A Sample Article:
ΚΤΙΖΩ – ΚΤΙΣΙΣ – ΚΤΙΣΜΑ – ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ

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κτίζω

1. Greek Literature

Probably originating in the field of agriculture, the root κτιζ- may have referred to actions like the clearing of an area in order to cultivate it, the preparation of soil or the sowing itself (cf. CASEVITZ, *Vocabulaire*, 15). In Greek literature, this meaning undergoes a development. Herodotus mentions several historical acts of colonization of, or settling in, deserted islands or regions (I, 149; II, 44; IV, 144 etc.). As early as Homer's epics (*Il.* XX, 216; *Od.* XII, 263), however, there is evidence for a slightly different use of κτίζω that prevails in later Greek literature: the mythical foundation of a city usually attributed to a divinity or to a hero (cf. LESCHHORN, *"Gründer"*; HANGES, "Foundation Legend"), the so-called κτίστης. In this sense, Herodotus employs the verb about twenty times when dealing with the origin and history of Greek or foreign cities (e.g. I, 168*bis*.170; II, 99). Thucydides too appears to be familiar with the range of meanings of κτίζω, the foundation of a city sometimes coinciding with the colonization of the surrounding territory (e.g. II, 68, 3). Some authors of classical and post-classical times illustrate the reports of the foundation of a city by reflections and debates on the general utility of the project and the choice of the place. In this context, arguments of economic, social, political or military nature play an important role (see e.g. Herodotus, V, 23; Xenophon, *An.*, VI, 6, 3–4; Plutarch, *Alex.* 26, 9–10). Since financial resources, craftsmen, technical equipment as well as an efficient organization were all indispensable, the foundation of a city obviously constitutes an enterprise to be planned well ahead and to be realized with care and circumspection. In addition to these usages, and especially in inscriptions (→ κτίζω 2.), an extension of the meaning of κτίζω can be observed in so far as the verb sometimes governs objects referring to public buildings and structures, such as city walls and temples, as well as streets, canals or tombs (examples listed by CASEVITZ, *Vocabulaire*, 38–39). Compared with this widespread usage of

κτίζω, fragment 23 of Empedocles may be exceptional: Just as painters fashion (κτίζοντε), e.g., trees, men and women, mixing different colours, so the elements are the common spring of all mortal things. Finally, κτίζω may occur in various contexts (e.g. invention of the horse bridle: Sophocles, *OC* 715; institution of feasts and ceremonies: Pindar, *O.*, VI, 69; founding of philosophical schools: Diodorus Siculus 2, 29, 6).

2. Papyri and Inscriptions

The lexical field of κτίζω is extensively attested both in papyri and in inscriptions. The objective of the latter consisted especially in "publishing" a document of official or commemorative character. Graving a text into stone in memory of a famous "founder / builder" was a usual practice in Antiquity. It served to record for posterity that the public building had been "founded" by, or built on the order of, divine or human authorities (e.g. gods, sovereigns, emperors and leading citizens, → κτίζω 1.). This might be the reason why in inscriptions the number of occurrences of κτίζω and cognate words is equivalent to or even higher than that of the occurrences in papyri since dedicatory inscriptions are common.

In Ptolemaic times, the verb κτίζω is employed, in the middle or passive, e.g. for denoting the foundation of a fortress (PZill 1, 83; 2, 4, 156/5 BCE, Herakleopolis), of a city (e.g. Elephantine, see OGI I, 168 = SB V, 8883, 12, September 20th 116 BCE), and of a temple (ἱερόν: U. Wilcken, "Archiv" 2, 1902, 555, no 38 = OGI I, 736 = SB I, 5219, 2, 69–68 BCE, Euhemeria, Fayûm). In the active voice, the verb occurs in an inscription that attributes to Persephone the foundation of a μνῆμα "monument" (GV I, 2585, 7, 2nd–1st century BCE). In papyri and inscriptions, the oldest evidence of the lexical group so far is a fragment of a letter in Zenon's archive (PCairoZen II, 59169, 7–8): Apollonius asks Zenon to show an important visitor the major points of interest of a settlement and to give him to understand that its foundation had begun only shortly before (ὅτι νεωστὶ ἠ[ργμεθα τὴν κώμην] κτίζειν).

In the Roman epoch the verb κτίζω means "to build" (PLaur III, 79,5, 2nd–3rd century, Oxyrhynchus), e.g. a mausoleum (OGI II, 630, 2nd century CE; 642, 3rd century CE, Palmyra), a town (*Sylloge* II, 880, 5, 202 CE, with reference to Pizos, today Sofia; *Sylloge* II, 883, 213–217), a wall (OGI II, 614, Gallienus's kingdom), temples (IG-LS, 2118. 2616. 2653. 2986, 1st–3rd century; SB I, 5098, 3rd century). In a 1st century CE inscription of Abila (Iturea), the verb denotes the construction of a road (τὴν ὁδὸν κτίσας), here mentioned in the context of the building of a temple and the starting of a plantation (CIG III, 4521 = OGI II, 606; see also Boffo, *Iscrizioni greche e latine*, no. 21).

In a metaphorical sense, κτίζω governs various objects (→ κτίζω 1.): in an Alexandrian erotic fragment from the 2nd century BCE, the object is friendship: "Love the establisher [perfect participle ἐκτικώς] of friendship [φιλίαν]" (PGrenf

I, I, 4, Thebaides). Another text speaks of the "foundation" of a religious association (σύνοδος, see *Sylloge* III, 1104, 10.40 [= IG II², 1343], Dypilon, 37/6 BCE, a decree of the association of the priests of Artemis).

As for the use of the root κτίζω in the sense of "create" (→ κτίζω 3.–6.), there is only slight evidence in pre-Christian times. In the Roman epoch, however, and probably under Jewish and Christian influence, magical texts allude to the biblical traditions about God as creator of the universe or of particular creations, e.g. A.F. 4,1 (3rd century CE), an imprecatory tablet containing an oath to the "god who created [κτίσας] the earth and the sky".

3. Septuagint

a) Statistical observations: The verb κτίζω has about 60 occurrences of which more than one third appear in Ben Sira. Less characteristic concentrations are in the Psalms and, for the non-translated books, in the Book of Wisdom. With some scattered attestations, the word is marginally present in the Pentateuch, in the Wisdom literature, and in the prophets (chiefly Deutero-Isaiah and the Twelve prophets). The two occurrences in Hos 13:4 have no counterpart in the MT whereas 4QXII^c seems to know this addition. However, the corresponding Hebrew words are part of a lacuna in 4QXII^c. Finally, it should be underlined that κτίζω is completely absent from the Creation stories in Gen 1–3 as well as in the translated historical books (namely Joshua, Judges, 1–4 Kingdoms, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah).

b) Hebrew equivalents: In most of the translated books, κτίζω serves to translate *br'* "create" (especially in the Psalms and in Wisdom literature; see also Sir 40:10^B) and its synonym *qnh* "create, acquire" (Gen 14:19.22; Prov 8:22 [confusion of the aorist forms of the roots κτάομαι and κτίζω? see WALTERS, *Text of the Septuagint*, 221–225; Jer 39:15^B / 32:15^MT]). In the extant Ben Sira manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza the Hebrew equivalents of κτίζω are *n'wh* "comely" (Sir 10:18^A) and *ḥlq*, probably in the meaning "to create" (qal: Sir 31:13^B; 38:1^B; 39:25^B; 40:1^B) or "to be created" (ni.: Sir 7:15^A; 31:27^A); see O'CONNOR, "The Language of Creation in Ben Sira". Occasionally, κτίζω corresponds to *ysd* ni. "be founded" (Exod 9:18), *yṣr* "fashion" (Isa 45:8), to *kwn* polel "establish" (Deut 32:6), *'md* "stand" (Ps 33:9), and *škn* "settle down, dwell" (Lev 16:16). All of these latter equivalences are isolated cases.

c) LXX use of κτίζω: Only in a few passages does the verb keep the classical Greek meaning "found" or "institute": in Exod 9:18, God refers to the day of Egypt's foundation (MT: *hwsdh* "when it has been founded"). One should not exclude the possibility that in this text the origin of Egypt is considered to be that of a colony. Lev 16:16 deals with the Tent of Meeting that dwells (MT: *hškn*) among the Israelites. The translator probably thinks of the establishment of the tent

when he renders the text by τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου *τῇ ἐκτισμένη ἐν αὐτοῖς*. Following classical Greek usage, 1Esdras 4:53 mentions the foundation of the city, Jerusalem, by the population returning from the Exile. In Hag 2:9, the LXX has an addition concerning the foundation of the Temple. In contrast to these quotations, the majority of the LXX occurrences of κτίζω appear to have no direct counterpart either in classical and Hellenistic Greek or in the papyri and inscriptions (→κτίζω 2.). Two paramount differences may be highlighted:

1. The explicit or implicit subject of κτίζω is never a mythical hero or a historical founder, but always God himself (Deut 4:32; 32:6, etc.) who is denoted several times simply by the aorist participle ὁ κτίσας, i.e. without a corresponding noun like θεός (Isa 22:10; 3Macc 2:3; Qoh 12:1). In the non-canonical literature as well as in Christian texts this word becomes more and more a divine attribute (→ κτίζω 4.–5.).

2. The object of κτίζω may be all of creation: "heaven and earth" (Gen 14:19.22; Dan 4:37^LXX; Bel and Draco 1:5; 1Ezra 6:12; Jdt 13:18), "all things" (τὰ πάντα: 2Macc 2:3; Sir 18:1; 23:20; 39:21; Wis 1:14), the "cosmos" (Wis 11:17), and "the earth and the host of the heaven" (Hos 13:4). In other passages, one can observe the tendency of emphasizing specific categories of creatures: stars (*Pss. Sol.* 18:11–12), animate creatures in general (Ps 103:27^LXX), "humankind", "man" or "Adam" (Ps 32:9; 88:48; 148:5^LXX; Sir 17:1; 33:10; Wis 2:23), and the individual person (Qoh 12:1). Moreover, as Wisdom literature underscores, the first created being is Wisdom (Prov 8:22; Sir 1:4.9; 24:8–9).

Since God creates everything, the creation of evil is assigned to him as well (Isa 45:7). This idea is developed by Ben Sira (Sir 39:29; 40:10; see REITERER, "Telos"). Some passages in the Greek translation of this book are striking in that the origin of activities, professions and products is explained by the use of κτίζω: agriculture (Sir 7:15), wine (Sir 31:27), labour (Sir 40:1), the physician (Sir 38:1), and medicine (Sir 38:4.12; cf. FASCE, *La lode del medico*, 43–46). This usage of κτίζω is not too different from classical Greek passages dealing with inventions (→ κτίζω 1.) However, Ben Sira is the only author to systematize an idea alluded to by some other biblical texts: namely, that God has created everything for a specific use (Sir 39:21: πάντα γὰρ εἰς χρείας αὐτῶν ἔκτισται). So wine serves to rejoice humans (Sir 31:27), medicine is for their healing (Sir 38:7–8). On the other hand, fire, hail, famine and death have been created for vengeance (Sir 39:29). The idea that stars serve a certain purpose results from Hos 13:4 (addition in the LXX), albeit in a negative way: God has not created them for humans to "follow after them" (i.e. to adore them; for the opposite idea, see Deut 4:19). Rather than mistake them for divinities, people should realize that they have been created in order to enable them to measure time (*Pss. Sol.* 18:12). The Book of Wisdom underlines a general idea: God has created all things that they might exist (Wis 1:14). This applies to humankind, too, since God creates man for incorruption (Wis 2:23). Ps 88:48b^LXX underlines an analogous idea: God did not create humans for no reason. These latter ideas are similar to the Greek

version of Isa 54:16–17 that diverges widely from the MT: God creates Jerusalem for salvation, not for ruin. In this respect, he does not adopt the attitude of a blacksmith who may destroy a spoiled object (for further details, see E. BONS, "Le verbe κτίζω," 8–10).

Why did the translators choose the verb κτίζω as their standard Greek equivalent for *br* "create"? According to FOERSTER (*ThWNT* III, 1025), κτίζω appeared to be more appropriate than δημιουργέω. Whereas the latter rather denotes the aspects of handicraft and technique, the former underlines the intellectual and purposive dimension of creating. However, one has to bear in mind that in Greek literature κτίζω has other connotations as well: 1. The object to be founded or created is new, unique and permanent (cf. CASEVITZ, *Vocabulaire*, 39–40). 2. It is useful not only for an individual, but for society. 3. The project requires both detailed planning and a well organized realization. – Any or all of these connotations may stand at the back of the translators' preference for κτίζω (see BONS, "Le verbe κτίζω," 7–8). The word δημιουργέω may have been avoided because the translators were reluctant to depict God as a craftsman. The verb κτίζω, however, enabled them to present God's works as far more important. Like the founders of old nations and cities, God acts with authority and in a deliberate manner, realizing his large-scale plans with circumspection and assigning each creature a specific function.

4. Jewish Literature in Greek

The verb κτίζω is attested about 35x in the OT Pseudepigrapha, 14x in the works of Philo, and about 50x in Josephus. Some of these occurrences undoubtedly reflect the LXX use of the verb. Among others, one finds the following objects of creation: "all things" (*Sib. Or.* 3:20; *Jos. Asen.* 12:1 ὁ` κτίσας τὰ πάντα), "heaven and earth" (*Eup* 31:1; 32:1; 33:1; *Sib. Or.* 3:35.543.786), "blessings" (*Let. Aris.* 182:2: ἀγαθά,), "man" (*T. Naph.* 2:5), "physician" (*T. Job* 38:8). However, following classical Greek usage, the verb can denote acts of construction or reconstruction attributed to human beings, e.g. cities (*Artap.* 27:9; *Let. Aris.* 115:4: the city of Ptolemais; *Sib. Or.* 3:57), garrisons (*Let. Aris.* 36:3: φρούρια), and the temple (*Liv. Pro.* 3:16). As for Philo, God is the creator of the "cosmos" (*Decal.* 97) as well as of "heaven and earth" (*Ebr.* 105 [quotation of Gen 14:22]). Nevertheless, Philo also uses the verb for the construction of cities attributed to humans (*Opif.* 17; 19; *Post.* 49; *Conf.* 122). The attestations of κτίζω in the works of Josephus show various uses of this verb: God, who can be called ὁ κτίσας (*B.J.* 3, 370, 1; 5, 377, 1), creates "heaven and earth" (*A.J.* 1, 27, 1) and humankind (*B.J.* 3, 370, 1). He is said to have "founded" the Israelites (*A.J.* 4, 314, 2), whereas other nations are "founded" by humans (*A.J.* 1, 121, 2; 2, 206, 1). However, most of the occurrences deal with the foundations of cities (*A.J.* 1, 138, 1; 4, 161, 6; 4, 170, 3; 5, 178, 7; 8, 153, 4, etc.; *C. Ap.* I, 108, 3; I, 315, 3; *B.J.* 1, 64, 2; 2, 168, 6) or with the building of the Jerusalem temple by Solomon (*B.J.* 5, 137, 4; 5, 185, 1).

5. New Testament

The verb has 15 occurrences all of which refer to God's creating initiative. God, ὁ κτίσας (Matt 19:4; Rom 1:25; see also Col 3:10), is the creator of all things (τὰ πάντα: Eph 3:9; Rev 4:11; Col 1:16: "all things in heaven and on earth"), of heaven, earth, sea (Rev 10:6) or of the κτίσις (Mark 13:19). The verb appears as well in the context of the new creation (Eph 2:15; 4:24). As for the theological ideas associated with the LXX passages dealing with creation, NT authors take over the theory that creation is not devoid of purpose. On the contrary, God's plans are accessible to humans and are to be respected. According to 1 Tim 4:3, God has created foods to be received with thanksgiving. Furthermore, marriage as an institution is based on the authority of God, ὁ κτίσας (Matt 19:4; see ZIMMERMANN, *Die Namen des Vaters*, 373). So the indissoluble union between male and female has been "founded" by God. In 1 Cor 11:9, Paul argues in an analogous manner in order to define the relationship between man and woman. It should be stressed that neither the LXX nor the NT employ κτίζω when alluding to the idea of God's creating out of non-existing things (2 Macc 7:28; Rom 4:17; Heb 11:3; → κτίζω 6., → κτίστης 4.).

6. Early Christian Literature

Most of the uses of κτίζω appear to be influenced by Jewish and/or Christian ideas. God is the creator of all things (*Did.* 10:3: τὰ πάντα), of the οἰκουμένη (*1Clem.* 60:1), of heaven (*Diogn.* 7:2), and of the elements (8:2). *Diogn* 4:2 reports a debate concerning the distinction between useful and useless elements of God's creation. The verb refers also to the new creation of man obtained by the forgiveness of sins (*Barn.* 16:8). Unlike the LXX and the NT that do not develop a clear-cut idea of creation *ex nihilo*, the *Shepherd of Hermas* explicitly teaches that God has created out of non-existing things (Herm. *Vis.* I:6: κτίσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τὰ ὄντα; see also Herm. *Mand.* I:1). In this work we find the verb associated also with the idea of *dominium terrae:* God has created the world so that man may have dominion over its creatures (Herm. *Mand.* XII:4).

κτίσις

1. Greek Literature

Though attested as early as the poems of Pindar (*O.*, XIII, 83), the word appears predominantly in the historians from Thucydides onwards (CASEVITZ, *Vocabulaire*, 54). It usually denotes the foundation of the city, less in the sense of a technical process (→ κτίσμα 1.) than as an act understood as being accomplished. The following genitive might refer to the population having settled the city in question (Thucydides, I, 18, 1: Dorians) or the name of the city

itself (*ibid.*, VI, 5, 3: Syracuse). Later historians are obviously familiar with this sense (i.e. the foundation of a city as an historical, mythical or legendary event, → κτίζω 1.), as quotations of Polybius (e.g. X, 21, 3: foundations of cities in a general sense as subject of historiography), Strabo (e. g. I, 3, 15: Cyrene; III, 5, 5: Gades) and Plutarch (*Rom.* 12,1; 14,1: Rome) would suggest.

2. Inscriptions

The noun κτίσις appears twice in inscriptions of the Roman epoch, referring to the foundation of the Panhellenium in Athens (*Sylloge* II, 842, 133/134 CE, Epidaurus; cf. Dio Cassius, 69,16) as well as to the foundation / creation of Poseidon's priesthood in Halicarnassus (*Sylloge* III, 1020, 4, 1st cent. CE).

3. Septuagint

The word is restricted to the Deuterocanonical literature where it occurs 15x, especially in the books of Ben Sira, 3 Maccabees and Wisdom of Solomon. As can be seen from the three occurrences in Ben Sira, κτίσις is a relatively free translation of different Hebrew expressions none of which appears to mean "creation": in Sir 16:17[A] *bqṣwt rwḥwt kl bny 'dm* "in the totality of spirits of men" is the equivalent of ἐν ἀμετρήτῳ κτίσει "in an immense creation", in Sir 43:25[B] *gbwrwt rbh* "numerous monsters [?]" corresponds to κτίσις κητῶν "creature / race of sea monsters", and in Sir 49:16[B] *l kl ḥy tp'rt 'dm* "above every living being the splendor of Adam" is translated by ὑπὲρ πᾶν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει Αδαμ. Admittedly, we do not know if the translator had a similar or a different Hebrew source text. However, it is beyond any doubt that the translator and his community obviously were familiar with the specific theological sense of κτίσις, i.e. the whole of creation or a particular category of creatures. This is all the more remarkable because the noun occurs nowhere in the books of the Septuagint that were probably translated previously, namely in the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Psalms.

As in Ben Sira, in the other Deuterocanonical books (ἁ)πάσῃ (ἡ) κτίσις is apparently a common expression that does not seem to require any explanation. Created by its Lord and governor, God (Jdt 9:12; 3 Macc 2:2.7; 6:2), the creation is invited to praise or to serve him (Jdt 16:14; Tob 8:5[S]; see also Wis 16:24). The plural πᾶσαι αἱ κτίσεις refers to the universe of creatures (Tob 8:5[BA]). In the Book of Wisdom, the wicked encourage themselves to make the most of creation (Wis 2:6). By contrast, God makes use of his creation in order to punish his enemies (Wis 5:17). This idea is developed in Wis 19:16: as ruler of creation God is able to fashion it anew, preserving the Israelites from the danger of getting drowned (Wis 19:16).

4. Jewish Literature in Greek

In the wake of the LXX, the other Jewish writings in Greek employ the term
κτίσις as follows: (ἡ) κτίσις or πάση (ἡ) κτίσις means the "creation" (i.e. the
universe as created) in general (e.g. *T. Levi* 4:1; *T. Naph.* 2:3; *L.A.E.* 32:2; *T. Ab.*
16:2[A]; 12:12[B]; *4 Bar.* 9:6; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 7:5; *Sib. Or.* 3:86; 5:152) or each
"creature" (*T. Ab.* 13:6[A]). Elsewhere, the context requires identifying κτίσις with
humankind (e.g. *T. Ab.* 13:3[A]) or with inanimate nature (e.g. *Let. Aris.* 136:2). In
the literature of the Roman epoch, κτίσις acquires a further connotation, above
all in the expression ἀπὸ κτίσεως (followed by, e.g., κόσμου), where the word is
used in a temporal sense: "from the creation onwards". So κτίσις is employed to
emphasize the creation as an act that happened at the beginning of history (*Pss.
Sol.* 8:7; *T. Reu.* 2:3.9; *Apoc. Sedr.* 8:9; → κτίσις 5.-6.).

Philo and Josephus are less influenced by the characteristic LXX use of
κτίσις. Philo uses the noun only once in the sense of "foundation" (i.e. of a city,
cf. *Mos* 2:51). The noun is attested about 8x in Josephus, generally in the sense of
"foundation", i.e. of a city, e.g. Jerusalem (*B.J.* 6, 408, 2; 6, 437, 2), Karchedon (=
Carthage, *C. Ap.* I, 126, 2; II, 18,3) or cities in general (*C. Ap.* I, 7, 3). The plural
καιναὶ κτίσεις refers to the removal of the Jewish population from Babylonia
because of a disease and their consequent settlement in Seleucia (*A.J.* 18, 373, 4).
In one occurrence a similarity to the above mentioned use of κτίσις as "time of
creation" can be noted: the large terebinth tree near Hebron is said to exist ἀπὸ
τῆς κτίσεως μέχρι νῦν (*B.J.* 4, 534, 1).

5. New Testament

Of the 19 NT occurrences of κτίσις nine appear in the letters of Paul. New Testa-
ment writers basically do not employ κτίσις in its classical Greek sense. Not
without bringing in new theological aspects, they display a familiarity with the
typical reinterpretations the word has undergone in Jewish literature. An
exception possibly occurs in 1 Pet 2:13 (ὑποτάγητε πάση ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσει). The
translation "be subject do every human creature" (see Elliot, *1 Peter*, 489) can
be defended. However, some authors plead for another one: "be subject to every
human institution (see e.g. Brox, *Petrusbrief*, 119). Even though exact parallels
of this latter use of κτίσις are lacking in Biblical and extra-biblical literature, the
epigraphical witnesses (→ κτίσις 2.) show that this use is not a completely isolated
case.

Like some of the above mentioned quotations (→ κτίσις 4.), several NT
occurrences of κτίσις do not allow straightforward solutions concerning the
kinds of creatures meant with this noun – this can only be implied: men often
have worshipped the created object – i.e. an idol – rather than the κτίσας, the
Creator (Rom 1:25; see for an analogous argument Wis 13:5 where κτίσματα is
used, as well as *Let. Arist.* 139:7). Heb 4:13 states that no κτίσις – perhaps a

circumlocution for "man" – is hidden before the word of God. In Mark 16:15, the order to preach the Gospel πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει probably refers to the mission directed to all humankind (→ κτίσις 6.). A similar use of ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει is to be found in Col 1:23. In Rom 8:39, Paul affirms that no κτίσις ἑτέρα – does he think of demonic powers? – can separate the faithful from the love of God. More controversial is the fourfold use of κτίσις in Rom 8:19–21 that has given rise to diverging interpretations. Contemporary research tends to identify the groaning κτίσις expecting the freedom of the children of God with the visible non-human creation (Theobald, *Römerbrief*, 153). However, Paul completely abandons the pattern of the LXX use of κτίσις by introducing the concept of καινὴ κτίσις. This "new creation" is associated with the idea of "being in Christ" (2 Cor 5:17), and "in Christ" neither circumcision nor the absence of circumcision is decisive (Gal 6:15).

A less specific sense of κτίσις is present in some other quotations, e.g. Rev 3:14 (Christ as ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ), Col 1:15 (Christ as the firstborn of all creation), and Heb 9:11 (the greater and perfect tent that is not made with hands, thus it not of this κτίσις).

As for the temporal sense of the expression ἀπὸ κτίσεως (→ κτίσις 4.), "ever since the creation of the world", God's eternal power and deity can be perceived in the things he has made (Rom 1:20). The temporal sense is sometimes highlighted by means of the insertion of ἀρχή: ἀπ' ἀρχῆς / ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως: from the beginning of creation, God created humans male and female (Mark 10:6). The same phrase can serve to underline two closely connected ideas: an event is really new in history from its very beginning (Mark 13:19) or nothing has changed since then, as is affirmed by the opponents of *parousia* (2 Pet 3:4).

6. Early Christian Literature

As can be expected, the use of κτίσις in early Christian writers is deeply influenced by the previous Jewish and Christian literature. In a non-specific way, i.e. in the sense of "creation" in general, ἡ κτίσις, πάσῃ (ἡ) κτίσις or ἡ κτίσις πάση occur in *1 Clem.* 19:3; 34:6; 59:3; *Mart. Pol.* 14:1; Herm. *Vis.* 3:4; 12:1; *Sim.* 59:5; 89:2 (Christ as firstborn before the creation); 91:5 (Christ supports the creation); 100:4. However, πάσῃ (ἡ) κτίσις means "each creature" in Herm. *Mand.* 37:5; 47:2; *Sim.* 102:1 (*dominium terrae*), like πᾶν γένος τῆς κτίσεως in Herm. *Sim.* 78:8. The plural is attested in Herm. *Vis.* 1:3 ("creatures of God"). Furthermore, the singular κτίσις explicitly refers to humankind (*Did.* 16:5: ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων; → κτίσις 4.-5.). The temporal sense (→ κτίσις 4.-5.) only recurs in *Barn* 15:3.

κτίσμα

1. Greek Literature

The earliest occurrences are Hellenistic writers (see Casevitz, *Vocabulaire*, 58), including Callimachus, *Aet.*, II, fr. 43 Pf., 69 (3rd century BCE), where κτίσμα refers to the foundation of the city of Zankle in Sicily. In the Roman epoch, κτίσμα might denote the founding of a city (e.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.*, I, 88, 1). In Polybius (e.g. IV, 70, 3) and Strabo, however, the noun frequently occurs describing not this process, but an existing city as a result of foundation in more or less ancient times. Sometimes, a following genitive indicates a hero or a people supposed to have founded the city (e.g. Strabo, *Geogr.*, III, 1, 7: Heracles; 4, 6: Zakynthians).

2. Papyri and Inscriptions

The noun κτίσμα occurs in the sense of "public building", modified by the attribute "ancient" both in a versified sepulchral epigraph (GGG 196, 2, Aliphera, Arcadia, 3rd–2nd cent. BCE) and in the decree about Cyzicus's forum (*Sylloge* II, 799, 5, 38 BCE). Furthermore, it refers to a "building" in two church inscriptions (SEG 31, 1472, Madaba; 34, 327, Thyrsos).

3. Septuagint

The noun occurs 6x, without exception in the Deuterocanonical Literature: Sir 36:14; 38:34; 3 Macc 5:11; Wis 9:2; 13:5; 14:11. Whereas no Hebrew equivalent of Sir 38:34 is available in the extant Ben Sira fragments, κτίσμασίν σου in Sir 36:14 corresponds to *m 'śyk* "your works" (ms. B; for a detailed analysis of the textual witnesses of the verse, see Palmisano, 275–276). As a rule, the LXX occurrences of κτίσμα can be explained against the backdrop of the LXX usages of κτίζω. In a non-specific manner, the plural κτίσματα can denote creatures: God has entrusted humans with ruling over his creatures (Wis 9:2). On the other hand, the greatness and beauty of the κτίσματα enables man to come to a perception of their creator (Wis 13:5). The plural appears as well in Sir 36:14 whose sense is not completely clear: God is besought for bearing witness to his "creatures in the beginning" (δὸς μαρτύριον τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ κτίσμασίν σου). In the light of the preceding verses, it is maintained that these creatures might be identified with Israel, God's creature in (or from) the beginning. However, this interpretation is not certain (see Palmisano, *"Salvaci"*, 282–283, for more details). The singular κτίσμα twice refers to the creation as a whole: thanks to their specific ability, craftsmen strengthen the κτίσμα αἰῶνος (Sir 38:34), i.e. the creation as an eternal reality or the world in so far as it is created. Wis 14:11 announces the judgment of the idols of the nations because they have become, as a part of God's creation

(ἐν κτίσματι θεοῦ), a temptation to men. In a quite different sense κτίσμα is employed in 3 Macc 5:11: in order to prevent the king Ptolemy IV Philopator from exterminating the local Jewish population, God sends him a portion of sleep, sleep being a κτίσμα existing from the beginning.

4. Jewish Literature in Greek

Specific LXX influence is recognizable when the singular τὸ κτίσμα denotes all of creation (*T. Ab.* 13:9) or a particular category of creature (e.g. humankind, cf. *Let. Aris.* 17). The plural (πάντα) τὰ κτίσματα refers to the creatures (*Jub.* 2:2; *Jos. Asen.* 9:5; *T. Job* 47:11) that God creates by means of his word (*Jos. Asen.* 12:2; some lines earlier, the text alludes to the idea of creation *ex nihilo*). By contrast, Josephus develops the usage of κτίσμα characteristic of Greek literature. E.g., the city of Sebaste, founded by Herod, is referred to as a κτίσμα (*B.J.* 1, 403, 6; cf. also *B.J.* 1, 414, 8 [Caesarea]). The same applies to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill of Rome (*B.J.* 2, 81, 3). The noun κτίσμα is absent from Philo's works.

5. New Testament and Early Christian Literature

In New Testament and Early Christian literature, τὸ κτίσμα does not seem to preserve its original sense of "foundation". In the wake of its LXX usage, the NT authors employ πᾶν κτίσμα when speaking of creatures in their entirety. So, 1 Tim 4:4 highlights the idea that every creature is good (→ κτίζω 5.). In Rev 5:13, all creatures praise the one who sits upon the throne and the Lamb. The plural τὰ κτίσματα denotes specific creatures (Rev 8:9: living creatures of the sea) or, in a non-specific sense, God's creatures in general (Jam 1:18; *Diogn.* 8:3; Herm. *Vis.* 9:2; Herm. *Mand.* 8:1; 47:2; Justin, *Dial.* 61:1; 129:4).

κτίστης

1. Greek Literature

The noun is not attested before the 4th century BCE, the literary occurrences being rare (examples are listed by Casevitz, *Vocabulaire*, 69f). The sense of κτίστης is analogous to the Classical usage of the verb κτίζω (→ κτίζω 1.). The latter denotes the act of founding a city, a colony, etc., the former the historical or mythic founder (e.g. Diodorus Siculus, 3, 60, 4; Plutarch, *Cam.*, 1,1). Although gods might be involved in the foundation of a city or a colony, particularly in acting as founders themselves or more indirectly by means of oracles (see e.g. Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 407f; however, according to Diodorus Siculus, 12, 35, 3, Apollo claims to be recognized as founder of the city of Thurii), the noun κτίστης has no further theological connotations or

implications. Sometimes the activities of a κτίστης are illustrated by mentioning different building operations (see e.g. Callimachus, *Aet.*, II, fr. 43 Pf., 75; Diodorus Siculus, 2, 39, 3).

In the Roman epoch the noun κτίστης becomes more frequent and undergoes an extension of meaning. Conserving the sense of the initiator of the construction of a city in past times, the κτίστης can nonetheless be a person of recent or even present times. Celebrated for the great service they have rendered to a city or to a country, political leaders and high officers are awarded the titles of "founder" and "benefactor" (εὐεργέτης, see e.g. Plutarch, *Luc.*, 29,5) or "savior" (σωτήρ, see e.g. Plutarch, *Cic.*, 22,5; for other examples, see CASEVITZ, *Vocabulaire*, 72, note 20). Compared with this "political" sense of κτίστης, the noun is to a lesser extent used in other contexts like founding institutions, schools, associations etc. (cf. CASEVITZ, *Vocabulaire*, 70).

2. Papyri and Inscriptions

In the Ptolemaic age a κτίστης might have different functions: "founder" of a city (OGI I, 111, 9, before 163 BCE), of a gymnasium (U. WILCKEN, "Archiv" 5, 1913, 410–416, 416,9, 136/5 BCE, Ombo], or of a holy place and a precinct (τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν περίβολον, see U. WILCKEN, "Archiv" 1, 1901, 207–208, n° 21 = OGI I, 182 = SB V, 8066 = I.Herm 5,3, 80/79 BCE). In Caesar's times the form κτίστα appears with reference to Apollo, the founder of Cyrene (OGI II, 767). In the imperial epoch the title of "city founder" often refers to gods or heroes (SEG 31, 1765, oracle response, 2nd century CE: Apollo as founder of Cyrene; SEG 35, 842, Marcianopolis, Media, 2nd–3rd century CE: Heracles; SEG 31, 1287, 249–250 A.D., Side: Apollo), to famous persons (SEG 31, 910, 3rd century CE: "founder of Asia and of his native country" [Aphrodisias, Caria]; POxy I, 41, 6.10, Oxy-rhynchus, where the πρύτανις of Oxyrhynchus is called "the founder of the town"), to emperors (BGU IV, 1022, 9, Oxyrhynchus: the divinised Hadrian as founder of Antinoopolis; CIG II, 2572: Domitian, creator of the οἰκουμένη) and to sovereigns (PFamTebt 20, 2.5, 120–121 CE; POxy L, 3537, 125/6 CE: Alexander). Κτίστης is often employed as an honorary title together with one or two of the following titles (→ κτίστης 1.): σωτήρ (*Sylloge* II, 751, 2; 752/4,5, Mytilene: for Pompey, "saviour and founder" of Mytilene, II, 839, 5; SEG 33, 943, Ephesus: with reference to Hadrian; SEG 9, 99, Italian Africa, Nero's reign: with reference to Apollo) and εὐεργέτης (*Sylloge* II, 752/4, 5: Pompey "benefactor, saviour and founder" of Mytilene). The original sense of "builder" of a structure (→ κτίστης 1.) only survives in a few cases (PMich VIII, 497, 10, Karanis, a letter dating from Hadrian's reign; POxy XVII, 2144, 8, late 3rd CE, payment list). Finally, the noun κτίστης is referred to Tiberius Claudius Quirinas Menecrates, one of the emperor's doctors, "founder of a medical doctrine" (ἰδίας λογικῆς ἐναργοῦς ἰατρικῆς κτίστηι) and author of 156 *volumina* (*Sylloge* II, 803, 2, Rome).

3. Septuagint

The noun is attested 8x in the LXX. Unlike the majority of the literary and epigraphic documents, κτίστης nowhere refers either to a divine or human founder or restorer of a city, colony or building, or to any kind of benefactor, but exclusively to God in so far as he is the creator of the universe (→ κτίζω 3.c). With the exception of 2 Kgdms 22:32, all of the occurrences appear in the Deuterocanonical literature, especially in the Books of Maccabees (2 Macc 1:24; 7:23; 13:14; 4 Macc 5:25; 11:5). The remaining quotations are to be found in Jdt 9:12 and Sir 24:8. No Hebrew equivalents are available, apart from 2 Kgdms 22:32 where κτίστης corresponds to the noun ṣwr "rock". It must be underscored that in this quotation κτίστης is neither used with a genitive ("founder / creator of something") nor followed by any explanation. Obviously, the translator of the Book of Kings takes for granted that the readers of the Greek text know that κτίστης has become, by an expansion of meaning, a specific divine attribute (→ κτίζω 3.c). This unique translation is in line with the translation technique of the Greek Psalter (see also Sir 4:6ᴬ and its LXX equivalent): When referring to God, ṣwr "rock" is frequently replaced by a different noun, e.g. θεός (for further details, see Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Metafora", 421f; Bons, "Rede", 132). In fact, in the parallel text Ps 18:32, the Hebrew noun ṣwr "rock" is translated by θεός which leads, in the LXX text, to the rhetorical question: "who is a god besides our God?"

Unlike 2 Kgdms 22:32, the attribute κτίστης elsewhere is followed by a genitive: God is the creator of "all things" (πάντων / ἀπάντων: 2 Macc 1:24; 4Macc 11:5; Sir 24:8), "waters" (Jdt 9:12; see Zimmermann, *Die Namen des Vaters*, 349f), and the "kosmos" (2 Macc 7:23; 13:14; 4 Macc 5:25). As for the specific contexts, the address of God as κτίστης forms an element of supplications where God is invoked for saving Israel (Jdt 9:12; 2 Macc 1:24). Similarly, before going out to battle, Judas Maccabeus commits the outcome to the creator of the cosmos (2 Macc 13:14). On the individual level, the κτίστης knows the secrets of man's coming into being. So God is able to restore the life and the breath of his faithful who are on the point of dying a martyr's death (2 Macc 7:23; unlike 2 Macc 7:28, this text does not yet allude to the idea of creation *ex nihilo*). Finally, an idea underlying 4 Macc is that God has created human nature as well as the law. Since law is not *a priori* against nature, humans are invited to adjust their lives to the law (4 Macc 5:25). As a result, worship of God implies living according to the law (4 Macc 11:25).

4. Jewish Literature in Greek

According to Aristeas, Jews worship God as an overseer (ἐπόπτης) and a creator of all things (*Let. Arist.* 16:2). In Philo's works, κτίστης is used in the sense of "founder": To the pleasure of their founders, Jewish immigrants settled in

numerous colonies founded shortly before (*Flac.* 46). On the other hand, he more often makes use of the typical LXX concept of κτίστης. In various contexts God is called the creator of all things (τῶν ὅλων). This title is combined with others: ἡγεμών (*Som.* I:93), ποιητής (*Spec.* I:30), and πατήρ (*Virt.* 179). In a more specific sense, God, who calls into being what had never existed before, acts not only as a maker (δημιουργός), but as a founder / creator (*Som.* I:76). In the works of Josephus, however, a κτίστης always has a human character: Ishmael is called the "founder" of the Arabs (*A.J.* 1, 214, 3). Furthermore, Josephus reports disagreements about the founder of certain cities and rights resulting from these issues (*A.J* 20, 173, 3; *B.J.* 2, 266, 2: Caesarea; *Vita* 37, 4: Tiberias; see also *C. Ap.* II, 39, 2).

5. New Testament

The only occurrence of κτίστης appears in 1 Pet 4:19: The author encourages those who are suffering according to God's will to entrust themselves to a "faithful creator" (πιστῷ κτίστῃ). Although this expression is not explained, it is legitimate to understand it against the semantic background of the root κτίζω in the LXX and other Jewish literature in Greek: As a κτίστης God is able to intervene in the history of his people and of individuals. Whatever the future will bring, God's faithful can count on his fidelity, his capacity to save having no limit.

6. Early Christian Literature

On the whole, the use of κτίστης does not differ fundamentally from the LXX concept of κτίστης. God is father and creator (*1 Clem* 62:2), the creator of the entire cosmos (*1 Clem* 19:2: τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου), the creator of, and watcher over, every spirit (*1 Clem* 59:3: τὸν πάντος πνεύματος κτίστην καὶ ἐπίσκοπον). Finally, *Diogn* 7:2 juxtaposes παντοκράτωρ and παντοκτίστης.

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