

## *Leitourgia* and Related Terms (II)

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THE PRECEDING SECTIONS of this study appeared in *GRBS* 3 (1960) 175–84. The present section covers the six centuries of the Hellenistic monarchies and the Roman Principate. The period after Constantine the Great is here omitted because the institutional framework underwent major alteration and—possibly as a consequence—*leitourgia* terms appear to have been much less used.

### V. Postclassical Greek

The sources surveyed in the present section comprise the major and minor authors of the period excepting the Christian fathers but including the *Septuagint* and the *New Testament*, and the inscriptions and papyri published to the end of 1964. The total number of instances recorded is 765; of these 166 are found in the *Septuagint* and 15 in the *New Testament*.

Section I listed all the *leitourgia* terms attested in the sources. I repeat the list here for the reader's convenience.

*ἀλειτούργητος*

*λειτουργέω* and compounds with *ἀντι-*, *ἀπο-*, *κατα-*, *προσ-*, *συλ-*, and perhaps *ἐκ-*.

*λειτούργημα*

*λειτουργησία* and a compound with *ἀ-*.

*λειτουργήσιμος*

*λειτουργία* and a compound with *ἀ-*.

*λειτουργιακός*

*λειτουργικός*

*λειτούργιον*

*λειτουργός* and a compound with *ὑπο-*.

*Tituli Asiae Minoris* II.224 (Roman era) has *ΑΡΧΙΙΑΤΡΟΥ ΑΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΥ*, but as the compound *ἀλείτουργος* occurs nowhere else among so many hundreds of instances it is altogether likely that we have here a stonecutter's error for *ἀλείτουργήτου*. Accordingly, *ἀλείτουργος* should be removed from LSJ (ADDENDA, p. 2046), or at least marked as highly suspect.

In Section IV a complete semantic inventory was given of the *leitourgia* terms occurring in the literature and inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. For the later period covered here it would be impractical for several reasons to attempt a similar itemization of citations. In the first place the sources for the postclassical period are vast, diffuse, and constantly being added to by new finds and new publications. Moreover, in some instances the sense in which the term is used cannot be determined with exactitude because of the fragmentary state of the preserved text. Similarly, it is sometimes impossible to decide with assurance whether an undated inscription—say, a tombstone with no distinguishing trait—should be assigned to the Hellenistic or the Roman era. In these circumstances a definitive list is obviously beyond attainment, but we can still profit from a tabulation showing the relative frequencies of the several meanings. For the purposes of this tabulation, *incerta* have been tallied under the meaning that seems to be most likely and assigned a Hellenistic or a Roman date according to my best guess; such distribution is likely to be statistically sound, and in any case the number of instances involved is too few to occasion any significant distortion of the overall result.

In the Tables that follow the letters **a-e** represent the principal meanings as outlined in Section IV, *viz.*

- a** = a liturgic office or service in a political or administrative unit.
- b** = any other service to a community or state or administrative unit.
- c** = a service or function of any kind.
- d** = cultic service to divinity.
- e** = engineer or similar service in military forces.

Table I presents the distribution of the 542 occurrences of *leitourgia* terms found in the secular sources. With these are included in Table II the 223 occurrences in the *Septuagint*, Philo, and the *New Testament*; the grand total of Table II is thus 765.

TABLE I

MEANING	HELLENISTIC		ROMAN		TOTAL
	LITERARY	NON LITERARY	LITERARY	NON LITERARY	
<b>a</b>	2	54	15	244	315
<b>b</b>	2	20	5	15	42
<b>c</b>	6	20	32	12 <sup>1</sup>	70
<b>d</b>	8	61 <sup>2</sup>	13	14	96
<b>e</b>	7	12 <sup>3</sup>	0 <sup>4</sup>	0	19
Total	25	167	65	285	542

<sup>1</sup> 11 of these 12 occur in papyri.

<sup>2</sup> 26 of these 61 occurrences are in the papyri from the Serapeum at Memphis.

<sup>3</sup> All from Egypt, 11 papyri and 1 inscription.

<sup>4</sup> In Dio Cassius 38.41.7, where Caesar's troops are called *κριταὶ ἄμα καὶ λειτουργοὶ τοῦ πολέμου*, the context is military but the term is used in sense **b**.

TABLE II

MEANING	HELLENISTIC		ROMAN		TOTAL
	LITERARY	NON LITERARY	LITERARY	NON LITERARY	
<b>a</b>	2	54	15	244	315
<b>b</b>	2	20	5	15	42
<b>c</b>	20 <sup>5</sup>	20	39 <sup>6</sup>	12	91
<b>d</b>	160 <sup>7</sup>	61	63 <sup>8</sup>	14	298
<b>e</b>	7	12	0	0	19
Total	191	167	122	285	765

<sup>5</sup> Including 14 occurrences in the *Septuagint*.

<sup>6</sup> Including 7 occurrences in the *New Testament*.

<sup>7</sup> Including 152 occurrences in the *Septuagint*.

<sup>8</sup> Including 42 occurrences in Philo and 8 in the *New Testament*.

A few summary generalizations may be drawn:

1. The non-literary sources preponderate: 83 per cent of the secular citations, 59 per cent when the indicated Judaeo-Christian literature is included.
2. The secular source material from the Roman period is more abundant than that from the Hellenistic period in the ratio of 2.6:1 for the literary totals and 1.7:1 for the non-literary. But the non-literary ratio is produced by the overwhelming preponderance of Roman material for meaning **a**; for meanings **b-e** the Hellenistic non-literary citations are more numerous.
3. The preponderance of meaning **a** in the Roman period (74 per cent of the secular total for that period) is a faithful reflection of the ex-

pansion of the system of compulsory public service under the Roman emperors.

4. For the Hellenistic period the preponderance of meaning **d** is clearly attributable to the *Septuagint* in Table II. The rather unexpected finding that this cultic sense is also the most frequent in Table I results from the concentration of occurrences (26 of 61) in the Memphis Serapeum papyri.

5. While the Greek of the sacral *Septuagint* shows meaning **d** in nine out of every ten occurrences,<sup>9</sup> the language of the *New Testament* reflects *koine* usage more faithfully with its occurrences divided almost evenly between meanings **c** and **d**.

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. the comments on *Septuagint* Greek by O. Montevecchi in "Continuità ed evoluzione della lingua greca nella *Settanta* e nei papiri," *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologues Varsovie-Cracovie* 1961 (Wrocław-Varsovie-Cracovie 1964) 46-47.