 140ff. Paul has similar ideas; cf. Ro vii 5, 7-25; viii 10ff.; 2 Cor v 10.

κολαζομένους, κολάζεσθαι, κτλ. Cf. above, 549D; Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 195ff.

(564F)

παρλείποντι. Minor faults are "overlooked;" however, there is no concept of "forgiveness of sins" here.

καθαρμοῦ. Punishment is here understood as purification. On purification from sins, cf. Hb i 3; 2 Pt i 9; 1 Cl lx 2; also E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 135ff.

ἡ περὶ τὴν κακίαν ἰατρεία. For the concept of the "healing of evil" cf. above, 549F; also ἰασίς (Hm 4, 1, 11; 12, 6, 2; Hs 5, 7, 3f.; 7:4; 8, 11, 3) and the figurative use of ἰάομαι (cf. Betz and Smith, 384F) and ἰατρός in ECL. See A. Oepke, *TWNT* III, 202ff. = *TDNT* III, 203ff.

ὁ δαίμων. Cf. Betz and Smith, 394A. Here the word designates the personal "angel" who accompanies each person. Cf. Mt xviii 10; Lk iv 10; xvi 22; Ac xii 15; Rv i 20; Hv 5:2; and Bousset-Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1966<sup>4</sup>) 324.

Δίκη. Cf. above, 549A.

παραδίδωσιν. For the technical use of this verb, cf. the passages collected by Bauer, s.v. παραδίδωμι.

ἀνιάτους. This adjective is used in connection with sin in Hm 5, 2, 4 also. Cf. also the "unforgivable sin" in Mk iii 28f.//Mt xii 31f.//Lk xii 10; also Hs 9:7f.

ἀπωσαμένης. God's ἀπωθεῖν of Israel is mentioned in Ro xi 1f.; of men, Dg ix 2. (This verb is often used in this way in LXX.)

πλανωμένους. Souls which "wander" are mentioned in Plato. In ECL, this concept is used only figuratively in connection with the soul. Cf. 2 Cl xv 1; also H. Braun, *TWNT* VI, 230ff. = *TDNT* VI, 228ff.

κατέδησεν. Ἐδησεν is used in connection with the devil in Rv xx 2.

τὸ . . . ἀόρατον. This adjective is here used to etymologize the term "Hades" as "unseen" (cf. LCL text, 279 note c). Cf. Col i 16; 1Tr v 2; 1Ro v 3; 1Pol ii 2; Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 79.

## (565A)

δικαιώσεων. Cf. Paul's different use of this term in Ro iv 25; v 18.

κολαζομένων. Cf. above, 549D; 564E.

μαστιγοῦσιν. For scourging, cf. Mk x 34//Mt xx 19//Lk xviii 33; etc.

See C. Schneider, *TWNT* IV, 521-525 = *TDNT* IV, 515-519.

κολάσεις. Cf. above, 549D.

ἀφὴν οὐκ ἔχουσι. For the term ἀφή, cf. Col ii 19; Eph iv 16; Bauer, *s.v.* The argument advanced here claims that punishment in this life, including diseases and loss of property, is only marginally effective because it pertains to the outside of man and does not attack the evil within him. The argument in the logia Mt xxiii 27f. and Mk vii 15//Mt xv 17f. (cf. H. Merkel, "Markus 7, 15—das Jesuswort über die innere Verunreinigung," *ZRGG* 20, 1968, 340-363) similarly distinguish between the "outer" and the "inner" of man.

## Ch. 26

ἀκάθαρτος. This adjective is used here in a moral sense, as often in ECL. Cf. Eph v 5; Rv xvii 4; B x 8; Hv 1, 1, 7. See Bauer, *s.v.*, 2; also ἀκαθαρσία, ἀκαθάρτης.

γυμνόν. For the idea that one's "inner self" can be "naked" after death, cf. 2 Cor v 3; 1 Cor xv 37; 1 Cl xxiv 5. These passages do not, however, employ the concept of the soul. On this subject, cf. A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 116f.; M. Rissi, *Studien zum zweiten Korintherbrief* (Zürich, 1969) 87ff., who refers to other literature; H. Braun, *Gesammelte Studien zum NT und seiner Umwelt* (Tübingen, 1967<sup>2</sup>) 136ff.

## (565 B)

πρόσπτυστον. This word in its original setting would allude to an apotropeic gesture. Cf. Mk vii 33; viii 23; Jn ix 6. See Bauer, *s.v.* πτύσμα; Betz, *Lukian*, 150.

ἀνάξιον. Cf. 1 Cor xi 27, 29 *v.l.*; IEph vii 1; Dg ix 1.

κολαζομένους. Cf. above, 549D; 564E.

ἐπιδών. . . και ὀφθείς. In Lk xvi 23 the rich man in Hades also can "see" others besides himself. Cf. also AP x 25.

δικαιοῦται. For this usage of this verb, cf. Ro iii 26, 30; iv 5; vi 7; viii 30, 33; 1 Cor vi 11; Gal iii 8; Dg ix 5; Bauer, *s.v.* δικαίω 3.b-c.

ἐξαιρούμενος. For a similarly dramatic usage of this verb, cf. Mt v 29; xviii 9; B vi 14 (LXX quotation).

παθῶν. Cf. above, 548D.

ἀλγηδόνι και πόνους. Although the soul is no longer accompanied by its body, it can still feel pain. Cf. Lk xvi 19ff., etc., where the same idea is presupposed, even though the concept of the soul is absent.

Cf. also Mt viii 12; xiii 42, 50; xxii 13; xxiv 51; xxv 30; Lk xiii 28.

Plutarch maintains that the pains suffered by the soul are even stronger than those suffered "through the flesh."

διὰ σαρκός. Cf. Ro vi 19; viii 3; Gal iv 13; Hb x 20.

οὐλαί δὲ και μώλωπες. Cf. 2 Pt iii 14. On this concept, see above, 564D, and the LCL text, 281 note e.

## (565C)

On 565C-D cf. Hv 3:6f. This passage has a list of vices which is coordinated with a list of colors. In ECL, lists of vices are found in Ro i 29ff. and often. See the material collected by H. Lietzmann, *An die Römer* (Tübingen, 1971<sup>5</sup>) 35f.; A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 171ff.; Betz, *Lukian*, 185ff.; E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im NT* (Tübingen, 1964). As shown below, some of the vices listed by Plutarch occur in ECL, but not in connection with colors.

ἀνελευθερίας. This term does not occur in ECL.

πλεονεξίας. Cf. above, 555E.

αἱμωπὸν και διάπυρον. Cf. esp. Hv 4, 1, 10; 4, 2, 3 (πυροειδὲς και αἱματώδες).

ὠμότητος. This term is not found in ECL.

πικρίας. Cf. above, 553A.

ἀκρασία. Cf. above, 550F.

κακόνοια (in Plutarch textually uncertain). This term is not in ECL.

φθόνου. Cf. Ro i 29 (in list); Tit iii 3 (beside κακία!); above, 555E.

τὸ μέλαν. "Black" is also taken by ECL to signify "evil." Cf. Rv vi 5; Hv 4, 1, 10; 4, 3, 2; etc. Ὁ μέλας designates the Devil in B iv 10; xx 1. See Bauer, *s.v.*

καθαρμοῦ και κολάσεως. Cf. above, 564E-F.

## (565D)

σύγχρου. Cf. Hs 8 and 9, where all of the "stones" should be of one color.

ἀμαθίας. It is said of the "heretics" in 2 Pt iii 16 that they are ἀμαθής.

φιληδονίας. Cf. above, 556B.

ἀσθενεία λόγου. "Weakness of reason" is equivalent to ἀμαθία. Cf.

2 Cor x 10; xi 6 (on this cf. H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition* [Tübingen, 1972] 57ff.); 1 Cor i 18ff.; viii 11 (ἀσθενεῖν ἐν τῇ σῆ γνώσει); Ro iv 19; xiv 1 (ἀσθενεῖν τῇ πίστει).

(565E)

διὰ σώματος. Cf. above, 564E. For the concept of the body as an instrument of "sin" and ἐπιθυμία, cf. Ro i 24; vi 12; vii 7f.; xiii 14; Gal v 16, 24; Eph ii 3; iv 22; Col iii 5; 1 Th iv 5; etc.

## Ch. 27

On the following description of Lethe (565E-566A), cf. Y. Vernière, "Le Léthé de Plutarque," *REA* 66, 1964, 22-32.

ἤγεν αὐτόν. In Revelation, it is said that the angel "shows" the seer through heaven (xxii 8). Cf. also Hv 3, 1, 2 and often; Mt iv 1, 5, 8 // Mk i 12 // Lk iv 1, 5, 9; also (in different contexts) Ro viii 14; 1 Cor xii 2; Gal v 18; 1 Th iv 14.

ταχύ. Great distances are miraculously covered. This is also the implication of Mk i 12; Mt iv 1ff. (cf. immediately above).

οἶον. This particle here corresponds to the ὡς which often occurs in Revelation (cf. i 10, 14, etc.).

ὑπὸ πτερῶν. For the idea of "flying" through the heavenly world (although not by the seer), cf. Rv iv 7f.; viii 13; xii 14; xiv 6; xix 17.

χάσμα μέγα. On this concept, cf. G. Soury, "La vie de l'au-delà. Prairies et gouffres," *REA* 46, 1944, 169-178; Y. Vernière, "Le Léthé," 23ff.; Betz, *Lukian*, 82 note 4. In ECL this phrase occurs in Lk xvi 26, for the unbridgable chasm between Abraham and the place of torture (cf. 565F). Cf. also AP v 15, ἐκτὸς τούτου τοῦ κόσμου.

ἑώρα. Cf. above, 563F.

(565F)

ἄντικρυς. The souls in heaven do not dare to cross the chasm. Cf. Lk xvi 26; also καταντικρὺς in AP vi 21.

τοῖς βακχικοῖς ἄντροις. Inside, the χάσμα looks like a Bacchic grotto; it seems to be the place where the blessed live. The description is very similar to AP v 15-20. Cf. Vernière, "Le Léthé," 25; LCL text, 285 note a; Betz, *Lukian*, 96ff. Cf. also Rv xxii 2ff.

μαλακήν. Cf. above, 556B. The adjective μαλακός is always used negatively in ECL (cf. Mt xi 8 // Lk vii 25; 1 Cor vi 9 // Pol v 3).

ὀσμὰς. The symbolism of a wonderful odor which is of divine origin is found in ECL also. Cf. AP v 15; also 2 Cor ii 14; Phil iv 18; Eph v 2. See G. Dellings, *TWNT* V, 492ff. = *TDNT* V, 493ff.; Betz, *Lukian*, 41, 87f., 91-93, 97; Vernière, "Le Léthé," 26f.

ἡδονάς. Here the term is used positively, as only rarely happens in ECL; cf. 2 Cl xv 5; Hs 6, 5, 7; also the description of the quite different pleasures in AP v 19.

θαυμασίας. This term here designates something miraculous. Cf. Mt xxi 15; Hv 4, 1, 3.

εὐωδίας. Cf. 2 Cor ii 15; Phil iv 18; Eph v 2; B ii 10; MPol xv 2.

See A. Stumpff, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) II, 808-810.

ἐπιλοφροῦντο. This verb is not found in ECL; but cf. 1 Pt iii 8 *t.r.* (φιλόφρων); Ac xxviii 7 (φιλοφρόνως).

παιζόντων. This term occurs only rarely in ECL: 1 Cor x 7; Hs 9, 11, 4f. See G. Bertram, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 625ff. The theme is notably absent from early Christian eschatology; cf. Rv xxi 4.

(566A)

ἀναγαγεῖν. For this verb to describe the raising of someone from the dead, cf. Ro x 7; Hb xiii 20.

ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς. See above, 565F.

τὸ . . . ἄλογον. This concept is the opposite of τὸ φρονοῦν. Cf. Vernière, "Le Léthé," 28f. In ECL this term is applied only to animals; cf. 2 Pt ii 12; Jd 10.

πύθον ἔλκοντα πρὸς γένεσιν. The explanation for the re-incorporation of souls set forth here has no analogy in ECL.

## Ch. 28

(566B)

βεύματα. Cf. the heavenly river in Rv xxii 1f. (with xxi 6); however, no κρατήρ is mentioned in ECL. Cf. Betz, *Lukian*, 92f., 94.

χιόνων λευκότερον. Cf. λευκός ὡς χιών in Rv i 14; Mt xxviii 3; Mk ix 3 *v.l.* (ὡς χιών). Λευκός occurs often in connection with epiphanies or visions; cf. Mk ix 3 // Mt xvii 2 // Lk ix 29; Mk xvi 5 // Mt xxviii 3; Jn xx 12; Ac i 10; Rv *passim*; AP iii 8.

ἴρις. Cf. Rv iv 3; x 1; AP iii 10.

χάσμα βαθύ. Cf. above, 565E.

ἑώρα. Cf. above, 563F.

τρεῖς δαίμονας. Three demons are in charge of the rivers. Cf. the

ἄγγελος τῶν ὑδάτων in Rv xvi 5 (on this passage, cf. H. D. Betz, *ZTK* 63, 1966, 395ff. = *JThC* 6, 1969, 139ff.).

(566C)

ὁ . . . ψυχοπομπός. This technical term does not occur in ECL. Cf. ἦγεν αὐτόν, 565E.

οὐδενός γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνι Νύκτα κοινωνεῖν. Because of the nature of Apollo as the god of light and truth, the oracle of Night, which produces a mixture of truth and deception, cannot be connected with him. Cf. A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 147. Cf. esp. 2 Cor vi 14f. (τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος;); 1 Cor x 18-21; Eph v 7-14.

ἕδραν. This term is not in ECL, but cf. θρόνος in Rv ii 13 and often. ἐνυπνίους. Dreams are seen as a source of oracles, but in Plutarch's view, they are also mixed with deception. ECL, without qualification, understands dream oracles to be revelations. Cf. above, 555A.

## Ch. 29

(566D)

The oracle of Apollo at Delphi has as its heavenly prototype a celestial tripod. For the idea of heavenly prototypes of earthly cult objects, cf. the "heavenly Jerusalem," Gal iv 26; Hb xii 22; Rv xxi; and the tower in Hv 3:2ff.; Hs 9. See also H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (Göttingen, 1965<sup>4</sup>) 221ff.; and M. Eliade, *Le symbolisme cosmique des monuments religieux* (Rome, 1957).

κατιδεῖν. Cf. καθορᾶν in connection with cosmic realities, Ro i 20.

ἄνωτέρω γάρ. The celestial tripod is located in the highest part of heaven. Paul also distinguishes between different parts of heaven (2 Cor xii 2-4).

ἐπιδεικνύειν. This verb is also used in a context of revelation in Mt xvi 1; Ac xviii 28; 1 Cl xxiv 1; B v 7; vi 13; MPol i 1; ii 2; Dg viii 5f.; cf. Rv i 1; iv 1; xvii 1; xxi 9f.; xxii 1, 6, 8.

τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος. Φῶς as a divine attribute occurs often in ECL. Cf. 1 Ti vi 16 (God as φῶς οἰκῶν ἑπρόσιτον); 1 Jn i 5, 7.

See Bauer's collection of material, *s.v.*, 2.

προθυμούμενος. Thespesius was eager to see the tripod of Apollo, but was held back by a supernatural force. For this point, cf. Ac xvi 6f.; Ro i 13; xv 22; 1 Th ii 18.

οὐκ εἶδεν ὑπὸ λαμπρότητος. Cf. Ac ix 8; xxii 11; xxvi 13; 2 Cor iii 7; 1 Ti vi 16.

φράζουσιν. Cf. Mt xiii 36 *t.r.*; xv 15; and Bauer, *s.v.*

τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτῆς. Cf. the oracle of the prophet Agabus in Ac xxi 10ff.; MPol v 2.

Σιβύλλης. For this name, cf. Hv 2, 4, 1 (also see Ac xvi 16).

(566E)

τῶν μελλόντων. Cf. Betz and Smith, 387B.

κατήκουσεν. Cf. Paul's hearing of heavenly voices in 2 Cor xii 4. The prophecies of which Thespesius hears fragments are predictions *ex eventu*. In this respect they are not different from many similar predictions in ECL.

## Ch. 30

τῶν κολαζομένων. Cf. above, 549D, 564E; also 566F. Chs. 30-32 have many parallels to the description of the τόπος κολάσεως in AP vi 21ff.

(566F)

δεινὰ παθήματα. Cf. 2 Cl xvii 7; Hs 6, 3, 3. Cf. also the various types of punishment in AP vii 22ff.

τιμωρίας. Cf. above, 548 C.

ὑπομένοντες. For this term in connection with affliction and torture, cf. Mt x 22; xxiv 13//Mk xiii 13, and often in ECL; Bauer, *s.v.*, 2.

ἔκτιζοντο. Cf. Lk xvi 24.

ἀνεκλαίοντο. Cf. Mt viii 12; xiii 42, 50; xxii 13; xxiv 51; xxv 30; Lk vi 25; xiii 28.

βαράθρου. This term is not in ECL. Cf., however, Rv xix 20; xxi 8; AP viii 23.

στιγμάτων. Cf. Gal vi 17.

ὁμολογεῖν. This verb, which was used technically in legal contexts, is sometimes used in the same sense in ECL. Cf. Ac xxiv 14; 1 Jn i 9; MPol vi 1; ix 2; xii 1; also AP ix 24. See Bauer, *s.v.*; O. Michel, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) V, 207ff.; LCL text, 293 note a.

τῶν ἐφεστώτων ταῖς τιμωρίαις. For this use of ἐπίστημι, cf. above, 549D.

περὶ ξένους. The sinner described here violated the laws of hospitality. On this subject, cf. G. Stählin, *TWNT* V, 16ff. = *TDNT* V, 17ff.; Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 163ff.

μιαρός. For this concept, cf. 1 Cl i 1; xxviii 1; xxx 1; xlv 4.

φαρμάκοις διαφθείρας. This "sin" also appears in the lists contained in Gal v 20; B xx 1; D v 1. See also Rv ix 21; xviii 23; xxi 8; xxii 15; AP x 25; and Betz, *Lukian*, 201 note 7.

ἐξελεγχθείς. Here, in contrast to διαλαθών, this verb is used in the technical sense which it had in legal contexts. Cf. above, 555D.

## (567A)

ἱκετεύειν. For the cultic use of this verb, cf. 1 Cl ii 3; vii 7; xlviii 1; also Lk xvi 24.

παραντεῖσθαι. This verb is used here in the sense of "to intercede", as in Mk xv 6.

δι' ἐκπληξιν. ECL uses only the verb; cf. Betz and Smith, 394C.

δέος. This concept appears in ECL only in Hb xii 28.

ἑώρα. On this verb, cf. above, 563F.

κολασθέντων. Cf. above, 549D, 564E.

αἰκίαν. This term appears in ECL only in 1 Cl vi 1; xlv 7; li 2.

## (567B)

ὅσοι δὲ πρόσχημα καὶ δόξαν ἀρετῆς περιβαλλόμενοι. For a similar description using μετασχηματίζεσθαι, cf. 2 Cor xi 13-15.

ὀδυνηρῶς. Cf. Lk xvi 24f.

παρὰ φύσιν. Cf. Ro i 26.

ὥσπερ τὰς ἐχίδνας. Cf. AP x 25.

ἀλλήλας ἐσθιούσας. For this idea, cf. Gal v 15; 2 Cor xi 20.

ὑπὸ μνησικακίας. Cf. Hv 2, 3, 1; Hm 8:3; 8:10; Bauer, *s.v.* μνησικακέω. μνησικάκος.

## (567C)

εἶναι δὲ καὶ λίμνας. For celestial λίμναι, cf. Rv xix 20; xx 10, 14f.; xxi 8; AP viii 23; xi 26. See Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 217; Betz, *Lukian*, 81ff.

χρυσοῦ. In Rv xxi 18, 21, the celestial city Jerusalem is of gold; cf. also Rv iii 18.

περιζέουσιν. Cf. AP xvi 31 (λίμνη . . . βορβόρου ἀναζέοντος).

μολίβδου. Cf. 2 Cl xvi 3, where this occurs in an apocalyptic context.

σιδήρου. Cf. Rv xviii 12 (also ii 27; ix 9; xii 5; xix 15); AP xiii 28.

ἐφ' ἐστάναι δαίμονας. Cf. above, 549D, 566F; and AP viii 23.

δι' ἀπληστίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν. Cf. AP xv 30f.; above, 555E, 565C.

διαπύρους. Cf. Betz and Smith, 388F.

φλέγεσθαι. On fire as an important element in the place of punishment, cf. Lk xvi 24; Rv xiv 10; xix 20; xx 10, 14f.; xxi 8; AP viii 23; xiv 29; xx 34. See also the references in Bauer, *s.v.* πῦρ, and F. Lang, *TWNT* VI, 927-953 = *TDNT* VI, 928-952.

ἐνέβαλλον. For the act of "casting" in an apocalyptic context, cf. Mt xiii 42, 50; xviii 8f.; Rv xix 20; xx 3, 10, 14f.

αἱ χάλαζαι. For this term in an apocalyptic context, cf. Rv viii 7; xi 19; xvi 21.

## (567D)

ἀλγηδόνας ὑπομένουσαι. The μεταβολαί through which the souls have to go cause them pain; for this idea, cf. Ro xii 2; 2 Cor iii 18 (where pain is not mentioned); 2 Cor iv 10, 16; Ro viii 17; Phil iii 10f. (where real pain and death are included).

ὑπομένουσαι. Cf. above, 566F.

## Ch. 31

ἀφείσθαι τῆς δίκης. Cf. above, 562F.

συλλαμβανομένας. This verb is used technically here to describe police procedures. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 1.a.a.; 2.a.

παῖδας. On the idea of children participating in the punishment of parents, cf. AP xi 26.

ἡ ποινὴ περιήλθεν. For the idea that punishment is transferable from one person to another, cf. above, 556E.

τὰ σημεῖα τῶν παθῶν. Cf. Gal vi 17; Jn xx 20, 25, 27; cf. also Rv vii 3f.; G. Fitzer, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) VII, 951ff.

## (567E)

ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένην. For the idea that nothing can escape divine punishment, cf. Mt x 26-33//Lk xii 2-9; Mk iv 22//Lk viii 17; 2 Cor v 10; also 551D, 560B.

οἱ κολασταί. Cf. AP vi 21; viii 23.

τὴν τιμωρίαν. Cf. above, 548C, 566F.

## Ch. 32

ἐπὶ δευτέραν γένεσιν. The doctrine of the transmigration or reincarnation of the soul is not taught in ECL. On this doctrine, cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 88ff., 113ff., 144.

(567F)

μετασχηματιζομένας. The concept of transformation is used soteriologically by Paul in Phil iii 21; sarcastically in 2 Cor xi 13-15.

δημιουργούντων and τῶν δημιουργῶν. These terms, with δημιουργία, occur in only three later writings of ECL, always with reference to God's creativity. Cf. Hb xi 10; 1 Cl xx 6, 10f.; xxvi 1; xxxiii 2; xxxv 3; xxxviii 3; lix 2; Dg vii 2; viii 7; ix 1, 5.

φῶς . . . μέγα. This phrase points to an epiphany. Cf. Rv i 12ff.; xviii 1, 23; xxi 23f.; xxii 5. See Bauer, *s.v.*; H. Conzelmann, *TWNT IX*, 302ff.

ἐξαίφνης. Cf. the "suddenness" of the christophany in Ac ix 3; xxii 6. φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ φωτός. Similar descriptions occur in Ac ix 4, 7; xxii 7, 9; xxvi 14.

προστάττουσαν. This verb refers to a divine command, as also in Ac x 33, 48; xvii 26.

χρηστὸν . . . παρὰ θεῶν. Cf. Ro ii 4; 1 Pt ii 3. The idea that there is a divine obligation toward man is inconceivable in ECL. On the punishment of Nero, cf. J. Dumortier, "Le châtement de Néron dans le mythe de Thespésios," *Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès* (Paris, 1969) 552-560.

(568A)

τὸ . . . θεοφιλέστατον . . . γένος. Cf. 1 Pt ii 9; MPol iii 2; Bauer, *s.v.* γένος, 3.

## Ch. 33

διὰ φόβον. "Fear" is also a frequent element in descriptions of epiphanies in ECL; cf. Mt xxviii 4, 8; Lk i 12; ii 9; v 26; etc. See R. Balz, *TWNT IX*, 205ff.

γυναῖκα. Cf. esp. Hs 9, 9, 5; 9, 13, 8; 9, 15, 1; 9, 15, 3; also Rv xii 1ff.; xvii 3; xix 7; xxi 9; Hv 1, 1, 4ff.

θαυμαστήν. This too is common in descriptions of epiphanies; cf. Rv xv 1.

εἶδος. For this term in connection with an epiphany, cf. Lk iii 22; ix 29; Jn v 37.

τὸ μέγεθος. "Tallness" is part of being "beautiful." With regard to a divine being, cf. Hs 9, 6, 1; see also the christophany of the cosmic Christ in Rv i 12ff.; Col i 15-20; Eph i 19-23.

ράβδρον . . . διάπυρον. Was this instrument used for punishment?

Cf. AP xix 33 (ράβδους πυρός); Rv ii 27; xii 5; xix 15; 1 Cor iv 21. ἐξαίφνης. Cf. above, 567F.

τῷ σώματι προσπεσεῖν. Cf. 2 Cor xii 2-4.

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ μνήματος. Cf. Mk xv 46//Lk xxiii 53; Mk xvi 2//Lk xxiv 1; Jn xi.

## VII

DE GENIO SOCRATIS (MORALIA 575A-598F)<sup>1</sup>

BY

DONALD A. STOIKE

Appleton, Wisconsin

This tractate is cast in the form of a dialogue which takes place in Athens shortly after the liberation of Thebes in 379 B.C. There are only two participants in the dialogue itself. The one is Caphisias, a participant in the liberation conspiracy itself and at the time of the staging of the dialogue an envoy from Thebes at Athens. The other is Archedamus, who requests for himself and for other prominent Athenians that Caphisias relate both the events which resulted in the freeing of Thebes and the conversations which took place among the conspirators during the course of the unfolding of their plot. This narrative of events, which begins and ends the dialogue and which is frequently recalled to the mind of the reader throughout the tractate, thus consists of Caphisias describing the formation and execution of the conspiracy to liberate Thebes from the Spartan despots, Archias and Leontidas.

According to the request of Archedamus, however, this narrative of events is frequently diverted into what invariably proves to be a heavy discussion of philosophical or spiritual topics. The most striking example of this, which also gives the tractate its title, occurs at the very height of the drama. As the conspirators are nervously closeted together awaiting word that their plans have finally been set into motion, they fall into a spirited discussion of the divine sign of Socrates. The fact that such a discussion takes place among the conspirators is apparently intended to add stature to their character, since they are thus depicted as being not only highly patriotic but also deeply religious and philosophical persons.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text of *De genio Socratis* employed here is the critical edition of A. Corlu, *Plutarque, Le Démon de Socrate* (Études et Commentaires 73; Paris, 1970) 115-85 [henceforth cited as Corlu]. The edition of P. H. De Lacy and B. Einarson in the LCL, *Moralia* 7, is perhaps most accessible and is also of great value.

<sup>2</sup> This is noted by K. Ziegler, *Plutarchus von Chaironeia* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart, 1964) 204.

However, there is clearly a more basic reason for this combination of the narrative of events and of the conversations among the conspirators. It has long been recognized that there is a structural similarity between Plutarch's *De genio Socratis* and Plato's dialogue *Phaedo*.<sup>1</sup> This is more significant in view of the fact that this structure is rare among Plutarch's tractates.<sup>2</sup> *De genio Socratis* differs from other philosophical writings in that in it the narrative of events is central, going throughout the document to the very end when the despots are finally killed. Furthermore, this structural similarity between *De genio Socratis* and *Phaedo* is matched by other associations between the two dialogues, especially in the interest in the divine sign of Socrates.<sup>3</sup>

In the structure of *De genio Socratis*, which Ziegler has described as "a peculiar mixture of an historical novelle and a philosophical dialogue,"<sup>4</sup> there is visible Plutarch's over-arching theme and objective. Not only does Plutarch bring together in that structure two of his foremost concerns, his patriotism and his interest in philosophy, but also Plutarch is showing in a paradigmatic way the nature and importance of human accomplishment or excellence (*ἀρετή*), especially as it interacts with chance (*τύχη*). Plutarch himself tells us this when, in chapter one, he has Archedamus ask Caphisias to relate the events and discussions which transpired, because, in contrast to duller minds, he wants to be like the spectator who emulates and admires the accomplishments of *ἀρετή*.<sup>5</sup>

This is precisely the theme that is carried through the length of the tractate as the conspirators alternately pause to look for or to discuss a sign which might give them courage or insight regarding

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895) 2, 148-51; W. Christ, *Plutarchs Dialog vom Daimonion des Sokrates* (Sitzungsberichte der königlich-bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, 1901) 60.

<sup>2</sup> Ziegler (*Plutarchus von Chaironeia*, 204) discovers parallel structures only in *Septem sapientium convivium* 146Bff. and *Amatoriae narrationes* 771E ff.

<sup>3</sup> Other associations between *De genio Socratis* and *Phaedo* are noted by Corlu, *passim* and esp. 86 and n. 7, where there is a discussion of the title *De genio Socratis*.

<sup>4</sup> Ziegler, *Plutarchus von Chaironeia*, 204.

<sup>5</sup> This is frequently cited by Plutarch as his reason for writing the *vitae* of good men. Cf. *Pericles* 2; *Comparison of Theseus and Romulus*, where the ridding from Greece of its oppressors by Theseus is held up as exemplary action; *Numa* 4. Cf. also R. H. Barrow (*Plutarch and His Times* [London, 1967] 119-23), who also refers to *Timoleon* prooemium and *Alexander* 1.

the hoped-for outcome of their plot and as they press on with their undertaking in spite of the repeated uncertainty and ambiguity of the omens. This is ἀρετή. The successful outcome of the conspiracy, especially within this context of danger and uncertainty, offers proof of the effectiveness and power of ἀρετή.

However, ἀρετή is effective and necessary not only on the political-historical plane but also on the cosmological. This is evident in a discussion on the nature and activity of the demons (593D-594A). There it is said that God allows the demons, that is, the souls that are already completely free (ἐλεύθεροι πάμπαν) of physical existence, to assist the souls of other men. But this does not happen fortuitously (οὐ . . . ἔτυχε). They assist only those souls which persevere in the midst of all the affairs of life (βαπτίζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων) and by their own prowess (δι' οἰκείας ἀρετῆς) overcome them. In this way these souls achieve the goal of being "delivered from birth" (αἱ δὲ ἀπηλλαγμένοι γενέσεως ψυχαί) and themselves become demons, which for Plutarch, of course, is freedom.

This tractate is an appeal for human responsibility, a rejection of blind chance or determinism and a rejection of the popular piety, which for Plutarch served as the vehicle which brought τύχη into currency among the people. In that popular piety, which resorted to divination (μαντεύματα) and the like, the basest of men often chances to be successful (κατατυγχάνειν) no less than the greatest of men (580A-B). In the cosmological sphere as well as the historical-political, freedom is to be achieved by the responsible action of man, by man's own ἀρετή. The omens are thus of scant value; indeed, they are often found to inhibit (e.g., chs. 17-18) the responsible actions of men (ch. 19).<sup>1</sup>

The unity of the tractate becomes highly visible in this interplay and correspondence between the narrative of the historical-political events and the recounting of the theological conversations which took place among the conspirators.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of this for the study of ECL is clear. Like Plutarch, ECL is concerned with responsible human action and

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch's concern with τύχη, with the omens and with the popular piety generally attests to the prevalence of these phenomena in Plutarch's own time and world.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra* Ziegler (*Plutarchus von Chaironeia*, 204), who describes the connection between the narrative and the discourses as "superficial and artificial."

with freedom. However, for ECL the former does not bring about the latter, as Plutarch argues. Nor are the best among men favored by God and distinguished from the majority by their ability to achieve freedom (593B-594A). Rather, for ECL freedom is achieved by the action of God (Ro vi 22-23; Gal iv 1-9; v 1; cf. also Phil ii 6-11; Col i 15-20; Mark <sup>1</sup>) for all men (2 Cor v 15; Tit ii 11; Jn iii 16-17) thereby obliterating distinctions among men (Gal iii 28; Col iii 11; 1 Cor xii 12-26). From this freedom, in turn, come the possibility and necessity for human responsibility (Gal v 13-25; 1 Cor ix 19-23; x 23-24; Ro xii-xv; Tit ii 12-14).

For ECL man's struggle is against cosmic powers (Eph vi 12; Gal iv 3, 8; Col ii 15; Mk i 23-24//Lk iv 33-34) including forces such as flesh and sin and law, which produce "desire" (Ro vii 7-25; Gal v 16-21). However, for ECL and especially for Paul the freedom that is given is not that of the soul being set free in the realm of the demons, as Plutarch suggests. Rather, it is freedom within the world and in physical existence which therefore requires responsible human action within a community of human beings (Gal v-vi; Ro xii-xv; Eph iv-vi). Encouragement and help are mutually given and received primarily among members of that community. For Plutarch, the demons play a decisive role as helpers to men still in the body struggling in the contests of life (593E-F).

Another matter from *De genio Socratis* which is important for the study of ECL is the nature and role of the charismatic figure, to which major sections are devoted and from which the title of the tractate itself is drawn. Socrates, of course, is the foremost charismatic figure. This tractate presents a *topos* of the divine sign of Socrates, which begins with Plato and Xenophon and extends well into the Hellenistic literature through Plutarch to Apuleius and Libanius.<sup>2</sup>

Plutarch has couched his discussion of the divine sign (δαιμόνιον) of Socrates in the form of a debate over its true nature. This debate is one facet of that larger debate about the nature of true religion and piety that is interwoven with other major themes of the tractate. Most especially in this debate about religion or piety Plutarch is addressing himself to the concern whether religion is a facilitator of

<sup>1</sup> E. Käsemann (*Jesus Means Freedom* [London, 1969] 55-58) has argued that Mark is the "Gospel of freedom."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. most recently W. K. C. Guthrie, *Socrates* (Cambridge, 1971).

responsible human action or an inhibitor of it, and thus a hindrance to the achievement of freedom.

Many of the features characteristic of the charismatic figure, including his miracle-working ability, are included in this debate over the divine sign of Socrates,<sup>1</sup> not all of which are necessarily approved by Plutarch himself. However, some distinctive emphases which Plutarch is surely making can be discerned within the context of this tractate.

The freedom which Plutarch seeks and of which he writes is found in a most exemplary fashion and degree in Socrates. He is, of course, a philosopher; he is one of those few favored by the gods with the impartation and guidance of a divine sign. This is what the multitudes mistakenly call νοῦς, presuming that they themselves also possess it (582B, 591E). Yet the reason why Socrates was able to perceive the intimations from the gods while the majority of men are not is that his mind was pure (588D) and he was free from the passions of the body (588D),<sup>2</sup> from superstition<sup>3</sup> and from affectation.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, he chose this as the path of freedom (580B, ὡς ἐλευθέριον), and of his own free will (581C, ἐκουσίως) he accepted the corresponding lifestyle of poverty. As such a philosopher Socrates also freed philosophy from superstition (580B) and made it human (582B), which for Plutarch are obviously intimately related. Thus it is apparent that in Plutarch's view the charismatic person is the one who, while still in the body, is free from those things which afflict the majority of human beings (593F; cf. also 592D) who come to no happy end (594A). He is, according to Plutarch, an individual of superior ἀρετή (593E-F).<sup>5</sup> It is, finally, in the person of the

<sup>1</sup> For the place of Socrates in the traditions of the charismatic figure cf. D. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBL Dissertation Series 1; Missoula, 1972) esp. 30-42, where *De genio Socratis* is discussed. However, the very careful work of Tiede is perhaps somewhat deficient here because of his failure to take sufficient account of the broader context of this tractate.

<sup>2</sup> According to Plutarch, the souls that are free of the body and of its passions are utterly free (593D).

<sup>3</sup> Superstition characterizes the popular piety according to Plutarch, and it inhibits the multitudes from responsible action thus preventing their achievement of freedom.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch's frequent use of the α-privative to depict and enumerate that from which Socrates is free should not be overlooked. Cf. e.g. 580B, 582B, 588D.

<sup>5</sup> It is clear that for Plutarch in this tractate ἀρετή has a restricted breadth of meaning which is in contrast to that of the aretologies and other charac-

charismatic figure that the keener spectator can find that ἀρετή which he can both admire and emulate (575C) and which will in turn lead him to freedom.<sup>1</sup> In other words, for Plutarch Socrates is not only the "ideal wise man,"<sup>2</sup> but more specifically the ideal free man.

The charismatic figure is, of course, also important for ECL. Just as in Plutarch, so in ECL we find varying and sometimes conflicting traditions and evaluations of the charismatic.<sup>3</sup> In those traditions with all of their diversity the charismatic is also found to have characteristics and abilities similar to those which are ascribed to Socrates by the various speakers in *De genio Socratis*. However, when we focus attention on those characteristics which Plutarch himself emphasizes there is ample room for significant comparison and contrast.

For Plutarch Socrates is the ideal, the paradigm that is to be admired and emulated.<sup>4</sup> In the tractate itself the emulation of Socrates is already graphically portrayed in the person of Epameinondas. Secondly, the admiration and emulation of ἀρετή is overtly stated by Archedamus as the objective of his request to have Caphisias recount the events and conversations which led up to the freeing of Thebes (575C). For ECL and especially for Paul, Jesus is not the ideal example or paradigm to be emulated. Rather he is Lord of the believers, indeed of the world (cf. Phil ii 11; 1 Cor xii 3; Ro i 4; and often in the Pauline corpus; also elsewhere, e.g. Mt viii 25; xiv 28-30; xxviii 16-20 and *passim*; Mk ii 27-28;

terizations of the charismatic figure in other traditions. Here it clearly acquires its meaning within the context of the struggle for freedom both on the historical-political level as well as on the cosmological.

<sup>1</sup> Another person of superior ἀρετή (576E) is Epameinondas, the "Boeotian Socrates" (so described by Corlu, 19-20). In him the Socratic paradigm is persuasively exemplified (cf. esp. 583F-585D). He is involved in the struggle for the freedom of Thebes but in a manner superior to that of the other freedom fighters in that he explicitly desires to avoid the shedding of innocent blood (576E-F). Like Socrates he willingly (ἐκουσίως) rejects wealth (585B), the enjoyment of which looms as the potential vehicle of pleasure (ἡδονή) and desires (ἐπιθυμίας), which are the enemies of the soul that struggles to be free as the soul of Socrates was free (588D-E).

<sup>2</sup> On the background and origin of this designation cf. Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, 1-100, with special reference to Socrates 30-42.

<sup>3</sup> The intricacies of the problem of the varying and sometimes conflicting traditions of the charismatic figure in ECL have been dealt with most recently by Tiede (*Charismatic Figure*, 241-92).

<sup>4</sup> On the charismatic figure as a paradigm of virtue or morality in antiquity cf. M. Hadas and M. Smith, *Heroes and Gods* (New York, 1965) 3.

xii 35-37; Rv i 4-6; xxi 22). Notable exceptions to this within the NT are Luke-Acts<sup>1</sup> and Hebrews<sup>2</sup> (see Hb xii 2; cf. also 1 Pt ii 21; 1 Cl xvi 17; xxxiii 8; Pol vii 2). ECL also does not describe the ideal charismatic figure as free from the passions of the body as does Plutarch (588D). Rather for ECL the death of Jesus as well as his humanity and participation in human affairs are highly emphasized as central parts of early Christian preaching (1 Cor i 23; ii 2; Gal iv 4; Mk viii 31//Mt xvi 21//Lk ix 22; Mk ix 12; xiv 1ff.//Mt xxvi 1ff.//Lk xxii 1ff.; Hb iv 15-16; Jn xviii-xix; etc.). For Plutarch the death of Socrates is not emphasized in any segment of the tradition which is to be found in *De genio Socratis*.<sup>3</sup> Finally, while for Plutarch the fact that Socrates is a philosopher is something to be underscored, in ECL Jesus is not a philosopher.<sup>4</sup>

Lastly, there is in the tractate a significant correspondence or interplay between events on the historical level and those on the cosmological. First of all, there is the theme of freedom. The freedom which the conspirators seek for Thebes (576F, 597B-C) and for which they fight by means of decisive action (*ἀρετή*)<sup>5</sup> is mirrored by the quest of the souls for freedom in the realm of the demons (593D) and is in fact already evident in the persons of people such as Socrates who are especially favored by the gods (580B).<sup>6</sup> This, of course, is also achieved by *ἀρετή*.

<sup>1</sup> In Luke-Acts we also find other paradigmatic figures, singularly among them Paul, who are patterned after the example of Jesus in much the same way that Epameinondas is patterned after Socrates in Plutarch's *De genio Socratis*. On this see the discussion below of 576F-577A. On the paradigmatic characteristics of Jesus in Luke-Acts cf. Hadas and Smith, *Heroes and Gods*, 162-63, and Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, 290.

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<sup>4</sup> A possible exception is the heresy combatted in Col ii 8; see below the discussion of 578F.

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion of *ἀρετή* above, 237 ff.

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Secondly, the struggling (*ἀγών*) of the souls to achieve liberation into the realm of the demons (593E-F) is reflected in the directions found on the deciphered inscription from the tomb of Alcmena instructing the Greeks to celebrate a cultic contest (*ἀγών*) instead of waging war to settle disputes (579A). In this way their passions (*τὰ πάθη*) will be calmed (579D).

This theme of struggling is introduced early in the tractate in the programmatic statement of Archedamus requesting Caphisias for his account of the freeing of Thebes. The true spectator, he reasons, observes the struggles of virtue pitted against chance (575C).<sup>1</sup> Thus the reader is prepared for an encounter with the theme later in the tractate. But for what kind of struggle is he prepared? Since the request of Archedamus is not specific and since the tractate is clearly a blending of the historical and the cosmological, the answer to that question is not readily apparent. Is *ἀρετή* struggling with *τύχη* for the liberation of Thebes or for the liberation of the soul? The answer to that is, of course, to be found in the concerns and intentions of Plutarch himself. He is obviously concerned about both.

When Plutarch begins and frames his tractate with the narrative of the liberation of Thebes, it is because this is for him historically incontrovertible fact. There it can be seen clearly and unambiguously that freedom can be won. And Plutarch skillfully shows how it is that the decisive action and boldness of the conspirators are the key factors in the gaining of freedom. In the end even the multitudes join in the final act of triumph (598D). Thus in the successful fight for the liberation of Thebes Plutarch finds a convenient and compelling source for the verification and illustration of the triumph of *ἀρετή* over *τύχη* in the cosmic realm, for the liberation of the soul in quest of its freedom.

In this way the reader also learns that his own longing for freedom can be satisfied, that his own struggling in the world can have a successful outcome, that his soul also can be liberated. This is verifiable in the liberation of Thebes, and it is already visible in the charismatic figure who, above all else, is free from the passions that

the overcoming of chance in the political drama comes about (again instructively) as much as a result of the indolence and drunkenness of the despot Archias as by the daring (*τόλμα*) of the conspirators. On the association of *τόλμα* and *ἀρετή* see 575C.

<sup>1</sup> See above, 237.

xii 35-37; Rv i 4-6; xxi 22). Notable exceptions to this within the NT are Luke-Acts<sup>1</sup> and Hebrews<sup>2</sup> (see Hb xii 2; cf. also 1 Pt ii 21; 1 Cl xvi 17; xxxiii 8; Pol vii 2). ECL also does not describe the ideal charismatic figure as free from the passions of the body as does Plutarch (588D). Rather for ECL the death of Jesus as well as his humanity and participation in human affairs are highly emphasized as central parts of early Christian preaching (1 Cor i 23; ii 2; Gal iv 4; Mk viii 31//Mt xvi 21//Lk ix 22; Mk ix 12; xiv 1ff.//Mt xxvi 1ff.//Lk xxii 1ff.; Hb iv 15-16; Jn xviii-xix; etc.). For Plutarch the death of Socrates is not emphasized in any segment of the tradition which is to be found in *De genio Socratis*.<sup>3</sup> Finally, while for Plutarch the fact that Socrates is a philosopher is something to be underscored, in ECL Jesus is not a philosopher.<sup>4</sup>

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When Plutarch begins and frames his tractate with the narrative of the liberation of Thebes, it is because this is for him historically incontrovertible fact. There it can be seen clearly and unambiguously that freedom can be won. And Plutarch skillfully shows how it is that the decisive action and boldness of the conspirators are the key factors in the gaining of freedom. In the end even the multitudes join in the final act of triumph (598D). Thus in the successful fight for the liberation of Thebes Plutarch finds a convenient and compelling source for the verification and illustration of the triumph of *ἀρετή* over *τύχη* in the cosmic realm, for the liberation of the soul in quest of its freedom.

In this way the reader also learns that his own longing for freedom can be satisfied, that his own struggling in the world can have a successful outcome, that his soul also can be liberated. This is verifiable in the liberation of Thebes, and it is already visible in the charismatic figure who, above all else, is free from the passions that

the overcoming of chance in the political drama comes about (again instructively) as much as a result of the indolence and drunkenness of the despot Archias as by the daring (*τόλμα*) of the conspirators. On the association of *τόλμα* and *ἀρετή* see 575C.

<sup>1</sup> See above, 237.

afflict and trap the souls of most people (οἱ πολλοί) in worldly affairs and prevent them from being delivered from rebirth (593D; F) and from which the superstitions of their religion are unable to free them. But for Plutarch there is a means for finding release from those passions in the present time, namely in the cult.

To this end he appropriates the legend about the tomb of Alcmena and the bronze tablet which was discovered there. According to the instructions of the deciphered tablet, the struggle against passion, which had been leading the Greeks into wars, is to be waged in the cult. Furthermore, this cultic contest turns out to be nothing else than philosophy (579A). In other words, in the pursuit of philosophy, which according to this segment of the tractate is pursued within the context of the cult, the struggle of the soul in the cosmic realm is reenacted. The objective of the struggle on both levels is the overcoming of passion (τὰ πάθη). The cult becomes the staging ground, repeatable always anew in the present time, for the struggle of the soul for freedom. The cosmic drama is historicized in the cult.

However, if the freeing of Thebes is historical tradition, which is unquestioned, then the cosmic drama of the struggle of the soul for freedom into the realm of the demons represents the mythologizing of historical tradition. Triumph in the historical realm is proof of victory in the cosmic realm. Personalized this means that the man who is free from passion (and other earthly encumbrances such as wealth and the desires it brings) has a soul that is free; a man's decisive action (ἀρετή) in worldly affairs is proof of the prowess (ἀρετή) of his soul.

In point of fact, however, this is limited to but few people (593D). To the majority the gods give only signs (σημεῖα), which give rise to the art of divination (μαντική, 593C, D). These people are like the majority of hounds (οἱ πολλοὶ κύνες) who can not even understand the hunter's signals (σημεῖα, 593B) and thus must resort to divination (593C).

This is because they are "overwhelmed by the tumult of their passions (παθῶν) and the distractions of their wants" (588D, translation of De Lacy and Einarson). Thus they are unable to perceive the intimations that come to them (cf. 588E), and they are debilitated in their superstition.<sup>1</sup> All of this reflects the aristocratic

<sup>1</sup> On the debilitating effects of superstition cf. also H. Braun ("Plutarch's Critique of Superstition in the Light of the New Testament," *Occasional Papers of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity* 5 [1972] 2), who describes Plutarch's view of superstition as "a dreadful slavery."

background and thinking of Plutarch himself.<sup>1</sup> Thus it, too, represents a projecting of the historical into the cosmic realm.

All of this is, of course, suggestive for the study of ECL. It has been suggested by Käsemann that in the gospels of the NT, specifically Mark, there is a projecting of the cosmic into historical narrative.<sup>2</sup> However, reminiscent of Plutarch, Käsemann has also suggested that the situation is actually more complex than that. He goes on to say that "if it is part of the historically unquestionable material of the gospel recollections that Jesus actually cured people who were possessed," then there is visible also the reverse, the "cosmic expansion" of historical tradition: "from the hymns there survived the fact that something historically unique was of world-wide importance."

In another context Käsemann has discussed other ramifications of this projection. There he argues that in the success of the Gentile mission the early church saw reflections and evidence of the triumph of Christ in the cosmic realm.<sup>3</sup> Yet at the same time for the early Hellenistic church it was the victory of Christ over the rulers of the universe, over fate and the demons that was the content of the message they proclaimed and was the basis and impetus for their mission endeavors.<sup>4</sup>

In a manner similar to Plutarch, for ECL the cult, and especially the sacraments, provides the means for the appropriation of the victory of Christ, of the freedom he has won (e.g., Ro vi 7-8). Also reminiscent of Plutarch, for ECL this appropriation is twofold: historical and cosmic. On the one hand there is appropriation of the death of Christ, and on the other hand there is participation in the cosmic victory of Christ. However, for ECL and especially for Paul, there is a characteristic limitation placed upon the latter, the so-called "eschatological reservation."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the aristocratic background of Plutarch see C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford, 1971) 9-10, 39-47, 110f. Jones (126 and n. 23) suggests that for Plutarch this might have blended very well with patriotism and latent anti-Romanism.

The complex question of Plutarch's indebtedness to and distinction from Plato, esp. *Phaedo*, cannot be entered into here.

<sup>2</sup> Käsemann, *Jesus Means Freedom*, 56.

<sup>3</sup> E. Käsemann, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia, 1969) 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 127-28.

<sup>5</sup> Not all of early Christianity accepted this eschatological reservation, of course. Indeed, it is on this point that many of the struggles within early

Finally, as in Plutarch so in ECL some of the sociological backgrounds of the traditions and of the redactions can be discerned.<sup>1</sup> However, virtually all of early Christianity was not, like Plutarch, aristocratic but lower class. That fact can be seen reflected at various points in the NT, for example in the beatitudes (Lk vi 20f.) and the woes (Lk vi 24f.) of Jesus<sup>2</sup> as well as elsewhere where the eschatological reversal of fortunes is to be found (e.g., Lk xvi 19-31). Once again, however, there is apparent the contrast between present and future: the historical is available in the present time while the cosmic is only anticipated, reserved for the eschatological future.

## Ch. 1

This entire chapter is a preface to the tractate. In it Plutarch sets the stage in several important ways for the ensuing matters that concern him. Not only is he informing the reader of when the narrative begins chronologically, but he is also bringing to the reader's attention his intentions (cf. Introduction above). In this way this chapter serves in much the same way that many ancient historians used a preface to begin their work (cf. H. Cadbury, "Commentary on the Preface of Luke," *Beginnings of Christianity* [eds. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; London, 1922] 2, 490-92).

Christianity took place. J. M. Robinson ("Kerygma and History in the New Testament," *Trajectories through Early Christianity* [Philadelphia, 1971] 30-38) has described the problem of baptismal resurrection. Similar problems related to the Lord's Supper are discussed by E. Käsemann ("The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," *Essays on New Testament Themes* [SBT, first series, 41; London, 1964] 108-35).

<sup>1</sup> This is recognized by R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford, 1963) 4. More than a decade and a half ago G. Iber ("Zur Formgeschichte der Evangelien," *ThR* n.F. 24 [1956-57] 285-338) pointed out that differences between Bultmann and M. Dibelius in their form critical work were "clearly evident" in the matter of the "Sitz im Leben" and that this had "nowhere become an object of detailed discussion." More recently D. Gewalt ("Neutestamentliche Exegese und Soziologie," *EvT* 31 [1971] 87-98) has discussed this (see 89) with other literature cited.

<sup>2</sup> That both Lk vi 20f. and 24f. go back to Jesus is held by Bultmann (*Synoptic Tradition*, 110-12). Cf. also J. M. Robinson, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (SBT, first series, 25; London, 1959) 121, 123. However, in neither place is there discussion of any possible sociological significance of the beatitudes or woes. There is an oblique yet somewhat suggestive reference by E. Fuchs ("The Essence of 'Language Event' and Christology," *Studies of the Historical Jesus* [SBT, first series, 42; London, 1964] 224), who describes those addressed by Jesus as "men who had everything to expect from God and nothing more from the world—and therefore men like Jesus himself."

In the NT the notable example is Luke (i 1-4; Ac i 1ff.). However, Plutarch's preface here differs from Luke's (and many other ancient historians'), in that it, like the entire document, is in the form of a dialogue. Plutarch's framework, the dialogue structure, begins at the very beginning, whereas for Luke there is a contrast in style between the preface and the body of the work. (This difference in Luke is pointed out by Cadbury ["Preface of Luke," 490].)

When Luke spoke of the *πράγματα πεπληροφορημένα* of which he was then about to write, including also the reports of the *αὐτόπται*, his objectives seem to be comparable to those of many ancient historians (so Cadbury, "Greek and Jewish Traditions of Writing History," *Beginnings of Christianity* 2, 9-10; and most recently H. Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium* [Freiburg, 1969] 1, 1ff.) including Plutarch (cf. Corlu [88-89], who argues that one of Plutarch's objectives in *De genio Socratis* is to refute the *μισολογία* against the Boeotians [575E]). The following is a summary of some of the similarities or parallels between the preface of *De genio Socratis* and that of Luke-Acts.

<i>Plutarch</i>	<i>Luke</i>
1) ἀκριβής (575B)	— ἀκριβῶς (i 3; cf. Ac xviii 25, 26)
2) πρᾶγμα (C), πράξις (D), τὰ πεπραγμένα (D)	— πρᾶγματα (i 1)
3) διελθέ τε τὴν πράξιν ἡμῶν (D)	— αὐτόπται (τὴν πράξιν πράγματα) . . . ἡμῶν (i 2)
4) ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (D)	— ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (i 2)
5) τοῦ λόγου (μετάδος . . . σοῦ) παρόντος (D)	— ὑπηρεται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου (παρέδοσαν ἡμῶν) (i 2)
6) μετάδος (D)	— παρέδοσαν (i 2)
7) μαθεῖν (D)	— ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς (i 4)
8) διήγησις (D, E)	— διήγησις (i 1)

(575C)

πρὸς τὴν τύχην. On the role of *τύχη* in the tractate cf. Introduction, 237 f., 242, where other passages of *De genio Socratis* are also noted and discussed. Here *τύχη* is opposed by *ἀρετή*, which is also a key motif of the tractate, recurring often (cf. Introduction, *passim*). ECL does employ the theme of *ἀγών*, cf. V. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif* (Leiden, 1967). However, in ECL the *ἀγών* is not *ἀρετῆς πρὸς τύχην* (which is named only MPol ix 2; x 1), but

the struggling is against the Devil (Eph vi 11-12) or without specified opponent as a metaphor of the Christian life. On the role of ἀγών in the tractate, see Introduction, 243. Ἀρετή occurs infrequently in ECL; cf. Bauer, *s.v.*, 1.

τόλμας. Used here in the traditional sense with the ἀγών motif. Here it is also linked to ἀρετή (cf. 596D). In 1 Cl xxx 8 it is negatively evaluated.

πάθει . . . λογισμοῦ. Here used positively; in ECL they are usually negative. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

(575E)

πατέρων ὄντας ἀγαθῶν. Traditional reference to the *topos* of εὐγένεια. This is important for Plutarch (cf. C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome*, 39-47). Paul ridicules the *topos*, 2 Cor xi 22 (cf. H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition* [BHT 45; Tübingen, 1972] 97). ECL also reflects interest in parentage, cf. Jn vi 42; Lk iii 23-38; Mt i 1-16; Mk vi 1-6//Mt xiii 53-58//Jn vi 42.

Ch. 2

(576C)

μύθων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ λόγων βαρβαρικῶν ὑπόπλεως. This refers to Simmias, who has recently returned to Thebes after much traveling abroad. Cf. the stock reference to the curiosity of the Athenians, Ac xvii 21 (18).

Ch. 3

(576D)

ὁ μάντις. Here this title refers to Theocritus (cf. Corlu, 15-16). Cf. Betz and Smith, 385B. The statement of Theocritus that follows is an important point of orientation for the entire tractate and is consistent with what Plutarch says about the popular piety throughout the tractate. Cf. Introduction, 238 f., and below 593D. Several of the terms and concepts used with a historical sense will be used in a parallel way referring to the cosmic realm. οὐδὲ μετέληψε παιδείας. For the praising of the uneducated cf. Ac iv 13; 1 Cor i 26f.

(576E)

φύσει πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀγόμενος. Cf. Paul's approving statement about the Gentiles, Ro ii 14; cf. ITr i 1.

πεπαιδεῦσθαι πρὸς ἀρετήν. A common Greek idea. For Plutarch it also has cosmological significance (593E-F). In ECL it is used in a theological way, 2 Ti iii 16; Tit ii 12; 1 Cl xxi 8; Hs 6:3:6.

(576F-577A)

The defense of Epameinondas by Caphisias pictures him in a Socratic fashion as the ideal man (cf. Introduction). Cf. the descriptions of the apostles, esp. Paul, in Acts (cf. H. Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke* [London, 1960,] 217 and n. 2).

(576F)

ἐλευθεροῦσι. This historical usage is paralleled with the mythological freeing of the soul, 593D. Cf. Introduction.

Ch. 4

(577D)

σημεῖα καὶ μαντεύματα . . . προτεθεσπίσθαι. The first of repeated references to the ambiguous omens. Only σημεῖον occurs in ECL, Bauer, *s.v.* Cf. also Introduction, and 593D.

Ch. 5

(577E)

ἡ ὄψις τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης τάφου. The following story (577E-578A) of a discovery of an "empty tomb" of a hero is taken by Theocritus as a bad omen. For the legend of Alcmena's disappearance cf. Corlu, 187, n. 26; *GGR* 1<sup>3</sup>, 202, 209. The legend has many parallels to Mk xvi 1-8//Mt xxviii 1-8//Lk xxiv 1-12//Jn xx 1-3. The veneration of a tomb of a hero like Alcmena can be compared with the "holy tombs" venerated by the Jews (cf. Mt xxiii 29//Lk xi 47; Ac ii 29). See J. Jeremias, *Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt* (Göttingen, 1958). The entire discussion of the tomb of Alcmena between Theocritus and Pheidolaüs is cast in the framework of popular piety, the inadequacy of which Plutarch is attempting to show. Similarly ECL records traditional materials which are also judged to be inadequate (cf. J. M. Robinson, "The Johannine Trajectory," *Trajectories through Early Christianity* [Philadelphia, 1971] 238-60).

παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνοιχθέντος. The opening of the tomb was regarded as sacrilegious (cf. 578A, μὴνιμα τοῦ τάφου). The opening of Jesus' tomb was not done by human hands, but miraculously (Mt xxviii

2; Mk xvi 3-4). However, human interference is implied in the polemic of the Jews that the disciples stole the body of Jesus (Mt xxvii 62-66; GP 28-34).

εἰ δὴ παρεγένου. This refers to the importance of the eyewitness. Cf. the intent of the gospel writers to make the disciples eye-witnesses of the discovery of Jesus' empty tomb, Mk xvi 1-8//Mt xxviii 1-8//Lk xxiv 1-12//Jn xx 1-13.

τὰ λείψανα. A technical term ("relics"). Cf. MPol xvii 1: κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. See H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (TU 76; Berlin, 1961) 41, n. 1; 151.

εὐρέθη δ' οὖν <ἐν τῷ μνήματι λίθος μὲν ἀντὶ τοῦ> σώματος. Cf. Lk xxiv 3, οὐχ εὔρον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (also xxiv 23); Jn xx 12. The term μνήμα is used in reference to Jesus' tomb in Mk xv 46; xvi 2; Lk xxiii 53; xxiv 1. The stone which the women found is, however, the door-stone (Mt xxviii 2; Mk xvi 3f.//Lk xxiv 2//Jn xx 1. Ac xvii 29 explicitly rejects the association of any material (cult) object with God; cf. Dg ii 2.

(577F)

ψέλλιον δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐ μέγα καὶ δύο ἀμφορεῖς κεραμοῖ . . . The objects correspond to the τὰ ὀθόνια . . . καὶ τὸ σουδάριον (Jn xx 6-7, Lk xxiv 12).

πίναξ χαλκοῦς ἔχων γράμματα πολλὰ θαυμαστὸν ὡς παμπάλαια. The ancient bronze tablet found outside of the tomb contains a revelatory inscription, an oracle which was deciphered in Egypt (cf. 578F); it functions in a manner similar to the revelation by the angel, Mk xvi 5-7//Mt xxviii 5-7//Lk xxiv 3-8 (cf. also Hv 2:1:3-4). Cf. J. Schwartz, "Le tombeau d'Alcmène," *RArch* 1 (1958) 76-83, and Beardslee, 942C.

βαρβαρικὸς τῶν χαρακτήρων ἐμπερέστατος Αἰγυπτίους. Egyptian letters were considered a depository of divine wisdom. Cf. Betz and Smith, 354D. Cf. Ac vii 22 (Hb xi 26).

δεῖξαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. Cf. Mk i 44//Mt viii 4//Lk v 14 (Lev. xiii 49); Mt ii 3f.

(578A)

ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διὰ φιλοσοφίαν συγγενόμενος. Cf. Ac vii 22; see also 578F.

Ἀλιάρτιοι δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀφορίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπίβασιν τῆς λίμνης. The people of Haliartus took a failure of crops and a flood by the

Copaic lake to be punishment miracles which occurred because of the violation of the tomb. In ECL we also find punishment miracles, e.g. Mk xi 12ff.//Mt xxi 18ff.; Ac v 1-11; xii 22-23; xix 13-20. Such a view is rejected in Jn ix 2ff. However, ECL more frequently threatens punishment according to the *ius talionis*, e.g., 1 Cor iii 17 (cf. E. Käsemann, "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament," *New Testament Questions of Today*, 66-81). See Betz, *Lukian*, 177-79.

ταῦτομάτου. Cf. Rollins, 398B.

τὸ δαιμόνιον. Cf. Ac xvii 18. In ECL δαιμόνιον brings harm to man (e.g., Lk iv 31-37), although not necessarily punitively. On the punitive powers of the daemon, cf. J. Oakesmith, *The Religion of Plutarch* (Leiden, 1902) 166; Betz and Smith, 394A.

τὰ σημεῖα. Cf. 577D.

(578B)

χοὰς ποιησόμενος Ἀλκμήνη καὶ Ἀλέφ. Libations were not part of the early Christian cult. For metaphorical usage, cf. Phil ii 17; 2 Ti iv 6; I Ro ii 2.

κατὰ δὴ τινα χρησμόν. The honoring of the heroes (cf. previous entry) corresponds to the orders given by the angel Mk xvi 7f.//Mt xxviii 7f. See Betz and Smith, 384F, s.v. χρᾶν.

ἀγνοῶν τὸν Ἄλεον ὅστις ἦν. Lysanoridus' desire to find the tomb, about which he knows from myth, can be compared to the later search for Jesus' tomb as a result of the accounts in Mk xvi 1-8//Mt xxviii 1-8//Lk xxiv 1-12. The fascination with the tombs, which for Plutarch is again characteristic of the popular piety, is not clearly attested in ECL.

ἱερουργίας. Cf. ἱερουργεῖν, Ro xv 16.

(578C)

οὐκ εἰδότες . . . δρωμένων . . . τάφου. The conjectural reading is probably accurate. To the μάντις Theocritus what is objectionable about the despots is their ignorance in cultic matters.

Ch. 6

(578D)

ἀγρίων καὶ βαρβάρων ἠθῶν . . . τύραννον . . . γέροντα . . . ἐχθρὸς . . . ἀνόμων . . . ἀνυπευθύνων δυναστειῶν. An important statement, which provides at once insight into the rationale for the rebels'

undertaking, and at the same time insight into the character of Simmias, coming as this statement does in juxtaposition with the statement of the μάντις Theocritus at the end of chapter 5. On ἦθος cf. Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 551E.

ὅ τι καινότερον ἱστορήκοι. Cf. 576C.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως θεῶ μελήσει. Cf. 1 Cor ix 9: μέλει τῷ θεῷ. See Bauer, s.v. μέλει, 1. That God will punish the lawless rulers is also believed by ECL; cf. Ac xii 23; Ro xii 19. However, ECL and esp. apocalyptic do not say "ἴσως"; cf. 2 Th ii 8; Rv xvii 14; xix 2. Compare and contrast the statement of Simmias with that of Pheidolaüs in 578A.

(578E)

ἐμπύρων λείψανα καὶ χοὰς γάλακτος. Cf. 578B: ἀπύρους ἱερουργίας. Primitive Christianity participated in the Jewish cult and presumably in its sacrificial ritual; cf. Mt v 23-24. See also Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 560D.

#### Ch. 7

(578F)

οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς τὰ γράμματα συμβαλεῖν τοῦ πίνακος. See 578A. τὸν προφήτην, ᾧ πολλὰ τότε συμφιλοσοφοῦντες διετρίβομεν. The title προφήτης is given to the Egyptian Chonuphis; it is understood that those priests engage primarily in "philosophy." Perhaps an analogous concept lies behind Col ii 8. Cf. E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Philadelphia, 1971) *ad loc.*

(579A)

ὡς Μούσαις ἀγῶνα συντελεῖσθαι κελεύει τὰ γράμματα. As expected, the inscription found in front of Alcmena's tomb turns out to be an oracle, ordering the cultic institution of a contest in honor of the Muses. Cf. Mk xvi 1-8//Mt xxviii 1-8//Lk xxiv 1-11, where the discovery of the tomb of Jesus leads to the establishment of the church.

ὕφηγεῖσθαι . . . καὶ παραινεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησι διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τὸν θεόν. The oracle is also interpreted as moral advice by the god to settle their disputes not by weapons but by philosophical dialogue. In ECL the Scriptures play a similar role. Cf. also Ro xii 19-20; 1 Cor x 1-13.

ἄγειν σχολὴν καὶ εἰρήνην διὰ φιλοσοφίας. This statement provides

another important point of orientation for the tractate. This is in fact what Plutarch obviously understands himself to be doing. This statement must be seen in context of the struggle of the conspiracy and as parallel to the struggle of the soul (ἀμιλλωμένους: 593E) to be saved and to reach a haven (σφζεσθαι καὶ τυγχάνειν λιμένος: 593F). This view is also in contrast to the other forms of piety which Plutarch describes and rejects as inadequate. This statement also shows clearly the aristocratic nature of Plutarch's own piety. In contrast to Plutarch, Pauline tradition sees ἀγάπη as the means to peace, Ro xii 9-21; 1 Cor xiii; Gal v 6, 13-15; Eph iv 1-4.

(579B)

χρησιμόν. Cf. Betz and Smith, 384F, s.v. χρᾶν.

(579B-D)

On the "Delian problem" see Betz and Smith, 386E, and De Lacy and Einarson, 397 *ad loc.*

(579C)

τὸν θεὸν . . . προστάσσειν. For this technical term, cf. Mt i 24; xxi 6; Ac x 33; xvii 26; and Bauer s.v. πολέμου. The god urges the Greeks to stop the wars and keep peace (579A). This divine opposition to war is characteristic of ECL, too; cf. Mt v 9; 1 Cor xiv 33; Js iv 1-2.

(579D)

διὰ λόγων καὶ μαθημάτων τὰ πάθη καταπραΰνοντας. This completes the parallelism between the historical-political realm and the cosmic (cf. 584D-585D, 593A-594A) in this speech of Simmias (cf. the speech of Epameinondas, 584D-585D). The πάθη cause wars in the historical-political realm and in the cosmic realm, in the soul. Similar to this in ECL is Js iv 1-2 (ἡδοναί . . . ἐπιθυμεῖν, cf. 584Dff., ἐπιθυμία . . . ἡδοναί).

#### Ch. 8

(579D-E)

χοὰς χέασθαι περὶ τὸν τάφον. See 578B.

(579E)

ἐνυπνίων . . . φασμάτων ἐναργῶν. Dreams and visions have sent the Pythagorean Theanor from Italy to Greece to perform sacrificial rites at the tomb of Lysias. See Betz and Smith, 393D. Cf. also Beardslee, 941F, for a distinction between the various types of revelation.

(579F)

ἀπολουσόμενον. The Pythagorean has to purify himself because of his contact with a tomb and a dead person. Cf. Mt xxiii 27; Mk v 2; Jn xix 39.

τὰ λείψανα. See 577E.

εἰ μὴ τι νύκτωρ ὑπεναντιωθεῖη δαιμόνιον. Cf. Ro i 13; xv 22; 1 Th ii 18; Ac xvi 6-7; xxi 4. It is significant that Theanor, the wealthy Pythagorean, is said to anticipate the revelation of a δαιμόνιον, not σημεῖα or μαντική (cf. by contrast 577D and 593D). Theanor spent the night at the tomb in order to facilitate the appearance of the daimon. On the association of daimons and tombs cf. Mk v 3//Lk viii 27; and Beardslee, 944D.

## Ch. 9

ἄνδρα καθαρῶν τύφου καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας. The term δεισιδαιμονία is used negatively here as in *De superstitione*; cf. M. Smith; Introduction; Dg i. On τύφος see 580B.

οἱ . . . ἔκοντες ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν τούτων ἀλίσκονται δι' ἀπειρίαν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν. This explanation for τύφος and δεισιδαιμονία is similar to *De superstitione*; cf. M. Smith, 164E. Cf. also Ro vii 23 (αἰχμαλωτίζειν); Js i 14f.; 2 Pt ii 14, 18.

ὡς θεοφιλεῖς καὶ περιττοὶ τινες εἶναι δοκοῦεν. Cf. Paul's remark about οἱ δοκοῦντες, Gal ii 2; θεοφιλής, MPol iii.

ἐπιθειάζουσι τὰς πράξεις. This phrase describes the pretentious activity of "divine men" (charlatans): by miraculous events they cover up what comes to them by natural intelligence. Cf. 2 Cor xii 1-12, and Betz, *Paulus*, *passim*.

δνειράτα καὶ φάσματα καὶ τοιοῦτον ἕλλον ἔγκον. Cf. 2 Cor xii 1: ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις; xii 12: σημεῖα τε καὶ τέρασιν καὶ δυνάμεισιν: a list of conventional terms referred to in a negative tone. Here it is criticism of those who claim divine revelations as support for their own objectives. Paul's opponents (2 Cor xii 1-5) made use of

the same technique. Cf. Betz, *Paulus*, 70ff., 91, 93; Bauer, *s.v.* σημεῖον, 2.

(580A)

οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἴσως ἐστίν. Even Galaxidorus is inclined to concede the usefulness of superstition to control the unruly mob. This is consistent with the view of Theanor expressed below, 593D.

ἐκ χαλινῶ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας. The politicians use the superstition of the mob to keep them under control. On this relationship between the religious charlatan and the demagogue, cf. Betz, *Paulus*, 33f. In ECL it is Luke who reflects a similar exploitation of popular superstition, esp. by politicians and the Jews, cf. Ac viii 6-7; xiii 44-52; xiv 19; xvi 16-18 (where Paul, however, disrupts this); xvii 5-9; xix 23-41. On the metaphor of the "bridle" cf. Js i 26; iii 3; Hm 12:1:1; Pol v 3.

πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. Cf. the same expression in 1 Cor xii 7.

μεταστῆσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς. Cf. μετέστησεν ἱκανὸν ὄχλον, Ac xix 26.

ὁ . . . σχηματισμός. The following section (580A-B) defines what is appropriate and what is not appropriate for philosophy. As such it is a very important, programmatic part of the tractate. Cf. Paul's argument, 2 Cor x 1-10, and the interpretation of Betz, *Paulus*, 44-57.

εἰς θεοὺς ἐπαναχωρεῖ <περὶ> τῆς τῶν πράξεων ἀρχῆς. Personal responsibility for one's own conduct is a central thesis of the tractate. Thus to abdicate that responsibility, as the common people do by resorting to superstition, must be rejected. The popular piety is finally still chance (τύχη, 575C; cf. κατατυγχάνειν, 580B). One's conduct must rather be guided by λόγος, which is then ἀρετή (cf. 575C, 576E-577A). Cf. Introduction.

ὡς τοῦ λόγου καταφρονοῦσα. Cf. the accusation against Paul, 2 Cor x 10: ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος. See Betz, *Paulus*, 57-69.

τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. Cf. 1 Cor ii 4, and Bauer, *s.v.*

πρὸς μαντεύματα τρέπεται καὶ δνειράτων ὄψεις. Another reference to the popular piety, which, of course, is rejected as inappropriate for philosophy. Cf. 576D; 577D; 579F (δνειράτα . . .).

(580B)

ἐν οἷς ὁ φαυλότατος οὐχ ἦττον τῷ κατατυγχάνειν πολλάκις φέρεται τοῦ κρατίστου. The popular piety, here being described pejoratively, reduces all people to the same level since in the final analysis it is

still chance (*κατατυγχάνειν*). This ECL would reject just as Galaxidorus but for very different reasons and with a totally different result (cf. Introduction). This is illustrated by Paul's use of this argument against his opponents, 2 Cor xii 1-10 (cf. Betz, *Paulus*, 70ff.); cf. also Ac viii 9-24; xiii 6ff.; xvi 16ff.; xix 13ff.

Σωκράτης ὁ ὑμέτερος. As often in Hellenistic philosophy, Socrates is the prototype of the true philosopher in contrast to the sophists, who are associated with religious charlatanery. Cf. 2 Cor x-xiii and Betz, *Paulus*, 13ff.

ὁ ὑμέτερος, ὁ Σιμμία. Simmias, the disciple of Socrates, serves as the "link" between the revered man of the past and the later times under discussion. In ECL, esp. Acts, the disciples of Jesus have a similar function. Cf. H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 215-18; Corlu, 49.

τὸ ἀφελές. Cf. Ac ii 46: ἀφελότης καρδίας. For the *topos* that one's manner of life should correspond to his teaching, cf. Betz, *Lukian*, 114ff.

ἐλευθέριον. A focal point in the description of Socrates. Thus Socrates, the prototype of the philosopher, being characterized as "free," is paralleled with those conspiring for the freedom of Thebes (576F, 598D) and with the souls liberated from earthly birth (593D). Socrates' conduct was "free." This is clearly another facet of the central paradigmatic theme of the tractate (cf. Introduction). (Cf. also 581C, where it is said that Socrates' choice of life-style was made by "free-will"—ἐκουσίως.)

ἐλόμενος. Used with the sense of "prefer" by choice for the course of one's life, cf. Phil i 22. Here this is linked to the ἐλευθέριον and related to ἐκουσίως (581C).

τὸν . . . τυφόν. Here the term refers to the sophists. Cf. 1 Cl xiii 1 (with ἀλαζονεία, ἀφροσύνη, ὄργαι).

τοὺς σοφιστάς. On the contrast between the "true" and the "false" philosophers, cf. Ac xvii 18ff., and Betz, *Paulus*, 34, 38, 54, 118ff. As could be expected, the rejoinder to this statement of Galaxidorus is brought forward by Theocritus, the μάντις and a spokesman for the popular religion (cf. 576D).

Σωκράτης ὑπερέωρα τὰ θεῖα. According to tradition this was one of the accusations against Socrates. Cf. the accusations against Paul, Ac xvii 18; xix 26 (xvii 29). See also Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, 38ff.

(580C)

οὐδαμῶς . . . τὰ γε θεῖα. Galaxidorus now defends Socrates as one who merely distinguished "true religion" from φάσματα δὲ καὶ μῦθοι καὶ δεισιδαιμονία. Luke (cf. esp. Ac xiv 7ff.; xvii 16ff.; xix 23ff.) makes a similar case for Paul, if not for Christianity as a whole. φασμάτων δὲ καὶ μύθων καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας. Cf. 579F. On the negative view of μῦθος cf. Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 557F.

βεβακχευμένην vs. λόγῳ νήφοντι. The contrast between spiritual "drunkenness" and soberness is an important *topos*. Cf. 1 Th v 6, 8; 2 Ti iv 5; 1 Pt i 13; iv 7; v 8; IPol ii 3; Pol vii 2. See O. Bauernfeind, *TWNT* 4, 936-40 = *TDNT* 4, 936-41.

#### Ch. 10

τὸ . . . δαιμόνιον. The term here refers specifically to the divine sign occurring to Socrates. See Corlu, 47ff.; Ac xvii 18 reflects a slanderous accusation against Socrates, turning his δαιμόνιον into the introduction of new gods. Cf. Guthrie, *Socrates*, 82f.

εἰς μαντικὴν ἔδοξε καὶ θεῖον. For Theocritus this is the way in which Socrates exceeds all others, even Pythagoras. Cf. 593D where this is also said to be characteristic of the piety of the masses. The technical term μαντική does not occur in ECL.

τοῦ βίου προποδηγὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Cf. the shepherd in Hv 5 and M. Dibelius, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (Tübingen, 1923) 494-96.

ὄψιν. The daimonion is interpreted as a type of "vision"; this interpretation is secondary as compared with the earliest report concerning it. See Corlu, 47. Thus it comes close to what Paul calls ὀπτασίαι καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις, 2 Cor xii 1.

(580D)

ἐν πράγμασιν ἀδήλοις καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσυλλογίστοις φρόνησιν. With this effect of Socrates' daimonion cf. Ro ix 33-36; 1 Cor i 18ff.; ii 1ff.; Mt xi 25-27//Lk x 21-22; Mt xvi 17.

ἐπιθειάζον. Cf. 579F.

τὰ . . . πλείονα καὶ μείζονα. Cf. Jn xx 30; xxi 25.

ἐμοῦ δὲ παρόντος. The "eye-witness" account is of particular importance in connection with miracle stories. See Betz, *Lukian*, 117, n. 4; 145. Cf. Mk xiv 51; Lk i 2; and W. Michaelis, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 5, 347ff. The following story is a somewhat burlesque (to be expected of Theocritus) miracle story from the Socrates tradition (see Guthrie, *Socrates*, 59, n. 1).

ὅτε πρὸς Εὐθύφρονα . . . ἤκομεν. As is typical for a miracle story, there is at the beginning reference to date, place and persons present. On miracle story in ECL cf. Mk i 21-28//Lk iv 31-37; and Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition*, 209ff.

τὸν μάντιν. Cf. 576D, and Betz and Smith, 385B.

ἄφνω. Cf. the sudden occurrence of miracles in Ac ii 2; xvi 26; and often. See Betz, *Lukian*, 157.

## (580E)

νεανίσκοι δέ τινες τὴν εὐθεϊαν βαδίζοντες. The foolishness of the disciples is a motif which increases the admiration for the master; it is also employed in ECL (cf. W. Wrede, *The Messianic Secret* [Cambridge, 1971] 101ff.).

## (580F)

σῶες. The role of pigs is both comic and demonic; cf. Mk v 11-13//Mt viii 30-32//Lk viii 32-33. H. Almqvist (*Plutarch und das Neue Testament* [Uppsala, 1946] 136) refers here to 2 Pt ii 22 and the common view that pigs have a dirty life style.

τοὺς μὲν ἀνέτρεψαν ἐμβαλοῦσαι τοὺς δὲ ἀνεμόλυναν. In the miracle story those who do not follow Socrates' example meet with misfortune; compare Ac xxvii 9ff., where failure to follow Paul's advice also brings trouble.

τὰ τε σκέλη καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια βορβόρου μεστός. This corresponds to the feature of "demonstration" in the miracle story. Cf. Mk i 31 and Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition*, 225; Betz, *Lukian*, 157ff.

θαυμάζοντας. This term indicates another feature of the miracle story. Cf. Mt viii 27 and Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition*, 225f.; Betz, *Lukian*, 159f.

εἰ μηδαμοῦ προλείπει τὸν ἄνδρα μηδ' ἀμελεῖ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ. Programmatic statement of the divine man concept in miracle stories; cf. Jn viii 16, 29; xvi 32; contrast: ἐλωτ' ἐλωτ' λαμὰ σαβαχθάνι κτλ., Mk xv 34//Mt xxvii 46.

## Ch. 11

δύναμιν. The daimonion is defined as a peculiar "power" but not with the character of μαντική, which reaches beyond reason. The concept of δύναμις as a cause of "prophecy" is common in ECL: cf. W. Grundmann, *TWNT* 2, 301ff. = *TDNT* 2, 300ff.

τῆς κοινῆς . . . μαντικῆς. Cf. 593D; μαντική characterizes the popular

piety. Corlu reads ἀνάγκης, less probable although even more suggestive.

ἐν τοῖς ἀδῆλοις καὶ ἀτεκνάρτοις τῷ λογισμῷ. Cf. τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Cor ii 10; also Phil iv 7, ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν; Eph iii 18f.; Col i 26; ii 2.

## (581A)

πταρμός. Cf. 580C, ὄψιν. The "sneeze" as omen is not found in ECL. See Corlu, 49ff.

ἐκ δεξιᾶς. The right side is the positive, the left the negative; ECL shares this view. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

## (581B)

τύφου. Cf. 580B.

ἀπλότητος. Cf. 2 Cor xi 3, also in contrast to quackery. Cf. further Bauer, *s.v.*

ὑπὸ φωνῆς ἔξωθεν ἢ πταρμοῦ τινος. To be influenced by external voice or sneezing is characteristic of the superstition of the many but inappropriate for Socrates. On this type of φωνή cf. Mk i 11//Mt iii 17//Lk iii 22; Mk ix 7//Mt xvii 5//Lk ix 35; Jn xii 18; Ac vii 31; ix 4, 7; x 13, 15, and often.

## (581C)

αἱ δὲ Σωκράτους ὄρμαι. This section (581C-D) contains a concise description of Socrates as a θεῖος ἀνὴρ, which comes from the Socratic tradition. See Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, 40-41.

τόνον ἀμετάστρεπτον . . . καὶ σφοδρότητα. These are named as characteristic of Socrates' "movements." Although the terms do not occur, one is reminded of Jesus' "movements" in the passion narratives (cf., e.g., Mt xxvi 1ff.//Mk xiv 1ff.//Lk xxii 1ff.) and of the apostles in Acts. Cf. also 1 Cor xv 58; Hb vi 17.

πενία γὰρ ἐμμεῖναι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως. The voluntary poverty, which is characteristic of Socrates, here acquires central importance and becomes a paradigm of the tractate (visible again in the person of Epameinondas, 583D-585D); it is clear that this is part of Plutarch's description of ἀρετή (584F) and of freedom (ἐκουσίως, 585B). For comparison with ECL cf. Introduction. Voluntary poverty is also cherished by parts of primitive Christianity. Cf. Lk vi 20; F. Hauck, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 6, 37ff.; F. Hauck and E. Bammel, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 6, 885ff.; Betz, *Paulus*, 100ff.

τέλος. The description of Socrates' death refers to well-known elements from the Socratic tradition: his refusal to escape, his facing death ἀτρέπτω τῷ λογισμῷ, and his continuing adherence to philosophy in spite of obstacles. Similar to this is the attitude of Jesus, of Paul in Acts, and of Polycarp.

## (581D)

τύχοι. Omens such as voices and sneezes are associated with τύχη. Socrates is free of this. Cf. Introduction.

ὑπὸ μείζονος ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀγομένου πρὸς τὸ καλόν. Compare this judgement upon Socrates with that of the centurion upon Jesus (Mk xv 39//Mt xxvii 54//Lk xxiii 47); Ac ii 22-24 and Christology as a whole; also Luke's view of the apostles (e.g., Ac v 38f.).

προειπεῖν. Plutarch refers to two instances from the Socrates legend which demonstrate Socrates' ability to foretell the future. Cf. the prophetic ability of Jesus (Mk ix 30ff. and often) and of Paul (Ac xx 23; xxi 11, 13).

## (581E)

τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου παρακούσαντας. Disobedience in regard to Socrates' daimonion leads to death, a punishment miracle. Cf. Ac xxvii 21ff., 31f., 42f.; xvi 27. See Betz, *Lukian*, 177-79; Einarson and De Lacy, 413, n. a.

ταῦτα δ' οἶμαι καὶ Συμμίαν ἀκηκοέναι. Cf. Mk i 28; Mt iv 24; ix 26; xiv 1; Lk iv 14, etc.

πολλάκις . . . καὶ πολλῶν· διεβοήθη γὰρ οὐκ ἤρέμα τὸ Σωκράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἐκ τούτων δαιμόνιον. This remark, referring to the spread of fame, belongs to the *topos* of miracle stories. Cf. preceding entry.

## Ch. 12

The common people and their piety are again defended by Pheidolaüs, who argues that Galaxidorus has only given a caricature. Even for them *μαντεία* is more than sneezes and other omens.

τοσοῦτο μαντείας ἔργον. This concludes a collection of miracle stories which show that the daimonion of Socrates was a supernatural power and not just a case of sneezes and chance remarks, cf. Jn xx 31.

## (581F)

οἱ πολλοί. The view of the crowds as being superstitious is found in ECL, esp. Luke; cf. Ac ii 12f.; viii 6, 9f.; xiv 11ff.; xvii 16ff.; xix 24ff.; etc. See R. Meyer, *TWNT* 5, 585ff. = *TDNT* 5, 586ff.

## (582A)

While not denying or rejecting the omens, Galaxidorus here reiterates the view that they are finally trivial and of little value, esp. to the "man of intelligence" (582B, νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος).

πελαγίου φθόγγος ἕρμιθος ἢ διαδρομὴ κνηκίδος ἀραιᾶς πνεῦμα σημαίνει καὶ κίνησιν τραχυτέραν θαλάσσης, οὕτω. . . . Discerning of weather by small signs used as a comparison, see Mt xvi 1-3//Lk xii 54-56. οὐ μέγα καθ' αὐτό <μεγάλου δέ σημεῖόν ἐστι> συμπτώματος. This principle governs all forms of mantic. Cf. Mt xvi 3; Mk xiii 11f.; Lk ii 12.

## (582B)

ἀτυφία καὶ ἀφελεία. The description of Socrates suggests aspects of the character of the free man. Cf. 579F, 580B.

φιλοσοφίαν ἐξανθρωπίσαντος. This is traditionally said to be one of Socrates' accomplishments. In general, ECL shares the Hellenistic preoccupation with human problems rather than with those of legal casuistry, philosophical definitions or scientific research of any kind. Cf. Mk xii 37ff.//Mt xxiii 11f.//Lk xx 45ff.; 2 Cor x 4f.; 1 Ti vi 4.

## Ch. 13

## (582D)

τὸν ξένον. The careful introductory description of the stranger should be contrasted with that of Paul in Athens, Ac xvii 18ff.

πραότητα καὶ φιλοφροσύνην τοῦ ἡθους ὑποφαίνοντα καὶ σεμνῶς. The stranger fits the common ideal of a person. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* *πραότης*. *Φιλοφροσύνη* does not occur in ECL, but cf. *φιλοφρόνων* Ac xxviii 7; *φιλόφρων* 1 Pt iii 8; v.l., *σεμνῶς* Hv 3:5:1; Hs 9:25:2; 9:1:2; 1 Cl i 3. See Bauer, *s.v.* *σεμνός*, *σεμνότης*.

## (582E)

ἀρχὴ γὰρ τις ἐντυχίας καὶ γνώσεως αὐτῆ συνήθης. A cultural explanation. Cf. Mk vii 3-4; xiv 12//Lk xxii 7.

ἔργους καλοῦς καλὰ δόγματα βεβαιῶν. The "divine man" harmonizes

good deeds with good teachings. Cf. 1 Cor ix 27; Mt v 19; xxiii 3; Lk vi 43-46; Js i 22f.; ii 14-17. See Betz, *Lukian*, 114ff.

(582F)

ἡ γὰρ χάρις οὐχ ἤττον δεομένη τοῦ λαμβάνοντος ἢ τοῦ διδόντος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τελειοῦται πρὸς τὸ καλόν. The whole discussion of "receiving" and "giving" makes the point that both have to be balanced; by contrast cf. Ac xx 35. See Betz and Smith, 384E; D. Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme* (Paris, 1969) 344ff.

ποίου γὰρ οὕτω . . . ὡς ἀνδρὸς εὖ παθεῖν ἀξίου διὰ χάριτος ἐφιέμενον; ECL does not place importance on the ἀξίος as the reason for helping others. Commonly it is "need" (χρεία), e.g., 1 Jn iii 17; Js ii 14-17. Cf. Mt xix 21; Hs 2:5-7.

(583B)

τὰ . . . λείψανα. Cf. above 577E.

τὸ Λύσιδος δαιμόνιον ἤδη τεθνηκότος ἐναργῶς προϋπέφαινε τὴν τελευταίαν. The "demon" of Lysis appears after his death. Cf. the appearances of Jesus: Mk xvi 9ff.//Mt xxviii 9ff.//Lk xxiv 10ff.//Jn xx 14ff. For ἐναργῶς cf. Ac x 3, 40, and Betz, *Lukian*, 53f.

(583C)

ἐχόντων οὐκ ἔχουσι χρήματα διδόντων, πολλὴν <δὲ> χάριν καὶ φιλίαν ἀντιλαμβάνοντων. Cf. Betz and Smith, 384E.

#### Ch. 14

Here begins a discourse, the chief feature of which is the character of Epameinondas, whose ἀρετή (576E, 584F) is manifested here chiefly in his freely rejecting (ἐκουσίως, 585B; cf. 583D, F, 584D) the burden of wealth (583E). Thus it is clear that he is also free of desires (584D-585A) and pleasures (cf. esp. 585B-D). On the significance of this in Plutarch and for the study of ECL, cf. Introduction, 241, esp. n. 1.

(583D)

προϊέμεθα τὴν πενίαν. The shunning of wealth is also to be found in ECL, there with a corresponding reward for poverty (πτωχεία). For further comparison and contrast on this see 584E infra.

(583E)

στέργει τὰ παρόντα. Comparable is Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor vii 17-24 and Phil iv 11.

ξένον . . . βαρύτερον τὸν πλοῦτον. Cf. 583D and 584E infra.

(584A)

ἦκεις δὲ φάρμακα φίλοις μὴ νοσοῦσι κομίζων. This statement implies the wisdom clearly stated in Mk ii 17//Mt ix 12//Lk v 31.

#### Ch. 15

(584B)

δι' ἀπειροκαλίαν ἢ τυφόν. Cf. 580B, 582B, where Socrates is ἄτυφος; 579F, where τυφός is linked to δεισιδαιμονία.

(584C)

πότερον ἡγῆ δόσιν μὲν εἶναι τινα χρημάτων ὀρθὴν λῆψιν δὲ μηδεμίαν. The debate about giving and receiving is taken up again (see 582F).

(584D)

εἰσι δὴπουθεν ἐπιθυμῖαι πολλαὶ καὶ πολλῶν. Under the influence of Epicureanism the ἐπιθυμῖαι are divided into the "innate" and the "adventitious." See Corlu, 44 and 191, n. 73. Cf. Ro i 24 and F. Büchsel, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 3, 168ff.

ἡ πενία μὴ δυσχερὲς. Within its own theological presuppositions, ECL does agree with this. Cf. Mt xi 5//Lk vii 22; Lk vi 20 and often; Js ii 2-7; Rv ii 9. See infra 584E, and Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme*, 345.

(584E)

ἡδονάς. Cf. Lk viii 14; Tit iii 3; Js iv 1-3; and Bauer, *s.v.*, 1. κενῶν δοξῶν. They are the outcome of the "adventitious" desires.

Cf. Gal v 26; D iii 5; and Bauer, *s.v.* κενοδοξία, κενοδοξέω.

τὴν ψυχὴν. Cf. 593D-594A infra.

τὸ δὲ πᾶν τῆς ἀσκήσεως κράτος. The following discourse on "education" through asceticism has no parallel in ECL. See Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme*, 344ff.; H. G. Ingenkamp, *Plutarchs Schriften über die Heilung der Seele* (Hypomnemata 34; Göttingen, 1971) 99. But ECL also has a tendency toward self-denial.

However, in this discussion asceticism is essentially a voluntary acceptance of poverty (*πενία*). This follows the line of conventional Greek philosophy that takes poverty to be an educational means for achieving virtue. This understanding is not shared by ECL, where riches are considered to be a danger to salvation. Cf. F. Hauck and W. Kasch, *TWNT* 6, 325-29 = *TDNT* 6, 327-30.

(584F)

φιλοπλουτίαν. Cf. Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 556B, and ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ πλούτου Mk iv 19//Mt xiii 22.

κολοῦσαι. Cf. Betz and Smith, 352A.

ἀποχαΐς. Cf. Betz and Smith, 352A; 585A infra.

καθάπερ ἀθλητικῆς ἔργον. On comparison with athletes cf. 1 Cor ix 24 and Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif*.

ἀρετῆς. One of Plutarch's foremost concerns in the tractate. Cf. 575C, 576E, 593E-F, and Introduction.

ἐγκρατείας. A key term of Greek ethics; cf. Gal v 23 and Bauer, *s.v.* τὸ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ παρανόμων ἡδονῶν ἀπέχεσθαι. Cf. 1 Th v 22; 1 Pt ii 11; and Bauer, *s.v.* ἀπέχω, 3.

(585A)

ὅταν γυμνασάμενοι. This example of ascetic training has no parallel in ECL. See Corlu, 191, n. 75.

ἡ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ἀποχή τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀσκησίς ἐστι τῆ ψυχῆ πρὸς ἃ κεκώλυται. This important principle in Greek ethics has no parallel in ECL. By contrast see Paul, 1 Cor vi 12ff.; x 23-30, where concern is not on the training of one's soul but on the welfare of others.

(585B)

φιλοπλουτίαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν. Only the latter term occurs in ECL. Cf. 1 Ti vi 10 and Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 556D.

λωποδυτεῖν. Cf. Mt v 40//Lk vi 29.

πλεονεξίαν. This ethical term is frequent in ECL; cf. Bauer, *s.v.* See 585C.

ἐκουσίως. Cf. 581C.

(585C)

θησαυροῦ φανέντος. Cf. Mt xiii 44.

(585D)

ἡμᾶς ἰκανῶς ἐγγυμνάσασθαι τῇ πενίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκείνην. This concluding statement sums up the preceding discourse. In ECL voluntary poverty is not used as a means to achieve virtue.

Ch. 16

(585D)

μέγας . . . μέγας ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν Ἐπαμεινώνδας. Cf. Mt v 19; Ac viii 9; and the passages in Bauer, *s.v.* μέγας, 2, b, α. On the similarity of Epameinondas to Socrates cf. Introduction.

(585E)

τι . . . ἰδίᾳ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ὄσιον. Theodor states that without such secret rites the deceased Pythagorean cannot fully enjoy "blessedness." See Corlu, 53, n. 2; 191, n. 77. Cf. 1 Cor xv 29. ἐκ τῶν ὀνείρων. On a dream revealing a death cf. Mt i 19-21.

σημείω. By a certain sign the Pythagorean can tell whether the person appearing in the apparition is dead or alive. See De Lacy and Einarson, 436, n. a. Cf. the attempts to find out whether the apparition of Jesus is "real": Jn xx 25, 27; Mt xxviii 9; Lk xxiv 37ff.

(585F)

χοὰς ἐχεύμενην. Cf. 578B.

ἀνακαλούμενος τὴν Λύσιδος ψυχὴν κατελθεῖν ἀποθεσπίσουσαν. There is no parallel in ECL to this calling and interrogating of a dead person.

ἀκοῦσαι δὲ φωνῆς ἔδοξα. ECL knows of revelatory auditions, e.g., Mk i 11; ix 7 //Mt xvii 5 //Lk ix 35. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* φωνή, 2, d.

τὰ ἀκίνητα μὴ κινεῖν. Cf. this oracle with 2 Cor xii 4: ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα, ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλῆσαι. See Corlu, 52. (For prohibition on "touching" cf. Jn xx 17; Col ii 21; 2 Cor vi 17.)

ἤδη κεκριμένην. The Pythagoreans, as primitive Christianity, believed in an eschatological "judgment." Cf., with a present meaning, Jn iii 18: ἤδη κέκριται. See Bauer, *s.v.* κρίνω, 4, b.

πρὸς ἄλλην γένεσιν. The doctrine of reincarnation of the soul has no parallel in ECL.

(586A)

τῶν ἀπορρήτων. The technical term refers here to the Pythagorean "arcana." Cf. ἄρρητα, 2 Cor xii 4.

μυρία μὲν γὰρ ἀτραποὶ βίων, ὀλίγοι δὲ αἱ δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους ἄγουσιν. The Pythagorean saying refers to the doctrine of the "personal demon." See Corlu, 52f. For the form of the saying cf. Mt xx 16; xxii 14: πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί. Cf. also Mt vii 13-14. On the guiding role of demons cf. 580C and 593E-F, and in ECL the role of guiding angels, Mt xviii 10.

## Ch. 17

At this point the narrative of the plot to liberate Thebes is again picked up. Here the discussion of the omens is prominent, and its debilitating effect on the conspirators is clear.

(586B)

καινότερον. Cf. Ac xvii 21 and Almqvist, *Plutarch und das N.T.*, 79. πρὸς θεῶν. Cf. Rollins, 397D. εἴμαρται. Does not occur in ECL.

(586C)

τῶν ἀπορρήτων. Here in the non-religious sense. Cf. 586A. τὸ αὐτόματον. Cf. Rollins, 389B.

(586F)

ἐξοσιώσασθαι τὰ θεῖα. This technical term does not occur in ECL. οἱ μάντις. Cf. 576D. ἀποσημαίνειν τὰ ἔμπυρα. This technical phrase does not occur in ECL. Cf. 578E. καὶ τὸ σοὶ πλείστης δεόμενον . . . εὐλαβείας. The use of εὐλάβεια is significant: it describes the proper religious attitude a person ought to assume because of portents. Cf. Hb xii 28; Pol vi 3. See Bauer, *s.v.*

(587A)

ἐξ ἔνυπνίου. On dreams portending the future cf. Mt xxvii 19. Cf. 579E. φωνάς τινος ἀνάρθρους. Cf. 2 Cor xii 4.

(587B)

ὄψις. The term refers here (and 587C) to a dream vision; cf. the different use, 577E.

## Ch. 18

(587C)

δυσιερεῖν. A rare term ("to have a bad omen in a sacrifice"; LSJ, *s.v.*) which does not occur in ECL. Cf. Hb xi 4. τὸ ιερεῖον. Here referring to the victim of the sacrifice. The technical term does not occur in ECL.

(587F-588A)

τρέπεται πρὸς δυσφημίας ἀποτροπαίους ἐπαρωμένη κακὰς ὁδοὺς κακὰς δ' ἐπανόδους· ἀ νή Δία πάντα τρέψειαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην οἱ θεοί. Here we have a collection of curse terminology. On the curse cf. Mk xi 12-14, 21//Mt xxi 18-20; Mk vi 11//Mt x 12-14//Lk ix 6 (also Lk x 10-11, where the curse is explicitly stated); Ac viii 20ff.; Gal i 8-9; iii 10-14. On the question of returning a curse with a curse, as here, cf. by contrast Lk vi 28; Ro xii 14.

## Ch. 19

In this chapter the conspirators finally decide to act, in spite of the ambiguity of the omens. Cf. 593D-E, 594A, where encouragement of souls by the gods and demons is discussed. See Introduction, 237-39, where the debilitating effect of the omens and popular piety in general are discussed.

## Ch. 20

(588C)

τὸ Σωκράτους λεγόμενον δαιμόνιον. This chapter contains not only further discussion of the δαιμόνιον of Socrates but also a very detailed theory of inspiration, which is summarized in 588E: ὁ δὲ κρείττονος νοῦς ἄγει τὴν εὐφυᾶ ψυχὴν ἐπιθυγιάνων τῷ νοηθέντι πληγῆς μὴ δεομένην. The theory as a whole, which combines elements from various philosophical traditions, mostly Pythagorean and Platonic, has no parallel in ECL. However, certain details can be compared positively and negatively with Paul's ideas in particular. See the discussion of the source problem in Corlu, 47ff. (where further bibliographic material is to be found). τοὺς μὲν δι' ὄψεως ἐντυχεῖν θεῖω τινὶ λέγοντας ἀλαζόνας ἡγουμένω. At least in 2 Cor xii 1-4 Paul agrees with this view-point, as Betz' interpretation shows (*Paulus*, 84ff.). The term ἀλαζών occurs Ro i 30; 2 Ti iii 2. By contrast see Mt i 20ff.; ii 13-15; Ac x 1-16; xvi 9-10.

τοῖς δ' ἀκοῦσαι τινος φωνῆς φάσκουσι προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν. It is interesting that according to this theory Socrates reacts negatively against "visions" but pays positive attention to "auditions." In ECL we do not find such a sharp distinction, but both phenomena occur. See Corlu, 54.

ὄψεις. In ECL the equivalent terms are ὄπτασια, ὄραμα, ὄρασις. Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* See Corlu, 47.

(588D)

φωνή. Here the term refers to revelatory audition, as in ECL; cf. Mk i 11 and the collection of passages in Bauer, *s.v.*, 2, d.

ὄναρ. Plutarch compares the phenomenon of revelatory audition to man's ability to hear voices in dreams, although no one is speaking. Then he explains why this phenomenon occurs for some people while they are asleep; namely, during sleep the human body is quiet and undisturbed by passions and distractions, so that the soul is better disposed to apprehend the divine message. No such theory is discussed in ECL, but it is conceivable that early Christians shared it, since visions frequently occur for one who is asleep (cf. Mt i 20, 24; ii 12f., 19, 22; xxvii 19).

θορόβω τῶν παθῶν. ECL agrees with the negative judgment; cf. 1 Th iv 5; Col iii 5; Ro i 26; Hm 4:1:6. See 588E-F, 591D-592C.

περιαγωγῆ τῶν χρειῶν. With this negative evaluation cf. Mt vi 25-33// Lk xii 22-30; 1 Cor vii 32ff.; ix 3ff.; Phil iv 10ff.; 1 Ti vi 6. See H. Cherniss, LCL 12, 53, n. c; R. Nickel, "Das Verhältnis von Bedürfnis und Brauchbarkeit in seiner Bedeutung für das kynostoische Ideal der Bedürfnislosigkeit," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 42-47.

Σωκράτει δὲ ὁ νοῦς καθαρὸς ὢν καὶ ἀπαθής. See Corlu, 54f. With this statement about Socrates cf. the identification of νοῦς with Christ, Dg ix 6; Paul speaks of the νοῦς Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor ii 16. Instead of "purity" of the νοῦς cf. the various expressions in Ro i 28; xii 2; Eph iv 17, 23; Col ii 18; 1 Ti vi 5; 2 Ti iii 8; Tit i 15. Ἀπαθής is an attribute of Christ, IEph vii 2; IPol iii 2. See Wicker, 416C.

(588E)

τῷ σώματι μικρὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων χάριν καταμιγνὺς αὐτόν. This explains the previous statement: his νοῦς was "pure" and "free from passion" and was able to perceive the delicate divine message to

him because he had extremely limited his involvement with his body. This has a parallel in Paul, where νοῦς and body are opposites (Ro xii 23, 25); however, the goal of limiting the involvement with the body may have been shared more by his opponents than by Paul himself (cf., e.g., Ro vi 6; vii 24; viii 10ff.; 1 Cor vii 1; Phil i 20; iii 21; 1 Th v 23). Cf. also 2 Cor xii 2-4: ἐν σώματι, ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος.

τὸ δὲ προσπίπτον οὐ φθόγγον ἀλλὰ λόγον ἂν τις εικάσειε δαίμονος ἄνευ φωνῆς ἐφαπτόμενον αὐτῷ τῷ δηλουμένῳ τοῦ νοοῦντος. See the note of De Lacy and Einarson, 451. Paul's view in rejecting glossolalia is comparable: glossolalia implies that the human νοῦς remains ἄκαρπος, because the divine voice speaks directly through the human instrument as its mouthpiece (1 Cor xiv 14); in Paul's view inspiration takes place by a correspondence between the divine and the human πνεῦμα (Ro viii 16, 26), so that inspired speech occurs τῷ νοῖ (1 Cor xiv 15, 19). Paul differs from Plutarch, however, in that for him the human νοῦς itself is not divine, as it is for Plutarch, but due to the influence of the spirit it must undergo a renewal (cf. Ro vii 23, 25; xii 2; xiv 5; 2 Cor i 22) and change from an ἀδόκιμος νοῦς (Ro i 28) to the νοῦς Χριστοῦ (1 Cor ii 16).

ὁ δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος νοῦς ἄγει τὴν εὐφυᾶ ψυχὴν ἐπιτιγγάνων τῷ νοηθέντι πληγῆς μὴ δεομένην. The communication between the divine νοῦς and the human soul is different from communication by human speech, which is defined as "a blow on the air" (see De Lacy and Einarson, 452, n. a). In Ro viii 15f., 26; ix 1; Paul seems to share this view, for he does not commit himself to saying that the divine spirit actually "speaks." See 589B-C.

ἄγει. Cf. Ro viii 14; Gal v 18. See 589B.

(588F)

ὑπὸ παθῶν ἀντιτεινόντων. Cf. Ro vii 23.

ὑπὸ μικροῖς ὀαζι μεγάλων περιαγωγὰς ὀλακάδων. See Js iii 4, where this traditional comparison from the diatribe literature is also used.

τροχῶν κεραμεικῶν. Paul compares God's dealings with men with the potter in Ro ix 21.

ἄψυχα. The contrast is also found in 1 Cor xiv 7.

ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπου μυρίαὶ ὀμαῖς ὅσον ὑσπληξιν ἐντεταμένη. On this comparison of the soul cf. Corlu, 57f.

(589A)

εἰς τὸ νοοῦν αἱ τῶν παθῶν καὶ ὀρμῶν κατατείνουσιν ἄρχαί. In this section

Plutarch sets forth a non-dualistic anthropology: the νοῦς is tied together with the body, and if the former is "struck," the whole man is affected. Cf. with this Paul's strongly dualistic anthropology, Ro vii 14-25; Gal vi 17.

ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀναίσθητα. Plutarch describes the human body as a lifeless mass. Paul would say that beyond this the body is possessed by ἁμαρτία (cf. Ro viii 10).

ἅμα <δὲ> τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν νῶ τι βαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ κινῆσαι τὴν ὄρμην ὅλος ἀναστὰς καὶ συνταθεὶς πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν. In Plutarch's view the divine νοῦς, by setting the human soul in motion, provides "life" also to the body. See also 589B. In Paul's anthropology it is the *infusion* of the divine spirit that gives "life" to the body. Cf. Ro v 5; vi 4; vii 6; viii 2ff.

οἷον ἐπτερωμένος φέρεται πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν. Cf. Paul's anthropology, where the πρᾶξεις are controlled either by ἁμαρτία (Ro vi-vii, cf. esp. vii 16, 19) or by the πνεῦμα (Ro viii 2ff.; Gal v 16f., 25; vi 8).

(589B)

ὁ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ συνεντάσεως καὶ παραστάσεως τρόπος. These are the concepts describing how the soul is "inspired." ECL does not share this view (with the possible exception of Dg xi 8—a late passage) but instead uses the idea of infusion and indwelling (cf., e.g., Ro v 5; viii 11, 15, 23; 1 Cor ii 12; iii 16; 2 Cor i 22; v 5; Gal iii 2, 5; iv 6; 1 Th i 6; iv 8); the term *συμμαρτυρεῖν* vaguely describes the correspondence (cf. Ro viii 16, 26; ix 1; 1 Cor ii 10ff.). See Rollins, 404E.

ἡ ψυχὴ νοήσασα. This section corresponds to Paul's concept of ὁ νοῦς = ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος; cf. Ro vii 22, 23, 25; 2 Cor iv 16, and also Eph iv 23.

ἐφέλκεται . . . τὸν ὄγκον. The soul dragging along the burden of the body is a concept not found in ECL. But cf. σῶμα νεκρὸν in Pauline anthropology: Ro viii 10f.; 2 Cor iv 10f., 14; v 1f.; Phil i 20f. See also 1 Cor vi 14.

σῶμα καὶ δίχα φωνῆς ἐννοηθείς. Cf. above 588E.

ὑπὸ νοῦ κρείσσονος νοῦν καὶ <ψυχὴν> ψυχῆς θειοτέρας ἀν' ἀγεσθαι θύραθεν ἐφαπτομένης. Inspiration takes place by a "contact" between the divine νοῦς and ψυχὴ and the human counterparts. On this doctrine of "contact" see Corlu, 54ff., 192, n. 91. Cf. Ro viii 16; 1 Cor ii 10ff., where the divine contacts the human πνεῦμα;

however, Paul plays down the role of the human spirit and does not clarify its relationship to the νοῦς (ii 16).

λόγος . . . πρὸς λόγον, Cf. 1 Cor ii 11, 13: πνευματικοὺς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες.

ὥσπερ φῶς ἀνταύγειαν. By this comparison of the light and the mirror Plutarch introduces the conception of illumination. See Corlu, 55. Cf. in ECL esp. Jn i 9; Eph i 18; iii 9; and H. Conzelmann, *TWNT* 9, 338-48. See Rollins, 397C. On the idea of the mirror cf. 1 Cor xiii 12; 2 Cor iii 18.

τάς . . . ἀλλήλων νοήσεις οἷον ὑπὸ σκότῳ διὰ φωνῆς ψηλαφῶντες γνωρίζομεν. Paul has a similar view about man's ability to recognize the divine; cf. 1 Cor xiii 9 (ἐκ μέρους . . . γινώσκομεν), 12; 2 Cor iii 18; v 7.

αἱ δὲ τῶν δαιμόνων φέγγος ἔχουσαι τοῖς δυναμένοις. Cf. 1 Cor ii 13 (iii 1).

ἐλλάμπουσιν. Cf. 2 Cor iv 6.

(589C)

δαιμόνιον . . . φέγγος. This is used, instead of human words, as a means of communication between the divine and the human. No such theory of nonverbal communication is presented in the ECL. But cf. the use of δόξα in 2 Cor iii 18; iv 4-6; and Bauer, *s.v.*, 1; cf. στεναγμοὺς ἀλαλήτοις, Ro viii 26. According to Plutarch, those who have been illuminated are able to know the things themselves, not only "words" (εἰδῶλα τῶν νοουμένων καὶ εἰκόνας); Paul is opposed to such an idea: 1 Cor xiii 12; 2 Cor iii 18; v 7; but cf. 2 Cor ii 16ff.

τὸ περὶ τὴν φωνὴν γινόμενον ἔστιν ἢ παραμυθεῖται τοῖς ἀπιστοῦντας. That (intelligent) speech is needed for the ἀπιστοὶ is also Paul's view: 1 Cor xiv 23-25.

ἐνσημαίνεται τοῖς θείοις καὶ περιττοῖς ἀνδράσι τὸν τοῦ νοήσαντος λόγον. The inspiration is limited to the "divine men," and it is only done by *σημαίνειν*, as one would expect in Delphi (see *De Pythiae oraculis* 404E). Cf. the use of *σημεῖον*, 1 Cor xiv 22. On the limitation to the "divine men" cf. the limitation to the πνευματικοί in 1 Cor ii 14; iii 1.

(589D)

μόνοις ἐνηχοῦσι τοῖς ἀθόρυβον <τὸ> ἦθος καὶ νήνεμον ἔχουσι τὴν ψυχὴν. While the messages of the demons just travel through everyone

else, they are heard only by the "divine men" for the reasons given. See 588D, 589C.

οὓς δὴ καὶ ἱεροὺς καὶ δαιμονίους ἀνθρώπους καλοῦμεν. In 589C they are called θεῖοι καὶ περιττοὶ ἄνδρες, and they are contrasted with οἱ πολλοί. See Betz, *Lukian*, 102f.

οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καταδαρθοῦσιν οἴονται τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώποις ἐπιθειάζειν. Primitive Christianity shared this belief which Plutarch regards as that of "popular religion." See 588D. But it would with Plutarch restrict neither the seeing of visions nor inspiration to dreams (e.g., Ac x 13; ix 3f.); but it would not share Plutarch's Platonic view that revelation occurs ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν (cf., however, νοῦ, 1 Cor xiv 14, 19).

ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις οἴοιτο τὸν μουσικὸν ἀνειμένη τῇ λύρᾳ χρώμενον, ὅταν συστῇ τοῖς τόνοις ἢ καθαρμοσθῇ, μὴ ἄπτεσθαι μηδὲ χρῆσθαι. Cf. Paul's comparison with the musician, 1 Cor xiv 7f.

(589E)

ἀναρμοστίαν καὶ παραχῆν. It is interesting that in the same context of inspiration Paul is concerned so much with the avoidance of disorder and confusion (1 Cor xiv 33, 40). See 588D, 589D.

ὁ δοθεὶς ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ χρησμὸς ἀπεθέσπισεν. The legendary motif that an oracle was received by the father of Socrates, while Socrates was still a boy, has a parallel in ECL in regard to Jesus in Lk ii 33-35. Socrates' father was instructed to let the boy carry out whatever came to his νοῦς; this was justified because young Socrates had in himself a better guide (sc. the νοῦς) than a thousand teachers and pedagogues. Cf. Lk ii 41-52, where the play on νοῦς has a parallel in the play on πατήρ (ii 48f.). On the Socrates oracle see Corlu, 56.

Ch. 21

(589F)

Τιμάρχου τοῦ Χαιρωνέως ἠκούσαμεν. This name as well as that of Lamprocles, Socrates' son, serves to give credence to the following story. In ECL this function of names is widespread.

μύθοις < ὁμοιότερα καὶ πλάσμασιν ἢ > λόγοις. For this rejection of "myth" cf. 1 Ti i 4; iv 7; 2 Ti iv 4; Tit i 14; 2 Pt i 16; IMg viii 1; 2 Cl xiii 3. Theocritus remarks that "myths" are not very clear (ἀκριβῶς), but they nevertheless "touch upon the truth." See 561B.

(590A)

οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Cf. by contrast 2 Cor xii 2: οἶδα ἄνθρωπον (also xii 4). See Betz, *Paulus*, 91.

οὗτος οὖν ποθῶν γυνῶναι τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον ἦν ἔχει δύναμιν. Cf. Phil iii 10.

γεγευμένος φιλοσοφίας. Cf. 1 Cl xxxvi 2; Hb vi 4f.; 1 Pt ii 3.

εἰς Τροφωνίου κατῆλθε. In the following we find a detailed report about Timarchus' consultation with the oracle of Trophonius and his trip to the afterlife. The great number of parallels in this section to early Christian apocalyptic literature is noteworthy. On this report about the oracle of Trophonius see G. Dossin, "Une consultation à l'oracle de Trophonios à Lébadée," *Musée Belge* 25 (1921) 209-20; G. Radke, "Trophonius," PW, 2. Reihe, 7/1 (1939) 678-95; Corlu, 61; G. Roux, *Delphi* (Munich, 1971) 107f.

(590B)

ἐμμείνας δὲ δύο νύκτας κάτω καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν. No such form of divination is found in ECL.

τῶν πολλῶν ἀπεγνωκότων αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὀδυρομένων. For this reaction cf. Lk xxiv 17ff.; Jn xi 17ff.

πρῶτὸν μάλᾳ φαιδρὸς ἀνῆλθε. Cf. Ac vi 15; 2 Cor iii 7, 13; Mt xvii 2// Lk ix 29. See Bauer, s.v. πρόσωπον, 1, a.

προσκυνήσας δὲ τὸν θεόν. This ritual after an encounter with the divine is considered appropriate also in ECL: cf. Bauer, s.v. προσκυνέω, 2.

ὡς πρῶτον διέφυγε τὸν ὄχλον, διηγείτο. For this motif cf. Mt xiii 36; Mk iv 34; vii 17ff.; ix 28f.//Mt xvii 19f.; Mk x 32ff.//Mt xx 17ff.//Lk xviii 31ff.; Mk xiii 3ff.//Mt xxiv 3ff.; Lk x 23.

διηγείτο ἡμῖν θαυμάσια πολλὰ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. This is expected of one having had a special revelation. Cf. 2 Cor xii 1-4 and Betz, *Paulus*, 91f.; W. Michaelis, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 5, 340ff.

Ch. 22

ἔφη δὲ καταβάς εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον. These words mark the beginning of the narrative. Cf. Rv i 1-2, 9ff. and *passim*; Paul's report of an ἀνάβασις in 2 Cor xii 2-4 and Betz, *Paulus*, 70ff. See *GGR* (II<sup>2</sup>, 493) for a discussion of the myth, doctrine of the souls, and reference to other passages in Plutarch where similar matters occur.

σκότῳ πολλῷ. The underworld is dark, a view shared by ECL, cf.

Bauer, *s.v.*, 1; H. Conzelmann, *TWNT* 7, 426, 440 = *TDNT* 7, 425, 439.

εἶτα ἐπευξάμενος κεῖσθαι πολὺν χρόνον οὐ μάλα συμφρονῶν ἐναργῶς εἶτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἶτε ὄνειροπολεῖ. These words describe Timarchus' incubation. In ECL we have visions with incubations: ἀφύπνωσα Hν 1:1:3; also Hν 3:1:1. There are also visions without, cf. esp. 2 Cor xii 8 τρις τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα (and H. D. Betz, "Eine Christus-Aretalogie bei Paulus [2 Kor 12, 7-10]," *ZTK* 66 [1969] 292; *Paulus*, 92); Hν 2:1:2f. Also the phrase οὐκ οἶδα 2 Cor xii 2, 3. μεθιέναι τὴν ψυχὴν. The soul separates from the body. Cf. ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος 2 Cor xii 2; χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος 2 Cor xii 3 (and Betz, *Paulus*, 91). In the following Plutarch gives a detailed description of how the soul flies up, a description Paul refuses to provide 2 Cor xii 2, 3 (οὐκ οἶδα). He confines himself to the conventional ἀρπάζειν. Cf. Hν 1:3 πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν . . . ὄδεῦσαι. Plutarch uses a number of terms: ἀναχωροῦσα κατεμίγνυτο, ἀναπνεῦσαι, τεινομένην, πλείονα γίνεσθαι, ἐκπεταννυμένην. See *De sera nimiris vindicta* 563E; Corlu, 62ff.

διαυγῆ. Cf. this term also Rv xxi 21.

(590C)

κατακοῦειν . . . φωνὴν ἠδεῖαν. Hearing all kinds of sounds is part of apocalyptic literature. Cf. 2 Cor xii 4; Rv i 9; iv 1, 2 and *passim*.

ἀναβλέψας . . . καθορᾶν. Cf. the terminology of "seeing" in Rv i 2 (ἶσα εἶδεν) and *passim*. See W. Michaelis, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 5, 350ff.

νήσους δὲ λαμπομένας μαλακῶ πυρί. These "islands" refer to stars; see Corlu, 63. Cf. Rv i 10-12 where the events are remarkably similar: the hearing of a φωνή, the turning around (cf. Plutarch's ἀναβλέψας), the seeing of stars. See 590D.

φαίνεσθαι δὲ πλήθει. The careful description of the stars has a parallel in Rv i 12ff., where, however, OT language is used.

(590D)

τὴν πραότητα τῆς φωνῆς. Plutarch here refers to the music of the spheres; see De Lacy and Einarson, 461, n. c; Corlu, 63. Cf. the φωνή in Rv i 15.

διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν. Cf. Rv i 13 ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνιῶν, where we find not a lake, as in Plutarch, but the Son of Man.

θάλασσαν ἢ λίμνην. See on this "lake" the comments of De Lacy and Einarson, 463, n. a; Corlu, 63f. In Rv iv 6; v 13; and often, the seer speaks of heavenly θάλασσα; on a λίμνη of fire cf. Rv xix 20; xx 10, 14, 15; xxi 8.

ὑποκεχύσθαι τοῖς χρώμασι διαλάμπουσαν διὰ τῆς γλαυκότητος ἐπιμιγνυμένοις. The celestial "sea" is transparent. Cf. Rv iv 6; xv 2.

τοῦ ρεύματος. The rather detailed description of the celestial spheres, bodies and rotations in 590D-F has no parallel in ECL.

τὴν θάλασσαν. Cf. *supra*.

(590F)

πυρὸς . . . ποταμούς. Two rivers of fire flow into the lake. Cf. the fiery lakes in Rv xv 2; xix 20; xx 10, 14, 15; xxi 8; the celestial "river" in Rv xxii 1f.

ἀπολευκαίνεσθαι. The celestial sea is white. Cf. ὕαλιος Rv iv 6; xv 2. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὄραν τερπόμενος τῇ θέᾳ. Cf. the phrase μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον Rv iv 1; vii 1, 9; xv 5; xviii 1, and εἶδον *passim*.

κάτω δ' ἀπιδόντι φαίνεσθαι χάσμα μέγα. This is a description of Hades.

Cf. Lk xvi 26; Rv xx 1ff. and Bauer, *s.v.* ἄβυσσος. See Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 565E.

βαθύ. Cf. τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ Rv ii 24; Ro viii 39.

πολλοῦ σκότους πλήρες. Cf. 590B and Beardslee, 944B: darkness as a place of punishment.

μυρίων δὲ κλαυθμῶν βρεφῶν. ECL has no mention of babies suffering in the netherworld. However, cf. Rv xi 18; xiii 16; xix 5, 18; xx 12-20.

ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὄδυρμούς. Cf. Beardslee, 944B.

(591A)

οὐ μετρίως αὐτὸς ἐκπεπλήχθαι. Cf. Rv i 17; xi 11; xviii 10, 15; and Lk xxi 26.

εἰπεῖν τινα πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ὀρώμενον. This refers to what we know from Jewish-Christian apocalypticism as the "angelus interpretēs." Cf. Rv xix 10, xxii 8 and often in Rv; Hν *passim*.

ὃ Τίμαρχε, τί ποθεῖς πυθέσθαι; φράσαι δ' αὐτὸν ὅτι πάντα, τί γὰρ οὐ θαυμάσιον; This question by the guiding demon and Timarchus' answer has no parallel in ECL (but it is strangely similar to Poimandres 1-2); cf. also Ac i 10-11. See also the dialogues in

Rv vii 13ff.; Hv 1:1:4ff.; 1:2:1ff., 1:3:3f.; 3:1:2; *De sera numinis vindicta* 564C.

ἡμῖν . . . τῶν ἄνω μέτεστι μικρόν. Apparently the demon seeking to Timarchus is one who has no access to the higher region of the gods. For revelations of the higher realm see Rv iv-v; xx 11. See also *De sera numinis vindicta* 566D.

ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τίς ἢ Στύξ ἐστίν. Timarchus asks the demon about matters pertaining to the afterlife, and the demon provides answers. This type of dialogue has parallels esp. in the gnostic literature, but also in ECL; cf. Ac i 6ff.; Hermas *passim*. See K. Rudolph, "Der gnostische 'Dialog' als literarisches Genus," in *Probleme der koptischen Literatur* (Halle, 1968) 85-107; *idem*, "Nag Hammadi und die neuere Gnosisforschung," in *Von Nag Hammadi bis Zypern* (Berlin, 1972) 11, n. 29.

## (591B)

ζωῆς μὲν ἢ πρώτη κινήσεως δὲ ἢ δευτέρα. On the combining of ζωῆ and κίνησις cf. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das NT*, 80; Ac xvii 28.

τῶν δὲ συνδέσμων. On this concept in ECL cf. Eph iv 3; Col iii 14; and Bauer, *s.v.*, 1, b.

Μοῖρα κλειδοῦχος Ἀνάγκης θυγάτηρ. On Ἀνάγκη see 564E. On the concept of the "Keys" cf. Rv i 18; iii 7; ix 1; xx 1.

## (591C)

νήσοι. See 590C.

αἱ ψυχαὶ βοῶσι δειμαίνουσαι. See 564B; Beardslee, 944A.

ὁ Αἰδῆς ἀφαρπάζει. On the technical use of ἀρπάζω cf. 2 Cor xii 2, 4; 1 Th iv 17; Rv xii 5 and Bauer, *s.v.* ἀρπάζω, 2. See also Rv vi 8; xx 13, 14.

μιαρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι. The terms describe the "sinners" in general; both are used in ECL in a similar way; cf. Bauer, *s.v.* See 565A; 566F.

οὐκ ἐᾷ πελάζειν. Cf. Lk xvi 24f.; also 1 Cor vi 9f., 13; xv 50.

φέρονται κάτω πάλιν ἐπ' ἄλλην γένεσιν. This doctrine of the reincarnation of souls is not found in ECL.

## (591D)

τὸ χάσμα. See 590F; Corlu, 70f.

αὐτοὺς . . . τοὺς δαίμονας. Timarchus sees the demons as they really are; namely as stars. Cf. esp. Rv i 16-20, viii 11; xii 1, 4; xxii 16;

Phil ii 10; Eph i 21; IEph xix 2. See *De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet* 944D; Corlu, 70f.

ψυχὴ πᾶσα νοῦ μετέσχευ. In the following Plutarch presents a doctrine of the soul (591D-592E). On the whole section see the discussion by Corlu, 71ff. ECL does not share this doctrine. For the concept of sharing cf. θεοῦ μετέχειν IEph iv 2; τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχειν καὶ τραπέζης δαιμονίων 1 Cor x 21; μέτοχος in Hb iii 1, 14; vi 4; xii 8. Furthermore cf. 1 Cor ii 16 νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχειν.

ἄλογος. Cf. 2 Pt ii 12; Jd 10.

ἄνοος. ECL speaks instead of a perverted νοῦς, e.g. Ro i 28; Eph iv 17; 1 Ti vi 5; 2 Ti iii 8; Tit i 15.

ὅσον ἂν αὐτῆς σαρκὶ μιχθῇ καὶ πάθεισιν. Cf. esp. Paul, who agrees that because of his existence in the σὰρξ man is under the influence of the πάθη. However, neither this concept of soul nor that of "mixture" is found in Paul. Cf. Ro i 26; vii 5; Gal v 24.

## (591E)

τὸ καθαρῶτατον . . . οὐ κρατεῖται τοῖς πάθεισιν. Plutarch's concept that some souls do not fully mix with the body but leave the purest part unmixed has a parallel in Ro vii 22f., where the νοῦς (= ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) is not subdued by the force of ἁμαρτία. But Paul leaves the nature of νοῦς obscure. See R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms* (Leiden, 1972) 358ff.; 391ff.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑποβρύχιον ἐν τῷ σώματι φερόμενον ψυχὴ λέγεται. Paul also has a rather low view of the soul, esp. where he contrasts it with πνεῦμα, e.g. 1 Cor ii 14; xv 44-46. See Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 334ff.

τὸ δὲ φθορᾶς λειφθὲν οἱ πολλοὶ νοῦν καλοῦντες. Cf. Ro vii 22f., where Paul seems to imply a similar view. This statement also represents another facet of Plutarch's debate with the popular piety. See Introduction, 238.

ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσόπτροις τὰ φαινόμενα κατ' ἀνταύγειαν. Cf. the similar argument of Paul in Ro i 23 without the comparison with the mirror (see 589B).

οἱ δὲ ὀρθῶς ὑπονοοῦντες ὡς ἐκτὸς ὄντα δαίμονα προσαγορεύουσι. The "exterior νοῦς" is called δαίμων. On this doctrine see Corlu, 71ff.; it is not found in ECL.

## (591F)

τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀποσβέννυσθαι δοκοῦντας ἀστέρας. These are explained in

591F as those souls which are completely enclosed in the body. Cf. Rv ii 5 (where the lamps are identified with the churches) and Betz, *Lukian*, 94. Plutarch's three categories of demons = souls = stars have no parallel in ECL.

νοῦν ἔχειν. The common term is used in the strict sense referring to those who possess the νοῦς; interestingly ECL uses it in the same way, e.g. 1 Cor ii 16; Rv xiii 18; xvii 19. See De Lacy and Einarson, 473, n. a.

σύνδεσμον. See 591B.

συμπέφυκε. Cf. σύμφυτος Ro vi 5.

ἀποσαλεύοντας. Cf. the use of σαλεύειν in an eschatological context: Mt xxiv 29; Lk xxi 26; Mk xiii 25; Hb xii 27f.; 1 Cl xx 1.

(592A)

τεταραγμένην. As in ECL, *ταράσσεσθαι* is viewed as a negative condition.

τὴν φωνήν. See 591A.

τοὺς μὲν εὐθεῖαν καὶ τεταγμένην κίνησιν ἔχοντας. The "orderly" souls are contrasted with the "disorderly." Cf. as a general rule 1 Cor xiv 40: εὐσημῶνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω.

(592B)

In this whole section Plutarch describes the war of the soul which is torn between τὸ ἄλογον and ὁ δαίμων-νοῦς; the former tries to subjugate it to πάθη and ἁμαρτήματα by rebellious behavior due to lack of training (δυσπειθέσι καὶ ἀναγώγοις δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν ζυγομαχεῖν ἤθεσι), the latter pulls it back by applying "remorse." Cf. the "war" within man Ro vii 14ff.; Gal v 17.

δυσπειθέσι καὶ ἀναγώγοις δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν . . . ἤθεσι. For Plutarch one's nurture and training determine which of the warring parties will win and thus finally whether the soul will be saved (σφύζεται, 594A).

ἐπὶ δεξιάν. The right is the good side; cf. Bauer, *s.v.*

πῆ δὲ καμπτομένους ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ συνεφελομένους τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν. Cf. Ro vii 23; Js i 14-15.

ἀντιτείνοντας. Cf. ἀντισπάση, and ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι Ro vii 23.

σύνδεσμον. See 591B.

οἷα χαλινόν. On this comparison cf. Js i 26; iii 2f.

μεταμέλειαν. This concept is not found in ECL, but it has its equi-

valent in συνείδησις (cf. Bauer, *s.v.*). The δαίμων-νοῦς applies it against ἁμαρτίαι.

αἰσχύνην. Another weapon of the δαίμων-νοῦς, directed ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ἕσαι παράνομοι καὶ ἀκρατεῖς. Plutarch calls this a "really painful blow." The concept is used in a much less precise way in ECL; cf. 2 Cor iv 2 and Bauer, *s.v.*

(592C)

ἐπιστομιζομένης. Cf. the use of the term in Tit i 11.

κολαζομένη. This term is also used in ECL for describing the eschatological punishment; cf. Bauer, *s.v.* κολάζω. Plutarch impressively explains how the "demon" brings the soul under control until it is easy to guide like a domesticated animal.

τὸ μαντικόν . . . καὶ θεοκλυτούμενον γένος. Plutarch explains that the "divine men" are those whose souls are obedient to the δαίμων-νοῦς from the beginning. The great example to which Plutarch refers is Hermodorus (i.e. Hermotimus) of Clazomenae, whose story is told and interpreted in the following. See Corlu, 76.

(592D)

οὐ γὰρ ἐξέβαινεν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος. Plutarch rejects the popular version telling that Hermodorus' soul left the body in favor of his soul staying in the body having the experiences there because of its close association with the νοῦς-δαίμων. Cf. 2 Cor xii 2-4.

πολλὰ συνορῶντα καὶ κατακούοντα τῶν ἐκτὸς εἰσαγγέλλειν. This is the purpose of the celestial journey. Cf. Lk xvi 27ff.; 2 Cor xii 4 and Betz' interpretation (*Paulus*, 91f.); Rv *passim*.

(592E)

δίκην . . . τίνουσι. Cf. 2 Th i 9; Hm 2:5; Hs 9:19:3.

Ch. 23

(592F)

μῦθος. Plutarch uses this term to refer to the "Timarchus myth." Cf. above 589F.

κατὰ τὴν γενομένην φωνὴν ἐτελεύτησεν. Timarchus dies as the heavenly voice has predicted (see 590A). Cf. 1 Cor xv 3 κατὰ τὰς γραφάς; Lk xxii 22 κατὰ τὸ ὄρισμένον. On the foretelling of one's death, see Jn xxi 18-19. Cf. also De Lacy and Einarson, 477, n. a; and (on 566D) 291, n. d.

θαυμάζοντες. Another occurrence of the typical reaction to a miraculous event. Cf. Rollins, 394F.

πυθέσθαι καὶ προσανακρῖναι σαφέστερον. Cf. Lk xvi 27-31, where the same proposal is made in a different way.

μετὰ τοῦ λόγου τὸν μῦθον. On the distinction of the two concepts cf. 589F.

θείοις ἀνδράσι. This "technical term" for "divine men" does not occur in ECL; cf. ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ 1 Ti vi 11; 2 Ti iii 17. See Betz, *Lukian*, 102f.; M. Smith, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus," *JBL* 90 (1971) 174ff.

#### Ch. 24

(593A)

τὸν μὲν Τιμάρχου λόγον ὡς περ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀνακείσθαι . . . τῷ θεῷ χρῆναι. It is proposed to regard the myth of Timarchus as an aretalogy which should be dedicated (presumably as an inscription) to the god. See De Lacy and Einarson, 479, n. a; Corlu, 193, n. 119.

κύκνους μὲν ἱεροῦς καὶ δράκοντας καὶ κύνας καὶ ἵππους ὀνομάζοντες. This refers to "sacred animals"; for the material in ECL cf. Betz, *Lukian*, 28-38.

ἀνθρώπους . . . θείους. Cf. 592F.

θεοφιλεῖς. Cf. 579F.

τὸν θεὸν οὐ φίλορην ἀλλὰ φιλόανθρωπον ἡγούμενοι. For the connection between deification of animals and man cf. Ro i 23; for the argument cf. Mt x 29-31//Lk xii 6f.; Mt vi 26; xii 12. On God's φιλοανθρωπία, a common concept of Greek theology, cf. Dg viii 7. See also Betz, *Lukian*, 49 (of God), and 211, n. 2 (of man); and Bauer, s.v.

(593B)

ἀσκεῖ. Cf. 584E.

τρέφει. Cf. 592A.

οἱ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τοὺς βελτίστους. In the following section there is a discussion of the "divine man" concept: the deity selects the best (τοὺς βελτίστους) out of the human "herd" and provides them with a distinctive and outstanding education (*ιδίαις . . . καὶ περιττῆς*

παιδαγωγίας). Those who have been thus taught recognize the orders of the gods from seemingly insignificant σημεία (like Socrates' daimonion). See Corlu, 76ff. In this brief passage we have a summary of many of the foremost themes of the tractate. Here Plutarch spells out explicitly his elitist understanding of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ concept, which stems from his own aristocratic background and orientation. Cf. Introduction. Apart from the special daimonion of Socrates, this concept is of great influence in ECL. See also M. Smith, *JBL* 90 (1971) 174ff.; Tiede, *Charismatic Figure, passim*.

οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγελαῖοι παντάπασι ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν. The condescending and derogatory view of the masses, here expressly resulting from class distinctions, is clearly attested only very infrequently in ECL, e.g. Pol ii 1; vii 2. Cf. also 589D, 591E, 593C-D. On Plutarch's attitude toward the masses and reasons for it see Jones, *Plutarch and Rome*, 120 and n. 73; 129.

τὸ προσταττόμενον. Cf. 579C.

(593C)

μάντεων. As a designation related to the popular piety and to the masses, cf. 576D.

ἑτέρους δὲ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν διαλεγόμενων συνιέντας καὶ συμφρονοῦντας ἀποσημαίνειν οἴεται τὸ μέλλον. An analogous concept is presupposed 2 Cor xii 1-4; also Lk xvi 19-31.

(593D)

τὸ θεῖον ὀλίγοις ἐντυγχάνει δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ σπανίως. Of course, only the few "divine men" share the privilege of direct contact with the deity, while the masses have only the mantic σημεία.

τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς. Cf. 593 B.

θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὖν ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων κοσμοῦσι βίον, οὓς ἂν ἄκρως μακαρίους τε καὶ θείους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπεργάσασθαι βουληθῶσιν. This statement is a fundamental assumption of the "divine man" concept. While most parts of ECL would hold analogous views, Paul seems to be opposed to it; cf. 1 Cor i 12f., 26ff.; iii 4ff., 18ff.; xii 4ff.; Gal iii 26-29.

οἶον ἐλεύθεροι πάμπαν. For Plutarch this is salvation; cf. 594A. This is also one of the central concerns of Plutarch in this tractate. Cf. Introduction, 236 ff. ECL does not share this view of freedom and salvation, although it does share the basic desire for both.

δαίμονες. On Plutarch's demonology generally, cf. *De Iside et Osiride* 361B; *De defectu oraculorum* 431E. Here he develops the doctrine of "personal demons" as ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελείς; these demons are said to be souls which have been freed from the necessity of reincarnation by means of their own virtue and which assist those who have almost reached the (same) goal of their struggle, the achieving of "virtue." See Corlu, 79ff. This doctrine does not occur in ECL.

(593E)

τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀγόνων. This is another aspect of the central theme of the tractate. Cf. 575C; 579A, D; Introduction, 236ff.

δι' ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς. The means by which freedom is achieved. Cf. Introduction, *passim*.

πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐγκελεύονται. This is the appeal Plutarch himself is making simultaneously to the reader of the tractate. Cf. 575C and Introduction, 236ff.

οὐ γὰρ οἷς ἔτυχε συμφέρεται τὸ δαιμόνιον. An important part of Plutarch's argument that ἀρετὴ can overcome τύχη. Cf. 575C and Introduction, *passim*.

(593F)

δι' οἰκείας πειρωμένους ἀρετῆς σφύζεσθαι. Here Plutarch picks up the Greek work-ethic and uses it as part of his appeal for "virtue." Cf. 593E. By contrast, for Paul salvation is by χάρις θεοῦ: Gal ii 15-21; Ro v 15; but see also Phil ii 12-13.

(594A)

δαίμονα βοηθεῖν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' ἀφίησι. For ECL God allows the angels to help, cf. Mk i 12//Mt iv 11; Mt xxvi 53; Lk xxii 43; Ac xii 6-10; Hv 3:5:4; Hm 6:2:1.

ἢ δὲ συνακούει . . . καὶ σφύζεται, μὴ πειθομένη δὲ . . . οὐκ εὐτυχῶς ἀπαλλάσσει. Cf. Mk xvi 16f.; Jn iii 18, 36; v 24; Mt x 32f.//Lk xii 8f.

Ch. 25

(594B)

ἀποκτενεῖν δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκριτον οὐδένα μὴ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης γενομένης. Epameinondas is shown here as a political advisor. He is opposed to killing without trial, except in a case of extreme necessity,

which is consistent with what was said of him previously (576E-F). For Plutarch this is an aspect of his ἀρετὴ (see Introduction, 241, n. 1). He represents the position of official legality among those privy to the conspiracy. Cf. the apologetic motif in the gospels and Acts to portray the Jews as those who want to kill illegally, and the Roman officials as those who insist on legality; cf. esp. Mk xiv 1ff.//Mt xxvi 1ff.//Lk xxii 1ff.//Jn xi 47ff.; Jn v 18; vii 1; xviii 18ff.; Ac vi 12-13; vii 60; viii 3; xviii 12ff.; xxi 31ff.; xxiii 12ff.; xxvii 42f.

(594D)

τῆς <ὁπάνδρου> γυναικός. Cf. Ro vii 2.

Ch. 26

(594E)

δεξιόν. The right side is the side of good; therefore, the appearance of lightning without thunder on the right must be a good omen (σημεῖον καλόν). Its brightness without danger (thunder) is taken to portend safety and glory. Cf. also 592B.

Ch. 27

τοῦ Θεοκρίτου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τινὶ σφαγιαζομένου. Theocritus, the μάντις, officiates in a separate room while the others are making preparations for the final execution of the plot. This constant taking of omens has no parallel in ECL, but it is characteristic of Plutarch's description of the popular piety and way in which it exerts a preoccupying effect upon the masses, of whom Theocritus is the chief representative in the tractate.

(594F)

ἔχων στέφανον ὡς τεθυκός. See also 597C. Cf. Ac xiv 13; B vii 9. The ritual is considered non-Christian.

(595B)

τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς. This variant is adopted by De Lacy and Einarson. Cf. 1 Cor xi 34 τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὡς.

ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, πρὸς τὸ συμπεσόν ἀντιτάξασθε. For a farewell address including encouragement in the face of danger, cf. Ac xiv 21ff.; xx 29ff.

(595D)

ἀλλὰ τόλμα . . . γευόμενος ἄθλων ἀναγκαίων . . . ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀρετῆς . . . ἀγωνιζομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων. In this farewell speech of Charon to his son several themes of the tractate are brought together: exhortation to struggle boldly for justice with freedom and virtue as the prize. The linking of ἐλευθερία and ἀρετή is important. Cf. Introduction, *passim*.

Ch. 28

δάκρυα πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῶν . . . πρὸς τοὺς λόγους. Cf. Paul's farewell after his speech Ac xx 37f.

(595F)

ὡς τῶν ἱερῶν σωτηρίων. Cf. 594E. Theocritus urges action only after waiting for and receiving a favorable sign from his sacrifice.

Ch. 29

(596A)

παρεισελθόντας. The term refers to the exiles who had secretly slipped into the city. Cf. the use of the term Gal ii 4.

(596B)

τί γὰρ κωλύει. Cf. Beardslee, 94IA.

(596C)

προσευξάμενοι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξίωμεν . . . εὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς. Cf. Ac xiii 3; xx 36-38; xxi 5f. παρακαλοῦμεν ἀλλήλοῦς. Cf. I Th iv 18; v 11.

Ch. 30

(596D)

ἡ δὲ χείρων . . . τύχη. Bad fortune is here overcome by the indulgence of the enemy. See Introduction, 242, n. 6.

(596E)

ἱεροφάντου. This high religious office is not in ECL.

(596F)

τὰ σπουδαῖα τοίνυν εἰς αὖριον. For parallels to this proverb cf. Corlu, 194, n. 137. For a similar proverb see Mt vi 34.

Ch. 31

(597A)

ὁ κυαμευτὸς ἄρχων. For the use of a lot oracle to choose leaders cf. Lk 19; Ac 126.

(597B)

συνελευθεροῦν. This is Plutarch's central theme. Cf. Introduction, *passim*. ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καθωσιωμένον. Because of this the rebels hesitate to kill Cabirichus. Cf. the killing of the prophets, which ECL regards as a similarly repulsive act, Mt v 12; xxiii 30ff.//Lk xi 49f.; xiii 34; Ac vii 52; I Th ii 15.

(597C)

ἐκολάκευες. Cf. κολακεία likewise in a negative sense I Th ii 5.

Ch. 32

(597E)

ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφανεστάτοις. These leaders of the freedom conspiracy are, of course, the most illustrious citizens. Only later (cf. 598D) are the common citizens, the crowds, summoned to the cause of freedom. ECL occasionally expresses such concern over the role of the leading citizens, e.g. Ac xvii 4. Cf. 2 Cor xi 22-23; I Cor i 26-31.

Ch. 33

(598B)

προσέπτυσαν. This gesture of contempt is mentioned also Mk x 34; xiv 65; xv 19; Mt xxvi 67; Lk xviii 32; B vii 8f. See Bauer, *s.v.* ἐμπτύω.

(598C)

σωφρόνων γυναικῶν. Cf. Tit ii 5.

Ch. 34

In this chapter the despots are completely routed, and freedom is achieved with even the crowds joining in the final triumphant battle. On this see Introduction, esp. 237 f.

## VIII

DE FACIE QUAE IN ORBE LUNAE APPARET  
(MORALIA 920A-945D)

BY

WILLIAM A. BEARDSLEE

Atlanta, Georgia

The dialog *On the Face in the Moon* is an important report on ancient astronomy and physics; it is also more than a report, being indeed one of the writings which show Plutarch's creative grappling with intellectual issues. The central physical question is, What is the substance of the moon? Plutarch contends strongly and with careful argumentation against the received opinion of the time, which made the moon a "heavenly body" in substance; he held that it is of the same substance as the earth. The dialog is also important in showing how Plutarch brought science and religion together in one dialog, treating one with as rigorous argument as possible and presenting the other in the non-arguable form of myth.

In structure the dialog stands, like *Non posse suaviter vivi*, midway between those in which the dialog simply serves as the setting for a discourse (e.g., *De comm. not.*), and those in which a fully dialogical presentation of the material is achieved (e.g., *De gen. Socratis*). The dialog is presented by Lamprias as his recollection of the discussion. The representatives of the competing positions almost never have the opportunity to present their views themselves; they raise a question or objection, but the opposing points of view and the answers to them are presented by Lamprias or Lucius, the principal speakers. The structure is further complicated by the fact that the dialog itself consists principally of a report of a lecture or discussion (*διατριβή*) in which the various theories of the composition of the moon were discussed; the name of the lecturer (very likely Plutarch himself) is never disclosed. Those portions of the dialog which refer to this "lecture" are those where the arguments of science are canvassed.

The dialog (after an introduction [ch. 1], of which it is probable though not certain that the first part is missing), can be divided

into three main parts. The first of these, chs. 2-23, is a report and discussion about the physics and astronomy of the moon, starting from the question of what makes a face appear there, and answering a series of views about the composition of the moon, but also including a wide-ranging discussion of cosmological questions. The second part, chs. 24-25, is a transitional section; its discussion of the inhabitability of the moon is less rigorously argued than the first part. The final section, chs. 26-30, is the myth narrated by Sulla. The myth's "distance" from the preceding parts is indicated by the fact that Sulla heard it from a stranger; in turn the stranger had the eschatological myth from the servants of Cronos in a distant land. On the structure of the dialog, see Görgemanns, pp. 40-89 and 149-56; K. Ziegler, *PW*, 21, cols. 852-54; R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895), II, 182-88.

The question of Plutarch's sources has been much discussed. For physics and astronomy, he draws on the current knowledge of his day, though the position he espouses, that the moon is of earthy substance, was not the prevailing view. Much of his astronomical and physical data are paralleled in the handbook of Cleomedes. The closing myth is inspired by Plato's *Timaeus*. The influence of Posidonius has been strongly urged, and is certainly a factor, but not as great as some have held it to be.

H. Görgemanns, *Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog De facie in orbe lunae* (Heidelberg, 1970) is the most thorough discussion of the scientific part of the dialog and of its literary form. Guy Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque*, (Paris, 1942), offers the most thorough discussion of the myth. Other important discussion in Karl Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie* (Munich, 1926), Richard Heinze, *Xenocrates* (Hildesheim, 1965, reprint of ed. of 1892); Maximilian Adler, *Quibus ex fontibus Plutarchus libellum "de facie in orbe lunae" hauserit* (Vienna, *Dissertationes Philologicae Vindobonenses*, X [1910]), 2, pp. 87-180; R. M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch* (Menasha, Wis., 1916); Konrat Ziegler, "Plutarchos," *PW*, 21, cols. 851-56 (also in Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia*<sup>2</sup>, [Stuttgart, 1964]). Other bibliography in Görgemanns and Cherniss (see below). Fortunately there are two excellent critical texts: Harold Cherniss in the Loeb edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, Vol. XII (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957), and M. Pohlenz, in the Teubner

edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, Vol. V, Part 3 (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1960). The text of Cherniss is followed below.<sup>1</sup>

## Ch. 1

920B

ὡς γὰρ οἱ ἐν νοσήμασι χρονίους . . . Cf. with the woman with the hemorrhage, Mk v 25 ff. See Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, pp. 214-15; Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 148 f. On the medical language of Plutarch, see Görgemanns, p. 23, n. 13. ὄνειρους. See 941F s. v. ὄναρ.

## Ch. 4

921B

καινὸν ὅλως τὸ σκευώρημα τῆς δόξης . . . Cf. the delight at a new idea in Acts xvii 19, καινὴ . . . διδασχῆ, xvii 21, ἀκούειν τι καινότερον; cf. also Mk i 27, διδασχῆ καινῆ.

921E

τὴν σελήνην ἐμβριθεὶς ὑποθέσθαι σῶμα καὶ στερεὸν . . . ἀλλ' ἄστρον αἰθέριον καὶ φωσφόρον. The question whether the heavenly bodies were of one substance (here σῶμα) was an important topic of ancient astronomy. The received view was that the stars were of a different substance from that of the earth, and that the moon was of heavenly substance, or as with the Stoics a mixture of air and fire. See Görgemanns, pp. 35 ff. This question forms a major theme of this dialog, in which Plutarch takes the unorthodox position, derived perhaps from Anaxagoras or Democritus, but more likely from Pythagorean tradition, that the moon is of earthy substance. Paul distinguishes between heavenly and earthy bodies, 1 Cor xv 40, σώματα ἐπουράνια καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια, following the common view; he groups the moon with the heavenly bodies, though with its own δόξα, 1 Cor xv 41. See also 929A.

<sup>1</sup> Portions of the above dialog were studied in a group including my colleague H. W. Boers and graduate students G. Dodson, W. Rich, W. Sandifer, J. Scott and M. C. White. I am also indebted to suggestions of members of the Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti project. Numerous entries were contributed by Professor Hans Dieter Betz and members of his Seminar.

## Ch. 6

922F

ἔτι μου λέγοντος. A stylistic device; an interruption which changes the direction of the dialog; cf. Mt xii 46; xvii 5; Mk v 35 // Lk viii 49; Mk xiv 43 // Mt xxvi 47 // Lk xxii 47.

923B

ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν. Temporal dative without ἐν; on this usage in the ECL, see BDF sec. 200.

ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὲρ τῆς σελήνης μὴ πέση δεδοίκατε . . . Here the context is Plutarch's discussion of what we would call momentum and gravitation, but behind this lies the fear, widespread in mythology, that heavenly bodies might fall. Compare in apocalyptic contexts: Mt xxiv 29; Mk xiii 25; Rv vi 13, viii 10, ix 1. For other apocalyptic references see Wilhelm Michaelis, "πίπτω," (TWNT [= TDNT] VI, 163).

923E

κατὰ φύσιν. Cf. 926C παρὰ φύσιν; 926D φύσει. References to φύσις are frequent and will not be noted individually. Plutarch uses the term in a scientific way; cf. Ro xi 21 24, κατὰ φύσιν; but note the moral sense in Ro i 26, παρὰ φύσιν; Ro ii 14, φύσει; cf. ITr i 1, κατὰ φύσιν. See Betz and Smith, "De E apud Delphos," 384F.

## Ch. 7

923F-924B

This series of rhetorical questions used to reject a position has parallels in Paul's rhetoric; cf. 2 Cor xii 15-18.

## Ch. 11

925F

μήτ' ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι μήτε πέρασ. Plutarch's strong statement of the infinity of τὸ πᾶν is related to the Stoic position that an infinite void surrounds the cosmos; against the Stoics Plutarch denied the meaningfulness of speaking of a center of this void. See Pierre Duhem, *Le système du monde* (Paris, 1954), I, 310-13. Plutarch's statement here of the infinity of space stands in sharp contrast to many statements in ECL which associate infinity exclusively

with God, e.g., I Cor xv 28. An infinite God is foreign to classic Greek thought, and ECL is one avenue of preparation for this view of deity. On the notion of infinity in antiquity, see Ivor Leclerc, *The Nature of the Physical Existent* (London, 1972) and Rodolfo Mondolfo, *L'Infinito nel Pensiero dell' Antichità Classica* (Florence, 1956).

## Ch. 12

926C

νοῦν, χρῆμα θεῖον. On νοῦς see below, 943A.

926F

κοινωνία. Here used to describe relationships among the physical principles of the universe. The NT usage, except for Paul, is generally within the tradition of Classical and Hellenistic usage where it can denote relationships of all kinds. Paul uses the term κοινωνία in a special spiritual sense, with the exception of 2 Cor vi 14, which is the only usage of κοινωνία in the NT parallel to 926F and 927A. ECL tends to adopt the religious context for the use of κοινωνία established by Paul. Cf. Heinrich Seesemann, *Der Begriff Κοινωνία im Neuen Testament* (Giessen, 1933); J. Y. Campbell, "Κοινωνία and its Cognates in the New Testament," *JBL*, LI (1932), 352-380.

ὡς ἔχει πᾶν οὐ θεὸς ἄπεισι κατὰ Πλάτωνα. Absence of God resulting in the collapse of physical harmony does not occur in ECL, but the concept of divine salvation presupposes it; cf. Ro i 18 ff.

## Ch. 13

927A

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλο κτλ. On the rhetorical form, cf. the series of conditional sentences in I Cor xv 12 ff., in both cases hypothetical conditions.

τί τῆς προνοίας ἔργον . . . Πρόνοια as providence, I Cl xxiv 5; Herm Vis 1.3.4. The argument here, that God is necessary for maintaining the natural order, is seldom explicit in ECL, but cf. Ac xvii 24-26; Diog vii 2; I Cl xx 1-3. Nevertheless it is presupposed as in Mt v 45, vi 25 ff.; Ro i 19-21. Cf. Johannes Behm, "προνοέω, πρόνοια," *TDNT* IV, 1009 ff.; *TWNT* IV, 1004 ff.

927B

ποιητῆς καὶ πατῆρ δημιουργός ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀριστοτέχνας. πατήρ as creator,

Ja i 17; I Cl xix 2; ποιητῆς, cf. ποιεῖν in Ac iv 24, xiv 15, xvii 24, 26; δημιουργός, Hb xi 10, I Cl xx 11, xxvi 1, xxxiii 2, xxxv 3, lix 2; τεχνίτης, Hb xi 10; 2 Cl viii 2.

927C

πρόνοιαν, see 927B.

## Ch. 15

928C

For the parts of the body as metaphors for parts of the universe, note the adaptation of this metaphor to the body of Christ, Col ii 19; Eph i 23, iv 16. For this metaphor see Cherniss *ad loc.*; Eduard Schweizer, "σῶμα," *TDNT*, VII, 1029 ff., 1074 ff.; *TWNT* VII, 1028 ff., 1072 ff.

## Ch. 16

929A

σῶμα θεῖον καὶ οὐράνιον. See 921E and Hans Herter, "ΘΕΙΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΑ," in *Philomathes: Studies and Essays in the Humanities in Memory of Philip Merlan*, ed. Robert B. Palmer and Robert Hamerton-Kelly (The Hague, 1971), pp. 12-24.

## Ch. 19

931E

ἐκλείψουσιν. With this passage on the emotional reaction to an eclipse, cf. Lk xxiii 45 ff.

## Ch. 23

936E

σῶμα. See 921E.

## Ch. 24

937D

καταπαύσαντες τὸν περίπατον. The end of the περίπατος is common in such dialogs; see Betz and Smith, 385A.

937F

ἀποκαταστάσεσιν. Here in its general meaning of return to a previous position; cf. the apocalyptic sense in Ac iii 21.

## Ch. 25

939A

ὑψηλῆς . . . βάθη . . . πλάτος . . . μήκος. Cf. Eph iii 18. H. Almqvist,

*Plutarch und das Neue Testament* (Uppsala, 1946), p. 113 notes the symbolic meaning of these spatial terms, but Plutarch seems here to have his attention firmly fixed on astronomical questions, see Cherniss' note *ad loc.*

## 939B-940D

This section demonstrating that the moon could give nourishment to its inhabitants (who are later shown to be the dead) has no parallel in ECL, but cf. the river of life, the heavenly garden, and the tree of life, Rv xxii 1-2; Apoc Petri 15.

## Ch. 26

## 940F

Ἔτι δ' ἐμοῦ σχεδὸν λέγοντος. See 922F.

τὸν μῦθον. Used only negatively in ECL; cf. G. Stählin, "μῦθος," TDNT IV, 781 ff.; TWNT IV, 788 ff.

## 941A

εἰ μή τι κωλύει. Cf. Ac viii 36; x 47, and Oscar Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament* (London, 1950), pp. 72-80.

## 941C

τιμὰς . . . πρώτας. τιμὴ of divine honors in Diog ii 8; cf. Ac xiv 11, xxviii 6, 10.

## 941D

ἀ<πόστολον> . . . ἐκπέμπειν κλήρω λαχόντας. A choice of emissaries (ἀπόστολον is supplied by Cherniss; others emend the text differently) by lot; cf. Ac i 26.

ἱερούς. ἱερός as "holy man" is not in ECL; cf. G. Schrenk, "ἱερός" TDNT III, 229-30; TWNT, III, 229.

## 941E

φιλοσοφίαν. On φιλοσοφία as a religious activity in ECL, see Betz and Smith, 384F.

## 941F

τὸ θεῖον ἐμποδῶν γίνεσθαι. The motif of the divinity hindering and thus calling a person appears in ECL as elsewhere; cf. Ac ix 1-9, xvi 6-10; Ro i 13, xv 22. In 1 Th ii 18 it is Satan who hinders.

Cf. also Mt ii 12 ff., where instructions for travel are given in a dream. See Soury, pp. 74-75.

ἐπιδεικνύμενον. Used here for a divine revelation, so also Mt xvi 1; Hb vi 17; 1 Cl xxiv 1. Ἀπόδειξις is used the same way in 1 Cor ii 4; ἀποδείκνυμι in Ac ii 22, 2 Th ii 4; δείκνυμι in Jn ii 18, v 20, x 32, xiv 8; Ac x 28; 1 Ti vi 15; Rv i 1, iv 1, xxii 6, and often in Hermas. οὐκ ἔναρ μόνον οὐδὲ διὰ συμβόλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερώς ἐντυγχάνειν πολλοὺς ὄψεσι δαιμόνων καὶ φωναῖς. Four media of revelation are classified: dreams and omens or signs (συμβόλων) are less direct; visions and voices are more direct. All four types are well known in ECL: dream and sign, Mt i-ii; vision, Ac ix 3 ff., x 3 ff.; 1 Cor xv 5-8; voice, Mk i 11//Mt iii 17//Lk iii 22; 2 Cor xii 9. Note 920B, ὄνειρους in connection with healing. See A. Oepke, "ἔναρ," TDNT V, 220 ff.; TWNT V, 220 ff.

ὄρνιθας . . . ἀμβροσίαν ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ. It is a common motif that the divine man is at peace with the animals; cf. Mk i 13.

## 942A

θεραπεύειν. Cf. Mk i 13 where οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.

μαντικούς. This root is always used negatively in ECL (μαντεύομαι, μάντις), but foretelling the future may be positive as in Ac xxi 11; see also the following entry.

προλέγειν. Of inspired prophecy, Ac i 16; Ro ix 29; Gal v 21; Hb iv 7; 2 Pt iii 2; Jude 17; 1 Cl xxxiv 3.

αὐτῷ πάλιν ἀνάπαυσιν ὁ ὕπνος <καταστήση> καὶ γένηται τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ θεῖον αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκήρατον. This description of ἀνάπαυσις describes what the term means in Gnosticism. See Phillip Vielhauer, "ANAPHAYΣIΣ: Zum gnostischen Hintergrund des Thomasevangeliums," in *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament (Theologische Bücherei 31, Munich, 1965)*, pp. 215-34; Otfried Hofius, *Katapausis: Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief* (Tübingen, 1970); Hans Dieter Betz, "The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest (Mt 11:28-30)," *JBL* 86 (1967), 10-24. θεῖον is here something pure and not mixed with matter; cf. Ac xvii 29, and Betz and Smith, 393A.

## 942B

ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς φίλους ἐξέπλευσε. For the farewell as a narrative transition, cf. Ac xx 1, xxi 6. This section presents the topos of the heavenly journey where the traveler returns and tells what he

has learned in the other world. Cf. 2 Cor xii 1-4 and Rv iv 1, xxii 8. See Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven, 1922).

## 942BC

ἀ . . . οὐ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἔργον ἔστι διελθεῖν. The idea that the revelation contained so much that it could not all be told is a common topos; cf. Jn xx 30.

## 942C

τινας . . . διφθέρας ἱερὰς ὑπεκκομισθείσας κρύφα καὶ διαλαθούσας πολλὸν χρόνον ἐν γῆ κειμένας ἐξεῦρεν. The reason for burial here appears to have been similar to the reason for hiding manuscripts at Qumran. On the discovery of sacred manuscripts, see Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament: Religionsgeschichtliche Parallelen* (TU 76, Berlin, 1961), 140 and W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike (Hypomnemata 24; Göttingen, 1970)*.

τῶν τε φαινομένων θεῶν. This is conventional language derived from Plato; cf. Cherniss *ad loc.* Contrast the frequent references in ECL to the invisibility of God: Jn i 18; Col i 15; 1 Ti i 17; Hb xi 27; 2 Cl xx 5; cf. Ro i 20 and H. Lietzmann, *Handbuch ad loc.*, with references to the "invisibility" motif in Hellenistic literature. See Rudolf Bultmann, "*Untersuchungen zum Johannesevangelium*," in *Exegetica*, ed. Erich Dinkler, (Tübingen, 1967), pp. 174-97.

καὶ μοι παρεκελεύετο τιμᾶν διαφερόντως τὴν σελήνην. Contrast Paul's view of the worship of heavenly bodies, Gal iv 3, 8-10.

τὴν σελήνην ὡς τοῦ βίου κυριωτάτην οὔσαν. The title κύριος, so often applied to Christ in the NT, is here applied to the moon; cf. Ro xiv 9; 1 Cor xv 26, 54. See also s.v. κυρία, 942D.

## Ch. 27

## 942D

ἄπολλὰ εἶπεν ἄ Σύλλα περὶ θεῶν οὐ πάντα δὲ καλῶς λέγεται παρ' Ἑλλήσιν. Such a polemic against a false understanding of the gods is frequent among philosophers. Compare Ac xiv 15; 1 Cor xii 2; Gal iv 8; 1 Th i 9. Contrast this with the positive evaluation of Ac xvii 22 ff.

κυρία. While the title is the same as the ECL κύριος, the function is limited in comparison to ECL by the role the deity plays in the

pantheon. See W. Foerster, "κύριος," *TDNT* [= *TWNT*], III, 1046 ff. See also 942C s.v. κυριωτάτην.

φωσφόρος. Cf. 2 Pt i 19, where this light symbolism is applied to the λόγος that illuminates the heart.

## 942F

φαῦλος μὲν οὐδεις οὐδ' ἀκάθαρτος ἀνεισιν. Cf. 1 Cor xv 50; 1 Cl xxxvi 6. οἱ δὲ χρηστοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην κομισθέντες αὐτόθι ῥᾶστον μὲν οὕτως βίον οὐ μὴν μακάριον οὐδὲ θεῖον ἔχοντες ἄχρι τοῦ δευτέρου θανάτου διατελοῦσι. μακάριος of final blessedness, 1 Cl xliv 5; M Pol i 1, cf. ii 1 and Tit ii 13. The passage presents common views of the afterlife. On the "second death," cf. Rv ii 11, xx 6, 14, xxi 8, where, however, the second death is the opposite of a deliverance. See Soury, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-210; Almquist, *op. cit.*, p. 139. On popular Greek views of the afterlife see Nilsson, *GGR*<sup>3</sup> I, 672 ff.

Cosmic geography is seldom brought into discussions of the afterlife in ECL, but cf. Apoc Petri, and in a limited way, Rv. See Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian*, pp. 81 ff. On the location of Hades, see Nilsson, *GGR*<sup>2</sup> II, 551 f., and Cherniss' note c, p. 201.

## Ch. 28

## 943A

μὴ περὶ τούτων ἔρη. μέλλω γὰρ αὐτὸς διηγεῖσθαι. This rhetorical emphasis on the speaker is derived from the speech of the mystagogue; see Görgemanns, p. 55. Compare Hermetica 1; cf. Rv xvii 6-7; see also Ro xi 25 and 1 Cor xv 51 which is a response to a question in xv 35. It is common that the question of the disciple leads to a fuller revelation: Mt xiii 10 ff.//Mk iv 10 ff.//Lk viii 9-10; Mt xvii 10 ff.//Mk ix 11 ff.; Mt xvii 19 ff.//Mk ix 28 ff.; Mt xviii 1 ff.; Mt xix 16 ff.//Mk x 17 ff.//Lk xviii 18 ff.; Mt xix 25 ff.//Mk x 26 f.//Lk xviii 26 f.; Mt xxi 20 ff.; Mt xxiv 3 ff.//Mk xiii 3 ff.//Lk xxi 7 ff.; Lk iii 10 ff.; Jn iii 4 ff., 9 ff., iv 9 ff., vi 25 ff., ix 2 ff., 36 ff., xii 34 ff., xiii 36 ff., xiv 5 ff., 22 ff., xvi 16 ff.; cf. question and answer to angelic revelation, Lk i 18 ff., 34 f.

τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἱ πολλοὶ σύνθετον μὲν ὀρθῶς ἐκ δυεῖν δὲ μόνον σύνθετον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἡγοῦνται. Plutarch's tripartite division of the self into σῶμα, ψυχὴ, and νοῦς (cf. what follows) is primarily derived from Plato (e.g., *Timaeus* 30B, 41-43, 90A); the possible influence of Posidonius has been strongly urged, but it is made unlikely by Galen's report that Posidonius thought not of parts but of

faculties of the soul; cf. Görgemanns, p. 103; Soury, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-85; Cherniss *ad. loc.* Here as usually the tripartite division signifies the affinity of the highest part of the self with God; contrast with Paul's σῶμα, ψυχή, πνεῦμα, 1 Th v 23; cf. Eph iv 23. In ECL there is nothing divine in man; but cf. 2 Pt i 3 f. On the divisions of the self, see also below, 945B for the soul/moon and mind/sun parallelism, and see 944E, s.v. νοῦς.

τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἢ γῆ κτλ. Cf. 1 Cor xv 44 ff.; 2 Cor v 1.

Plutarch's is one of the earliest full-scale descriptions of the ascent of the soul after death, which is the theme of the dialog from here to the end. This is not directly a theme in ECL. However, the literary form of the ascent-after-death narrative is related to the form of the narrative of the revelatory journey which does occur in ECL; cf. Paul's ascent to third heaven, 2 Cor xii 1-4. On this form see Georg Strecker, "Entrückung," (*RAC* V, 461-76); C. Colpe, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele innerhalb und ausserhalb der Gnosis," in U. Bianchi, ed., *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo* (Leiden, 1967), pp. 429-447, revised in *Festschrift für Josef Klein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Fries (Göttingen, 1967), pp. 85-104. For further literature, see Hans Dieter Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die Sokratische Tradition* (Tübingen, 1972), pp. 70 ff. The motif of the separation of the parts of the self (cf. 2 Cor xii 2-4) in the successive heavens is far more elaborate in Gnostic versions of the ascent; cf. Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1963), pp. 165-69. The νοῦς in Plutarch does not ascend beyond the planetary spheres to a realm which transcends spatial differentiation, but only to the sun. This is an appropriate symbolization of Plutarch's view, in which νοῦς and the divine are not separated as sharply from the world as they are in Gnostic or even in later Neo-Platonic thought, in which the ascent of the soul plays a great role.

ὅν δ' ἀποθνήσκωμεν θάνατον. Death as separation of body and soul was a commonplace; cf. Mt x 28; Lk xxiii 46; Jn xix 30; Ac vii 59; 2 Cor xii 1-4; Js ii 26.

## 943B

τελεῖν (Text here defective.) Cf. Jn xix 30.

μονογενής. Here an epithet of Persephone and given an active sense of making men "single born." Frequent in the NT as a Christological title where the emphasis is on uniqueness. On Plutarch's usage, see Cherniss, p. 199 n. f.

## 943C

ἄνουν τε καὶ σὺν νῶ. Cf. with 2 Cor xii 1-4.

τῶ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης χωρίῳ πλανηθῆναι. This idea of the wanderings of the soul after death may lie behind the spirits living around the tombs in Mk v 3.

αἱ μὲν ἄδικοι. Compare this presentation of the purification of the soul with the frequent theme of punishment (sometimes of the body, sometimes unspecified) after death in ECL; e.g., Mt xiii 42; Mt xviii 8-9//Mk ix 43-46; Hb x 26-31; Js v 1-3; Rv xiv 9-11. See Nilsson, *GGR*<sup>2</sup> II, 231-42, 543-58; Franz Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* (Paris, 1949), pp. 219-34.

μιασμούς. Cf. 2 Pt ii 10; Herm Sim 5, 7, 2; see Friedrich Hauck, "μιασμός," *TDNT* IV, 644-47; *TWNT* IV, 647-50.

δεῖ. Frequent also in ECL of divine decision in an eschatological setting; cf. Walter Grundmann, "δεῖ," *TDNT* [= *TWNT*] II, 21-25.

οἶον ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἀνακομιζόμεναι φυγαδικῆς εἰς πατρίδα. Death as return from exile, 2 Cor v 6-10; Hb xi 14, where a πατρίς is the goal of the pilgrims and is associated with death (cf. v. 13). See Cherniss, p. 202 n. a.

γέγονται χαρᾶς ὡς οἱ τελούμενοι κτλ. χαρά and τελειωτής occur together in Hb xii 2. χαρά as eschatological also in Mt xxv 21, 23; Jn xvi 20-22. See Hans Conzelmann, "χαίρω," *TWNT* IX, 350-62. Initiation and death were frequently associated; cf. Ro vi 3-5. Though τελέω is not used to mean "initiate" in ECL, τελειώω may acquire the connotation of initiation in some of its usages; see Bauer s. v., 3. Phil iii 12 associates conformity to the death of Christ with τετελειώμαι; cf. also Hb ii 10, v 9, vii 11, 28.

ἐλπίδος. Here ἐλπίς is an eschatological gift; on this term in ECL, see Rudolf Bultmann, "ἐλπίς," *TDNT* II, 530ff.; *TWNT* II, 527 ff.

## 943CD

πολλὰς γὰρ ἐξωθεῖ καὶ ἀποκυματίζει γλιχομένας ἤδη κτλ. One of many images of unexpected "last-minute" eschatological rejection; cf. Mt vii 21-23//Lk xiii 25-27; Mt xxv 41-46; Herm Vis III, 2-6.

## 943D

οἱ νικηφόροι. Similar eschatological images are frequent in ECL; cf. 1 Cor ix 24-27; Phil iii 14; νικάω in Rv ii 11, 26, iii 5, 12, 21.

See Victor C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif: Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature* (NovTSup; Leiden, 1967).

στεφάνους πτερόων εὐσταθείας λεγομένοις. Steadfastness is associated with στέφανος here, as in many passages in ECL: 2 Ti iv 8; Js i 12; 1 Pt v 4; Rv ii 10, iii 11; M Pol xvii 1. στέφανος and victory in an athletic contest, 1 Cor ix 25; 2 Cl vii 3. See Cherniss, p. 202 n. c, and Walter Grundmann, "στέφανος, στεφανόω," *TDNT* VII, 615-36, esp. pp. 623 and 629 ff.; *TWNT* VII, 615-35, esp. pp. 622 and 627 ff.

943E

τρέφεσθαι. On the nourishment of the dead, see 939B.

## Ch. 29

Ἐφορῶσι . . . αὐτῆς σελήνης. The motif of seeing as things really are is frequent in visions of the afterlife; cf. 1 Cor xiii 12; 1 Jn iii 2.

944A

βόωσας. The cry of souls in a very different setting: Rv vi 10.

944B

αἱ τῶν κολαζομένων ψυχαὶ τηνικαῦτα διὰ τῆς σκιᾶς ὀδυρόμεναι <καὶ> ἀλαλάζουσαι προσφέρονται. On darkness as a place of punishment associated with the wailing of the punished, see Mt viii 12, xxii 13, xxv 30; see also Jude 13; 2 Pt ii 17 for darkness as a place of punishment; for the wailing of the punished, see Mt xiii 42, 50, xxiv 51; Lk xiii 28. See also 944C.

διὸ καὶ κροτεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν εἰώθασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι χαλκῶματα καὶ ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ πάταγον ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχάς. Plutarch explains the custom of beating brass and making noise during an eclipse to frighten off the souls; cf. 1 Cor xiii 1 and Cherniss, pp. 208-09, n. b.

944C

ὅπου καὶ δίκας διδάσιν αἱ ψυχαί. Purification of the soul after death was a commonplace of Greek religion; see Nilsson, *GGR*<sup>3</sup> I, 688 ff., 699 ff., 815 ff.; F. Schmidt-Clausing, "Fegefeuer," *RGG*<sup>3</sup> II, 892-94. ECL strongly emphasizes the finality of action in this life, but cf. 1 Cor xv 29.

## Ch. 30

944D

Plutarch explains that the souls of the dead are demons which come down to earth to administer oracles, to attend the mysteries, and to serve as chastizers and saviors. See Cherniss, p. 211, n. f.

οἱ δαίμονες . . . συμπάρεισι καὶ συνοργιάζουσι τῶν τελετῶν. In general ECL does not explain demons as souls of the dead; see Werner Foerster, "δαίμων," *TDNT* II, 16; *TWNT*, 17. The presence on earth of some one who has died is in the NT restricted to Jesus, Lk xxiv 30 ff., 40 ff.; Jn xxi 12 ff.; Ac x 41. But note the metaphorical sense of the presence of the dead in Hb xii 1.

κολασταί . . . ἀδικημάτων. For demons as chastizers of misdeeds, see 2 Cor xii 7. On punishment of misdeeds, cf. Jn ix 2-3.

σωτήρες ἐν τε πολέμοις καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. σωτήρ is not used of angelic beings in ECL; see Bauer s.v.; but in Ac xxvii 23-24 an angel appears to Paul in connection with the shipwreck.

ὕπ' ὀργῆς. Anger is here viewed negatively, as in the NT generally; cf. Mt v 22 and Gustav Stählin, "ὀργή," *TDNT* V, 419-21; *TWNT* V, 419-22.

φθόνω. φθόνος is a vice here as in ECL: Ro i 29; Gal v 21; Phil i 15; 1 Ti vi 4; Tit iii 3; 1 Pt ii 1, and often in 1 Cl.

δίκην τίνουσιν. Cf. 2 Th i 9 and 943C s. v. ἄδικοι.

ὠθοῦνται γὰρ ἀθῆς ἐπὶ γῆν συνειργνύμενοι σώμασιν ἀνθρωπίνους. The doctrine of the reincarnation of souls does not appear in ECL.

944E

εἰς ἕτερον τόπον. Cf. Ac xii 17. Almquist, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79, notes that the phrase generally indicates a change of scene.

ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἀποκριθῇ τῆς ψυχῆς. On the conception of the self, see above, 943A, and A.-J. Festugière, "La division corps-âme-esprit dans 1 Thess., v, 23, et la philosophie grecque," in *L'Idéal religieux des grecs et l'Évangile* (Paris, 1932), pp. 195-219.

ἀποκρίνεται δ' ἔρωτι τῆς . . . εἰκόνας. Cf. 943A and εἰκόν in Ro viii 29; 1 Cor xv 49; 2 Cor iii 18.

πᾶσα φύσις . . . ὀρέγεται. Cf. Ro viii 19 ff.; Hb xi 16; see Cherniss, p. 213, n. g.

944F

κατὰ θεόν. Cf. Ro viii 27; 2 Cor vii 9; IEph ii 1; as Homer is

divinely inspired for Plutarch, so are the scriptures in ECL: 2 Ti iii 16; 2 Pt i 21.

θυμός . . . φόβος . . . ἐπιθυμία. These passions are differentiated from the true self in a manner characteristic of Plutarch's view of the self. ECL, while using all these terms with the same moral valuation, does not differentiate them from the true self.

## 945A

ψυχὴ τυπουμένη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ τυπούσα δὲ τὸ σῶμα. This theory which explains why the soul looks like the body even after death is not found in ECL. See, however, Lk xxiv 36 ff., where Jesus appears and is recognized; see also Jn xx 24 ff.; Ac xii 15.

τούτων δ' ἡ σελήνη . . . , στοιχεῖόν ἐστιν. Souls are dissolved into the moon as a body is dissolved into the earth. The concern of the Galatians for τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου is described by Paul as δεδουλομένοι εἶναι in Gal iv 3, 9; Col ii 8, 20.

## 945B

On the whole section, with its association of the soul with the moon and with the principle of individuation in the self, while νοῦς is associated with the unindividuated divine and the sun, see Nilsson, *GGR*<sup>2</sup> II, 492 ff.; Roger M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch*, 48-56; W. Hamilton, "The Myth in Plutarch's *De Facie* (940F-945D)," *CIQ* 28 (1934), 24 ff. We find here a more detailed description of the soul's destiny than is common in Gnosticism. On the relation of souls to sunlight in Gnosticism, see James M. Robinson, "Kerygma and History in the New Testament," *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 35-36, n. 19.

## 945D

ὡμῶν δ', ὃ Λαμπρία, χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ πάρεστιν ἢ βούλεσθε. This concluding phrase well suggests Plutarch's ambivalent attitude toward myth, which contrasts sharply with a widespread stance in ECL of not establishing a critical distance toward myth. Cf. Cherniss, p. 223, n. a; Görgemanns, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Hirzel, *op. cit.*, II, 185.

## IX

DE ESU CARNIUM ORATIONES I AND II (MORALIA 993A-999B)<sup>1</sup>

BY

DAVID E. AUNE

Chicago, Illinois

## I. INTRODUCTION

*De esu carniūm* I and II are two badly mutilated discourses or orations of Plutarch which some scholars, probably incorrectly, have regarded as having been accidentally separated in the text-tradition<sup>2</sup>. Since the reference to a related discussion "two days ago" (996A) would seem to indicate that Plutarch had dedicated a series of discourses to the subject of eating meat, it is more probable that these two discourses, though badly mutilated, were separately composed<sup>3</sup>. The opening line of the second discourse (996D) indicates that this is in fact a new discussion, related in subject matter to the first discourse but not presupposing anything essential that had gone before. Classical scholarship has understandably ignored these two short discourses, the major contribution of which is to reveal something of Plutarch's early rhetorical training together with an early interest in some phases of Pythagoreanism. Both discourses are composed as rhetorical exercises reflecting both Greek panegyric and progymnasmata,<sup>4</sup> and contain in addition many of the stylistic and moralizing features of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe<sup>5</sup>. Oltramare, noting the phenomenological similarity

<sup>1</sup> The text of Plutarch used is *Moralia*, ed. C. Hubert, Vol. VI, Fasc. 1 (Bibliotheca Teubneriana; Lipsiae, 1954), ix-xi, 94-112.

<sup>2</sup> The hypothesis of accidental separation is espoused by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hermes*, XL (1905), 165.

<sup>3</sup> Konrat Ziegler, "Plutarchos," *PW*, Halbband 41, col. 733.

<sup>4</sup> Fritz Krauss, *Die rhetorischen Schriften Plutarchs und ihre Stellung im Plutarchischen Schriftenkorpus* (Nürnberg, 1912), 8ff.

<sup>5</sup> Krauss, *Die rhetorischen Schriften*, 80; J. Seidel, *Vestigia diatribae, qualia reperiuntur in aliquot Plutarchi scriptis moralibus* (Breslau, 1906). Seidel cites a mass of parallels in the *Moralia* to the extant fragments of Teles. In addition to the twenty-five treatises of Plutarch which have been widely recognized as having been influenced by the diatribe, André Oltramare

between the vegetarianism espoused by Plutarch and that practised by the school founded by Q. Sextius (Sextius Niger), argues for the direct literary dependence of Plutarch on diatribes of Sextius.<sup>1</sup> Without denying the phenomenological similarity of the primarily empirical ethical and hygienic arguments for the ascetic vegetarianism espoused by both the Sextian school and the early Plutarch, direct literary dependence cannot be demonstrated.<sup>2</sup> The assumption that these two discourses were written in Plutarch's youth is supported by two facts: (1) Plutarch's early interest in mathematics and number mysticism (cf. *De E apud Delphi* 387F) may be correlated with his enthusiastic acceptance of Pythagorean abstention from meat in *De esu carniuum*. This acceptance of Pythagorean ascetic vegetarianism was later abandoned (cf. *Quaestiones convivales* 635E, where Plutarch's companions mistakenly suppose that his abstention from eggs is based on Orphic or Pythagorean convictions). (2) The markedly exaggerated rhetorical features of these two discourses point unmistakably to Plutarch's youth.<sup>3</sup> These strong rhetorical features should also caution one against assuming without qualification that Plutarch himself held the extreme views found in the first discourse. The contention of Hirzel (*Der Dialog*, II, 126, n. 2) that these orations were delivered before a Boeotian audience is an unsupported conjecture lacking any positive proof.<sup>4</sup>

The major contributions which *De esu carniuum* I and II can make to the study of the New Testament and early Christian literature are: (1) rhetorical similarities and parallels<sup>5</sup>, especially with regard to the characteristic features of diatribe style.<sup>6</sup> (2) The

sees four others which betray the influence of Bion (*De inimicorum utilitate*, *De virtute morali*, *Coniugalia praecepta*, *De defectu oraculorum*); *Les origines de la diatribe romaine* (Lausanne, 1926), 25f., cf. especially notes 5-7 on p. 25 and n. 1, p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> Oltramare, *Les origines de la diatribe*, 168-80.

<sup>2</sup> Oltramare is convinced that where metaphysical arguments for ascetic vegetarianism are used in these treatises, non-Sextian sources can be distinguished.

<sup>3</sup> Krauss, *Die rhetorischen Schriften Plutarchs*, 81ff.

<sup>4</sup> So Ziegler, "Plutarchos," col. 734; Krauss, *Die rhetorischen Schriften*, 79.

<sup>5</sup> One of the marked characteristics of grammars of New Testament Greek, such as Blass-Debrunner-Funk (pp. 239-63) is the surprisingly weak and uninformative discussions of style and rhetoric in New Testament and early Christian literature. These crucially important aspects of literary criticism certainly deserve more comprehensive and thoroughgoing treatment.

<sup>6</sup> The formal style of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe is most comprehensively set

ethico-religious values of ascetic vegetarianism, which was an important aspect of the intellectual-religious milieu of the Graeco-Roman world in which early Christianity developed. Since many features of the diatribe style which have important parallels in early Christian epistolary literature are relatively commonplace, we shall summarize them here in so far as they occur in *De esu carniuum*, after which the content and structure of the treatises themselves will be treated.

## II. FEATURES OF DIATRIBE STYLE COMMON TO *De esu carniuum* AND EARLY CHRISTIAN EPISTOLARY LITERATURE

Although the Cynic-Stoic diatribe as a popular form of moral exhortation and discourse is widely regarded as having had a decisive impact on the formal style of the Pauline letters, Hebrews and James, its impact on their content (*mutatis mutandis*) has been less widely considered and examined. The clearest and most concentrated use of the diatribe in the NT is 1 Cor xv 29-34,<sup>1</sup> although vestiges of this popular oral-literary style are found in varying proportions throughout Christian epistolary literature. While the letters of Ignatius are still widely regarded as having been influenced by the Asianic rhetoric of his supposed Hellenistic school education, there is no single feature of his style which cannot be accounted for by hypothecating the influence of the characteristic style and rhetoric of the diatribe-form.<sup>2</sup> While many of the formal features of the diatribe were maintained with little change, the material features of the diatribe were often functionally transformed into Christianized equivalents.

forth by R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (Göttingen, 1910), 10-64, although even here the breadth of the diatribe form is constricted by an over-ample use of the conversational discourses of Epictetus and an insufficient use of the more self-consciously literary productions of Plutarch, Philo, Seneca and Dio.

<sup>1</sup> This has been carefully and convincingly proven by A. Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," *JBL*, LXXXVII (1968), 71-80.

<sup>2</sup> The influence of "Asianism" on Ignatius is maintained (though without consideration of the indispensable element of Asianic meter) by O. Perler, "Das vierte Makkabäerbuch, Ignatius von Antiochien und die ältesten Märtyrerberichte," *Rivista di Archeologia Christiana*, XXV (1949), 47-72; H. Riesenfeld, "Reflections on the Style and Theology of St. Ignatius of Antioch," *TU LXXIX* (1961), 312-22; R. M. Grant, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. I: *Introduction* (New York, 1964), 49ff. The resemblance between Asianism and the Cynic-Stoic diatribe is noted by Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, I, 130f.

1. *Formal stylistic and rhetorical features.* (1) The reader is frequently addressed in the second person singular, and often regarded as the representative of a *communis opinio*; cf. 993A: ἄλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἐρωτᾷς, 995A: εἰ δὲ λέγεις, 995B: ἀναμένεις, 998D: φήσετε (Bultmann, *Der Stil*, 65). For Pauline examples see Ro xi 19; ix 19; 2 Cor x 10; cf. Ro ii 1, 3, 4, 5, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25. (2) Objections of an imaginary interlocutor in dialogue style are introduced with third person singular or plural; 994F: παρειλάφαιμεν ἐκείνους λέγειν, 999A: φασίν, 999B: φάει τις ἄν; cf. ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις in Js ii 18; 1 Cor xv 35; φησίν in 2 Cor x 10 (cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, par. 130 (3)). (3) ἀλλά frequently introduces the interlocutor's objection; cf. 993A, 994F (Bultmann, *Der Stil*, 11). Cf. 1 Cor xv 35; Js ii 18. (4) ἔγε is frequently used in transitions, cf. 994F: ἀλλ' ἔγε; cf. Js iv 13; v 1; Dg ii 1 (Bultmann, *Der Stil*, 53; J. Ropes, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James* [Edinburgh, 1916], 13). (5) Ironic imperatives (995A: ἀπόκτεινον, 995B: ἄνελε) and hortatory subjunctives used ironically (997F: μήτι γελᾶσωμεν;) are frequent (Bultmann, *Der Stil*, 32 f.) cf. 1 Cor xv 32. (6) Series of rhetorical questions are used, frequently with irony and as transitions (Bultmann, *Der Stil*, 55; cf. below under 993B).

2. *Material themes and features.* (1) Diatribe writers are fond of quotations from poets and sages, not for proof, but as rhetorical ornament and as a means for placing their views in the mouths of ancient worthies (Bultmann, *Der Stil*, 43 ff.); particularly favored are Homer, Euripides and the comic poets Menander and Philemon. In *De esu carniū* Plutarch quotes Homer (993C; 996E; 996D), Euripides (998E), Menander, Pindar and Heraclitus in close succession (995E), Empedocles (996B, here quotation dropped out of the text, 998C, 996D (?), 997E); Simonides (997D); Aratus (998A). While quotations from Greek tragedians, comedians, etc. are rare in NT & ECL, particularly in the context of diatribe rhetoric, the best example is Paul's quotation of Menander in 1 Cor xv 33. Luke has Paul quote Aratus in Ac xvii 28b (possibly Epimenides in Ac xvii 28a). Particularly in those Christian writers influenced by diatribe style one must reckon with the possibility that they use the Old Testament in a manner more in line with Cynic-Stoic usage than characteristic Jewish use of the

Old Testament;<sup>1</sup> examples of this usage are found in Hb xii 5 f. and Js iv 5 f. (2) Heroes are frequently cited as examples of Cynic-Stoic virtues. While Heracles, the most popular Cynic-Stoic "patron saint," is not mentioned in *De esu carniū* (here Pythagoras and Empedocles are the examples), those who are mentioned include Lycurgus (997C) and Spartans generally (995C), Diogenes, Pelopidas, Harmodius and Aristogiton (995C-D), Pythagoras (993A, 997E, 998A), Empedocles (997E, 998A). In NT and ECL these Cynic-Stoic paradigms of virtue are functionally replaced by OT and NT personages who embody in an exemplary way the distinctively Judaeo-Christian virtues and values. The prominence of Heracles (or Pythagoras) is replaced by Jesus (cf. Hb xii 1-3), while other popular figures are the prophets generally (Js v 10), Job (Js v 11), Elijah (Js v 17), Abraham (Js ii 21 ff.), Rahab (Js ii 25). Hb xi 4-40 contains the well-known table of OT examples of faith, to which the supreme example, Jesus, is added at the conclusion for emphasis (Hb xii 1-3). (3) Some major themes characteristic of diatribes include: (a) Emphasis on the virtue of primitive or barbaric societies to which one should—at least in principle—return (993A), cf. Oltramare, *Les origines*, 51; to this may be compared the supposition underlying much of early Christian religious thought, namely that the full implementation of salvific blessings is in effect a return to the Adamic state. (b) Barbarians frequently serve as examples to civilized people (993D), cf. Oltramare, *Les origines*, 46. (c) To maintain simplicity, abstinence from wine is recommended (995E), cf. Oltramare, *Les origines*, 50. (d) Asceticism is necessary for the attainment of a virtuous life (996A); cf. Oltramare, *Les origines*, 56. (e) Physical desires, if not checked, are insatiable (997B; Oltramare, *Les origines*, 62). (f) Gluttony changes men into beasts (996C; cf. Oltramare, *Les origines*, 50); cf. 2 Pt ii 12//Jude 10.

### III. CONTENT AND ARGUMENT OF *De esu carniū* I AND II

#### *De esu carniū* I:

- I. Those who ask why Pythagoras abstained from meat incorrectly assume it to be natural (993B-994F)

<sup>1</sup> Generally, treatments of the OT quotations used in the NT do not even consider this possibility; cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1957).

- A. Argument from hygiene: how could men stand to feast on corpses?
  - B. Argument from necessity (positive): those early humans who ate meat did so, not because it was "natural," but from their excessive poverty and need.
  - C. Argument from necessity (negative): meat is not eaten as a result of self-defense, for it is mostly harmless creatures that are eaten.
- II. Argument from nature: eating meat is not natural (994F-995D)
    - A. Man is not naturally suited for killing and eating animals.
    - B. Man does not eat dead animals in their natural state but artificially cooks and spices them.
  - III. Argument from consequences: perceptions of soul and mind are dulled (995E-996A).
  - IV. Argument from social ethics: respect for non-human creatures will engender greater respect for fellow humans (996A-B).
  - V. Argument from metaphysics (metempsychosis): eating meat may be cannibalism! (996B-C).

*De esu carniū II:*

- I. Meat-eating should only be done out of hunger; one should abstain from tormenting animals (996D-997A).
- II. Meat-eating is not done out of necessity but luxury; unbounded appetite leads to cruelty to animals and a general decay of morals (997B-D).
- III. Carnivores may be killing and eating dead friends and relatives (997E-998A).
- IV. Killing animals leads inevitably to murder and war (998B-C).
- V. Even the possibility of the truth of metempsychosis should make one more careful (998D-F).
- VI. Stoics are inconsistent when they reject pleasure as contrary to nature, yet indulge in eating meat (999A-D; Discourse breaks off here).

IV. COMMENTARY ON TEXT

993A

τίνι λόγῳ Interrogative pronoun with λόγος in *dativus causae*, Acts x 29.  
 Arguing for what is "natural" (ascetic vegetarianism) over against

what is "customary" (this antithesis is explicitated in 996B), Plutarch uses temporal argument by referring to early human history and wondering why the first men who did so began the unnatural practise of eating meat. Analogous arguments in NT & ECL: (a) In the synoptic pericope on divorce (Mk x 2-12 // Mt xix 3-12), Jesus is depicted as appealing to a temporally prior law of creation in light of which both Mosaic legislation and Pharisaic tradition are viewed as an improper and later hiatus to the true will of God; this is particularly clear in Mt xix 9: "from the beginning it was not so." Cf. H. J. Schoeps, "Restitutio Principii als kritisches Prinzip der Nova Lex Jesu," *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit* (Tübingen, 1950), 271-85. (b) In Gal iii 6-29 Paul argues for the priority of faith over Mosaic law since faith (as in the case of Abraham) was the temporally prior principle of obtaining righteousness. (c) In Dg ii 1, against the charge that Christianity is a recent development (Dg i), the author encourages his readers to put aside prejudicial and deceitful custom in order to look at the question "as a new man from the beginning" (ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινός ἄνθρωπος). (d) Similarly, the same author argues against Jewish dietary laws, fasting, observance of special days, etc., since such distinctions contradict the fact that God created all things for man's use and enjoyment (Dg iv 1). (e) The Jerusalem Council imposed only the Noachian laws on the gentile mission (Ac xv 21, 28-29), presumably because these regulations were temporally prior to Mosaic legislation and so incumbent on all mankind. See H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen, 1949), 259f.

ἀπέχετο σαρκοφαγίας. On religiously motivated abstention from various kinds of food in early Christianity (cf. the religious motivation of Pythagoreanism in J. Haussleiter, *Der Vegetarismus in der Antike* [Berlin, 1935], 127-40; H. Strathmann, *Geschichte der frühchristlichen Askese*, Bd. 1: *Die Askese in der Umgebung des werdenden Christentums* [Leipzig, 1914], 305-317), see Ro xiv 1-23, esp. vv. 2 (ὁ δὲ ἀσθενῶν λάχανα ἐσθίει) and 21 (καλὸν τὸ μὴ φαγεῖν κρέα; κρεοφαγία is used as synonym of σαρκοφαγία in 995D). The major problem in interpreting Ro xiv 1-23 is the determination of the *motivation* for these ascetic phenomena: Jewish or Hellenistic? (cf. discourses in O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* [Göttingen, 1963], 334; W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *A Critical*

and *Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [Edinburgh, 1902<sup>2</sup>], 399-403). The phenomenological similarity between the ascetic vegetarianism of *De esu carniuum* and that of the Sextian school at Rome (direct dependence of the former on the latter is argued by Oltramare, *Les origines de la diatribe romaine*, 168-80) may shed important light on the motivations for asceticism in Ro xiv 1-23. Abstinence from foods reflected in other NT references more clearly reflects the Jewish and Jewish-Christian prejudice against eating meat offered to idols; cf. Ac xv 20, 29; I Cor viii 13; Col ii 16, 21. Some ascetic practises of early Christianity, particularly in its Jewish-Christian and Syrian-Christian phases, seem to presuppose present conformity to protological ("pre-Fall") and eschatological (Urzeit-Endzeit) conditions, particularly in respect to eating meat and sex (cf. D. Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity*, *NovTSup*, XXVIII [Leiden, 1972], 216ff., esp. nn. 3, 4). For additional references to the sin of bloodletting and meat-eating in Jewish apocalyptic literature, see H. D. Betz, "On the Problem of the Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism," *JThC* 6, 1969, 146, esp. note 45. A phenomenological similarity to *De esu carniuum* is evident here in that Plutarch depicts primitive man as practising vegetarianism and then lapsing, because of poverty and necessity, into the practice of eating meat. For an excellent discussion of vegetarianism in *De esu carniuum* see J. Haussleiter, *Der Vegetarismus in der Antike*, 212-28. See also below, 995E.

## 993B

καὶ τίνι πάθει καὶ ποῖα ψυχῆ [ἢ λόγῳ]. τίς and ποῖος are used together for emphasis in I Pt i 11 (εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρόν), also in Ac vii 49 and Barn xvi 2 (LXX version of Isa. lxvi 1 quoted in both passages). ποῖος is a *var. lec.* for τίς in Mk iv 30 (cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, par. 298). Here man's transition from vegetarian to carnivore (functionally equivalent to the "Fall" of Adam in in Judaeo-Christian traditions) is viewed as the result of the impairment of emotional/rational processes. Elsewhere Plutarch views meat-eating as itself contributory to the impairment of the soul; see the brief discussion below under 995E. Implied is the recapitulation of the unfortunate act of eating meat by the first human who did so in the later carnivorous habits of later humans;

i.e., "each man is the Adam of his own soul" (2 Bar liv 15, 19). An analogous presupposition underlies Ro v 12 and is implicit in the conceptions of ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος (Ro i 6; Col iii 9; Eph iv 22) and ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος (I Cor xv 45, 47). Frequently the intellectual superstructure of a particular religion/society structures the experience of the group after the experience of the individual (ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny). On the common emphasis in early Christianity on human reason darkened and impaired by sin, see Eph iv 18; Col i 21; Ro i 19-23; I Jn ii 11; I Clem xxxvi 2; 2 Clem xix 2; i 6. On the functionally equivalent expression "hardness of heart" see Jn xii 40; Mk vi 52; viii 17; Hermas Mand. iv 2. 1; xii 4. 4; Barn ix 5; Mt xix 8; Mk x 5; Hermas Vis. iii 7. 6; Mk xvi 14. See J. Behm, *TWNT* 4, 964 = *TDNT*, 4, 966f.

βρυχώμενα μέρη καὶ φθεγγόμενα καὶ κινούμενα καὶ βλέποντα. *Polysyndeton*, a rhetorical feature of diatribe rhetoric, Asianism, and Semitic poetics. Ten examples in *De esu carniuum* (with four or more members), i.e., 994B, 995B, 997C (2x), 997D, E (2x), F, 998E. For NT examples of polysyndeton with the connective καί, see Ro ii 17-18; ix 4; Rv iv 11; v 12, 13; vii 12. (Blass-Debrunner-Funk, par. 460, denies rhetorical effect of apparent examples of polysyndeton in Lk xiv 21; xviii 28 (et par. Mt xix 29; Mk x 29). καί used as the connective in polysyndeta by Plutarch in 994B, 995B, 997C, D, E, F. Examples of polysyndeta with the connective ἢ (997E) are found in Ro viii 35; Mk xiii 35; with μήτε (997C), in Mt v 34-36; Lk ix 3; Ac xxiii 8; 2 Th ii 2; Js v 12; with οὔτε (cf. οὐδέ, 998E), in Ac xxiv 12-13; Ro viii 38-39; I Cor vi 10; with ἀλλά (not in *De esu carn.*) in I Cor vi 11. A series of three rhetorical-ironical questions is introduced by the interrogative particle πῶς; cf. the series of four such rhetorical questions introduced by πῶς (minus the irony) in Ro x 14f. In another characteristic feature of diatribe style (Bultmann, *Der Stil*, 55), there are 27 examples of the use of rhetorical questions in *De esu carniuum*, frequently for transitional purposes: 993D (5x), 993E-F, 994A (5x), 995B, D, 996A (2x), 997D (2x), F, 998A, D, E, F, 999A (2x). Such rhetorical questions are frequent in early Christian epistolary literature exhibiting diatribic stylistic influence; cf. Js ii 4-5; ii 14-16; iii 11f.; iv 4f.; Ro viii 31-35; I Cor iv 7; vi 1-7; ix 1, 4-6, 7; x 16; xii 17, 19; xiv 7-9, 36 (cf. Bultmann, *Der Stil*, 85f.).

This same series of three rhetorical questions introduced by πῶς lacks connective particles and so are examples of *asyndeton*; there are nine such uses of asyndeta in *De esu carniuum*: 994D, E, 995A, B, C, 997C, E, 998C. In NT and ECL, one must distinguish—as the grammars generally do not—between the profane omission of connective particles and the use of *asyndeton* for rhetorical effect (cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, par. 459-63; N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. III: *Syntax* [Edinburgh 1963], 340-41). For NT examples of *asyndeton* as a rhetorical device see Mt xv 19; Jn v 3; 1 Cor xiv 24; xv 1f.; especially Ro i 29-31 (vice catalogue); Hb xi 32ff.; 1 Cor vii 27.

## 993C

ἐπιθυμίας ἀνόμους συνδιάγοντες . . . ἡδοναὶ παρὰ φύσιν. Reflecting popular ethical terminology, Plutarch denies that man was in this state when he first began eating meat. Here it is implied, elsewhere explicitly stated (998B) that carnivorous practises have led mankind to cruel and inhuman practises. Tit iii 3, using a similar pattern of negative ethical terminology, describes man prior to the reception of the Christian gospel: ἤμεν γὰρ ποτε καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις, ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες.

## 993D

At this point Plutarch inserts an improvised speech placed into the mouth of an ancient man claiming that poverty and necessity were the only reasons for his beginning the practise of eating meat. In Cynic-Stoic diatribes primitive peoples and/or barbarians are not infrequently used as moral examples (cf. Oltramare, *Les origines de la diatribe romaine*, 46). In Ro ix 30-31 Paul describes the gentiles as having actually obtained what the Jews sought for but did not obtain; in Ro ii 14f he describes the gentiles as doing by nature what the law requires. In I Cor v 1 Paul exclaims that the instance of incest in the Corinthian community has no analogy among the pagans. In the synoptic gospels, we find an emphasis on the exemplary repentance of the Ninevites (Mt xii 41//Lk xi 32), the exemplary faith of the Syro-Phoenician woman (Mk vii 24-30//Mt xv 21-28) and of the Centurion (Mt viii 5-13//Lk vii 1-10). In Ac the exemplary response of the gentiles in contrast to the Jews is frequently

emphasized (xiii 44-52; xvi 11-15; xvii 1-5, 11-13; xviii 5-7). οἶον . . . ὅσα . . . ὅσα . . . ὅσον . . . ὅσας. A series of five rhetorical-ironical questions; cf. 993B. In Phil iv 8, ὅσα is repeated six times, though not in rhetorical questions.

## 993E

τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ . . . ἦν; Rhetorical-ironical question (cf. 993B), a fixed idiomatic expression used in various diatribes (cf. Bauer, 353); found in NT & ECL only in 1 Clem xliii 1. παρὰ φύσιν. The standard argument against Pythagorean abstention from meat used by both Stoics and Academics was that eating meat was natural (cf. Xenocrates in Porphyry *Abst.* i. 13-26). While it is not until 999A that Plutarch begins an argument with the Stoics (which breaks off abruptly in 999B), it may be that the entire series of treatises were obliquely directed against the Stoic sanction of eating meat. The "contrary to nature" argument is explicitly used in the NT only by Paul: Ro i 22 (women changed their "natural" sexual role to one "contrary to nature"; cf. 997B which treats the perversions of "lustful women."). Cf. 1 Cor xi 14 where Paul uses the argument from nature in a positive way ("Does not nature teach. . .?").

## 994A

τίς . . . τίς . . . τί . . . τί . . . οὐκ . . . μιγνύοντες. Series of five rhetorical-ironical questions, cf. 993B. Discontent with vegetarianism is amplified into slander of the earth and impiety toward Demeter and Dionysus. 1 Ti vi 6-8 concludes that godliness (εὐσέβεια) in combination with contentment (αὐτάρχεια) is good. Plutarch regards this lack of contentment as ἀσέβεια (994A), and this is found in a context of being satisfied with what the earth and the gods have provided. Cf. Hb xiii 5; Lk iii 14; Mt vi 25-34. In Dg iv 1f the author, arguing against Jewish dietary customs, observance of special days, etc., states that men should be content with what God has created for their use.

## 994B

καὶ χειρ. καὶ ἄκ. καὶ νωδᾶ. Polysyndeton, cf. 993B.

## 994DE

οὐδέν . . . οὐ . . . οὐ . . . οὐ. Asyndeton, cf. 993B.  
οὐ χράσας ἀνθηρὸν εἶδος, οὐ . . . οὐ. Asyndeton, cf. 993B.

## 994F

ἔχειν τὴν φύσιν. Argument from nature; cf. Betz and Smith, *De E* apud Delphos, 384F. To those references add 1 Cor xi 14 (nature teaches that long hair is degrading for men). The argument from nature is basic to 1 Clem xix 2-xx 12, though Clement never uses the term "nature". The functional equivalent of this argument in early Christianity is the laws inherent in the created order; cf. discussion under 993A above.

## 995A

οὐ γρυπότης χείλους, οὐκ . . . οὐ . . . οὐ. Asyndeton, cf. 993B.

## 995B

ὡς λύκοι καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ λέοντες. Polysyndeton, cf. 993B.  
ἄνελε δῆγματι βοῦν ἢ στόματι σὺν, ἢ . . . ἢ. Asyndeton, cf. 993B; for polysyndeton and asyndeton following one another, as here in 995B, see Phil iv 8-9.  
τί . . . ἔψυχον; Rhetorical-ironical question, cf. 993B.

## 995C

ἔλαιον οἶνον μέλι γάρον ὄξος. Asyndeton, cf. 993B.

## 995D

καλὸν . . . ἀποθηριώση; Rhetorical-ironical question, cf. 993B.

## 995E

τὰς ψυχὰς . . . παχύνουσιν. The verb is used in a figurative sense in Mt xiii 15 and Ac xxviii 27 (both passages quote Isa vi 10: "the heart of this people *has become dull*"); cf. 1 Clem iii 1 (quotation of Deut xxxii 15). On asceticism and fasting as a means for clearing the mind for contemplation and clear thinking, see Nilsson, *GGR* II, 716; R. Arbesmann, *Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin, 1936). In ECL the passage closest to Hellenistic presuppositions is Dg vi 9 (the ψυχή when treated badly in matters of food and drink, becomes better). Early Christian

fasting, where it appears, is usually influenced by Jewish presuppositions (i.e., self-discipline, meritorious self-sacrifice, etc.; cf. TWNT 4, 932-35 = TDNT, 931-35); cf. Mt vi 16ff.; Lk xviii 9-14; Mk ii 18ff.; Ac xiii 3; xiv 3; xxvii 9; Did viii 1f.; xv 4. NT epistolary literature contains little emphasis on fasting; but, cf. Col ii 18 in light of F. Francis, "Humility and Angelic Worship in Col ii 18," *Studia Theologica* 2, 1962, 109-134 (fasting as preparation for revelation, a characteristic of the Colossian "heretics"). References to fasting tend to be interpolated into NT literature (cf. Mt xvii 21; Mk ix 29; Ac x 30; 1 Cor vii 5). οἶνος γὰρ καὶ σαρκῶν ἐμφορήσιες σῶμα μὲν ἰσχυρὸν ποιέουσι . . . ψυχὴν δὲ ἀσθενέα. Abstinence from both wine and meat characterizes those members of the Roman community who are (in Paul's view) "weak" with regard to faith: Ro xiv 21; xiv 2; see discussion above under 993A. Dg vi 9 a close parallel; cf. 995E, above. In Hb xiii 9 it is said that the heart is strengthened by grace, not by foods (cf. Col ii 16, 21). In 1 Cor xi 13 many are ἀσθενεῖς because they partake of the Lord's Supper in an unworthy manner.

Athletic imagery, though expected, is explicitly avoided by Plutarch who uses the Boeotians as an example. Athletic imagery is characteristic of diatribes; cf. V. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif, NovTSup* XVI (Leiden, 1967), esp. 28-35.

Quotation from Menander, a favorite source for Cynic-Stoic diatribes; cf. Paul's use of Menander in 1 Cor xv 33 (A. Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," [JBL LXXXVII, 1968], 73).

## 996A

Improperly sated body obstructs the γάνωμα τῆς ψυχῆς. In Mt vi 22f immorality has an analogous function; the ὀφθαλμός in vi 22 is apparently a figure for man's moral-religious faculty. Cf. 1 Clem xvi 11 where the ψυχή (= whole person) is figuratively given faculty of sight; cf. also 1 Clem xix 3 ("the eyes of the soul"); Eph i 18 ("the eyes of the heart"); Phil iii 19; Ro xvi 18; Hermas, Mand. vi. 2.5. In Cynic-Stoic diatribes asceticism is frequently advocated as necessary for the attainment of virtue (Oltromare, *Les origines de la diatribe romaine*, 56).

χωρίς δέ . . . εἶναι; Rhetorical question, cf. 993B.

τίς γὰρ . . . φιλανθρώπως; Rhetorical question, cf. 993B. Plutarch argues that those who treat animals humanely would clearly

treat their fellow men humanely. This *a minori ad maius* is paralleled in Lk xii 24 (if God cares for birds, how much more for people): cf. Strack-Billerbeck, II, 191.

## 996B

τῶν παρὰ συνήθειαν ἢ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν αἰσθανόμεθα. In 1 Cor xi 14-16 Paul uses the argument from nature and custom in succession. Here Plutarch observes that Pythagorean eating habits are questioned because they violate custom, whereas the questioners themselves violate the more valid argument from nature; cf. Dg ii 1, where the deceitfulness of custom is emphasized. See above under 993A.

Nautical imagery characteristic of diatribes; cf. Js iii 4-5.

## 996C

παλιγγενεσίαν. See Betz-Smith, *De E apud Delphos*, 388F.

τὸ γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἄτακτον καὶ βίαιον οὐ θεῖον ἀλλὰ δαιμονικόν. In Dg vii 4 "violence" is explicitly stated as a non-attribute of God (βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ θεῷ). "Irrationality," a characteristic of animals, is used as a simile for immoral and impious heretics in 2 Pt ii 12; Jude 10. This dichotomous anthropology sees two opposing forces operative in man, τὸ θεῖον and τὸ δαιμονικόν (cf. G. Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque* [Paris 1942], 79f.). This is phenomenologically similar to the rabbinic conception of the "evil impulse" and the "good impulse" within man, which may have influenced Paul in Ro vii (cf. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 20-31, esp. 23). In Dg ix 1 the expression ἀτάκτοις φοραῖς φέρεσθαι relates to the former sinful life of those who are now Christians (cf. 1 Th v 14; 2 Th iii 6f, 11).

## 997B

ὥσπερ . . . οὕτως. Argument from analogy is particularly characteristic of diatribe argumentation: Ro v 19, 21; Js ii 26; Hermas Vis. iii. 6. 6; iii. 11. 3; iv. 3. 4; Mand. x. 3. 3 (also Mt xii 40// Lk xi 30; Mt xiii 40; xxiv 27, 37; Lk xvii 24; Jn v 21, 26). Cf. W. Straub, *Die Bildersprache des Apostels Paulus* (Tübingen, 1937), 100ff.

Lustful women, insatiable in seeking pleasure finally end up in unspeakable practises; cf. Ro 1 26 (women exchange natural function for one contrary to nature). Frequently the moralistic

theme in diatribes is that desires, unless checked, are insatiable (Oltremare, *Les origines de la diatribe romaine*, 62). Cf. H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das NT* (Berlin, 1961), 199ff.

αἰ περι τὴν ἐδωδὴν ἀκρασία. Intemperance in eating is the opposite of the Cynic-Stoic hallmark virtue of ἐγκράτεια. In 2 Ti iii 3 ἀκρατής is a general characteristic (among others in this vice list) of men in the latter days (cf. Phil iii 19; 1 Cor vii 5, 9).

## 997C

μὴ . . . μηδὲ . . . μηδ' . . . μηδ'. Polysyndeton, see 993B.

ἀλλὰ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ. Polysyndeton, see 993B.

οὕτως ἔπονται . . . ἄμουσοι. Asyndeton, see 993B.

## 997D

καὶ κλίνη καὶ . . . καὶ . . . Polysyndeton, see 993B.

ποῖον οὖν . . . ἔμψυχον; μικρὸν . . . ψυχὴν; Rhetorical questions, see 993B.

## 997E

μητρὸς ἢ . . . ἢ . . . ἢ . . . Polysyndeton, see 993B.

ἀλλ' αἰσθήσεως . . . συνέσεως. Asyndeton, see 993B.

οἱ καὶ τέκνα καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . Polysyndeton, see 993B.

## 997F

μὴ τι γελάσωμεν; Brief rhetorical question, see 993B; here we have the ironic use of hortatory subjunctive.

We sin, says Plutarch, when we touch the books of Pythagoras and Empedocles without first cleansing our hands, faces, feet and ears—unless just hearing the "fresh water of discourse" is in itself a purification. In Jn xv 3 the disciples are declared καθαροί through hearing Jesus' discourse; in Eph v 26 the Church is described as having been cleansed through the washing of water by the word. The cleansing capability of the word (or of discourse) under the metaphor of water is very rare in both ECL and extra-Christian sources.

χεῖρας καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . Polysyndeton, see 993B.

## 998A

τίνες . . . ἔγνωσαν; Rhetorical question, see 993B.

## 998B

Human desires which began with killing animals ended up by killing and waging war against humans (cf. *a minori ad maius* argument in 996A); in Js iv 1-3 unsatisfied human desires result in murder and war. In D iii 2, pride, jealousy, quarrelsomeness and ill-temperedness lead to murder. Similarly, in Jewish apocalyptic texts, the killing of animals was thought of as leading to the killing of men (1 Enoch xcvi 11; Jub vi 7-14; vii 21-33; xxi 6, 17ff.).

## 998C

ἡ φύσις personified; in NT & ECL nature is personified only in 1 Cor xi 14. Such personifications abundantly found in diatribes. Plutarch quotes a fragment of Empedocles: σαρκῶν ἀλλαγῶντι περιστέλλουσα χιτῶνι. For flesh/body under the metaphor of a garment, see 2 Cor v 4 (metaphor of dressing-undressing used); 1 Cor xv 35ff.; Col ii 11.

τὸ ἀκόλαστον. On the "undisciplined element" in man, see 996C. μή . . . μή . . . μή . . . Asyndeton, see 993B.

## 998D

τί . . . πολέμιον; Rhetorical question, see 993B.

## 998E

πότερον . . . ὀργῆς; Rhetorical question, see 993B.

οὐ μῖσος . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ . . . Polysyndeton, see 993B.

## X

## FRAGMENTA 21-23, 157-158, 176-178

BY

HANS DIETER BETZ

Claremont, California

Some of Plutarch's lost writings are preserved in fragments. Those treated below contain important information of a specifically religious nature. Fragments 21-23 are from *An utilis sit praenotio futurorum*, 157-158 from *De Daedalis Plataeensibus*, 176-178 from *De anima*. The text used is that of F. H. Sandbach's edition (LCL, Plutarch's *Moralia*, vol. 15, 1969), which should be consulted also for questions pertaining to introduction.

(Frag. 21)

ἡ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσις ὠφέλιμος. This title of a work by Plutarch suggests as its content a defense of the Delphic oracle using Stoic arguments. See Sandbach, *ad loc.*; D. Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme* (Paris, 1969) 496f. In ECL this concept of mantic is not found before Justin; it is rejected Hm 11. Cf. 1 Cl xlv 2ff. See R. Bultmann, *TWNT* (= *TDNT*) 1, 715f.

τὸ . . . εἰμαρμένον. The concept is interpreted as ἀτρεπτον καὶ ἀπαράβατον. Cf. Betz and Smith, 388F.

Πεπρωμένην καὶ Ἀδράστειαν. These names are explained to mean: ὅτι πέρας ταῖς αἰτίαις ἠναγκασμένον ἐπιτίθησιν ἀνέκφευκτος οὐσα καὶ ἀναπόδραστος. These Stoic concepts are not found in ECL. Cf. 1 Cor ix 16: ἀνάγκη γὰρ μοι ἐπίκειται.

(Frag. 22)

πεπρωμένον. Cf. Frag. 21 above.

οὐδὲ θερίσαι μὴ σπειράντων γῆν ἀγαθὴν καὶ καθάραν. Plutarch rejects the argument that divine determination makes human efforts useless by giving examples that show how both have to coincide. Cf. similar arguments Mt vi 26; Lk xii 23; and the figurative language Jn iv 37f.; Gal vi 7; Mt xxv 24, 26; Lk xix 21f.

## (Frag. 23)

ἡ φρόνησις. This term is defined here as the foreknowledge of future events, so that the wise man who has that knowledge can examine the future and prepare himself for it. Cf. Eph i 8-10; Dg ii 1.

τὸ . . . σῶμα πρόσω μόνον ὠμμάτωται. The contrast between physical eyes and intellectual insight is also stated in Dg ii 1.

ἡ . . . διάνοια καὶ τὰ παρωχημένα βλέπειν τῇ μνήμῃ πέφυκεν. This may be an allusion to the Platonic concept of memory. It serves here to explain the wise man's mantic ability to know the past as well as the future. Without using the Platonic concept, ECL attributes such knowledge to Christ. Cf. Mt xi 27; Lk x 22; Jn xiii 1, 3; xxi 17. See R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia, 1971) 465f.

γραμματεὺς ἐν ἡμῖν. This description of "memory" is not found in the ECL, but it has some similarity with Paul's notion of συνείδησις. Cf. Ro ii 15. See C. Maurer, *TWNT* 7, 897ff., esp. 901f. = *TDNT* 7, 898ff., esp. 903f.

## (Frag. 157)

Descriptions of the cult of Hera, its ceremonies, myths, and philosophic interpretations seem to have made up the content of the treatise which is significant for its cultic and otherwise religious terminology.

παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις. Cf. Ro i 14; Col iii 11.

μυστηριώδης θεολογία. This concept refers to τὰ λαλούμενα and τὰ σιγώμενα of the mystery cults. Cf. the term τὸ μυστήριον in ECL, esp. Dg iv 6; vii 1f.; x 7; xi 2, 5. See Bauer, *s.v.*

τὰ τε λαλούμενα τῶν σιγωμένων ἀσαφέστερα τοῖς πολλοῖς. The uninitiated masses do not understand the meaning of the mystery cult language. Cf. Mk iv 11, 12, 25, 34; Mt xiii 11ff.; Lk viii 10, 18; 1 Cor xiv 2; ii 7; Dg vii 1-2; Ro xvi 25.

οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς ὀργιασμοὶ καὶ τὰ δρώμενα συμβολικῶς ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν ἐμφαίνει διάνοιαν. This statement sums up Plutarch's understanding of the mysteries. None of this technical terminology occurs in ECL.

οὐδ' . . . κοινωνίαν εἶναι πρὸς Διόνυσον. Cf. 2 Cor vi 14.

συμμιγνύναι τὰ ἱερά. It is interesting that in the age of syncretism the rites of Dionysus and Hera are kept separate to the extent that the priestesses of the two deities at Athens do not speak to

each other and that ivy is never brought into Hera's sanctuary. Cf. 1 Cor x 21.

τὸ . . . τέμενος. This technical term does not occur in ECL.

ἀπρεπέες . . . τὸ μεθεῖν νυμφίους καὶ γάμοις. Plutarch refers to Plato for this elimination of wine from weddings and gives Plato's reason. No such concerns are present in Jn ii 1ff.

ἄθυμον καὶ ἄχλον καὶ καθαρεύουσιν ὄργῃς καὶ πικρίας. At sacrifices to Hera the victim's gallbladder is not offered but buried by the altar, because (this is the symbolic meaning) marriage should be without bitterness. Cf. Col iii 19; Hm 5:1-2; 6:2:4; Eph iv 31.

ὁμοβώμιον . . . καὶ σύνναον. Neither of these technical terms occur in ECL. Cf., by contrast, 1 Cor x 21, but also Ac xvii 23.

προθύεσθαι. This technical term does not occur in ECL.

τιμὴν δὲ τῷ ξοάνῳ προσθεῖναι, καὶ Δαίδαλα τὴν ἑορτὴν προσαγορεύουσαι. The institution of the Daidala festival by Hera is the subject of an aetiological myth (μῦθος). See Sandbach, 283f.; *GGR* 1, 130f., 431f.; E. Kirsten, "Plataiai," *PW* 20, 2319-25. Pagan ξόανα are mentioned AP xiv 33.

μῦθος - λόγος. The myth is followed by its philosophical interpretation. This traditional Platonic understanding is not found in ECL.

## (Frag. 158)

ἡ τῶν ξοάνων ποιήσις. Plutarch provides interesting information about the ancient art of making idols. The first idols were made of wood; they were very simple. He considers those more appropriate than an image made out of stone which he calls εἰκῶν σκληρὰ καὶ δύσεργον καὶ ἄψυχον. Cf. Dg ii 4: ἄψυχα; 1 Cor xii 2: ἄφωνα. ECL of course expresses opposition to all idols; cf. Ac xvii 29; Rv ix 20; 2 Cl i 6; Dg ii 2, 7; KP 2, p. 14, 13f. (HS 2, 99f.).

χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον. The rejection of it also Ac xvii 21; 2 Cl i 6; KP 2, p. 14, 14 (HS 2, 99f.); Dg ii 2, 7.

γῆς . . . διεφθαρμένης. Cf. Dg ii 3, 4.

ὑπὸ πυρὸς ῥαπισθείσης. Cf. Dg ii 3.

ἐλέφαντι. In ECL this precious material is mentioned only Rv xviii 12; Hv 3:1:4.

## (Frag. 176)

The fragment contains a miracle story about Antyllos' journey into the afterlife and his return. The story follows the same basic

pattern as the one connected with Thespesios (*De sera numinis vindicta* 562Fff.), but it lacks the element of conversion found there. Also, while the myth in *De sera numinis vindicta* is very long, here there is only a brief remark about the conditions in the hereafter.

αὐτοὶ παρῆμεν. This remark states that the narrator of the following miracle story is an eyewitness. Cf. Mk xiv 51 (see M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* [New York, 1935] 182); Lk i 2; and H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Berlin, 1961) 117, n. 4.

ἄμα Σωσιτέλει καὶ Ἡρακλέωνι. Other witnesses are named to secure the truth of the story. Cf. 1 Cor xv 3ff.; Mk xvi 1ff., etc., where the disciples are made witnesses. This is also a regular feature in miracle story material in ECL.

ἀβιώτως ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς ἰατροῖς. On this motif of the inability of the physicians cf. Mk v 26//Lk viii 43, and Betz, *Lukian*, 148f.

ἀνενεχθεὶς δὲ. On this beginning of the story cf. *De sera numinis vindicta* 563Eff. (see Betz, Dirkse, Smith, *ad loc.*). On the story itself see Sandbach, 312, n. b.

ἔλεγε δὲ τεθνάναι καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖσθαι. Like Thespesios, Antyllos experiences death, a journey to the afterlife, and return from there. Cf. 2 Cor xii 2-4; Lk xvi 27ff.; Rv i 10ff.

κακῶς ἀκηκοέναι τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτόν. Antyllos' return was made possible by a mistake on the part of the demons who had to fetch him and confused him with someone else. Cf. the angels in Lk xvi 22.

ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. We are not told who this heavenly being is. Cf. Ac x 4; 1 Cor viii 5, and Bauer, *s.v.*, 2, e.

πεμφθέντας . . . ἐπὶ. This expression is also used in ECL for sending out divine messengers (Hs 8:11:1) and, esp., of God's son (Ro viii 3), but the preposition ἐπὶ is not used (because of the magical connotations?). Cf. Bauer, *s.v.* πέμπω, 1.

τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπηρέτας. In ECL the term is used only of the human servants of God.

ἐξαιφνης. A *topos* of miracle stories; this term occurs Lk ii 13; ix 39; Ac ix 3; xxii 6.

ἀπέθανε τριταῖος. The τριταῖος refers both to Nicandas' death and Antyllos' "resurrection." See Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 563D.

ἐπιεικέστατος. Cf. Betz, Dirkse, Smith, 563E.

(Frag. 177)

The fragment contains part of an argument against the fear of death.

It argues that fear of death is unjustified because only illusion would call "life" what is commonly called "life."

ὁ . . . λόγος . . . ἰσχυρός. Cf. 2 Cor x 10.

τὸ κλαίεσθαι τὸν τεθνηκότα. For this common ritual cf. Mk v 38f.// Lk viii 52; Lk vii 32. The crying of τὰ θρηνώδη καὶ δύσφημα τῶν ὀνομάτων . . . τὸν ἄθλιον καὶ τὸν οἰκτρὸν is not reported in the ECL. λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἀφθάρτα δοξάζουσι συνδιαλύεσθαι τοῖς φθειρομένοις.

The doctrine of imperishability which is developed in the fragment should be contrasted with 1 Cor xv 35ff. Both Paul and Plutarch talk about μεταβολή, but Paul does not use the same terminology that Plutarch uses and does not share Plutarch's ideas about the soul. For Plutarch the soul has descended into the body at birth, and it is freed from the prison of the body at death.

ἄθλων καὶ πόνων μεγάλων ἀρχήν. This is what birth is like. Cf. the understanding of human life in Paul and John generally, esp. Gal iv 4 (γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον); Ro vii 24 (σῶμα τοῦ θανάτου); etc.

κατέχεται βία. The soul is imprisoned in the body by force and against her nature. Cf. Ro vii 24; 2 Cor v 4.

ἀντίφωνον τοῦ βίου. Plutarch derives βίος from βία, which is not "life" at all. ECL agrees: only the divine ζωή is real "life". Cf. Jn v 24ff. and R. Bultmann, *TWNT* 2, 833ff. = *TDNT* 2, 832ff.

τὸ ἀναπαύεσθαι. Here this term refers to death. Cf. Rv xiv 13.

μεγάλης . . . ἀνάγκης ἀπαλλαττόμενον. Cf. 1 Cl v 7: ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου; MPol iii.

παρὰ φύσιν. Cf. Ro i 26; xi 24. Paul, however, would not apply this concept to human life as such, but only to its perversion.

(Frag. 178)

This rather puzzling fragment has two parts: the first provides a brief account of the "saving events" of the "great mysteries" (Eleusinian or Orphic or both?), while the second is a discussion about sleep, which intends to demonstrate that the imprisonment of the soul is "unnatural." The doctrine of the soul in this section comes closer to gnostic ideas, esp. Kore Kosmou (Corpus Hermeticum, Frag. 23, ed. A.-J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste* [Paris, 1954] 4; cf. H. D. Betz, "Schöpfung und Erlösung im hermetischen Fragment 'Kore Kosmu,'" *ZTK* 63 [1966] 160-87), than anything else Plutarch has written. It seems that this doctrine

provides the meaning for the mysteries. If this is the case, we have an interesting "gnosticizing" interpretation of mysteries. Cf. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart, 1964) 115f.; G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961) 264ff.; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin, 1972), 274ff.

μεταβολὴν καὶ μετακόσμησιν. On the doctrine of transformation cf. Frag. 177.

ἐνταῦθα δ' ἀγνοεῖ. In this life the soul is "ignorant" until death comes near. Then the soul has experiences similar to those of the initiation into the mysteries. See LCL, vol. 15, 324.

τότε . . . πάσχει πάθος οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλας κατοργιαζόμενοι. This phrase probably refers to the Eleusinian mysteries, even if only vaguely. It seems that these mysteries end the state of ignorance for the soul. Cf. the concept of πάθος in I Eph xviii 2; IMg xi; ISm vii 2; xii 2; IPhld iii 3. See H. Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (Giessen, 1929) 70ff.

τελευτᾶν καὶ τελεῖσθαι. Cf. Hb v 8f., and the discussion by G. Dellings, *TWNT* 8, 84, n. 24; 83ff. = *TDNT* 8, 83, n. 24; 82ff.; Phil iii 12.

πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα. Of the events listed here none have parallels in the ECL. See H. Braun, *TWNT* 6, 234ff. = *TDNT* 6, 231ff.; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 308f.

φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος. Perhaps the initiates are close to Hades. See Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 309. Cf. Hv 3:1:5.

φῶς τι θαυμάσιον. On the "light" in Eleusis see A. Dieterich, *Nekyia* (3rd ed.; Stuttgart, 1969) 64f.; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 321; H. Conzelmann, *TWNT* 9, 307f., 319ff. (on the light symbolism in ECL).

τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες. There is no parallel to this Orphic (?) scene in ECL. Cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 265f.; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 321f.

μεμνημένος. Cf. Phil iv 12 (figuratively).

ἐλεύθερος. This points to the primary benefit of the initiation. See *GGR* 1, 666f. Is this "freedom" to be interpreted in a "gnostic" sense? (cf. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 278). Also in ECL "freedom" can sum up soteriology; cf. Jn viii 32ff.; Gal v 1, and H. Schlier, *TWNT* 2, 484ff. = *TDNT* 4, 487ff.

περιῶν ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι. This ideal picture of the Eleusinian initiate uses a number of concepts from the mysteries, most of which have no parallels in

the ECL: οἱ ὅσιοι is not typical as a term for Christians (cf. 2 Cl xv 3); for οἱ καθαροὶ cf. Tit i 15; Jn xiii 10, and Bauer, s.v., 3, a. The "wreath" occurs in a figurative sense only. Cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 63ff.; W. Grundmann, *TWNT* 7, 619, 628ff. = *TDNT* 7, 629ff.

τὸν ἀμύητον ἐνταῦθα τῶν ζώντων καὶ ἀκάθαρτον . . . ὄχλον. The state of the blessed is contrasted with that of the uninitiated, which is a familiar pattern. See Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 69ff.; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 266f. In ECL cf. Lk vi 20ff.; Mt xxv 31ff.; Mk xvi 16; Jn iii 18, 36; v 24; vi 35, 40, 47; viii 51; 1 Jn iii 14; v 10; Ro viii 1. ἐφορῶν. A supervisory function over the uninitiated is given to the initiate. Cf. 1 Cor iv 8 and H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen, 1969) *ad loc.*; vi 2; 2 Ti ii 12.

ἐν βορβόρῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὀμίχλῃ πατούμενον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συναυλούμενον. This describes the condition of the uninitiated. Cf. AP viii 23; ix 24; xvi 31 and Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 70ff.

φόβος . . . θανάτου. This is another characteristic of the uninitiated. ECL expresses the belief that the Christian has no reason to fear death. Cf., e.g., Mt x 28//Lk xii 4; Ro vii 24; 1 Cor xv 53ff.; Rv ii 10.

τοῖς κακοῖς ἀπιστία τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγαθῶν ἐμμένοντα. Disbelief in the eschatological reward results in continuing evil-doing upon earth. This view is shared by ECL to a degree. Cf. 1 Cor xv 17f. and Betz, Dirkse, Smith, Introduction.

τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τῆ ψυχῆ συμπλοκὴν . . . καὶ σύνεργον. The connection of body and soul as such is considered *παρὰ φύσιν*. Cf. Frag. 177. This view is close to gnosticism.

ὁ ὕπνος. The following doctrine of sleep shows the evidence for the "unnatural" character of the combination of body and soul. Sleep temporarily disassociates the soul from the body and thus anticipates their final separation. No parallel of this doctrine is found in ECL.

τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ. The ignorant soul clinging to the body is compared with Odysseus clinging to the fig tree because of Charybdis underneath him. The reason for this clinging is not the soul's love for the body but rather the fear of the uncertainty of death.

οὐ σαρκίνοις τισὶ δεσμοῖς. Body and soul are not connected by ties of flesh; instead they have no connection at all (cf. *παρὰ φύσιν*). Cf. Ro vii 14-24; 1 Cor iii 1.

ἓνα δεσμὸν ἀντὶ καὶ μίαν φυλακὴν. The soul is imprisoned, but the

prison is not simply the body (cf. Ro vii 24; 2 Cor v 1ff., and Bauer, s.v. σώμα). The prison is rather the soul's own ignorance, τὴν ἀδηλόγητα καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν.

μηχανησάμενοι καὶ περιβαλόντες. The fabricators of the prison are not named, but they must be some kind of demons. Cf. Betz, ZTK 63 (1969) 167ff.

ἐπεὶ τὴν γε πεισθεῖσαν . . . οὐδὲν ἂν κατάσχοι. Consequently, if the soul would "believe," her ignorance would cease, and she would be instantly freed from the prison. The fragment does not tell how this doctrine is related to the initiation into the mysteries. If the first part means that initiation ends that ignorance, the second part dealing with the doctrine of sleep does not mention it. But the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the initiation in fact provides the liberation of the soul from her ignorance about herself and her destiny, and thus grants freedom to the initiate.

## INDICES

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