

ENTRETIENS
SUR L'ANTIQUITÉ
CLASSIQUE

TOME LXV



FORMES ET FONCTIONS DES LANGUES LITTÉRAIRES EN GRÈCE ANCIENNE

Neuf exposés suivis de discussions

Entretiens préparés par Andreas Willi

*Volume édité par Andreas Willi
avec la collaboration de Pascale Derron*

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FONDATION HARDT
POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE

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TOME LXV

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NEUF EXPOSÉS SUIVIS DE DISCUSSIONS
par

Albio Cesare Cassio, Lucia Prauscello,
Andreas Willi, Alessandro Vatri,
Luuk Huitink, Francesca Schironi, S. Douglas Olson,
Francesca Dell'Oro, Olga Tribulato

Entretiens préparés par Andreas Willi
et présidés par Pierre Ducrey
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Volume édité par Andreas Willi
avec la collaboration de Pascale Derron

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Illustration de la jaquette : relief d'un poète assis (Ménandre) avec masques de la Nouvelle Comédie, 1^{er} siècle av. J.-C.-1^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. Marbre blanc d'Italie (?). Princeton University Art Museum.

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PRÉFACE

La fascinante quête de nouveaux thèmes pour des *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique de la Fondation Hardt* se poursuit année après année au sein de la Commission scientifique de la Fondation. C'est en effet sur cet organisme que repose la responsabilité de choisir des sujets novateurs, originaux et appelés à compléter le panorama du monde classique qu'offre une série dont le premier tome, publié en 1954, reflétait les *Entretiens* pionniers de l'année 1952. Les sujets abordés au cours des soixante-sept dernières années sont fort variés. Ils touchent à la littérature, à la philosophie, à l'histoire, mais, jusqu'ici, il n'avait jamais été question de linguistique. Cette lacune fut relevée au fil de conversations intervenues à partir de 2012. Le procès-verbal de la séance de la Commission scientifique tenue en 2014 fait état pour la première fois d'une proposition précise visant à retenir la linguistique, et plus particulièrement la sociolinguistique, comme sujet d'une prochaine série d'*Entretiens*. Le sujet fut considéré comme prometteur et recueillit une approbation unanime au sein de la Commission.

Le président de la Commission scientifique, l'éminent historien des religions Robert Parker, de l'Université d'Oxford, suggéra immédiatement de faire appel à son collègue Andreas Willi. Cette proposition trouva un appui chaleureux auprès de la Commission, car certains membres connaissaient personnellement Andreas Willi, et de longue date. En effet, tout en étant professeur à l'Université d'Oxford, Andreas Willi est originaire de Suisse. Au cours de ses études à l'Université de Bâle, il passa quelques mois à l'Université de Lausanne et par la suite il obtint une licence supplémentaire à l'Université de Fribourg. Le système universitaire helvétique est tel que parfois les plus brillants de ses éléments atteignent une reconnaissance internationale avant qu'une occasion se présente

pour eux d'être élus et nommés dans un établissement universitaire de Suisse. Ce fut le cas pour Andreas Willi, qui fut nommé à l'Université d'Oxford, l'une des plus anciennes et prestigieuses institutions académiques du monde.

Pressenti par son collègue Robert Parker, Andreas Willi proposa pour la séance de la Commission scientifique de 2015 un titre de travail pour des *Entretiens* orientés vers linguistique et société, sous la forme suivante : "Media as Messages: Towards a Linguistic History of Ancient Greek Literature". La Commission approuva cette orientation et pria le professeur Willi de bien vouloir établir des sujets pour des communications et de proposer une liste d'orateurs potentiels.

La tâche dévolue aux personnes chargées de 'préparer' une série d'*Entretiens*, selon la terminologie de la Fondation depuis ses origines, est loin d'être aisée, car plusieurs conditions dictées par l'esprit du temps sont venues s'ajouter au fil des années à la définition originale : choisir les meilleurs spécialistes d'un sujet défini par avance. Les orateurs invités doivent aujourd'hui être d'âges divers, afin de laisser la place à la relève. La parité des genres doit être respectée dans toute la mesure du possible. Enfin, plusieurs pays et plusieurs cultures, incarnés par des langues et des origines différentes, doivent être représentés. Ce dernier principe s'inspire de la volonté du baron Kurd von Hardt lui-même, qui voulait que soient réunis sous son toit pour des *Entretiens* annuels des spécialistes provenant de plusieurs pays différents, et particulièrement des ressortissants des nations dont les forces armées s'étaient affrontées au cours de la seconde Guerre mondiale : France, Grande-Bretagne, Allemagne, Italie. Avec les années, ce groupe de pays s'est largement diversifié.

Pour les *Entretiens* 2018, une fois n'est pas coutume, la majorité des orateurs provenaient d'Italie, bien que leurs universités de rattachement se répartissent entre l'Italie, la Grande-Bretagne, les États-Unis, les Pays-Bas et la Suisse. Sur un total de neuf participants, on comptait quatre femmes et cinq hommes.

Andreas Willi a présenté dans le cadre de la conférence publique annuelle de la Fondation Hardt une synthèse des

résultats des *Entretiens* qu'il avait préparés et dirigés sous le titre "Au théâtre du langage : les codes de la communication littéraire en Grèce ancienne". Il y a développé la problématique qui sous-tendait ses propos en s'appuyant sur le bas-relief montrant le poète Ménandre, reproduit dans le présent volume et sur la jaquette. Le poète est en train de choisir le masque qui conviendrait à l'un des personnages de sa comédie. A. Willi y a exprimé un vœu : la naissance d'une histoire linguistique des genres de la littérature grecque ancienne. La publication des conférences et des discussions qui ont suivi marque un premier pas dans cette direction. On trouvera dans l'introduction ci-dessous une description précise des grandes lignes de ces *Entretiens*.

Selon la coutume, il appartient au soussigné de remercier en tout premier lieu la personne qui a 'préparé' ces *Entretiens*, Andreas Willi. Son travail a consisté à inviter les futurs orateurs, à les guider dans la préparation de leurs exposés, à diriger les séances, enfin à convaincre chacun des participants de livrer des textes (communications et discussions) dans des délais rendant possible la parution du volume l'été suivant le déroulement du colloque. Andreas Willi s'est admirablement acquitté de toutes ces tâches. Notre reconnaissance va aussi à chacun des auteurs, ainsi qu'à Pascale Derron, qui, année après année, assure l'édition du volume, en collaboration avec le responsable et les auteurs. La jaquette et la planche ont été réalisées par Alexandre Pointet, Shaolin-Design, Lausanne. L'organisation a reposé principalement sur Gary Vachicouras, secrétaire général de la Fondation, appuyé par Patricia Burdet, secrétaire administrative. Enfin Heidi dal Lago a veillé au bien-être matériel des participants. Quelques auditeurs ont assisté à certaines séances, en particulier Damien Nelis, Jocelyne Nelis-Clément et Paul Schubert, de l'Université de Genève. À toutes et à tous, j'exprime la plus vive reconnaissance de la Fondation Hardt.

Pierre DUCREY,
directeur de la Fondation Hardt

INTRODUCTION

The image on the cover of this volume and on the plate shows a first-century BC or AD relief, currently housed in the Princeton University Art Museum, on which a poet of New Comedy – most likely Menander – carefully thinks about what masks, i.e. roles, he should put on stage in his next play. This constitutes a fitting visual metaphor for the theme of the 65th *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, for which the Fondation Hardt welcomed us so very warmly, both meteorologically and socially speaking, last August: namely the “Formes et fonctions des langues littéraires en Grèce ancienne”. Just like Menander on the relief, *all* the writers and poets of Ancient Greece not only thought about *what* they wanted to communicate, but also *how* they might best do so – and thus, about the ‘roles’, ‘voices’, or ‘codes’ they had to choose in order best to capture the full attention of their various audiences. In one way, of course, this observation is painfully banal; but if it is, it then only becomes all the more surprising that the underlying ‘big idea’ of our series has rarely, if ever, been pursued before, and that we are still lacking today – no less than, say, fifty or a hundred years ago – a true ‘linguistic history of the literary genres of Ancient Greece’.

Quite obviously, there is no shortage of histories of classical literature in general, ranging from traditional diachronic accounts, in which texts are primarily related to their authors in a chronological sequence, to more exploratory treatments intending to present integrated sceneries and to grasp the ‘spirit’ of entire epochs and/or genres. And yet, for all their intrinsic diversity these tend to be united by how forgetful they are of the linguistic media through which messages, or ideas, were conveyed. We have learned to accept this as normal, and so we rarely ask, for instance, whether we truly gauge the novelty of Thucydides’

historiography before we also understand what new mode of expression he crafted for it; whether the deep divide between the ethical worlds of Aeschylean and Euripidean tragedy is not also reflected in the different ways in which the two tragedians handled language and – as we know thanks to Aristophanic comedy – were *perceived* to handle language; whether the linguistic conventions inherited from archaic epic poetry did not at the same time act as a constraint and a challenge to innovate for a Hellenistic scholar-poet like Apollonius; or whether we may not learn much about the changing status and social role(s) of rhetoric in ancient life by comparing the style of Antiphon's and Lysias' speeches with that of Demosthenes only a few decades later, or the experimental para-poetry of Gorgias with the experienced (or, dare we say, dull) non-poetry of Isocrates, let alone Aristides. To be sure, none of this has gone completely unnoticed and sometimes lip-service is in fact paid to it; but so far there is no comprehensive and systematic investigation of these form-function relationships, and of the many ways in which authors *and* genres select, retain, and reshape their codes of communication in response to audience expectations as much as to shifts in individual and sociocultural circumstances and ideologies.

Though obviously unable to fill this huge gap as such, the *Entretiens* whose proceedings are presented here were meant to at least start mapping this largely uncharted territory and, more fundamentally, to investigate to what extent our understanding of literature in the Greek world may be enriched if, for once, we see in its language(s) not just a diffuse recording instrument, but an artistically manipulated tool for the creation of meaning. In doing so, the contributors were encouraged to pay particular attention to both (1) the interaction of diachronic and synchronic factors determining linguistic variation and (2) the opposing pulls of generic convention on the one hand and individual experimentation on the other.

With regard to the diachronic side of the first point, it is clear that account must be taken of continuities as much as

changes. It is often tempting to overvalue comparatively minor innovative features, without asking how to distinguish between organic evolution and disruptive innovation. To give just one example, it is easy to see the differences between the ways in which Old and New Comedy employ language in order to make their audiences laugh, but it is equally important to acknowledge that their linguistic codes are nevertheless both anchored in a very similar variety, the language of Athenian everyday life. Meanwhile, the synchronic side is equally vital for an adequate interpretation of the data in their cultural contexts. For instance, in diachrony the emergence of the Attic dialect in historiographical literature represents a major paradigm shift away from the genre's Ionic beginnings, but the significance and impact of this change must not be seen in generic isolation: it is comparable to identical innovations in other 'scientific' genres on the one hand and to a parallel emergence of Doric prose on the other. When we try to provide a sociocultural rationale for it, we must therefore transcend the synchronic boundaries of both genre and locality.

As for the second point, although classical scholarship has no doubt suffered in the past from its focus on the individual genius, and more recent secondary literature has justifiably sought to correct this, it remains true that, just like modern ones, ancient authors too had to negotiate their cultural position and status by reference to both tradition and originality; and the fact that already in classical times there was considerable awareness of style as a distinctive feature of auctorial individuality demonstrates that linguistic choices played a crucial role in this respect as well. If, for example, there are noticeable differences between the ways in which Pindar and Bacchylides linguistically encoded their epinician odes, this is probably not because one poet was more 'competent' than the other or because they wrote with fundamentally different kinds of audiences in mind, but because they marketed themselves differently. It thus follows that, for all the importance of generic registers, whose study is again only in its infancy, a linguistic

history of classical literature must not forget the individual either.

While being asked to keep these general perspectives in mind, the contributors to the *Entretiens* were given considerable freedom to develop their personal take on the matter. In order to avoid overlap, and to maximise the diversity of viewpoints and approaches, each speaker was simply assigned one (macro-)genre to look at; but by forming three triads with an overarching thematic and chronological focus – the poetic codes of the archaic and classical age, the language of prose in the formative period of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and the varied post-classical responses to the earlier literary varieties –, an attempt was also made to facilitate the emergence of common themes and questions in the ensuing discussions. Within this overall framework, speakers were tasked to identify a representative piece or corpus of primary evidence and to situate it in a wider generic picture, providing both linguistic and extra-linguistic (social, cultural, and/or literary) contextualisation. As the following contributions show, this brief was readily accepted by everyone, and at the same time interpreted in as many different ways as it was meant to be, so as to convey something of the variety and vitality of classical linguistics.

In the opening contribution, Albio Cassio sheds light on the post-Homeric reuse of epic language by minor poets about whose identity we know next to nothing but whose creative output, for all its deficiencies, reveals much of their way of reading and appropriating the Homeric code. Because the evidence is epigraphic here, we do not encounter the intriguing difficulties posed by the history of transmission that are central to Lucia Prauscello's subsequent exploration of the dialectal character of the Pindaric text. Such strictly dialectal matters, in turn, are only one minor aspect of my own attempt to understand the fundamental principles that hold together tragic language on all levels, from its grammar and lexicon to the pragmatics of its dialogue. And just as tragedy thus begins to develop its *differentia specifica* among the poetic genres of the classical age, so

does historiography gradually ‘learn’, as Luuk Huitink shows, by acquiring new narrative modes for the creation of *enargeia*. In certain ways, the immediate audience engagement that results here is reminiscent of what any type of oratory also has to strive for; but Alessandro Vatri’s quantitative approach to the latter genre equally demonstrates how much internal variation and differentiation there still is even between texts whose linguistic surface looks deceptively similar. That this is, by and large, conditioned not by random auctorial choices but rather by external determination – each orator being guided by what makes his text maximally effective among the principal addressees – is of course intuitive in the case of orally delivered speeches, but it is no less true in what is possibly the least oral kind of ancient literature, technical writings: only that here, Francesca Schironi argues, the subject matter itself imposes additional strictures as each author has to find the optimal way of linguistically mastering the world of scientific discovery. The degree to which any of this is a consciously reflected process may certainly vary, and is often difficult to ascertain, but given the final outcome – the extremely varied landscape of the Greek literary languages –, it is unsurprising if we eventually come across some explicit responses as well, both in the realm of literary practice itself and in more theoretical literature. The former are here exemplified, first, by Francesca Dell’Oro’s paper on the linguistic evolution of the inscriptional epigram, where the emancipation from, and the continued attraction to, an ‘epic’ matrix go hand in hand, and, second, by S. Douglas Olson’s piece on a type of experimental literature that emerges in the imperial period when the Atticist paradigm dictates what is to be considered ‘good’ or ‘bad’ stylistic practice. The theorists’ own concerns, meanwhile, deserve the attention given to them in Olga Tribulato’s wide-ranging contribution at the end of the volume not only because they remind us that we are not the first to think about these matters in an analytical way, but also because the ethical and aesthetic judgments that sometimes emerge under way forcefully illustrate how, ultimately, there

will always be an inseparable unity between the reception of literature and the way in which it is encoded.

This being so, it should be uncontroversial that the competence to 'read' the language as much as the text itself will need to be retained and refined in the future as much as it has been in the past. The present volume may thus also serve as an appeal at a time of crisis, where the linguistic study of the ancient languages is increasingly marginalised in the world of classical scholarship. The reasons for this decline are manifold and complex. In part at least, it may be due to the fact that linguistics is a fairly technical discipline, which progresses in small steps and which does not therefore adapt itself so easily to the ever faster movement of academic production. But in part it is also because the linguists themselves have sometimes forgotten the need to participate in a dialogue, and to actively contribute to the cultural and literary exploration of the ancient world as a whole. Together with the colleagues whose papers are assembled in this volume, I am very grateful to the Fondation Hardt for having given us the space and the opportunity to re-engage in this dialogue – in a modest way, it is true, but with sincere enthusiasm. If we continue on this path, I believe that nothing will stop us from recreating an *Altertumswissenschaft* in which everybody works together, and from which everybody therefore benefits.

Andreas WILLI



Relief d'un poète assis (Ménandre) avec masques de la Nouvelle Comédie.
1^{er} s. av. J.-C.-1^{er} s. ap. J.-C. Marbre blanc d'Italie (?).
Princeton University Art Museum.
© Photo SCALA, Florence.

I

ALBIO CESARE CASSIO

METAMORFOSI DELLA LINGUA EPICA TRA ORIENTE E OCCIDENTE

DA OMERO ALLE LAMINETTE ORFICHE E ALLA CELEBRAZIONE
POETICA DEI DINASTI DELLA LICIA

ABSTRACT

This contribution deals with two almost contemporary hexameter texts (end of fifth/beginning of fourth cent. BC), which belong to completely different cultural areas and have completely different destinations. Both depend on earlier models – one lost, the other extant – which are in their turn heavily indebted to Homer. One of the texts was discovered in Lycia and shows a surprising number of Attic features, unexpected at that chronological level in a non-Greek and *a fortiori* non-Attic environment.

Denn während in der hexametrischen Dichtung der Griechen Homer das ewige Vorbild blieb, sind die Abweichungen und Verfeinerungen der Technik niemals allgemein durchgedrungen, sondern nur innerhalb gewisser Schulen in Geltung gewesen. Und selbst innerhalb dieser Schranken hat die Individualität der Dichter sich freier bewegt als man zuweilen annimmt.
(Hermann Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, 1890, 59)

1. Introduzione

Da quando i poemi omerici si sono cristallizzati in una forma molto simile a quella che noi abbiamo, con il ben noto tipo di

metrica e di lingua – quest’ultima estremamente composita dal punto di vista dialettale e non solo – i due poemi sono diventati un punto di riferimento irrinunciabile per tutti i tipi di poesia greca (non solo poesia esametrica) sia dal punto di vista dei contenuti che dal punto di vista formale; come vedremo, le due cose non sono affatto scisse. La lingua epica ha avuto un enorme successo nella poesia successiva nonostante fosse, o probabilmente proprio perché era, ricca di forme strane e obsolete, che talvolta non erano immediatamente comprensibili al grosso pubblico, ma comunque rimandavano a testi di indiscusso prestigio.

I risultati di questo riuso sono stati talvolta ottimi, spesso non particolarmente felici. Un esempio molto semplice e circoscritto: la luce e il calore del sole erano, e sono, molto presenti nel territorio greco, quindi è facile capire perché per i palazzi omerici sia stato creato il frequente sintagma fisso (*Odissea*) μέγαρα σκιάεντα, “palazzi ombrosi”. Ora, come è noto, Megara è una città della Grecia, ed è un neutro plurale (è la stessa parola usata come toponimo): il poeta, o uno dei poeti, del *Catalogo delle Donne* pseudoesiodico facendo una descrizione delle città del regno di Aiace menziona (fr. 204, 48 M.-W. = 110, 8 Hirschberger) Μέγαρα σκιάεντα καὶ ὄφρυόεντα Κόρινθον “Megara ombrosa e Corinto scosciosa”: immaginiamoci quanto possa essere ombrosa una città greca, soprattutto d’estate.

I meccanismi del riuso dei testi omerici sono particolarmente interessanti se esaminati a partire da testi epigrafici antichi, che, al contrario di quelli che si possono leggere in papiri o manoscritti medievali, non hanno subito modificazioni nella trasmissione. Ho scelto due testi epigrafici cronologicamente molto vicini (fine del V e inizi del IV sec. a.C.) ma appartenenti ad ambiti geografici e linguistici molto diversi tra loro, e pensati per occasioni completamente diverse. In ambedue i casi gli epigrammi dipendono da un testo poetico precedente (in un caso perduto, nell’altro conservato).

Nel primo caso si tratta della laminetta di Hipponion in Magna Grecia, la più antica delle cosiddette laminette orfiche, che sono testi per così dire ‘nascosti’, in quanto destinati a

defunti (sono stati trovati nelle tombe) e scritti su manufatti piccolissimi; dipende da un originale perduto in dialetto ionico orientale che nella laminetta è stato parzialmente 'tradotto' nel dialetto dorico locale (Hipponion era colonia di Locri Epizephyrii); è una manipolazione locale, non una creazione originale, e non c'è alcuna mediazione attica (le laminette 'orfiche' sono state tutte trovate in ambiti geografici diversi dall'Attica).

Nel secondo caso si tratta di un epigramma scolpito sul grande pilastro di Xanthos in Licia, opera originale di un poeta che usa numerose forme attiche, cosa sorprendente a quell'epoca in ambiti diversi da quello attico, che celebra, insieme al testo in licio nel quale si trova inserito, le vittorie sportive e militari di Xeriga, un dinasta licio, ca. 440-410 a.C. È a sua volta basato su un epigramma più antico, celebrativo di imprese militari ateniesi, che è stato realmente inciso su un grandioso monumento ateniese perduto e quindi arrivato sino a noi per via letteraria, e con qualche variante testuale significativa. In altre parole, un epigramma *in greco* (e con fonologia attica), trovato in una zona di lingua *non* greca, dipende in gran parte (ma non esclusivamente) da un epigramma attico in distici elegiaci che ci è arrivato come trascrizione letteraria di un testo epigrafico fortemente dipendente da Omero.

I problemi legati a questi due testi sono numerosissimi, e una trattazione sistematica prenderebbe uno spazio esorbitante. Ho deciso quindi di dare per ambedue un breve quadro generale e illustrare poi dei problemi che ho ritenuto particolarmente interessanti nell'ambito del riuso della lingua omerica in mondi linguistici così lontani tra di loro.

2. La laminetta di Hipponion

Non sono rari i casi in cui le scoperte archeologiche hanno riportato alla luce non solo nuovi testi appartenenti a categorie ben note, ma intere categorie di testi prima ignote. È questo il caso delle laminette auree cosiddette orfiche, di cui non si

sapeva nulla fino a tutta la prima metà dell'ottocento. Il primo esemplare fu scoperto negli anni 30 dell'800 a Petelia (che è oggi la cittadina di Strongoli nella Calabria ionica, alcuni chilometri a nord di Crotone): una laminetta d'oro iscritta di 45 per 27 millimetri, sulla quale era inciso un testo esametrico che sarebbe diventato in seguito molto famoso (oggi no. 476 F Bernabé), in cui si davano a un defunto strane indicazioni su delle fonti che si trovavano nell'Ade, una delle quali offriva al defunto stesso dei privilegi ancora più strani. La laminetta fu acquistata da un collezionista inglese di origine olandese, James Millingen, dal quale arrivò poi al British Museum, dove si trova ancora oggi. A quell'epoca non si potevano immaginare le implicazioni del testo inciso sulla laminetta, identificata con gli oggetti più strani, p. es. come portafortuna.

Che cosa ci fosse dietro a quel tempo si capì solo parecchi anni dopo, grazie soprattutto a Domenico Comparetti. Sappiamo ora che si trattava di *Totenpässe*, "passaporti per i morti": laminette d'oro iscritte con istruzioni sul modo di comportarsi nell'aldilà, che venivano in vari modi appoggiate sul defunto e contenevano indicazioni che dovevano servire ad assicurargli una sorte privilegiata nel mondo dei morti. Questa sorte privilegiata era evidentemente promessa a gruppi di adepti di riti iniziatici, gruppi più o meno chiusi e più o meno privilegiati, spesso identificati con adepti all'orfismo, da cui il nome 'ufficiale' delle laminette. Su questi testi, dei quali quando Wilamowitz aveva vent'anni non si sapeva ancora niente, e dei quali si continuano a scoprire nuove attestazioni, c'è ora una bibliografia enorme, direi ipertrofica,¹ in gran parte concentrata su aspetti sociali e storico-religiosi.

Ma naturalmente sono testi esametrici, quindi profondamente intrisi di materia e lingua omerica, ritrovati in aree dialettali greche molto diverse tra di loro, quindi in una continua *Aus-einandersetzung* tra lingua epica tradizionale con i suoi arcaismi, le sue innovazioni, le sue forme artificiali da una parte e i singoli dialetti parlati dall'altra.

¹ 40 pagine di bibliografia in EDMONDS (2011).

Una laminetta che può servire per illustrare alcuni di questi problemi è quella di Hipponion, oggi conservata al Museo Archeologico di Vibo Valentia (no. 474 F Bernabé). Si tratta di una laminetta aurea larga cm. 5,9 in alto e 4,9 in basso e alta cm. 3,2, sulla quale sono incisi 16 esametri; è stata trovata in una tomba probabilmente femminile. È databile tra la fine del V e gli inizi del IV sec. a.C.; qui di seguito è abbreviata come *Hipp*. La migliore edizione è quella di G. Sacco (v. oltre).² Presenta molte corrispondenze con la laminetta di Entella pubblicata da J. Frel (IV o III sec. a.C.).³ Le letture di Frel non sono controllabili sull'originale, che si trova in una collezione privata di Ginevra, ma sono abbastanza affidabili.

- 1 μναμοσυνας τοδε εριον επει αν μελλεισι θανεσθαι
- 2 εις αιδαο δομος ευερεας εστ επι δξια κρενα
- 3 παρ δ αυταν εστακνα λευκα κυπαρισος
- 4 ενθα κατερχομεναι ψυχαι νεκυον ψυχονται
(ψυχαι corretto da ψχχαι)
- 5 ταυτας ταρ κρानας μεδε σχεδον ενγυθεν ελθεις
- 6 προσθεν δε ηευρεσεις τας μναμοσυνας απο λιμνας
- 7 ψυχρον υδορ προρεον φυλακες δε επυπερθεν εασι
(Entella]φυλακοι θυποπεθασιν)
- 8 οι δε σε ειρεσονται εν φρασι πευκαλιμιασι
(Entella]φρασι πευκαλιμησιν)
- 9 οτι δε εξερεεις αιδος σκοτος ορφειντος
(Entella]μουφονηεντα)
- 10 ειπον γεs παι εμι και ορανο αστεροεντος
- 11 διψαι δ εμ αυος και απολλυμαι αλα δοτ οκ[α]
- 12 ψυχρον υδορ πιεναι τεs μνεμοσυνες απο λιμνες
- 13 και δε τοι ερεοσιν ιυποχθονιοι βασιλει
- 14 και δε τοι δοσοσι πιεν τας μναμοσυνας απο λιμνας
- 15 και δε και συ πριον ηοδον ερχεα ηαν τε και αλλοι
- 16 μυσται και βαχχοι ηιεραν στειχοσι κλεινοi

1 “Questo è il (?) della memoria quando (l’iniziato) sta per morire.

2 Andrai alle ben costruite case dell’Ade: c’è sulla destra una fonte,

² SACCO (2001).

³ FREL (1994).

- 3 presso di essa c'è un bianco cipresso:
 4 lì le anime dei morti si raffreddano.
 5 A questa fonte non avvicinarti neppure.
 6-7 Di fronte troverai acqua fredda proveniente dal lago della
 Memoria, e sopra di essa ci sono dei guardiani:
 8 essi ti chiederanno nella loro acuta mente
 9 che cosa vai cercando nel buio di Ade oscuro.
 10 Devi dire: sono figlio della terra e del cielo stellato;
 11 sono disseccato per la sete e muoio: datemi subito
 12 da bere l'acqua fredda che scorre dal lago della Memoria.
 13 E loro lo diranno al re degli Inferi,
 14 e ti daranno da bere dal lago della Memoria.
 15 E tu dopo aver bevuto vai (= andrai) lungo la sacra strada che
 anche gli altri
 16 iniziati e *bacchoi* gloriosi percorrono.”

La laminetta rende più o meno superficialmente nel dialetto dorico di Hipponion un testo poetico esametrico originariamente ionico, probabilmente ionico-orientale.⁴ Il testo è scritto con le convenzioni grafiche arcaiche: H non è mai /ε:/ ma sempre /h/; E = ε, ει, η; O = ο, ου, ω. Quindi MEΔE = μηδέ, ΠION = πίων etc. Naturalmente l'uso di queste convenzioni grafiche comporta un numero di ambiguità molto alto, p. es. ΔE = δέ oppure δή? La metrica aiuta spesso ma non sempre. Anche gli esiti di contrazioni e allungamenti di compenso sono scritti con E ed O, quindi sono segni ambigui: possono rappresentare vocali lunghe sia chiuse che aperte (EMI = εἰμί / ἤμι, ΘANE-ΣΘAI (scritto per errore -ΣΘAN) = θανέσθαι / θανῆσθαι, ΔΟΜΟΣ (acc. pl.) = δόμους / δόμως. Ci sono due casi in cui EI è scritto per allungamenti di compenso e contrazioni, 8 EIPEΣONTAI (non EPEΣ-) e 16 KΛEINOI (non KΛEN-), che possono rappresentare solamente suoni chiusi.⁵ È probabile che nella laminetta E ed O rappresentino i suoni aperti del dialetto e che per le grafie EI ci siano delle ragioni speciali (v. *infra*).

⁴ CASSIO (1994); JANKO (1984) e (2016).

⁵ Su questo punto vedi più avanti.

Un errore moderno abbastanza diffuso è quello di fare edizioni talvolta definite ‘letterarie’, che ‘precisano’ il valore delle lettere O ed E esito di contrazioni allungamento di compenso secondo le convenzioni in uso per la fonologia ionica, p. es. EMI scritto εἰμί, ΔΟΜΟΣ scritto δόμους (Pugliese Carratelli, Bernabé, Edmonds⁶), che precludono al lettore la possibilità di ritenere che localmente si pronunziasse ἤμι e δόμως – che è in realtà la cosa più probabile. L’edizione di Sacco è una delle poche rispettose delle convenzioni grafiche originarie, probabilmente la migliore in circolazione.⁷

Due problemi saranno discussi:⁸

(1) Il modello di ἐν φρασὶ πευκαλίμαισι è sicuramente Omero, *Il.* 8, 366 ἐν φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσι. La laminetta di Entella ha φρασι πευκαλιμῃσι. ἐνί è divenuto ἐν in *Hipp.*, ma questo dà origine a un problema metrico serio, dato che οἱ δε σε εἰρεσονται || εν φρασι πευκαλιμαισι è un esametro esattamente bipartito, cosa completamente irrituale.⁹ La cosa più ovvia che viene in mente è che si tratti di un passaggio dalla forma ‘poetica’ ἐνί alla forma ‘banale’ ἐν dovuto a chi ha scritto la laminetta, ma va ricordato che in altre posizioni metriche ἐνί ed ἐν alternano molto spesso in Omero¹⁰ e non è detto che la variante sbagliata non fosse già nell’archetipo.

Sia φρασί che πευκαλίμαισι presentano problemi interessanti per due ragioni. La forma φρασί, dal grado zero *p^hrm-si (< *-su) è notoriamente la più antica; φρεσί in Omero ha un /e/ analogico derivato dal resto della declinazione,¹¹ ma questo succede nel *nostro* Omero; non sappiamo se φρασί fosse ancora rimasto in testi omerici correnti nel V o IV secolo a.C. -αισι è desinenza ‘letteraria’ (come desinanza autentica è tipica esclusivamente del

⁶ Quest’ultimo con assurde differenziazioni: EMI reso con ἤμι al v. 10, ma EM ΑΥΟΣ reso con εἴμ’ αἶος al v. 11.

⁷ SACCO (2001) 32-33.

⁸ Ulteriori approfondimenti sulla laminetta di Hipponion si possono trovare in CASSIO (2017).

⁹ Vedi p. es. MARTINELLI (1995) 66.

¹⁰ LA ROCHE (1893) 139-144.

¹¹ CHANTRAINE (²1961) 82.

dialetto eolico d'Asia); in ambito dorico, essendo -αισι metricamente equivalente all'omerico -ησι, funziona come 'avvicinamento letterario' al dialetto locale negli ambiti in cui la forma autentica era -αις; -αισι è frequentissimo in Pindaro e in altri testi poetici.

In Omero il concetto di φρένες (= la "mente") è più di una volta collegato a forme di πευκάλιμος "acuto", aggettivo che spesso non aggiunge niente a φρένες, p. es. *Il.* 14, 165 ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἰδὲ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησι a proposito del sonno che scende "sulle palpebre e sulla mente acuta". È interessante notare che ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησιν, esattamente come in *Hipp.*, a parte ἐν per ἐνὶ, si trova una sola volta in tutto Omero, *Il.* 8, 366 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰδε ἦδε' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησιν (ed è anche assente da tutto il resto della letteratura greca). Ora, se una persona vuole entrare in un ambiente il cui ingresso è presidiato da alcuni guardiani, non si capisce perché le ragioni per cui la persona vuole entrare vengano chieste dai guardiani stessi "nella loro mente acuta". Inoltre "io so nella mia mente" è accettabile, mentre "io chiedo nella mia mente" è assurdo. La frase è sembrata a molti insensata, p. es. a West ("εἰρήσονται ἐνὶ φρασὶ hat keinen Sinn"¹²); altri hanno tentato giustificarla in vari modi (la spiegazione meno inverosimile è un uso strumentale di ἐν, "con mente sagace") o hanno addirittura corretto il testo.¹³

Tuttavia nessuno sembra essersi reso conto di un fatto fondamentale. Come abbiamo visto, in Omero ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησιν si trova una volta sola nell'ottavo libro dell'*Iliade*, precisamente al v. 366. Ai versi 360 ss. Atena si lamenta perché suo padre, Zeus, ha preso le parti dei Troiani e non tiene mai conto dei suoi desideri. "Mio padre fa sempre l'opposto di quello che io voglio. Mi ha mandato più volte a salvare suo figlio Eracle dalle fatiche imposte da Euristeo. Se io avessi saputo questo nella mia mente quando Euristeo lo mandò da Ade custode della porta [degli inferi] a prendere il cane di Ade, Eracle non

¹² WEST (1975) 233.

¹³ Buona discussione in DETTORI (1996) 297-299.

sarebbe sfuggito tanto facilmente alla morte [*i.e.*, io, Atena, non lo avrei affatto aiutato]”: εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τάδε ἦδε’ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν / εὖτέ μιν εἰς Ἀἶδαο πυλάρταο προὔπεμψεν / ἔξ Ἑρέβευς ἄξοντα κύναι στυγεροῦ Ἀἶδαο, / οὐκ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα (*Il.* 8, 366-369). L’unica occorrenza di ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν in tutto Omero è seguita, come nella laminetta, da un verso (anzi due) in cui si nomina l’Ade. Non c’è alcun’altra occorrenza in Omero di φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν vicino a una menzione di Ade. Quei versi omerici sono quindi fondamentali per capire i versi 8-9 della laminetta; in essi Ade nella sua funzione di divinità è qualificato come πυλάρτης “quello che governa la porta”, e devo a Lucia Prauscello l’osservazione che questo epiteto, molto raro in Omero, deve aver avuto un ruolo chiave nella scelta di quel passo come modello per una narrazione in cui dei φύλακες sono a guardia non di una porta vera e propria ma comunque di un passaggio obbligato fondamentale. L’uso del modello concettuale omerico ha trascinato con sé anche ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν che per la verità mal si conciliava con εἰρήσονται – il risultato è un dettato sostanzialmente goffo.

(2) στείχῃσι κλεινοί | presenta una configurazione prosodica rara. Le fotografie a colori del *recto* e del *verso* della laminetta nell’edizione di Pugliese Carratelli¹⁴ mostrano chiaramente una sequenza ΚΛΕΙΝ-, dove *ny* è leggibile con difficoltà ma *iota* è chiarissimo e sicuro;¹⁵ quindi la lettura di -Ε- al posto di -Ι- proposta da Janko,¹⁶ con varie conseguenze sull’edizione, è inaccettabile. Fine di parola, o parola, metricamente – –, che precede parola bisillabica finale di esametro si trova molto raramente, tranne nei casi in cui la seconda delle – – derivi dalla contrazione di due antiche brevi, tipo il caso omerico Πατρό-κλεις ἱππεῦ|, in cui -κλεις è contrazione di un antico *-κλεΐες.¹⁷

¹⁴ PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (1993) 19-21.

¹⁵ Infatti è stampato senza punto sotto da SACCO (2001) 33.

¹⁶ JANKO (2016) 121.

¹⁷ WEST (1982) 37, n. 13.

Una volta fissate, quelle contrazioni hanno reso possibili configurazioni prima evitate, che continuano però a essere rare: p. es. l'epigramma di Rodi *CEG* 459, 2 (ca. 600-575 a.C.) λειολη θειη | e molto più tardi *Anth. Pal.* 1, 42 προφήτης ἐσθλός |. Nelle edizioni moderne dei *Cypria* (fr. 15, 5 Bernabé) si legge δεινοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσω κοίλης δρυὸς ἄμφω, ma è correzione di Gerhard (è trasmesso ἔσω δρυὸς ἄμφω κοίλης).

Si è cercato di eliminare lo sgradito στείχῃσι κλεινοί congetturando κλεεννοί,¹⁸ che è però forma eolica tipica della lirica e non è quello che ci si aspetta da un originale ionico; Janko ha proposto κλεινοί,¹⁹ ma una forma κλειει- si legge solo in un esametro attribuito a Socrate in Diog. Laert. 2, 42 Δῆλι' Ἀπολλων χαῖρε, καὶ Ἄρτεμι, παῖδε κλειεῖνῳ "Salve Apollo Delio e Artemide, giovani gloriosi", e solo in parte della tradizione: Φ (*Excerpta Vaticana* di Diog. Laert.) ha κλεεννῳ, appunto la forma eolica di cui sopra.

È molto probabile che si debba accettare στείχῃσι κλεινοί. Prosodicamente abbiamo -χῃ.σῃ.κ.λεῖ- (= - - -), in cui -ῃ- viene a trovarsi in una sillaba considerata metricamente lunga in quanto chiusa a causa del trattamento eterosillabico di -κ.λ-. Questo significa nel caso specifico che una sillaba lunga davanti a -κ.λ- si crea in tempo debole, cosa molto rara in Omero (la situazione 'normale' è p. es. ἀροῖμεθά κε κ.λέος ἐσθλόν "potremmo acquistare ottima fama") ma comunque attestata (*Il.* 7, 175 ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δὲ κ.λῆρον ἐσημήναντο ἕκαστος "così disse, ed ognuno di loro segnò una tessera", 7, 189 γνῶ δὲ κ.λῆρου σῆμα ἰδὼν "avendolo visto riconobbe il segno sulla tessera"). Per quanto ho potuto vedere, in Omero questo non si verifica mai nella seconda parte dell'esametro, e sembra essere un po' un piccolo "los von Homer" dell'autore del modello di *Hipponion*.

¹⁸ BURKERT (1998) 392.

¹⁹ JANKO (2016) 122, peraltro preceduto da SACCO (2001) 33, κλει<ε>ινοί.

²⁰ *Antologia Greca*, Aristide e scolii, Diodoro Siculo, paremiografi: vedi l'apparato di *FGE* 45.

by mortals on land and on the sea at once. For these men after slaying many Medes in Cyprus took a hundred Phoenician ships at sea with their crews. Asia groaned aloud, smitten with both hands by their triumphant might.”²¹

L’epigramma è chiaramente bipartito, con un’affermazione generale di superiorità militare nei primi 4 versi e la specificazione dell’evento nei versi 5-8. È un testo scritto per una eclatante vittoria ateniese e a questa data ci si aspetta ampiamente una fonologia e, in parte, una morfologia attica. Tuttavia nel testo così come è stato costituito (molto ragionevolmente) da Page gli elementi strettamente attici non sono molti: il gen. Ἀσίᾱς, l’accusativo ναῦς, che è per così dire un’innovazione composta, cioè basata su un accusativo singolare ναῦν anch’esso innovato (forma antica νῆα < *νᾱ̃ῤῥα). Una presenza attica sostanziale, e impressionante, è quella dei *Persiani* di Eschilo negli ultimi due versi:

‘Simonide’ 7-8:

μέγα δ’ ἔστανεν Ἀσίς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
πληγῆϊσ’ ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ κράτει πολέμου.

Aesch. *Pers.* 548-549:

νῦν γὰρ δὴ πρόπασα μὲν στένει / γὰρ Ἀσίς ἐκκεκνωμένα
“lasciata in desolazione tutta la terra dell’Asia si lamenta”

Da notare in particolare la presenza di Ἀσίς = Ἀσία, forma molto amata da Eschilo e poi destinata a una sopravvivenza limitata esclusivamente a testi poetici.

Tuttavia l’accusativo plurale πόλεις non è attico (in attico è πόλεις fin dall’inizio²²) ma omerico e ionico, e la presenza di Omero e genericamente del mondo ionico è molto forte.

Un caso particolare, di cui avrò modo di riparlarne tra poco, è ἐξ οὗ τ(ε) “da quando”, che in alcune edizioni appare ἐξ οὗ τε, in altre ἐξ οὗτε; la scelta dello spazio prima di τε è ovviamente moderna. In sostanza οὗτε è nient’altro che il genitivo

²¹ Traduzione di PATON (1919) 161, leggermente modificata da me.

²² THREATTE (1996) 214.

del relativo omerico ὅστε, che presenta uno dei tanti casi di ‘τε epico’ debitamente registrati da Ruijgh,²³ ed è impossibile da distinguere nel significato dal semplice ὅς. Tuttavia in Omero ἐξ οὗτε non si trova mai; si trova invece in autori classici ma successivi: Semon. fr. 7, 117-118 West ἐξ οὗ τε τοὺς μὲν Ἀτίδης ἐδέξατο / γυναικὸς εἶνεκ’ ἀμφιδηριωμένους “da quando l’Ade li accolse dopo che avevano combattuto per una donna”, Aesch. *Pers.* 762-764 ἐξ οὗτε τιμὴν Ζεὺς ἄναξ τήνδ’ ὥπασεν / ἐν’ ἄνδρ’ ἀπάσης Ἀσίδος μηλοτρόφου / ταγεῖν ἔχοντα σκῆπτρον εὐθυνητήριον “da quando il signore Zeus ordinò che un solo uomo avendo lo scettro del potere governasse l’Asia ricca di armenti”, *Eum.* 25-26 ἐξ οὗτε Βάκχαις ἐστρατήγησεν θεὸς / λαγὼ δίκην Πενθεῖ καταρράψας μύρον “da quando il dio guidò in guerra le Baccanti procurando a Penteo la morte di una lepre”.

Come si vede da questi passi, τε non corrisponde a un altro τε, o καί, successivi. Quindi nel nostro epigramma ἐξ οὗ τ’ Εὐρώπην [...] καὶ πόλιας una correlazione tra τ(ε) e καί è possibile ma non strettamente necessaria, perché ἐξ οὗ τε può essere completamente autonomo, e questo è importante per l’epigramma di Xanthos che esaminerò tra poco.

ἐξ οὗ τε sembra ben attestato in poesia ionica antica e attica, ma non in Omero, che è invece ben presente nel terzo verso dell’epigramma, molto interessante per varie ragioni:

οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ’ ἀνδρῶν / ἔργον

È un verso ‘fabbricato’ sulla base di un passo omerico coerente, il discorso di Nestore nel primo libro dell’*Iliade*, versi 262-266:

οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,
οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν
Καινέα τ’ Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον
κάρτιστοι δὴ κεῖνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν.

²³ RUIJGH (1971) 508.

Dietro l'imitazione ci sono sia la forma che il concetto del testo omerico:

Omero: “non ho visto finora uomini tali quali Piritoo, Driante [...]; erano i più forti tra gli uomini che vivono sulla terra” (cfr. anche *Il.* 9, 558 Ἰδεὼ θ', ὅς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν “e di Ida, che fu il più forte degli uomini che vivono sulla terra”);

‘Simonide’: “finora non c'è stata un'impresa tale ad opera degli uomini che vivono sulla terra”.

E in ambedue i testi τοῖος / τοιοῦτος vogliono dire “tale” in un unico senso, cioè in riferimento a capacità straordinarie in ambito militare, di singoli o di popoli.

Al v. 3 di questo epigramma così com'è attestato in *Anth. Pal.* 7, 296 c'è una variante importante: al posto di οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον degli altri testimoni si legge οὐδαμά πω κάλλιον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν / ἔργον. La variante si discosta fortemente da Omero per due ragioni: l'uso di οὐδαμά, forma linguisticamente antica (-ham- < *-sm₂-; οὐδαμά πω in Thgn. 1373 οὐδαμά πω κατέμεινας ἐμὴν χάριν “in nessun modo sei rimasto [con me] per amore mio”) ma ignota a Omero (sia οὐδαμ- che μηδαμ- non si trovano in Omero), spessissimo in Erodoto e in trimetri di Sofocle; inoltre κάλλιον con /i:/ è una forma innovata specificamente attica.²⁴

Sembra un tentativo secondario di ‘staccare’ il verso dal modello omerico e di creare per una vittoria ateniese un testo linguisticamente più attico. Ma si tratta sicuramente di una manipolazione secondaria – la forma originaria è garantita da Omero οὐ γάρ πω τοίους e da un altro epigramma, questo legato alla riscoperta, nella prima metà dell'ottocento, ad opera di Sir Charles Fellows, dell'antica città licia di Arñna, più nota in occidente con il suo nome greco di Xanthos. Quindi ci spostiamo a Xanthos dove un epigramma greco dipende sicuramente dal nostro ‘Simonide’.

²⁴ Cfr. RIX (21992) 168; in Omero solo κάλλιον, καλλίονες.

3.2. *L'epigramma di Xanthos (CEG 177)*

Risale al 1843 la prima descrizione, corredata di disegni molto accurati, da parte appunto di Charles Fellows,²⁵ del grande pilastro iscritto di Xanthos, insieme tomba e memoriale di imprese belliche di un importante personaggio licio, individuato dalla maggioranza degli studiosi (non senza dubbi e proposte alternative²⁶) nel dinasta licio Xeriga, reso in greco con Γέργης, che ha regnato in anni imprecisati degli ultimi decenni del V secolo a.C. È un monumento molto notevole: su una enorme base (due piedistalli che prendono da soli m. 2,27) si erge un blocco rettangolare rastremato che sosteneva originariamente una camera funeraria ricoperta di elaborati bassorilievi,²⁷ e sopra quest'ultima la statua del dinasta, per un'altezza complessiva superiore ai 10 metri.²⁸ Il pilastro porta su tre lati iscrizioni nelle due varietà di licio, A e B, e nella facciata nord un epigramma greco di dodici versi è inserito tra un testo in licio A e uno in licio B.

Il monumento e i contenuti sia del testo licio (di comprensione non facile) sia dell'epigramma greco sono stati oggetto di moltissimi studi.²⁹ Il monumento è stato ritenuto, da una prospettiva greca, un *heroon*, dato che è sì una tomba, ma si trova, come dice l'epigramma, nel recinto sacro 'dei dodici dei' all'interno della città: tuttavia è stato fatto notare che in Licia, diversamente che in Grecia, era normale che delle tombe fossero all'interno delle città.³⁰ L'influenza persiana si unisce, come in tutta la Licia di quell'epoca, a un forte influsso del mondo greco, dovuto a contatti molto antichi con le popolazioni greche

²⁵ FELLOWS (1843), in forma di lettera allo scienziato W.R. Hamilton; la descrizione è seguita da una edizione (oggi obsoleta) dell'epigramma greco da parte di W.M. LEAKE.

²⁶ V. DOMINGO GYGAX / TIETZ (2005) 91.

²⁷ DEMARGNE (1958) 87-102; NIESWANDT (1995) 20-23.

²⁸ Esattamente m. 9,63 fino ai due leoni originariamente posti immediatamente sotto la statua.

²⁹ Bibliografia in NIESWANDT (1995) e DOMINGO GYGAX / TIETZ (2005).

³⁰ NIESWANDT (1995) 25.

dell'Asia Minore, arricchiti e modificati in chiave esplicitamente ateniese durante il periodo di egemonia delio-attica attorno alla metà del V secolo a.C. È stato spesso sottolineato il ruolo in Licia della dea Atena, menzionata come *ποτλίποροθος* nell'epigramma, che appare nelle monete licie con un elmo attico sulla testa: la dea ateniese rimase "al suo posto di onore anche dopo il ritorno della Licia in campo persiano – esempio assai eloquente, incidentalmente, della molto complessa problematica dei rapporti fra cultura e politica nel mondo antico".³¹

TAM I 44 = CEG 177 (testo di *CEG*):

[Ε]ξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην [Α]σίας δίχα πόν[τ]ος ἔνεμεν,
 [ο]ὐδές πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάνδ' ἀνέθηκ<ε>ν
 [δ]ώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῶι τεμένει,
 [ἔρ]γων καὶ πολέμου μνημα τόδε ἀθάν<α>τον.
 [Γέ]ρ[γ]ις ὅδε Ἀρπάγο<υ> υἱός, ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα 5
 [χε]ρσὶ πάλην Λυκίων τῶν τοτ' ἐν ἡλικίαι,
 [πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλεις σὺν Ἀθηναίαι ποτλιπόρθωι
 [π]έρσας συγγενέσιν δῶκε μέρος βασιλέας,
 ὧν χάριν ἀθάνατοι οἱ ἀπεμν<ή>σαντο δικαίαν.
 ἐπτά δὲ ὀπλίτας κτείνειν ἐν ἡμέραι Ἀρκάδας ἀνδρας 10
 Ζηνὶ δὲ π<λ>ῆστα τρόπαια β<ρ>οτῶν ἔ[στ]ησεν ἀπάν<τ>ων
 καλλίστοις δ' ἔργοις Κα[ρ]λίκας γένος ἑστεφάνωσεν.

“Depuis que la mer a séparé l'Europe de l'Asie, nul encore parmi les Lyciens n'a élevé pareille stèle aux Douze Dieux, dans l'enceinte pure d'une Agora, monument immortel de ses exploits guerriers. – Ce Gergis que voici, le fils d'Harpagos, qui se montra en tout supérieur par la vigueur de ses bras dans la lutte sur les jeunes Lyciens de son temps, qui, aidé d'Athéna preneuse de villes, conquît maintes acropoles, et donna à ses proches part de son domaine royal. – De tout cela, les Immortels lui ont accordé juste récompense. C'est lui qui, en un même jour, tua sept hoplites arcadiens, lui qui de tous les mortels a dressé pour Zeus les plus nombreux trophées, et a couronné de ses brillants exploits la race de Karikas.”³²

Tra valore come documento storico, relazione con la realtà culturale e politica di Xanthos e della Licia e questioni metriche

³¹ ASCHERI (1983) 495.

³² Traduzione di BOUSQUET (1975) 139-140.

e linguistiche penso che un commento serio a questo epigramma potrebbe prendere tranquillamente cinquanta pagine. Dal punto di vista dei contenuti è probabilmente nel giusto Nieswandt quando afferma che la narrativa dell'epigramma presenta "eine Geschichtsauffassung, die weniger an den Rangerweis durch präzise Fakten zielt als auf eine zeitlose Glorifizierung des Ranges selbst".³³

In questo contributo mi limiterò a osservazioni su alcuni punti fondamentali e osservazioni specifiche su significativi fatti formali completamente trascurati. Dal punto di vista linguistico le note di Merkelbach e Stauber sono poche e inadeguate; per fatti formali e letterari il contributo di Paola Ceccarelli è sicuramente uno dei migliori.³⁴ Un problema sul quale si sorvola spesso è quello della leggibilità dell'epigramma, che si trova a più di 4 metri da terra; il problema tocca peraltro anche il testo licio, che è facile da leggere nella parte più in basso, ma in alto parte da un'altezza di circa 6 metri.

Alcuni elementi generali sono molto importanti:

(1) La chiarissima dipendenza di questo epigramma da quello appena preso in considerazione, di 'Simonide', dipendenza che è evidentissima già nel primo verso, che è addirittura una citazione letterale, e prosegue nei versi successivi. Questo non significa che l'epigramma sia costruito così bene come quello di 'Simonide', anzi è piuttosto goffo perché i termini grandiosi usati da 'Simonide' per una memorabile vittoria militare ateniese per terra e per mare sono usati per l'erezione di un monumento commemorativo, per quanto di notevole fattura e notevoli dimensioni. D'altra parte la presenza diretta del testo omerico è, come vedremo, innegabile, e insieme ad essa una quantità di lessico attico e fonologia attica.

(2) L'imitazione omerica deve fare i conti con la realtà culturale licia. P. es. a proposito del v. 7 σὺν Ἀθηναίοις πολυπόρθωι: sia Ἀθηναίη che πολυπόρθος si trovano in Omero, ma mai

³³ NIESWANDT (1995) 28.

³⁴ MERKELBACH / STAUBER (2002) 46-47; CECCARELLI (1996).

insieme, perché l'uso di *πτολίπορθος* è limitato a esseri umani e non è usato di regola per gli dèi. Atena era la versione greca della dea licia Maliya, ed è possibile che Ἀθηναία πτολίπορθος sia la resa greca di Maliya Eriyupama;³⁵ in sostanza si tratterebbe di una distanza dall'uso omerico condizionata dalla realtà culturale licia.

(3) Nella fonologia e nella morfologia la presenza attica³⁶ è ancora più forte di quella del modello (fonologia: Ἀσίας, ἄγορᾶς, τοιάνδε, ἡλικίαι, δικαίαν, ἡμέραι, Ἀθηναίαι, τεμένει³⁷ con -ει già contratto; morfologia: accusativo plurale ἀκροπόλεις normale in attico classico³⁸). Molto lessico è ovviamente attico e assente da Omero (p. es. ἀκρόπολις, βασιλεία, συγγενής, ὀπλίτης, τροπαῖον, ἀγορά nel senso di area archettonicamente organizzata; ὀπλίτης non è omerico né come lessico né come prosodia³⁹). La notevole presenza di tratti attici ha fatto supporre, in genere con cautela, l'opera di un poeta attico,⁴⁰ ma io non escluderei un poeta locale licio con grande esperienza di testi attici.

(4) Una struttura metrica molto particolare, molto irregolare per un classicista abituato a testi letterari: l'epigramma inizia con due esametri in successione seguiti da due pentametri; poi due distici elegiaci del tutto regolari; poi di nuovo quattro esametri.

(5) Una fortissima innovazione riguarda la prosodia della parola βασιλεία al v. 8, δῶκε μέρος βασιλέας (= βασιλείας nella nostra grafia standard). Nell'Atene classica, soprattutto in nomi propri, non mancano abbreviazioni interne di -ει- (etimologico

³⁵ RAIMOND (2007) 154.

³⁶ MEIGGS / LEWIS (21988) 283.

³⁷ Sul temenos di Xanthos vedi ora SCHÜRR / DÖNMEZ (2015).

³⁸ THREATTE (1996) 214.

³⁹ In Omero -πλ- in posizione interna si trova solo in composti in cui πλ- è inizio del secondo membro (e.g. τεῖχεσ'πλῆτα, LA ROCHE [1869] 3).

⁴⁰ "Dass der Verfasser des Epigramms, obschon er Attiker zu sein scheint, kein Dichter ist, liegt auf der Hand" (BENNDORF [1900] 114); "fu composto in lingua attica da un epigrammatista di probabile origine ateniese" (ASHERI [1983] 494); cfr. recentemente STAAB (2018) 136 ("vielleicht aus Athen stammend").

o frutto di contrazioni o eliminazioni di /w/), come p. es. in IV sec. a.C. Τιμοκλείας da scandire – ∪ ∪ – in AG II 179 ([σ]ῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι κατὰ χθών ἤδε καλ[ύπτει] / [Τι]μοκλείας· τήν σήν δὲ ἄρετὴν οὐθεὶς [φθ]ίσει ἄ[λ]ών) “questa terra nasconde il corpo di Timoclea; ma nessun passare del tempo distruggerà la tua virtù”⁴¹); qui -ει- di -είας non è solo abbreviato ma consonantizzato, quindi βασιλείας da scandire ∪ ∪ –. Questo sembra addirittura anticipare fenomeni di consonantizzazione attestati in epoca imperiale⁴² e permette di entrare nel mondo di *Allegroformen* che normalmente appaiono nello scritto molto più tardi.⁴³ Da notare che l’astratto βασιλεία “regno” non è parola omerica (diversamente da βασίλεια “regina”, peraltro attestato solo nell’*Odissea*). Vale la pena ricordare che se βασιλέας con questa prosodia ∪ ∪ – fosse stato trasmesso da manoscritti medievali avremmo avuto sicuramente una quantità di congetture moderne – che sarebbero state tutte sbagliate.

Uno dei pochissimi che si è accorto dell’importanza di questo trattamento prosodico, che a questo livello cronologico sembra un *unicum*, è stato il linguista svizzero Meinrad Scheller, che nella sua dissertazione scriveva: “Man muß hier noch auf das viel ältere [*sc.* in rapporto alle testimonianze di età imperiale] δῶκε μέρος βασιλείας – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – der grch. Verse der Xanthosstele verweisen. Handelt es sich auch um sehr barbarisches Grch., so ist die Tatsache der Vorwegnahme spätgr. Lautstandes in ungeschliffen-provinzieller Sprache doch bezeichnend”.⁴⁴

Non c’è il minimo dubbio che sia un trattamento prosodico che anticipa di molto fenomeni di consonantizzazione parecchio più tardi; è possibile che l’autore abbia generalizzato fenomeni

⁴¹ Vedi la trattazione di THREATTE (1980) 212.

⁴² RADERMACHER (1912) *passim*.

⁴³ Diverso il caso di CEG 243, 2 = ACADE 63, 2 μάντειον φρασμοσύναι μετρ(ῶ)ς ἐπ[ευχ]σάμενες] “per consiglio degli indovini, avendo fatto voto la madre” in cui μάντειον è sicuramente una grafia per μάντεων “degli indovini” con /e/ breve consonantizzato; questo è il caso opposto, in cui βασιλέας è una grafia per βασιλείας (THREATTE [1980] 211-213).

⁴⁴ SCHELLER (1951) 102.

che in greco a data antica sono ammissibili solo in fonetica sintattica, come p. es. *Od.* 20, 227 βούκολ', ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὔτ' ἄφρονι φωτὶ ἔοικας, in cui ἐπεὶ οὔτε è da scandire υ – υ. Comunque, come vedremo, un giudizio generalizzato di 'unge-schliffene Sprache' per questo epigramma sulla base di questa innovazione a mio parere non è ammissibile.

3.2.1. 'Xanthos' e 'Simonide'

Una cosa da chiarire preliminarmente è che una difficoltà individuata praticamente da tutti gli studiosi nel primo verso, [ἐ]ξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην [Α]σίας δίχα πόν[τ]ος ἔνευεν non ha assolutamente ragion d'essere. Già Kalinka scrisse che "v. 1 particula τε ex exemplari 'Simonideo' servata magno opere offendit" e Meiggs e Lewis osservano che "L(ine) 1 repeats the first line of an epigram [...] assigned [...] to Simonides [...]; the τ' is meaningless in the new context".⁴⁵ Paola Ceccarelli ha giustificato il τε come omaggio al modello,⁴⁶ ma non c'è nessun omaggio: l'autore dell'epigramma ha semplicemente copiato il primo verso di 'Simonide' in cui ἐξ οὗ τε vuole semplicemente dire "da quando", e τε non ha nessun bisogno di essere bilanciato da niente.

L'organizzazione metrica dei quattro versi iniziali è estremamente interessante, perché in pratica la 'irregolarità' è condizionata dal modello:

'Simonide': ἐξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἔνευεν
 (= esametro)
 καὶ πόλιας θνητῶν θεοῦρος Ἄρης ἐπέχει,
 (= pentametro, eliminato da 'Xanthos')
 οὐδὲν πω τοιοῦτον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν
 (= esametro)
 ἔργον ἐν ἡπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ἄμα.
 (= pentametro)

⁴⁵ E. KALINKA in *TAM* I 44, 47; MEIGGS / LEWIS (21988) 283.

⁴⁶ CECCARELLI (1996) 8.

‘Xanthos’: [Ε]ξ οὗ τ’ Εὐρώπην [Α]σίας δίχ’α πόν[τ]ος ἔνεμεν,
 (= esametro)
 [ο]ὐδές πω Λυκίων στήλῃν τοιάνδ’ ἀνέθηκ<ε>ν
 (= esametro)
 [δ]ώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾷς ἐν καθαρῷι τεμένει,
 (= pentametro, aggiunto da ‘Xanthos’)
 [ἔρ]γων καὶ πολέμου μνηῖμα τόδε ἄθάν<α>τον.
 (= pentametro)

Il primo pentametro di ‘Simonide’ (v. 2) è stato eliminato perché il poeta di ‘Xanthos’ sta descrivendo l’erezione di un monumento, e a quel punto ricordare la guerra e il suo dio Ares era completamente fuori luogo, mentre poi ha aggiunto un altro pentametro contenente la menzione per lui importante del *temenos* nell’area dei dodici dei.

Da notare che il secondo verso di ‘Xanthos’, [ο]ὐδές πω [...] τοιάνδ’ segue, in ‘Simonide’ 3, la versione οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον e non quella ‘attica’ οὐδαμά πω κάλλιον sopra menzionata, che sembra frutto di una manipolazione secondaria ‘filoateniese’.

In che modo l’autore di ‘Xanthos’ ha conosciuto l’epigramma di ‘Simonide’? lettura personale dal monumento ateniese? circolavano delle trascrizioni su papiro? Credo con Staab che quest’ultima ipotesi colga nel segno.⁴⁷

3.2.2. ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα

L’epigramma di Xanthos è un testo particolare, linguisticamente per certi versi molto contraddittorio: presenta lessico prosastico e la fortissima innovazione prosodica che abbiamo visto; nello stesso tempo è intriso di letteratura precedente, soprattutto Omero (vedremo ora dei casi interessanti di presenza omerica, e non va dimenticato al v. 10 Ἀρκάδας ἄνδρας che riprende *Il.* 2, 611 Ἀρκάδες ἄνδρες ἔβαινον ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίζειν “andavano Arcadi esperti di battaglia”. Neppure Esiodo manca: il v. 9 ὦν χάριν ἀθάναντο οἱ ἀπεμν<ή>σαντο δικαίαν è chiaramente basato

⁴⁷ STAAB (2018) 137-138.

su Hes. *Theog.* 503 οἳ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο χάριν εὐεργεσιῶν “i quali gli furono riconoscenti per i benefici ricevuti”.

Per ragioni che diverranno chiare molto presto ho deciso di soffermarmi sui versi 5-6 ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα / [χε]ρσὶ πάλην Λυκίων τῶν τοτ' ἐν ἡλικίαι, in cui τὰ ἅπαντα presenta uno iato impossibile in Omero che nello stesso tempo ci permette di entrare nel ‘laboratorio’ di un poeta di IV secolo a.C. e del suo complesso rapporto con il grande poeta epico.

L'unico altro τὰ ἅπαντα attestato in poesia e registrato nel *Thesaurus* elettronico di Irvine si trova nell'undicesimo libro degli *Oracula Sibyllina* (11, 86 πείσει γὰρ τὰ ἅπαντα λόγῳ καὶ πάνθ' ὑποτάξει “persuaderà in tutto con il [suo] discorso e sottometterà tutto”): l'undicesimo libro è una specie di compendio di storia in esametri, dal diluvio universale alla morte di Cleopatra, di età imperiale indefinibile. In realtà τὰ ἅπαντα è una congettura di Volkmann a un testo che ci è stato trasmesso pieno di errori, soprattutto dal libro 9 in poi, molti dei quali attribuibili agli autori oltre che ai copisti; la tradizione manoscritta ha concordemente l'ametrico τὰ πάντα, e anche in un altro passo ταῦτα ἅπασι è una correzione moderna (nei mss. ταῦθ' ἅπασι o ταῦτα πᾶσι).⁴⁸ Dato lo stato miserevole della tradizione degli *Oracula Sibyllina* non si può essere sicuri di nulla.

Τὰ ἅπαντα è un accusativo dipendente da ἀριστεύσας, cfr. Pind. *Ol.* 10, 64 στάδιον μὲν ἀρίστευσεν “fu il migliore nella corsa”. Un modello importante è stato sicuramente Omero, nella breve menzione di Ecamele nell'undicesimo libro dell'*Iliade*, ἐϋπλόκαμος Ἐκαμήδη, scelta dagli Achei per onorare Nestore, personaggio superiore a tutti gli altri per la sua saggezza:

Il. 11, 627: (gli Achei) ἔξελον οὐνεκα βουλήν **ἀριστεύσκειν**
ἀπάντων
 “scelsero [Ecamele] perché [Nestore] superava tutti
 in saggezza”

⁴⁸ *Orac. Sibyll.* 8, 72 ταῦτα ἅπασι διδοὺς πλοῦτον μέγαν Ἀσίδι θήσει “a tutti offrendo queste cose procurerà grande ricchezza all'Asia” (apparato di Geffken: ταῦτα ἅπασι Alex. [= C. Alexandre], ταῦθ' ἅπασι (ταῦτ' ἅπασι PB) *Φ* ταῦτα πᾶσι *Ψ*); cfr. VOLKMANN (1853).

‘Xanthos’ 5: [Γέ]ρ[γ]ις ὅδε Ἀρπάγο<υ> υἱὸς ἄριστεύσας τὰ
 ἅπαντα
 [χε]ρσὶ πάλην Λυκίων κτλ.

Come si vede, ἀριστευ- e ἅπαντ- si trovano nella stessa posizione metrica di ‘Xanthos’, e in ambedue i testi viene data la motivazione della superiorità, βουλῇ in Omero e χερσὶ in ‘Xanthos’ nel verso successivo.

Dei versi in cui si menziona l’ἀριστεύειν in un campo specifico non mancano in tragedia, p. es. in Soph. *Ant.* 195, Eteocle πάντ’ ἀριστεύσας δορί “dopo essere stato superiore a tutti con la lancia”, e ancora più vicino al testo di ‘Xanthos’, in cui sono menzionate le mani (di Eracle) che servono alla lotta, Soph. *Trach.* 488, ὥς τᾷλλ’ ἐκεῖνος πάντ’ ἀριστεύων χεροῖν / τοῦ τῆσδ’ ἔρωτος εἰς ἅπανθ’ ἦσσαν ἔφω “poiché lui, pur essendo in tutto superiore con le sue mani, è stato in tutto inferiore all’amore per questa [donna]”, dove è evidente tra l’altro l’assoluta equivalenza nel significato di πάντα e ἅπαντα.⁴⁹

Ἄπας è una formazione antica, un puro rafforzamento di πᾶς in cui ἄ- iniziale viene da *sm-, il grado zero della radice del numero “uno” Indo-Europeo con “inclusive meaning”.⁵⁰ L’aspirata iniziale è quindi etimologica, anche se una vera e propria pronuncia dell’aspirata in recitazioni omeriche era una realtà più probabile in Attica che altrove.

Dal punto di vista della collocazione metrica ἅπαντα è assolutamente omerico. Le forme trisillabiche di ἅπας, p. es. ἅπαντες, ἅπασαι sono usate da Omero nella stragrande maggioranza dei casi in fine assoluta di verso: προβέβηκας ἅπάντων “sei stato superiore a tutti”, διέχευαν ἅπαντα “e lo fecero tutto a pezzi”, κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα / κήδεα “gli disse tutti i dolori”, φιλότρητος ἀπάσης “di tutta l’amicizia”: quasi 100 volte in questa posizione metrica contro 2 casi di forme trisillabiche in altre

⁴⁹ Cfr. anche i ‘guardiani’ di Platone, *Resp.* 540a ἀριστεύσαντας πάντα πάντη ἐν ἔργοις τε καὶ ἐπιστήμας “superiori in tutto in ogni modo nelle opere e nelle conoscenze”.

⁵⁰ SCARBOROUGH (2016) 40.

sedi del verso. E non è escluso che data questa frequenza p. es. quello che nei nostri testi appare come *δαίδαλα πάντα* “tutti oggetti splendidi” fosse percepito come *δαίδαλ’ ἅπαντα*; il contrario è impossibile, dato che *ἅπαντα* è quasi sempre preceduto da consonante. Negli epigrammi su pietra o metallo raccolti nel primo volume dei *Carmina epigraphica Graeca* di Hansen tutte le forme trisillabiche di *ἅπας* hanno questa collocazione metrica, e proprio nell’epigramma di Xanthos oltre a *ἅπαντα* ce n’è un altro caso nel penultimo verso *τρόπαια β<ρ>οτῶν ἔ[στ]ησεν ἁπάν<τ>ων*.

Accanto a tutta questa omericità ci troviamo però di fronte a τὰ ἅπαντα che presenta un cosiddetto ‘iato in breve’, e di un tipo che in Omero o in poesia fedele alla prosodia omerica non avrebbe mai avuto diritto di cittadinanza.

Ovviamente in Omero ci sono molti iati che coinvolgono due vocali brevi, e che hanno le origini più varie, p. es. *Od.* 7, 256 ἦδ’ ἔφασκε / θήσιν ἀθάνατον < *ἦδ’ Ἔε φάσκε κτλ. “diceva che lo avrebbe reso immortale”, *Il.* 1, 344 ὅπως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ σόοι μαχέοιντο Ἀχαιοί “in modo che salvi presso le navi per lui combattano gli Achei”, probabile rimaneggiamento tardo di *μαχεοίατ’ Ἀχαιοί (congettura di Bentley accolta nell’edizione dell’*Iliade* di West⁵¹), *Od.* 3, 290 κύματά τε τροφόεντα πελώρια, ἴσα ὄρεσσιν “onde rigonfie ed enormi, uguali a montagne” basato sul frequentissimo ἴσα θεοῖσι “uguali agli dei” nella stessa posizione metrica. In generale danno l’impressione di essere sviluppi relativamente tardi nella storia della lingua epica. Nel caso specifico di /-ᾱ α-/ si tratta praticamente sempre⁵² di iati giustificati da antichi /w/ (*digamma*) (κατὰ ᾱστυ, ἀνὰ ᾱστυ “nella città”), *Il.* 8, 403 αὐτὰς δ’ ἐκ δίφρου βαλέω κατὰ θ’ ἄρματα ἄζω (< *Ἔζω) “le sbalzerò giù dal carro e lo spezzero”. All’interno di questa categoria un caso particolare, e piuttosto interessante, è rappresentato da iati che coinvolgono il neutro

⁵¹ WEST (1998).

⁵² Un’eccezione sembra essere nell’*Odissea* 17, 67 αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν μὲν ἔπειτα ἀλεύατο πουλὸν ὄμιλον “ma egli evitò la numerosa turba di costoro” (non sembra che ἀλέω abbia mai avuto un /w/ iniziale), ma comunque si trova in cesura.

plurale degli articoli e il vecchio pronome possessivo $\theta\varsigma < *h\omega\acute{o}s < *s\omega\omega s$, p. es. τὰ ἅ κῆλα, τὰ ἅ ἔργα (v. sotto). Lo iato tra τὰ e ἅπαντα, nella cui formazione un antico /w/ non era coinvolto, sarebbe stato tutto improbabile in termini omerici, ma paradossalmente potrebbe portarci a qualche osservazione non ovvia riguardante proprio la lingua omerica e il suo *Nachleben*.

Τὰ ἅπαντα ci costringe a ritornare brevemente su un problema complesso e delicato. L'articolo del greco aveva originariamente forza di dimostrativo, quindi era usato in maniera completamente diversa dall'attico classico. Nelle fasi più antiche la *Artikellosigkeit* doveva essere quasi una regola, e gli antichi erano convinti, come si vede dagli scolii omerici, che Omero non avesse articoli determinativi (e.g. *Schol. in Il.* 2, 1 Ζηνόδοτος ὅλλοι γράφει, κακῶς· ἐλλείπει γὰρ ὁ ποιητῆς τοῖς ἄρθροις αἰεί “Zenodoto scrive ὅλλοι, sbagliando: infatti il poeta [Omero] omette sempre gli articoli”): un grosso problema della critica antica su Omero, che ha avuto importanti, e spesso negativi, riflessi sulla critica moderna. Le fortissime tendenze a ricercare e valutare, talvolta ipervalutare, gli elementi arcaici in Omero hanno portato spesso gli studiosi moderni a fare di tutto per interpretare come dimostrativi quelli che sono ormai dei puri e semplici articoli, oppure a cambiare il testo, dato che talvolta p. es. nella tradizione manoscritto τὸ σὸν μένος “la tua forza” alterna con τεὸν μένος: recuperando quindi forme eoliche ritenute più antiche o più ‘eleganti’.

È molto interessante l'atteggiamento su questo punto della classica sintassi del greco di Schwyzer / Debrunner, che trattando questo argomento si accorgono benissimo che in molti versi omerici ci sono degli articoli veri e propri, ma quando possono cercano comunque di trovare delle ragioni per cui l'articolo sia interpretabile come dimostrativo.⁵³ Il problema si presenta p. es. con l'uso omerico dell'articolo con gli aggettivi possessivi, uso non frequente ma ben attestato, e che riguarda un po' tutte le persone: τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ “caro al mio cuore”

⁵³ SCHWYZER / DEBRUNNER (1950) 20-23.

(*Il.* 11, 608 = *Od.* 4, 71), τὸ σὸν μένος, τὰ ἅ δώματα (v. qui di seguito).

Per esempio nel primo libro dell'*Iliade* Agamennone dice ad Achille (184-186): andrò io stesso alla tua tenda e prenderò Briseide, il tuo γέρας, il tuo "premio d'onore" – ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηΐδα καλλιπάρηρον / αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε, τὸ σὸν γέρας, ὄφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῆς / ὅσσον φέρτερός εἰμι σέθεν "io mi porterò via Briseide dalle belle guance, il tuo premio d'onore, venendo di persona alla tua tenda, in modo che tu sappia bene quanto io sono più forte di te" (τὸ σὸν è in tutta la tradizione manoscritta). Schwyzer / Debrunner sostengono che τὸ avrebbe "noch demonstrative Bedeutung" e traducono "dies dein Ehrengeschenk".⁵⁴ Ma i problemi non mancano. Poco dopo nel testo del primo libro arriva Atena e dice (1, 207) "sono venuta παύσουσα τὸ σὸν μένος", come traduce Lattimore "I have come down to stay your anger",⁵⁵ e non si vede quale speciale forza dimostrativa abbia l'articolo. Inoltre τὸ σὸν μένος è in tutta la tradizione, tranne due manoscritti ed Eustazio che hanno τεόν. Da lungo tempo si è sospettato che in Omero τὸ σὸν sia una forma ionica che ha preso il posto di un vecchio τεόν eolico,⁵⁶ e nella sua edizione dell'*Iliade* Martin West stampa sistematicamente τεόν, sia che sia trasmesso sia che sia congetturato, quindi τεὸν γέρας e τεὸν μένος.⁵⁷ Ora, τεός vuol dire semplicemente "tuo" e se τεὸν γέρας è stato davvero sostituito con τὸ σὸν γέρας vuol dire che in quest'ultimo l'articolo non aveva nessuna particolare forza dimostrativa e τὸ σὸν funzionava come in tanti passi di prosa attica, p. es. Xen. *An.* 7, 3, 19 παρὰ Σεύθῃ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα μέγιστόν ἐστι "presso Seuthes il tuo nome gode di grande prestigio": il tuo nome, il tuo γέρας.

Che cosa significhino in Omero certe presenze e certe assenze è sempre difficile capire. Τεόν e τὸ σὸν sono bene attestati, ma al plurale c'è solo τὰ σά (τὰ σὰ τεύχεα "le tue armi", τὰ σὰ

⁵⁴ SCHWYZER / DEBRUNNER (1950) 22.

⁵⁵ LATTIMORE (1951) *ad loc.*

⁵⁶ CHANTRAINE (1958) 271.

⁵⁷ WEST (1998).

κήδεα “le tue sventure”, τὰ σὰ γοῦνα/γούνατα “le tue ginocchia”⁵⁸), mentre τεά è completamente assente. Alla terza persona ἐά si trova tre volte, tutte nell’*Odissea*, in un sintagma fisso con una sola variazione (ἐὰ πρὸς δώμαθ’ ἕκαστος “ciascuno alla sua casa”, ἐὰ πρὸς δώματα καλὰ “verso la sua bella casa”: *Od.* 2, 258; 3, 387; 18, 428), mentre è più frequente τὰ ᾗ:

κεῖνος δὲ τὰ ᾗ φρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ (*Il.* 8, 430)
 “lui pensando le sue cose nell’animo”

ὅτε τ’ ὤρετο μητίετα Ζεὺς
 νιφέμεν ἀνθρώποισι πιφασκόμενος τὰ ᾗ κῆλα (*Il.* 12, 279-280)
 “quando il saggio Zeus comincia a mandare la neve, mostrando agli uomini i suoi dardi”

παυσάμενον πολέμοιο τὰ ᾗ πρὸς δώμαθ’ ἰκέσθαι (*Il.* 15, 58)
 “dopo aver smesso di combattere torni a casa sua”
 (cfr. *Od.* 14, 153 ἀντίκ’, ἐπεὶ κεν κεῖνος ἰὼν τὰ ᾗ δώμαθ’ ἵκηται
 ‘subito, appena lui arrivi alla sua casa’)

τὰ ᾗ δῶκε φέρειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν (*Il.* 17, 193)
 “le sue [armi] le diede da portare a Ilio”

αὐτὰρ ὁ Πάτροκλον περὶ μὲν τὰ ᾗ τεύχεα ἔσσε (*Il.* 18, 451)
 “ma rivestì Patroclo con le sue [di Achille] armi”

Inoltre un verso ripetuto tre volte nel libro 9 dell’*Odissea* (*Od.* 9, 250; 9, 310; 9, 343):

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σπεῦσε πονησάμενος τὰ ᾗ ἔργα
 “dopo che rapidamente finì il suo lavoro”

Ovviamente accanto a τὰ ᾗ abbiamo anche τὸ ὅν, *Il.* 21, 305 οὐδὲ Σκάμανδρος ἔληγε τὸ ὄν μένος, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον κτλ. “né Scamandro allentava la sua forza, ma ancora di più etc.”. Siamo di fronte a dei veri e propri articoli posti nel nostro testo immediatamente di fronte ad aggettivi possessivi originariamente iniziati con *hw-, che quindi creano uno iato più che legittimo, anzi piuttosto antico, dato che in Omero stesso non mancano

⁵⁸ Altra particolarità: notevole frequenza dell’accusativo σήν senza articolo ma un solo esempio di τήν σήν, *Od.* 2, 403 εἵατ’ ἐπήρετμοι, τήν σήν ποτιδέγμενοι ὀρμήν “siedono ai remi, attendendo il tuo ordine”.

casi di possessivi di terza persona o trattati come inizianti per vocale (quindi con la ‘memoria’ di **w-* eliminata⁵⁹) o, nel caso di forme con vocale lunga, abbreviati (p. es. *Il.* 1, 609 Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὃν λέχος ἦι(ε) “Zeus andò verso il suo letto”, 15, 397 ὦμωξέν τ’ ἄρ’ ἔπειτα καὶ ὦ πεπλήγετο μηρῷ “allora si lamentò e colpì le sue cosce” con καὶ abbreviato).

Naturalmente queste forme hanno dato molto fastidio alla critica ottocentesca, che vedeva con poca simpatia la convivenza di un vero e proprio articolo, considerato ‘recente’, con un ὅς in cui lo iato lasciato dalla eliminazione di /w/ era ancora percepibile. Shipp ha toccato il problema annotando seccamente “articular τὰ ᾗ” all’interno della trattazione delle forti innovazioni del libro 8 dell’*Iliade*.⁶⁰ Da qui ovviamente congetture, così p. es. in *Il.* 21, 305 ἐὼν μένος (Heyne) per τὸ ὄν μένος, in *Il.* 8, 430 ἐῖα φρονέων (Payne Knight) al posto di τὰ ᾗ φρονέων; l’atteggiamento di Martin West riguardo questi problemi nelle sue edizioni omeriche⁶¹ è estremamente ambiguo: corregge τὸ σὸν μένος in τεὸν μένος nell’*Iliade* anche quando non è attestato ma non si sogna di correggere p. es. a *Od.* 14, 153 ἰὼν τὰ ᾗ δώμαθ’ ἵκηται in ἰὼν ἐὰ δώμαθ’ ἵκηται). D’altra parte sostituire ἐὰ a τὰ ᾗ spesso non è privo di problemi perché ἐὰ comincia con una vocale, τὰ ᾗ con una consonante.

In realtà in alcuni casi ci possono essere state modificazioni di forme antiche, ma in altri casi τὸ ὄν, τὰ ᾗ sono stati in questa forma da sempre, sono ineliminabili dal nostro testo omerico e provano che l’articolo come lo conosciamo dalla poesia di età classica ha cominciato ad essere usato nel testo omerico a epoca abbastanza antica. Credo sia ancora valido quello che sosteneva Wackernagel nelle *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, cioè che la mancanza di articolo in Omero viene “dalla più oscura preistoria”;⁶² il problema (generalmente, mi sembra, male inquadrato) è che l’uso dell’articolo in una forma molto simile a quella dell’attico classico

⁵⁹ Di **hw-* è stato eliminato **w-* ma è rimasta ovviamente l’aspirazione – almeno nelle recitazioni in dialetti non psilotici – presente nel nostro testo omerico.

⁶⁰ SHIPP (21972) 64.

⁶¹ WEST (1998-2000), (2017).

⁶² WACKERNAGEL (21928) 129 = (2009) 559.

è sicuramente più recente dell'“oscura preistoria” ma comunque molto più antico di quanto si ritenga di solito.

Sono proprio questi casi di τὰ ᾗ, e soprattutto alcuni di essi, che sono stati il meccanismo formale sul quale si è basato l'autore dell'epigramma di Xanthos per il suo τὰ ᾗπαντα. Se guardate di nuovo le occorrenze, noterete che ci sono quattro esametri (uno nell'*Iliade* e quello dell'*Odissea* ripetuto tre volte), che hanno un participio al nominativo maschile singolare immediatamente di fronte a τὰ ᾗ:

- Il.* 12, 280: νιφέμεν ἀνθρώποισι **πιφασκόμενος τὰ ᾗ** κῆλα
Od. 9, 250; 9, 310; 9, 343: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σπεῦσε
πονησάμενος τὰ ᾗ ἔργα
 'Xanthos': [Γέ]ρ[γ]ις ὅδε Ἀρπάγο<υ> υἷος, **ἀριστεύσας τὰ**
ᾗπαντα

Il τὰ ᾗ nato per i pronomi è stato utilizzato in 'Xanthos' come grimaldello per utilizzare ᾗπαντα in una posizione metrica inattaccabilmente omerica.

Considerando il problema complessivamente credo che le cose siano andate più o meno così: il modello base è stato il verso omerico su Nestore a proposito di Ecamele

- Il.* 11, 627: ἔξελον οὐνεκα βουλῇ **ἀριστεύεσκεν ἀπάντων**
 cfr. 'Xanthos' 5: [Γέ]ρ[γ]ις ὅδε Ἀρπάγο<υ> υἷος **ἀριστεύσας**
τὰ ᾗπαντα

che tra l'altro non conteneva solamente il verbo ἀριστεύειν seguito da un genitivo, ma anche, con il dativo βουλῇ, l'ambito della superiorità, che 'Xanthos' ha poi espresso, a proposito di Xeriga, con il dativo [χε]ρσί nel verso successivo. Una volta sostituita la forma finita ἀριστεύεσκεν con un participio questo modello omerico è stato per così dire 'fuso' con l'altro rappresentato da πονησάμενος τὰ ᾗ ἔργα e versi simili.

Il problema dell'autore di 'Xanthos', rispetto al verso omerico dell'undicesimo libro, era duplice: (1) non poteva mettere immediatamente un verbo finito come Omero (ἀριστεύεσκεν) perché aveva bisogno di participi che descrivessero le attività di Xeriga, e precisamente ἀριστεύσας con riferimento alle vittorie nella lotta in epoca giovanile, e πέρσας in riferimento alle città

conquistate, per arrivare così quattro versi dopo al verbo finito δῶκε. Né (2) poteva legare immediatamente il concetto di ἀριστεύειν ad ἀπάντων come Omero, perché aveva bisogno di specificare esattamente a chi, e in quale ambito, Xeriga in epoca giovanile era stato superiore: *ai Lici* nella lotta con le mani ([χε]ρσὶ πάλην). A questo punto sono entrati in gioco i vari ἀριστεύειν di tragedia, particolarmente Soph. *Trach.* 488 πάντ' ἀριστεύων χεροῖν. In sostanza l'autore di 'Xanthos' si è trovato di fronte al problema di sistemare metricamente un ἀριστεύσας πάντα alla fine di un esametro, e a questo punto ha fuso il meccanismo dei participi omerici seguiti da τὰ ᾗ, tipo πονησάμενος τὰ ᾗ ἔργα, con l'uso, sempre omerico, di ᾗπαντα finale, creando τὰ ᾗπαντα. Ovviamente lo scritto che noi abbiamo, ΤΑΑΠΑΝΤΑ, può essere interpretato in due modi, (1) τὰ ᾗπαντα e (2) τὰ ᾗ πάντα, ma mi sembra difficile un testo in cui si dice che Xeriga ha superato *in tutte le sue cose* i coetanei nella lotta. Si tratta di un'ambiguità puramente formale, eliminata sia dal senso che dalla enorme frequenza delle forme con ᾗπαντ- in fine assoluta di esametro.

Questo, che sembrerebbe un problema interpretativo limitato a un testo specifico, potrebbe in realtà servire ad aprire una discussione su un problema poco frequentato riguardante il *Nachleben* della lingua omerica. Come abbiamo visto, gli antichi ὅς possessivi preceduti da articolo sono ben attestati, anche se non frequenti,⁶³ e in teoria potrebbero costituire un modello per la poesia successiva. Accanto a τὸ ὄν μένος sarebbero in teoria possibili p. es. τὸ ὄν γένος e τὸ ὄν λέχος; accanto a τὰ ᾗ ἔργα e τὰ ᾗ τεύχεα p. es. τὰ ᾗ τόξα, τὰ ᾗ δῶρα, τὰ ᾗ μῆδεα, τὰ ᾗ δῆνεα, τὰ ᾗ πένθεα. Ma nella poesia esametrica successiva a Omero non si trovano mai: né quelli attestati in Omero, né eventuali altri. L'utilizzazione come modello formale da parte dell'autore di 'Xanthos' sembra essere un caso isolato. E per

⁶³ "The combination of the possessive ὅς with the article is not common, occurring only eight times in the *Iliad* and six in the *Odyssey*": LEAF (²1900) 361, *ad Il.* 8, 430.

quanto ho potuto vedere finora, questo vale anche per τὰ σά, nonostante una notevole frequenza in Omero, soprattutto nella frase τὰ σὰ γούνα/γούνατα.

È molto probabile che questo dipenda dalla volontà degli autori postomerici di comporre esametri facendo proprie le caratteristiche che più allontanavano la lingua epica da quella colloquiale, in cui gli articoli con i possessivi erano all'ordine del giorno (τὰ ἐμὰ δῶρα, τὰ σὰ ἔργα; il possessivo ὅς era uscito dall'uso in attico, e forse la sua unione con un vero e proprio articolo era sentita più tardi come innaturale). Questo punto appartiene a un tema più vasto, che varrebbe la pena approfondire: quanto di Omero è stato tacitamente rifiutato perché percepito come *umgangssprachlich*.

4. Conclusione

In conclusione la laminetta di Hipponion e l'epigramma di Xanthos ci danno ambedue la misura di quanto la lingua di Omero fosse per così dire indispensabile e nello stesso tempo di quanto fosse manipolabile. In ambedue i casi gli epigrammi dipendono da un testo poetico precedente (in un caso perduto, nell'altro conservato), a sua volta dipendente da Omero; la fonologia ionica di Omero in parte ha resistito, in parte ha dovuto cedere alla forza di altre realtà dialettali, ma la situazione è molto diversa nei due casi, perché a Hipponion le modificazioni dell'originale ionico sono avvenute in una colonia greca, di dialetto dorico ma sempre greca, mentre l'epigramma di Xanthos è una pianta omerico-attica (molto attica) cresciuta in un terreno linguisticamente straniero. Per quanto riguarda Hipponion, un φρασὶ πειναλίμυσι ci mette di fronte al problema di come circolasse linguisticamente Omero perché insinua il dubbio che p. es. φρασὶ non sia una 'traduzione' dell'omerico φρεσί nella forma φρασὶ usata dal più conservatore dialetto dorico di Hipponion, ma che sia semplicemente 'copiata' da un archetipo che presentava ancora l'antico φρασὶ a sua volta preso

da un testo omerico che è stato successivamente modernizzato con *φρεσί*, e solo in questa forma modernizzata è arrivato fino a noi; nello stesso tempo la menzione delle *φρένες πευκάλιμαι* dei guardiani dell'Ade dimostra che la memoria di interi passi di Omero poteva condurre un poeta mediocre a creare frasi piuttosto ridicole.

A Xanthos si passa dal mondo di un testo sigillato in una tomba a quello di un epigramma pretensioso pensato per la celebrazione ufficiale e pubblica di un importantissimo personaggio di nazionalità e lingua licio, insieme sepolto e raffigurato in un monumento grandioso: in un mondo in cui si parlava licio un epigramma in greco viene incastonato in mezzo a un testo in licio come pezzo di prestigio mirato a dare a un dinasta microasiatico una dimensione internazionale.

L'epigramma ha alle spalle Omero e tutta la pompa del monumento dei caduti ateniesi a Cipro celebrati nell'epigramma di 'Simonide', del quale si cita integralmente il primo verso – una maniera abbastanza *naïve* di crearsi un retroterra grandioso; e, cosa abbastanza tipica per un'area periferica, i toni trionfalistici dell'epigramma di 'Simonide', pensato per ricordare un gran numero di caduti in battaglie vittoriose per terra e per mare, sono applicati in maniera piuttosto goffa all'erezione di un monumento per un singolo personaggio.

Il testo e la lingua presentano grandi contraddizioni: accanto ai complessi intrecci di reminiscenze omeriche che abbiamo visto, una quasi-citazione esiodea e molto lessico, morfologia e prosodia attica, troviamo in *βασιλείας* = υ υ – un trattamento prosodico sorprendente, anticipatore di consonantizzazioni che sono altrimenti attestate per la prima volta in età imperiale. *Βασιλεία* è una parola non omerica e non poetica, che troviamo per la prima volta in Erodoto e con la quale questo poeta, molto dotto ma la cui madrelingua forse non era il greco, ha creduto di potersi permettere delle libertà che altri non avrebbero avuto il coraggio di permettersi.

Credo di poter terminare con le parole dei *Sibyllinische Blätter* di Hermann Diels che ho citato all'inizio: "selbst innerhalb

dieser Schranken hat die Individualität der Dichter sich freier bewegt als man zuweilen annimmt”.⁶⁴

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⁶⁴ DIELS (1890) 59.

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DISCUSSION

O. Tribulato: Vorrei ritornare sulla tua proposta che dietro i vv. 7-8 della lamina di Hipponion ci sia il modello di *Il.* 8. A me sembra che questo modello non riguardi solo l'ambientazione dell'oltretomba e del ruolo dei suoi guardiani (Ade, i φύλακες), ma anche più in generale la presenza dell'acqua come elemento caratterizzante. In entrambi i passi abbiamo menzione di ὕδωρ e di forme derivate dalla radice ῥέω (πρորέον in Hipponion e ῥέεθρα in *Il.* 8, 369). Nel v. 7 inoltre trovo molto interessante la forma psilotica ἐπύπερθεν: non è quella che si trova normalmente in Omero e sembra una sorta di 'hapax dialettale', che però non si può spiegare come influsso del dialetto dorico locale. Deve venire da versioni psilotiche del testo omerico, credo. Un fatto interessante è che questo stesso avverbio (nella forma ἐφύπερθεν) è usato in *Od.* 17, 210, significativamente in versi nei quali nuovamente si parla di acqua, c'è una fonte e ricorre lo stesso sintagma ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ insieme a una forma di ῥέω (ψυχρὸν ῥέεν ὕδωρ, v. 209). Potrebbe essere che chi ha usato *Il.* 8, 366 ss. in modo così attento al significato profondo del testo abbia avuto in mente anche questo passo odissiaco. Il che ci fa tornare al discorso delle ragioni che motivano il riuso di alcune forme omeriche nella poesia di età successiva: non entra in gioco solo il prestigio della forma in sé, ma anche la volontà di alludere o rievocare il contesto in cui quella forma era usata in Omero.

Inoltre, il tuo trattamento della laminetta di Hipponion ci pone di fronte alla questione di come potesse essere adattata la dizione epica in un contesto locale non ionico e questo vale naturalmente anche per testi come quello della laminetta, che furono composti in ionico ma 'tradotti' nel dialetto dorico della Magna Grecia. Ho trovato una delle tue conclusioni molto

interessanti: che *φρασί* non vada necessariamente letto come adattamento locale del *φρεσί* omerico, ma che possa essere stato un elemento contenuto nel testo omerico prima di un suo aggiornamento. Questa spiegazione potrebbe anche farsi per l'occorrenza di *φρασί* nei cosiddetti *Getty Hexameters* (v. 24). Come nel caso della lamina di Hipponion i *Getty Hexameters* si presentano con una facies superficiale dorica, ma ci sono anche alcuni ionismi o è comunque possibile ricostruire una facies ionica più antica. Eppure si tende a pensare che il testo originario dovesse essere stato in dorico. A mio avviso è abbastanza probabile che i *Getty Hexameters* avessero alla base un testo ionico successivamente riadattato in parte al dorico: *φρασί* non deve essere necessariamente un dorismo, ma è semplicemente un arcaismo o, come tu hai sostenuto per Hipponion, un possibile tratto epico antico successivamente sparito nel testo omerico. Un altro elemento che mi fa pensare che il testo più antico dei *Getty* avesse presente un testo omerico arcaico, forse di produzione locale, è uno degli usi erranei del segno per l'aspirazione davanti ad *ἔπεα*. Ci sono altri errori di questo tipo nei *Getty*, ma l'erronea aspirazione di *ἔπεα* appare comunque sorprendente, visto che la parola non è così rara in greco. Una spiegazione possibile è che chi ha inciso i *Getty Hexameters* avesse di fronte un testo che usava *Ῐέπεα* e che ha trascritto erroneamente facendo confusione tra il *digamma* che trovava scritto e il segno di mezza *êta* (piuttosto simile a *digamma*) che usava per notare le aspirazioni nei *Getty*. Il verso in cui occorre *ἔπεα* è καὶ τὰδ' ἐφώνησας ἔπε' ἀθάνατα θνητοῖσιν: in cui la sequenza ΤΑΔΕ-ΦΩΝΗΣΑΣ si può leggere in due modi diversi. Ma naturalmente la presenza di *digamma* che fa posizione è necessaria per l'interpretazione del verbo come seconda persona dell'aoristo. In pratica, mi sembra probabile che chi ha scritto o rimaneggiato questo verso inserendo *digamma* avesse ben presente la situazione epica e particolarmente quei versi in cui il *digamma* era necessario per allungare la sillaba precedente. Ora, uno di questi versi è il verso formulare ὅς μιν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, dove *ἔπεα* occorre nella stessa posizione che

nei *Getty*. Avremmo dunque un'imitazione/riuso di dizione omerica con *digamma* preservato adattato alle esigenze del dettato e forse abbastanza probabile in un contesto di produzione (l'Italia meridionale) in cui *wau* e il *digamma* si sono conservati fino alla fine del V secolo.

A. Cassio: Sì, come ho detto nel mio intervento, Lucia Prauscello ha integrato la mia analisi, originariamente puramente formale, del rapporto tra i versi 8 e 9 di *Hipp.* e *Iliade* 8, 366 ss. facendomi notare la rilevanza sostanziale della presenza di Ade *πυλάρτης* nel testo omerico. Non è affatto escluso, come tu suggerisci, che anche il passo di *Odissea* 17, con la descrizione della fonte che si trova prima dell'*asty* di Itaca e l'altare delle Ninfe costruito *ἐφύπερθε*, abbiano avuto un ruolo nell'elaborazione dei due versi di *Hipp.*, anche perché in Omero la fonte di acqua davanti alla quale avviene l'incontro di Ulisse con l'odioso Melanzio ha in un certo modo anch'essa un ruolo di 'luogo di transito' decisivo prima dell'ingresso di Ulisse stesso nella città.

Quanto a *ἥπεα/ῥέπεα* il suggerimento è indubbiamente interessante, anche se tutta la situazione delle aspirazioni nei *Getty Hexameters* presenta problemi di grande complessità.⁶⁵

S.D. Olson: You have identified – as no one has done before – a specific intertext for line 8 of the Hipponion gold-foil text in Athena's self-description in *Iliad* 8, 366. You go on to argue that the Homeric echo is purely associative: the Hipponion poet meant nothing in particular by his use of *ἐνὶ φρασὶ πευκαλίμῃσι* in connection with the sentries in Hades, and what we have here is the word of a mediocre poet, who thought of the mention of the Underworld in *Iliad* 8 (thematically relevant to his own purposes) and patched in a half-line borrowed from there. But the Hipponion poem is fundamentally about

⁶⁵ Vedi ora C.M. LUCARINI (2018), "Il nuovo peana misterico-pitagorico di Selinunte", *ZPE* 205, 24-37.

memory and its consequences, and given that context, I wonder if it is necessary to be quite so dismissive of its recollection of Homer. The passage from the *Iliad*, after all, does not simply mention Hades, but is specifically an account of a descent there and of the dangers it posed. It also exposes the desperate need for a patron deity in such situations, while hinting at the divine politics that complicate human encounters with the world of the dead, all in the context of the stories of two great, profoundly human heroes, Heracles and Hector. Put another way, line 8 of the Hipponion text seems to point directly and emphatically at *Iliad* 8. Whatever we think of the general quality of the thought or the poetry, to say nothing of the theology, it seems worth considering how our reading of the text might be enriched by taking seriously its proposal as to the larger literary context in which it should be considered, i.e. how we ought to see it remembering and reworking Homer.

In line 5 of the Xanthos text, you nicely bring out what appears to be the complicated compositional history of ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα. As you show, the poet seems to be trying to write in what he takes to be a passable Homeric fashion, even if he is in one sense unsuccessful at this. My reading of your argument is that you take the hiatus to represent clumsy poetic technique. Without exactly disputing this, I wonder if an alternative and perhaps more productive way of considering the matter might be to interpret the poet's violation of a basic principle of Greek verse as a telling sign of his intense interest in saying precisely what these three words communicate. "Being the best in everything", after all, might easily be understood as a summary version of Gergis' account of himself in the poem as a whole: he has been victorious in sports, in war, and even in one-on-one combat, and he has of course also erected the greatest monument of all time. That the author has paid a price for the manner in which he has expressed himself is beyond dispute. But I suggest that a more charitable approach to his incompetence might be taken to shed light on why he has chosen to pay this price exactly here.

A. Cassio: Yes, I agree with you on both counts. I put too much emphasis on the formal side of the relationship of *Hipponion* with Homer, yet, as Lucia Prauscello, Olga Tribulato, and now you yourself have remarked, Hera's speech in *Iliad* 8 and her mention of Hades *πυλάρτης* in the context of Heracles' abduction of Cerberus from the underworld make the ties between the obligatory passage guarded by the *φύλακες* in *Hipponion* and *Iliad* 8, 366 ff. much stronger and far more significant than I had thought.

As for 'Xanthos', yes, the mention of *all* the dynast's victories was necessary and obviously came at a price in formal terms. Probably the price seems higher to a modern specialist than it seemed to the ancient poet who composed the epigram.

A. Willi: It seems very plausible to me that the *Hipponion* text responds to the Homeric intertext in *Iliad* 8 more on a formal level than on the level of content, even if there is the general 'underworld' theme that undoubtedly connects the two. I even wonder whether there is not another indication that the association worked primarily in this way. The *Hipponion* text uses the verbal form *ἐξερεεῖς* in a way that is rather untypical for Homer: in Homer, *ἐξερέω* essentially means "to enquire about" (and also "to search through"), but not "to search for something", as it does here; we again find this latter meaning only in much later epic. However, the use of the therefore somewhat unexpected verb *ἐξερέω* in the *Hipponion* text might be almost mechanically triggered by the resulting assonance with the Homeric lines in question: compare *ἐξερε(ῖ)ς* /*ekserē(w)eis*/ in line 9 of the *Hipponion* tablet (just after *ἐν φρασὶ πευκαλίμαιοι*) with Homer's *ἐξ Ἑρέβους* /*eks Erebeus*/ in *Il.* 8, 368 (again soon after *ἐν φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν*).

Having said that, perhaps we do not do complete justice to the way our anonymous 'Orphic' poet worked if we play out association by content against association by form, as if these could not be conceived of as complementary. In the background

of such ‘Orphic’ texts, there might well have been a tradition of reading Homer allegorically, and hence of allowing for additional layers of meaning beneath the surface; after all, for example, a poet like Empedocles often seems to intimate new ‘true’ *signifiés* for what at first sight look like perfectly Homeric *signifiants*. Anyone who would have adopted such a frame of mind might not then have been ready to agree that “εἰρήσονται ἐνὶ φρασί hat keinen Sinn”, merely because that *Sinn* is not instantly obvious.

Turning to the Xanthos text, I wonder if there are not reasons to suspect that the written rather than oral tradition of Homer had some influence on its reuse of Homeric language. Scheller’s explanation of the odd βασιλέας may not be the only possible one – maybe this form is not, after all, so very important for the history of Ancient Greek phonology, nor on its own sufficient to postulate a very late (and “ungeschliffen”) prosodic treatment of -είας. Could it not be that the poet who wrote the Xanthos text (a) would normally – and in a not very remarkable way – resort to spelling βασιλείας as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ, but (b) know at the same time that an ending written as -ΕΑΣ could in epic language undergo synizesis; because of (b), he would then have ‘inferred’ an anapaestic value for his own ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ (in the sense of βασιλείας), as it were forgetting – because of the surface similarity *in writing* – that his was in fact a rather different case?

Finally, you have pertinently highlighted the strong Attic presence in the Xanthos text; but how are we to actually make sense of this – at a time when Attic is only just beginning to assert its role as the main language of prose and when it has virtually no significance in poetry (beyond the realm of drama, which does not seem very relevant here)?

A. Cassio: The suggestion that the presence of the “somewhat unexpected verb ἐξέρω” in the Hipponion text is due to an almost mechanical assonance with Homer’s ἐξ Ἑρέβους is very interesting and, I believe, highly probable.

As to 'Xanthos', your points are highly significant and likely to belong together. When you speak of Homeric written models for the "strange" prosody of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ (υ υ – = βασιλείας), I suppose you are thinking of such Homeric instances as e.g. *Il.* 15, 66 Ἰλίου προπάροιθε πολέας ὀλέσαντ' αἰζηρούς in which πολέας must have replaced an older acc. plur. πολῦς and must be scanned disyllabically like its predecessor (note, for what it is worth, that ΠΟΛΕΑΣ ends in -λέας like ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ). In other words, in your opinion the unusual prosody of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ was modelled on forms that were very different genetically but written with the same sequence of letters. If this were accepted, and I feel inclined to accept it, my main suspicion concerning the poet of 'Xanthos' would be strengthened, namely, that he was a Lycian with remarkable, and yet basically bookish, knowledge of Greek. This would also square well with both his slavish imitation of an epigram meant for an extraordinary Athenian military success and the overwhelming presence of Attic phonology in his lines.

In the last decades of the fifth century BC relations between Lycia and Athens were remarkably tense, as is clear e.g. from the disastrous expedition of the Athenian general Melesandros (*Thuc.* 2, 69), whose name is attested in the Lycian text of the Xanthos Pillar as *milasântrâ*. Yet, not surprisingly, Athenian culture was perceived as prestigious in Lycia (cf. e.g. Keen [1998] *passim* and p. 130 on Lycian coins showing Xeriga wearing an Attic helmet). A Lycian intellectual/poet was probably more inclined than a native speaker of Greek to interpret Athenian culture as *the* Greek culture *par excellence*, and so to intersperse his epigram with Attic phonology to an extent that we find almost embarrassing for a hexameter composition of that chronological level. In any case the influence of tragedy should not be underrated: after all in the 'Simonides' epigram μέγα δ' ἔστενεν Ἀσίς is taken wholesale from Aeschylus' πρόπασα μὲν στένει / γαῖ' Ἀσίς.

Looking at things from this angle I have the impression that (a) your explanation, and (b) Meinrad Scheller's interpretation of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ (υ υ –) as a signal of "ungeschliffen-provinzielle

Sprache” and as “Vorwegnahme spätgriechischen Lautstandes” are not mutually exclusive. If you are right, the ‘Xanthos’ poet created an instance of ‘innovative prosody’ starting from a pseudo-analogy based on writing; but the result was something that the average Greek poet of the time would, I believe, accurately have avoided, and that is in fact attested much later, when the phonology of Greek had undergone a number of irreversible changes.

L. Prauscello: This is not a real question but rather a small observation. I found very interesting what you said about the possibility of seeing in *φρασί* not, as is commonly supposed, a Doric element ascribable to the local dialect (Doric) spoken at Hipponion but an archaism going back to the original Homeric text. I wondered whether it may not be relevant that the form *φρασίν* is also found in the Attic funerary epigram *CEG* 28 (540-530 BC): apart from *φρασίν* the language of this epigram is entirely Attic-Ionic. In this context it would make much more sense to take *φρασίν* as an original Homeric feature rather than a Dorism, especially since the *iunctura* ἄλλα + μενοινάω is clearly Homeric (e.g. νόος δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοινᾷ). The fact that in Stesichorus we have at least once the form *φρασ-* (fr. 223, 18 Finglass ἐνὶ φρασίν) is, of course, less decisive in this respect.

A. Cassio: Yes, I completely agree, and *φρασίν* in *CEG* 28 is certainly significant. Many Homeric forms must have circulated for centuries in a shape much older than the one we find in our manuscripts and papyri. It is well known that Homeric πρόφρασσα was created “sur le modèle de Φερασσα” (A. Meillet, *BSL* 22 [1920] 22), which we read in the modernized form ἐκοῦσα. And by the same token the feminine participle of the verb “to be” must have circulated in the archaic form ἔασσα for a long time before being replaced by ‘modern’ ἐοῦσα.

A. Vatri: Alcuni storici (tra cui Musti) hanno osservato che la democrazia radicale ateniese aveva sviluppato (ed esportato)

un 'programma grafico': l'impatto visivo delle iscrizioni ufficiali doveva evocare razionalità, chiarezza e trasparenza. Il prestigio della scrittura stoichedica nell'Atene 'imperiale' è spesso letto precisamente in questo senso. Qual è il layout epigrafico dell'iscrizione di Xanthos? La sua posizione sul monumento doveva renderla poco leggibile, ma è possibile che l'impatto visivo dello specchio scrittorio potesse di per sé evocare le iscrizioni ateniesi? Se sì, è possibile interpretare gli atticisimi in questa connessione? Ed è possibile interpretare la stranezza della posizione dei due pentametri e della prosodia di βασιλέας come indicazioni del fatto che l'iscrizione fosse stata pensata in primo luogo come segno visivo più che in relazione alla ricezione fonico/aurale del testo?

A. Cassio: Grazie per aver sottolineato l'importanza di aspetti dell'epigramma greco di Xanthos su cui, anche per ragioni di tempo, non mi sono soffermato nella mia esposizione. Sia il testo come tale sia la sua disposizione materiale sulla pietra presentano numerosi problemi e per certi aspetti delle vistose contraddizioni. Il testo dell'epigramma è inciso *stoichedon*, ma basta dare un'occhiata al testo in Licio B immediatamente sottostante per capire che quest'ultimo (che sembra essere anch'esso un testo poetico) è uno *stoichedon* perfetto mentre quello dell'epigramma è al confronto parecchio irregolare. Questo naturalmente non vuol dire che non sia uno *stoichedon* calcolato. Inoltre il testo licio arriva fino al punto più in basso possibile della superficie iscritta, ed è quindi almeno nella sezione finale facile da leggere, mentre l'epigramma si trova piuttosto in alto, tra i due tipi di testo licio, ed è molto meno facile da decifrare per chi legge dal basso. E comunque il lato nord del pilastro, quello sul quale è iscritto l'epigramma, doveva essere meno importante rispetto al lato sud, come sembra evidente dall'orientamento sul lato sud della statua del dinasta e dei rilievi marmorei più significativi (Domingo Gygax / Tietz [2005] 94).

D'altra parte mi sembra evidente che chi ha composto l'epigramma non ha 'tirato via', ma aveva ben presente soprattutto

due modelli, ‘Simonide’ e Omero, ed ha per così dire rincarato la dose di attico ben presente in ‘Simonide’ creando una composizione che dal punto di vista fonologico e morfologico somiglia molto agli epigrammi attici su pietra; e credo che sia giusta l’idea che lo *stoichedon* del greco sia coerente con l’atticità fonologica del testo. D’altra parte è certamente legittimo chiedersi se “l’iscrizione fosse stata pensata in primo luogo come segno visivo più che in relazione alla ricezione fonico/aurale del testo”, ma ritengo che in questo caso ci sarebbero probabilmente molte più irregolarità di quelle che abbiamo. Anche un fatto sorprendente, come il trattamento prosodico ∪ ∪ – di βασιλέας (= βασιλέας) potrebbe essere giustificato, come ha sostenuto Andreas Willi, con estensioni di usi omerici a partire da un testo scritto; quindi in questo caso una specie di ‘errore dotto’.

F. Schironi: Just a short remark on the Xanthos epigram, line 7: while normally referring to mortal men, *πτολίπορθος* in fact once refers to Ares (*Il.* 20, 152) and once to a female goddess (*Il.* 5, 333), οὗτ’ ἄρ’ Ἀθηνᾶν οὔτε πτολίπορθος Ἐνυώ. So I wonder whether the composer of the Xanthos epigram is echoing this line in the *Iliad*, which is the only place where *πτολίπορθος* is referred to a female goddess. In the epigram it refers to Athena but Athena is also present in the Homeric line and, given its position in the line, the adjective *πτολίπορθος* can almost be considered as referring both to Athena and Enyo. If this is the case, I wonder which type of intertextual reference there is behind the epigrammatic echoing (for example, is it an operation similar to what we have in the Hipponion tablet with *Il.* 8, 366 ff.?).

A. Cassio: Yes, you are right. At *Il.* 5, 333 *πτολίπορθος* formally refers to the goddess Enyo (unique to *Iliad* 5), but Athena is mentioned immediately before (οὗτ’ ἄρ’ Ἀθηνᾶν οὔτε πτολίπορθος Ἐνυώ) and it is evident that both goddesses, Athena and Enyo, are presented as warlike deities as opposed to “cowardly” Kypris (*Il.* 5, 330 ff.); so it is far from improbable that

the composer of this epigram had those lines of *Iliad* 5 in mind. ‘Xanthos’ line 7 is probably a blend of Lycian Maliya (Eriyupama?) and the warlike Athena of *Iliad* 5.

F. Dell’Oro: D’abord, je souhaite revenir sur un aspect qui relève de ce que tu as appelé le “laboratoire” du poète de ‘Xanthos’, notamment ses choix en matière d’agencement métrique des vers, mais aussi sur la diffusion du distique élégiaque. Il faut tout d’abord relever que l’influence du modèle (l’épigramme attribuée à Simonide) a été tellement forte au niveau lexical que, lorsqu’il a repris tout simplement quelques mots d’un hexamètre (οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον qui devient [ο]ὐδέες πω ... τοιάνδ’), ou même un seul mot d’un pentamètre (ἔργον qui devient [ἔρ]γων), au deuxième et au quatrième vers respectivement, le rédacteur de l’épigramme de Xanthos a gardé, de manière mécanique, le même type de vers qu’on trouve dans le modèle, alors que l’agencement des vers qui en résulte – deux hexamètres suivis de deux pentamètres – s’éloigne beaucoup des distiques élégiaques du modèle. Il en va de même pour les quatre hexamètres finaux. Si, dans une aire périphérique non grecque, un rédacteur qui avait un modèle clairement structuré en distiques élégiaques a pris la liberté d’agencer les vers d’une manière différente, il me semble qu’il devait probablement avoir une certaine connaissance des pratiques épigraphiques grecques, surtout de celles qui précèdent la fin du V^e siècle, lorsque l’agencement des vers apparaît en effet plus libre qu’il ne le sera par la suite. Ou crois-tu que ce choix relève aussi de la gaucherie du rédacteur de l’épigramme de Xanthos?

Ensuite, je me demandais si, dans l’épigramme de Xanthos, nous pouvons voir une influence directe des épigrammes attiques plutôt que génériquement du dialecte attique. La mise en page s’inspire clairement du style *stoichedon*, ce qui pourrait renvoyer à un modèle athénien.

A. Cassio: Oui, comme on vient de le souligner, le *stoichedon* est certainement un élément athénien de l’épigramme, lui aussi.

Pour le reste, les savants modernes sont trop habitués aux épigrammes littéraires qui montrent une alternance parfaite hexamètre – pentamètre. En effet, l'alternance des vers dans les compositions poétiques que nous lisons sur pierre (dont on trouve une liste à peu près complète dans Ceccarelli [1996] 14-17) nous apprend qu'on pouvait enfreindre les 'règles' avec une certaine facilité. Je pense que la 'gaucherie' de l'épigramme est plutôt liée aux concepts (la séparation de l'Europe de l'Asie mise en cause à propos de la construction d'un monument funéraire...); les distiques épigraphiques 'irréguliers' étaient probablement considérés comme plus normaux dans l'Antiquité que nous ne sommes prêts à le croire aujourd'hui.

L. Huitink: I have a question on how we should envisage a poem like the one on the inscribed column of Xanthos to have come about. For instance, you describe the 'formula' ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα in terms of a conflation between two Homeric formulas. Do you mean that the poet of the 'Xanthos' poem consciously and deliberately combined these formulas in his own line or, rather, that ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα has a general Homeric 'ring' to it (and perhaps derives from the poet having HomERICALLY influenced 'jingles' of appropriate line ends in mind)? Related to that is a question about the audience of this and other inscribed poems. What do they (or, better, what are they supposed to) make of such 'Homeric-sounding' poetry? Are they meant to detect specific influences or merely to detect an epic 'veneer'? I should add that I find the latter option more likely, but also problematic: for if such a poem is generally 'epic', is it not easily perceived as falling short of epic? Or do such poems come with different audience expectations?

A. Cassio: Your questions raise very important points, among them the nature of the cleavage between the values of the poet and those of the audience. To begin with, the initial lines of 'Xanthos' depend slavishly on the 'Simonides' epigram, which was a written text from the start (read by the author of 'Xanthos' on

the monument itself or from a copy?). On the other hand, the author may have been aware of the Homeric text from both written texts and recitations. Memorization of Homer was far more obvious in antiquity than we imagine now, and 'welding' different passages must have come naturally to those who composed poetic texts. To my mind there was no special effort on the poet's part; I suppose that he simply combined passages he remembered well and regarded as suitable to his composition.

As to the audience (better described as 'readers' in the specific case of 'Xanthos'), the appreciation of the poetic qualities of the text must have been much more difficult *then*, since the ancients had a text engraved at a certain height and not immediately easy to read. We have the advantage of being able to reason on the basis of a transcribed text; this might have been possible in antiquity, too (the epigram was evidently written on stone starting from a text on papyrus), but we do not know whether a text on papyrus was circulated at all. Besides, most readers must have been speakers of Lycian, so only in certain cases may they have been able to appreciate all the niceties – or the shortcomings – of that text.

My opinion is that it is virtually impossible to form a convincing idea of how 'Xanthos' was perceived in antiquity. And in general, even in more obvious contexts – say, an Athenian citizen reading at ease one of the many epigrams on stone in the city – the level of appreciation of the text must have strongly depended on the cultural level and sensitivity of each reader.

II

LUCIA PRAUSCELLO

GREEK LYRIC *KUNSTSPRACHE* BETWEEN PAN-HELLENISM AND EPICHORIC INFLUENCE

TWO CASE-STUDIES

ABSTRACT

The interconnectedness of two linguistic registers, the ‘vernacular’ and the ‘more-than-local’ or ‘pan-Hellenic’, is a well-known characteristic of the *Kunstsprache* of Greek lyric. The two case-studies considered in this paper, Pindar’s *Olympian* 1 and a roughly contemporary Boeotian stone epigram of local production (*CEG* 114), exemplify opposite poles within the spectrum of linguistic possibilities available to the poets of archaic and classical Greece.

Texts, oral and written, are always conveyors of cultural dissemination. The fluid processes of transmission and reception, and especially the tension between the inherent ‘insularity’ of a literary text and, at the same time, its being an item within broader communicative economies, are elements which help to construct, with varying degrees of flexibility, the identity of the text itself. In the last two decades important literary studies on Greek lyric have explored this interplay between the local concerns raised by the

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text (the poet's, the patron's and the audience's) and the more-than-local diffusion of the song, both as encoded in the performative language of the text itself and as the product of its later reception, including, above all, its re-performances.¹ This literary interest has been matched by an ever increasing scholarly alertness to the composite nature, diachronically and synchronically, of the Greek lyric *Kunstsprache*, both at the point of composition (the interplay between inherited poetic traditions across genres and isolated epichoric influences, be they written or spoken) and reception (the superimposed editorial 'choices' of Alexandrian scholarship and previous traditions and the consequent 'interpretations' of the later grammatical tradition).²

In particular, recent studies have reminded us of the degree of linguistic cross-fertilization that existed not only between different genres (monodic and choral)³ but also within the same genre in the case of local performances or indeed

¹ Cf. now the concise survey in BUDELMANN (2018) 18-19. Performance studies have highlighted the importance of local and supra-local re-performances for the survival of lyric poetry through the ages and the process of canon-formation. On Pindaric epinician performances and re-performances, see e.g. the several installments by CURRIE (2004), (2011), and (2017); MORRISON (2007); and most recently SPELMAN (2018); cf. also HUBBARD (2011) on re-performances of non-epinician lyric; YATROMANOLAKIS (2007) on Sappho; CAREY (2011) on the dissemination and transmission of Alcman's poetry; RAWLES (2018) on Simonides' early reception; and more generally the collection of essays in HUNTER / RUTHERFORD (2009) and HUNTER / UHLIG (2017).

² For full-scale synchronic studies of the language of Greek lyric in general, see NÖTHIGER (1971) (esp. focused on Stesichorus and Ibycus) and FELSENTHAL (1980); updated critical surveys highlighting the main editorial problems posed by the transmission of Greek lyric poets are to be found in D'ALESSIO (2009); TRIBULATO (2010); (2016); and CASSIO (2016b). On the Aeolic features of Greek choral lyric, see CASSIO (2005). On the *Textgeschichte* of Alcman and Stesichorus from a dialectal point of view, see respectively CASSIO (1993a), (2007) and HINGE 2006 (Alcman), and CASSIO (1999) and WILLI (2008) 51-90 (Stesichorus). On Pindar, see FORSSMAN (1966), supplemented by UCCIARDELLO (2012); on Ibycus, UCCIARDELLO (2005). On the conceptual framework of ancient grammarians when dealing with literary dialectal texts, see CASSIO (1993b).

³ See esp. the recent contribution by D'ALESSIO (2016), who shows that the Atticizing veneer that colours the lyric *koinè* of some of Bacchylides' sympotic songs (BACCH. frs. 17, 18, 19, 20A, 20F, and 20G M.) is best understood not as the result of the process of transmission (Atticization of the lyric *koinè*) but as an original feature going back to the compositional stage: that is, sympotic songs

re-performances.⁴ This paper will attempt to reconsider some examples that showcase the complex linguistic and literary dynamics underlying the fact that Greek lyric poets addressed local audiences while at the same time promising pan-Hellenic renown. My focus will be on the interplay between local dialects and literary language and the often intricate and at times irrecoverable ways in which the co-presence of these elements is channeled into our transmission (oral and/or written). I have selected two case-studies that, though obviously different in terms of the written media used, are interrelated in that they both cast a light on the degree of linguistic ‘locality’ which can be expected in a literary text in both a pan-Hellenic and an epichoric context: (1) the presence of what modern scholarship seems unanimously to consider as rare but ‘certain’ examples of Boeotian dialect features in Pindar, namely the interrogative *τά* at *Ol.* 1, 82 and the word *αἰμαχοῦρίαι* at *Ol.* 1, 90; and (2) the presence of a non-Homeric Aeolic feature (a feminine participle in *-οισα*) in a Boeotian stone epigram of the fifth century BC (*CEG* 114). Although I do not have a new general interpretative framework to offer, I hope that fresh attention to well-known specific cases may help to highlight the overall complexity of the phenomenon under consideration and illustrate how only a case-by-case approach can do justice to the different constellations of the linguistic and literary problems involved.

1. Pindar the ‘Boeotian’

Like ancient scholars, modern ones, though with different motivations,⁵ also recognize that every Greek literary language or dialect is “rich in both variants and supra-regional forms,

meant for an Ionic and, more specifically, Athenian audience in the wake of the Anacreontic tradition of banquet songs.

⁴ This aspect has been recently discussed by CURRIE (2017) (esp. 188 and 204 on how pan-Hellenism need not exclude locality) from a pragmatic point of view (inclusiveness and/or exclusiveness of Pindaric epinician language).

⁵ See CASSIO (1993b).

[...] but nevertheless rooted in one particular primary dialect". Hence, distinctive or 'deviant' features in a given author are usually explained "through linguistic innovations, literary models from other genres, allusions, and the *spoken dialect forms of the author's home and elsewhere*".⁶ This last element, the assumption of the presence of vernacular idioms traced back to the spoken dialect of the hometown of a given poet, is an interpretative tool that goes back at least to the very beginning of Alexandrian philology.⁷ In ancient and Byzantine sources Pindar figures either as the model-author of literary Doric, that is, the literary *Kunstsprache* of Greek choral lyric,⁸ or, less frequently, as the representative of the *κοινή tout court*. This latter view, though anachronistic, makes perfect sense insofar as it sanctions Pindar's perceived linguistic excellence as *the lyric poet* within the Greek canon of οἱ πραττόμενοι.⁹ Although it is generally acknowledged that Pindar's use of features of his native Boeotian dialect is very sparse, if not almost entirely absent, in his poems,¹⁰ both ancients and moderns have occasionally identified such features in the extant works.¹¹ What counts as 'Boeotian' in

⁶ Both quotations are from FORSSMAN (2004) 1019 (italics are mine).

⁷ See e.g. ARISTOPH. BYZ. fr. 19 Slater on Lycophron's use of ἐσχάζουσιν (a Euboian/Chalcidian feature) at *Alex.* 21.

⁸ See Pausanias' well-known statement about Pindar using "the Doric dialect" (τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Δωριίδι) at PAUS. 9, 22, 3 (*vs.* Corinna's Boeotian dialect). For Pindar writing δωριζῶς, cf. e.g. the Geneva *Scholia in Il.* 23, 361 and EUST. *In Il.* 1, 162, 20 van der Valk. Cf. also NEGRI (2000) 111-112. It is worth remembering, however, that in the grammatical tradition the equation Pindar = Doric emerged quite late: it is entirely absent, e.g., from Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian: see already the remarks on the subject by AHRENS (1843) 25.

⁹ See NEGRI (2000) 108-112 and (1998) 541 with n. 7. Pindar as champion of the *koinē*: *Schol. in Dion. Thr.* (schol. Marc.) 309, 33-35 (cf. also IOH. PHIL. p. 99 Consani) and 567, 38 (*commentariol. Byz.*); [GREG. COR.] *Περὶ διαλέκτων* 12 Schäfer (on the probable spuriousness of this passage, see NEGRI [2000] 113 n. 3); EUST. *Prooem. comm. in Pind.* 8, 1-3 (for the expression λόγῳ κοινῇς, see KAMBYLIS [1991] 34-35 and NEGRI [2000] 108-112).

¹⁰ See e.g. THUMB / SCHERER (21959) 12.

¹¹ On ancient dialectal interest in the Pindaric scholia, see DRACHMANN III, pp. 355-356 *s.v.* "dialecti". Among modern scholars, cf. e.g. WILAMOWITZ (1922) 99 (and also WILAMOWITZ [1900] 48-49); FARNELL (1932) xx-xxi (mostly following DONALDSON [1846] lvi-vii); IRIGOIN (1952) 26-27; BUCK (21955) 300; CASEVITZ

Pindaric studies has undergone considerable change since, e.g., Farnell's excursus on 'Boeotian influences' in our poet, and it would not be entirely deprived of interest to go through these interpretative shifts.¹² Wilamowitz even posited the existence of a specifically Boeotian edition of Pindar's *opera omnia* on the basis of the transmitted οὐρανῶ at *Nem.* 3, 10, which he, correctly I think, interpreted as a genitive singular (modern editors print οὐρανοῦ).¹³ Yet, Irigoin cogently argued that the presence in the manuscript tradition of *Nem.* 3 of two short accusatives in -ος (l. 24 ὑπερόχος (codd. omnes), l. 29 ἐσλός in VⁱB¹D^d) "montre que cette hypothèse est trop précise".¹⁴ In what follows, however, I shall limit myself to a detailed examination of what is commonly described in handbooks as the only *certain* cases of "ausgesprochener Boeotismus"¹⁵ in Pindar: the interrogative τὰ in *Ol.* 1, 82 and the word αἰμακουρία at l. 90 of the same ode.

(1972); TOVAR (1974). On 'editorial' Boeotian forms in Pindaric papyri, mostly limited to toponyms and proper names (where the Boeotian veneer concerns morphematic endings, that is, those elements that are more subject to the linguistic attitude of the copyist), see CASSIO (2002) 61-62 (on this issue see further § 1.2). The hunt for (pseudo-)Boeotisms in Hesiod, another 'Boeotian' poet, has its own interesting history: see recently CASSIO (2009) 193-196.

¹² Even in less distant times, it has been suggested (very idiosyncratically) that the Boeotian dialect may be responsible for the prevalence in Pindar of forms without the third compensatory lengthening: see NÖTHIGER (1971) 32.

¹³ IRIGOIN (1952) 27, referring to WILAMOWITZ (1900) 48-49 and (1922) 276 n. 2: *Nem.* 3, 10-11 ἄρχε δ' οὐρανῶ (mss) πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ, / δόκιμον ὕμνον "but begin for the ruler of the cloud-covered sky, daughter, a proper hymn". Aristarchus, as we infer from the scholia on this passage, read οὐρανῶ. On the ancient exegesis of this passage, see IRIGOIN (1952) 26-27.

¹⁴ IRIGOIN (1952) 27. This of course does not mean that certain odes, e.g. the Sicilian epinicians for the Deinomenids, may not have enjoyed at a certain point the privilege of a local 'Sicilian' collection or edition. Most interesting in this respect is the exegetic activity on Pindar by the historian Artemon of Pergamon (mid-2nd century BC): Artemon's name is quoted six times in the Pindaric scholia and it is clear that his interest in historical, geographical, and mythological features was limited only to Pindar's odes addressed to Sicilian patrons; on the exegetical method of Artemon, see BROGGIATO (2011). On Timaeus of Tauromenion having access to what looks like a collection of Pindar's Sicilian odes, see D'ALESSIO (1997) 52.

¹⁵ Thus e.g. THUMB / SCHERER (²1959) 12.

1.1. *Boeotisms in Pindar's Olympian 1?*

As is well-known, *Olympian* 1 celebrates Hieron's Olympic victory in the single-horse race in 476 BC. The pan-Hellenic status of Hieron possibly contributed to the immediate success of the poem: it is perhaps not entirely due to chance that Pindar's hyporcheme fr. 105 M. and *Olympian* 1, both addressed to Hieron of Syracuse, are among Pindar's most famous poems already in fifth- and fourth-century BC Athens, to judge by the distribution of Pindaric quotations in this period.¹⁶ The 'special' status of *Olympian* 1 is also confirmed by the editorial choice of Aristophanes of Byzantium to place the ode at the very beginning of Pindar's book of *Epinicians*, that is, out of the ordering sequence otherwise applied within the book itself (hierarchy of games followed by an internal hierarchy of sport disciplines, with chariot-races coming first).¹⁷ Already in antiquity *Olympian* 1 was thus perceived as 'quintessentially' epinician and Pindaric, and for good reasons: it contained the praise of the Olympic games above any other game (*Ol.* 1, 7 μῆδ' Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδᾶσομεν "nor let us proclaim a contest greater than Olympia") as well as their aetiology (Pelops' victory against Oenomaus in the chariot-race), it celebrated the exalted status of the *laudandus* (the tyrant Hieron), and it set out Pindar's own pan-Hellenic aspirations (ll. 115-116 εἴη [...] ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις / ὁμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφίᾳ καθ' Ἑλλαντας ἐόντα παντῆ, "may I join victors whenever they win

¹⁶ For the particular popularity enjoyed by these odes as attested by their quotations and allusions in Aristophanes, Plato and Aristotle, see IRIGOIN (1952) 16-19.

¹⁷ Cf. *Vita Thom.* (= DRACHMANN I p. 7, 14-17) ὁ δὲ ἐπινίκιος οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, προτέτακται ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ συντάξαντος τὰ Πινδαρικά διὰ τὸ περιέχειν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐγκώμιον καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Πέλοπος, ὃς πρῶτος ἐν Ἑλλιδι ἡγωνίσασατο "the epinician whose beginning is 'best is water' has been placed first by Aristophanes, who arranged Pindar's works, because it contains a panegyric of the games and the tale of Pelops, who was the first to compete in Elis". On Aristophanes of Byzantium foregrounding "an alleged Pindaric rationale for his own editorial activity", see now PRODI (2017) 553-560.

and be foremost in wisdom among Hellenes everywhere”). The ode addresses an international star, offering cultural cachet to a tyrant and colonial oikist who yearned to present himself in front of his Sicilian subjects and the Greek *oikoumenê* at large as the ‘saviour’ of the motherland, continental Greece.¹⁸ If there ever was a pan-Hellenic ode, it is *Olympian* 1. The very references, within the ode, to Dorian *and* Aeolian modes (respectively at ll. 17-18 ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου / λάμβαν’ “Come, take the Dorian lyre from its peg” and ll. 100-102 ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι / κεῖνον ἱππῖω νόμῳ / Αἰοληΐδι μολπᾷ χροῖ “my duty is to crown that man with an equestrian tune in Aeolic song”) have been interpreted by some scholars as the linguistic expression of “a synthesis of Aeolic and Doric tradition” *tout court*.¹⁹

1.2. Ol. 1, 90: αἵμακουρίαι

Before addressing the linguistic problem represented by the alleged Boeotism τᾶ of parts of the manuscript tradition at l. 82, let us first remember that ancient exegesis identified in *Olympian* 1 a Boeotian φωνή in the word αἵμακουρίαι at l. 90, where, in the transition from myth to present occasion, we are told that “now” (νῦν) Pelops is the recipient of blood sacrifices in his sanctuary at Olympia.²⁰ The scholium on *Ol.* 1, 146a (= I, p. 48, 10-12 Drachmann) tells us that αἵμακουρίαι

¹⁸ On the pan-Hellenic aspirations of Hieron of Syracuse as reflected in Pindar’s epinicians, see MORGAN (2015) *passim*.

¹⁹ NAGY (1990) 94. For the problematic interpretation, already in antiquity, of both Δωρίαν [...] φόρμιγγα and Αἰοληΐδι μολπᾷ in *Ol.* 1, see PRAUSCELLO (2012) 77-79 with further bibliography.

²⁰ *Ol.* 1, 90-93 νῦν δ’ ἐν αἵμακουρίαις / ἀγλαῶσι μέμικται, / Ἄλφειοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς, / τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενωτάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ “And now he partakes / of splendid blood sacrifices / as he reclines by the course of the Alpheos, / having his much attended tomb beside the altar / thronged by visiting strangers”. For the worship of Pelops at Olympia, see EKROTH (2002) 190-192.

is a Boeotian word used to indicate an offering of blood to the dead:

Σ in Ol. 1, 146a νῦν δ' ἐν αἵμακουρίαις· Βοιωτικὴ ἢ φωνή. Βοιωτοὶ γὰρ αἵμακουρίας τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐναγίσματα λέγουσιν.²¹

“νῦν δ' ἐν αἵμακουρίαις: the word is Boeotian. For the Boeotians call αἵμακουρίας the sacrificial offerings for the dead.”

The term, this time in the singular, occurs only in one other passage, Plutarch's *Life of Aristides* 21, 6, and in later lexica.²² The Plutarchean passage informs us that Aristides, the hero of Plataea, after the defeat of the Persians proposed a decree to the effect, among other things, that deputies from *all* of Greece should convene annually at Plataea (21, 1 ἔγραψεν Ἀριστείδης ψήφισμα συνιέναι μὲν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβούλους καὶ θεωρούς). The Plataeans, for their part, undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Greeks who had fallen in battle and lay buried there (21, 2-3 οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπεδέξαντο τοῖς πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναγίζειν). During this ceremony, which Plutarch tells us takes place up to his own time (21, 6 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς), the chief magistrate of Plataea summoned (παρακαλεῖ) those who had died for the liberty of Greece “to the banquet and the sacrificial offerings of blood” (ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν αἵμακουρίαν). What may we then conclude about the dialectal status of αἵμακουρία(ι)?

Here I would like to make two observations. First, it is only in the Pindaric scholium that the term αἵμακουρίαι is specifically explained as a Boeotian word; Plutarch, a renowned expert in things Boeotian, is silent on the issue and evidently did

²¹ On the type of sacrificial offerings referred to as αἵμακουρίαι, see EKROTH (2002) 171-172. On the possible etymology of the term, see GERBER (1982) 141 *ad loc.* and n. 24 below.

²² HSCH. α. 1939 Latte; *Et. Magn.* 35, 10 Gaisford. GREG. COR. Περὶ διαλέκτων 215 Schäfer interprets the word as Doric; cf. also EUST. *Prooem. comm. in Pind.* 21, 3. Note that neither Hesychius and *Et. Magn.* nor Gregory say anything about the assumed Boeotian origin of the word.

not expect his readership to have difficulty understanding the meaning of αἵμακουρία. From a dialectal point of view, the term itself does not present any specifically Boeotian feature at either the phonological or the morphological level.²³ Secondly, the author of the Pindaric scholium may have had access to dialectal sources lost to us or he may simply have autoschediastically explained the word as a Boeotism, whether on the basis of the well-known commemoration taking place at Plataea or because Boeotia is the motherland of Pindar. Even assuming that αἵμακουρία is a specifically Boeotian word, given the Plataean context, the passage of Plutarch makes abundantly clear that the event is a yearly pan-Hellenic occasion where delegates and *theôroi* from all over Greece convene. Thus, the word cannot be considered a Boeotism *stricto sensu*: the pan-Hellenic context of the event must have “enfranchised” αἵμακουρία to a supra-regional level from its very beginning. Furthermore, I would suggest that its use by Pindar only three years after the battle of Plataea is more pointed than is usually thought. The use of a word so strictly associated with an anti-barbarian context could not have failed to flatter Hieron: in Pindar’s Sicilian odes the battle of Plataea is repeatedly associated/synchronised with Deinomenid victories.²⁴ So, even if αἵμακουρία was originally a Boeotian φωνή, it is its pan-Hellenic context of reference that justifies its use by Pindar in addressing Hieron of Syracuse and the Sicilian audience of both the première and subsequent re-performances.²⁵

²³ This consideration applies to both of the etymologies that have been proposed, deriving it either from αἷμα “blood” + κορέννυμι “to satiate” (CHANTRAINE [21999] *s.v.* αἷμα, following the etymology proposed by *Schol. in Ol.* 1, 146d ἡ δὲ ἐτυμολογία ἀπὸ τοῦ κορέννυσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς αἵματος “the etymology derives from the practice of satiating the souls [of the dead] with blood”) or from αἷμα + κουρά “cutting” (from κείρω) (FRISK [1960-1972] *Suppl. s.v.* κορέννυμι). BEEKES (2010) *s.v.* αἷμα does not refer to the word as Boeotian but as occurring in Pindar.

²⁴ On this association, see recently MORGAN (2015) 338-340. To the best of my knowledge this point has not been made with regard to the parallelism established by Pindar between Pelops and Hieron.

²⁵ The performance modality of the première of *Ol.* 1 (monodic or choral? at Syracuse or at Olympia?) has long been controversially discussed: see e.g. the

1.3. *Ol. 1, 82: τά*

Let us now turn to what modern scholarship considers one of the very few certain examples of Boeotian influence on Pindar's poetic language: the interrogative *τά* instead of *τί* at *Ol. 1, 82*.²⁶ The passage (Pelops' appeal to Poseidon's previous favour in order to defeat Oenomaus in the chariot-race) is the following (ll. 81-84):

ὁ μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος ἀναλκιν οὐ φῶτα λαμβάνει.
θανεῖν δ' οἷσιν ἀνάγκη, **τά** κέ τις ἀνώνυμον
γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος ἔψοι μάταν,
ἁπάντων καλῶν ἄμμορος;

"Great risk does not take hold of a cowardly man.
But since men must die, why would anyone sit
in darkness and coddle a nameless old age to no use,
deprived of all noble deeds?"

The text given here is the one printed by Snell-Maehler. The manuscript tradition is divided: *τά* is the reading transmitted by A, the famous *codex Ambrosianus* now retrodated by Mazzucchi to the last decade of the 12th century,²⁷ C (= *Paris. Gr. 2774, c. 1300*) *ante correctionem*,²⁸ B (*Vat. Gr. 1312*, end of the

concise survey provided by ATHANASSAKI (2004) 337-339. I side with those who are in favour of a Syracusan première.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. SOLMSEN (1909) 112-113; WACKERNAGEL (1912) 267; WILAMOWITZ (1922) 99 (as Pindar's only concession to his local dialect *vs.* Corinna's "boeotische Mundart"); SCHWYZER (1939) 616 n. 8; THUMB / SCHERER (1959) 12; CHANTRAINE (1964) 136; CASEVITZ (1972) 24; TOVAR (1974) 54 n. 16; GERBER (1982) 127; BEEKES (2010) *s.v.* *τις*; CATENACCI in GENTILI (2013) 381 *ad loc.*; COLVIN (2007) 240 ("a very rare instance of Boe. dialect form in Pindar") but more cautiously in COLVIN (1999) 198 ("Cf. Pindar's *τά* 'why' [Boeotian?]").

²⁷ MAZZUCCHI (2003). It is worth remembering that according to IRIGOIN (1952) 242-243, in the wake of Schröder's studies, the introduction, text, and scholia to *Ol. 1* in A do not derive from the Ambrosian source but have been transcribed from an exemplar of the Parisian recension (ζ); see GENTILI (1998) lxxxiv with n. 3. Let us also remember that MAZZUCCHI (2004) 418 has established that the owner and copyist of A had access to a copy of Gregory of Corinth's *περὶ διαλέκτων*.

²⁸ C belongs to the ζ family (the so-called Parisinian recension). The status of ζ is debated: GENTILI (1998) lxxviii-ix, in the wake of Maas, considers ζ a branch

12th century) *in linea* and by Greg. Cor. *Περὶ διαλέκτων* 212 Schäfer (under the heading “Doric”) τὸ τί τὰ λέγουσι, Πίνδαρος· τὰ κέ τις κτλ. (“[the Dorians] say τὰ for τί; so Pindar τὰ κέ τις κτλ.”); all the other codices have τί κε (*vel καί*). The reading τὰ has enjoyed, among Pindar scholars, a variable fortune: while the earliest editors almost unanimously preferred τί (e.g. Schmid, Heyne, Boeckh, Bergk, Schneidewin, Hartung, Christ, etc.), later editors have instead generally favoured τὰ (Tycho Mommsen,²⁹ Metzger, Gildersleeve, Schroeder, Bowra, Turyn, Snell-Maehler, Gentili). The use of τὰ (neuter plural) for τί (neuter sing.) in the sense of “why?”, “in respect of which things?” is otherwise unattested (see below). One of the thorniest issues in assessing the evidence available is thus to pin down the possible source of Gregory of Corinth’s claim.³⁰ The point of departure is usually considered to be a passage of Herodian commenting on the Megarian form σὰ (neuter plural). For the sake of clarity, I give here the two passages from the *Etymologicum Genuinum* which Lentz conflated together to make up his text of Herodian (see Lentz in the apparatus *ad loc.* in *Grammatici Graeci* III.1, 541, 25-31) and a related passage of Eustathius:

(1) *Et. Gen. s.v. ἄσσα* (1306) Lasserre / Livadaras (= 157, 45-50 Gaisford) ≈ *Et. Magn.* α 1960, *Et. Sym.* α 1481, ΣbT *ad* A 554c ἄσσ’ ἐθέλησθα (A 554)· ἀλλὰ μάλ’ ἐῴκηλος τὰ φράζεαι ἄσσ’ ἐθέλησθα. οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος (I p. 199, 25 Ludwig)· ὁ δὲ

independent of the Vatican recension and carrying genuine readings; TURYN (1932) and IRIGOIN (1952) consider ζ instead as the product of Byzantine conjectural activities (mainly by Planudes). For a concise but informative survey of modern scholarship on the role of the ζ family, see LIBERMAN (2004) 31-32.

²⁹ MOMMSEN in his 1864 edition and suppl. seems to have been the first, as far as I can tell, to have adopted τὰ in modern times (see esp. MOMMSEN [1864b] 8 *ad loc.*).

³⁰ Crucial here is also the dating of the activity of Gregory of Corinth and its relationship with Eustathius. Recent scholarship seems inclined to accept a date of the 11th/12th century for Gregory (previously considered an author of the 12th/13th century), see MONTANA (1995) xlix with previous bibliography. On Eustathius quoting Gregory’s *περὶ διαλέκτων* in two passages of his commentary on the *Iliad*, see VAN DER VALK (1986); *contra* NEGRI (1995).

Σιδώνιος (p. 74 Blau) “ὅτι”. φησὶν Ἀρίσταρχος τρία σημαίνει τὴν λέξιν, τινά, ἄτινα, ῥῥσα.³¹ καὶ αἰ φιλοῦται πλὴν ὅτε δηλοῖ τὸ ἄτινα δασύνεται. καὶ ἔστι κατὰ Ἡρωδιανὸν (3.1 541, 30) δύο μέρη λόγου· τὸ α, ἄρθρον, καὶ τὸ σά, ὃ ἔστι Μεγαρικὸν δηλοῦν τὸ τινά κτλ.

“ἄσ’ ἐθέλησθα (A 554)· ἀλλὰ μάλ’ εὐκηλος τὰ φράζειαι ἄσ’ ἐθέλησθα. Thus Aristarchus; the Sidonian [i.e., Dionysius of Sidon, second half of the 2nd century BC] reads ὅτι. Aristarchus says that ἄσσα has three meanings: τινά, ἄτινα, and ῥῥσα. The word has always smooth breathing except that it is aspirated when it means ἄτινα. According to Herodian it consists of two parts of speech: α, that is, the article, and σα, which in Megarian means τινά etc.”

(2) *Et. Gen. s.v. ἄττα* (1378) Lasserre / Livadaras (= 167, 35ff. Gaisford) ≈ *Et. Magn. α* 2055, *Et. Sym. α* 1542

ἄττα· οὐ τὸ ἐπίφθεγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ Ἀττικόν, ὅπερ ὁ ποιητὴς ἄσσα εἶπεν, οἷον (K 208, 409) ἄσσά τε μητιόωσι μετὰ σφίσι. **τοῦτο δὲ γέγονε ἀπὸ τοῦ τα Δωρικοῦ, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ τινά**, ὅπερ διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ σ μετὰ τοῦ α φιλοῦ τρέπεται καὶ διὰ τῶν δύο ττ λέγεται Ἀττικῶς· σημαίνει δὲ τὸ τινά φιλούμενον, δασυ- νόμενον δὲ τὸ ἄτινα

“ἄττα: not the interjection but the Attic ἄττα that the poet spelled ἄσσα, for instance (K 208, 409) ἄσσά τε μητιόωσι μετὰ σφίσι. This form derives from Doric τα, meaning τινά, which with reduplication of the *sigma* together with *alpha* with smooth breathing turns [into ἄσσα] and through two *tau* [i.e., by spelling it with double *tau* rather than Ionic double *sigma*] one has the Attic form [sc. ἄττα]. When the form has smooth breathing it means τινά, when rough breathing ἄτινα”

(3) *Eust. in Il. 1, 148, 38-40* (vol. I, 228, 3-6 van der Valk; commenting on A 554) ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἄσσα, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ ἄτινα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄ γίνεται, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄρθρον οὐδέτερον ὑποτακτικὸν πληθυντικόν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σα, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ τινά Μεγαρικῶς καὶ Δωρικῶς

“One should note that ἄσσα, which means ἄτινα, derives from ἄ, that is, the neuter plural subordinating article [i.e., the relative pronoun], and from σα, which means τινά in Megarian and Doric”

³¹ The crux in LASSERRE / LIVADARAS is probably due to the fact that they prefer the variant ῥῥσα: see SCHIRONI (2004) 105, n. 2.

All three passages are concerned with the explanation of the Ionic and/or Attic nom.-acc. neuter plural of the indefinite and/or relative pronoun ἄσσα/ἄττα,³² which is re-interpreted, with false segmentation of sequences like ΟΠΟΙΑΣΣΑ (originally ὀποῖ᾽ *σσα, reanalysed as ὀποῖ' ἄσσα), as α + (σ)σα. Only the first passage (1) mentions explicitly Herodian as its source, from which it apparently also derived the explanation of σά as the Megarian form for τινά (indefinite). Passage (2) does not quote Herodian nor the Megarian σά, but ἄττα is explained as deriving from an otherwise unattested Doric form τά = Attic τινά (again indefinite).³³ Finally, Eustathius explains ἄσσα as deriving from α + σα, the latter being said to be the equivalent of τινά (indefinite) in both the Megarian dialect specifically and in Doric more generally. Van der Valk already noticed that Eustathius' "annotatio Δωρικῶς ex EM 167, 37", that is, Eustathius' explanation derives from our passage (2).³⁴

Summing up so far, passage (1), the only one that quotes Herodian explicitly, mentions only σά (and not τά) and identifies it as a Megarian form; passage (2) does not mention Megarian σά but, if my interpretation of this highly compressed and brachylogic passage is correct, introduces the notion of a prototypically Doric τά meaning τινά, from which we get Ionic ἄσσα by reduplication of *sigma* and Attic ἄττα by reduplication of *tau*; and

³² For simplicity's sake, throughout this paper I shall write ἄσσα/ἄττα without rough breathing. On the breathings of ΑΣΣΑ/ΑΤΤΑ (rough and/or smooth), see SCHIRONI (2004) 105-109.

³³ As for τοῦτο δὲ γέγονε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τα Δωρικοῦ κτλ. (present also in *Et. Sym.* 1542/40 Lasserre / Livadaras), my understanding is that τοῦτο refers back neither to ἄσσα just quoted nor to ἄττα of the lemma. Instead, I take τοῦτο as including all that has been said in the two lines of the entry: that is, τοῦτο refers to the prototypical form of the pronoun that exists independently from its two distinct dialectal realizations (the fact that one finds ἄττα in Attic and ἄσσα in Ionic). However, even if we take τοῦτο as referring to the previous ἄσσα, the above explanation still holds: the compiler might as well have implied that ἄσσα goes back to a form that is prototypical of the whole sequence, i.e., τά (not σα).

³⁴ This is further confirmed by the fact that a few lines later in passage (2) Eustathius quotes AR. fr. 617 K.-A., a passage cited also in *Et. Magn.* 167, 41-47 Gaisford (printed in Lasserre / Livadaras as *Et. Magn. Auctum s.v.* ἄττα 2055) together with DEM. *De fals. leg.* 304, 7 and PHERECR. fr. 161 K.-A.

passage (3) conflates and confuses (1) and (2) by interpreting $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ as both Megarian and Doric (no mention of $\tau\acute{\alpha}$). The next question to be answered is thus how we should evaluate passage (2), the only one that brings into play a Doric $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ = $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$. Theoretically, we have three possibilities: (i) passage (2) may rely on Herodian too, though he is not quoted; (ii) it may go back to a source unknown to us; or (iii) it is just making things up (autoschediasm), based on the common knowledge that Doric dialects usually preserved the archaic form of the definite article in the plural ($\tauοί$, $\tauαί$).³⁵ Hypothesis (i) cannot be entirely ruled out on the basis of our evidence, but the fact that passage (2) does not quote or refer to the same Iliadic passage as (1) and (3) do (A 554) but quotes instead a different Homeric line (K 208 = 409), together with its omission of the Megarian $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$, seems to speak against the possibility that the compiler of (2) had as his direct source the very same passage of Herodian quoted in (1). Hypothesis (ii) can always be invoked *ex silentio* but we simply have no evidence to support it. On balance, hypothesis (iii) therefore seems most likely: passage (2) does not quote either Aristarchus or Herodian, as passage (1) does, nor does it need to, since what it propounds is a type of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ that is common enough in the grammatical tradition to explain various dialectal forms by deriving them from a given *prototypon*.

Let us then go back to what is the only passage explicitly mentioning Herodian, namely (1). What is the source of Herodian's comment on Megarian $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$? Megarian dialectal forms are not otherwise attested in what is transmitted to us under Herodian's name.³⁶ Unless we suppose that Herodian had access to

³⁵ This is of course not true for Cretan, which has $\omicron\iota$, $\alpha\iota$: see BUCK (21955) 92 and 141. However, the Cretan dialect was hardly considered by ancient scholars to be representative of Doric since it was *not* a literary dialect.

³⁶ For a survey of dialectal glosses (of literary and non-literary provenance) in Hellenistic scholarship, see SCHIRONI (2009) 28-38. I could find only one case of a Megarian gloss, namely PHILETAS fr. 31 Spanoudakis = ATHEN. 11, 467c ($\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\chi\tauο\iota$ $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$) on $\gamma\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ (a particular kind of drinking cup). Herodian knew Philetas' poetic work (he quotes frs. 5 and 11 Spanoudakis) but he does not quote from his grammatical oeuvre.

sources now lost to us, it must be the case, as is generally believed, that in passage (1) Herodian is referring to Aristophanes *Acharnians* 757 and 784 $\sigma\acute{\alpha} \mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (spoken by the Megarian farmer), which is glossed by the Aristophanic scholia as the equivalent of Attic $\tau\acute{\iota} \mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ (“what else?”, that is, “of course”).³⁷ Here, $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ is clearly interrogative and not indefinite: accentuation is obviously the first casualty of transmission, and it may well be that Herodian originally wrote $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ and not $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ with reference to the Aristophanic passage.³⁸

Modern scholarship is also divided on the syntactical interpretation of $\sigma\acute{\alpha} = \tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ as nom. acc. neuter plural of $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, deriving from $*k^{w}i-h_2$.³⁹ Ahrens was the first to observe that “pluralis in ea interrogatione uulgo non usitatus est” but then he was quick to add that this should not in itself be prejudicial – “neque tamen per se habet cur reprehendatur”. Even so, he insisted that “[p]arum recte Dorienses $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ pro $\tau\acute{\iota}$ vel $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ dixisse traduntur”, with reference to Gregory of Corinth on Pindar’s $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ and to our passage (2) of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*.⁴⁰ Wackernagel, picking up Ahrens’s remark, objected more forcefully to the syntactical interpretation of $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ as nom. acc. neuter plural, observing that this reconstruction, though formally possible, is never attested elsewhere (“niemals kommt $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ [i.e., *die Pluralbildung*] für $\tau\acute{\iota}$ vor”) and arguing the same also against the alleged equivalence of Lat. *quia* = *quae*.⁴¹ He then concluded that we should rather interpret both Greek $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ and Lat. *quia* as adverbial formations going back to an Indo-European $*k^{w}j\acute{a}$ “why”.⁴²

³⁷ See *Schol. vet. in Ach.* Wilson, 757b $\sigma\acute{\alpha} \mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$: ἀντὶ τοῦ $\tau\acute{\iota} \mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ κτλ.; 757d (Tr.) $\sigma\acute{\alpha} \mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$:] $\tau\acute{\iota} \mu\acute{\eta}\nu$; Lh. These passages are commented upon also by GREG. COR. Περὶ διαλέκτων 236 Schäfer.

³⁸ Cf. AHRENS (1843) 277 and MOMMSEN (1864b) 8.

³⁹ In favour of this derivation of $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$, cf. e.g. BRUGMANN (³1900) 98 § 81, 4; WALDE / POKORNY (1930) I, 522, and in more recent times COLVIN (1999) 198 and (2007) 240.

⁴⁰ AHRENS (1843) 277 with n. 10.

⁴¹ See WACKERNAGEL (1912) 267.

⁴² WACKERNAGEL (1912) 267, whose proposal is followed by DES PLACES (1947) 102 and DUNKEL (2014) II, 454 and 463.

Whatever syntactical interpretation one adopts for $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ in the Aristophanic passage (nom. acc. neuter plural or adverbial formation in $-\acute{\alpha}$), it still holds that Herodian commented only on $\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ and not on a supposed Doric $\tau\acute{\alpha}$. We have also seen that passage (2) of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* is unlikely to depend on Herodian and that its interpretation of a prototypic Doric $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ yielding $-\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ($\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha$) by reduplication of *sigma* in Ionic and $-\tau\tau\alpha$ ($\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\alpha$) by reduplication of *tau* in Attic is easily explainable within the doctrine of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ that was common currency in the ancient grammatical tradition. In saying that $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is the Doric form for $\tau\acute{\iota}$ and quoting as an example *Ol.* 1, 82, Gregory of Corinth may have depended on passage (2) of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, or he may even have had access to Eustathius (passage (3)) if we accept the lower date for his chronology. No other example of $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ for $\tau\acute{\iota}$ is preserved in extant Greek literature beside the Pindaric instance quoted by Gregory.⁴³

What, then, should we do with the transmitted $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ of parts of the manuscript tradition in *Ol.* 1, 82? How are we to explain the genesis of the *lectio difficilior*, if not *difficillima*, $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ instead of $\tau\acute{\iota}$? In the third edition of Stephanus' *Thesaurus*, Casaubon, after quoting the passages of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* and Gregory discussed above (according to which the Dorians used $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ instead of $\tau\acute{\iota}$), observed that "Verum ibi hodie $\tau\acute{\iota}$ legitur, non $\tau\acute{\alpha}$; quod tamen non facile censuerim esse mutandum".⁴⁴ This may be the case but the opposite change (from an original TI to TA) is not very difficult to explain if we look at what immediately precedes our interrogative (*Ol.* 1, 82): $\theta\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\delta' \omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu$ **ΑΝΑΓΚΑ ΤΑ** $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\tau\lambda$. Before TA we have three syllables

⁴³ WILAMOWITZ (1907) 27 (*in app.* on the scholium of col. i, 11) and (1922) 99 thought that he could read $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ in the right margin of the Berlin papyrus preserving CORINNA fr. 654 PMG col. i, 11, and he explained this as a gloss of a supposed Boeotian $(\tau)\tau\acute{\alpha}$ swallowed up by the corresponding lacuna on the left, but subsequent scholars have questioned his reading: WEST (1996) 22 personally confirmed Crönert's $\chi\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu\alpha$ (adopted also by Page), though adding that Wilamowitz's $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ remains "possible". The Corinna passage is thus too uncertain to provide any reliable evidence.

⁴⁴ Cited by MOMMSEN (1864b) 8 *ad loc.*

with *alpha* as the only vowel: it is not, I think, unreasonable to assume that a scribe wrote *τά* instead of the original *τί* by assimilating the ending of the interrogative to that of the previous word (*ἀνάγκη*). This change must have happened at a relatively early stage of the tradition, during or before the transliteration from capital into minuscule but after the formation of the scholia. In fact, it is worth noting that the Pindaric scholia on *Ol.* 1, 82 seem to have read *τί κε κτλ.* The text of the relevant scholia (*Σ in Ol.* 1, 131a-b and f = I, p. 46, 16 ff. Drachmann) is the following:

131a θανεῖν δ' οἷς ἀνάγκη· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἷς ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ θανεῖν, **διὰ τί** δὴ τις ἄδοξον τὸ γῆρας ἐν ἀφανείᾳ καὶ ἄδοξίᾳ καθεζόμενος τήκει καὶ καταναλίσκει μάτην, πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἀμέτοχος ὑπάρχων; 131b ἄλλως· οἷς ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη, **τί** καὶ τις καθεζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀωνύμου γήρωις ἔψοιτο; [...] 131f ἄλλως· ἐπειδὴ πρόκειται τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, **διὰ τί** μὴ μετὰ δόξης τελευτῶμεν, γενναῖόν τι τολμώντες;

“131a θανεῖν δ' οἷς ἀνάγκη: why among men who must inevitably die there is someone who, sitting in darkness and lack of repute wastes away fameless his old age and consumes it in vain, without a share of all that is noble? 131b or: since men must day, why is there anyone who sitting boils away an inglorious old age? [...] 131f or: since death lies before us, for what reason do we not die gloriously, daring some noble deed?”

We would not expect the scholia to import a rare form into a paraphrase, but the very fact that they do not comment on *τά* in any way and gloss the passage with either *τί* or *διὰ τί*, where elsewhere they are keen to highlight dialectal features (at times in a fanciful way), seems indeed to suggest, even though indirectly, that our scholiasts had a Pindaric text where *τί* *κέ* *τις* was the transmitted reading.⁴⁵ This is admittedly an argument *ex silentio*, but still a legitimate one. Furthermore, in extant Greek literature the *iunctura* *τί* *κέ* *τις* occurs only one more time and again in Pindar (*Dith.* fr. 70d(b), 11 M. (= *fr. 19 Lavecchia)

⁴⁵ For comments on dialectal features in the Pindaric scholia, see Drachmann's index *s.v.* *dialecti* (as already cited above, n. 12).

τί κέ τις εσχ[(*P.Oxy.* 2445, our sole witness, has an acute accent on τί).⁴⁶ We should also ask ourselves why Pindar would have used a specifically Boeotian (and not just generally Doric⁴⁷) form of the interrogative to formulate a generic traditional gnome (life is short; mortals should aim at achieving something notable in their lives) in the mythic section of an ode praising the self-styled pan-Hellenic tyrant Hieron of Syracuse.⁴⁸ Unlike in the case of *αἰμακουρίαι* (§ 1.1), we do not have here any contextual rationale that could explain such a choice, and the choice of just a tiny monosyllabic word. Nor would it do to invoke some ‘editorial intervention’ as in the (plausible) case of Pindar fr. 333 (a) M., where “we find the genitives Πυθαγγέλω and Ὀρχομενῶ (fr. 333(a), 6 and 8 Maehler), which are far from obvious in Pindar [...] but very appropriate for a Boeotian *laudandus* and a Boeotian place-name”.⁴⁹ Furthermore in the Syracusan authors Epicharmus and Sophron (indirect tradition) we twice find τί μάν and not τά μάν: cf. Epicharm. fr. 147, 1 K.-A. and Sophr. fr. 55 K.-A.⁵⁰ The proposal of seeing in the supposedly Boeotian τά the influence, on Pindar’s “Athenian

⁴⁶ I owe this observation to Giambattista D’Alessio. Cf. also PIND. *Pyth.* 8, 95 τί δέ τις; τί δ’ οὐ τις. I therefore do not agree with GERBER (1982) 127, according to whom “[p]erhaps the sound of τά appealed more to Pindar’s ear because of the assonance with ἀνάγκη, or he may have wished to avoid τί ... τίς [...], or possibly some passage from Boeotian poetry containing a similar idea to that expressed here served as his model and influenced his choice of language”.

⁴⁷ Since the Doric dialects, with the exception of (late) Cretan, do assibilate (-σσ-; cf. BUCK [21955] 65-66), (τ)τά can only be either Boeotian or Cretan (obviously excluding Attic). For the same reason it would instead have been easy for the ancient grammarians to understand Megarian σά as Doric: Cretan hardly counted as a dialect because it did not have a literary tradition.

⁴⁸ See GERBER (1982) 127.

⁴⁹ CASSIO (2002) 61-62. For a detailed study of PIND. fr. 333 (a-b) M., see D’ALESSIO (2000), who persuasively argues for a Pindaric authorship of these fragments on linguistic, historical, and literary grounds.

⁵⁰ It is also relevant that τί μάν / τί μήν is a marked colloquialism: see COLVIN (1999) 198 and already DITTENBERGER (1881) 232-337. BOECKH (1811) 350 *ad loc.* objected to τά in *Ol.* 1, 82 also for stylistic reasons: “quod non nego certo quodam loco τά uulgari sermone usitatum fuisse sed a Pindari dialecto alienum iudico etc”.

text”, of “a performance tradition in neighbouring Boeotia”⁵¹ seems equally unlikely to me.

To sum up, although absolute certainty is not attainable in this case, on balance it seems most plausible, in terms of the processes of transmission, to interpret the transmitted τά at *Ol.* 1, 82 as a scribal mistake that entered the tradition during or before the transliteration from capital to minuscule;⁵² in this context, the absence of this variant from the Pindaric scholia is to be noted. The scribal mistake was then re-interpreted by the late grammatical tradition (Gregory of Corinth) as a Doric feature. As Ahrens already saw, “bonus episcopus pro Doricis uenditat, quaecumque apud Pindarum et Theocritum inuenit”.⁵³ This explanation seems more economical than to assume the survival, in one of Pindar’s most pronouncedly pan-Hellenic odes, of a rare (and presumably colloquial?) monosyllabic Boeotian form of the interrogative pronoun.

2. *CEG* 114: ‘literary Boeotian’ in the fifth century BC?

The need to shy away from rash and prejudicial conclusions based on linguistic arguments is also illustrated by our second case-study, which equally focuses on Boeotia but does so from a rather different angle. In a previous contribution I tried to bridge the gap between linguistic and literary studies on Corinna by challenging some long-held views on Corinna’s poetic language.⁵⁴ In particular, I questioned Page’s *a priori* assumption that Corinna could not possibly have used non-Homeric Aeolic

⁵¹ Thus tentatively COLVIN (2007) 240.

⁵² As observed above (n. 27), in the case of *Ol.* 1, the text and scholia in A do not seem to go back to a genuine Ambrosian tradition but to a source akin to ζ. Independently from the position of ζ in the Pindaric stemma, the distribution of τά in the manuscripts suggests a transmission of variants through horizontal contamination.

⁵³ AHRENS (1843) 25.

⁵⁴ See PRAUSCELLO (2017).

features in her poetry (that is, Corinna could not have borrowed linguistic elements from the Lesbian tradition), in contrast to the poetic practice of the nine canonical lyric poets.⁵⁵ Page's reason for denying Corinna the degree of linguistic 'literariness' that is allowed to the *πραττόμενοι* was the supposedly limited capacity of literary appreciation of her Boeotian audience. In doing so, Page explicitly drew a strict line between Corinna's poetry and that of Pindar.⁵⁶

"She does not admit features of the Lesbian or West Greek dialects, as the Choral dialect of Simonides and Pindar does. Her audience is not so cultured: it expects the Epic dialect, with which every Boeotian is familiar, pronounced – and spelt, if it is written – in the Boeotian manner; and it sees no cause for indignation if a few features of its local speech intrude."

Since I have argued in the first part of this paper that similar 'local intrusions' are indeed even less present in Pindar than is widely believed, one might initially think that, if anything, the contrast set up by Page becomes even starker. However, there is one interesting piece of evidence, unduly neglected by me in my earlier critique of Page's ideas, which further undermines the notion of an undifferentiated 'Boeotian audience' whose literary expectations are necessarily provincial and limited, and which therefore reduces the 'distance' between the literary worlds of Pindar and Corinna by adjusting things at the latter end as well. This piece of evidence, *CEG* 114, is a funerary epigram from Kopai dated on palaeographical grounds to the first half of the fifth century BC.⁵⁷ The epigram was first published in 1969 by Koumanoudes, who erroneously tried to fit the preserved lines into three elegiac couplets; Peek in 1970 was the first to recognize that we are dealing with four hexameters.

⁵⁵ In some later sources Corinna was mentioned as the tenth *πραττομένη* (cf. e.g. *Schol. in Dion. Thr. in Grammatici Graeci* I.3, 21, 19-20 Hilgard).

⁵⁶ PAGE (1953) 80.

⁵⁷ A detailed palaeographical analysis can be found in FOSSEY (1991) 270-271. The stone is now in the *Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θηβών*.

Apart from minor contributions, mainly interested in pinning down the (probable) battle on the river Asopos mentioned at l. 1 (the battle of Plataea in 479 and that of Oinophyta in 458 BC having been the main candidates),⁵⁸ only Hansen and Fossey have studied in detail the language of this inscription.⁵⁹ I give here first (1) the text as printed by Hansen; then (2) Fossey's text, which includes a slightly fuller version of l. 2 based on an earlier autopsy as well as his *exempli gratia* supplements to give a more immediate sense of what the narrative structure of the epigram may have been; and (3) Peek's drawing:

(1) HANSEN, *CEG* 114

[— — — μ' ἔθ]ραφσεν, ἐπ' Ἀσοποῖ δὲ δαμασθὲς
[· · · — — — — — | — — — — — θ]ρενον ἔθεκα,
ἡὲ τὸδ' ἐπέστ[ασε — — — — — | — — — — —].
[————— · · ·]οῖσα τὸν ἡυιὸν Κεφι[· · · —————]

"... reared me; subdued at the Asopos
... I caused mourning ...
... she erected this ...
... -ing the son Kephi[...]"

(2) FOSSEY (1991) 274

[name μ' ἔθ]ραφσεν · ἐπ' Ἀσοποῖ δὲ δαμασθὲς
[μάχη ματέρ' ἐμῇ πένθος πολὺ]θρενον ἔθεκα,
ἡὲ τὸδ' ἐπέστ[εσε σῆμα — — — — — | — — — — —]
[— — — δακρύ]οῖσα⁶⁰ τὸν ἡυιὸν Κεφι[σόδωρον]

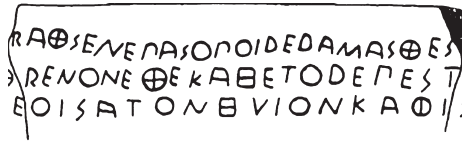
"X reared me; but I, subdued in battle
at the Asopus, caused to my mother a much-wailing grief.
She erected this tomb
[cr]ying her son Kephi[sodorus]"

⁵⁸ For a fuller range of possibilities and further bibliography, see FOSSEY (1991) 175-179.

⁵⁹ FOSSEY (1991) 169 expressed surprise about "how little attention has been paid this epigram". Even the otherwise fundamental article by MICKEY (1981) on the literary language of archaic inscriptional epigrams fails to fully appreciate the import of this epigram for reconstructing "the record of early Boeotian poetry" (FOSSEY [1991] 180).

⁶⁰ FOSSEY (1991) 174 prints δακρυ]οῖσα, no doubt a typo.

(3) PEEK (1970) 88



The stone was part of a private (that is, non-civic) funerary monument through which the death in battle of a son (presumably called Kaphisodorus, a Boeotian name common enough in Kopais) was commemorated by a female relative, possibly his mother. Much about this epigram remains uncertain (including, *in primis*, whether the writer was a Boeotian) and depends on what supplements one is inclined to accept (l. 3 ἐπέστ[ασε with West or ἐπέστ[εσε with the other editors⁶¹) – hence the cautious formulation in Hansen’s apparatus, “quatenus auctor lingua Boeotica usus sit non constat”. Fossey compared the text with another roughly contemporary Boeotian funerary epigram that also commemorates a war victim, CEG 112 (= IG VII 2247, c. 500?, from Thisbe: ἀστοῖ[ς] καὶ χσένοισι Φάνες φίλος [ἐνθάδε κεῖται] /, [ῥέ]ς ποτ’ ἀρισστεύον ἐν προμάχοις [ἔτεσε] “here lies Phanes, dear both to his fellow-citizens and strangers, he who fell excelling among the foremost fighters”), and he rightly pointed out the superior literary quality of our epigram in terms of both diction and construction.⁶²

In her 1981 study on the language of inscriptional epigrams, Mickey mentions our inscription only once and with reference to what she identifies as the only exception, in her survey, to the otherwise notable lack of ‘self-conscious’ Ionisms in the (then) extant archaic stone epigrams collected by Hansen: the demonstrative *hé* at l. 3 (with ‘Ionic’ *η* < inherited *ᾱ*).⁶³ This is indeed

⁶¹ I do not understand Fossey’s scansion *hē* τόδ’ ἐπέστ[εσε σῆμα] — — — (sic in FOSSEY [1991] 274), nor his *μάχη* at the beginning of line 2.

⁶² FOSSEY (1991) 174–175. For *δαμασθείς* at the end of a hexameter, cf. e.g. Il. 16, 816 δουρὶ δαμασθείς, 22, 55 Ἀχιλλῷ δαμασθείς, and HDT. 6, 77 δουρὶ δαμασθείς (oracle).

⁶³ MICKEY (1981) 59 n. 11, based on HANSEN (1975).

a remarkable feature (the graphic sign of aspiration Ϝ before E being clear enough on the stone) and has led West, for instance, to suggest that we should perhaps read $h\tilde{\epsilon}$ = “ubi”.⁶⁴ By contrast, the vocalism α in $\kappa\alpha\varphi\iota$ at l. 4 is a Boeotian as well as Doric feature and the form $\xi\theta\rho\alpha\varphi\sigma\epsilon\nu$, if this is what we have to read at the beginning of l. 1,⁶⁵ points again towards a feature that is generally shared by the Doric dialects and theoretically possible also in Boeotian (though otherwise unattested there so far).

But the most interesting feature of our epigram is the presence of a thematic feminine participle in $-\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$ at l. 4,⁶⁶ an Aeolic trait that is notoriously absent from Homeric epic and that can only be interpreted as deriving from the lyric tradition.⁶⁷ Obviously Page could not know of the existence of this epigram, since it was first published only in 1969. Yet, the presence in a hexametric line of a non-Homeric Aeolic feature, that is, a feature proper to the lyric tradition, testifies to the ‘more-than-local’ linguistic veneer that was evidently appreciated by the ‘local’ Boeotian audience of a small and relatively marginal town like Kopai in the fifth century BC. While many things remain uncertain about *CEG* 114, its importance for reconstructing the linguistic and literary expectations of a Boeotian provincial audience in the fifth century BC is thus beyond doubt. If a ‘local’ poet, or at any rate a poet who, whatever his provenance, received a commission from a Boeotian client, could use a thematic feminine participle in $-\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$ in a hexameter, the *a priori* verdict that Corinna could never have considered

⁶⁴ West *apud* Hansen.

⁶⁵ KOUMANOUDES (1969) 82-83 suggested an improbable $\mu' \xi\gamma\rho\alpha\varphi\sigma\epsilon\nu$, which he thought would refer to a painted stele with a picture of the dead at the top of the whole monument. Against this contrived hypothesis, see the objections of FOSSEY (1991) 175.

⁶⁶ MICKEY (1981) 49 strangely does not refer to our inscription when she lists the possible ‘Aeolic elements’ identifiable in the epigraphic poetic corpus.

⁶⁷ On this form of prestige in Greek choral lyric, see CASSIO (2005). Peek supplemented e.g. $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$, Fossey e.g. $\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$. Other supplements are of course possible (e.g. $\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\iota\sigma\alpha$ etc.).

the Aeolic tradition as a possible reservoir for her linguistic experimentation seems to be ill-judged.

3. Conclusions

The two case-studies considered in this paper, Pindar's *Olympian* 1 and a Boeotian stone epigram of 'local' production, both roughly contemporary, may be seen as representing, in terms of both *Überlieferungsgeschichte* (written medium) and linguistic texture, the two opposite ends of a broader continuum within the literary communicative economies of ancient Greece: the self-consciously pan-Hellenic (an ode celebrating an Olympic victory of the tyrant Hieron of Syracuse and composed by, arguably, the greatest Greek lyric poet of any time) and the epichoric (a funerary epigram locally commissioned in the small and remote Boeotian town of Kopai, perhaps in the aftermath of the Persian Wars).

In the former case (*Olympian* 1), I have argued that what has so far been interpreted as Boeotian linguistic features (the interrogative τὰ of parts of the manuscript tradition at l. 82 and the word αἰμαχοῦραι at l. 90) does not stand closer scrutiny and that the evidence at our disposal can be read more productively in another way. Firstly, the word αἰμαχοῦρα does not present any Boeotian element (whether morphological or phonological), and even if we accept a Boeotian context at its *origin* (viz., the commemoration of the battle of Plataea at Plataea, as referred to by Plut. *Arist.* 21, 6), the intrinsic pan-Hellenic nature of the event must have contributed from the very start to enfranchising the word to a supra-regional status. Secondly, as for τὰ at *Ol.* 1, 82, I have claimed that the virtual absence of this form as a Boeotian equivalent to interrogative τί in the grammatical tradition prior to Gregory of Corinth, when taken together with other evidence (scholia etc.), strongly suggests that τὰ is a scribal mistake that penetrated into the Pindaric tradition after the consolidation of the Pindaric scholia as we have them and

during or before the transliteration of the text into minuscule writing.

In the latter case (*CEG* 114), I have shown that even in the markedly local context of provincial Kopai there was mileage, already at an early age, in the poetic use of a non-Homeric Aeolic feature (a feminine participle in -οισα). Obviously, both of these are only specific case-studies, from which no rash generalization must be made about the interconnectedness of the ‘vernacular’ and the ‘more-than-local’ poetic register. Even so, they are important witnesses to the spectrum of linguistic possibilities that was available to the poets of archaic and classical Greece as they addressed their audiences.

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DISCUSSION

O. Tribulato: I am absolutely persuaded that you are right in ruling out $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ as an original Boeotian form in Pindar. The evidence that you gave us for the non-existence of $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ in the grammatical tradition prior to Gregory of Corinth is very strong, or even decisive. I find this an important conclusion of yours and one which will force authors of dialectological handbooks to revise their information on Pindar (and Boeotian). But quite apart from that your argument gives us the opportunity to discuss and evaluate the role of the ancient and Byzantine grammarians in our assessment of many elements of the Greek poetic language. The original $\tau\acute{\iota}$ corrupted into $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ was taken seriously by Gregory of Corinth and as a consequence many modern interpreters have found it too good to have a Boeotian feature in Pindar to actually bother to doubt this set of information. What we should always bear in mind when we approach the ancient grammarians is the pervasive analogical thinking that rules their reasoning: this applies to a lot of other 'dialectal' elements which one finds described in ancient grammar and then retroactively attributed to the text of the lyric poets by modern editors – think for instance of strange athematic forms of the *uerba uocalia* (on which you yourself have written an important paper). But this is a twofold process: some analogical forms theorized early on, for instance by Herodian, seem to have permeated the text of the lyric poets and once they entered the text later grammarians had no reason not to consider these forms authentic. A good example is the diphthongized $-\alpha\iota-$ for $/a:/$ which we so often find in the papyri of Sappho: it is obviously a result of analogy on forms with compensatory lengthening, but once they are transmitted in the text of Sappho later grammarians such as Gregory of Corinth

derive an overall rule telling us that all masculine nouns in $-\alpha\varsigma$ end in $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in Aeolic.

L. Prauscello: You are right in highlighting the importance of analogical thinking in ancient grammarians (from the very beginning onwards) and the twofold process of this phenomenon. The main difference, for me, between the diphthongized forms in $-\alpha\iota-$ in Lesbian poetry and the case of the Pindaric $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ for $\tau\iota$ is that whereas the former feature is widespread in our direct tradition (papyri), for the latter we have no sound evidence before Gregory of Corinth.

O. Tribulato: Concerning *CEG* 114, a general reflection that this example induces is that scholars (especially those from some decades ago) seemed all too ready to deny ‘marginal’ regions such as Boeotia any possibility to know, appreciate, and imitate (sometimes even in a refined manner) the poetic tradition. I do not see why a local poet (be he an epigrammatist or Corinna herself) would not be acquainted with Lesbian lyric and would not want to imitate it. And regarding the $-\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha$ participle itself, something that I would personally wish we had is a comprehensive overview of such lyric elements in the language of stone epigrams *also* taking into account those of the 4th and 3rd centuries. I think it would give us some interesting information about what (if any) prestige these elements had outside literary language proper. An example that comes to my mind is a later epigram from Polyrrenia (Crete: *SEG* XVI 532) where a participle in $-\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha$ is used to characterize the mother of a deceased girl, in an epigram that uses Doric features (some of them specifically Cretan) as well as epic elements such as $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$.

L. Prauscello: Very many thanks for this further example of $-\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha$ in an epigram marked by both local and poetic features. The date is much lower (second/first century BC) but I agree, the operating principle is the same.

A. Willi: Both of your illuminating case studies basically speak *against* a substantial trend towards ‘localizing’ lyric poetry by linguistic means. Even so, there seem to be instances where it is difficult to avoid the impression; I am thinking here, for example, of Stesichorus’ use of an infinitive εἶν which, for all we know, does not seem to be due to his usual linguistic sources, the traditions of epic and choral lyric language. If we come across cases like this, what do we do with them? Should we treat them as mere ‘slips’ by the poets, who inadvertently introduced some jarring note, or should we try to assign special significance to them – and if the latter, why then do we not find them rather more frequently?

L. Prauscello: Your question touches the very heart of the issue of epichoric linguistic features in Greek lyric and I am afraid that I do not have a comprehensive answer to offer to your important question, certainly not one explaining *all* the possible scenarios. If there is anything to be learnt from the examples I presented (Pindar’s *Olympian* 1 and *CEG* 114), it is that each case is specific and deserves individual treatment. The case of Stesichorus’ εἶν is indeed puzzling but every attempt at normalization of the relevant passage is doomed to be wrong because the Euboian εἶν is metrically guaranteed. In this case we are not dealing with ‘superficial’ features (e.g. morphematic endings) that can be easily subject to editorial manipulation. We should also remember that in the case of Stesichorus a ‘local’ performative context, where Euboian linguistic elements are at home (the dialect of Himera at the time of Stesichorus was a *mélange* of Syracusan and western Ionic; it is only after *c.* 480 BC that any trace of the Euboian dialect and script disappears at Himera), cannot be ruled out. My impression is that the presence of epichoric linguistic features in Greek lyric should not *per se* surprise us exceedingly – what is instead very difficult to gauge is why these features appear exactly *where* they do and not elsewhere. Performance context may be one of the reasons, but certainly not the only one. In the case of *Ol.* 1

I have argued that: (i) the word *αίμακουρίαι* does not exhibit any Boeotian morphological or phonetic feature and that even assuming a Boeotian original context its use almost immediately acquired a pan-Hellenic ‘value’; (ii) the near non-existence of Boeotian *τά* in the grammatical tradition prior to Gregory of Corinth should make us suspicious. In this case we do have circumstantial evidence that justifies scepticism. Other cases can be entirely different. My impression is that we have to do with a partially submerged phenomenon that could be motivated by multiple, concurrent factors: addressee (see e.g. the Corinthian spelling Ποτειδῶνος for Poseidon in *Ol.* 13, whose *laudandus* is from Corinth), performance context, metrical reasons, editorial intervention and so on.

A. Willi: It seems to me that the passage in *Et. Gen. s.v.* ἄττα is rather intriguing. As it stands, the argument in it does not seem to me to flow very naturally when it says τοῦτο (i.e., ἄσσα) δὲ γέγονε ἀπὸ τοῦ τα Δωρικοῦ, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ τινα, ὅπερ διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ σ μετὰ τοῦ α ψιλοῦ τρέπεται κτλ.: How can one say that τα “changes [into ἄσσα] by doubling of the sigma and addition of an unaspirated alpha” when there is no sigma in it? In other words, I wonder if we need not assume that something has gone wrong in the transmission here and that the text originally said ἀπὸ τοῦ σα Δωρικοῦ – for it does make sense to say that σα “changes [into ἄσσα] by doubling of the sigma and addition of an unaspirated alpha”. In that case, this *Et. Gen.* entry would be more in line with the one *s.v.* ἄσσα, and the Eustathius passage could then perhaps merely combine the two. Plus, quite importantly, ‘Doric’ τα would then *only* be attested by Gregory of Corinth, making its reality even more questionable.

L. Prauscello: Your proposal of emending the transmitted *τά* into *σά* is very ingenious and would give a much better sense to the whole passage that is indeed brachylogic and hence difficult to understand. The only reservation I have is that if we

emend τά into σά, we would have to emend also the following Δωρικοῦ, since σά is otherwise recognized as a Megarian form in the *Et. Gen.* (unless, of course, we suppose a further confusion/conflation *ab origine*, which is a possibility). According to my interpretation the referent of τοῦτο would not be the ἔσσα of the Homeric quotation just mentioned, nor the initial ἔττα but the whole reasoning of the first lines: that is, τοῦτο would refer to the whole state of affairs, that is, to the prototypical form existing independently from the two dialectal realizations (the fact that we have ἔττα in Attic *and* ἔσσα in Ionic). Your interpretation would considerably improve the syntax; on the other hand brachylogy is a frequent feature in the *Etymologica* and I feel hesitant correcting the only attestation of τά as Dorian before Gregory of Corinth.

L. Huitink: At one point in your paper you quote a number of passages from scholia and other late commentators which suggest that Pindar is the main representative of the κοινή *tout court* (as, apparently, Homer is of Ionic, Aristophanes of Attic, etc.). You write that, while this may seem surprising to us, it makes “perfect sense insofar as it sanctions Pindar’s perceived linguistic excellence as the lyric poet within the Greek canon of οἱ πραττόμενοι”. I wonder about this. First of all, is the link between κοινή and ‘excellence’ an obvious one in a tradition of commentators that often seems preoccupied with reconstructing the ‘pure’ ancient dialects? Secondly, in the passages you quote, does κοινή not imply that Pindar used *all* the other dialects mixed together in some way or other? And if there is mileage in that suggestion, does that have implications for your wider argument, in particular the shape of ancient texts of Pindar and the amount of dialectical variation perceived (and allowed) in them?

L. Prauscello: To answer both questions together: in the grammatical tradition (starting with Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian up to Gregory of Corinth, Eustathius and the scholia to

Dionysius Thrax etc.) κοινή is *at the same time* the standard spoken and written language of the cultivated people of their time, seen in an atemporal dimension, and the result of the ‘proper’ mixing of different dialectal features. The two features are not seen as contradictory or mutually exclusive. As it is, Boeotian is never mentioned as one of the ‘literary’ languages that are part of this commonly shared linguistic reservoir. Ucciardello (2012) has made a good case for the possibility that Pindaric papyri might present us with a text provided with many more dialectal features than those passed down in the medieval tradition. Nevertheless none of these cases involves Boeotian dialect.

S.D. Olson: You may well be right to argue that $\tau\acute{\iota}$ rather than $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ should be printed at *Ol.* 1, 82, and I defer to your expertise and that of our other colleagues in regard to the history of the Greek dialects. It nonetheless seems to me that some of the arguments you have advanced to justify your choice of reading on other grounds are less compelling than they might be. I raise these points not because I believe that I understand the history of the text of Pindar better than you do (which is certainly not true), but out of a conviction that some of the methodological issues raised below deserve explicit consideration in this connection. You make five main points separate from the question of whether $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ for common $\tau\acute{\iota}$ is a legitimate Doric form: (1) the error is easy explainable; (2) the *scholia* seem to have read $\tau\acute{\iota}$; (3) the separate fact that the *scholia* do not comment on $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is striking, given their general interest in dialectal peculiarities; (4) D’Alessio’s observation that $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ is attested only once more and in Pindar (*Dith.* fr. 70d(b) l. 11 Maehler); and (5) the question of “why Pindar would have used a specific Boeotian (and not just generally Doric) form of the interrogative to formulate a generic traditional gnome”. Most of these strike me as problematic approaches to the issue at hand.

(1) If Pindar wrote $\tau\acute{\iota}$ and a number of the most important manuscripts have $\tau\acute{\alpha}$, something has gone wrong in the tradition.

But the fact that an error was made at some point by an anonymous scribe or editor is different from saying that the error is easily explained. Most simple errors on the scale of the one seemingly in question at *Ol.* 1, 82 are a result of a confusion of similar characters (Π written for ΓΙ, for example, or Δ for Α), of dittography or haplography, or of easy spontaneous ‘corrections’ that yield superficially reasonable sense even if actual nonsense; in all these cases one can speak of an “easy and obvious palaeographic error”. This is not the situation here; the final *alpha* on ΑΝΑΓΚΑ creates no obvious incentive to write ΤΑ rather than ΤΙ after it, and (as you argue eloquently on other grounds) ΤΑ would appear on most counts to make no sense. This does not mean that a scribe could not make the mistake – and probably one did – but that is a different matter.

(2) This is a divided tradition, and the fact that the *scholia* side with one part of the tradition (and thus read τῖ) tells us nothing about what should be read (since they may well be based on the part of the tradition that is corrupt).

(3) The lack of a dialectal gloss in the *scholia* treating τᾶ once again shows us only that the manuscripts on which the *scholia* are based read τῖ (as noted in (2)). At the same time, this is an argument from silence, and we are all properly trained to be wary of such arguments as inherently misleading.

(4) D’Alessio’s observation that τῖ κέ τινι occurs in Pindar only in extant Greek literature is based on one other example. Better put, if τᾶ is right at *Ol.* 1, 82 (which most editors for a century have believed), D’Alessio’s claim is false, making the argument circular in any case.

(5) Why Pindar may have used a specifically Boeotian form in a nominally pan-Hellenic poem is an interpretative question rather a textual one, nor is it difficult to generate a number of possible answers (e.g. he wanted the sentiment to sound like a “homely, local saying”, or he wanted to place a dialectal *sphragis* on his poem). The question nicely sharpens our sense of the large issues in play here. But it provides us with no ground for deciding what Pindar wrote, which is a different matter. I stress

again that these concerns have less to do with your conclusions themselves than with how you justify your conclusions.

L. Prauscello: First of all, I would like to emphasize that my main argument for preferring $\tau\acute{\iota}$ over $\tau\acute{\alpha}$, an argument that you simply brush aside, is the near non-existence of $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ in the grammatical tradition prior to Gregory of Corinth. All the other arguments that I adduce are subsidiary and should be considered as circumstantial evidence and hence taken additionally and cumulatively. As to your point (1), I am not saying that the corruption of TI into TA is an easy one, nor am I invoking mechanic palaeographical criteria. All I am saying is that this type of corruption is well within the attested range of scribal mistakes that we find in every kind of manuscript tradition: phonetic assimilation (by the way, I do not simply speak of assimilation on the basis of the final *alpha* of ἀνάγκη: I am speaking of a sequence of three syllables all with *alpha* as the only vowel, which is something considerably different). That the resulting mistake due to phonetic assimilation does not generate good sense is not something that particularly bothers scribes, as countless examples testify. As to your points (2) and (3), I myself am the first to recognize that this is an argument *ex silentio*, yet I would say that it is a strong argument *ex silentio* if ever there was one. Furthermore, you are ignoring the chronological axis: whatever date we are inclined to assume for the formation of the Pindaric scholia, we have no comment on $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ prior to Gregory of Corinth. How do you explain this silence compared with the other comments scattered in the scholia on real or supposed dialectal features in Pindar? Point (4): D'Alessio simply pointed out what is, at the very least, a very remarkable coincidence: in the whole extant Greek literature of any time the syntagm $\tau\acute{\iota}$ κέ τις is attested only one more time apart from *Ol.* 1, 82 (according to some manuscripts), and it is in Pindar. Just mere chance? Furthermore the play with $\tau\iota/\tau\iota\varsigma$ in Pind. *Pyth.* 8, 95 $\tau\acute{\iota}$ δέ τις; $\tau\acute{\iota}$ δ' οὐ τις shows at the very least that Pindar did not eschew such assonances, as Gerber would

like to have it. As to (5), it seems to me that the choice of $\tau\acute{\iota}$ or $\tau\acute{\alpha}$, given the split manuscript tradition, is *both* a textual *and* an interpretative problem. Your suggestion of seeing a *sphragis* (that is a seal *recognizable* as such by his audience) in a monosyllabic word, that is, a word with minimal phonic weight, and within a gnomic sentence, strikes me as highly unlikely and unparalleled within the Pindaric corpus.

A. Cassio: You rightly emphasized the importance of the pan-Hellenic status of *Olympian* 1, which makes very implausible that Pindar used a provincial Boeotian form precisely in that victory ode. As you reminded us in your talk, in his 1971 dissertation on the language of Stesichorus and Ibycus M. Nöthiger (pp. 31-32) regarded the Boeotian dialect as responsible for the prevalence in Pindar of forms without the third compensatory lengthening, which is far from carrying conviction. Developments of the $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}.\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma > \kappa\tilde{\alpha}.\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ type became pervasive from relatively early times: $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is securely attested in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 63, $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\iota\kappa\tilde{\eta}\varsigma \kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu \epsilon\tilde{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\pi\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$, Sappho 1, 9 ($\tilde{\alpha}\rho$] μ' $\upsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\delta\epsilon$ [$\upsilon\tilde{\xi}\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha$. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ σ' $\tilde{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu$) and elsewhere, the Doric dialect of Hieron's Syracuse ($\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\beta\omega\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ |, Epicharm. fr. 7 K.-A., $\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu \kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu$, fr. 134 K.-A.) and obviously fifth-century BC Attic ($\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is standard in Attic tragedy). This innovation (the old form obviously being $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma < \kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda.\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) became pervasive at a remarkably early stage; the fact that in Homer only $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is attested does not reflect seventh-century BC usage, but is one of the many traditional features of that text ($\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ being in its turn a heir to epic songs where the original form $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\lambda.\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ was certainly used at an early stage). The lack of the third compensatory lengthening in Pindar's text is far from being a provincial Boeotianism: it belongs to a series of innovations that may have proudly been perceived as 'modern' – and pan-Hellenic, as they were to become soon.

L. Prauscello: Your explanation seems to me entirely convincing. Already Meister, in his *Kunstsprache* (p. 208), argued

that ‘contemporary’ Ionic already had, for instance, the form ξένος and that ξεῖνος (i.e. ξένος) is just an adaptation of pre-Homeric and traditional ξένφος. Somehow in modern scholarship there seems to be lingering resistance to admitting this possibility, perhaps because of the majority view that forms like ξεῖνος must *all* necessarily be due to East-Ionic singers.

A. Cassio: A note on αἵμακουρία: Chantraine’s *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s.v. κορε- (p. 566), basically accepts the etymology already offered by the scholion on Pindar *Ol.* 1, 90 (ἀπὸ τοῦ κορέννυσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς αἵματος), only adding “la diphthongue inattendue [-ου-] peut être due à l’analogie de κουρά”. I am by no means certain that the second member of this compound is based on κορέννυμι “to satiate”, whereas it seems highly likely to me that the root of κείρω “to shear, cut down, slaughter” (cf. κούρειον “sacrificial victim”) played a key role in its formation. In the *Poetics* Aristotle deals at some point (1457b6 ff.) with the μεταφορὰ ἀπ’ εἰδους ἐπὶ εἶδος and quotes χαλκῷ ἀπὸ ψυχῇν ἀρύσας “drawing off soul/life” and τεμῶν ταναήκει χαλκῷ from unspecified hexametric poetry, which modern scholars attribute to Empedocles’ *Katharmoi* (fr. 138 D.-K. = 125 Wright). Aristotle adds (1457b14 ff.) ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρύσαι ταμεῖν, τὸ δὲ ταμεῖν ἀρύσαι εἴρηκεν. At first sight this exchange of meaning between ταμεῖν and ἀρύσαι might look as due to some poetic manipulation, especially because of the artificial-looking concept of “drawing off” a soul, but in fact in a context of animal sacrifice “cutting” the throat is immediately followed by “drawing off” blood, so that the concept of “cutting blood” may have sounded as a natural association. If this is accepted there is no need of an etymology from κορέννυμι: it is easy to explain -κουρία as derived, like κουρά, from kors- (cf. κόρση), the -o- grade version of kers- (cf. e.g. ἀκερσεκόμης), which must be postulated in order to explain various Greek forms related to κείρω “to shear” (see Chantraine, *Dict. Etym.*, p. 510). It simply means “cutting of blood”. Obviously enough -ου- in κουρά and -κουρία is the outcome of the compensatory

lengthening of **kors-a/-ia*, yet -ου- shows that it cannot be a Boeotian development, which should have been **-κωρία*. I cannot see why Beekes in his *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, s.v. *κουρά*, speaks of *αίμακουρία* having a “faded second member”.

L. Prauscello: I too think that the etymology of *αίμακουρίαι* is better explained as derived from *αἶμα* + *κουρά* “cutting” < *κείρω*, and the passage of Aristotle you quote is absolutely spot on. That the ancients too could perceive this etymon in *αίμακουρίαι* is confirmed by an unpublished gloss recently discovered by Giuseppe Ucciardello in an orthographical collection preserved in the *codex Laur. pl.* 59, 49 (= L, probably to be dated to the 12th century), one of the most important manuscripts of Cyrillus’ *Lexicon*. This is the lemma (*κουρεῖον*): L f. 123r> (ed. pr. Ucciardello) *κο(υ)ρεῖον· εἶ· ὡς βυρσεῖον, χαλκεῖον· κουρεὺς γὰρ καὶ βυρσεὺς καὶ χαλκεύς. κουρεῖον· τόπος τοῦ κουρέως· καὶ <κούρειον> θῦμα ὧς φησι Πίνδαρος ἐν αἵμακουρίαις (Ol. 1, 90). For more Pindar in L one should consult Ucciardello (forthcoming).*

III

ANDREAS WILLI

DER SPRACHRAUM DER TRAGÖDIE

ABSTRACT

Based on a systematic exploration of the most conspicuous features of tragic language as encountered on various levels (phonology, morphology, syntax, word formation, lexicon, pragmatics), this paper seeks to determine the overarching principles behind this special register; it argues that tragic language makes use of a 'metonymized grammar' in which the individual and specific is generally reduced in favour of the general and non-specific, thereby creating a linguistic counterpart to what the genre also does as a literary form.

1. Einleitung

1.1. In Aristophanes' *Acharnern* beschließt der kriegsmüde Bauer Dikaiopolis, einen Privatfrieden mit Sparta auszuhandeln – allerdings ohne mit der heftigen Reaktion der Veteranen von Acharnai zu rechnen, die an nichts als Rache am Gegner denken können. Um ihnen wenigstens seine Sicht der Dinge vortragen zu können, nimmt Dikaiopolis schließlich einen Korb acharnischer Kohle als Geisel. Doch weiß er, wie schwer es ist, eine derart feindselige Zuhörerschaft zu überzeugen. So will er Euripides um Hilfe angehen, einen Tragiker, der für seine cleveren Argumente bekannt ist und in dessen Werk sogar der Myserkönig Telephos als armseliger Bettler auftritt. Ein Telephos-Kostüm möchte Dikaiopolis darum haben, doch bis er es bekommt, muss er sich zuerst mit Euripides' Diener und dann mit Euripides selbst herumschlagen.

Die entscheidende Szene beginnt in Vers 393, wo Dikaiopolis sich zu Euripides' Haus aufmacht. Auf sein Klopfen öffnet der Diener, Dikaiopolis fragt, ob Euripides zuhause sei, und der Diener antwortet kryptisch οὐκ ἔνδον ἔνδον ἐστίν, εἰ γνῶμην ἔχεις "nicht drinnen ist er drinnen, so du Einsicht hast" (397). Damit beginnt ein Wortwechsel, der später vom Gespräch zwischen Dikaiopolis und Euripides fortgesetzt wird und in dem wir das Aufeinandertreffen zweier ganz unterschiedlicher Register erleben: der Alltagssprache des einfachen Bauern einerseits, der Tragödiensprache des Dichters andererseits. So wie schon im euripideisch zisierten Paradoxon des Dieners, wird diese Differenz zum einen auf der metrischen Ebene spürbar. Nicht zufällig enthält der zitierte Trimeter keine einzige Resolution, entsprechend dem Umstand, dass – wenn man von der freien Handhabung beim mittleren und späten Euripides absieht – nur etwa 5-10% der tragischen, aber rund 50% der komischen Trimeter eine Resolution aufweisen.¹ Das Metrum kann also *Indiz* der Paratragödie sein, es ist aber allein kein hinreichender Erweis. Mindestens so wichtig sind verschiedene sprachliche Merkmale. Wenn Euripides den Dikaiopolis ungeduldig mit τί λέλαχας; "Was verlauteest du?" unterbricht (410), so benutzt er nicht nur ein typisch tragisches Lexem für lautes "Sprechen" (λάσκω), sondern zugleich eine Form, deren nicht-attische Phonologie auffällt: In der attischen Normalsprache müsste es ja λέληχας heißen.² Und wenn Euripides seinen Diener später anweist, die "Lumpen" des Telephos herauszusuchen, so tut er auch das 'tragisch'. ποίας ποθ' ἄνθρωποι λακίδας αἰτεῖται πέπλων; "Welch Fetzen eines Kleids erbittet denn der Mann?" (423) heißt es dann, mit ποίας anstelle von τίνας (denn gemeint ist nicht die *Art* der Fetzen), mit poetischem Plural πέπλων anstelle von πέπλου und mit der nominalen

¹ S. WEST (1982) 85, 89. In den folgenden Übersetzungen wird versucht, den rhythmisierten Grundton, den jede tragische Äußerung hat, wiederzugeben.

² Vgl. z.B. ARIST. *Hist. an.* 618b31 λέληκεν, mit Bezug auf tierisches "Schreien", nicht eine artikulierte (laute) Äußerung (wie in EUR. *Hipp.* 55; *Hec.* 678).

Periphrase *λακίδας πέπλων* “Kleiderfetzen” für *πέπλον κατερωγότα* “zerfetztes Kleid” bzw. einfach *ράκιον/ράκια* “Fetzen” (vgl. 412, 415); und in *ὦ παῖ δὸς αὐτῷ Τηλέφου ρακώματα / κεῖται δ' ἄνωθεν τῶν Θυεστείων ρακῶν / μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰνοῦς* “o Sklave, gib heraus ihm Telephos’ Gefetz; / auf den Thyestesfetzen liegt es obenauf, / inmitten derer von Ino” (432-434) begegnet uns ein typisch tragisches -μα-Abstraktum *ράκωμα* für *ράκος*, die dichterische Weglassung des bestimmten Artikels in *Τηλέφου ρακώματα* und die Ersetzung des prosaischen Genitivs in *τῶν Θυέστου ρακῶν* durch das dichterische Adjektiv *Θυεστείων*.

1.2. Wenn es darum geht, die *Eigenart* des tragischen Registers zu erfassen, ist es durchaus sinnvoll, von der parodistischen Darstellung auszugehen. Statt der mechanischen Vermessung des sprachlichen Systems in den erhaltenen Dramen steht dann nämlich all das im Vordergrund, was von den Erstadressaten als für das Genre charakteristisch und konstitutiv wahrgenommen wurde. Und nur was für die Zuschauer in dieser Weise ‘bemerkenswert’ war – unabhängig davon, wie reflektiert das ‘Bemerkn’ war –, kann eine über die bloße Textvermittlung hinausgehende kommunikative oder ästhetische Funktion gehabt haben. Wer sich für das Zusammenspiel von Form und Funktion interessiert, darf darum zwar die Beschreibung der grammatischen Oberfläche nicht vergessen,³ sie ist aber nur ein *erster* Schritt. Im Anschluss daran ist vielmehr *zweitens* zu fragen, ob gerade die auffälligsten Merkmale tragischer Sprache, wie sie beispielsweise in der Parodie gebündelt werden, nicht irgendwelchen grundlegenden Gesetzmäßigkeiten gehorchen – eine

³ Vgl. dazu Überblicksdarstellungen (MEILLET [1965] 217-222; HOFFMANN / SCHERER [1969] 100-114; HIERSCHE [1970] 147-159; KACZKO [2016], v.a. zu dialektalen Fragen; breiter PALMER [1980] 130-141; MASTRONARDE [2002] 81-96; RUTHERFORD [2010] 442-448; BATTEZZATO [2012]) sowie monographische Abhandlungen besonders zu Syntax und Stilistik (z.B. CAMPBELL [1871] 1-98; BRUHN [1899]; MOORHOUSE [1982]). An grammatisch-linguistischen Details wenig interessiert sind die literarisch orientierten Studien von BUDELMANN (2000) und RUTHERFORD (2010).

im engeren Sinne linguistische Analyse ist also geboten. Und sollte die Antwort positiv sein, so wäre *drittens* die Brücke zurück von der sprachwissenschaftlichen Betrachtung hin zur literarischen Auswertung zu schlagen; denn *wenn* es so ein inneres Regelwerk der tragischen *Form* gibt, so kommt ihm sicherlich auch eine *Funktion* zu, die unser Verständnis des Genres Tragödie insgesamt befördern kann. Wo bisher überhaupt Ansätze zu einer entsprechenden Synthese erkennbar sind, ist man, weil der entscheidende zweite Schritt fehlte, nicht weiter als zur Feststellung gelangt, das Wesen tragischer Sprache sei nun einmal die 'Entfremdung'.⁴ Das ist zwar nicht falsch, aber so vage, dass Ähnliches mit Fug und Recht über eigentlich jeden Typus von Sondersprache gesagt werden könnte.

1.3. Um nun zu zeigen, dass es in der Tat solche tieferen Gesetzmäßigkeiten gibt, sollen im folgenden ausgewählte Phänomene aus den verschiedensten Bereichen der Sprachstruktur – Phonologie, Morphologie, Syntax, Wortbildung, Semantik, Pragmatik – zunächst gesondert betrachtet werden. Im Fortschreiten der Untersuchung dürfte aber allmählich klar werden, weshalb der Terminus 'Sprachraum' berechtigt ist, die Sprache der Tragödie also kein zufälliges Mischmasch poetisierender Sonderbarkeiten darstellt, sondern ein selbständiges, bei aller internen Variation⁵ in sich kohärentes System. Und im Prinzip ist das ja auch genau, was Aristophanes inszeniert: Wie der Vertreter eines fremden Volkes *spricht* sein Euripides nicht nur anders, als es der normale Athener tut, er ist auch *räumlich* und in seinem *Habitus* (τρόποι) von ihm getrennt; denn der Tragöde erscheint, mithilfe des tragischen Ekkyklemas, 'hoch oben' und

⁴ So z.B. KACZKO (2016) 309; vgl. weiter die Bemerkungen bei BERS (1984) 192-194 und SILK (1996) 459-461.

⁵ Aus Platzgründen muss dieser Aspekt hier vernachlässigt und der Fokus auf die Sprechpartien (Rheseis, Dialoge) gerichtet werden. Zu Unterschieden zwischen den Tragikern s. RUTHERFORD (2010) 448-453 und (2012) 399-411, zu solchen zwischen lyrischen und gesprochenen Partien (nach ARIST. *Poet.* 1449a24-31) z.B. BREITENBACH (1934) *passim*; SILK (2010) 432-433 sowie RUTHERFORD (2010) 443-445 und (2012) 220-221 mit Literatur.

in jämmerliche Lumpen gekleidet – was Dikaiopolis sofort einleuchtet (*Ach.* 410–413): ἀναβάδην ποιεῖς, / ἐξὸν καταβάδην; οὐκ ἐπὶ χωλοῦς ποιεῖς. / ἀτὰρ τί τὰ ῥάκι' ἐκ τραγῳδίας ἔχεις, / ἐσθῆτ' ἐλείνῃ; οὐκ ἐπὶ πτωχοῦς ποιεῖς “Du dichtetest oben, / wo du auch unten kannst? Kein Wunder, machst du Krüppel! / Und warum hast du da Tragödienfetzen an, / ein jämmerlich' Gewand? Kein Wunder, machst du Bettler!”.

2. Dissoziation in der dialektalen Phonologie der Tragödie

2.1. Einer phonologischen Eigenheit der Tragödie sind wir in der aristophanischen Szene bereits begegnet: dem α *impurum* von λέλαῖκας. Solchen im tragischen Dialog bezeugten α *impura* – also Fällen von langem /a:/, wo das normale Attische eigentlich /ε:/ (η) aufweist – hat Björck eine ebenso brillante, wie in ihren Implikationen nicht immer hinreichend rezipierte Studie gewidmet.⁶ Darin unterschied er zunächst zwischen Lexemen, die auch in der attischen Prosa- und Alltagssprache gängig und somit als simple Dialektentlehnungen zu werten sind (z.B. κῶβᾱλος “Gauener”, die oft pejorativen Bildungen auf -ᾱξ, ‘Fachwörter’ wie λοχᾱγός “Leutnant” oder πόρπᾱξ “Schildgriff”) und *nicht*-prosaischen Wörtern mit -ᾱ- (z.B. eben λέλαῖκα, aber auch νᾱός “Tempel”, ἐκᾱτι “wegen”, Ἀθᾱνᾱ). Im Detail ist die Situation bei jedem einzelnen Wort natürlich wieder anders gelagert. Beispielsweise verbreitet sich νᾱός von Xenophon an *auch* in der attischen Prosa, aber diese etwas spätere Entwicklung für die Lage in der Tragödie verantwortlich zu machen, würde in die Irre führen, weil es da *nicht* um eine generelle Vermeidung der später als zu unregelmäßig empfundenen attischen Deklination geht: λεώς “Volk” und ἔλεως “gnädig” sind ebenfalls gut repräsentiert. Das dichterische ἐκᾱτι wiederum stellt eine metrisch praktische Wechselform zu οὔνεκα “wegen” dar, und dasselbe galt wohl für Ἀθᾱνᾱ neben Ἀθηναία (während

⁶ BJÖRCK (1950).

kontrahiertes Ἀθῆνᾶ noch registerfremd war). Der entscheidende Punkt ist aber ein anderer. In allen diesen Fällen wäre es ohne weiteres möglich gewesen, in ‘ionisierender’ Manier νηρός, ἔκητι, Ἀθήνη usw. zu sagen, also Formen zu verwenden, die im Epos und in der ionischen Dichtung verankert waren. Björck diagnostiziert daher “ein bewusstes ‘los von Homeros’ und einen Anschluss an die andere, ‘dorische’ Art hoher Dichtung”.⁷

2.2. Dieser Schluss ist absolut sauber, aber nicht harmlos. Man liest auch in neueren Darstellungen viel von der ionischen Komponente in der Sprache der Tragödie; ja, Diels sah in deren früher Existenz eine “historische Notwendigkeit” angesichts der iambischen Form.⁸ Wenn dem aber so wäre, warum vermied man in so auffälliger Weise unverfängliche Ionismen wie ἔκητι und Ἀθήνη?

In Wirklichkeit steht der ‘Ionismus’ der Tragödie auf tönernen Füßen. Ein oft zitierter Kronzeuge sind Wechselformen wie ξείνος “Gast” und μοῦνος “allein” neben ξένος/μόνος, oder μέσσος “mittlerer” und πόλις “Stadt” neben μέσος und πόλις. Natürlich wirkt dergleichen auf *uns* zunächst einmal ‘homerisch’, und somit ‘ionisch’; nur sind entsprechende Formen auch in der Chorlyrik (z.B. bei Pindar) bezeugt. Wer also sagt, dass ein athenisches Publikum des 5. Jh. v. Chr. in einem sophokleischen ξείνος eher einen Anklang an die Sprache von Epos und Iambos als an die der Chorlyrik gehört hätte? Und dürfen wir gleichzeitig darüber hinwegsehen, dass einer der markantesten Züge ‘homerischer’ Morphologie, der Genitiv auf -οιο, im tragischen Sprechvers fast völlig fehlt,⁹ hingegen gelegentlich in den lyrischen Partien auftritt – also da, wo er im Blick auf das angeblich ionische Erbe der Tragödie *keine* Berechtigung hat?

⁷ BJÖRCK (1950) 154.

⁸ DIELS (1901) 35-36; vgl. etwa MEILLET (1965) 218-219; KACZKO (2016) 311-313. Behutsamer wird die Lage bei HOFFMANN / SCHERER (1969) 103-104, 110-112 umrissen.

⁹ Ausnahmehaft ist EUR. fr. 228, 3; vgl. PAGE (1938) 78-79.

Oder dass der tragische Gebrauch des anaphorischen Personalpronomens *νιν* "ihn/sie" uns genau das gleiche sagt wie das *α* *impurum*, weil auch hier ein metrisch äquivalentes und sowohl bei Homer als auch im Iambos verwurzeltes *μιν* erhältlich gewesen wäre?

2.3. Selbstverständlich wäre es absurd, insbesondere dem Epos seinen Einfluss auf die Tragödie abzuspochen oder horizontale Entlehnungen abzustreiten.¹⁰ Aber von der Vorstellung, dass die Sprache des tragischen Dialogs irgendwie organisch aus der ionischen Dichtungstradition erwächst, müssen wir uns lösen. Stattdessen sollten wir Aristoteles Gehör schenken, wenn er mitteilt, die Tragödie habe ihren Ursprung in improvisierten Darbietungen der Stimmführer von Dithyrambenchören (Arist. *Poet.* 1449a9-14). Davon, dass solche Chöre zur vor allem *dorischen* Tradition der Chorlyrik gehörten, zeugt ja noch die dialektale Einfärbung der lyrischen Partien in der Tragödie. Wenn aber der Stimmführer eines solchen Chors improvisierend eine einführende oder kommentierende Soloeinlage zwischen den Performance-Blöcken seines Chors bot, so lag es für ihn nahe, erstens anstelle lyrischer Metra die agileren iambisch-trochäischen Sprechverse zu wählen und zweitens – aus demselben Grund – im eigenen Lokaldialekt zu 'rapen'; zu dessen Veredelung aber dienten natürlicherweise Elemente aus den zugehörigen Chorstücken.

2.4. Indessen interessiert dieser diachrone Aspekt hier weniger als die Synchronie. Da ist das bisher Gesagte für die Bewertung einer weiteren phonologischen Auffälligkeit nützlich: der Verwendung von 'unattischem' -σσ- bzw. -ρσ- in Wörtern wie *θάλασσα* "Meer", *κρείσσων* "stärker" bzw. *ἄρσεν* "männlich", *θαρσέω* "mutig sein" usw. Auch das wird manchmal vorschnell als 'ionischer' Zug der Tragödiensprache qualifiziert, obwohl

¹⁰ S. besonders SIDERAS (1970) zu Aischylos; HOFFMANN / SCHERER (1969) 108-110.

Fälle wie *κρείσσω* und *πράσσω* "machen" Vorsicht gebieten; gegenüber ion. *κρέσσω* und *πρήσσω* sind das Hybridbildungen. Auslöser für die 'ionische' Interpretation mag die ähnliche Situation in der attischen Prosa des 5. Jh. sein. Aber selbst *wenn* -σσ- und -ρσ- dort Erbstücke aus der ionischen Prosa wären, wäre der Vergleich mit der Tragödie kaum legitim. Nur in der Tragödie stehen daneben ja die schon genannten, deutlich den Dialekt des angeblichen Muttergenres meidenden Signale.

Dem Phänomen von -σσ-/ρσ- müssen wir deshalb anders beikommen, und zwar auf der Ebene des phonologischen Systems. Bei -σσ-/ρσ- gegenüber -ττ-/ρρ- handelt es sich nicht um zwei mehr oder weniger zufällige Abweichungen des Attischen von fast allen anderen Dialekten, bei denen eine Art Minderwertigkeitsgefühl zur Entattisierung zwang. Wäre den Tragikern wirklich der attische Klang von *κρείττων* und *ἄρρη* 'peinlich' gewesen, warum gaben sie sich dann mit halbbatzigem *κρείσσω* und *πράσσω* zufrieden, worin jeder feingeistige Ionier immer noch deutlich die lokale Eigenart hören musste – einmal abgesehen davon, dass man im Dionysos-Theater ohnehin eher unter sich war (auch dies im Unterschied zur internationalen Ausrichtung der Prosa)? *Eines* jedoch haben sogenannten 'attisches' -ττ- und -ρρ- miteinander – aber *nicht* mit dem langen /e:/ von *μείζων*, *κρείττων* – gemein. Es sind Phonemsequenzen, die die Phonologie des Attischen reichhaltiger und darum *merkmalhafter* machen, als es das phonologische System eines abstrahierten 'Panhellenisch' ist. Dass die für ein athenisches Publikum geschriebene Tragödie attisch war und jedenfalls für alle Nicht-Athener auch reichlich attisch klang, war überhaupt nicht das Problem, im Gegenteil: Man nahm sogar Kunstformen wie *πράσσω* und *κρείσσω* in Kauf, wo man ohne weiteres hätte ionisieren können. Worum es in Wirklichkeit ging, war, den Lautstand zu 'metonymisieren',¹¹ ihm jene dialektale Spezifik

¹¹ So dass z.B. bei einer Aufführung *in Athen* galt "πράσσω 'steht für' πράττω", usw. Hierin liegt ein Unterschied zum Epos oder der Chorlyrik, deren jeweilige dialektale Phonologie das Genre (mit)definiert.

zu nehmen, die auch den Athenern selbst auffiel. Das aber hieß, auch keine Formen zu benutzen, die das athenische Publikum genauso spezifisch *außerhalb* des Attischen verortet hätte (κρέσσων, πρήσσω).

2.5. Vor diesem Hintergrund sollten wir noch einmal Björcks Diagnose eines “bewussten ‘los von Homeros’” überdenken. Diese schießt insofern über das Ziel hinaus, als sie suggeriert, die Tragödie habe sich sprachlich aktiv *gegen* das Epos gewendet. Eigentlich geht es aber nur darum, *unkontrollierte* Assoziationen mit dem Epos und der iambisch-elegischen Tradition Ioniens zu vermeiden. Im stichischen Sprechvers hätten Genitive auf -οιο oder das Pronomen μιν genauso rasch wie ‘ionisch-episches’ Ἀθήνη und ἔκκετι eben diese ionische Dichtung evoziert und der Tragödie eine generische Zuordnung vermittelt, die sowohl historisch ‘falsch’ als auch synchron unerwünscht war. Die Integration allenfalls ‘chorlyrisch’, vermutlich aber einfach nur ‘wuchtig’ anmutender Formen mit α *impurum* (Ἀθάνα, ἔκατι, etc.; vgl. Demetr. *Eloc.* 177, ὀγκηρόν) war dagegen vergleichsweise unproblematisch, gerade weil die Distanz zwischen dem attischen Grundton der Tragödie und dem Dorismus der Chorlyrik so viel größer war; hier drohte also keine Fehldeterminierung des Genres.

3. Polymorphie und Analogie in der Morphologie der Tragödie

3.1. Mit dem (fehlenden) Genitiv auf -οιο und der Pronominalform νιν haben wir bereits zwei Merkmale der tragischen Morphologie angesprochen. In diesem Bereich ist das Phänomen polymorpher Wechselformen besonders prominent. Beispielsweise steht neben νιν und dem prosaischen ἀντόν/ἀντήν/ἀντό auch σφε, das anderen metrischen Anforderungen genügt. Kaum von der Lyrik bzw. von der ionischen Dichtung vorgespurt ist dabei die numerusindifferente Verwendung von σφε

auch für den Singular und von $\nu\iota\nu$ auch für den Plural.¹² Sowohl $\nu\iota\nu$ als auch $\sigma\varphi\epsilon$ markieren also in der Tragödie eigentlich nur das anaphorische Verhältnis, aber weder Numerus noch Genus, sie sind also eines wesentlichen Teils ihrer *funktionalen Spezifik* entkleidet – eine Eigenschaft, der wir in ganz anderem Zusammenhang später wiederbegegnen werden.

3.2. Einstweilen mehr Aufmerksamkeit sei einem eher wenig beachteten morphologischen Zug der Tragödie geschenkt, der Vorliebe für analogisch regularisierte Formen. So wird z.B. anders als im normalen Attischen als Aoriststamm zu λέγω “sagen, sprechen” neben $\epsilon\iota\pi(\epsilon/o)$ - von allen Tragikern gern sigmatisches $\lambda\epsilon\zeta(\alpha)$ - benutzt; und weiter scheut zumindest Euripides nicht davor zurück, im Plural des Aorists von $\epsilon\lambda\mu\iota$ “loslassen”, $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$ “geben”, $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$ “setzen” auch Formen mit - κ - zu verwenden.¹³ Beides mag metrisch von Nutzen sein, kann aber kaum allein damit erklärt werden. Sonst könnten Aischylos und Sophokles ja nicht auf $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$ “sie gaben” oder $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\nu$ “sie setzten” verzichten, und in Versen wie Soph. *El.* 554-555 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \eta\nu \epsilon\varphi\eta\varsigma \mu\omicron\iota, \tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\epsilon\theta\nu\eta\kappa\acute{o}\tau\omicron\varsigma \theta' \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho / \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\alpha\iota\mu' \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{o}\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\nu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ “Doch wenn du’s mir erlaubst, so spräche wohl zurecht / ich für den Toten und zugleich für meine Schwester” oder Eur. *Alc.* 281 $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\alpha\iota \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega \sigma\omicron\iota \pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu \theta\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu \acute{\alpha}$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ “ich will, bevor ich sterbe, sagen, was ich möchte” wären $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\iota\mu(\iota)$ bzw. $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ ohne weiteres verwendbar gewesen. Ebenfalls zweifelhaft scheint wiederum die konventionell dialektale Begründung. Zwar benutzt Herodot in der Tat $\lambda\epsilon\zeta(\alpha)$ - neben $\epsilon\iota\pi(\epsilon/o)$ - sowie Formen wie $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\nu$ usw., aber wenn es wirklich um ein ionisches Erbe ginge, so wäre wenigstens das Fehlen von $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$ etc. gerade bei den *älteren* Tragikern auffällig; und was $\lambda\epsilon\zeta(\alpha)$ - betrifft, so schiene misslich, dass zwar $\epsilon\iota\pi(\epsilon/o)$ - in der frühen iambisch-elegischen Dichtung reichlich belegt ist, $\lambda\epsilon\zeta(\alpha)$ - in dieser Gattung hingegen erstmals

¹² Vgl. KÜHNER / BLASS (1890-1892) 1, 586; COOPER (2002) 2276-2277.

¹³ Insbesondere, aber nicht nur, in der 3. Pl.; s. LAUTENSACH (1905) 85-89.

im 5. Jh. in einem Vers des Atheners Kritias erscheint (fr. 7, 1 West).

Das entscheidende Moment dürfte daher ein anderes sein. Ohne dass es sich um reine Kunstformen handelt, wie wir sie aus dem Epos kennen, geht sowohl bei $\lambda\epsilon\zeta(\alpha)$ - als auch bei $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$ etc. die Tendenz zur paradigmatischen Regularisierung eindeutig über das hinaus, was nach Ausweis der Komödie in der zeitgenössischen Normalsprache Athens üblich war.¹⁴ Dass beides, $\lambda\epsilon\zeta(\alpha)$ - und $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$ etc., in der attischen Prosa des 4. Jh. ebenfalls belegt ist, ändert an diesem Befund nichts; denn das sind im Prinzip separate Entwicklungen aus einer Zeit, wo mit der beginnenden Koineisierung generell analogische Formen an Gewicht gewinnen. Insofern ist das $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\zeta\alpha\varsigma$ von z.B. Aesch. *Pers.* 793 $\pi\omicron\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau'\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\zeta\alpha\varsigma$; "Wie meinst du das?" nicht in direkte Beziehung zu setzen mit dem Auftreten derselben Form ein Jahrhundert später bei Xenophon (*Cyr.* 2, 1, 4; *Oec.* 15, 2). Die Tragödie nimmt zwar vorweg, was später auch sonst passiert, aber der Grund ist nicht derselbe. Wie wir noch sehen werden, geht es der Tragödie nie darum, den kognitiven Aufwand bei der Sprachproduktion und Sprachrezeption zu minimieren; vielmehr scheint die *abstrahierende Verallgemeinerung formaler Muster* hier allein legitimierend zu wirken.

4. Relationale Offenheit, Nominalisierung und Determinierung in der tragischen Syntax

4.1. Sobald wir uns der Syntax zuwenden, weitet sich das Feld der Untersuchung beträchtlich. Schon in der zu Anfang betrachteten aristophanischen Parodie waren außer lexikalischen Merkmalen syntaktische Eigenheiten vertreten. Die Rede war unter anderem von der Ersetzung des Fragepronomens $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$; durch das Frageadjektiv $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$; in $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\theta'\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\ \lambda\alpha\chi\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega\nu$; "Welch Fetzen eines Kleids erbittet denn

¹⁴ Vgl. WILLI (2003) 248-249.

der Mann?“ (Ar. *Ach.* 423) sowie, parallel dazu, von der Ersetzung des nominalen Genitivs Θυέστου durch ein Zugehörigkeitsadjektiv Θυεστειών in τῶν Θυεστειών ῥακῶν “Thyestesfetzen” (Ar. *Ach.* 433; § 1.1).

Beide Erscheinungen sind in der erhaltenen Tragödie tatsächlich häufig,¹⁵ doch was steht dahinter? Wesentlich scheint vor allem dies: Während z.B. ein Genitiv Θυέστου kaum etwas anderes als die intendierte possessive Interpretation zulässt, ist das relationale Adjektiv ‘thyestisch’ viel offener. ‘Thyestische ῥάκη’ könnten auch Kleiderfetzen sein, die an Thyestes erinnern, von der Art sind, wie sie auch Thyestes tragen könnte, usw. Um zum ‘richtigen’ *signifié* zu gelangen, bedarf es also der interpretativen Einengung, und diese ist kognitiv umso anspruchsvoller, als in der Tragödie durchaus nicht jedes Fragepronomen τίς; durch ποῖος; und nicht jeder possessive Genitiv durch ein Adjektiv ersetzt wird. So kann der von Ödipus befragte Hirt ohne weiteres auf die Frage τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ’ οὖν οἶσθα τῇδέ που μαθών; “Kennst du den Mann hier, da du ihn schon einmal trafst?” antworten τί χρῆμα δρῶντα; ποῖον ἄνδρα καὶ λέγεις; “Was tat er? Welchen Mann meinst du denn überhaupt?”, also unmittelbar nebeneinander gleichwertiges τί; und ποῖον; benutzen (Soph. *OT* 1128-1129).

4.2. *Mutatis mutandis* dasselbe gilt für eine weitere Erscheinung, die, wie Aristoteles (*Poet.* 1458b31-34) bezeugt, für Spott sorgte: Ἀριφράδης τοὺς τραγωδοὺς ἐκωμῶδει ὅτι ἃ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴπειεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τούτοις χρῶνται, οἷον τὸ δωμάτων ἀπο ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπὸ δωμάτων “Ariphrades verspottete die Tragiker, weil sie in ihrer Sprache Ausdrücke benutzen, die niemand sagen würde, wie z.B. δωμάτων ἀπο anstelle von ἀπὸ δωμάτων ‘vom Haus weg’”. Während der uns sonst unbekannte Ariphrades offenbar die in der Tragödie gängige präpositionale

¹⁵ Vgl. z.B. AESCH. *Cho.* 502 θῆλυν ἄρσενός θ’ ὁμοῦ γόνον “die Klage der Frau und zugleich des Manns”; *Prom.* 705 Ἰνάχειον σπέρμα “Tochter des Inachos”; SOPH. *El.* 779 φόνους πατρώους “des Vaters Ermordung”; EUR. *Hel.* 789 ποίοις ἐπιστάς βαρβάρους πυλώμασιν; “An welchen Toren von Barbaren stehend?” usw.

Anastrophe aufs Korn nahm, ist aus moderner Perspektive zugleich auf den ebenso verbreiteten Gebrauch präpositionsloser Richtungskasus hinzuweisen.¹⁶ Schließlich geht es bei der Anastrophe im Grunde um die Verwendung syntaktisch freier Lokaladverbien im Verbund mit denselben, noch vollwertigen Richtungskasus.

Um derlei zu begründen, kann natürlich ein syntaktischer 'Archaismus' diagnostiziert und betont werden, dass im vorhistorischen Griechischen, wie noch bei Homer, präpositionslose Richtungskasus und unabhängige Lokaladverbien verbreitet waren. Aber wird eine solche Rechtfertigung dem synchronen Sprachsystem der Tragödie und der *Zunahme* dieser Erscheinungen bei Euripides gerecht? In einem Umfeld, wo dies Dinge sind, die niemand sagen würde (ὃ οὐδεὶς ἄν εἴπειεν), wird der Gebrauch dann merkmalshaft, wenn er nicht unabhängig gesteuert scheint – sei es nun durch metrische Zwänge, eine *generelle* Vermeidung reiner Funktionswörter oder einen allgemeinen Hang zum Archaisieren. Nichts davon ist für die Tragödie symptomatisch: Die tragische Metrik ist flexibel, Präpositionen und andere Funktionswörter sind allgegenwärtig, und wenn den Tragikern der syntaktische Archaismus ein Anliegen wäre, weshalb lassen sie die so typische Tmesis links liegen?¹⁷ Was die Weglassung bzw. Autonomisierung von Präpositionen vielmehr bedeutet, ist erneut ein Verzicht auf die umfängliche Explizierung syntaktisch-semantischer Relationen.

4.3. Die Unschärfe, die sich durch den Einsatz spezieller Syntagmen ergibt, kann indessen auch anderer Art sein. Während die Adressaten bei den eben besprochenen Phänomenen aus einer

¹⁶ Zur Häufigkeit der Anastrophe im Trimeter s. BATTEZZATO (2012) 309 (Aischylos: 16,3% aller Belege der häufigsten Präpositionen, Sophokles: 15,9%, Euripides: 26,3%), zu den Richtungskasus BRUHN (1899) 27, 32-33, 36-37; MOORHOUSE (1982) 45, 66-68, 86-87; BERS (1984) 62-101 und COOPER (2002) 1965, 1968-1970, alle mit Beispielen.

¹⁷ Im Trimeter ist Tmesis sehr selten (1× Aischylos, 30× Euripides: BREITENBACH [1934] 266); vgl. KÜHNER / GERTH (1898-1904) 1, 533-535; BRUHN (1899) 37-38; MOORHOUSE (1982) 94.

Auswahl denkbarer Interpretationen die richtige bestimmen müssen, tritt andernorts eine Konstruktion an die Stelle einer funktional verwandten, aber nicht ganz deckungsgleichen anderen Konstruktion. Dies ist der Fall beim Gebrauch von Verbalperiphrasen.

Durchaus auch außerhalb der Tragödie anzutreffen sind zunächst Periphrasen aus prädikativem Partizip (meist Präsens, aber je nach Nuance auch Perfekt oder Aorist) + Kopula. Hier fällt also nicht die Struktur als solche auf, sondern eher ihre Häufigkeit bzw. die Verwendung auch da, wo kaum semantischer Mehrwert erkennbar ist. So lesen wir in Aesch. *Cho.* 239-240 *προσαυδᾶν ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον πατέρα* "es ist notwendig, dich als Vater anzusprechen" anstelle von *ἀναγκαίως ἔχει* oder einfach (*προσαυδᾶν*) *ἀνάγκη*, in *Cho.* 696 *ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχων* "er war ja voller Umsicht" anstelle von *εὐβούλως εἶχε* oder einfach *εὐβούλος ἦν* und in *Eum.* 190-192 *ἄρ' ἀκούετε οἷας ἐορτῆς ἔστ' ἀποπτύστου θεοῖς στέργηθρ' ἔχουσαι*; "Hört ihr, was für ein Fest ihr liebt, zum Abscheu für die Götter?" anstelle von *στέργηθρα ἔχετε* oder einfach *στέργετε*.¹⁸ Zudem wird das in solchen Fällen gewöhnlichere Partizip gelegentlich durch ein *nomen agentis* ersetzt, wodurch die implizierte Permanenz noch weiter an Gewicht gewinnt (so Aesch. *Ag.* 224-225 *ἔτλα θυτῆρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός* "er wagte, seiner Tochter Opferer zu werden" statt *ἔτλα θῦσαι θυγάτερα* "er wagte, seine Tochter zu opfern", *Eum.* 298 *γένοιτο τῶνδέ μοι λυτήριος* "sie möge zur Befreierin mir davon werden" statt *λύσειε* "sie möge befreien", Soph. *El.* 850 *καὶ γὼ τοῦδ' ἔστωρ* "auch ich bin Wissender dessen" statt *οἶδα τόδε* "ich weiß das", usw.¹⁹). Sogar wo pragmatische Faktoren anzuerkennen sind – wenn z.B. Aesch. *Ag.* 1506 *τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων*; deutschem "Wer ist's, der diesen Mord bezeugen wird?" entspricht und sich dementsprechend von *τίς μαρτυρήσει*; "Wer wird bezeugen?" unterscheidet –, stellt sich die Frage, wieweit nicht eben nur die tragische Stilistik

¹⁸ Vgl. BENTEIN (2016) bes. 211-227, mit Statistiken, die die gegenüber anderen attischen Autoren des 5. Jh. (Aristophanes, Thukydides, Lysias) erhöhte Frequenz v.a. bei Aischylos und Sophokles belegen.

¹⁹ Vgl. BRUHN (1899) 74; s. auch § 5.1.

nach dieser fokalisierenden Emphase verlangt. Nicht zufällig doppelt der Chor schon kurz darauf nach mit *τίς ὁ θάψων νιν; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων;* “Wer ist’s, der ihn begraben wird? Wer ist’s, der ihn beklagen wird?” (Aesch. *Ag.* 1541).

4.4. Noch auffälliger ist allerdings die tragische Vorliebe für einen anderen periphrastischen Typ, das sogenannte *σχῆμα Σοφοκλεῖον*.²⁰ Dabei wird ein aktives Aoristpartizip mit einer finiten Form von *ἔχω* kombiniert. Diese Konstruktion geht natürlich aus von einem Syntagma mit semantisch vollwertigem *ἔχω* (z.B. Aesch. *Sept.* 947 *ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες, ὧ μέλει* “sie haben nun ihr Los, unselig, da sie es bekamen”), die Semantik bleicht aber genau wie beim lateinisch-romanischen oder deutschen *habere/haben*-Perfekt zunehmend aus. Schon wo Antigone ihre Schwester Ismene fragt *οὐ γὰρ τάφου νῶν τῷ κασιγνήτῳ Κρέων / τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ’ ἀτιμάσας ἔχει;* “Hat Kreon etwa nicht den einen unsrer Brüder / mit einem Grab geehrt, entehrt jedoch den andern?” (Soph. *Ant.* 21-22) kann von einem echten “Haben” keine Rede mehr sein.

Man hat nun angenommen, Sophokles habe diese *ἔχω*-Periphrase benutzt, um bei Verben, die kein aktives Perfekt bildeten, ein formales Substitut für das im 5./4. Jh. aufkommende ‘Resultativperfekt’ zu erhalten.²¹ Diese Theorie wird aber nicht gestützt durch die Tatsache, dass die Periphrase auch bei Verben auftritt, wo kein Bedarf ersichtlich ist. So hätte der Tragiker sehr wohl (z.B.) *τετίμηκε* “er hat geehrt” bzw. *ἡτίμακε* “er hat entehrt” schreiben können – zumal *τετίμακε* schon bei Sappho und Pindar ‘objektresultativ’ auftritt (Sapph. fr. 112, 5 L.-P.; Pind. *Isthm.* 4, 55²²).

²⁰ S. THIELMANN (1891); AERTS (1965) 128-160; BENTEIN (2016) 74-76, 118-125. Angesichts der Beleglage (v.a. Sophokles und Euripides, seltener Herodot, Platon: BENTEIN [2016] 124) unplausibel ist ein volkssprachlicher Ursprung (THIELMANN [1891] 301).

²¹ So THIELMANN (1891) 302-303; ähnlich AERTS (1965) 129, 159; BERS (2016) 76, 115-116.

²² Vgl. WACKERNAGEL (1904) 9-10; CHANTRAINE (1927) 122-123.

Eine bessere Erklärung des Phänomens dürfte im Gegenteil darin liegen, dass Sophokles das ‘Resultativperfekt’ noch sehr zurückhaltend einsetzt.²³ Im Gegensatz zum ursprünglichen Perfekt, das stets *subjektresultativ* war (d.h. vom Zustand des verbalen Subjekts sprach), drängt sich beim ‘Resultativperfekt’ die *Objektresultativität* in den Vordergrund. Vor der Verbreitung des Resultativperfekts war das eine Domäne des Aorists. Insofern hat der Scholiast zu Eur. *Med.* 33 μετ’ ἀνδρὸς ὅς σφε νῦν ἀτιμάσας ἔχει “zusammen mit dem Mann, der sie nunmehr entehrt hat” recht, wenn er notiert ἀτιμάσας ἔχει Ἀττικῶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡτίμασε “ἀτιμάσας ἔχει ist typisch attisch, anstelle von ἡτίμασε” – also *nicht* etwa *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡτίμαξε: Es geht *nicht* um den Zustand Jasons als Entehrer, sondern um denjenigen Medeus als Entehrter. Durch die Ersetzung von ἡτίμασε durch ἀτιμάσας ἔχει aber wird der Ausdruck weniger ‘prototypisch verbal’, da der Grad der temporal-modalen Individuierung der Kernhandlung abnimmt; sprachtypologisch gilt generell eine Korrelation zwischen prototypischer Nominalität und maximaler ‘Typisierung’ einerseits und prototypischer Verbalität und maximaler ‘Individuierung’ andererseits.²⁴ Im besprochenen Fall tritt so an die Stelle einer auf einen bestimmten Zeitpunkt bezogenen telisch-dynamischen Vergangenheitsform die Kombination aus einer Nominalbildung (partizipiales ἀτιμάσας) mit einer stativischen und damit zeitlich stabileren Präsensform. Die *Permanenz*, die ἔχει in den Vordergrund rückt, ist dabei vergleichbar mit dem Permanenz-Fokus der zuvor betrachteten Ersetzungen θυτῆρ εἰμι/γενέσθαι “Opferer sein/werden” anstelle von θύω/θύσαι “opfern” bzw. τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων “Wer ist es, der bezeugen wird?” anstelle von τίς μαρτυρήσει; “Wer wird bezeugen?“. Auch da suggeriert die sprachliche Form, es gehe nicht mehr allein um *eine* spezifische, zeitlich begrenzte Situation des Opfern oder Bezeugens,

²³ Vgl. SICKING / STORK (1996) bes. 146-150; die Analyse bei MOORHOUSE (1982) 199-201 leuchtet nicht immer ein.

²⁴ So LEHMANN (1982) 68; vgl. auch GIVÓN (2001) 51-52, der das Kriterium der “temporal stability” betont.

sondern um den Typus von Mensch, der eine solche Handlung vollzieht.

4.5. In denselben Rahmen passt sich die Neigung der Tragiker zu weiteren Auxiliärverb-Konstruktionen. Sehr oft benutzen sie ein hochfrequentes Verb wie “haben”, “nehmen” oder “setzen” als Hilfsverb und kombinieren es mit einem meist abstrakten Nomen. Eine zufällige Auswahl entsprechender Beispiele aus Sophokles’ *Trachinierinnen* umfasst etwa αἰσχύνην φέρειν “Schande bringen” (~ αἰσχύνειν, 66), μὴ λύπην λάβῃ “damit sie nicht ein Leid erfährt” (~ μὴ λυπηθῇ, 331), ἀγνοία μ’ ἔχει “mich hält Unwissenheit” (~ ἀγνοῶ, 350), ὧν τὴν μάθησιν ἄρνυμαι “wovon ich Kenntnis nehme” (~ ἄμανθάνω, 710-711), οἷκτον ἴσχεις “du hast Erbarmen” (~ οἰκτίρεις, 801), ἔφασκε λύσιν τελεῖσθαι “sie sagte, dass Befreiung kommen werde” (~ λύσσεσθαι, 1170-1171), φθόνησις οὐ γενήσεται “keine Beneidung wird entstehen” (~ οὐ φθονήσω, 1212), τᾶπορεῖν ἔχω “Ratlosigkeit besitze ich” (~ ἀπορῶ, 1243).

Wenn wir die prosaischen Äquivalente daneben halten, so fällt erstens auf, wie oft diese Art der Periphrase geläufige denominative Verben verdrängt, die vom jeweiligen Abstraktbegriff abgeleitet sind (z.B. αἰσχύνην φέρειν ~ αἰσχύνειν). Somit verschiebt sich der Fokus erneut weg von der Dynamizität des verbalen Ausdrucks und hin zur Zuständlichkeit des Nominalbegriffs. Wenn jemand “Kenntnis nimmt” (μάθησιν ἄρνυμαι) oder “Leid erfährt” (λύπην λαμβάνω), so wird im Vergleich mit “erkennen” oder “erleiden” v.a. die zeitliche Indefinitheit der μάθησις bzw. λύπη spürbar.

4.6. Einige der zitierten Verbalperiphrasen illustrieren aber zweitens ein von der Nominalisierung/Typisierung grundsätzlich unabhängiges Phänomen der ‘Depersonalisierung’. In einer Szene der *Trachinierinnen* sagt Deianeira zum Boten, sie verstehe seine Behauptung nicht, wonach Lichas Iole soeben mit einer Lügenrede zur Aufnahme ins Haus verholten habe. Statt einfach ἀγνοῶ “ich weiß nicht” zu verwenden, drückt sie

das aber so aus, dass die abstrakte ‘Unwissenheit’ zum agentiven Subjekt, sie selbst zum Objekt wird: ἀγνοία μ’ ἔχει “mich hält Unwissenheit” (350). Genauso steht andernorts z.B. Aesch. *Supp.* 521 σ’ ἔρωσ ἔχει “Liebe hält dich” (statt ἐρῶς “du liebst”), *Ag.* 1243 φόβος μ’ ἔχει “Furcht hält mich” (statt φοβοῦμαι “ich fürchte”), *Cho.* 463 τρόμος μ’ ὑφέρπει “ein Zittern überkommt mich” (statt τρομῶ “ich zittere”), Soph. *OT* 726-727 μ’ ἀκούσαντ’ ἔχει ψυχῆς πλάνημα “mich hält, wo ich das höre, Verwirrung in der Seele” (statt πλανῶμαι “ich bin verwirrt”) oder *Phil.* 686 θαῦμα μ’ ἔχει “Erstaunen hält mich” (statt θαυμάζω “ich bin erstaunt”).²⁵

Nun lehrt die Sprachtypologie, dass es folgende universale ‘Belebtheitshierarchie’ (‘animacy hierarchy’) gibt:²⁶

Pronomina 1./2. Person > Pronomina 3. Person > Eigennamen >
belebte Nomina > unbelebte Nomina

In dieser Hierarchie sind die oberen Ränge prädestiniert dazu, als (agentive) Subjekte verwendet zu werden,²⁷ wogegen die unteren Ränge von prototypischen Objekten besetzt sind. In den zitierten Wendungen aus der Tragödie ist also die sprachpsychologisch ‘normale’ Rollenverteilung umgedreht. Die tragische ‘Depersonalisierung’ kann aber noch weiter gehen: wenn nämlich der Verweis auf die 1. oder 2. Person ganz unterdrückt wird. Anstelle von z.B. οὐκ ἔχω ἀρνεῖσθαι “ich kann nicht leugnen” oder οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι “ich leugne nicht” lesen wir dann depersonalisierend – und dadurch zugleich generalisierend – οὔτις ἀρνησις πέλει “es gibt kein Leugnen” (so Orestes in Aesch. *Eum.* 588, nach dem Eingeständnis des Muttermords: ἔκτεινα “ich habe sie getötet”);²⁸ und in deontischen Äußerungen

²⁵ Dass abstrakte Subjekte überhaupt in der Tragödie viel häufiger sind als anderswo, zeigen die Statistiken bei DENNISTON (1952) 29.

²⁶ So zuerst SILVERSTEIN (1976) 122-123; vgl. weiter z.B. COMRIE (21989) 185-200.

²⁷ COMRIE (21989) 198 spricht von “topic-worthiness”.

²⁸ Zu diesen Strukturen s. LONG (1968) 63-74 (“the periphrasis [...] is more impersonal than the root-verb and concentrates attention on its process at the expense of the persons concerned”).

ersetzt ein Verbaladjektiv auf -τέον das die Spezifik der persönlichen Umstände betonende δεῖ με "ich muss" (vgl. Ödipus' kurz angebundenes ἀρχτέον γ' ὅμως "man [- ich] muss nun einmal herrschen" zu Kreon in Soph. OT 628).²⁹

4.7. Natürlich tritt dergleichen zwar auffällig oft, aber keineswegs ausschließlich in der Tragödie auf – lehrt es uns also überhaupt etwas über das innere Wesen tragischer Sprache? Wie im Fall der Nominalisierung/Typisierung dürfen wir aber auch hier nicht zu sehr auf der Ebene des einzelnen Syntagmas stehen bleiben und die schon beschriebenen Manifestationen der 'Depersonalisierung' nur für sich betrachten.

Tragische Figuren haben oft die merkwürdige Angewohnheit, von sich selbst in der dritten Person (als ὅδε (ὁ) ἀνὴρ "dieser Mann" u. dgl.) zu sprechen – etwa wenn Admet der Alkestis verspricht οὐτις ἀντὶ σοῦ ποτε / τόνδ' ἄνδρα νύμφη Θεσσαλὶς προσφθέγγεται "an deiner Statt wird diesen Mann / niemals ein Mädchen aus Thessalien begrüßen" (Eur. Alc. 330-331).³⁰ Anders als bei ἐρῶς → σ' ἐρῶς ἔχει u.ä. wird hier zwar nicht eine prototypische Rollenverteilung modifiziert, aber ein Blick auf die Belebtheitshierarchie zeigt trotzdem eine ähnliche Verschiebung: Wieder wird der an sich natürlichste Ausdruck der 1. Person vermieden. Relevant ist aber zudem, dass die Belebtheitshierarchie eng mit einer Definitheitshierarchie korreliert, an deren oberem Ende erneut die maximal referentiellen und definiten Pronomina der 1. und 2. Person stehen:³¹

Pronomina 1./2. Person > Pronomina 3. Person > definite Nomina >
referentiell-spezifische Nomina > nicht-referentielle/unspezifische
Nomina (z.B. Abstrakta)

²⁹ Zu den Verbaladjektiven auf -τέον/-τέα s. nach wie vor v.a. BISHOP (1899).

³⁰ Vgl. MOORHOUSE (1982) 155-156, mit Beispielen aus Sophokles; KÜHNER / GERTH (1898-1904) 1, 630.

³¹ S. dazu CROFT (1990) 127.

Ohne dass wir hier auf die im Detail komplexe Abgrenzung von Definitheit und Referentialität/Spezifität eingehen müssten, dürfte zudem einleuchten, dass der Referent pluralischer Ausdrücke in der Regel weniger spezifisch (oder: individuiert) ist als der Referent des Singulars.³² Insofern gesellt sich das tragische ὁδε ἀνὴρ “dieser Mann” für ἐγώ “ich” weiter zu der ebenso häufigen Ersetzung von ἐγώ “ich” durch ἡμεῖς “wir” sowie, noch allgemeiner, zur bekannten Vorliebe der Tragiker für ‘poetische Plurale’³³ einerseits und *abstracta pro concretis* andererseits; beides fiel ja schon Aristophanes auf (πέπλοι “Kleid”, ῥακώματα “Gefetz”: § 1.1), und letzteres führt sogar zur Bezeichnung von belebten Personen mit einem Abstraktbegriff (z.B. Eur. *Hipp.* 11 παιδεύματα für Hippolytos als “Ziehsohn”).³⁴ Dabei wird die referentielle Spezifik des Ausdrucks artifiziell gemindert – ‘artifiziell’ deshalb, weil das eigentliche *signifié* natürlich dasselbe bleibt, wenn z.B. Euripides’ Medea zwar *sagt* ἡμεῖς κτενοῦμεν οἵπερ ἐξεφύσαμεν “wir, die wir sie gebaren, werden sie auch töten” (Eur. *Med.* 1063 = 1241), damit aber *meint* ἐγὼ κτενῶ ἥπερ ἐξεφύσα, ³⁵ oder wenn Sophokles anstelle von “wiehernden Rössern” (ἵπποι φρυασσόμενοι) lieber von “Ross-Gewieher” spricht (Soph. *El.* 715-717 ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντες ἀναμειγμένοι / φεῖδοντο κέντρων οὐδέν, ὥς ὑπερβάλοι / χνόας τις αὐτῶν καὶ φρυάγμαθ’ ἱππικά “es schonten alle im Gedränge / die Stachel nicht, ein jeder, dass er überhole / die Wagen aller andren und das Ross-Gewieher”).³⁶

³² COMRIE (1989) 199 spricht von einer “hierarchy of individuation or [...] hierarchy of salience. Salience relates to the way in which certain actants present in a situation are seized on by humans as foci of attention [...] work on salience indicates that singular entities are more salient than plural entities”.

³³ Vgl. ARIST. *Rh.* 1407b32-35; [LONGIN.] *Subl.* 23, 2-3; BERS (1984) 22-46.

³⁴ Vgl. BRUHN (1899) 138-140; LONG (1969) 114-125; nur z.T. ist damit eine abschätzige Nuance verbunden.

³⁵ Zu solchem ἡμεῖς = ἐγώ etc. s. weiter WACKERNAGEL (1926-1928) 1, 99-100; BERS (1984) 49-52; zu weiteren Fällen von Pluralia für Einzelpersonen COOPER (2002) 1934-1935.

³⁶ LONG (1968) behandelt sowohl “-ma nouns as an alternative to a concrete expression or participle” (95-104) als auch “-ma nouns as alternative forms” (40-46; d.h. μηχανήμα für μηχανή “Trick”, δοῦλευμα für δοῦλος “Sklave”, etc.).

4.8. Ihren wohl prominentesten Ausdruck findet diese der ‘Depersonalisierung’ übergeordnete Despezifizierung in der Verwendung bzw. eben *Nicht*-Verwendung des bestimmten Artikels. Ähnlich wie bei den nackten Richtungskasus (§ 4.2) greift hier die Erklärung zu kurz, es gehe (wie in der Lyrik) schlicht um einen konservierten Archaismus bzw. um die Vermeidung von Funktionswörtern. Schließlich wird die Sache zumindest in den nicht-lyrischen Partien ja sehr flexibel gehandhabt, und der Artikel ist durchaus nicht nur auf die Fälle beschränkt, wo er der Verbindung eines Substantivs mit einem Attribut dient, also schon in der archaischen Dichtung geläufig ist.³⁷ Wenn der Artikel aber in der synchronen Grammatik des tragischen Sprechverses *grundsätzlich* ganz lebendig ist, so ist die Wertigkeit der Weglassung größer als bei Homer oder Pindar. Beispielsweise entspricht der Artikelgebrauch neben ἀντάδελφος “Bruder” und τυραννίς “Herrschaft” in den folgenden Versen aus Sophokles’ *Antigone* dem der klassischen Prosa, aber zumindest γλῶσσα “Zunge” (und wohl auch φόβος “Furcht”) würden dort ebenfalls danach verlangen: καίτοι πόθεν κλέος γ’ ἂν εὐκλεέστερον / κατέσχον ἢ τὸν ἀντάδελφον ἐν τάφῳ / τιθεῖσα; τούτοις τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀνδάνειν / λέγοιμ’ ἄν, εἰ μὴ γλῶσσαν ἐγκλήῃ φόβος. / ἀλλ’ ἡ τυραννίς πολλά τ’ ἄλλ’ εὐδαιμονεῖ / κᾶῤῥεστιν αὐτῇ δοῖν λέγειν θ’ ἃ βούλεται “Jedoch wie hätt’ ich mehr an edlem Ruhm erworben / als dadurch, meinen Bruder in ein Grab zu legen? / Ich meinte wohl, dass das auch all den Leuten hier / so passt, wenn ihnen nicht die Furcht die Zunge lähmte! / Die Herrschaft aber ist mit vielerlei gesegnet; / vor allem darf sie tun und sagen, was sie will” (Soph. *Ant.* 502-507). Der *intendierten* referentiellen Spezifik (“*ihre* Zunge”, nicht “eine Zunge”) tut das Fehlen von τῇ neben γλῶσσαν keinen Abbruch, aber syntaktisch wird unterdeterminiert – man könnte von einer syntaktischen Metonymie sprechen.

³⁷ Vgl. KÜHNER / GERTH (1898-1904) 1, 575-583.

4.9. Ebenso wichtig aber ist, dass zugleich manchmal das genaue Gegenteil zu beobachten ist, was der Theorie von der Vermeidung farbloser Funktionswörter endgültig den Boden entzieht. Dass die Tragödie gern substantivierte Infinitive benutzt, um Aussagen von allgemeiner Gültigkeit zu machen, ist bekannt,³⁸ ebenso wie die häufige Verwendung substantivierter neutraler Adjektive anstelle von abstrakten oder auch konkreten Nomina (z.B. Aesch. *Supp.* 197-198 τὸ μὴ θρασὺ “Besonnenheit”, τὸ μὴ μάταιον “Anstand”; Soph. *El.* 1469 τὸ συγγενές “Verwandschaft” [für: “meinen Verwandten”], usw.).³⁹ Auf beides ließe sich unschwer verzichten, wenn das Funktionswort stören würde. So wäre *ξυγγένεια* statt τὸ *ξυγγενές* in der Sentenz τὸ *ξυγγενές* τοι δεινὸν ἢ θ’ ὁμιλία “viel Macht besitzt fürwahr Verwandschaft wie auch Freundschaft” ([Aesch.] *Prom.* 39) sicher kein stilistischer Fremdkörper. Dazu kommen aber, noch extremer, Fälle, wo der Artikel redundant ist, sei es dass eine eigentlich indefinite Nominalphrase vorliegt (z.B. Soph. *Aj.* 311-313 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἦστο πλεῖστον ἄφθοργος χρόνον· / ἔπειτ’ ἐμοὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἐπηπείλῃς ἔπη, / εἰ μὴ φανοίην πᾶν τὸ συντυχὸν πάθος “Die längste Zeit saß er zunächst nur sprachlos da; / dann aber drohte er mit schlimmen Worten mir, / falls ich ihm nicht das Unglück, das geschah, eröffne”; für Tekmessas Adressaten, den Chor, ist die Referenz unspezifisch, weil er hier erstmals von diesen “schlimmen Worten” hört) oder dass eine alltägliche Infinitivkonstruktion mit Artikel versehen wird (z.B. Aesch. *Ag.* 1289 τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν “zu sterben werde ich ertragen”; Soph. *Ant.* 27-28 ἀστοῖσι φασιν ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι τὸ μὴ / τάφῳ καλύψαι “es heißt, den Städtern sei es offen unter sagt / ihn zu bestatten”; *Phil.* 1241 ὅς σε κωλύσει τὸ δρᾶν “der dich zu handeln hindern wird”). Das ‘Funktionswort’ ist hier funktionslos, der Ausdruck also syntaktisch und/oder semantisch überdeterminiert. So stark *im*

³⁸ Vgl. BIRKLEIN (1888); BURGUIÈRE (1960) 99-126, mit Statistiken.

³⁹ Ähnlich die abstrahierende Prosa (Thukydides, Platon), aber nur ausnahmsweise die Redner (DENNISTON [1952] 36-37).

allgemeinen also die Anziehungskraft des negativen Pols auf der Achse der Spezifizierung auch sein mag, *im Einzelfall* erlaubt sich die tragische Syntax auch Verschiebungen in die umgekehrte Richtung; und gerade diese Widersprüchlichkeit trägt durchaus ihr Teil zur Profilierung der tragischen Syntax bei.

5. Nominalisierung/Typisierung und derivationale Morphologie der Tragödie

5.1. Insbesondere die syntaktische Tendenz zur Nominalisierung/Typisierung hat auch auf die derivationale Morphologie bzw. die Produktivität bestimmter Wortbildungsmuster Auswirkungen. Häufig werden z.B. Partizipien ersetzt durch verschiedene Adjektive oder *nomina agentis*, die dem Bezugswort eine stärkere Qualitätspermanenz zuschreiben. Das Nachrichtenfeuer im *Agamemnon* (Aesch. *Ag.* 287) ist eine *πορευτῆς λαμπάς* "Fackel-Reisende" (nicht: *πορευομένη*), in den *Choe-phoren* (Aesch. *Cho.* 764-765) klagt Orestes' Amme Kilissa *στείχω δ' ἐπ' ἄνδρα τῶνδε λυμαντήριον / οἴκων* "ich gehe aber zu dem Mann, der dieses Heims / Misshandler ist" (nicht: *λυμαινόμενον*), und in den *Bacchen* (Eur. *Bacch.* 355-356) befiehlt Pentheus *δέσμιον πορεύσατε δεῦρ' αὐτόν* "bringt her ihn als Gefesselten" (nicht: *δεθέντα*); ja, bei Sophokles (*Trach.* 674) spricht Deianeira sogar vom tödlichen Kleid, das sie Herakles geschickt hat, als *τὸν ἐνδυτῆρα πέπλον* "Bekleider-Gewand", 'vertauscht' also zugleich die verbale Diathese gegenüber dem anstelle einer aktiven Form eher zu erwartenden partizipialen *ἐνδυ(θησ)όμενον*.⁴⁰ All das trägt direkt zu einer Blüte z.B. der Adjektive auf -τήριος und -ιμος oder der Nomina auf -τήρ bei, und auch die poetischen Adverbien auf -δην, -δόν profitieren

⁴⁰ Vgl. ähnlich den diathesenindifferenten Gebrauch der Verbaladjektive auf -τός (z.B. Aesch. *Ag.* 361 *ἄτης παναλώτου* [- akt. "überwältigend"], 1331 *ἀκόρεστον* [- akt. "nicht sättigend"]); CAMPBELL [1871] 88).

vom selben Trend; statt περισταδόν in Eur. *Andr.* 1136-1137
 ὥς δέ νιν περισταδὸν / κύκλῳ κατεῖχον οὐ διδόντες ἀμπνοᾶν
 “als sie ihn hielten, ihn umstehend / im Kreise, und auch nicht
 mehr Atem schöpfen ließen” (wo die Ermordung des Neopto-
 lemos in Delphi beschrieben wird) bzw. φοράδην in Eur. *Andr.*
 1166-1167 καὶ μὴν ὅδ’ ἄναξ ἤδη φοράδην / Δελφίδος ἐκ γῆς
 δῶμα πελάζει “da naht dem Haus sich unser Herr schon, /
 getragen aus dem Land von Delphi” (wo Neoptolemos’ Leich-
 nam nach Thessalien zurückgebracht wird) stünde in Prosa
 sicher eher περιστάντες bzw. φερόμενος.

5.2. Typisierung *muss* aber nicht mit einem Wechsel der Wort-
 klasse einhergehen. Für die Tragödie symptomatisch ist auch
 die Prägung neuer Verbalkomposita wie δωματοφθορέω “das
 Haus vernichten” und μηχανορραφέω “Ränke schmieden” bei
 Aischylos (*Ag.* 948 (ci.); *Cho.* 221), πλευροκοπέω “an die Flanken
 schlagen” und δακρυρροέω “Tränen vergießen” bei Sophokles
 (*Aj.* 236; *Trach.* 326; *El.* 1313, etc.) oder κακορροθέω “beschimp-
 fen” und γηροβοσκέω “im Alter pflegen” bei Euripides (*Alc.*
 707; *Med.* 1033). Solche Bildungen erinnern zunächst einfach
 an die Aussage des aristophanischen Aischylos in den *Fröschen*,
 wonach es “nottut” (ἀνάγκη), μεγάλων γνῶμῶν καὶ διανοιῶν
 ἴσα καὶ τὰ ῥήματα τίκτειν / κἄλλως εἰκὸς τοὺς ἡμιθέους τοῖς
 ῥήμασι μεῖζοσι χρῆσθαι “auch großen Ideen und großen
 Gedanken gewachsene Worte zu zeugen; / ohnehin ist zudem ja
 auch klar, dass Halbgötter größere Worte gebrauchen” (Ar. *Ran.*
 1059-1060).

Die ‘bombastische’ Assoziation mit μεγάλαι γνῶμαι καὶ διὰ-
 νοιαι ist freilich nicht allein dem schieren Wortumfang geschul-
 det, zumal der Bildungstyp als solcher ja keineswegs auf die
 Tragödie beschränkt ist. Wichtig ist, dass solche Verben *impli-*
cite Nomina wie δωματοφθόρος “Hausvernichter”, μηχανορρά-
 φος “Ränkeschmied”, δακρυρρόος “Tränenvergießer” voraus-
 setzen. Streng genommen bedeutet μηχανορραφεῖν also nicht
 einfach “Ränke schmieden” (μηχανὰς ῥάπτειν), sondern “ein
 Ränkeschmied sein”. Wenn der noch unerkannte Orestes in

den *Choephoren* auf Elektras Frage ἀλλ' ἤ δόλον τιν', ὧ ξέν', ἀμφί μοι πλέκεις; "Umgarnst du etwa, Fremder, mich mit einer List?" mit ironischem αὐτὸς κατ' αὐτοῦ τᾶρα μηχανορραφῶ antwortet (Aesch. *Cho.* 220-221), so abstrahiert er mit seiner Wortwahl von der spezifischen Jetzt-Situation (die Elektras δόλον πλέκεις anspricht) und transponiert das Ganze auf eine allgemeinere (eben 'typisierte') Ebene: "dann bin ich folglich selbst mir selbst ein Ränkeschmied!".

5.3. Noch aufdringlicher ist die Verbalkomposition dann, wenn sie zum Selbstzweck wird. In Aesch. *Ag.* 1419-1420 macht Klytaimestra dem Chor den Vorwurf οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε χρῆν σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν / μiasμάτων ἄποιν[α]; "Hättest nicht ihn aus unserm Land du treiben sollen, / zur Sühnung seines Frevels?", und in Soph. *Ant.* 264-266 erzählt der Wächter, wie er und seine Kollegen sich gegenseitig der verbotenen Bestattung des Polyneikes verdächtigten – ἤμεν δ' ἐτοῖμοι καὶ μύδρους αἶρειν χερσὶν, / καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκωμοτεῖν / τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε τῷ ξυνειδέναι "wir waren willens, Heißmetall von Hand zu halten, / und Feuer zu durchschreiten, Göttern Eid zu leisten, / dass wir es nicht getan, noch etwas davon wussten". Sowohl ἀνδρηλατέω als auch ὀρκωμοτέω gehören zum besprochenen pseudo-denominalen Typ, aber ihr jeweiliges Vorderglied ist pleonastisch: ἐλαύνειν "vertreiben" und ὀμνύναι "schwören" allein hätten dieselbe Prägnanz. So wird das Publikum zu einer zusätzlichen kognitiven Leistung gezwungen. Zunächst suggeriert der Einsatz eines Kompositums, dass beide Kompositionsglieder eigenwertig sind, aber dann erweist sich die semantische Spezifizierung durch das Vorderglied als sinnfrei: Was könnte man bei den Göttern schwören, wenn nicht einen Schwur (ὄρκος), und welcher Art könnte die Vertreibung des Agamemnon sein, wenn nicht die eines Mannes (ἀνήρ)? Der Pleonasmus spiegelt auf der semantischen Ebene jene Überdeterminierung, der wir bei der Besprechung des Artikels begegnet sind (§ 4.9).

6. Semantische Überspezifizierung in der Tragödie

6.1. Anders als im syntaktischen Bereich ist der Hang zu Redundanz und Überspezifizierung in der tragischen Semantik überhaupt sehr dominant.⁴¹ Das äußert sich zum einen in Phrasen wie ὁ φιλύσας/φύσας πατήρ “der zeugende Vater” für ὁ πατήρ sowie markierten Einzelercheinungen wie dem Gebrauch von Aor. ἐστάθην anstelle von ἔστην “ich trat, stellte mich” oder der Benutzung von ἔφυν “ich wurde” für εἰμί “ich bin” (bzw. πέφυκα “ich bin (von Natur aus)”):⁴² Bei letzteren muss die passivische Valenz des -θη-Suffixes bzw. die ingressive Wertigkeit des Aoriststamms kognitiv ‘annulliert’ werden. Dieselbe Eigenschaft steht zum anderen aber auch hinter allgemeiner fassbaren Erscheinungen. So gebraucht die Tragödie anstelle von *uerba simplicia* gerne präverbierte Verben, *ohne dass* das Präverb einen erkennbaren Mehrwert darstellt – also in Umkehrung der dichterischen (auch tragischen!) Tendenz, *uerba simplicia* an die Stelle von Komposita zu setzen.⁴³ Sophokleisches ἐξοιμῶζω unterscheidet sich in nichts von einfachem οἰμῶζω “wehklagen” (Soph. *Aj.* 317; *Ant.* 427), εἰσοράω und εἰσακούω werden mit ὁράω “sehen” und ἀκούω “hören” austauschbar, und ἐξαίτέω/-έομαι kann sich auf jede Art von Bitte – nicht nur eine Bitte um Herausgabe – beziehen (z.B. Eur. *Hipp.* 710-712 [Phaidra zum Chor] ὑμεῖς δέ, παῖδες εὐγενεῖς Τροζήνιαι, / τοσόνδε μοι παράσχετ’ ἐξαίτουμένη, / σιγῇ καλύπτειν ἄνθαδ’ εἰσηκούσατε “Doch ihr, ihr wohlgebornen Frauen von Trozen, / gewährt mir, da ich darum bitte, bloß soviel: / Verhüllt mit Schweigen, was ihr eben hier vernahmt”). Und nachdem schon

⁴¹ Allerdings stellt auch hier die omnipräsente Metaphorik (ARIST. *Rh.* 2, *Poet.* 22, [LONGIN.] *Subl.* 15; RUTHERFORD [2012] 119-162) ein Gegengewicht dar; im bildhaften Ausdruck wird das ‘eigentlich’ Gemeinte ja nur ansatzweise ausgedrückt.

⁴² Z.B. SOPH. *El.* 941 (Elektra zu Chrysothemis) οὐ γὰρ ὦδ’ ἄφρων ἔφυν “so unverständlich bin ich nicht”.

⁴³ Vgl. WACKERNAGEL (1926-1928) 2, 186-189 zu Lexemen wie (ἀπ)ῆλλυμι “zugrunde richten”, (κατ)ἄγνυμι “zerbrechen”, (ἀπο)θνήσκω “sterben”, (ἀπο)κτείνω “töten”, aber auch künstlichen Kreationen wie τέλλω für ἀνατέλλω “aufgehen [von der Sonne]” (SOPH. *El.* 699).

von pleonastischen Verbalkomposita die Rede war (§ 5.3), verdienen in diesem Zusammenhang weiter jene adjektivischen Komposita Erwähnung, bei denen ein Kompositionsglied seine semantische Autonomie aufgibt – ein Phänomen, das der Normalsprache nicht fremd ist (vgl. z.B. die Bildungen auf -ώδης), das in der Tragödie aber auch Elemente erfasst, die andernorts nicht ausgebleicht sind (z.B. -γενής “-geboren” bei Aischylos, -ήρης “-gefügt” bei allen Tragikern⁴⁴).

6.2. Dass in *manchen* dieser Fälle auch ein Bestreben erkennbar wird, ‘prosaisches’ Material variierend zu meiden, widerspricht der Diagnose semantischer Überspezifizierung natürlich nicht; denn dass eine Um- bzw. Entwertung notwendig ist, um das *signifié* ‘korrekt’ zu erfassen, bleibt davon ja unberührt. Von dieser Warte aus ist dann aber auch die weitreichende tragische Synonymik zu betrachten (vgl. Arist. *Rh.* 1404b39–1405a2). Dem beachtlichen lexikalischen Reichtum entspricht nämlich oft wiederum *kein* semantisches Fein-Tuning. Wenn Ödipus im *Ödipus auf Kolonos* Ismene fragt ἀ δ’ ἐννέπεις, κλυοῦσα τοῦ λέγεις, τέκνον; “Was du da sagst, von wem erfuhrt du es, mein Kind?” (Soph. *OC* 412), so bedeutet ἐννέπεις offensichtlich dasselbe wie λέγεις, und in einem Wortwechsel zwischen Ödipus und dem Chor der Männer von Kolonos erscheinen kurz hintereinander αὐδάω, γέγωνα und φωνέω als weitere Äquivalente (Soph. *OC* 210–217: [Oἱ.] μὴ μὴ μ’ ἀνέρη τίς εἰμι, μὴδ’ ἐξετάσης πέρα ματεύων. / [Χο.] τί δέ; [Oἱ.] δεινὰ φύσις. [Χο.] αὐδά. / [Oἱ.] τέκνον, ὦμοι, τί γεγώνω; / [Χο.] τίνορ εἶ σπέρματος, <ὦ> ξένε, φώνει, πάτροθεν; / [Oἱ.] ὦμοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω, τέκνον ἐμόν; / [Χο.] λέγ’ [...] “(Öd.) Frag bloß nicht, wer ich bin, und untersuche dies nicht sinnlos weiter! / (Chor)

⁴⁴ S. zu -γενής bes. AESCH. *Pers.* 6 (Δαρείο-), 12 (Ἀσιατο-), 35 (Αἰγυπτο-), 42–43 (ἡπειρο-), 643 (Σουσι-); *Supp.* 28 (θηλυγενής [= θῆλυς “weiblich”]); zu -ήρης z.B. AESCH. *Supp.* 32 (ταχυήρης [= ταχύς “schnell”]); SOPH. *Phil.* 1262 (πετρήρεις στέγας “felsige Behausung”); EUR. *Andr.* 1114 (ξιφήρης λόχος “Trupp mit Schwertern”) usw.; WACKERNAGEL (1889) 41; BUCK / PETERSEN (1944) 698, 728–729.

Weshalb denn? (Öd.) Schlimm ist die Natur. (Chor) Sprich! / (Öd.) Mein Kind, oh weh, was soll ich künden? / (Chor) Erzähle, Fremder, welcher Abkunft bist du, vom Vater her? / (Öd.) Oh weh, mein Kind, was muss ich da erdulden? / (Chor) Sag es.“). Selbstverständlich kann eine moderne Übersetzung mit “sprechen”, “(ver)künden”, “verlautbaren”, “erzählen” usw. eine ähnliche Bandbreite erzielen. Das darf aber nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass z.B. mit τί γε γώνω; inhaltlich nichts anderes als τί λέγω; gemeint ist.

7. Zur Pragmatik des tragischen Dialogs

7.1. Ob es um Syntax oder Semantik geht, der Preis, den die Tragödie für ihre Unter- und Überspezifizierung, für Typisierung und Abstraktion einerseits und Redundanz andererseits bezahlt, bleibt derselbe: Immer leidet darunter die unmittelbare Verständlichkeit. Für ein poetisches Genre ist das an sich kaum der Erwähnung wert: Auch eine pindarische Ode oder ein philosophisches Lehrgedicht erbringen ähnliche Opfer. Nur die Tragödie ist aber zugleich eine primär mimetisch-dialogische Gattung. Und wie es z.B. ein phonologisches oder syntaktisches Regelsystem gibt, so gibt es eben auch ein Regelsystem dialogischer (Normal-)Kommunikation, dessen Nicht-Beachtung potentiell merkmalshaft ist. Grundlegend sind hier die vier von H.P. Grice formulierten ‘maxims of conversation’:⁴⁵

- die ‘maxim of quantity’ (“make your contribution as informative as necessary for the current purposes of the exchange, but no more informative than necessary”),
- die ‘maxim of quality’ (“make your contribution one that is true and do not say anything for which you lack adequate evidence”),
- die ‘maxim of relevance’ (“make your contribution relevant”) und

⁴⁵ GRICE (1975).

- die ‘maxim of manner’ (“be clear, avoid ambiguity, be brief and orderly”).

Wenn im tragischen Dialog nun aber die Klarheit mehr oder weniger systematisch reduziert wird, so bedeutet das auch eine Missachtung insbesondere dieser letzten Maxime; und letztlich stellt sich die Frage, inwieweit eine optimale Abwicklung des Bühnengesprächs überhaupt anvisiert wird.⁴⁶

7.2. Dazu kommt, dass nicht nur die ‘maxim of manner’ gefährdet ist. Besonders für Passagen mit Stichomythie symptomatisch ist auch die Verletzung der ‘maxim of quantity’, die einen hinreichenden, aber nicht exzessiven Informationsfluss fordert. Damit *kann* ein charakterzeichnendes Element verbunden sein, etwa wenn Phaidra im *Hippolytos* der Amme nur zögerlich mitteilt, was sie so plagt (Eur. *Hipp.* 304-353); aber oft nimmt das artifizielle Element überhand. So wäre es für die Titelheldin der *Helena* sinnvoll, Menelaos die kritische Lage angesichts von Theoklymenos’ Heiratsabsichten konzise zu umreißen, um ihn von der Notwendigkeit der Flucht zu überzeugen. Stattdessen zwingt die starre Gliederung zu einem stockenden Austausch, der der Situation kaum angemessen ist (Eur. *Hel.* 777-793; das Gespräch setzt sich in ähnlicher Weise über Dutzende von Versen fort):

- ‘Ελ. φεῦ φεῦ· μακρόν γ’ ἔλεξας, ὦ τάλας, χρόνον.
 σωθεὶς δ’ ἐκεῖθεν ἐνθάδ’ ἦλθες ἐς σφαγὰς.
 Με. πῶς φῆς; τί λέξεις; ὥς μ’ ἀπώλεσας, γύναι.
 ‘Ελ. [φεῦγ’ ὥς τάχιστα τῆσδ’ ἀπαλλαχθεὶς χθονός.]
 θανῇ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς οὗ τὰδ’ ἐστὶ δώματα.
 Με. τί χρῆμα δράσας ἄξιον τῆς συμφορᾶς;
 ‘Ελ. ἦκεις ἄελπτος ἐμποδὼν ἐμοῖς γάμοις.
 Με. ἦ γὰρ γαμεῖν τις τᾶμ’ ἐβουλήθη λέχῃ;
 ‘Ελ. ὑβριν γ’ ὑβρίζων ἐς τὰ σ’, ἣν ἔτλην ἐγώ.

⁴⁶ Dabei ist weniger relevant, dass “Greek tragedy [...] often features contexts where interactants explicitly do not expect their interlocutors to be truthful or informative” (VAN EMDE BOAS [2017] 23; vgl. LEEZENBERG [2005] 199), als dass auch da, wo *keine* solchen Vorbehalte (bzw. andere Intentionen wie Höflichkeit/Unhöflichkeit: vgl. BATTEZZATO [2012] 318-319) erkennbar sind, die Maximen verletzt werden.

- Με. ἰδίᾳ σθένων τις ἢ τυραννέων χθονός;
 Ἐλ. ὃς γῆς ἀνάσσει τῇσδε Πρωτέως γόνος.
 Με. τόδ' ἔστ' ἔκειν' αἰνιγμ' ὃ προσπόλου κλύω.
 Ἐλ. ποίοις ἐπιστάς βαρβάρους πυλώμασιν;
 Με. τοῖσδ', ἔνθεν ὥσπερ πτωχὸς ἐξηλαυνόμεν.
 Ἐλ. οὐ που προσήτεις βίοντον; ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ.
 Με. τοῦργον μὲν ἦν τοῦτ', ὄνομα δ' οὐκ εἶχεν τόδε.
 Ἐλ. πάνθ' οἷσθ' ἄρ', ὥς ἔοικας, ἀμφ' ἐμῶν γάμων.

- (He.) "Ach, ach – du Armer, lange Zeit hast du geredet.
 Von dort entkommen, kommst du hier zur Schlachtung
 jetzt!
 (Me.) Wie meinst du das? Was sagst du? Wie du mich verstörst,
 Frau!
 (He.) [Verlasse dieses Land und flieh, so schnell du kannst!]
 Du wirst von dem, des Haus dies ist, getötet werden.
 (Me.) Was habe ich getan, dass mich dies Unglück träfe?
 (He.) Du bist hier unerwartet, hinderst meine Hochzeit.
 (Me.) Will etwa jemand meine Frau zur Gattin nehmen?
 (He.) Ja, dir den Frevel tun, den ich ertragen musste.
 (Me.) Ein mächtiger Privatmann oder Landesherrscher?
 (He.) Der, der in diesem Land regiert, der Sohn des Proteus.
 (Me.) Das ist das Rätselwort, das ich vom Diener hörte.
 (He.) An welchen Toren von Barbaren standst du da?
 (Me.) An diesen hier, von wo man mich vertrieb als Bettler!
 (He.) Du hast doch nicht um Hilfe nachgefragt? Ich Arme!
 (Me.) Das war, worum es ging, auch wenn es anders hieß.
 (He.) So weißt du alles, wie es scheint, von meiner Hochzeit."

Wer an die Konventionen des tragischen Dialogs gewöhnt ist, stößt sich an einem solchen Austausch nicht, genauso wenig wie an einem Monolog oder einer Botenrede, die aus dramaturgischen Gründen keine 'normale' Kommunikation abbilden. Trotzdem zeigt beides, dass in der Tragödie auch dialogpragmatisch über- wie unterspezifiziert wird, also eigene Gesetze des Dialogverhaltens gelten, die auf ihre Art das spiegeln, was wir genauso in anderen Bereichen beobachtet haben.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Vgl. LEEZENBERG (2005) 200: "tragic utterances are driven by something like a linguistic habitus, that is, by an expected way of speaking and acting [...] rather than by the conscious deliberation of an autonomous and rational speaker".

8. Form und Funktion

8.1. Blicken wir zurück, so hat zunächst die Behandlung der tragischen Phonologie und Morphologie gezeigt, wie sich das Genre zum einen darum bemüht, ungewollte Assoziationen mit der spezifischen Dialektgestalt anderer Gattungen zu vermeiden, und wie es zum anderen gewissen Tendenzen der formalen (analogischen) und/oder funktionalen (semantischen) Verallgemeinerung Vorschub leistet (vgl. $\nu\nu/\sigma\varphi\epsilon$, $\lambda\epsilon\zeta\alpha$ -, etc.). Diese Dinge als Symptome einer zugrundeliegenden allgemeinen 'Unterdeterminierung' des tragischen Codes, einer gezielten Vagheit des *signifiant*,⁴⁸ zu interpretieren, mag auf den ersten Blick kühn wirken. Die Vermutung findet aber insofern Halt, als sich Entsprechendes *mutatis mutandis* auch bei der Analyse charakteristischer Eigenheiten in Syntax, Wortbildung und Semantik ergibt. Hier erwies es sich als nützlich, mit zwei Achsen, der Determinierung/Spezifizierung einerseits und der Nominalisierung/Typisierung andererseits, zu operieren. Auf beiden ist es der 'allgemeine' Pol ([+nominal/typisiert], [-referentiell/spezifisch]), der eine besondere Anziehungskraft ausübt (vgl. u.a. Periphrasen, poetischer Plural, *abstracta pro concretis*) – ein Prinzip, das allerdings durchbrochen werden kann, sofern zusätzliche syntaktische Determinierung ihrerseits generalisierend wirkt (Typ $\tau\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\theta\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ u.ä.) oder aber semantische Überspezifizierung vom Publikum eine kognitive Zusatzleistung verlangt. Dass auch die Entfaltung tragischer Dialoge, etwa in der Stichomythie, ähnlich auswertbar ist, wenn wir betrachten, wie die Grice'schen Konversationsmaximen durchbrochen werden, ist zuletzt kurz angedeutet worden.

8.2. Vor diesem Hintergrund lässt sich das, was die tragische Sprache im Innersten ausmacht, als *metonymisierte Grammatik*

⁴⁸ Aber *nicht* des *signifié*: darin liegt ein zentraler Unterschied zu primär allusivischen Formen wie der (auch tragischen) Chorlyrik.

verstehen und in ein recht einfaches Regelsystem fassen. Für den Tragiker gilt:

- I. Alles, was die Sprache auf der Ebene des *signifiant* spezifisch (individuiert, determiniert, definit, situativ gebunden) macht, wird reduziert.

ABER

- II. Wo nach Anwendung von Regel I noch spezifische Elemente verbleiben, werden diese nach Belieben überspezifiziert.

Die übergeordnete erste Regel bietet im Grunde nichts als das linguistische Gegenstück zum stilistischen Hang der Tragödie zur generalisierenden Reflexion; und in gewissem Sinn spiegelt sie auch die Natur der Tragödie als dramatischer Form insgesamt. Auch tragische Charaktere sind ja in vieler Weise weniger *Individuen* als symbolhafte Gestalten, die im undeterminierten Raum des Mythos agieren.⁴⁹ Das unterscheidet sie von den Figuren der Alten Komödie, die in einem determinierten, oft athenischen Hier und Jetzt leben. Und genau wie alle Zuschauer aufgefordert sind, sich die Frage zu stellen, wie *sie* handeln würden, wenn *sie* eine Antigone, ein Orestes wären, und dabei doch die Erfahrung machen, dass die Frage nie schlüssig beantwortbar ist, weil ihre Welt eine andere ist und bleibt, so sind sie zwar auch in der Lage, die tragische Sprache korrekt zu decodieren, der bleibende Eindruck von Unschärfe und unberechenbarem Nebeneinander von 'Zuwenig' und 'Zuviel', das im Zusammenspiel der zwei Regeln steckt, wird sie aber stets daran hindern, sich wie *native speakers* zu fühlen.⁵⁰ Das kann frustrieren und zu Spott verleiten, es kann aber auch faszinieren und jene intellektuelle Befriedigung bereiten, die

⁴⁹ Das heißt nicht, dass (u.a. sprachliche) Individualisierung fehlt; aber diese steht im Dienst der jeweiligen 'Symbolgestalt'. Zu diesem kontroversen Gegenstand s. etwa KATSOURIS (1975); RUTHERFORD (2012) 283-322 und VAN EMDE BOAS (2017).

⁵⁰ Vgl. die Assoziation von Unverständlichkeit und "tragischer Sprache" (τραγικῶς λέγειν) in PL. *Resp.* 413b.

wir selbst erleben, wenn wir eine fremde Sprache erlernt haben und ihr dann zum ersten, zweiten oder auch hundertsten Mal im 'richtigen' Leben begegnen.

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DISCUSSION

A. Cassio: Thank you for shedding new light on many time-honoured problems concerning the language of tragedy. At the phonological and general linguistic level, the ‘los von Homeros’ attitude of this literary genre (with your qualification that ‘los von Homeros’ should not be taken as “aktiv gegen das Epos gewendet”) is wholly understandable: a new and proudly self-conscious genre needed to distance itself from both the incomparable – and ‘bulky’ – Homeric model and the specific aggressive tradition of Ionic iambic poetry – not to speak of the problems posed by the popular prejudice concerning the ‘soft’ Ionians well attested in comedy (Aristophanes’ *Peace*, Eupolis’ *Kolakes*). On the whole the paradigms you use to analyse the tragic language are convincing, although probably more space should be allowed for the metrical side of the matter: πεπλώματα παιδεύματα σκυφώματα πλευρώματα πυλώματα are the result of the search for both elevated style and metrical convenience – to which the ὄγκος provided by the sheer length of the words should be added: one is reminded of the Aeschylean τιμαλφούμενον pilloried by Epicharmus (fr. 221 K.-A.).

Metrical convenience must also have played a role, along with other components, in the shaping of the peculiar construction in which a finite form of the present of ἔχω is linked to an aorist participle (e.g. ἀτιμάσᾱς ἔχει|, ἐρημώσᾱς ἔχει|, ἀπειλήσᾱς ἔχεις|, often precisely in this metrical slot, – υ –|), to indicate an action that takes place in the present but is rooted in something that happened in the past (Eur. *Med.* 33 [Jason] ὅς σφε [Medea] νῦν ἀτιμάσας ἔχει “Jason who started to hold Medea in contempt and is still doing so”). Obviously enough, metrical convenience is only part of the story, and probably a relatively small one, yet these constructions are

mainly found in tragedy and seem to have never been rooted in the real language. It is possible that they replaced the so-called resultative perfects for which especially Sophocles shows little enthusiasm, but in any case they have the advantage of explicating the development of an action from its origin to the present. I agree with you when you say that the emphasis is on “eine stativische und damit zeitlich stabilere Präsensform” and the “Permanenz, die ἔχει in den Vordergrund rückt”. This is especially clear in Soph. *Ant.* 76-77 (Antigone to Ismene) σὺ δ’ εἰ δοκεῖ / τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐντιμ’ ἀτιμάσας ἔχε, translated by Schneidewin–Nauck (rightly, I believe) as “bleib dabei, wie du es jetzt thust”, and in fact Ismene immediately replies with a present tense, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἄτιμα ποιοῦμαι. For this reason, apropos of Eur. *Med.* 32-33 καὶ γὰρ οἶκους θ’, οὓς προδοῦς ἀφίκετο / μετ’ ἀνδρὸς ὅς σφε νῦν ἀτιμάσας ἔχει, I agree neither with the ‘translation’ with ἠτίμασε found in the scholia (ἀτιμάσας ἔχει. Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠτίμασε) nor with your interpretation “es geht nicht um den Zustand Jasons als Entehrter, sondern um denjenigen Medeas als Entehrter”. This might be true of Medea’s character in Euripides’ tragedy at a general level, but cannot be true of what is affirmed in that specific line, in which all the (negative) emphasis is on Jason who is now (νῦν) bringing dishonour on Medea. It is true that “vor der Verbreitung des Resultativperfekts war die Objektresultativität eine Domäne des Aorists” but this does not automatically give a special prominence on stage to the “Objekt”: in the sentence Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐκτείνειν Εὐμήλον the emphasis can be on the killer or the victim depending on the context in which the killing takes place; and to my mind in the Euripides line all the emphasis is certainly on Jason and his behaviour *now*.

A. Willi: You are absolutely right to highlight the metrical dimension of things, which I have largely glossed over but which certainly also played a role. In his monograph on abstract nouns in Sophocles, Long (1968) already observed that there are certain passages where lexemes in -μα seem to be used as

mere ‘padding’. However, I think that we should draw a distinction between ‘metrical convenience’ and ‘metrical convention’: using for example a plural in *-ώματα* at the end of an iambic trimeter is (to some extent) conventional in tragedy, and hence a stylistic marker in its own right, but in general tragic metre is sufficiently flexible to exclude that a formation is solely used *metri gratia* – we are not, after all, dealing here with a genre in which the production circumstances (such as an extempore performance) would have allowed no planning, and tragedy’s sister genre comedy has no difficulty with *not* using plurals in *-ώματα* so freely. Similarly, it is no doubt true that, for example, such words in *-ωμα*, or also certain compounds, were felt to be ‘bulky’ and therefore particularly suited to tragic style; but again, we should not tie that too readily to features like word length as such. After all, there are also many diminutive forms, or other kinds of compounds, which are equally long but banned from tragedy – while being freely admitted in comedy (cf. e.g. diminutive *σκευάριον* for *σκεῦος* “utensil”, compound *λακαταπύγων* “super-bugger”). In that sense, yes, there is always a mix of factors, but I believe that the *differentia specifica* of tragic style is to be sought beyond metre and the like.

As for the *σχῆμα* Σοφοκλεῖον, your remarks are a useful reminder that even in linguistic matters there is often room for interpretation and not always only ‘right’ and ‘wrong’. Concerning the *Medea* passage itself, I would want to defend my reading. This whole passage of the nurse’s prologue is looking at Medea’s unhappy predicament, her fasting, weeping, being deaf to advice, etc.; and so, in my view, Mastronarde (2002) 169 quite rightly paraphrases *ἀτιμάσας ἔχει* as “has put in a state of dishonour”. The presence of the adverb *νῦν* does not clinch the matter in favour of either reading, of course, since we agree on the ‘permanence’ feature of what is said.

Incidentally, although it is indeed the case that the *ἔχω* periphrasis often refers to a continuing present action that started in the past (“keep doing”), it does not have to be like this.

Ultimately, the matter is rather determined by context and, above all, the action type to which a verb belongs – with atelic (activity) verbs, the continuous interpretation will commonly result, but with telic (achievement/accomplishment) verbs things may be different. Quite telling in this respect, as well as with regard to the question whether the ἔχω construction is or is not the periphrastic ‘equivalent’ of a classical (i.e., non-resultative) perfect, is a passage like Soph. *Aj.* 22-23 where Odysseus explains his search for Ajax: νυκτὸς γὰρ ἡμεῖς τῇσδε πράγῳ ἄσχοπον ἔχει περᾶνας, εἵπερ εἴργασται τάδε. In his *Loeb* edition, Lloyd-Jones translates this well with “because during last night he has perpetrated against us a thing appalling, if indeed he is the doer”. For one thing, there is no question of continuing with the deed (πράγῳ) itself (*“he keeps perpetrating”); and for another, we see very clearly that ἔχει περᾶνας simply *cannot* be subject-resultative here: if it were, it would be broadly synonymous with the following old perfect εἴργασται “he is the doer”, and we would thus end up with a tautological *“(he is the perpetrator, if he is the doer)”. In reality, ἔχει περᾶνας is again object-resultative (the deed has undoubtedly been done), but in speaking of it Odysseus realizes that he should better hedge the claim that Ajax was its author.

L. Prauscello: I wondered whether you could say something more about what you identify as the most important difference between forms of allusion in Greek tragic iambics vs. tragic choral parts and choral lyric in general (vagueness of the signifier of the former vs. vagueness of the signified of the latter). Are we dealing with a real qualitative difference or is it more a matter of degrees? For example, in tragic iambic we do occasionally have cases of intended ambiguous words (dramatic irony) which then also activate misunderstanding/failure of communication between the characters on stage.

A. Willi: As always, it is certainly a matter of degrees, and you pertinently stress the importance of dramatic irony as a

crucial ingredient in the tragic genre. But intentional ambiguity which then leads to misunderstandings on stage is something rather different from intentional vagueness of expression: although the latter may perhaps sometimes have led to misunderstandings by the audience, that could not have been the tragic poet's intention. By contrast, I would like to believe that, to give just one example, Sophocles had no problem with some people in the audience intuitively interpreting δεινότερον in *Ant.* 334 (lyr.) πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοῦδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει "many are the δεινὰ things and nothing is more δεινόν than man" as "more wondrous" and others as "more terrible" – with both groups then realizing that the other meaning somehow made just as much sense, depending on how one looks at the matter.

L. Huitink: My question concerns the relation between your incisive global analysis of tragic language and the interpretation of individual passages. After all, there may well be interpreters who would like to think that, for instance, the 'depersonalized' formulation ἀρκτέον γ' ἔμωζ at Soph. *OT* 628 reflects in interesting ways on Oedipus' character (is he for some reason reluctant to say "I must rule"?). Does your argument limit such possibilities of interpretation? On a related note, at one point you suggest that the stichomythic scene between Phaedra and the nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus* feels fairly 'natural', because Phaedra is in fact reluctant to divulge her secrets, and it all comes out bit by bit, with the nurse goading her on. You then, however, cite a stichomythia from Euripides' *Helen* in order to show that on other occasions the form seems much less 'natural', because it defies the conventional, Gricean, principles of conversation. Do you think that tragic poets (and their audiences) in general looked for a neat 'fit' between form and content, and that, therefore, the scene from *Helen* is less well executed than that from *Hippolytus*, or do you think that such considerations played no role, given the general quality of tragic language as you describe it in your paper?

A. Willi: To answer your second question first, I do not think that we get very far if we bring our own qualitative judgments to bear on the issue of the functionality of tragic language. Personally, I may like the *Hippolytus* stichomythia better than the one in the *Helen*, but I also believe that the preferences and tastes of the primary audience (and/or those of the poets themselves) could change over time. If stichomythia becomes increasingly prominent in Euripides, for example, it is almost unavoidable that there are fewer neat 'fits', as you call them; but if there was not (or no longer) an expectation of a neat fit, that will not have mattered. In that sense, one should be prepared to accept intra-generic evolution, and that is an aspect I have almost entirely turned a blind eye on, both for reasons of time and because my principal aim was to establish a kind of common denominator for all the tragedy we have, despite the obvious diversity that is visible in our corpus. Having said that, since tragic conversation is always still conversation of some sort, there is never a complete disregard of the conventional principles of conversation, and in that sense I would assume that there must also have been a basic expectation for form and content to 'fit' each other at least up to a point – just as it would have meant to overdo things if *every* normal noun had been replaced by an abstract in $-\mu\alpha$. Admittedly, and that brings me to your first question, it can then be very tricky to decide for good what the baseline of tragic language is and where things diverge from that expected standard to such an extent as to become meaningful. What I would ideally hope for, though, is that my considerations on the overall nature of tragic language make interpreters stop and think twice before they declare something meaningful. In my view, the Sophoclean example probably is not, but if someone wants to maintain the opposite that is fine; it is just that in my view this should then be demonstrated by arguments other than the impersonal formulation alone.

S.D. Olson: If I understand the argument in the final section of your paper correctly, you are suggesting that the fact that

tragic language is a patently strange way of talking puts the characters who use it in an on-stage world that – unlike the ‘here and now’ of comedy – is distant from our own but has a sort of symbolic value, in that watching *Antigone* or *Orestes* allows us to ask what we would do in their shoes. That may be right, but I am dubious of the contrast drawn with comedy. Aristophanes’ *Acharnians*, for example, is in only a very superficial sense about everyday life in real contemporary Athens, since the hero inhabits a fantasy world in which a man can make his own private peace and exploit the opportunities it presents. And one of the questions the final portion of the play sets up is whether the spectator would make the same decisions as Dikaiopolis does, and thus whether his radical selfishness is good personal and social policy or ultimately destructive. So too in *Birds* (which is certainly not set in Athens, or indeed anywhere in the normal human world): do we admire Peisetairos as he roasts nominal allies who have shown disloyalty to his regime and seizes general control of the universe, or is he in the end a somewhat terrifying figure? Put another way, if tragedy’s oddly elevated language produces *Entfremdung*, comedy’s nonetheless more colloquial speech seems to do the same, and I thus wonder whether the two phenomena can be brought so easily together.

A. Willi: You are probably right that in my attempt to get to the ‘essence’ of tragic language I may have somewhat overstated the contrast with its most obvious generic opposite; some nuancing, including nuancing from play to play, is no doubt necessary. Even so, I would maintain that there is a difference between a mythical figure whose geographical – let alone temporal – localization is at best of tangential relevance when it comes to the meaning of the myth as such, and a highly specified (albeit fictional) comic character like Dikaiopolis. Also, I am not denying that comedy often invites genuine reflection among its audience, but more often than not to me this nevertheless seems to be reflection arising from and focusing on a

specific historical situation – say during the Peloponnesian War – rather than on the *condition humaine* in general: after all, this is also why tragedy can take up the same myths time and again, whereas it is rather difficult to imagine that another comic poet, after Aristophanes, would have written a second play looking at Dikaiopolis concluding a private peace. As far as the language question is concerned, I would not read an utterance by the typical comic character in the ‘metonymical’ way I have suggested for tragedy – a sort of constant reminder to the audience that the *signifiant* may be variable but that variation on that level ultimately has little bearing on the *signifié*.

O. Tribulato: You raise the question of whether an Athenian audience should have really perceived the tragedians’ use of forms with third compensatory lengthening (e.g. ξείνος, μοῦνος) as a gesture towards epic or whether, you suggest, these forms may not have had a more ‘lyric’ feeling to them, given that they were routinely used in the language of choral lyric. Do you have some data on the diffusion of such forms in tragedy? In a way, I would be inclined to think that an ‘epic’ or a ‘lyric’ interpretation would be, to an extent, encouraged by the context in which these forms occur: thus, would it be possible to map the use of words with third compensatory lengthening on the broader linguistic and thematic context of a given tragic passage? Are they more common in, say, Aeschylus than in Euripides?

A. Willi: Interestingly, as far as the spoken parts of tragedy are concerned, ξείνος and μοῦνος are used with some frequency only by Sophocles, not by Aeschylus or Euripides; I cannot really say why this is so, and perhaps we simply have to accept that individual habits are at stake. However, I would find it very hard to read anything into the choice of one or the other form when the distribution is such that polymorphic alternation provides a sufficient explanation (as Björck [1950] observes). At best, the fact that in the lyric parts there appears to be more uniformity across the tragedians could perhaps be seen as an

argument against the assumption that these items struck a particularly epicizing note.

A. Vatri: Can we interpret the ‘redundant’ use of the article with the infinitive as a case of nominalization (leading to typicalization)? In Aesch. *Ag.* 1289 and in Soph. *Phil.* 1241, the actions expressed by the infinitives are temporally bounded to ‘now’, so that their typicalization would be strikingly unnatural and counterintuitive (and could thus have contributed to the sense of ‘estrangement’ tragic language intended to produce). In Soph. *Ant.* 27-28, the typicalization of the action expressed by the infinitive could also contribute to the emotional impact of the statement: by making the prohibition atemporal, it would make the prohibition itself sound almost like a ‘gnomic’, absolute one, as if it did not only refer to the case in question. Perhaps this could contribute to the emotional impact of this passage and invite the audience to align with Antigone.

A. Willi: Thank you – yes, especially in the latter case we are once more thrown back to the important, though perhaps ultimately unanswerable, question of when exactly features that are fairly unremarkable in tragic language but remarkable in ‘normal’ language become salient enough to impinge on our interpretation of the texts. From a purely linguistic point of view, and in purely synchronic terms, I certainly agree that an articulated infinitive is endowed with a higher degree of nominality than one without the article. In that sense, your suggestion interestingly raises the question of a preference hierarchy: can the desire to ‘nominalize’ be so strong that to achieve it becomes more important than to avoid syntactic definiteness?

F. Schironi: Some of the syntactic characteristics you mention (e.g. abstract for concrete, substantivization of neuter adjectives or participles, periphrastic verbal formations) remind me of Thucydides’ style. In literary studies, scholars often speak of ‘Thucydides and tragedy’ focusing on the content and ideas

expressed by the historian: can your analysis back up this point also from a linguistic point of view (i.e. that Thucydides and tragedy are connected not only from an 'ideological' but also from a linguistic point of view, at least to some extent)? And if so, what does this mean for our reading of Thucydides (and tragedy)?

Also, I wonder whether you might want to say something on what your linguistic analysis can say about tragedy as a genre to those scholars who are interested in it from a more literary point of view. In other words, what are the 'literary' insights that a strict linguistic analysis of tragic language offers?

A. Willi: It is certainly the case that both Thucydides and tragedy are interested in exploring the essential determinants of human behaviour. Now, if one wants to do that, to bring in a generalizing element and a certain level of abstraction is fairly natural – and the latter then equally naturally also invites some more abstract forms of expression. But I do perceive a crucial difference: no doubt there will be exceptions, but on the whole I think that when Thucydides uses an abstract/depersonalized/typicalized etc. way of phrasing something, he does so because he really wants to convey an abstract/general idea. In tragedy, by contrast, my point is precisely that this cannot be taken for granted: the idea can easily be concrete, even if the expression is abstract. To put it more crudely, if Thucydides were to write of a *πέπλωμα* he would probably mean "something that functions like a *πέπλος*" *uel sim.*; but in tragic style, the meaning can simply be *πέπλος*.

Turning to your other question, it would be preposterous to claim that the kind of linguistic analysis I have put forward revolutionizes our understanding of the genre – not least because I have argued towards the end of my paper that the analysis makes good sense precisely because it squares so well with the existing 'literary' understanding of tragedy. But it does seem to be of some interest to acknowledge that form and content really go hand in hand here and that the 'oddities' of tragic language

are more than just a stylistic quirk. Writing a tragedy in the concrete style of comedy, for example, would mean to lose something essential because the audience would then no longer be constantly reminded that the action on stage needs to be 'translated' into actuality: the temptation would be much greater to just look at the drama as a nice (or not so nice) story.

IV

ALESSANDRO VATRI

STILISTICA E PARAMETRI DI VARIAZIONE LINGUISTICA NELLA RETORICA GRECA

ABSTRACT

Speeches are perhaps the most linguistically self-conscious genre in Greek literature, and theoretical distinctions of linguistic varieties in oratory are almost as old as rhetoric itself. This study seeks to quantify the differences pointed to by early rhetoric in a digital corpus including the extant works of Demosthenes, Isocrates, Lysias, and Aeschines. The results show a clear distinction between Demosthenes and Isocrates, with the corpora of Lysias and Aeschines lying in between.

1. La stilistica greca in epoca classica

Fin dai suoi esordi la teoria retorica greca identifica nella forma della comunicazione linguistica una componente distinta dal contenuto, per quanto connessa organicamente ad esso,¹ e

¹ RUSSELL (1981) 130; cfr. O'SULLIVAN (1992) 1-2 e ARIST. *Rh.* 1413b3. Allo stesso tempo, l'idea che la forma sia disgiunta dal contenuto, e che lo stesso contenuto si possa esprimere in maniere diverse – un'idea che è alla base della concezione moderna di stile, cfr. HERNÁNDEZ-CAMPOY (2016) xix – non è del tutto aliena al pensiero classico. Aristotele, per esempio, osserva che la differenza tra prosa e poesia non si basa sulla forma (assenza/presenza del metro), ma sul contenuto (ARIST. *Poet.* 1451a38-b5). Il metodo didattico della *metathesis*, che consiste nel parafrasare passi di testi letterari per sottolinearne le qualità o i difetti stilistici e che sarà frequentemente adottato dai critici letterari postclassici (v. DE JONGE [2008] 367-390), si fonda sullo stesso presupposto. Allo stesso tempo, la retorica antica riconosce che l'alterazione della presentazione dei contenuti può

degna in quanto tale di attenzione specifica. La distinzione tra *lexis* e *dianoia* è chiaramente discernibile nella *Retorica* di Aristotele,² ma un interesse per l'uso linguistico degli autori letterari si rivela già nelle prime tracce di discorso critico in epoca classica. Nelle *Rane* di Aristofane, ad esempio, il confronto tra Euripide ed Eschilo si gioca sulla differenza tra la capacità di Eschilo di stupire ed emozionare il proprio pubblico con “parole grandiose” (ἱπποβάμονα in Ar. *Ran.* 821; βόεια al v. 924; μέγ' ἄλλα implicato al v. 1059) e quella di Euripide di stimolare l'intelletto con le sue argomentazioni e la sua sottigliezza linguistica.³ Già dagli albori della critica letteraria antica, quindi, si delinea un'idea di stile fondata su contrasti e opposizioni: gli stili si definiscono in relazione l'uno all'altro, e lo stile di un'espressione linguistica è riconoscibile in quanto altre espressioni possiedono caratteristiche formali il cui insieme è distinto e distinguibile da quelle dell'espressione stessa.⁴ Per citare la felice formulazione di O'Sullivan,⁵ “la nozione di distinzione stilistica è implicita nell'idea stessa di stile”. In questo senso, la stilistica greca individua dal principio un contrasto minimo – la dicotomia tra uno stile ‘grandioso’ e uno ‘ordinario’⁶ – in cui definizioni e denominazioni si declinano in maniere diverse attraverso le prime discussioni di questo argomento.⁷ Alcideamante, ad esempio, mette a contrasto lo stile della composizione scritta con quello dei discorsi improvvisati (*Soph.* 13). Isocrate (5, 25), da parte sua, distingue i discorsi composti per essere letti (*logoi anagignôskomenoi*) da quelli composti per essere pronunciati (*logoi legomenoi*). Aristotele (*Rh.* 1413b8-9), infine, parla di uno

influire sulla maniera in cui i contenuti stessi vengono compresi dai destinatari (v. VATRI [2017] 122).

² Ad es. ARIST. *Rh.* 1404a19: οἱ γὰρ γραφόμενοι λόγοι μεῖζον ἰσχύουσι διὰ τὴν λέξιν ἢ διὰ τὴν δianoian “i discorsi scritti sono più efficaci attraverso lo stile che attraverso il pensiero”.

³ RUSSELL (1981) 132; O'SULLIVAN (1992) 8-9.

⁴ RUSSELL (1981) 132-133.

⁵ O'SULLIVAN (1992) 3.

⁶ RUSSELL (1981) 133-135.

⁷ O'SULLIVAN (1992) 4-6.

stile scritto (*graphikê lexis*) e di uno stile dei dibattiti (*agônistikê lexis*).

Un fatto notevole della stilistica greca classica è che da un lato la distinzione tra stili appare fondata su un fenomeno estetico/percettivo (la distinzione empirica tra un modo di esprimersi 'ordinario' e uno 'grandioso'), dall'altro la concettualizzazione e formulazione teorica di questa distinzione (con le relative etichette terminologiche) si basa sulla relazione tra la comunicazione linguistica e le pratiche testuali contemporanee – vale a dire, le modalità secondo le quali i testi venivano prodotti e recepiti nel contesto socio-culturale dell'Atene di quinto e quarto secolo a.C. Alcidamante basa la sua distinzione sulle modalità e circostanze della composizione dei testi, insistendo sulla 'desituazione'⁸ di testi compilati per iscritto: l'espressione scritta è prodotta separatamente dalle circostanze della ricezione del testo e per questo non è in grado di adattarsi a tali circostanze. Questa preoccupazione è espressa anche da Isocrate (5, 26), la cui distinzione tra discorsi da leggere e discorsi da pronunciare, tuttavia, tradisce il fatto che l'oratore guardava alla destinazione e alle modalità di esecuzione/ricezione dei testi come a un fattore discriminante per la classificazione dei discorsi. Le modalità di composizione non rientrano in questa distinzione.⁹

La scrittura rientra in gioco nella distinzione aristotelica tra la *graphikê* e la *agônistikê lexis*. Aristotele (*Rh.* 1414a18-19) sostiene che lo stile scritto è particolarmente adatto alla lettura (*anagnôsis*) e lo associa alla letteratura epidittica. Lo stile dei dibattiti è invece associato ai contesti 'pragmatici' dell'oratoria giudiziaria e deliberativa. All'epoca di Aristotele, testi epidittici potevano essere messi in circolazione tramite copie scritte, ma molto probabilmente venivano letti ad alta voce.¹⁰ La scrittura caratterizza quindi la distinzione tra le due *lexeis* solo in quanto

⁸ Su questo concetto vedi CHAFE (1994) 44-45.

⁹ Vedi VATRI (2017) 17-20 per una discussione più approfondita di queste fonti.

¹⁰ GRAFF (2001) 21-22; INNES (2007) 152.

medium di trasmissione e circolazione dei testi; ancora una volta, la modalità di composizione non rientra in questa classificazione. Analogamente, se si accetta che la modalità di ricezione doveva comunque essere orale, la distinzione tra le situazioni comunicative appropriate per lo stile scritto e lo stile dei dibattiti si riduce alla distinzione tra contesti di esecuzione pubblica o lettura privata dei testi scritti.¹¹

In termini moderni, i primi critici antichi dimostrano una sensibilità quasi sociolinguistica al testo come fatto comunicativo. Questa connessione si rivela chiaramente nell'identificazione aristotelica di tre generi oratori (Arist. *Rh.* 1358a36-b1), la cui classificazione si incardina su elementi di descrizione situazionale dei contesti comunicativi per i quali i testi potevano essere prodotti. Questi includono il parlante (ὁ λέγων), il messaggio (περὶ οὗ λέγει) e il destinatario (πρὸς ὅν). A queste componenti della situazione comunicativa si possono aggiungere quella che Pepe¹² chiama 'funzione comunicativa' (persuasione/dissuasione, lode/biasimo, accusa/difesa) e che nella classificazione di Hymes¹³ corrisponde grossomodo allo 'scopo-obiettivo' dell'atto linguistico, e il 'fine' (il giusto o l'ingiusto, il vantaggioso o il dannoso, l'onore o la vergogna), che corrisponde grossomodo allo 'scopo-risultato', vale a dire al tema che costituisce il motivo per il quale partecipanti alla situazione comunicativa sono coinvolti nello scambio linguistico.

In questa luce, la concettualizzazione antica delle distinzioni stilistiche si presta a essere tradotta, in termini moderni, in una distinzione tra registri linguistici, vale a dire varietà linguistiche definite dalla situazione comunicativa in cui vengono prodotte/impiagate più che dal tipo di messaggio che intendono trasmettere.¹⁴ Interpretare la prima stilistica greca in quest'ottica offre

¹¹ Vedi VATRI (2017) 30-35.

¹² PEPE (2013) 134-135 su ARIST. *Rh.* 1358b8-29.

¹³ HYMES (1974) 54-62. Il modello etnografico di Hymes individua sedici componenti per le situazioni comunicative, i cui valori possono variare con ogni atto comunicativo.

¹⁴ WILLI (2010) 297-298.

il vantaggio metodologico di poter mettere a fuoco le caratteristiche situazionali delle varietà linguistiche individuate dagli autori, più che concentrarsi sugli aspetti meramente estetici implicati dalla nozione di stile o quelli meramente convenzionali connessi alla nozione di genere letterario.¹⁵

2. La caratterizzazione linguistica degli stili

Il punto focale delle distinzioni stilistiche di Alcideamante e Isocrate è il contrasto tra la percezione di estemporaneità e la manifesta preparazione di un discorso oratorio. Questa distinzione connessa alle modalità di composizione di un testo doveva avere dei riflessi linguistici ben percepibili, se è vero che la preoccupazione di non dare l'impressione di parlare a braccio si manifesta in un topos retorico impiegato spesso nella pratica oratoria attica.¹⁶ Un eccessivo grado di sofisticazione era mal visto nell'oratoria non epidittica¹⁷ e diversi oratori cercano esplicitamente di presentarsi come comuni cittadini ignari di preparazione retorica¹⁸ o quantomeno insistono sul fatto che la loro maniera di esprimersi era semplice e spontanea.¹⁹

L'idea che la preparazione o la spontaneità dell'espressione linguistica – caratteristiche situazionali che dipendono dalla modalità di produzione dell'espressione – si possano manifestare in modo percepibile nella forma linguistica trova riscontro nella linguistica moderna. In registri orali caratterizzati dalla produzione linguistica in tempo reale e non pianificata (ad es. i registri conversazionali) è facile che vengano utilizzate forme linguistiche (a) il cui carico cognitivo sia relativamente basso,

¹⁵ Cfr. BIBER / CONRAD (2009) 16.

¹⁶ Cfr. OBER (1989) 174-177.

¹⁷ Vedi ad es. ALCIDAM. *Soph.* 12-13; ARIST. *Rh.* 1404b18-21; cfr. anche OBER (1989) 166 e CAREY (2007) 246.

¹⁸ Ad esempio ANTIPH. 5, 1-7; DEM. 22, 4; LYS. 17, 1; 19, 2; 31, 4; HYP. 1, 19-20.

¹⁹ Ad esempio DEM. 58, 41; 58, 61; PL. *Ap.* 17c. Vedi VATRI (2017) 7 per una discussione più approfondita.

dato lo scarso tempo a disposizione del parlante per elaborare l'espressione²⁰ e (b) che rivelino l'interattività dello scambio linguistico.²¹ È opportuno rimarcare che la spontaneità non è una caratteristica esclusiva dei registri orali. Generi letterari composti e trasmessi oralmente possono corrispondere a espressioni linguistiche estremamente curate e pianificate²² e registri interamente scritti possono essere caratterizzati da espressioni spontanee e prodotte in tempo reale.²³

Al di là del contrasto tra spontaneità e pianificazione, la teoria retorica e la prassi oratoria classica rivelano un'altra distinzione percepita dagli antichi critici e, presumibilmente, ascoltatori greci. La distinzione aristotelica tra la *graphikê* e la *agônistikê lexis* mette l'accento sull'esecuzione del testo (*performance* oratoria o lettura). A questa distinzione, Aristotele ne aggiunge una tra sottostili 'agonistici' fondati rispettivamente sull'*êthos* e sul *pathos* (Arist. *Rh.* 1413b10).²⁴ In altre parole, lo stile di testi composti per essere pronunciati in situazioni pubbliche poteva lasciar trasparire (o suscitare) maggiore o minore emotività.²⁵ Questa distinzione, in ogni caso, non era ristretta ai generi 'pragmatici' – Aristotele riscontra effetti patetici anche in testi epidittici.²⁶ Il grado di coinvolgimento emotivo che traspare da un testo, quindi, può essere interpretato come un parametro distinto dal grado di spontaneità o preparazione nella percezione antica della variazione linguistica.

La percezione di una distinzione tra uno stile che comunica coinvolgimento emotivo e uno stile distaccato trova anch'essa riscontro nella pratica oratoria. Da un lato, gli oratori non

²⁰ Cfr. BROWN / YULE (1983) 5.

²¹ Cfr. ad es. STAPLES *et al.* (2015) 518.

²² Ad esempio, la prosa e la poesia di tradizione orale nell'India antica, vedi ALLEN (1973) 5.

²³ Ad esempio, i messaggi istantanei (SMS, chat su internet, ecc.), vedi ad es. CRYSTAL (2010) 235.

²⁴ INNES (2007) 162.

²⁵ Vedi CAREY (1994).

²⁶ Vedi INNES (2007) 162.

mancano di deridere il tono supplichevole dei loro avversari²⁷ o accusarsi l'un l'altro di tenere atteggiamenti smaccatamente emotivi e poco virili;²⁸ dall'altro, Demostene punta il dito contro l'eccessiva teatralità di Eschine al fine di sottolinearne la falsità e inaffidabilità.²⁹ Queste accuse vertono più che altro su contenuti e modalità espressive – in particolare, prendono di mira l'uso della voce e la gestualità. Tuttavia, il coinvolgimento o la sobrietà e il distacco non sono comunicati soltanto paralinguisticamente, ma possono avere anch'essi riflessi nell'espressione linguistica. Le caratteristiche formali che sono associate a questa caratteristica funzionale dell'atto linguistico tendono a comparire con maggiore frequenza rispettivamente in registri orali e in registri scritti.³⁰ Anche in questo caso non è possibile stabilire una corrispondenza univoca tra coinvolgimento ed espressione orale e tra distacco ed espressione scritta: il coinvolgimento o il distacco rappresentano maniere in cui il parlante si relaziona tanto ai contenuti quanto ai destinatari³¹ e dipendono da fattori psicologici e comunicativi che esulano dal medium in quanto tale.

Ricapitolando, agli inizi della retorica e critica letteraria greca emergono distinzioni stilistiche basate sulla percezione di spontaneità o pianificazione dei discorsi e sul grado di coinvolgimento interpersonale comunicato dal parlante. Queste distinzioni non dovevano essere solamente il frutto di riflessione teorica, in quanto la prassi oratoria vi fa spesso riferimento esplicito. La domanda che ci poniamo a questo punto è se sia possibile riscontrarle nella forma linguistica dei testi oratori tramandati fino a noi.³²

²⁷ Ad esempio DEM. 21, 186.

²⁸ Ad esempio AESCHIN. 2, 179. Vedi BERS (2009) 77-93.

²⁹ Cfr. PERLMAN (1964) 166; DUNCAN (2006) 60-61; BERS (2009) 30-31. Ad esempio in DEM. 18, 267; 19, 189 e 252.

³⁰ Vedi CHAFE (1982).

³¹ TANNEN (1982) 17.

³² Vedi VATRI (2017) 72-99 sulla storia dei testi degli oratori attici.

3. Misurare la variazione stilistica: metodologia

Per misurare il grado di spontaneità o pianificazione di un'espressione linguistica – così come il grado di coinvolgimento interpersonale o di distacco che questa esprime – è necessario partire dall'assunto che tali caratteristiche situazionali o funzionali dell'atto comunicativo sono espresse da insiemi di caratteristiche linguistiche. Ad esempio, il coinvolgimento interpersonale del parlante può essere rivelato dall'uso di riferimenti alla seconda persona o di proposizioni interrogative dirette, mentre l'uso di forme impersonali o di verbi al passivo può indicare distacco.

In linea di principio, il contrasto tra distacco e coinvolgimento e quello tra spontaneità e pianificazione possono soggiacere a parte della variazione tra i registri di una lingua. In altre parole, la differenza linguistica tra determinati registri può essere spiegata (almeno in parte) in ragione del grado di coinvolgimento/distacco o spontaneità/pianificazione associato a ciascun registro. Il linguista americano Douglas Biber ha messo a punto un metodo computazionale per esplorare quantitativamente questi fenomeni in diverse lingue moderne.³³

Il metodo prevede in primo luogo l'individuazione di un gran numero di caratteristiche linguistiche la cui funzione comunicativa sia interpretabile in maniera significativa in base ai parametri di variazione linguistica che si vogliono studiare. Il passo successivo consiste nel conteggio delle occorrenze delle caratteristiche in un gran numero di campioni di testo di dimensioni adeguate (normalmente 2000 parole) e che rappresentino un numero sufficientemente ampio di registri linguistici (ad esempio, romanzi, articoli di giornale, conversazioni private, ecc.). Questi conteggi devono quindi essere normalizzati – la frequenza delle caratteristiche in ciascun campione dev'essere divisa per il numero totale di parole nello stesso campione – in maniera tale che i campioni più brevi non vengano puniti e che

³³ Vedi specialmente BIBER (1988), (1995), (2009).

i campioni più lunghi non vengano premiati. A questo punto, il metodo prevede che venga calcolata la correlazione tra le frequenze delle caratteristiche, allo scopo di verificare quali caratteristiche variano le une con le altre tanto positivamente quanto negativamente, e il raggruppamento delle caratteristiche in base a tali pattern di cooccorrenza.³⁴ Ad esempio, questo metodo è in grado di verificare se le caratteristiche linguistiche che indicano spontaneità siano effettivamente un gruppo di caratteristiche che tendono (a) a comparire insieme in un testo e (b) a non comparire quando siano presenti caratteristiche che indicano pianificazione. Se la risposta è affermativa, il metodo conferma che la distinzione tra spontaneità e pianificazione in quanto caratteristiche comunicative può essere la spiegazione di una certa gamma di variazione linguistica. Una risposta negativa, invece, suggerisce che nel corpus in questione il parametro spontaneità/pianificazione non ha un ruolo significativo nel determinare la forma linguistica.

Come accennato sopra, quello di Biber è un metodo esplorativo: se si parte dal presupposto che non si conoscono quali parametri comunicativi influenzino la variazione tra registri in una determinata lingua, questi possono essere rivelati dallo studio statistico della cooccorrenza di determinate caratteristiche linguistiche. La domanda che ci poniamo in questo studio, tuttavia, va in senso opposto: i parametri comunicativi che intendiamo studiare sono un presupposto teorico basato sulle fonti antiche, e il nostro compito è quello di verificare se le distinzioni percepite dagli antichi siano effettivamente riscontrabili nella forma linguistica dei testi a loro contemporanei.

Per questo esperimento, ho utilizzato un corpus comprendente le orazioni di Eschine e i corpora di Lisia, Demostene e Isocrate (senza fare distinzioni tra testi autentici e testi di dubbia attribuzione). Questa selezione, in linea di principio, dovrebbe rappresentare esaustivamente lo spettro dei registri che dovevano essere percepiti dagli antichi come spontanei/ben

³⁴ Il metodo statistico utilizzato da Biber è l'analisi fattoriale.

curati e teatrali/sobri nell'ambito dell'oratoria attica. Il metodo applicato è il seguente:

1. Individuazione delle caratteristiche linguistiche che indicano spontaneità, pianificazione, coinvolgimento e distacco in greco antico.
2. Conteggio delle occorrenze di tali caratteristiche nei testi. A differenza del metodo di Biber, le caratteristiche linguistiche non vengono conteggiate nell'intero testo o campione di testo, ma periodo per periodo³⁵ e normalizzate in base alla lunghezza del periodo in cui occorrono. Questa decisione si giustifica a partire dalla considerazione che caratteristiche comunicative quali la spontaneità e il coinvolgimento interpersonale possono variare di periodo in periodo in un testo oratorio, e possono essere più o meno concentrate in determinate sezioni di un testo. La normalizzazione premia periodi brevi e ricchi di caratteristiche linguistiche interpretabili come indicatori di caratteristiche situazionali o funzionali dell'espressione linguistica. Ad esempio, un periodo che consista solamente dell'interiezione $\tilde{\omega}$ e di un vocativo (indicatori di coinvolgimento interpersonale) avrà un punteggio più alto di un periodo in cui gli stessi elementi siano diluiti da parole che non hanno una particolare connotazione nello stesso senso. A parità di frequenza complessiva di caratteristiche connotate funzionalmente o situazionalmente, un testo che contenga molti periodi ad alta connotazione e molti a bassa connotazione può risultare percettivamente più connotato nel complesso rispetto a un testo in cui la medesima frequenza sia distribuita in maniera più omogenea tra i vari periodi che lo compongono.
3. Standardizzazione dei punteggi. I valori normalizzati esprimono solamente il punteggio di ogni periodo per quanto riguarda una determinata caratteristica linguistica in una

³⁵ I periodi sono identificati su base meramente tipografica come sequenze delimitate da segni di interpunzione forte (punto, punto in alto, punto interrogativo) nelle edizioni digitali adottate per questo studio.

scala che parte da zero. Il computo di un punteggio complessivo che risulti dai punteggi di diverse caratteristiche linguistiche deve presupporre che tutte le caratteristiche abbiano lo stesso peso e che siano espresse nella stessa scala. La procedura da adottare è la standardizzazione,³⁶ che fa sì che i punteggi per ogni caratteristica nell'intero corpus abbiano zero come valore medio. In questa maniera, i punteggi per ogni caratteristica assumono valori positivi o negativi a seconda di quanto si discostino in positivo o in negativo dalla norma di quella caratteristica nell'intero corpus, e ciascun punteggio assume un peso diverso a seconda di quanto sia marcato rispetto alla norma.

4. Somma dei punteggi. I punteggi delle caratteristiche linguistiche che esprimono ciascuna funzione comunicativa vengono sommati o sottratti tra loro allo scopo di calcolare il punteggio per ciascun parametro in ogni periodo. Ad esempio, il punteggio per il parametro coinvolgimento/distacco per un determinato periodo è dato dalla somma dei punteggi standardizzati delle caratteristiche linguistiche che indicano coinvolgimento, da cui va sottratta la somma dei punteggi delle caratteristiche che indicano distacco. Se il punteggio complessivo assume un valore vicino allo zero, il periodo non è connotato per quanto riguarda l'espressione linguistica di coinvolgimento o distacco; se il punteggio è positivo, il periodo esprime coinvolgimento interpersonale, mentre se il punteggio è negativo, il periodo esprime distacco.

Una volta calcolati i punteggi per i parametri spontaneità/pianificazione e coinvolgimento/distacco per ogni periodo in ogni testo, è possibile operare confronti tra autori, testi, o sezioni di testo, come verrà illustrato più in basso.

³⁶ Vedi BIBER (1988) 94. La procedura statistica consiste nel sottrarre al valore di ogni caratteristica in ogni periodo la media dei valori per quella caratteristica nell'intero corpus, e nel dividere il risultato per la deviazione standard dei valori per la stessa caratteristica nell'intero corpus.

4. Il corpus

Uno studio quantitativo su larga scala e con alto livello di dettaglio richiede l'utilizzo di corpora digitali e strumenti informatici. I testi utilizzati per questa ricerca sono estratti dal corpus Diorisis.³⁷ I testi degli oratori inclusi nel corpus sono basati sulle edizioni digitali pubblicate dal progetto Perseus.³⁸ I testi sono stati lemmatizzati (vale a dire, ad ogni parola è stato assegnato il lessema corrispondente) e arricchiti di informazione morfologica in maniera automatica. L'assegnazione dei lemmi alle parole in greco antico non è un'operazione banale: circa il 10% delle forme nel corpus Diorisis può essere ricondotto a più di un lessema. Ad esempio, la forma *πράξεις* può essere analizzata come la seconda persona singolare del futuro indicativo attivo di *πράσσω* o come il nominativo/accusativo plurale di *πρᾶξις*. In molti casi, la disambiguazione tra omofoni del genere può essere supportata da strumenti automatici (noti in linguistica computazionale come 'part-of-speech [PoS] tagger') che siano in grado di riconoscere almeno la parte del discorso a cui una forma può essere ricondotta. In questo caso, se un PoS tagger identifica, nei vari contesti, un verbo o un sostantivo in *πράξεις*, questa operazione consente di identificare il lemma corrispondente. In alcuni casi, l'operazione è complicata dal fatto che i lemmi possibili rappresentano la stessa parte del discorso. Ad esempio, la forma *βασιλειῶν* può essere analizzata come verbo (nominativo singolare maschile o neutro del participio presente attivo di *βασιλεύω*) o come sostantivo (genitivo plurale di *βασίλεια* o di *βασιλεία*). Se un PoS tagger identifica questa forma come sostantivo, una scelta casuale tra *βασίλεια* e *βασιλεία* avrà il 50% di possibilità di essere corretta.

L'annotazione del corpus Diorisis è stata effettuata utilizzando la lista di forme e analisi contenuta nel software Diogenes.³⁹ La

³⁷ VATRI / MCGILLIVRAY (2018).

³⁸ <<https://github.com/PerseusDL/canonical-greekLit>>.

³⁹ <<https://community.dur.ac.uk/p.j.heslin/Software/Diogenes/>>; l'indirizzo del file della lista all'interno del pacchetto software è </Resources/perl/Perseus_Data/greek-analyses.txt>. La lista è stata fornita dal progetto Perseus.

lista contiene tutte le possibili analisi morfologiche di 911 840 parole in greco antico. La disambiguazione dei lemmi è stata effettuata utilizzando il software TreeTagger.⁴⁰ L'accuratezza dell'operazione è stata calcolata confrontando il suo risultato con la lemmatizzazione verificata manualmente nei testi digitali pubblicati dal progetto PROIEL.⁴¹ L'accuratezza risulta 84,57% per il Nuovo Testamento e 87,23% per Erodoto.⁴²

Il corpus conta 492 852 parole, 103 589 delle quali (pari al 21% circa) ammettono più di un'analisi morfologica una volta lemmatizzate. Le analisi contenute nella lista di Diogenes per molte di queste parole sono ridondanti; ad esempio, una forma come οὐδελάν viene annotata automaticamente come (1) "accusativo femminile singolare" o (2) "accusativo femminile singolare attico/dorico/eolico". Questa ridondanza verrà corretta in versioni successive del corpus. Alcune analisi multiple corrispondono invece a reali casi di omofonia all'interno della flessione dello stesso lessema. Una forma come προστάττουσι, per esempio, è stata annotata tanto come (1) "participio presente attivo maschile/neutro al dativo plurale" quanto come (2) "presente indicativo attivo, terza persona plurale"; analogamente, μεῖζον è annotato tanto come "vocativo singolare maschile/femminile" quanto come "nominativo/vocativo/accusativo singolare neutro". L'algoritmo che opera i conteggi delle caratteristiche elencate in sezione 5 recupera informazioni da tutte le analisi possibili; προστάττουσι rientra quindi sempre nel computo dei presenti indicativi, e μεῖζον in quello dei vocativi. I conteggi sono quindi suscettibili di errori dovuti all'inclusione di falsi positivi. Questi errori sono in ogni caso mitigati dal sistema di pesatura dei valori descritto in sezione 3.⁴³

⁴⁰ <<http://www.cis.uni-muenchen.de/~schmid/tools/TreeTagger>>.

⁴¹ <<https://proiel.github.io>>.

⁴² Per il presente studio, nei testi del corpus è stata corretta l'annotazione delle forme del futuro ἐρῶ, erroneamente analizzate come forme del presente di ἐρέω nel corpus Diorisis.

⁴³ Se il computo di determinate caratteristiche è gonfiato, la procedura di standardizzazione dei punteggi ha come risultato che solo valori molto maggiori della norma (reale) vengano conteggiati positivamente, mentre è più facile che valori vicini o poco al di sotto della norma (reale) assumano segno negativo.

5. Caratteristiche linguistiche e interpretazioni situazionali/funzionali

Il primo passo da effettuare in questo studio è identificare quali caratteristiche linguistiche interpretare come indicatori di coinvolgimento, distacco, spontaneità e pianificazione nell'oratoria attica. Il punto di partenza per questa operazione è la lista delle caratteristiche incluse negli studi quantitativi di Biber⁴⁴ sulla variazione linguistica in inglese e altre lingue moderne. Da questa lista, che comprende 67 caratteristiche linguistiche, ho desunto quelle di immediata rilevanza ai fini di questo studio e la cui frequenza possa essere calcolata a partire dai dati codificati nel corpus utilizzato. Vista la natura dell'annotazione disponibile nel corpus digitale utilizzato (vedi sezione 4), ho limitato la lista a caratteristiche morfologiche e lessicali. Ovviamente, non tutte le caratteristiche identificate nelle lingue moderne hanno corrispettivi immediati in greco antico, e la lista deve quindi essere adattata e integrata con la loro traduzione nei rispettivi equivalenti funzionali greci.

5.1. Indicatori di coinvolgimento

1. Avverbi di luogo. Gli avverbi di luogo fanno riferimento al contesto fisico e rendono il discorso più situato e meno astratto, e sono quindi da considerare indicatori di coinvolgimento interpersonale. Gli avverbi conteggiati sono: *πόρρω*, *ἐκεῖ*, *δεῦρο*, *ὁμόσε*, *ἐνθα*, *πανταχοῦ*, *πέλας*, *πρόσω*, *ἐντός*, *ἔξω*, *κάτω*, *πέραν*, *εἴσω*, *ἐναντίον*, *πέδοι*, *ἐνδον*, *ἄνω*, *ἄντικρυς*, *αὐτοῦ*, *ἄγχι*, *ἐνταῦθα*, *τῇδε*, *τῇλε*, *πέριξ*, *πέρα*, *χαμάδις*, *μακράν*, *πρόπρυμνα*, *διαμπάξ*, *ἔσω*, *ἐκτός*, *καταντίον*, *ἐναντα*, *ὀπίσω*, *οἴκοι*, *πέδονδε*, *ἄλλῃ*, *ἀντίον*, *προσωτέρω*, *ἐνερθε*, *πάρεξ*, *ἐπάνω*, *πάντη*, *ἐνιαχῆ*, *ἀντίπερας*, *ἄλλοτε*, *ἐκεῖσε* e gli avverbi in *-θεν*, *-θι* e *-δε*.

⁴⁴ BIBER (1988) 221-245.

2. Avverbi di tempo. Gli avverbi di tempo fanno riferimento al contesto temporale, e la loro funzione in rapporto al parametro coinvolgimento/distacco è analoga a quella degli avverbi di luogo. Gli avverbi greci conteggiati sono: νῦν, ἐκάστοτε, αὖ, νυνδὴ, νυνδί, ἔπειτα, αὖθις, ἄρτι, πάλιν, οὕτω, πρόσθεν, οὐκέτι, ἔτι, αὖτε, πάλαι, πάραυτα, προτοῦ, τότε, ἅπαξ, πάρος, πρίν, μεταῦθις, ἀρχῇθεν, ἀεί, ἄφαρ, ουδέπω, ἄρμοῦ, μήπω, μηδέπω, εἰσάπαξ, ἐξαίφνης, παραυτίκα, εἰσέπειτα, νύκτωρ, τανῦν, εἴτα, τέως, εἰσαεί, αὐτίκα, τηνικαῦτα, ἔμπαλιν, αὖριον, εὐθύς, μετέπειτα, ἐξαπίνης, παραχρῆμα, μετέπειτα, εὐθέως.
3. Pronomi di prima persona (ἐγώ, ἔγωγε, ἐμαυτοῦ). I pronomi di prima persona indicano coinvolgimento personale, a prescindere dal fatto se siano pragmaticamente marcati (vale a dire, se siano espressi per esprimere un contrasto tra la prima persona e altre entità) o meno.⁴⁵
4. Pronomi di seconda persona (σύ, σαυτοῦ). Valgono le medesime considerazioni che per i pronomi di prima persona.
5. Verbi alla prima persona.
6. Verbi alla seconda persona. In generale, i riferimenti alla prima e alla seconda persona sono interpretabili come indicatori di coinvolgimento interpersonale.⁴⁶
7. Domande (proposizioni interrogative dirette).
8. Imperativi.
9. Vocativi.
10. Interiezione ὦ. Le caratteristiche 5-8 sono chiari indicatori di coinvolgimento interpersonale.
11. Mitigatori (δῆπουθεν, που, οἶμαι, νομίζω).⁴⁷ Le espressioni che deenfaticizzano e mitigano le asserzioni, comunicando scarsa convinzione in quanto si dice e anticipando possibili dubbi del destinatario, sono indicatori di coinvolgimento interpersonale e interattività.

⁴⁵ Cfr. DIK (2003).

⁴⁶ Cfr. CHAFE (1982) 46.

⁴⁷ Vedi REVUELTA PUIGDOLLERS (2017) 21 su οἶμαι e WAKKER (1997) 229-230 su που/κου.

12. Particelle enfatiche ($\tilde{\eta}$, $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota$).⁴⁸ La funzione pragmatica di queste particelle è opposta a quella dei mitigatori, ma a livello comunicativo sono anch'esse indicatori di coinvolgimento interpersonale,⁴⁹ in quanto mirano a presentare il parlante come garante di quanto afferma e a sollecitare la solidarietà del destinatario senza ammettere obiezioni.
13. Particelle asseverative ($\nu\acute{\eta}$, $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $\mu\acute{\alpha}$). Anche queste particelle caratterizzano registri linguistici interattivi e ad alto grado di coinvolgimento interpersonale.
14. Particelle attitudinali ($\gamma\epsilon$, $\delta\tilde{\eta}\tau\alpha$, $\tau\omicron\iota$, $\xi\rho\alpha$, $\delta\acute{\eta}$).⁵⁰ Queste particelle sollecitano direttamente il destinatario a prestare attenzione alla proposizione o a elementi della stessa (ad es. $\tau\omicron\iota$, $\gamma\epsilon$, $\delta\acute{\eta}$) oppure segnalano l'interesse del parlante in quanto sta dicendo (ad es. $\xi\rho\alpha$),⁵¹ e sono indicatori di coinvolgimento interpersonale diretto.

5.2. *Indicatori di distacco*

1. Verbi al passivo. Le forme passive suggeriscono decontestualizzazione e distacco; l'agente viene messo in secondo piano e la situazione risulta più statica e astratta.⁵² In greco, questo effetto si riscontra soprattutto nella prosa narrativa, mentre negli scambi dialogici (ad esempio in commedia) lo status pragmatico dell'agente nelle costruzioni passive, se espresso, non è necessariamente secondario, e l'uso del passivo si può spiegare in altra maniera.⁵³

⁴⁸ Vedi REVUELTA PUIGDOLLERS (2017) 24-26 e WAKKER (1997) 228-229 su $\tilde{\eta}$ e $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$, e ALLAN (2017) 288 su $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota$.

⁴⁹ Cfr. CHAFE (1982) 47.

⁵⁰ Vedi WAKKER (1997) 228-229, 231-247; cfr. ALLAN (2017) 292.

⁵¹ L'interesse non corrisponde necessariamente alla convinzione del parlante, cfr. TRONCI (2017) 217.

⁵² BIBER (1988) 228.

⁵³ Ad esempio, il passivo consente di mantenere lo stesso soggetto in proposizioni diverse: GEORGE (2005) 29-42, 264-265. Il conteggio è limitato a forme

2. Verbi impersonali. Come le forme passive, le costruzioni impersonali mettono l'agente in secondo piano.⁵⁴ Queste costruzioni non sono in grado di introdurre nuovi referenti nel discorso e si prestano a esprimere situazioni centrate su eventi ("È accaduto X") più che situazioni centrate sui partecipanti ("X ha fatto/è in uno stato Y").⁵⁵ Le costruzioni impersonali conteggiate in questo studio sono: δεῖ, δεῖν, ἔδει, δέον, ἀνάγκη, ἀνάγκην, προσήκει, προσήκειν, συμφέρει, συμφέρειν, χρή, χρήναι e tutte le forme di εἰλικα.

5.3. Indicatori di spontaneità

1. Indicativo presente. L'indicativo presente – specialmente il presente storico in contesti narrativi – è un indicatore di immediatezza e di spontaneità, per quanto possa essere utilizzato in testi argomentativi quando la sequenza temporale non sia parte integrante del contenuto comunicato.⁵⁶
2. Dimostrativi (tutte le forme di οὗτος, ὅδε, ἐκεῖνος e αὐτός). I dimostrativi funzionano come 'segnaposto' per referenti estraibili dal contesto discorsivo e extralinguistico; oltre a contribuire alla coesione di un testo,⁵⁷ possono essere utilizzati dai parlanti per evitare di fare riferimento esplicito a determinate entità – se è possibile presupporre che il destinatario sia comunque in grado di identificare il referente – oppure per sostituire espressioni che i parlanti non riescono a formulare in tempo reale (a causa, per esempio,

morfologicamente distinte dal medio, per quanto possa darsi il caso che forme morfologicamente passive non siano semanticamente passive. Il computo prevede dunque tanto dei falsi positivi (morfologia passiva, semantica non-passiva) quanto dei falsi negativi (morfologia medio-passiva, semantica passiva).

⁵⁴ SIEWIERSKA (2008) 121.

⁵⁵ SIEWIERSKA (2011) 68.

⁵⁶ BIBER (1988) 224; sul greco v. tra gli altri RIJKSBARON (2011) 39.

⁵⁷ BIBER (1988) 241; vedi ad es. BONIFAZI (2009) sul greco.

- di dimenticanze o difficoltà nel trovare la ‘parola giusta’) nel discorso non pianificato.⁵⁸
3. Proposizioni dichiarative (ὅτι).⁵⁹ Proposizioni di questo tipo sono frequenti nella narrativa orale (spontanea);⁶⁰ quando codificano discorso riportato, queste proposizioni sono generalmente più frequenti del discorso diretto, per quanto la loro prominenza sia significativamente maggiore in registri formali.⁶¹
 4. Particelle interattive/conclusive (ἄρα, οὐκοῦν, οὖν, τοίνυν).⁶² Queste particelle caratterizzano gli scambi dialogici e sono tipiche dei registri conversazionali.⁶³

5.4. Indicatori di pianificazione

1. Particelle congiuntive (μέν, διό, γάρ, ἀντάρ, ἄτάρ, καίτοι).⁶⁴ Queste particelle suggeriscono che il parlante ha avuto modo di pianificare la propria espressione linguistica e di strutturarla in unità collegate logicamente tra loro; le particelle esprimono la semantica di tali collegamenti. Le particelle avversative si trovano più frequentemente nel discorso riportato che in passi narrativi; ἀλλά è esclusa da questo

⁵⁸ Vedi HAYASHI / YOON (2006). In greco, ad es. in AR. *Nub.* 655-657 (ΣΤ. οὐ γάρ, ῥήζυρέ, / τούτων ἐπιθυμῶ μανθάνειν οὐδέν. ΣΩ. τί δαί; / ΣΤ. ἐκεῖν' ἐκεῖνο, τὸν ἀδικώτατον λόγον. "STREPSIADE: Ma, mio caro, non è questo che voglio imparare. SOCRATE: E cosa, allora? ST.: Quello, quello: il discorso più ingiusto."; trad. G. MASTROMARCO).

⁵⁹ Nel corpus digitale utilizzato per questo studio (vedi sezione 5), l'uso di ὅτι come congiunzione e come pronomi relativo-indefinito non è stato disambiguato automaticamente. Per questo motivo, sono state conteggiate tutte le occorrenze di questa forma. Inoltre, il corpus non distingue tra l'uso dichiarativo e l'uso causale di questa congiunzione, ed è dunque possibile che i conteggi relativi ad essa includano falsi positivi.

⁶⁰ BEAMAN (1984) 62.

⁶¹ Vedi FURKÓ / KERTÉSZ / ABUCZKI (2019) 262-263.

⁶² Vedi TRONCI (2017).

⁶³ Cfr. BIBER (1988) 241.

⁶⁴ Vedi ALLAN (2017) 292-293 su καίτοι.

conteggio in quanto viene impiegata molto frequentemente (ma non esclusivamente) in scambi dialogici.⁶⁵

È opportuno rimarcare – per evitare il rischio che la lista qui presentata appaia ingenua e semplicistica – che le caratteristiche elencate devono essere intese come ‘ingredienti’ che contribuiscono alla caratterizzazione funzionale di un periodo; le funzioni comunicative di molte di esse non si limitano a quella segnalate in questo studio e sono spesso di gran lunga più sottili di quanto la classificazione presentata qui sotto lasci intendere. In alcuni casi è difficile decidere se determinate caratteristiche linguistiche siano indicatori di spontaneità più che di coinvolgimento (ad es. le particelle interattive/conclusive) – i confini tra queste caratteristiche funzionali della comunicazione sono spesso sfumati. È anche opportuno sottolineare che il sistema di pesatura statistica dei punteggi descritto in sezione 3 prevede che solo i valori molto devianti dalla norma continuo ai fini del calcolo del punteggio di ogni periodo per i due parametri qui studiati. In questo modo, caratteristiche relativamente comuni, come ad esempio i dimostrativi (v. sopra, sezione 5.3), valgono come indicatori delle relative caratteristiche funzionali (spontaneità, pianificazione, coinvolgimento o distacco) solo quando i loro valori siano *significativamente superiori o inferiori* ai valori medi del corpus.

6. Risultati

Le caratteristiche linguistiche elencate in sezione 5 sono state conteggiate automaticamente nei testi del corpus. Come illustrato in sezione 3, il conteggio è stato effettuato separatamente per ogni periodo. Il numero di occorrenze di ogni caratteristica in ciascun periodo è stato diviso per il numero di parole contenute nello stesso (normalizzazione) e in seguito ogni valore è

⁶⁵ ALLAN (2017) 283-287.

stato standardizzato. I valori della media e della deviazione standard per i conteggi normalizzati di ciascuna caratteristica sono riportati qui sotto:

	media	deviazione standard
Avverbi di luogo	0,0016	0,0106
Avverbi di tempo	0,0087	0,0252
Pronomi di prima persona	0,0152	0,0339
Pronomi di seconda persona	0,0124	0,0278
Verbi alla prima persona	0,0355	0,0593
Verbi alla seconda persona	0,0436	0,0663
Domande	0,0115	0,0441
Imperativi	0,0130	0,0436
Vocativi	0,0859	0,0842
ϖ	0,0032	0,0134
Mitigatori	0,0005	0,0072
Particelle enfatiche	0,0011	0,0089
Particelle asseverative	0,0007	0,0097
Particelle attitudinali	0,0044	0,0205
Verbi al passivo	0,0073	0,0219
Verbi impersonali	0,0040	0,0173
Indicativo presente	0,0253	0,0445
Dimostrativi	0,0454	0,0533
Proposizioni dichiarative	0,0040	0,0149
Particelle interattive/conclusive	0,0027	0,0134
Particelle congiuntive	0,0266	0,0404

I valori standardizzati delle caratteristiche in ciascun periodo sono stati sommati in base all'interpretazione delle caratteristiche stesse. Il punteggio per il parametro coinvolgimento/distacco per ogni periodo è stato quindi calcolato sommando i

valori standardizzati delle caratteristiche elencate in sezione 5.1 e sottraendo quelli delle caratteristiche elencate in 5.2. Analogamente, il punteggio per il parametro spontaneità/pianificazione è stato ottenuto sommando i valori delle caratteristiche elencate in 5.3 e sottraendo quelli delle caratteristiche elencate in 5.4. Dal momento che alcuni valori standardizzati possono essere di segno negativo (se, ad esempio, una caratteristica linguistica è sottorappresentata in un determinato periodo), il fatto che in sezione 5 sia stato individuato un maggior numero di caratteristiche associate al coinvolgimento e alla spontaneità (da sommare) rispetto al distacco e alla pianificazione (da sottrarre) non implica che i valori dei punteggi finali possano tendere a risultare di segno positivo.

I punteggi per il parametro coinvolgimento/distacco vanno da -27,34 a 67,17. Il periodo col punteggio più basso consiste della sola parola ἀνάγκη (“è inevitabile”, Dem. 19, 294) – espressione impersonale e marcatore di distacco; quello col punteggio più alto è anch’esso molto breve (ἐγὼ γε νομίζω “Io penso proprio di sì”, Dem. 25, 82, trad. M.R. Pierro) e consiste di un pronome di prima persona e di un verbo al presente indicativo.

I punteggi per il parametro spontaneità/pianificazione variano meno notevolmente, e vanno da -11,12 a 23,59. Il periodo col punteggio più basso si trova nella *Terza Filippica* di Demostene: εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὠμωμόκει “Badate che aveva giurato la pace” (Dem. 9, 15, trad. L. Canfora). Metà delle parole di questo breve periodo sono particelle congiuntive e non compaiono caratteristiche che indichino spontaneità. Il periodo col punteggio più alto per quanto riguarda la spontaneità è invece il brevissimo χρήματα τοίνυν (Dem. 4, 28), nel quale una parola su due (τοίνυν) è una particella interattiva/conclusiva.

I grafici nelle figure 1 e 2 illustrano la distribuzione dei punteggi nell’intero corpus. L’asse orizzontale corrisponde a classi di punteggio a intervallo pari a uno, mentre l’asse verticale corrisponde al numero di periodi in ogni classe di punteggio. In altre parole, ogni punto della linea indica il numero di periodi il cui punteggio rientra tra valori distanti tra loro un intervallo

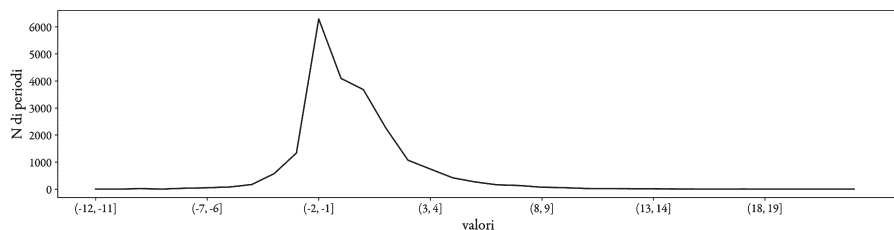


Fig. 1. Distribuzione dei punteggi del parametro spontaneità/preparazione nel corpus.

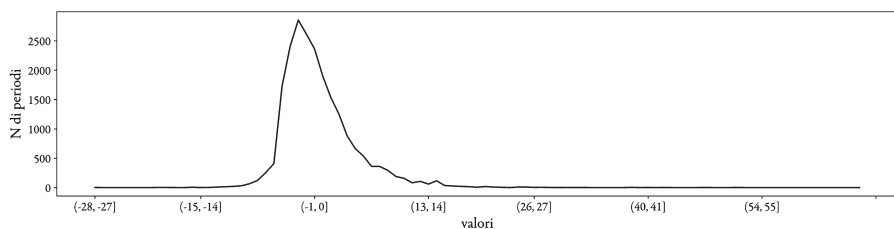


Fig. 2. Distribuzione dei punteggi del parametro coinvolgimento/distacco nel corpus.

pari a uno (quindi, per quanto riguarda i valori del parametro spontaneità/pianificazione, da -12 a -11, da -11 a -10, fino ad arrivare all'intervallo da 23 a 24 – in cui è incluso il valore più alto calcolato nel corpus).

Come si vede, le linee descrivono curve alte e strette, con picchi in corrispondenza di intervalli di valori di poco inferiori allo zero. Questo indica che i punteggi per entrambi i parametri nel corpus sono concentrati attorno al valore centrale; in altre parole, la maggior parte dei periodi ha punteggi nella norma e non compaiono gruppi numerosi di periodi i cui punteggi siano molto alti o molto bassi, per quanto i gruppi di periodi più numerosi siano quelli con valori relativamente bassi.

Mettiamo ora a confronto le distribuzioni dei punteggi per entrambi i parametri in ciascuno degli autori studiati (figg. 3 e 4).

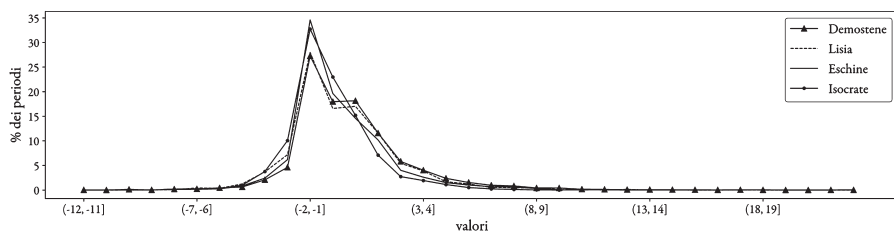


Fig. 3. Distribuzione dei punteggi del parametro spontaneità/preparazione per autore.

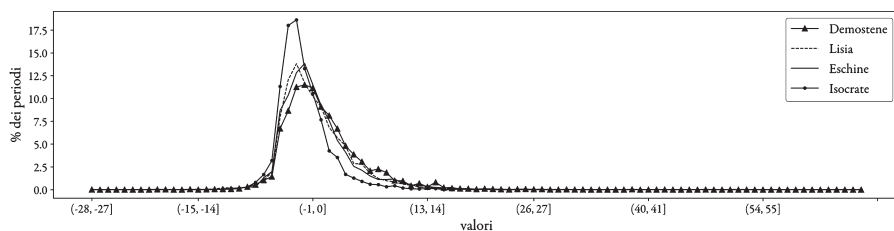


Fig. 4. Distribuzione dei punteggi del parametro coinvolgimento/distacco per autore.

Allo scopo di rendere le distribuzioni confrontabili, l'asse verticale riporta la percentuale di periodi in ogni intervallo di valori per ogni autore anziché il semplice conteggio – i sottocorpora di ogni autore contengono un numero di periodi diverso.

Il grafico in figura 3 mostra che le distribuzioni dei punteggi per il parametro spontaneità/pianificazione per ogni autore hanno tutte un picco in corrispondenza del medesimo intervallo di valori (poco inferiore allo zero). Tuttavia, la curva che rappresenta la distribuzione dei punteggi in Isocrate è alta e stretta e leggermente spostata a sinistra rispetto alle altre (in corrispondenza di valori più bassi). La curva che rappresenta la stessa distribuzione in Demostene è più bassa e ampia, ed è meno ripida a destra che a sinistra. Al di là dell'osservazione dei grafici, uno strumento statistico per verificare la significatività della

differenza tra distribuzioni di valori è il test di Kolmogorov-Smirnov. Il test confronta coppie di distribuzioni; se il valore p è inferiore a 0,05, l'ipotesi che le distribuzioni non differiscano significativamente può essere scartata. I risultati del confronto tra ogni coppia di autori (valore della statistica di Kolmogorov-Smirnov e valore p) per quanto riguarda il parametro spontaneità/pianificazione sono riportati nella tabella che segue.

	Isocrate	Demostene	Eschine
Lisia	KS: 0,17 p : 0,64	KS: 0,26 p : 0,17	KS: 0,08 p : 0,99
Isocrate	–	KS: 0,26 p : 0,17	KS: 0,14 p : 0,84
Demostene	–	–	KS: 0,31 p : 0,049

Questi dati indicano che le distribuzioni di punteggi in Demostene ed Eschine differiscono significativamente; le differenze tra le distribuzioni in Demostene e Isocrate e in Demostene e Lisia non sono troppo lontane dalla significatività statistica.

Le distribuzioni rappresentate graficamente in figura 4 appaiono molto diverse tra loro: la linea relativa a Isocrate è relativamente stretta e ha un picco molto alto in corrispondenza di valori leggermente negativi; le linee relative a Lisia ed Eschine sono molto simili, mentre la linea relativa a Demostene è più ampia e bassa e ha valori più alti di tutte le altre alla destra del picco (il che significa che la percentuale dei periodi con punteggi relativamente alti per il parametro coinvolgimento/distacco è maggiore che in altri autori). I risultati del test di Kolmogorov-Smirnov per questo parametro sono riportati nella tabella che segue.

	Isocrate	Demostene	Eschine
Lisia	KS: 0,13 p : 0,31	KS: 0,15 p : 0,24	KS: 0,07 p : 0,95

Isocrate	–	KS: 0,25 <i>p</i> : 0,004	KS: 0,07 <i>p</i> : 0,95
Demostene	–	–	KS: 0,22 <i>p</i> : 0,02

Nel caso del parametro coinvolgimento/distacco, il test di Kolmogorov-Smirnov conferma che le differenze tra la distribuzione di Demostene e quelle di Eschine e Isocrate sono significative.

Questi dati suggeriscono che siamo in presenza di differenze sostanziali tra i punteggi dei sottocorpora, ma non consentono di ordinarli in base ai punteggi relativi ai due parametri considerati. Per stabilire quali sottocorpora abbiano valori più o meno alti per quanto riguarda il coinvolgimento/distacco o la spontaneità/pianificazione, è possibile adottare la media aritmetica come misura di tendenza centrale. La tabella qui sotto riporta i valori medi dei punteggi per ciascun parametro per ciascun sottocorpus, insieme ai relativi intervalli di confidenza al 95%. I valori sono visualizzati graficamente in figura 5, nella quale l'asse orizzontale riporta i punteggi relativi al parametro coinvolgimento/distacco (i valori negativi indicano distacco, quelli positivi indicano coinvolgimento) e l'asse verticale riporta i punteggi relativi al parametro spontaneità/pianificazione (i valori negativi indicano pianificazione, quelli positivi indicano spontaneità). Le linee orizzontali che tagliano ciascun punto nel grafico rappresentano l'ampiezza dell'intervallo di confidenza corrispondente relativo al parametro coinvolgimento/distacco, mentre le linee verticali indicano l'intervallo di confidenza per quanto riguarda il parametro spontaneità/pianificazione.

	coinvolgimento/distacco		spontaneità/pianificazione	
	media	IC 95%	media	IC 95%
Isocrate	-1,66	±0,09	-0,61	±0,05
Demostene	0,66	±0,08	0,26	±0,04
Eschine	-0,23	±0,17	-0,19	±0,09
Lisia	-0,13	±0,17	-0,07	±0,08

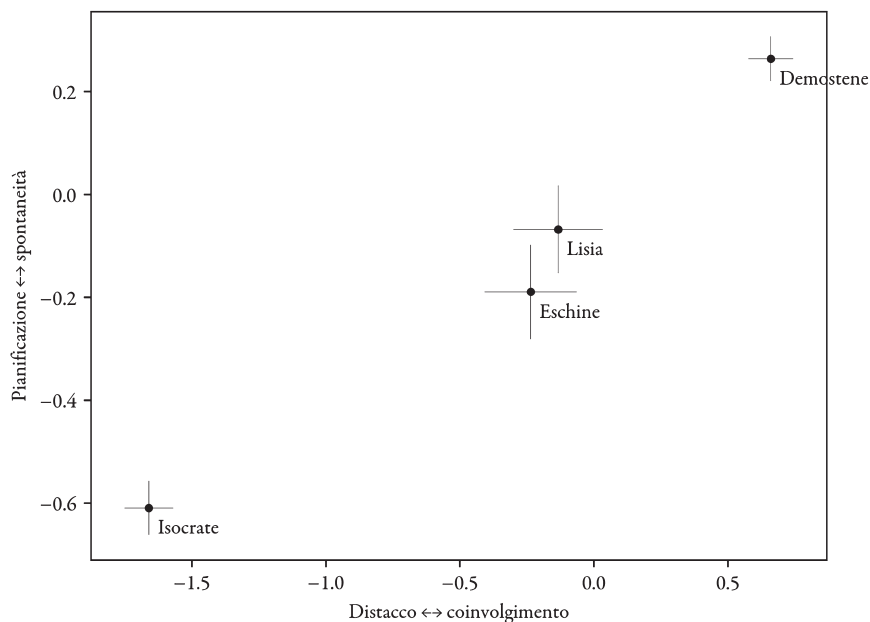
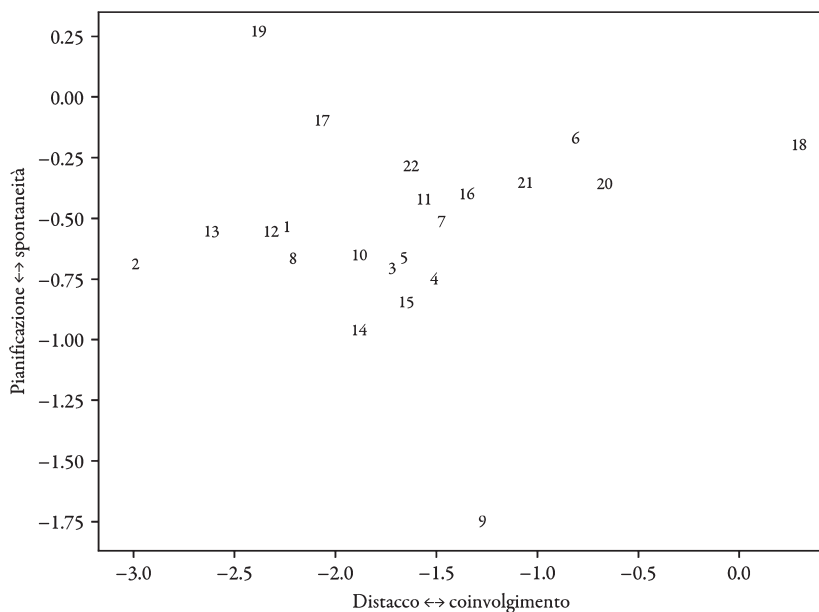


Fig. 5. Valori medi per autore per entrambi i parametri, con intervallo di confidenza al 95%.

Se le linee che rappresentano gli intervalli di confidenza si sovrappongono, le differenze tra i valori medi dei sottocorpora non sono statisticamente significative. Perciò, il grafico indica che i punteggi di Lisia ed Eschine non differiscono significativamente tra loro tanto per quanto riguarda il parametro coinvolgimento/distacco quanto per quanto riguarda il parametro spontaneità/pianificazione. Questo gruppo centrale, tuttavia, si discosta in maniera significativa tanto dal corpus di Isocrate quanto da quello di Demostene, i quali sono molto distanti tra loro per quanto riguarda entrambi i parametri.

Questi dati confermano che esistono differenze linguistiche sostanziali tra i sottocorpora, e che tali differenze corrispondono a quanto ci aspetteremmo sulla base delle informazioni



1: Busiride, 2: Evagora, 3: Sulla pace, 4: Plataico, 5: Archidamo, 6: Contro Callimaco, 7: A Filippo, 8: Panegirico, 9: A Demonico, 10: Panatenaico, 11: Antidosi, 12: Sulla biga, 13: Elena, 14: Areopagitico, 15: A Nicocle, 16: Nicocle, 17: Contro i sofisti, 18: Trapezitico, 19: Contro Eutino, 20: Epistole, 21: Eginetico, 22: Contro Lochite

Fig. 6. Valori medi nel corpus isocrateo.

extralinguistiche che possediamo relativamente ai testi in questione. Com'è noto, la maggior parte del corpus isocrateo consiste di testi composti in vista di una circolazione esclusivamente scritta (fanno eccezione i discorsi logografici),⁶⁶ e non è sorprendente che la lingua di questo sottocorpus si caratterizzi nettamente per distacco e pianificazione. L'oratoria di Demostene, invece, è (quasi) interamente 'pragmatica' e si colloca all'estremità opposta dello spettro per quanto riguarda entrambi i parametri. Il corpus lisiaco – così come i tre discorsi di Eschine

⁶⁶ Vedi VATRI (2017) 77-80 con ulteriori riferimenti.

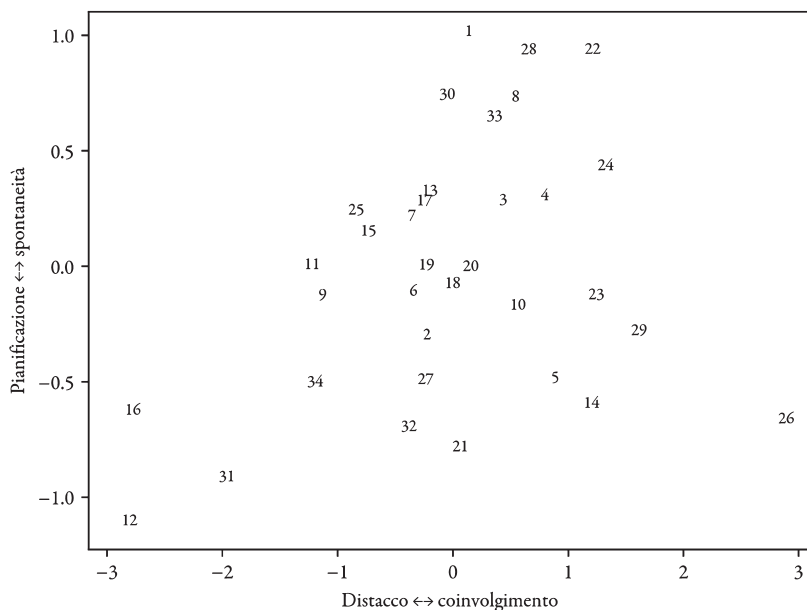
– si trova in posizione centrale tra i due poli per quanto riguarda entrambi i parametri. Almeno per quanto riguarda Lisia, questo dato può essere interpretato alla luce del fatto che il corpus consiste quasi interamente di discorsi logografici: se i logografi dovevano fornire ai clienti un prodotto finito da memorizzare,⁶⁷ non potevano dare per scontata la loro abilità nel recitare testi che richiedessero verve e veemenza comunicativa.

Altri dati interessanti possono essere ricavati dal confronto tra le medie dei punteggi dei singoli testi all'interno dei sottocorpora (escludendo quello di Eschine, che consiste solamente di tre testi). Iniziando dal corpus isocrateo, il grafico in fig. 6 mostra come tanto le epistole quanto la maggior parte dei discorsi logografici (ad esclusione del *Trapezitico* [18], che si distingue per il punteggio relativamente alto sul parametro coinvolgimento/distacco, e del *Contro Eutino* [19], che ha un punteggio relativamente alto per quanto riguarda la spontaneità) non si discostino dal grosso degli altri testi. *A Demonico* [9] si discosta notevolmente dagli altri discorsi sul parametro spontaneità/pianificazione – le sue caratteristiche linguistiche lo fanno apparire largamente più ‘pianificato’. A proposito di questo dato vale la pena di ricordare come l'autenticità di questo discorso – a quanto riporta l'anonimo autore della *hypothesis* – fosse stata contestata sulla base della mancanza di vigore della sua dizione (διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς φράσεως).

Nel corpus lisiaco (fig. 7) è interessante osservare che un gruppo di orazioni si discosta dal resto su entrambi i parametri. L'*Olimpico* [16] e l'*Epitafio* [12] (di dubbia autenticità) hanno un punteggio basso sia per quanto riguarda il coinvolgimento che per quanto riguarda la spontaneità – fatto che può essere giustificato dalla loro appartenenza al genere epidittico. *Per il soldato* [31] – il più vicino ai discorsi epidittici contenuti nel sottocorpus – è anch'esso di dubbia attribuzione.⁶⁸ È anche

⁶⁷ Vedi ad es. TODD (2007) 29; MACDOWELL (2009) 4; USHER (1976) 36; WORTHINGTON (1993); WHITEHEAD (2004) 155-156.

⁶⁸ Vedi TODD (2007) 581.



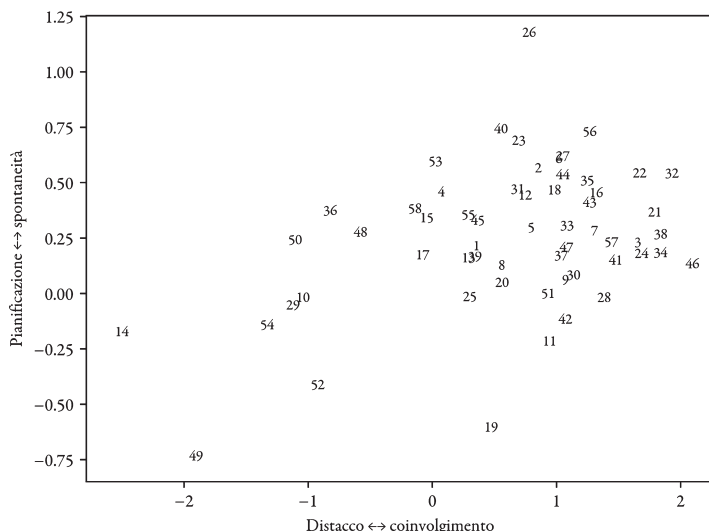
1: Per ferimento premeditato, 2: Contro Eratostene, 3: Contro Simone, 4: Per l'invalido, 5: Difesa da accusa di corruzione, 6: Per i beni di Aristofane, 7: Contro Agorato, 8: Contro i mercanti di grano, 9: Contro Diogitone, 10: Areopagitico, 11: Contro Alcibiade 1, 12: Epitafio, 13: Contro Filone, 14: Per Polistrato, 15: Contro Andocide, 16: Olimpico, 17: Contro Nicomaco, 18: Difesa per Mantiteo, 19: Contro Filocrate, 20: Contro Ergocle, 21: Sulla costituzione, 22: Contro Panleone, 23: Per l'uccisione di Eratostene, 24: Contro Epicrate, 25: Sulla docimasia di Evandro, 26: Accusa d'ingiurie contro i compagni, 27: Difesa dall'accusa di complotto, 28: Contro Teomnesto 1, 29: Sui beni di Eratone, 30: Contro Alcibiade 2, 31: Per il soldato, 32: Sulla confisca dei beni, 33: Contro Teomnesto 2, 34: Per Callia

Fig. 7. Valori medi nel corpus lisiaco.

interessante notare che l'etopoiia non sembra giocare un ruolo facilmente discernibile per quanto riguarda la variazione linguistica su questi parametri.

Anche per quanto riguarda il corpus demostenico (fig. 8) è interessante osservare che i discorsi epidittici (l'*Epitafio* [14] e l'*Erotico* [49] – se autentici)⁶⁹ hanno punteggi notevolmente inferiori al resto su entrambi i parametri. Anche in questo caso,

⁶⁹ Vedi VATRI (2017) 76-77 sull'*Epitafio* e MACDOWELL (2009) 23 sull'*Erotico*.



1: Contro Timocrate, 2: Contro Aristocrate, 3: Contro Conone, 4: Contro Lacrito, 5: Contro Teocrine, 6: Contro Leptine, 7: Contro Midia, 8: Contro Policle (Ap.), 9: Per la corona, 10: Contro Macartato, 11: Sull'organizzazione, 12: Contro Aristogitone 1, 13: Filippica 3, 14: Epitafio, 15: Contro Androzio, 16: Contro Dionisodoro, 17: Contro Apaturio, 18: Sulla falsa ambasceria, 19: Lettera di Filippo, 20: Contro Evergo e Mnesibulo, 21: Contro Spudia, 22: Contro Beoto 1, 23: In difesa di Formione, 24: Contro Eubulide, 25: Olintiaca 2, 26: Contro Onetore 2, 27: Sul Chersoneso, 28: Contro Fenippo, 29: Contro Timoteo (Ap.), 30: Sulla pace, 31: Contro Beoto 2, 32: Contro Panteneto, 33: Contro Zenotemide, 34: Contro Callicle, 35: Contro Olimpiodoro, 36: Contro Afobo 1, 37: Sulle simmorie, 38: Contro Callippo (Ap.), 39: Sulla libertà dei Rodii, 40: Contro Afobo 3, 41: Olintiaca 1, 42: Contro Formione, 43: Filippica 1, 44: Sull'Alonneso, 45: Filippica 4, 46: Olintiaca 3, 47: Per i Megalobolitani, 48: Contro Leocare, 49: Erotico, 50: Sui patti con Alessandro, 51: Contro Afobo 2, 52: Contro Aristogitone 2, 53: Sulla corona trierarchica, 54: Risposta alla lettera di Filippo, 55: Contro Nicostrato (Ap.), 56: Contro Nausimaco e Xenopite, 57: Filippica 2, 58: Contro Onetore 1

Fig. 8. Valori medi nel corpus demostenico.

i discorsi considerati spuri dalla critica e quelli attribuiti ad Apollodoro non sono immediatamente separabili dalla produzione autenticamente demostenica e, inoltre, i discorsi deliberativi non sono facilmente distinguibili da quelli giudiziari.

Se combiniamo questi grafici e visualizziamo i punteggi per tutti i discorsi inclusi nel corpus nello stesso spazio (fig. 9), possiamo osservare come i 'territori' occupati dai testi dei corpora di Lisia (simbolo •) e Demostene (simbolo ×) si sovrappongano ampiamente, mentre la sovrapposizione tra questi corpora e quello isocrateo (simbolo +) sia solo periferica. È interessante

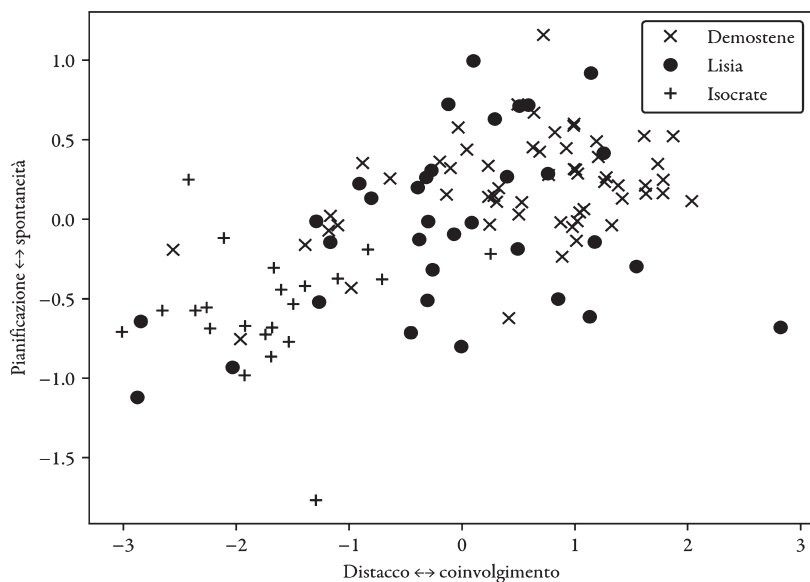


Fig. 9. Valori medi per testo nell'intero corpus.

notare che i discorsi epidittici di entrambi gli oratori cadono in territorio isocrateo e, dall'altro lato, il *Trapezitico* ricade in territorio pienamente lisiaco e demostenico.

7. Conclusione

I risultati quantitativi di questo esperimento suggeriscono che le distinzioni stilistiche percepite e descritte dagli antichi sono fondate nella realtà linguistica dell'oratoria attica. Diverse frequenze e distribuzioni di caratteristiche linguistiche che indicano spontaneità o pianificazione oppure coinvolgimento o distacco delineano differenze statisticamente rilevanti tra i corpora degli oratori attici, e queste differenze sono coerenti con quanto ci aspetteremmo tanto a livello di impressione critica quanto a livello di storia dei testi. Il corpus isocrateo ha valori

medi che lo collocano all'estremità 'scritta' dello spettro degli stili oratori greci: in generale, la lingua appare connotata da scarsa spontaneità e scarso coinvolgimento interpersonale. Il corpus demostenico è invece il gruppo di testi con i più alti valori medi di spontaneità e coinvolgimento, con l'eccezione dei discorsi epidittici – un risultato che ci saremmo aspettati per una collezione di testi che con tutta probabilità non è stata concepita dal proprio autore per la pubblicazione scritta.⁷⁰

I risultati indicano anche che spontaneità e coinvolgimento variano in maniera coerente nel corpus oratorio preso in esame in questo studio. Questi parametri di variazione linguistica sono riconducibili alla dimensione interattiva della comunicazione testuale – una dimensione che soggiace fundamentalmente alle distinzioni stilistiche delineate agli esordi della critica letteraria greca da Alcідamante, Isocrate e Aristotele. Le denominazioni antiche degli stili, come abbiamo visto, fanno regolarmente riferimento alla lettura e alla scrittura. La connessione tra la dimensione interattiva della dimensione linguistica e il medium di produzione e/o trasmissione e ricezione dei testi è intuitiva ed è, tra l'altro, alla base di numerose declinazioni moderne della distinzione stilistica tra testi orali e testi scritti.⁷¹ In quest'ottica, la distinzione aristotelica tra la *lexis graphikê* e la *lexis agônistikê* appare tanto fondata da un punto di vista linguistico quanto efficace da un punto di vista terminologico.

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⁷⁰ VATRI (2017) 81-93 e 98-99.

⁷¹ Vedi CHAFE / TANNEN (1987) e HÄCKI BUHOFFER (2000) per delle utili – per quanto datate – rassegne critiche.

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DISCUSSION

O. Tribulato: Vorrei chiederti un chiarimento sui parametri di spontaneità / non spontaneità da te identificati. Nel caso della prima, hai lavorato con una rosa di quattordici criteri, ma nel caso della seconda ne hai scelti solo due: questa restrizione è generata dal tipo di struttura linguistica del greco? Sarebbe stato possibile considerare altri parametri e, più in generale, questi esperimenti considerano una rosa più ampia di criteri quando condotti su altre lingue? Mi riferisco, ad esempio, alle forme di cortesia (come il *vous* francese), alla possibilità che hanno alcune lingue di differenziare le forme verbali in base allo status del destinatario o al rapporto gerarchico che intercorre tra parlante e destinatario o infine, in sintassi, alla frequenza di paratassi e ipotassi.

A. Vatri: Una delle ragioni per la limitatezza del numero di caratteristiche e l'esclusione di categorie sintattiche è la limitatezza dell'informazione inclusa nel corpus elettronico che ho utilizzato. Certamente, l'inclusione di dati sintattici e semantici arricchirebbe notevolmente un approccio del genere, ma siamo ancora lontani dal possedere una massa critica di testi elettronici annotati che consentano di effettuare una ricerca del genere. In questo esperimento, gli indicatori sono, appunto, 'indicatori' – una serie non esaustiva di 'sintomi' linguistici di fenomeni comunicativi o caratteristiche situazionali che possono senza dubbio avere altri riflessi nella lingua. Trovo che un certo livello di approssimazione in questo senso sia intrinseco a metodi quantitativi: ad esempio, la variazione semantica di un lessema può essere studiata basandosi sulla frequenza dei suoi collocati, ma si potrebbe obiettare che uno studio del genere debba tenere conto della semantica, della sintassi e della pragmatica

della frase in cui è contenuto o dell'argomento attivo a livello del discorso, e così via. Obiezioni del genere sono comprensibili e giustificate, ma per questo tipo di approcci bisogna fermarsi a un certo punto e decidere cosa prendere in esame e cosa tralasciare. Ovviamente, si è liberi di non credere alla validità di questi metodi, specialmente per corpora limitati come quello delle lingue classiche.

A. Cassio: Penso che l'individuazione degli indicatori da una parte di spontaneità, dall'altra di preparazione, sia importante, tuttavia a mio parere c'è un serio problema di individuazione degli elementi lessicali che si possono classificare come appartenenti all'una o all'altra categoria. Posso credere che $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ – $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ siano un segno, e anche abbastanza significativo, di 'preparazione', ma il solo $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ certamente no, è la cosa più banale che aggiunge una cosa a un'altra oppure oppone una cosa a un'altra. Quando semplicemente aggiunge una cosa x a una cosa y non correlata, o solo apparentemente correlata, come succede spesso anche nella vita reale, è un segno di 'impreparazione'.

Inoltre se $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ è un indicatore di distacco e un pronome di prima persona è indicatore di coinvolgimento, che cosa succede con gli innumerevoli $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ $\mu\epsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\epsilon$ ecc.?

A. Vatri: I dubbi sono assolutamente legittimi e tengo a sottolineare ancora una volta che gli indicatori non riflettono direttamente caratteristiche situazionali o funzioni comunicative: è la loro alta o bassa frequenza a funzionare da reale 'indicatore'. Sono d'accordo per quanto riguarda la funzione di $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ e $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ e del solo $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. Inizialmente avevo intenzione di includere $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ nel computo delle particelle congiuntive, ma alla fine ho deciso di considerare il solo $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ come indicatore di 'preparazione'.

Una costruzione come $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ $\mu\epsilon$ non mi sembra problematica: l'espressione impersonale indica che l'interesse principale del parlante è quello di comunicare 'cosa' deve essere fatto (non tanto 'chi' lo debba fare), e l'utilizzo del pronome di prima persona riporta all'attenzione degli ascoltatori il coinvolgimento

diretto del parlante – in costruzioni del genere le funzioni dei due elementi linguistici operano in direzioni opposte. Certamente conteggi automatici su larga scala non riescono (ancora) a prendere in considerazione fattori di contesto che potrebbero far pendere il piatto della bilancia in favore dell'una o dell'altra funzione. In linea di principio, anche solo l'ordine delle parole potrebbe essere decisivo in ciascun contesto.

Il metodo statistico che ho utilizzato cattura quanto ciascuna occorrenza di ogni caratteristica sia marcata rispetto alla norma del corpus di testi studiato. Ad esempio, se i riferimenti alla prima persona sono molto comuni nel corpus, le loro occorrenze non saranno caratterizzanti, mentre se le espressioni impersonali sono rare, ogni occorrenza avrà un peso significativo. In questo senso, il metodo può simulare le aspettative legate al genere letterario e non intende produrre una scala assoluta rispetto alla quale analizzare testi diversi da quelli inclusi nel corpus.

A. Willi: It is of course very satisfying, and also reassuring as far as the methodological soundness of such a statistical approach is concerned, that you tend to get the 'right' picture in the end, for example in terms of the relative positioning of Isocrates and Demosthenes. As a thought experiment, however, I wonder what we would or should do if you got the 'wrong' result – e.g. with Demosthenes being more detached and less spontaneous than Isocrates? Would we then have to doubt our selection of linguistic features to look at, and how they are associated with the parameters, or would we accept the result and adjust our overall interpretation – for instance by saying that there simply must have been considerable editorial intervention between the actual spoken text of Demosthenes and what we read today? Since we could in principle take either of these routes, how confidently can we now see in the 'right' picture a confirmation that the treatment of the linguistic primary data is indeed appropriate, that all the right features were selected and classified correctly, and so on? Also, potentially, it

might be quite interesting to see what happens if the same statistical analyses were carried out for some non-oratorical texts as a control group.

A. Vatri: The points raised are very important. The idea that we could obtain 'absurd' results implies that we already know what the 'right' results should be. A study of the kind presented here would then only be a confirmatory one – as it were, the corpus used here would be a control group for the study of different materials for which we have no preliminary idea of what the 'right' results should be. In that case, 'absurd' results would force us to improve the methodology (e.g. by selecting different linguistic features, etc.). If our study is to be exploratory, then what we aim to discover is what the results themselves indicate, and there should be no 'right' answer to begin with. The fact that the results of this study fall in line with what other approaches to the same data have produced confirms that the phenomena that have been claimed or found to be there in the data are real – if, of course, one believes that the method is reliable to begin with. If we were to adjust our hypothesis 'post-hoc', the experiment would be methodologically flawed.

F. Schironi: Mine is a purely methodological question from someone who has never used these types of textual analysis and is very interested in exploring them. So: What are the criteria that guide the choice of what to search for, or what are the significant data to look for? In other words, are the ancients in their treatises on rhetoric singling out specific elements (words, particles, grammatical forms, syntactic constructions/schemata) as typical of a certain style? If this is not the case, are we justified in 're-projecting' back into our searches what we know about modern languages (e.g. Biber 1988), for which we also have spoken records, which can best testify to spontaneity?

A. Vatri: This is another very important point. Yes, I have started from the cross-linguistic and typologically broad work

of Biber and I have looked at the current scholarly literature on Greek to identify functional equivalents of the features he works with, as well as features whose function seems to me to be intuitively straightforward (e.g. vocatives and imperatives). The fact that modern corpus linguists have identified the function of features in materials that include (cross-linguistic) spoken records does not mean that the same functions cannot be identified in written materials (and in an ancient language) – leaving aside the idea that certain Greek literary genres may be conceived of as records of ‘quasi-spoken’ language, as e.g. a classicist like S. Slings has argued. For instance, the idea that vocatives indicate interpersonal interaction applies to their use in both spoken and written texts in any language. It may be the case that certain features would only be used in specific spoken or written registers (I am thinking e.g. about forms of invocation in hymns and prayers), but their function would not be determined by that.

As to the connection with descriptions of styles in the rhetorical tradition, the approach I have adopted in this experiment is precisely that of questioning the rhetorical tradition. In other words, as I have mentioned in my reply to Andreas Willi’s question, this approach presupposes that the method works and that the hypothesis to test is whether the ancient rhetoricians were right. Of course, one may not be convinced that the method works at all, but if one were to interpret this experiment as a test for the method itself the results would be encouraging – at any rate, as I mentioned, this is not the rationale of my argument.

L. Huitink: I have a question about your notion of ‘spontaneity’. The fact that many speakers of forensic speeches, such as the young man from Antipho 1, claim to have no experience of speaking in public or in court and yet deliver what now look to us like highly polished pieces of prose is a well-known problem of Greek oratory. It is usually solved by claiming that the published versions of speeches we have are very different from what was originally delivered – but this cannot, of course, be

proven. What does your paper suggest about this problem? Would you say, for example, that some of your 'spontaneous' features, provided they occur in sufficient quantities in a speech, are enough to create an impression of genuine 'spontaneity' in audiences – despite the fact that other features may feel much more 'polished' or 'prepared'? I ask this in part because it seems to me that the modern 'spontaneous' discourses studied by Biber are much more 'spontaneous' than even the 'most spontaneous' of your forensic speeches. In other words, is there a limit to how 'spontaneous' a court speech could be? Was careful planning and the use of formal language not simply an expectation of the genre? If so, is 'spontaneous' quite the right term to use?

A. Vatri: The idea is that, in order for a speech to sound 'spontaneous', there should be enough sentences in which 'spontaneous' features appear in a significantly higher proportion than they normally do in the corpus of texts we are comparing with one another. As I mention in the paper, these parameters are assumed to vary with every sentence in each text. Under this rationale, speeches (or sections of speeches) with a high number of 'spontaneous' sentences would sound more 'spontaneous' than speeches in which the 'spontaneous' features occur with the same frequency but are more 'diluted' throughout the sentences. The same applies to 'preparedness': these parameters – as well as others – may vary constantly and be played with by authors. In this paper, the score for each speech for each parameter is the average of the scores for each sentence, which of course obfuscates fine-grained variation but gives an idea of the general tendency of each speech – whether it should have sounded overall more or less spontaneous or more or less involved than the other speeches in the corpus. As I mentioned in my reply to Albio Cassio's question, the fact that frequency scores are weighted in such a way as to be relevant only when they deviate from the average scores for the corpus amounts to a simulation of the markedness of linguistic phenomena with respect to the expectations of the genre.

O. Tribulato: Uno dei punti di maggiore interesse del tuo approccio tecnico-statistico è che ci fornisce una possibile base fattuale sulla quale fondare l'analisi dell'approccio allo stile oratorio nelle epoche successive. Mi chiedo se il fatto che la maggior parte dell'oratoria attica del periodo 'aureo' sia caratterizzata da oggettivi elementi di spontaneità non abbia contribuito a identificare questo tipo di stile come preferibile o canonico in epoche successive. Mi riferisco ovviamente alla nota questione dello stile asiatico e agli elementi linguistici che potevano essere sentiti come tipici di esso e criticabili. Cosa fanno i retori 'atticisti' di età successiva? Il loro stile, in termini generali, presenta elementi comparabili a quelli identificati da te per lo stile spontaneo di Demostene ecc.? Se si riuscisse a fare un'analisi concreta di questo tipo, penso che avremmo alcuni risultati interessanti sulla *funzione* delle *forme* linguistiche tipiche dell'oratoria greca a varie epoche.

A. Vatri: Quest'osservazione è estremamente stimolante e varrà certamente la pena di tentare di estendere lo studio come suggerisci. In relazione al fatto che l'oratoria attica sia "caratterizzata da oggettivi elementi di spontaneità", mi preme sottolineare di nuovo che la caratterizzazione è sempre relativa al corpus preso in esame; il metodo impiegato in questo esperimento consente di confrontare tra loro i testi inclusi nel corpus, non produce una scala 'oggettiva' e assoluta su cui posizionare eventuali testi aggiuntivi. L'ampliamento del corpus modificherebbe i valori medi delle frequenze delle caratteristiche linguistiche, ed è quindi necessario pensare bene a come disegnare il corpus in relazione all'ipotesi precisa che si vuole verificare e minimizzare elementi di variazione spuri ed estranei all'ipotesi stessa – in altre parole, tenere sotto controllo le 'variabili di disturbo'. Se si vuole effettuare uno studio diacronico, ad esempio, bisognerà minimizzare la variazione su altri parametri che non siano la data di composizione di un testo.

V

LUUK HUITINK

“THERE WAS A RIVER ON THEIR LEFT-HAND SIDE”

XENOPHON'S *ANABASIS*, ARRIVAL SCENES, REFLECTOR NARRATIVE
AND THE EVOLVING LANGUAGE OF GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY

ABSTRACT

This contribution is concerned with the use of ‘reflector mode narrative’ in arrival scenes in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, in which landscape descriptions are filtered through the consciousness of characters inside the story. Intended as a broader contribution to the ‘grammar of narrative voice’ in Greek prose, it establishes the linguistic characteristics of this mode of narration, contrasts it with other ways of telling stories in Greek historiography, the ‘teller mode’ and ‘zero grade’ narrative, and suggests that Xenophon’s use of it in the *Anabasis* is more sustained, calculated, and linguistically grounded than that of his predecessors. Finally, it briefly considers the relation between modern theorizing on reflector mode narrative and ancient reading habits, as encapsulated by the term ἐνάργεια.

Il n’était resté enfant que sur un point: ce qu’il avait vu était-ce une bataille, et en second lieu, cette bataille était-elle Waterloo? Pour la première fois de sa vie il trouva du plaisir à lire; il espérait toujours trouver dans les journaux, ou dans les récits de la bataille, quelque description qui lui permettrait de reconnaître les lieux qu’il avait parcourus à la suite du maréchal Ney, et plus tard avec l’autre général. (Stendhal, *La Chartreuse de Parme*, 1839, Part I, Ch. 5)

In Stendhal’s masterpiece, *La Chartreuse de Parme*, the young and naïve Fabrice Del Dongo more or less accidentally stumbles

onto the battlefield at Waterloo. After he runs into troops of Marshal Ney and joins them, he experiences what he – and, thanks to Stendhal’s skill in presenting the narrative through Fabrice’s eyes, the reader as well – perceives as an incomprehensible and chaotic series of seemingly unrelated incidents, which ultimately leave him wounded in his leg. Some time later, in order better to understand what happened to him, Fabrice starts consulting historiographical accounts of the battle, which detail what took place where, and so might enable him one day to return to Waterloo and identify the places where he fought on that fateful day.¹ At the same time, Stendhal (who was himself a veteran of several Napoleonic campaigns) no doubt intended his readers to reflect on how historiographical accounts tend to distort the actual experience of battle, making it all seem much ‘cleaner’, logical, and inevitable than it appeared to the participants at the time. Stendhal, it has been argued, makes clear that the “static and impersonal description” of battle often found in historiography is incapable of conveying its realities – in contrast, of course, to Stendhal’s own “dynamic, vivid and living narrative”.²

If this is so, Stendhal engages with a debate about the aims and methods of history writing whose roots stretch back to Antiquity. As Jonas Grethlein has shown, ancient historians were keenly aware of, and variously negotiated, the competing claims of ‘experience’ and ‘teleology’.³ Some, that is, were more concerned with transmitting something of ‘what it was like’ to live through certain past events (this does not mean, of course, that their view of ‘what it was like’ is not the result of historical reconstruction), while others adopted a more analytical and explanatory stance, imposing a clear order and evaluation on

¹ Cf. Fabrice’s wish (Part I, Ch. 9): “je voudrais, avant de mourir, aller revoir le champ de bataille de Waterloo, et tâcher de reconnaître la prairie où je fus si gaîment enlevé de mon cheval et assis par terre”.

² COE (1985) 18; see also the brilliant chapter, “Fabrizio at Waterloo”, by CHIAROMONTE (1985) 1-16.

³ GRETHLEIN (2013); see now also DOMAINKO (2018).

things with the benefit of hindsight – though most historians did both at various points. Indeed, Lisa Hau claims that one defining trait of Greek historical narratives is that they alternate between “two narratorial modes, one of them remote and giving an illusion of transparency, the other personal, involved and strongly argumentative”.⁴ On a more fine-grained linguistic level, both Albert Rijksbaron and Rutger Allan have recently argued that one concrete way in which Greek historians (among them Thucydides and Xenophon) effect a quality of ‘experientiality’ or ‘transparency’ is by means of inserting passages of ‘substitutionary perception’, in which the narrator momentarily substitutes the perception of a character for that of himself – much as Stendhal does when he filters the Waterloo narrative in *La Chartreuse de Parme* through the eyes of Fabrice.⁵

The present chapter takes up the notion of ‘substitutionary perception’ as introduced by Rijksbaron and Allan and develops it in four ways in order to make a point about the style, texture, and novelty of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* (which will be my main corpus) and to make a multifaceted methodological contribution to ‘the grammar of narrative voice’ in Greek.⁶ First, I will set ‘substitutionary perception’ in the wider context of Franz K. Stanzel’s narratological concept of ‘mediacy’ and its subcategories, the ‘reflector’ and ‘teller’ narrative modes (the former being more or less equivalent to ‘substitutionary perception’); ‘mediacy’ seems to me to be a particularly useful tool in describing the various ways in which Greek historians shape

⁴ HAU (2014) 259.

⁵ RIJKSBARON (2012) = (2018) 133-169; ALLAN (2013) 377-382. The term ‘substitutionary perception’ derives from a classic essay by FEHR (1938). There is also BAKKER’s (1997), (2007) distinction between a ‘mimetic’ and a ‘diegetic mode’ of narration in Thucydides, as chiefly determined by the use of the imperfect or aorist as the main narrative tense. Bakker’s ‘mimetic’ mode, however, cannot be equated with ‘substitutionary perception’, but is a different way of heightening the experiential dimension of narrative, which I will leave to one side; see the remarks of ALLAN (2013) 383-384.

⁶ The term is WILLI’s (2017) 233: “so far, we do not have anything that could be described as a ‘grammar of narrative voice’ in Greek”.

their stories. Secondly, I will analyse the main linguistic features of the reflector and teller modes by tracing their manifestations in one specific context, namely ‘arrival scenes’ in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*. Arrival scenes, which describe how an army on the march reaches a stopping place, are one of the ‘stock events’ that make up much of Greek historiographical discourse.⁷ My focus on arrival scenes serves to make a broader point, which I will elaborate in the third part of the chapter: by making one of the recurring stock events the basis of linguistic analysis it becomes possible to compare different articulations of it in a fairly systematic way, both synchronically and diachronically. In the fourth section, I will consider the historical dimension of reflector narrative from a different angle, by reading it against the background of the ancient rhetorical concept of ἐνάργεια. It seems to me that the conclusions drawn by modern linguists and narratologists gain force if it can be shown that they are not entirely alien to what we know about ancient reading habits.

1. ‘Mediacy’ and narrative’s *Nullstufe*

While many narrative theorists define narrative in terms of sequences of events, Stanzel introduced the concept of ‘mediacy’ (*Mittelbarkeit*) to underline the crucial fact that narratives are *represented* sequences of events and as such by definition mediated through a given (usually verbal) medium.⁸ ‘Mediacy’ furthermore focuses attention on the fact that the representation is inevitably shaped by the agency of whoever is doing the representing. Narrative, that is, is a way of organizing data into

⁷ Others might be ‘crossing a mountain’, ‘deployment of troops’, ‘scattered foragers being attacked’, etc. For this way of approaching Greek historiographical narrative, see HAU (2014) (she provides a catalogue of ‘stock events’ on pp. 246–250); LENDON (2017).

⁸ See STANZEL (2008) 15–21. See also the explication of the concept by ALBER / FLUDERNIK in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*.

a chain of cause and effect, of selecting and drawing connections between narrated events, and of explaining, interpreting, and evaluating them; 'mediacy' is the signature of this activity. In the account of Stanzel's pupil, Monika Fludernik, narrative operates through the projection of a 'consciousness'; for her, narrative is in the first place the result of a perceptual activity that represents and explains human experience.⁹

Building on earlier well-known distinctions such as those between 'telling' and 'showing' or between *vision après* and *vision avec*, Stanzel distinguishes two basic ways in which 'mediacy' may manifest itself in narrative; these are best understood as ideal types, with actual narratives usually displaying mixed forms.¹⁰ Either the story is mediated by a narrator who openly acts as the teller of the tale ('teller mode') or it is filtered through a 'reflector character' who does not so much seem to tell and interpret, as to directly perceive and experience the happenings in the storyworld ('reflector mode'). Stanzel suggests that the 'reflector mode' invites the reader to perceive the narrative existents and events through the eyes of the reflector character and to that extent produces a veiled mediacy or, rather, 'the illusion of immediacy' ("die Illusion der Unmittelbarkeit").¹¹ In Fludernik's model of narrative as built on the mediating function of a 'consciousness', 'teller mode' narratives are mediated by the consciousness of a narrator and 'reflector mode' narratives by that of a protagonist.¹²

Before elaborating on this point, it will be helpful to point out that Stanzel distinguishes different gradations of 'mediacy'. He uses book summaries, chapter headings, and outlines to establish a 'zero grade' (*Nullstufe*) of 'mediacy' and hence of narrative.¹³ Examples of such texts are "In the *Iliad* Hector kills Patroclus and Achilles kills Hector", or, from the table of

⁹ FLUDERNIK (1996).

¹⁰ STANZEL (1981) 5-7, (⁸2008) 21-24.

¹¹ STANZEL (⁸2008) 16.

¹² FLUDERNIK (1996) 12, 50.

¹³ STANZEL (⁸2008) 39-67.

contents of Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones*, "Chapter ii. – In which Mr Jones receives many friendly visits during his confinement; with some fine touches of the passion of love, scarce visible to the naked eye". Texts like these do not necessarily lack sequentiality or logical connections between events, but they do lack most signs of a mediating instance at pains to establish such connections. In a sense, they are mere lists of events, while cancelling the dynamics of 'mediacy', that is, the sorts of organizing/perceptual activities that turn the bare backbone of a story into an interesting narrative. Importantly, an (apparently universal) marker of summaries and related text-types is the use of the present tense. Stanzel plausibly interprets the present as marking the absence of 'mediacy': in summaries, events are established or referred to in a factual or general way (as something "sachlich-allgemein Existierendes", in Stanzel's words), but they are not *narrated*. The present tense is a sign that we are dealing with a 'story-minus-mediation'.¹⁴

As it happens, the consequences of a lack of mediacy can be beautifully illustrated with reference to the earliest Greek prose authors of whom we have knowledge: most of the extant longer fragments of the early mythographers present stories that come close to the 'zero grade' of narrative; consider for instance the following passages from Acusilaus of Argos (*fl. ante* 490) and Pherecydes of Athens (*fl. c.* 465):¹⁵

Και νῆι δὲ τῇι Ἑλάτου μίσγεται Ποσειδ^{<ε>}ιδ^{<έ>}ων· ἔπειτα (οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇι ἱερὸν παῖδας [[τ]] τεκὲν οὗτ' ἐξ ἐκείνου οὗτ' ἐξ ἄλλου οὐδενός) ποιεῖ αὐτὴν Ποσει^[ι]δέων ἄνδρα ἄτρω[το]ν, [ι]σχὺν ἔχοντα [με]γί[σ]τ[η]ν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τότε, καὶ ὅτε τις αὐτὸν κεντοίῃ σιδήρῳ ἢ χαλκῷ, **ἡλίσκετο** μάλιστα χρημάτων. καὶ γίνεται βασιλεὺς οὗτος Λαπιθέων καὶ τοῖς Κενταύροις **πολεμέεσκε**. ἔπειτα στήσας ἀκόν[τιον ἐν ἀγορῇ] τούτῳι κελεύει θύειν, θεοῖσι δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' | κε[...]. Ζεὺς ἰδὼν αὐτ[ὸν τα]ῦτα ποιέοντα ἀπειλεῖ καὶ ἐφορμᾷ τοὺς Κενταύρους· κἄκε[τ]ι νοι αὐτὸν

¹⁴ STANZEL (⁸2008) 42–43.

¹⁵ In relevant passages I print **imperfects/pluperfects** in bold, underline presents/perfects, and italicize *aorists*.

κατακόπτουσιν ὄρθιον κατὰ γῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν πέτρην ἐπιτιθεῖσιν σῆμα, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. (Acus. fr. 22, iii, 56-83 *EGM*, with adjusted supplement ἀκόν[τιον ... θεοῖ]σι by Grenfell / Hunt)

"Poseidon sleeps with Kaine, the daughter of Elatos. Next (for it was not permitted by law and custom for him to have children from him or from anyone else), Poseidon turns her into a man, one who cannot be wounded and with the greatest strength of all men then alive, and whenever someone attacked him with iron or bronze, he was always utterly destroyed. And this man becomes king of the Lapiths and fought regularly with the Centaurs. Next, having set up a spear in the market-place he orders that sacrifices be made to it. But the gods (did not allow/like it?). Having noticed that he is doing these things, Zeus threatens him and incites the Centaurs against him. And they hammer him upright down into the earth, and put a rock over him as a marker, and he dies."

ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς ἔλκεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ τόξον ὡς βαλὼν, καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος <δείσας> παύσασθαι κελεύει. ὁ δὲ {δείσας} παύεται. Ἥλιος δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου δίδωσιν αὐτῶι τὸ δέπας τὸ χρύσειον, ὃ αὐτὸν ἐφόρει σὺν ταῖς ἵπποις, ἐπὶ δύνῃ, διὰ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς ἑώϊην, ἐν ἀνίσχει {ὁ ἥλιος}. ἔπειτα πορεύεται Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῷ δέπαί τούτῳ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρίαν. καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἦν ἐν τῷ πελάγει, Ὠκεανὸς πειρώμενος αὐτοῦ χυμαίνει τὸ δέπας φανταζόμενος· ὁ δὲ τοξεύειν αὐτὸν μέλλει. καὶ αὐτὸν δείσας Ὠκεανὸς παύσασθαι κελεύει. (Pherec. Ath. fr. 18a *EGM*)

"Heracles aims his bow at him [Helios] in order to shoot him, and Helios, afraid, orders him to desist. He desists. In return, Helios gives him the gold goblet, which used to carry him and his horses, after he sets, through the Ocean by night to Dawn, where [the sun] rises. Then Heracles travels in that goblet to Erytheia. And while he was at sea, Oceanus, testing him, tosses the goblet on the waves, making a big show. He is on the verge of shooting him with his bow, and Oceanus, afraid, orders him to desist."

I will here forego discussion of earlier stylistic analyses of this skeletal prose, which have tended to cast the early mythographers as unworthy inheritors of the epic tradition and insignificant predecessors to Herodotus. I can do so all the more easily because Robert Fowler has in recent years opened the way to a fresh appreciation of the mythographers' achievement as *sui*

generis.¹⁶ Using the tools of register studies and narratology, Fowler persuasively argues that we should conceive of their work as written, not oral or performed, texts. The mythographers produced what are essentially the first reference works or encyclopaedias, whose primary purpose is to communicate information to audiences at a distance (for instance, tragic poets in search of a plot). In so doing, they pioneered a “pragmatic, just-the-facts style” for telling myth, in which its content was given in the form of bare stories and “isolated from everything else that went with it in Greek society: the gathering of people, the intimate links with ritual, the mimetic performance of poets and actors, the authority of Muse and tradition”.¹⁷

Fowler points out several broadly stylistic features in support of his analysis, which can easily be understood in terms of ‘mediacy’ or, rather, a lack thereof.¹⁸ Many elements which turn mere sequences of events into proper narratives are almost entirely absent from the longer fragments of the mythographers. There are, for instance, few signs of a narrator who orders and evaluates events. First-person narratorial interventions and stance-taking devices, such as *ποῦ* “I think” or *λέγεται* “it is said”, are a hallmark of Greek historiography, but they are virtually absent from this earliest prose.¹⁹ In addition, events are on the whole told in a strictly chronological order, with few substantial analepses or prolepses; exceptions that confirm the rule are the ‘anticipatory’ *γάρ*-clause at Acus. fr. 22,²⁰ and the undermarked analepsis *ὁ αὐτὸν ἐφόρει...* at Pherec. Ath. fr. 18a, which soon peters out into a general statement about the course of the sun: *ἐπὶ τὴν δύνῃ, ... ἐν’ ἀνίσχει*. More generally, the genealogical structure of works of mythography imposes a linear order on the material, which sets them apart from the later

¹⁶ FOWLER (2006), (2013) 706-710.

¹⁷ FOWLER (2013) 707 and (2006) 44, respectively.

¹⁸ This and the following paragraph rely especially on FOWLER (2006) 40-43.

¹⁹ For a rare exception, see PHEREC. SYR. fr. 68 Schibli *φασιν*.

²⁰ According to DENNISTON (²1954) 70, ‘anticipatory’ *γάρ* is itself an archaic feature, more characteristic of Homer and Herodotus than of later prose.

Greek tradition of historiography "that is obsessed with causation".²¹ To a large extent, then, these seem to be texts without a narrator.

Furthermore, most running fragments of early Greek mythography do not present sequences of events on a broader canvas of settings (spatial and temporal) and accompanying circumstances, nor do they present them in terms of characters' perceptions, emotions, plans, deliberations and so on. Thus, most fragments display a rapid pace; scenic narrative, which evokes detailed and life-like ('vivid') mental representations of persons, objects, spaces, and actions, is almost entirely avoided. One can easily imagine how a more leisurely narrative would elaborate the single word *φανταζόμενος* (Pherec. Ath. fr. 18a) into a gripping *ekphrasis* of a storm or analyse Zeus' actions *ἀπειλεῖ* and *ἐφορμαῖ* τοὺς Κενταύρους (Acus. fr. 22) into component parts, including directly reported speeches (perhaps delivered through a divine messenger as in Homer) and the protagonists' reactions to those speeches. In fact, these stories on the whole confine themselves to reporting successive actions, while characters' reasons or motives for undertaking those actions do not receive much attention. Directly reported speeches, which give the impression that we hear the characters speak and get to know what is on their minds, are very rare in the extant fragments; the non-mimetic forms of indirect speech or bare speech mention (e.g. Acus. fr. 22 *ἀπειλεῖ*) are preferred, and even these seldom occur.²² Moreover, while a character's perceptions or emotions are occasionally briefly mentioned (Pherec. Ath. fr. 18a *δείσας* (×2) and, a bit more elaborately, Acus. fr. 22 *ἰδὼν αὐτ[ὸν τα]ῦτα ποιέοντα*), full-blown clauses of what Mabel Lang has called "participial motivation" ('*X* did *Y*, thinking/seeing/hoping/etc. that *Z*'), which are absolutely characteristic of subsequent Greek historiography, are almost completely absent.²³

²¹ HAU (2014) 257.

²² Cf. FOWLER (2006) 41-42.

²³ See LANG (1995) for such structures. The only two full-blown instances in early mythography are PHEREC. ATH. frr. 22a, 135 *EGM*.

Most importantly, the synoptic nature of the fragments is shown by the fact that the main vehicle for expressing successive events is the present tense. Where it is *not* used, this is because minimal forms of ‘mediacy’ enter the synopses. Examples are brief explanations (Acus. fr. 22 οὐ γὰρ ᾔην), repeated events (ὅτε ... κεντοίη ..., ἡλίσκετο: the perception of repetition requires retrospection and so mediation), analepses (Pherec. Ath. fr. 18a ὁ αὐτὸν ἐφόρει: the imperfect is selected to prevent the reader from taking ἐφόρει as the next main event on the storyline) and settings (ὅτε δὲ ᾔην ἐν τῷ πελάγει). Interestingly, the observed patterns are very much like those seen in the chiefly present-tense *hypotheses* of tragedies, which are of course undoubtedly summaries.²⁴ This interpretation of the prevalence of the present tense in the extant fragments has been anticipated by Willi’s analysis of the ‘historic present’ as a marker of what Émile Benveniste termed *discours* as opposed to *récit*.²⁵ That analysis was also in part intended to replace earlier scholarly attempts to get to grips with the present in early Greek

²⁴ Cf. e.g. hyp. I SOPH. OC: ‘Ὁ ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ Οἰδίπους συννημμένος πῶς ἐστι τῷ Τυράννῳ. τῆς γὰρ πατρὶδος ἐκπεσὼν ὁ Οἰδίπους ἤδη γεραίος ὢν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀντιγόνης χειραγωγούμενος. ᾔσαν γὰρ τῶν ἀρσένων <αἱ θήλειαι> περὶ τὸν πατέρα φιλοστοργότεραι. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ πυθόχρηστον... [all other verbs also in present] “The *Oedipus Coloneus* is somehow connected to the *Tyrannus*. For having been exiled from his fatherland, Oedipus, who is by now an old man, arrives in Athens, led by the hand by his daughter, Antigone. For his daughters were more affectionate towards their father than his sons. He arrives in Athens at the injunction of the Pythian oracle...”. The single imperfect crops up in an explanation of the background (γάρ). Also hyp. III SOPH. Ant.: ...οἷς [those guarding Polynices’ body] ἐπαπειλεῖ θάνατον ὁ Κρέων, εἰ μὴ τὸν τοῦτο δράσαντα ἐξεύροιεν. οὗτοι τὴν κόνιν τὴν ἐπιβεβλημένην καθάραντες οὐδὲν ᾔττον ἐφρούρουν. ἐπελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ Ἀντιγόνη καὶ γυμνὸν εὐροῦσα τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνομιώξασα ἐαυτὴν εἰσαγγέλλει “... Creon threatens them with a death sentence, if they wouldn’t find the perpetrator. After clearing away the dust that had been sprinkled on top [of the corpse], they continued to guard it with the same effort. Antigone walks on and after finding the corpse bare she gives herself away by uttering a cry of lamentation”. The imperfect refers to a repeated/continuous action that is not one of the main ‘events’ of the play.

²⁵ WILLI (2017) 237–244 – though I disagree with his claim (p. 244) that the present is a marker of “oral (direct)” communication; in my view, it does not signal the presence, but the absence, of a narrator communicating with a narratee.

mythography on the basis of the standard view of the ‘historic present’ as underscoring ‘dramatic’ turning points or lending narrative an ‘eyewitness’ feel.²⁶

2. Arrival scenes in teller and reflector modes

Historiographers like Herodotus and Thucydides occasionally revert to the *Nullstufe* of narrative and the synoptic use of the present tense to reel off quick genealogies or summarize events that are off the main story-line.²⁷ Xenophon, meanwhile, makes extensive use of ‘zero grade’ statements in articulating Cyrus’ march inland in the first book of the *Anabasis*:

ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἴσσοús, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρῆσαν... (Xen. *An.* 1, 4, 1-2)

“Thence he marches two stages, ten parasangs, to the Psarus river, the width of which was three plethra. From there he marches one stage, five parasangs, to the Pyramus river, the width of which was a stadium. From there he marches two stages, fifteen parasangs, to Issus, the last city in Cilicia, a place situated on the sea, and large and prosperous. There they remained three days; and there came to Cyrus...”

²⁶ Cf. e.g. LILJA (1968) 111 on ACUS. fr. 22, entirely *ad hoc*: μίσγεται “merely states a fact”; ποιεῖ “describes a crucial event with far-reaching consequences”; γίνεται βασιλεύς: a ‘significant fact’; ἀπειλεῖ κτλ. “bring before the reader’s eyes the complicated sequence of events which proved fatal to Caineus”. See also DOVER (1997) 67-68, who despairingly comments that the early Greek prose authors “mix aorist, imperfect, and present in narrative in such a way as to preclude explanation of the tense of any given verb-token in semantic or rhetorical terms”. FOWLER (2001) 113-114 is ill at ease with the ‘eyewitness’ interpretation, arguing that we should not conclude from the present tense that the mythographers “pretended that the gap [between past and present] was not there”.

²⁷ Cf. e.g. HDT. 6, 71 (genealogy of Leotychidas); THUC. 1, 136-137 (the post-Salamis career of Themistocles).

It has often been observed that Xenophon uses present-tense ἐξελάνει not so much vividly to highlight dramatic turning points, but to structure the narrative into discrete episodes; Willi felicitously compares Xenophon's ἐξελάνει-statements to chapter headings.²⁸ They convey the length of the journey and the place where Cyrus and his army arrive and stop, after which the narrative proper is picked up and filled out in flexible ways, for instance, by offering more or less brief descriptions of the place which the army has reached (τὸν Ψάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν κτλ.) or a more elaborate account of what happened there (ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν κτλ.).

In order to illustrate the 'teller' and 'reflector' modes, I will now focus on arrival scenes which are filled out with descriptive material. Here is first an example of the teller mode:

ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλείως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμός καλεῖται Μαρσύας. ... ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κύρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα. (Xen. An. 1, 2, 7-8)

"Thence he marches three stages, twenty parasangs, to Celaenae, an inhabited city of Phrygia, large and prosperous. There Cyrus used to have a palace and a large park full of wild animals, which he used to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise. Through the middle of this park flows the Maeander river; its sources are beneath the palace, and

²⁸ WILLI (2017) 240; see also SICKING / STORK (1997) 150; RIJKSBARON (32002) 24. For a wide-ranging account of Xenophon's various formulas for travel and distances in *An.*, see ROOD (2010).

it flows through the city of Celaenae also. There is likewise a palace of the Great King in Celaenae, strongly fortified and situated at the foot of the Acropolis over the sources of the Marsyas river; the Marsyas also flows through the city, and empties into the Maeander, and its width is twenty-five feet. It was here, according to the story, that Apollo flayed Marsyas, after having defeated him in a contest of musical skill; he hung up his skin in the cave from which the sources issue, and it is for this reason that the river is called Marsyas. ... Here Cyrus remained thirty days.”²⁹

What is typical of the ‘teller mode’ is that the description of Celaenae has the character of an excursus, in which the narrator communicates with the narratees behind the characters’ backs, so to speak. The description is clearly set off from the surrounding narrative by anaphoric ἐνταῦθα, which is repeated when the story is resumed after the pause. The narrator then first comments with hindsight on Cyrus’ palace and normal pursuits in Celaenae in durative and iterative imperfects (βασίλεια ἦν ..., ἐθήρευνεν, ὁπότε ... βούλοιοιτο) – states of affairs which ceased to exist after Cyrus’ death (to be narrated later on). He next shifts to the omnitemporal/generic present tense – and, as διὰ μέσου shows, a bird’s-eye perspective – to relate information about the city’s main sights.³⁰ Finally, he adds a mythical story related to the place, introduced by a ‘source reference’ (λέγεται), which conventionally marks mythical and other material in need of corroboration by independent authorities (here presumably the well-known mythical story any educated Greek could tell you), and he throws in an explanation of the name of the River Marsyas, introduced by the equally formulaic

²⁹ All translations from the *Anabasis* are taken from BROWNSON / DILLERY (1995), with occasional modifications. All translations from other texts are my own.

³⁰ For this use of the present, see RIJKSBARON (2002) 10. ‘Omnitemporal’ should be taken to mean that these presents refer to states of affairs which obtained in the past (including the time at which the story is set), obtain now, and presumably will continue to obtain in the future. However, it is fair to say that the present tenses first and foremost *profile* the existence of the described features of Celaenae in the present of the narrator and narratees.

καλεῖται. Now, the features mentioned were no doubt also there during the visit of Cyrus that is described in the *Anabasis*, but that is not how the narrator frames things: what matters is that, should you care to visit, they are still there to be found in the present. It is not at all made clear whether Cyrus or the soldiers in the army were aware of any of the things on which the historian focuses our attention – and that may just be the point: if only Cyrus had paid more attention to stories such as that of Marsyas, which deals with people challenging their betters...

I now turn to two arrival scenes from the *Anabasis* that are told in the reflector mode:

έντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρώνων σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὠρίζε τὴν τῶν Μακρώνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθηγῶν. εἶχον δ' ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν χωρίον οἶον χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμόν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος δασὺς δένδρεσι παχέσι μὲν οὐ, πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτ' ἐπεὶ προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς τάχιστα ἐξελθεῖν. (Xen. *An.* 4, 8, 1-2)

“From there the Greeks marched through the country of the Macronians three stages, ten parasangs. On the first of these days they reached the river which separated the territory of the Macronians from that of the Scytheni. There they had on the right, above them, an exceedingly difficult bit of ground, and on the left another river, into which the boundary stream that they had to cross emptied. Now this stream was fringed with trees, not large ones, but of thick growth, and when the Greeks came up, they began felling them in their haste to get out of the place as speedily as possible.”

διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμούς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλοῦμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον εἴσω αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασάγγαι· ἀπέχε [M, ἀπέχει c, ἀπέσχε f] δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. έντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν... (Xen. *An.* 2, 4, 12-13)

“After travelling three stages they reached the so-called wall of Media, and passed within it. It was built of baked bricks, laid in asphalt, and was twenty feet wide and a hundred feet high; its

length was said to be twenty parasangs, and it was not far distant from Babylon. From there they marched..."

These descriptions have quite a different 'feel' to them. This is because, in contrast to the Celaenae passage, the information about the land of the Macronians and the Median Wall is tied to the point of view of the Greeks as they arrive at these localities. Several features help to convey this impression. First and foremost, the descriptions are cast in the imperfect of 'substitutionary perception'. As Rijksbaron suggests, owing to their imperfective aspectual value these verb forms present the states of affairs which they express as 'on-going', and so they can be 'hit' by the gaze of a character in the story; this interpretation is available in particular if the presence of a perceiving character (or group of characters) has been explicitly mentioned in the context preceding 'substitutionary perception' (as here, through ἐπορεύθησαν and ἀφίκοντο).³¹ I add that the evocation of a story-internal point of view is markedly reinforced by the striking use of past tenses for states of affairs that can in principle be assumed to be still valid (this holds at least for ὠριζε and ἐνέβαλλεν in the first passage and ἦν and ἀπειχε in the second): the past tenses profile the relevant 'omnitemporal' states of affairs, not as they exist in the present of the narrator and narratee, but as they obtained at the time of the story. This promotes an interpretation of these imperfects as representing, not simply states of affairs, but the perception of those states of affairs in the past. In the case of ἐλέγετο in the second passage, there is an additional effect: whereas present-tense λέγεται refers to some sort of external source which the historian had at his disposal, ἐλέγετο is most naturally taken as referring to what local guides said *at the time*; note in this respect that the length of the wall could not directly be perceived by the Greeks on the spot.³²

³¹ RIJKSBARON (2012) 340-341 = (2018) 140-142; see also ALLAN (2013) 377.

³² See GRAY (2003) on Xenophon's use of story-internal sources as marked by past-tense predicates of 'speaking', suggesting that Xenophon does this to a

This brings us to other notable features. First, there is no bird's-eye perspective in these passages. This is not only made clear by ἐλέγετο in the second passage, but also by the designations "above them on their right" (ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν) and "on their left-hand side" (ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς) in the first. Secondly, the geographical information is not clearly set off from the narrative, but more tightly integrated with it; 'presentative' sentences ("there were...") reflect how each item presented itself as new to the Greeks, further reinforcing a 'substitutionary perception' reading of the imperfects.³³ Thirdly, whereas the narrator in the teller mode freely used names, such as that of the River Marsyas, and even explained those names, in the reflector mode names can be absent: thus, the Greeks encounter just "another river" (ἄλλον ποταμόν), of which they do not know the name. More generally, the quality of the information given is on the whole geared towards the knowledge, interests, and needs of the Greeks. For instance, the fact that the forest they pass through consists of trees that were "not thick, but dense" (παχέσι μὲν οὐ, πυκνοῖς δέ) is relevant to the Greeks, as they have to cut it down.³⁴

3. Escaping the 'pull of the present'

Now we have analysed some relevant passages in detail, it is time to zoom out and set Xenophon's descriptive practices in the arrival scenes of the *Anabasis* in a broader context. It may first be observed that the teller and reflector modes are not used at random. In the Appendix I provide an overview of the distribution of present- and past-tense descriptions in the *Anabasis* as well as of present-tense λέγεται-statements. From this list it

greater extent than Herodotus and Thucydides. If ἀπεῖχε is the correct reading, the information about the wall's distance from Babylon probably still belongs to what the guides said (if the present is correct, we are dealing with a shift into the 'teller mode'; I will return to this in the next section).

³³ For 'presentative' sentences, see DIK (1995) 221-228.

³⁴ Similarly, in *An.* 1, 4, 1-2, cited above, the width of rivers is twice given in the imperfect, as those rivers have to be crossed; cf. ROOD (2012b) 171.

becomes clear that the present tense is used mostly in the first part of Book 1 and in Books 6-7, while descriptions in the reflector mode, as marked by the exclusive or predominant use of the imperfect, occur mostly in the large middle section of the narrative. The teller mode, then, operates in those parts of the story in which the Greeks march through territories familiar to, and settled by, Greeks (namely the Ionian and Black Sea coasts of modern-day Turkey), while Xenophon shifts to the reflector mode for parts that are set in the heartlands of the Persian Empire.³⁵ In this way, Xenophon skilfully (and no doubt with considerable exaggeration) suggests that those Persian territories are utterly unknown and normal frames of reference no longer apply: there is no outside authority capable of telling the narratees how things 'are' or 'look' in his own name; the near-absence of present-tense λέγειται-statements further underlines how there are no general Greek tales to draw on in order to make sense of the landscape. There is only the Greeks' experience to be reported: they are on a journey of discovery of sorts, and we, the readers, discover all those unfamiliar places *with* them. The reflector mode descriptions considerably heighten the uncanny and claustrophobic atmosphere of the Greeks' retreat. Above all, the effect is psychological: they make it possible for the reader to empathize with the Greeks as they come across ever new perceived dangers.³⁶

Current analyses of perspectival phenomena in Greek literature to some extent obscure how novel Xenophon's handling of arrival scenes is. It is at least fair to say that the often rather static categories of structuralist narratological paradigms encourage a heuristic process whereby certain narrative devices are discovered to 'already' exist in ancient literature (preferably Homer). Rijksbaron's treatment of 'substitutionary perception'

³⁵ Cf. ROOD (2012b) 171-172.

³⁶ For a wide-ranging treatment of the function of space in the *Anabasis*, see PURVES (2010) 159-195. For some other ways in which the *Anabasis* shifts from being a fairly standard historiographical work into something much less conventional and more adventurous, see BRADLEY (2001); GRETHLEIN (2012).

is a case in point. He first gives a number of examples taken from modern fiction and then adduces a wide range of Greek passages, ranging from epic to the novel, which are said to exhibit important similarities with the modern ones. He includes one Homeric passage (*Od.* 7, 81-137, describing Odysseus' arrival at Alcinous' palace), which goes to show that the phenomenon "makes a quite spectacular entrance into European literature" already in Homer.³⁷ It is tempting to conclude that 'substitutionary perception' as a mode of narration was available to Greek authors from the very start (indeed, that it is a universal category) and, especially given the "spectacular" nature of some of the early examples, was as much an aspiration of Greek as it unquestionably is of modern literature.³⁸ On a more abstract plane, this outcome comfortably fits a traditional narrative according to which ancient authors constantly hearkened back to great predecessors and the tradition as a whole resisted change (was "in the grip of the past").

In my view, this conclusion should be resisted. What is needed is a more dynamic and historically oriented perspective on narratology, which allows for the fact that literary traditions 'learn', that is, become increasingly effective in achieving existing communicative aims and may develop new ones, by expanding the repertoire of stylistic devices or by assigning new functions to existing ones.³⁹ In order to trace such developments, both qualitative and quantitative considerations need to be taken into account. While I do not deny that reflector narrative in Homer exists, it is not, I believe, a device used with the sort of self-conscious awareness and artistry as in the *Anabasis*. Let us take the passage adduced by Rijksbaron, in which Odysseus looks at Alcinous' palace.⁴⁰ First, as Rijksbaron himself notes,

³⁷ RIJKSBARON (2012) 356 = (2018) 153.

³⁸ See STANZEL (⁸2008) 16.

³⁹ See in general FLUDERNIK (2003). ARNAUD (1998) presents the interesting test case of the use of the English progressive tense, which on a micro-level exemplifies both sorts of development.

⁴⁰ DE JONG (2001) 129 counts seven other descriptive passages containing imperfections in the *Odyssey*, none nearly as elaborate as that about Alcinous' palace.

the passage contains a lot of information which exceeds the perception of Odysseus and before long (at 7, 103) even shifts into the present tense and the teller mode.⁴¹ Furthermore, although Odysseus is described as being affected by what he sees and as standing in wondrous admiration (7, 82-83 *πολλὰ δέ οἱ κῆρ / ὥρμαιν'*, "much did his heart ponder"; 133 *ἔνθα στὰς θεῖτο*, "standing there he gazed"), not all that much is made of this. Thus, awestruck as he may be, he is perfectly capable of making sense of what he sees; vague designations, like the nameless *ἄλλον ποταμόν* in the Xenophontic passage cited above, do not occur, nor is the description limited to elements which are of particular relevance to Odysseus. Irene de Jong is right, I think, to take the occurrence of 'substitutionary perception' in the first place as "an effective means of suggesting the unsurpassed splendour of the Phaeacian king's domicile, which makes even an experienced traveller like Odysseus stand in awe"⁴² – that is, in contrast to reflector mode descriptions in the *Anabasis*, this one is ultimately more concerned with the perceived entities than with the perceiver.

We can usefully expand these observations from individual passages to groups of similar scenes. While I cannot here offer a complete survey of arrival scenes in Greek literature up to Xenophon, a few things can be mentioned in order to further corroborate my point. First, properly geographical descriptions in Homer are much more frequently given in the teller mode than in the reflector mode, as in the following passage:⁴³

μνηστῆρες δ' ἀναβάντες **ἐπέπλεον** ὕγρὰ κέλευθα,
Τηλεμάχῳ φόνον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντες.

⁴¹ RIJKSBARON (2012) 353-357 = (2018) 151-154; also DE JONG (2001) 176. The problems surrounding the various tenses used in the passage have recently been discussed afresh by XIAN (2018).

⁴² DE JONG (2001) 176.

⁴³ KAHN (1973) 245-249 collects 11 Homeric instances of geographical 'expositional formulas' with *ἔστι* ("there is"); only one (*Od.* 22, 126) has the imperfect (probably because the item no longer exists in the narrator's now).

ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλλὶ πετρήεσσα,
 μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,
 Ἀστερίς, οὐ μεγάλη, λιμένες δ' ἐνὶ ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ
 ἀμφίδυμοι· τῇ τόν γε μένον λοχόωντες Ἀχαιοί. (Hom. *Od.* 4,
 842-847)

“The suitors embarked and sailed over the watery ways, pondering in their hearts sheer murder for Telemachus. There is a certain rocky island in the middle of the sea, in between Ithaca and rugged Samos, Asteris, of no great size, but there is a harbour in it where ships can lie, with an entrance on both sides. There the Achaeans were lying in wait for him.”

The island Asteris is described in the teller mode, as existing independently from the characters perceiving or acting in it. To be sure, the passage has its own artistry, inasmuch as it suggests that the suitors sail to Asteris during the time it takes the narrator to describe it: they set sail as the description starts, and are lying in wait when it ends.

However that may be, when we next turn to prose and consider how Greek historians elaborate the ‘zero grade’ narratives of the early mythographers by inserting descriptive material, we see that they, too, on the whole adopt the teller mode (perhaps from Homer), not the reflector mode. The former is, as far as we can tell, the exclusive mode in which Hecataeus presents geographical information, and Herodotus follows suit, not least in the long narrative of Xerxes’ march into Greece (7, 26-127, an important intertext of the *Anabasis*).⁴⁴ Thucydides, too, an author often praised for the psychological insight he provides into his characters’ motives, mostly uses the present tense as the vehicle for imparting geographical

⁴⁴ ROOD (2012a) 127-128 mentions the present tense as characteristic of the Greek ‘geographical style’ and of Herodotus. For Hecataeus, see e.g. *FGrH* 1 F 207: Ἑκαταῖος ἐν Ἀσίαι· “ἐς μὲν τοῦτο ἡ Βεχαιρικὴ, ἔχονται δ’ αὐτῶν Χοί.” καὶ πάλιν· “μέχρι μὲν τούτων Χοί.” καὶ πάλιν· “Χοῖσι δ’ ὁμοῦρέουσι πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Δίζηρες” “Hecataeus in his *Asia*: ‘Becheirike extends to that point, the Choi border on them’; and again: ‘The Choi extend as far as them’; and again: ‘The Dizeres border the Choi to the east’”.

information, even in passages in which one might expect otherwise. Consider:

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ξυνοικιζομένης τὸ πρῶτον ἔδειςάν τε καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ μάλιστα καθίστασθαι, ὅτι βραχὺς ἔστιν ὁ διάπλους πρὸς τὸ Κήναιον τῆς Εὐβοίας. (Thuc. 3, 93, 1)

“When this city was being founded, the Athenians were at first alarmed and they believed that it was being set up especially against Euboea, because the passage from Caeneum, a promontory of Euboea, to there is short.”

ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ τύχην χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος κατήνεγκε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Πύλον. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης εὐθὺς ἤξιον τειχίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον (ἐπὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ξυνεκπεῦσαι), καὶ ἀπέφαινε πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ξύλων τε καὶ λίθων, καὶ φύσει καρτερόν ὄν καὶ ἐρῆμον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας. ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίου μάλιστα ἢ Πύλος τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίους καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔση γῆ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κορυφάσιον. (Thuc. 4, 3, 1-2)

“While they were making objections, a storm happened to come on and carried the fleet to Pylos. Demosthenes at once urged them to fortify the place (for, he said, that was why he had sailed with them), and he showed them that there was plenty of timber and stones, and that the position was naturally strong and, together with much of the surrounding country, unoccupied. For Pylos is about four hundred stadia distant from Sparta and is situated in what was once the territory of Messene; the Spartans call it Coryphasium.”

These passages nicely show just how strong the ‘pull of the present’ is in supplying geographical information. In the former, the short crossing from the newly founded city Heraclea to Caeneum is the reason (ὅτι) for the Athenians’ worries; yet, despite the fact that the Athenians’ viewpoint is explicitly inscribed into the text with the phrase ἔδειςάν τε καὶ ἐνόμισαν, the remark about the distance between the cities is presented in the teller mode, in the present tense. In the second passage, a proper arrival scene, Demosthenes makes his fellow commanders see (ἀπέφαινε) the benefits of the spot where they have landed.

Among these, he points to the fact that the landing place and the country around it are unoccupied for a considerable distance (ἐρῆμον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας). But the reason for this (γάρ) is given in the teller mode, which uses the present tense and slips in some extra information about an alternative name for Pylos used in Sparta.

To be sure, the reflector mode is not entirely absent from Thucydides' geographical descriptions. Friedrich Sieveking, who was unfamiliar with the phenomenon of reflector mode narrative, but a shrewd analyst of Thucydides' descriptive practices, offers a summary overview of the occasional use of the imperfect in the relevant passages.⁴⁵ From this it appears, first, that substitutionary perception is not the chief reason for the use of the imperfect. Rather, it is used in the first place to describe things that no longer exist: e.g. 4, 8, 6 ἡ γὰρ νῆσος ἡ Σφακτηρία καλουμένη τὸν τε λιμένα παρατείνουσα καὶ ἐγγὺς ἐπικειμένη ἐχυρὸν ποιεῖ ... ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀτριβῆς πᾶσα ὑπ' ἐρημίας ἦν καὶ... "Now the island called Sphacteria makes the harbour safe, as it stretches along the mainland and lies close to it ... it was covered with woods and entirely without roads because it was uninhabited" – in anticipation of the burning down of the woods. Secondly, cases that do appear to mark the reflector mode are limited to single clauses and forms of ἦν: e.g. 4, 43, 3 οἱ δὲ ὑποχωρήσαντες πρὸς αἵμασιάν (ἦν γὰρ τὸ χωρίον πρόσαντες πᾶν)... "When they had retreated to a stone wall (for the ground was everywhere steeply sloping)..." It is clear, then, that Xenophon goes well beyond what his immediate predecessor did. He both uses the reflector mode in a more sustained way and he elaborates the form by including a broader set of devices (not just tense, but also perceiver-oriented deictics like "on their left hand", presentative sentences, 'vague' designations) as well as a wider variety of verbs. Indeed, a *TLG* Online search makes clear that ὥριζε and ἐνέβαλλεν, in the first reflector mode passage cited above, are the *only* imperfects of

⁴⁵ SIEVEKING (1964), especially 162-163.

these typically ‘geographical’ verbs in the required sense in extant classical Greek literature.

While further research into potential precedents is no doubt useful, I tentatively claim that the start of at least one type of ‘reflector narrative’, that in arrival scenes, lies with Xenophon. In turn – though that is another story – Xenophon’s novel techniques probably exerted great influence on subsequent Greek literature, not in the least the novel. One thinks here, for instance, of Achilles Tatius’ magnificent description of Alexandria (5, 1) in the reflector mode.⁴⁶ Yet, I end this section on a note of caution. My intention is not to claim Xenophon instead of Homer as the father of reflector mode narrative as it is used today, but merely to claim that he represents an important phase in the development of the style. To put it as clearly as possible, Xenophon was no Virginia Woolf. It is interesting to note in this respect that even Xenophon does not always escape the ‘pull of the present’, as appears from those instances in which present tenses appear in between imperfects in arrival scenes, as in:

ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν <τὸ> πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακὴ, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ῥεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. (Xen. *An.* 1, 4, 4)

“Thence he marches one stage, five parasangs, to the Gates between Cilicia and Syria. These Gates consisted of two walls; the one on the hither, or Cilician, side was held by Syennesis and a garrison of Cilicians, while the one on the farther, the Syrian, side was reported to be guarded by a garrison of the King’s troops. And in the space between these walls flows a river named the Carsus, a plethrum in width.”

Apparently, it is simply *so* conventional to state that rivers “stream” through some place that the present tense is much the

⁴⁶ For that description, see MORALES (2004) 100-106. It is increasingly being acknowledged that the *Anabasis* was important to the development of the Greek novel; cf. TRZASKOMA (2011).

preferred tense to articulate the fact. In this light, most editors' preference for ἀπεῖχε δὲ Βαβυλωνος οὐ πολὺ at *An.* 2, 4, 12 (cited above) over the better attested (and indeed no doubt conventional) ἀπέχει may say more about modern tastes than about Xenophontic practice.⁴⁷ As a further example, consider once more the sentence which starts off the episode about the Macronians, cited above: ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἑλλήνες διὰ Μακρώνων. In a truly sustained 'reflector narrative' the name Μάκρωνες would probably not appear, because the Greeks have no idea who the Macronians are. In fact, they find out only later on, when they question the inhabitants, who when asked, "said that they were Macronians" (4, 8, 5 οἱ δ' εἶπον ... ὅτι Μάκρωνες). From the perspective of modern readers, the opening sentence with hindsight even introduces a jarring note, as if the narrator had accidentally given the game away. A similar 'spoiler', many modern readers feel, mars the most famous passage of the *Anabasis*. The exhilaration felt by many readers at the famous cry of the Ten Thousand (4, 7, 24 θάλαττα θάλαττα, "the sea, the sea!") depends in large part on the fact that the whole scene is narrated through the eyes of the soldiers at the back, who cannot yet see the sea, so that the news comes as a surprise. However, in most manuscripts, the scene is introduced with a sentence in the teller mode, deriving from an omniscient narrator, which spoils the surprise:

ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ κατεῖδον τὴν θάλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο (*Xen. An.* 4, 7, 21)

"Now as soon as the vanguard got to the top of the mountain and caught sight of the sea, a great shout went up."

⁴⁷ On the other hand – and this is another testimony of the 'pull of the present' – scribes were more prone to changing imperfects to presents than the other way round: see the Appendix below; Athenaeus (9, 390d; 14, 651b) also substitutes presents for imperfects in quotations of *An.* 1, 5, 3 and 2, 3, 14, but never the other way round. Some other mixed descriptions are discussed by RIJKSBARON (2012) 348-361 = (2018) 155-158, though not in terms of conventional frames of reference. See the Appendix for a full overview.

The offending words, καὶ ... θάλατταν, are left out by a single (though important) manuscript (C¹). Editors who wish to follow suit need to decide if medieval scribes are likely to have been more or less sensitive to the subtleties of reflector mode narrative than Xenophon.

4. *Enargeia* and the reflector mode

In settling such issues, it would be useful if we could rely on secure knowledge of ancient reading habits. In this respect, recent work on the ancient stylistic concept of ἐνάργεια (usually rendered as “vividness”) offers particularly promising new avenues of inquiry.⁴⁸ As it happens, one of the most elaborate definitions of ἐνάργεια to have survived from Antiquity concerns a comment on Xenophon’s *Anabasis*. In his *Life of Artaxerxes* (8-13), Plutarch includes a lengthy report of the Battle of Cunaxa. While Plutarch focuses mostly on an evaluation of the protagonists – commenting, for instance, on Cyrus’ recklessness and the Greek general Clearchus’ undue caution – he refers readers looking for a more exciting account of the same events to the *Anabasis* (1, 8):

τὴν δὲ μάχην ἐκείνην πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγγελκότων, Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μονονουχὶ δεικνύοντος ὅψει καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥς οὐ γεγενημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινομένοις ἐφιστάντος ἀεὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν, οὐκ ἔστι νοῦν ἔχοντος ἐπεξηγεῖσθαι, πλὴν ὅσα τῶν ἀξίων λόγου παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνον. ὁ μὲν οὖν τόπος ἐν ᾧ παρετάξαντο Κούναξα καλεῖται καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπέχει σταδίους πεντακοσίους. (Plut. *Artax.* 8, 1-2)

“Since many writers have left reports of that battle, and since Xenophon brings it all but before our eyes and through his

⁴⁸ See especially the now classic work of WEBB (2009) 87-106; WALKER (1993) remains good on ἐνάργεια in historiography. Recently, ἐνάργεια and its effects have been approached from various cognitive angles, and discussed in terms of “immersion” (ALLAN / DE JONG / DE JONGE [2017]) and “embodiment” (GRETHLEIN / HUITINK [2017] 85-88; HUITINK [2019]). These various perspectives all emphasize the importance of intradiegetic points of view to a proper understanding of ἐνάργεια.

vividness all the time places the reader, much affected and sharing in the dangers, near to the action, as if it had not been concluded, but is going on, it is folly to narrate it in full, except so far as that man has passed over things worthy of mention. Now then, the place at which the armies were drawn up is called Cunaxa and is five hundred stades away from Babylon.”

Xenophon’s narrative is designed, Plutarch claims, to produce in readers a largely prereflective, sensory and emotional, understanding of what the experience of living through the battle was like. *Ἐνάργεια* is here said to put readers in the position of an eyewitness to the battle, as Xenophon does not merely “tell” (cf. ἀπηγγελομένων), but “all but shows it to the eyes”; to elicit from them a phenomenal sense of being physically present in the plain of Cunaxa, as Xenophon “sets the reader near to the events”;⁴⁹ and to make them experience the emotions of the actual combatants (the understood complement of συν- in συγκινδυνεύοντα) for themselves.

Plutarch does not tell us what passages of Xenophon’s Cunaxa narrative or what exact linguistic/narratological devices struck him in particular as being conducive to *ἐνάργεια*. But given his description of *ἐνάργεια*’s effects, it seems likely enough that he had passages of reflector mode narrative in view. Xenophon’s account does indeed offer such passages, not in the least at the start of the relevant chapter, which describes the tense final moments just before the battle.⁵⁰ The Greek mercenaries have taken up their positions in the battle line and await the arrival of the enemy troops of Artaxerxes:

καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡνίκα δὲ δέλιη **ἐγίγνετο**, ἐφάνη κονιορτός ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον **ἐγίγνοντο**, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις **ῥήστραπτε** καὶ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς **ἐγίγνοντο**. καὶ

⁴⁹ Cf. LIDDELL / SCOTT / JONES (⁹1996) *s.v.* ἐφίστημι A.I.2 for the expression ἐφίστημι τοῖς πράγμασι “to let someone have a hand in affairs”, which nicely suggests a still more actively involved reader.

⁵⁰ See further GRETHLEIN (2013) 54–57.

ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων (Τισσαφέρνης **ἐλέγετο** τούτων ἄρχειν), ἐχόμενοι δὲ γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται σὺν ποδήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν (Αἰγύπτιοι [δ'] οὗτοι **ἐλέγοντο** εἶναι), ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες δ' οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος **ἐπορεύετο**. πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· **εἶχον** δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὥς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη **ἦν** ὥς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλθόντων καὶ διακοψόντων. (Xen. *An.* 1, 8, 8-10)

"And now it was midday, and the enemy were not yet in sight; but when afternoon was coming on, there was seen a rising dust, which appeared at first like a white cloud, but some time later like a kind of blackness in the plain, extending over a great distance. As the enemy came nearer and nearer, there were presently flashes of bronze here and there, and spears and the hostile ranks began to come into sight. There were horsemen in white cuirasses on the left wing of the enemy, under the command, it was reported, of Tissaphernes; next to them were troops with wicker shields and, farther on, hoplites with wooden shields which reached to their feet, these latter being Egyptians, people said; and then more horsemen and more bowmen. All these troops were marching in national divisions, each nation in a solid square. In front of them were the so-called scythe-bearing chariots, at some distance from one another; and the scythes they carried reached out sideways from the axles and were also set under the chariot bodies, pointing towards the ground, so as to cut to pieces whatever they met; the intention, then, was that they should drive into the ranks of the Greeks as they advanced with the intention of splitting the opposing line."

Even a commentator as level-headed as Otto Lendle was impressed by this prose: "Man spürt dem Bericht Xenophons die Spannung an, mit welcher er das eindrucksvolle Manöver beobachtet hat, und muß die Anschaulichkeit seiner Darstellung bewundern".⁵¹ As Michel Buijs has suggested, Lendle's observation about the "Anschaulichkeit" of Xenophon's narrative can be substantiated by tracing how the historian presents

⁵¹ LENDLE (1995) 67.

the arrival of Artaxerxes' army through the eyes of the Greek soldiers.⁵² The reflector mode narrative is shaped by a whole host of devices, including some we have not encountered in the arrival scenes discussed so far. Buijs points to the adverbial expressions ἤδη and τάχα δῆ, which refer to a character's experience of the story-now, the designation of the Persian army as οἱ πολέμιοι, which reflects the perceiving characters' point of view, and the deictic predicates οὕτω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν, ἐφάνη, ἐγγύτερον ἐρίγοντο, and καταφανεῖς ἐρίγοντο. These inscribe an intradiegetic point of view into the text, as "appearing" and "moving closer" imply movement towards some perceiving entity located in the world of the story. In addition, one can point out that the negation οὕτω denies the expectations of the Greek soldiers (*they* thought the enemy would already be there), just as it is the Greeks who guess at their enemies' motive for taking scythe-bearing chariots with them (ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν...). Furthermore, after the initial ingressive aorist ἐφάνη, the description proceeds largely through imperfects (ὅτε δὲ ... ἐρίγοντο, ἤστραπτε, καταφανεῖς ἐρίγοντο, etc.). Finally, it may be noted more generally that the details which the narrative provides about the army's appearance become ever more fine-grained as it approaches. A particularly nice touch is that, when it comes too close to take in as a whole, the information is divided over increasingly briefer anaphoric clauses (ἐχόμενοι δέ/ἐχόμενοι δέ; ἄλλοι δ'/ἄλλοι) and then an asyndeton (ποδῆρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν). These divisions convey the impression that the scene is scanned by observers ever more quickly moving their eyes and head from left to right in an effort to take it all in.⁵³

It is likely that Plutarch was sensitive to at least some of the linguistic devices mentioned here. His remark stands as a testimony to ancient readers' appreciation of reflector mode narrative, which may have contributed to its further development. Yet, in

⁵² BUIJS (2005) 108.

⁵³ See HUITINK (2019) 180-181, arguing that ancient critics, including Quintilian and Ps.-Longinus, were very much alive to such syntactic features and their 'embodiment' effects.

historiography it was always just one among a set of options from which the historian could choose. Plutarch reminds us of that, too. For all that he praises Xenophon, his comment is double-edged. For the deadpan continuation of his report (introduced by what I take as an ironically employed *μὲν οὖν* "well then") immediately points up a potential shortcoming of the sort of riveting narrative Xenophon wrote: apparently, the historian failed to mention even such a basic fact as that the celebrated Battle of Cunaxa took place at ... Cunaxa!⁵⁴ Wishing to make his narrative match the experience of the Greek soldiers at the time, who probably did not know the name of the place, Xenophon did not use hindsight (the privilege of the historian) to supply it. And so, Plutarch implies, Xenophon's striving for *ἐνάργεια* comes at the expense of a complete and accurate report of events – that is of the historiographical virtue of *ἀκρίβεια*.⁵⁵ Plutarch's own report of Cunaxa is a useful and perhaps even necessary supplement to that of Xenophon (especially for any Fabrices del Dongo among the Ten Thousand), as it provides readers with an *ex post facto*, more intellectual sort of understanding of what happened (and where, how, and why) as well as with edifying insights into the historical actors' moral character.

5. Conclusion

In line with the purpose of the *Entretiens* to offer readers a synthesis of work done in an area of classical scholarship, I have tried in this chapter to indicate how some of the recent contributions to the fields of linguistics, narratology, ancient historiography, and ancient rhetorical theory may be combined in order

⁵⁴ Plutarch is right: the name "Cunaxa" does not occur in the *Anabasis*. In fact, it occurs only here; Plutarch probably derived the detail, along with much of the rest of his narrative, from Ctesias' *Persica*.

⁵⁵ On *ἀκρίβεια*, see MARINCOLA (1997) index *s.v.* "accuracy (*ἀκρίβεια* / τὸ ἀκριβές)".

to illuminate the nature of Greek historiographical prose, both synchronically and diachronically. I have also tried to suggest some future directions the sort of research presented here may take in order to arrive at a ‘grammar’ of ancient Greek narrative. Indeed, I am well aware that each section of my chapter could be expanded into a much fuller study, which I hope this programmatic piece may indeed inspire.⁵⁶

APPENDIX:

Present- and past-tense descriptions in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*

Present-tense descriptions: 1, 2, 7-9 Celaenae: ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός, αἱ πηγαὶ εἰσιν, ῥεῖ, ἔστι βασιλεία, ῥεῖ καὶ οὗτος [Marsyas river] καὶ ἐμβάλλει, τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστίν, ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας; 1, 2, 22 Cilician plain: πεδῖον φέρει, περιέχει [περιεῖχεν C¹DV]; 1, 2, 23 Tarsus: διὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα; 5, 3, 11-13 Scillus excursus: ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα κτλ.; 6, 1, 15 Sinope: Σινωπεῖς οἰκοῦσι, ἄποικοί εἰσιν; 6, 4, 1-6 Calpe Harbour: τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ὃ καλεῖται Κάλπης λιμὴν ἔστι κτλ.; 7, 1, 24 Thracian Field: τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἷον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαί ἐστι τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον; 7, 5, 12-13 Salmydessus in Thrace: τῶν πολλὰ [sc. ships] ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι, τέναγός ἐστιν, οἱ Θρᾷκες λήζονται.

Present-tense λέγεται statements: 1, 2, 8 (Celaenae, where Apollo flayed Marsyas); 1, 2, 8 (Celaenae, where Xerxes built a palace), 1, 2, 13 (Thymbrius, where Midas hunted down the satyr); 1, 2, 16 (καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἢ Κίλισσα Κύρου ἐπιδειξαι

⁵⁶ This chapter was written in the context of the “Anchoring Innovation” research programme of the Netherlands National Research School in Classical Studies (OIKOS), which is supported by a 2017 Gravitation Grant (Ministry of Education of the Netherlands, NWO); see <<https://www.ru.nl/oikos/anchoring-innovation/>>. Apart from my co-participants at the *Entretiens*, I would like to thank Jonas Grethlein for his incisive comments on an earlier version of this paper.

τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ, combined with two instances of ἐλέγετο nearby); 3, 4, 11 (Mespila, where the King's wife Medea took refuge; ἐλέγετο f); 3, 5, 15 (Susa and Ecabataka, where the King is said to spend part of the year);⁵⁷ 6, 2, 1 (Cape of Jason, where the Argo landed [often seen as an interpolation owing to geographical problems]); 6, 2, 2 (Acherusian peninsula, where Heracles went down to fetch Cerberus); 6, 4, 2 (Bithynian Thracians, who treat Greeks who fall into their hands badly). There are four more occurrences outside the main narrative, in the ‘obituaries’ of Cyrus and the generals (1, 8, 14; 1, 8, 28; 1, 8, 29; 2, 6, 29).

Past-tense descriptions: 1, 4, 1 Psarus river: οὗ ἦν τὸ εὐρος τρία πλέθρα; 1, 4, 1 Pyramus river: οὗ ἦν [om. FM] τὸ εὐρος στάδιον; 1, 4, 6 Myriandus city: ἐμπόριον ἦν τὸ χωρίον, ὥρμουν ὀλκάδες; 1, 4, 9 Chalus river: full of fishes, οὗς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶων, αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν εἰς ζώνην δεδομένοι; 1, 4, 11 at the Euphrates: πόλις αὐτόθι ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάψακος ὄνομα; 1, 4, 19 at the Araxes river: ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαί; 1, 5, 10 Charmande city: τοῦτο [millet] γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλεῖστον; 1, 7, 14-15 towards Cunaxa: τάφος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ, παρετέτατο ἢ τάφος, [ἐνθα ... ἔπεισιν del. edd.], ἦν πάροδος; 2, 4, 12 Median Wall: ἦν ᾠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις, μῆκος ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασάγγαι, ἀπεῖχε [M, ἀπέχει c, ἀπέσχε f] Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ; 2, 4, 27 ‘Villages of Parysatis’: ἐνῆν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς; 2, 4, 28 march τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες: πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καιναί; 3, 4, 7-9 Larisa (= Nimrud): ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ’ αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισα, τοῦ τείχους ἦν τὸ εὐρος, ᾠκοδόμητο, κρηπὶς ὑπῆν, παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν [om. C¹] πυραμὶς λιθίνη; 3, 4, 10-11 Mespila (= Nineveh): ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα, ἦν ἡ κρηπὶς λίθου, ἐπᾠκοδόμητο τεῖχος; 4, 3, 5 heights in Armenia: αἱ ὄχθαι αὖται τρία ἤ

⁵⁷ Quite possibly an interpolation; see HUITINK / ROOD (2019) *ad loc.*

τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπεῖχον, ὁδὸς μία ὁρωμένη ἦν; 4, 4, 2 march through Armenia: εἰς ἣν ἀφίκοντο κώμην μεγάλη ἦν, βασιλείον εἶχε, τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν, ἐπιτήδεια ἦν δαψιλῇ; 4, 4, 3 Teleboas river: οὗτος ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὐ, κῶμαι πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν; 4, 5, 25 villages in Armenia: αἱ οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγειοι; 4, 7, 1 Taochians: χωρία ὥκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι; 4, 7, 15 Chalybians: οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διῆλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι; 4, 7, 19 city ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνιάς; 4, 7, 21 a mountain: ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θήκης; 4, 8, 9 boundaries of the Colchians: ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ; 4, 8, 20 Colchian lands: τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι; 5, 2, 3 Drilae: ἐν ἣν χωρίον μητρόπολις αὐτῶν (ὁ μ. α. ἐκαλεῖτο f); 5, 4, 15 a stronghold of the Mossynoecians: ὠκεῖτο τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μητροπόλεως καλουμένης; 5, 4, 27-29 stores of the Mossynoecians: ἦσαν ζειαὶ αἱ πλείσται, στέαρ ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσσύνιοι, κάρυα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνώγειων ἦν, τούτων πλείστω σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο, οἶνος ὃς ὀξὺς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι; 5, 4, 31 stronghold of the Mossynoecians: τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων, ἀπεῖχον αἱ πόλεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα, ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ κοιλὴ ἡ χώρα ἦν; 5, 5, 2 Tibarenians: ἡ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα πολὺ ἦν πεδινωτέρα καὶ χωρία εἶχεν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἥττον ἐρυμνά; 7, 4, 14 Thynians: αἱ οἰκίαι κύκλῳ περιεστάρωντο.

Mixed present- and past-tense descriptions ('no verb' (Ø) I take as *sc.* ἐστι/εἰσι): 1, 2, 5 Maeander river: τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα Ø, γέφυρα ἐπῆν; 1, 4, 4 Gates between Cilicia and Syria: ἦσαν ταῦτα δύο τείχη, διὰ μέσου ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου Ø [ἦν C¹DBAE], τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς; 1, 4, 10 Dardas river: οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου Ø, ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσου βασιλεία, παράδεισος ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὥραι φύουσι; 1, 5, 1 plain in Arabia: ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδῖον ἅπαν κτλ., τὰς ὠτίδας ἄν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ ἔστι λαμβάνειν, πέτονται γὰρ κτλ., τὰ κρέα αὐτῶν ἡδιστα ἦν [ἔστι Athen. 9.390d]; 1, 5, 4 River Mascas: ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις, ὄνομα αὐτῇ Κορσωτή Ø, περιερεῖτο αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύκλῳ;

1, 5, 6 Lydian market: ὁ σίγλος δύνανται ἐπταὶ ὀβολοῦς, ἥ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικᾶς ἐχώρει; 2, 3, 14 villages near Cunaxa: ἐνῆν [ἐν Athen. 14.651b] σῖτος, βάλλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν; 2, 4, 25 Phycus river: ἐπῆν γέφυρα, ἐνταῦθα ᾠκεῖτο πόλις μεγάλη ἥ [om. C¹] ὄνομα Ὡπις Ø; 4, 3, 1 border between Armenia and Carduchian territory at the Centrites river: ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν, ἀπεῖχε τῶν ὁρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ἕξ ἢ ἐπταὶ στάδια.⁵⁸

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⁵⁸ ὀρίζει F, which just might hide ὠρίζε; it is the *only* clear-cut geographical pointer of the route in Books 3-5.

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DISCUSSION

A. Cassio: The Acusilaus quotation in *P.Oxy.* 1611 (a series of excerpts of literary and mythographical nature) deals with the story of Caeneus (Καινεύς), the mythical king of the Lapithae, who was first a woman but was changed into a man by Poseidon, and rendered invulnerable. The actual quotation (fr. 1, iii. 56 ff.) starts with Poseidon having intercourse with Caene (not yet Caeneus), but since it was impossible for her to bear children he turned her into a man: Καινῆι δὲ τῇ Ἐλάτου μίσγεται Ποσειδῶν ἔπειτα (οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ ἱερὸν παῖδας [[τ]] τεκέν οὐτ' ἐξ ἐκείνου οὐτ' ἐξ ἄλλου οὐδενός) ποιεῖ αὐτὴν Ποσειδῶν ἄνδρα ἄτρωτον. It seems to have gone unnoticed that KAINHI is morphologically ambiguous, since it can be interpreted as both the dative of a feminine Καινή and the epic dative of Καινεύς (see Homeric Οδυσσῆι, Ὀϊλῆι, etc.). It is interesting to notice that the only accusative attested in Homer is Καινέα (*Il.* 1, 264 Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον) and that all the forms of this name attested in Greek, apart from this one and a Καινῆος in the *Argonautica Orphica* 170, show the 'recent' declension Καίνεως Καινεῖ Καινέα. This proves that Καινῆι was chosen on purpose in order to make the ambiguity possible.

L. Huitink: Thank you for this wonderful observation. In terms of the purposes of my paper, I think it highlights two important issues. First, your observation makes it more likely that our Acusilaus fragment offers us the beginning of a new episode (for there ambiguous KAINHI would have its fullest impact), while the end of the fragment also looks as if it gives us the actual end of the episode. Therefore, it now looks even more likely that this precious fragment gives us a fair impression

of the narrative manner of an early mythographer. Secondly, your observation underlines the fact that, for all that this early prose seems rather unprepossessing, it in fact is artfully and carefully shaped in order to produce certain effects. Of course, I did not mean to suggest that writing 'zero grade' narratives is at all easy or excludes all artistry – and Robert Fowler has in fact stressed the remarkable intellectual achievement that is early Greek mythography in the publications to which I refer.

F. Schironi: What about a comparison between early Presocratic prose and the early historians? As you say, the style of these historians is not narrative. Yet it reminds me of the 'encyclopedic', list-like style of certain Hippocratic works (e.g. *Epidemics*): so should we treat these early prose-writers more as belonging to another genre (the list/collections of data) rather than as the predecessors of historical narrative? In other words, they were compiling 'lists' of myths/histories, which then came to be expressed through narrative by later writers (i.e. Herodotus), while the list-like style was transferred to other 'drier' genres, like medical case studies.

L. Huitink: It would indeed be fascinating to take a look at what we know about early Greek prose as a whole. You are certainly right, I think, that doing so would illuminate both the practices of the early mythographers and of the early historians like Herodotus. After all, as Rosalind Thomas and others have shown, Herodotus is at home, and engages with, many different types of discourse, including Presocratic and Sophistic non-narrative literature. In that sense, Herodotus is the 'magpie'-like successor to a whole range of earlier Greek literature, not just the mythographers. Yet, I would maintain that writing narrative – which is so ubiquitous that we often take it for granted – has its own challenges, which are just as profound as those involved in writing, say, refined philosophical arguments. And here, Herodotus' predecessors in prose were the mythographers. I think that acknowledging that is also important. For

example, it is often said that Herodotus is ‘still’ in part an oral author. But actually, if Fowler is right to describe mythography as a written genre, it is fairer to say that Herodotus is oral ‘again’. I mean that he may have realised that, in order to find ways to shape true narratives (taking into account perceptions, deliberations, etc.) he needed to look back to Homer and adopt epic (and so also oral) structures into his own prose narrative – though he did not to any large extent adopt the reflector mode that is latently present in Homer.

A. Willi: To read the historical presents in the early historiographers along your lines – indicating that there is no ‘mediating presence’ – strikes me as eminently sensible. But the fact that they can assume that function is also contextually conditioned as they are not placed within the framework of surrounding narrative. I think that historical presents in later authors, including the textbook example in Herodotus 1, 10, in some ways do the opposite as they disrupt the surrounding narrative flow and by this very fact draw attention to the existence of the historian’s ‘mediating presence’: they do not so much pull the audience into the events, as is sometimes claimed, but signpost what the author wants to be perceived as key points.

L. Huitink: You are referring to the famous sentence, ὥς δὲ κατὰ νότου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδύς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα. The effect of this historical present in my view depends precisely on the fact that this present ‘stands out’ from the surrounding past tenses; it is perhaps this, as much as the present *per se*, which gives the reader a ‘jolt’, which I also would not necessarily describe in terms of ‘being pulled in’. Of course, the present tenses in the mythographers are different precisely because they are the *main* tense; if anything, it is imperfects and aorists which give the reader a ‘jolt’. Perhaps the sort of ‘chapter heading’ use we find in those ἐξελάυνει-passages I cite in Section 2 deserve further consideration as cases that may forge a connection between the

so-called 'annalistic' and the properly 'historic/dramatic' use of the present: being expanded by properly narrative passages, such 'chapter headings' become more and more stand-alone. This would very much fit in with examples which Fludernik in her 2003 paper gives of devices (*in casu* certain discourse markers) which change function over the course of a literary tradition.

A. Willi: I find the development you sketch for the early evolution of historiography very convincing, both as far as the nature and purpose of the mythographers' texts is concerned and where you identify Xenophon as the 'inventor' of reflector narrative. But this then makes me wonder to what extent it may be due to his literary *persona* being quite different from the literary *personae* of his predecessors – one might say that Herodotus presents himself as the 'academic researcher', Thucydides as the 'observer and analyst', but Xenophon is the first 'practitioner' historian, and the reflector narrative neatly helps to underline this role. If that were true, it would be interesting to know what later historiographers do: after all, they will operate in a historiographical context which already knows fully-fledged reflector narrative (thanks to Xenophon), but for example Polybius certainly does not present himself in a Xenophontian 'practitioner' role.

L. Huitink: The issue you raise is an important one and requires much more systematic research than I have been able to report for this chapter. I should like to emphasize that I do not see the various modes as successive. Once a fully-fledged reflector mode has formed, it is available for use by other authors, but not to the exclusion of the teller mode or indeed other ways of shaping narrative. Xenophon himself uses the reflector mode much more sparingly in the *Hellenica* and hardly ever in the *Cyropaedia* (though that may reinforce the link you perceive with the 'practitioner historian' – Plutarch, by the way, no doubt thought that Xenophon's ἐνάργεια was the result of Xenophon's autopsy). The case of Polybius is special,

I think. He both utters principled objections against ἐνάργεια (in the much-discussed chapter 2, 56) and he interrupts his narrative so often that there is hardly room for sustained reflector mode narrative to develop. Perhaps the more explicitly 'dramatic' Greek historiographers of the Roman Empire are better candidates. I am thinking first and foremost of Josephus' *Jewish War*.

S.D. Olson: I am very sympathetic to the idea that narrative is usefully conceived as a technology, and thus as something that can be refined through invention: Xenophon, you suggest, makes significant innovations in story-telling strategies, and those innovations are adopted by subsequent narrators, who incorporate and occasionally build upon what he has done. You present this developmental view as a rejection of an older one, which treats various narrative modes as something like a universal grammar of story-telling that is just as visible in modern texts as in ancient ones. The problem with this way of structuring the argument is that – as you yourself note – 'reflector narrative' is already apparent in *Odyssey* 7 and can scarcely be an innovation on Xenophon's part. But do you need to reject a deep 'universal grammar of story-telling' to insist on Xenophon's power as an innovator? Compare cooking: wet-cooking (boiling, stewing, and the like) and dry-cooking (roasting, frying, etc.) are universally available, basic technologies, but we do not prepare our food as people did in Homeric times or before, because one individual after another has found a clever variant on previously developed ways of doing things and passed it on to others. So too perhaps with the incremental but nonetheless admirable narrative advances of Xenophon.

L. Huitink: Perhaps I have played down the role of reflector narrative in the *Odyssey* a bit too much, although I would still maintain that it would not figure high on a list of things that are very 'typically' Homeric. I also would insist that it is useful if we can speak of different degrees and various shades in such

matters. I do like your 'cooking' analogy and take its basic point. Yet, it also raises questions. After all, there are forms of cooking, say, the currently fashionable 'molecular cooking', which have not always been universally available (though molecular cooking is a refined form of procedures available in both dry- and wet-cooking, I suppose). An equivalent in literature may be the (purposefully) weird and incoherent narrative techniques of certain post-modern novels. These, too, of course, are still somehow anchored in both earlier literary forms and ultimately in hard-wired cognitive processes. So, the question is what is 'basic' or 'universal' (or, to use Fludernik's term, 'natural'), and that, I feel, is a question that is difficult to answer. When do we speak of a 'device', which perhaps implies some degree of artistry and even some degree of awareness on the part of the reader that something can be read in a certain way? Is, for instance, the use of the imperfect enough to force an interpretation in terms of reflector mode narrative? Did Homer's contemporary audience read it this way or are we now conditioned to do so, reared on a diet of Stendhal, Flaubert, and others? A main purpose of my chapter is precisely to open up such questions, which seem to me not to have been given enough attention yet.

VI

FRANCESCA SCHIRONI

NAMING THE PHENOMENA

TECHNICAL LEXICON IN DESCRIPTIVE AND DEDUCTIVE SCIENCES

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the lexical strategies employed by several technical languages to express their content. While Greek sciences employ similar strategies and their vocabularies are quite transparent as they are Greek-based and use visual metaphors, there is a fundamental difference between descriptive sciences (especially medicine and biology) and deductive (i.e., mathematical) sciences in the way they ‘visualize’ their content. This difference also explains the divide between didactic poetry on descriptive sciences and mathematical poetry, which does not employ much technical lexicon and yet is not ‘didactic’ at all.

The technical languages of ancient Greece are diverse and each of them is characterized by a specific vocabulary, syntax, style, and other linguistic markers. Due to space constraints the present contribution will focus on the lexicon, which is the first and most obvious element of any technical language.¹ The main goal is to show how the vocabularies of two branches of science, the natural sciences (i.e., medicine, biology, zoology) and the mathematical sciences (i.e., mathematics and related disciplines), can be compared and what their differences and similarities tell

¹ This paper emanates from a larger project on Greek scientific language, in which syntactic and stylistic elements of Greek scientific prose (and poetry) are also considered. I would like to thank Fabio Acerbi, Tyler Mayo, and Monica Negri for comments and suggestions.

us. Because the former group of disciplines relies mostly on the observation, description, and classification of natural phenomena, we can also call them ‘descriptive sciences’, while mathematics and related disciplines, being mostly based on deductive reasoning, can be labeled as ‘deductive sciences’.

While both the natural and the mathematical sciences began developing around the fifth century BCE, I will also look at the formative period of science in general, that is, the Presocratic philosophers, and I will end my survey with the Roman period. I will not, however, take a diachronic approach focused on the *development* of the technical lexicon in the respective fields. Rather, I will look at it from a strictly qualitative point of view, by first highlighting its principal linguistic characteristics and then introducing some general (and more speculative) considerations about the type of ‘epistemological’ underpinnings these technical vocabularies seem to suggest for the different disciplines and how they could be received by non-specialists.

1. Strategies for building a technical lexicon

The medical lexicon is the best example we have of a technical vocabulary, both because of the abundance of sources and because of the object of study itself, as many new terms were invented to name parts of the body, illnesses, and drugs. It is also the most studied.² Hence I will limit my survey to a few examples from medicine, before focusing on other sciences, especially the mathematical ones, which are far less studied.³ In doing so, my first goal will be to analyze how these other fields

² Cf. LANZA (1979) 113-122 and (1983); LLOYD (1983); MALONEY (1987); SKODA (1988); DURLING (1993); LÓPEZ FÉREZ (2000); see also the comprehensive work by LANGSLOW (2000) on Latin medical language.

³ On the Greek mathematical language, cf. MUGLER (1958-1959); FEDERSPIEL (1992), (1995), (2003), (2005), (2006); NETZ (1999) 89-126; ACERBI (2007) 213-218, 259-313, 532-534. On optics, see MUGLER (1964). I am not aware of any specific study of the lexicons of astronomy or mechanics.

operate and to show that their terminology in fact works in a way that is quite similar to the medical lexicon.

1.1. *Use of existing terms*

In the creation of any scientific vocabulary three main linguistic strategies are employed: the use of existing terms, the coinage of new terms, and the borrowing of terms from another semantic field for reuse as metaphors and metonyms.

The first strategy consists of adopting a term already used in standard language and giving it a more specific meaning within the discipline. Typical is the case of medicine, where terms already used by Homer are common: e.g., καρδίη “heart” or φλέβες “blood-vessels” (cf. e.g. Hippoc. *Epid.* 2, 4; *Art.* 45, 7; *Carn.* 5, 6-7, where φλέβες denotes “veins”, as opposed to “arteries”). Among words for medical conditions, σπασμός for “convulsion” and φῦμα for “what grows”, hence “tumor”, are examples used by both Herodotus and Hippocrates.

But the same strategy is adopted elsewhere too. The Presocratics, eager to name their new concepts,⁴ followed the same path. For example, speaking of both Leucippus and Democritus, Aristotle (*Metaph.* 985b15-17) says that they called the shape, i.e., configuration, of atoms “rhythm” (ῥυσμός) and their position in space “turning” (τροπή). These words are also used by poets, as when the plural τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο “turnings of the sun” (meaning the “west” or the “solstice”) is found in Homer (*Od.* 15, 405) and Hesiod (*Op.* 479, 564, 663), and ῥυσμός/ῥυθμός occurs in Archilochus (fr. 128, 7) and Theognis (1, 964); among prose writers Herodotus has them both. While the terms were not new, then, their ‘atomistic’ meaning was (Philoponus, *In De an.* 68, 3, confirms that ῥυσμός is a λέξις Ἀβδηρικῇ).⁵

⁴ Cf. BARNES (1987) 18-22. On the ‘scientific’ language of the Presocratics, see also SNELL (1953) 227-245 and HAVELOCK (1983).

⁵ But in HDT. 5, 58, 1 τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων, referring to the “shape” of the letters, comes close to Democritus’ use; cf. VON FRITZ (1938) 25-26.

In mathematics, too, many words are taken from everyday language: σημειῶν “(concrete) sign, limit”, hence “point”;⁶ γωνία “corner”, hence “angle”; κύκλος “ring, circular object”, hence “circle”; λόγος “account, reckoning”, hence “ratio”; στερεός “firm, solid”, hence geometrical “solid” or “cubic” figure; σφαῖρα “ball”, hence “sphere”; or verbs like δείκνυμι “to demonstrate”, τέμνω “to cut”, hence “to divide a line”, or ἄγω “to lead”, hence “to trace a line”. These are all common Greek words, used in mathematics with a more specific meaning. Other items, such as γραμμή “line”, τετράγωνος “square” (adj.), κύλινδρος “cylinder”, seem more ‘geometrically oriented’ but they are still used in common Greek.

1.2. *Coinage of new terms*

The second strategy consists of the coinage of new terms, by means of either derivation or composition. The neologisms created in medicine to name all newly discovered organs and diseases are very well studied. Moreover, since many of these terms have passed into modern medical terminology, they are more familiar to us than, for example, the technical terminology of mechanics, astronomy, or other branches of ancient science. Yet examples in other fields will help us to better understand the scientific lexicon in general, while putting medical terminology into a broader context.

1.2.1. Derivation

Derivation by means of specific suffixes is used extensively in many technical languages. In medicine, the usual distinction between *nomina rei actae* in -μα and *nomina actionis* in -σις sometimes differentiates the result from the process (e.g., ἔλκωμα

⁶ On the meaning of σημειῶν in mathematics and its origins, see FEDERSPIEL (1992); cf. also NETZ (1999) 113.

“ulcer” vs. *ἐλκωσις* “ulceration”; *οἰδημα* “tumor” vs. *οἰδησις* “swelling”). There are also specific suffixes used by medicine in nouns, adjectives, and verbs.⁷ Common nominal ones include: *-ίη/-ία* for abstract nouns for diseases (e.g., *αἱμορραγία* “hemorrhage”, *ὀφθαλμία* “ophthalmia”, and a series of compounds whose second element is *-αλγία* “ache”: e.g., *καρδιαλγία* “heartburn”, *κεφαλαλγία* “headache”); *-ίτις*, to indicate types of inflammation (e.g., *ἀρθροίτις* “inflammation of the joints”, *ἥπατις* “inflammation of the liver”); *-αίνα* for (foul) diseases (e.g., *γάγγραινα* “gangrene”, *ὄζαινα* for a fetid polypus in the nose); *-ότης* for feminine abstract nouns, often to express a quality or durable attribute (e.g., *ἐρυθρότης* “redness”, *καμπυλότης* “crookedness”); *-(σ)μός* for masculine nouns indicating a sick condition (e.g., *μετεωρισμός* “swelling”, *κνησμός* “itching”); *-δών* for feminine deverbal nouns (e.g., *σηπεδών* “decay”, from *σήπω*; *σπαδών* “convulsion, cramp”, from *σπάω*). Common suffixes for adjectives are: *-(ι)ώδης* indicating similarity or quality (e.g., *ἀλφώδης* “leprous”, *ἰκτερ(ι)ώδης* “jaundiced”);⁸ *-ειδής* indicating similarity (e.g., *θρομβοειδής* “lumpy”, *κιρσοειδής* “varicose”, from *κίρσος* “enlargement of a vein”); *-ικός* often meaning “suffering from...” (e.g., *κεφαλαλγικός* “suffering from headache”, *ὕστερικός* “suffering in the womb”, i.e., “hysterical”). In the verbal domain, to indicate “suffering from” something medical Greek often uses the typical denominative suffixes *-(ι)άω* (e.g., *ποδαγρ(ι)άω* “to have gout in the feet”, *λιθιάω* “to suffer from calculi”⁹), *-έω* (e.g., *αἱμορραγέω* “to have a hemorrhage”, *κεφαλαλγέω* “to suffer from headache”), *-αίνω* (e.g., *ὕδραίνω* “to suffer from dropsy”, *πυρεταίνω*, “to be feverish”¹⁰). The same formants can also convey a more causative/active meaning “to act upon (something/someone)” (e.g., *πυριάω* “to

⁷ See LÓPEZ FÉREZ (2000) 40-43; MALONEY (1987) (inverse dictionary).

⁸ See OP DE HIPT (1972) 1-250. On these compounds in Theophrastus, see OP DE HIPT (1972) 280-283 and TRIBULATO (2010) 489-490.

⁹ This is a metaphor, as *λίθος* means “stone” in the bladder (= “calculus”).

¹⁰ Alongside this, the common Greek verb *πυρέσσω* is also used by doctors; both are based on the same metaphor, as fever is *πυρετός*, literally “burning heat”.

put persons in a vapor-bath”, τριχολογέω “to pluck hairs”, προσ-γλισχραίνω “to make more viscid”).

However, these suffixes are not limited to medicine. For example, -ῖτις not only indicates inflammation in the human body. It is also quite often used for plants: e.g., πυρῖτις, the “pellitory” (otherwise known as πύρεθρον), ἐρεχθῖτις, the “groundsel”, ἡμιονῖτις, the “mule-fern”. As a derivative, ἀμπελῖτις γῆ, “vine-land”, is a type of earth used to get rid of worms in vines;¹¹ and the suffix is also used for stones: e.g., αἱματῖτις, the “blood-like” stone, or χαλκῖτις, the “calcite” or “alum”.

In mathematics, the common suffix -σις for *nomina actionis* is used, for example, in ἑλλειψις “ellipse”, whose exact meaning will be discussed below (§ 5.2). Another productive item is -ειδής to indicate similarity (εἶδος). Thus Archimedes can study τὸ κωνοειδές (σχήμα), the “conoid”, and τὸ σφαιροειδές (σχήμα), the “spheroid”. While σφαιροειδής is used before Archimedes to mean “spherical” (for example, by Aristotle), Archimedes uses it in a very technical sense. As for κωνοειδής, this seems to be a new coinage by Archimedes himself. Other new coinages with the same suffix are ἡ κογχοειδής (γραμμή), the “concoid” curve, discovered by Nicomedes (c. 280-210 BCE), and ἡ κισσοειδής (γραμμή), the “cissoid” curve, probably discovered by Diocles (c. 240-180 BCE).¹² On the verbal side, mathematics employs two other very common suffixes, -ίζω and -άζω, to express the idea of “acting on” mathematical objects, as in τετραγωνίζω “to square” (of lines and numbers), κυβίζω “to cube”, and πολλαπλασιάζω “to multiply”.

1.2.2. Composition

Medicine, again, is very active in producing compounds, for which I will give few examples, before proceeding to other

¹¹ Cf. GAL. *De simpl. med. fac.* 12, 186, 16-19 Kühn.

¹² The last two are also based on metaphors, which will be analyzed below.

disciplines. We find compounds with privative ἀ- (e.g., ἄσαρκος “without flesh”), with the positive prefix εὐ- (e.g., εὖσαρκος “fleshy”, εὐεξάναλωτος “easy of digestion”), or with the negative prefix δυσ- (e.g., δυσέμβλητος “hard to set”, of dislocations, δυσεντερία “dysentery”). Among preverbs, περι- intensifies (e.g., περιωδυνέω “to suffer great pain”), while ὑπο- diminishes (e.g., ὑπαλγέω “to have a slight pain”, ὑπόλευκος “whitish”). The prefix ὑπο- can also have a local meaning of “below” or “under”, as in ὑπογλωσσίς, referring to a swelling “under the tongue”.¹³

Compounding as a way of creating new technical terms is also attested elsewhere. In the passage discussed above for ῥυσμός and τροπή, Aristotle (*Metaph.* 985b15-17) mentions a further term that is a new coinage of Democritus and/or Leucippus: διαθιγή “mutual contact” (from δια-θιγγάνω), to indicate the “arrangement” of atoms. Democritus also built compounds out of his own technical (yet common) terms. Thus, from ῥυσμός he created the *hapax* μεταρυσμεῖν referring to education, which “changes the shape” of human nature.¹⁴

Moving on to later times, mathematics is as productive as medicine in creating compounds. For instance, compounds derived from γωνία “angle” include: ὀκταγωνικός “octagonal”, ὀρθογώνιος “rectangular”, ἀμβλυγώνιος “obtuse-angled”, ὀξυγώνιος “acute-angled”, πεντάγωνον “figure with five angles”, πεντεκαίδεκάγωνον “figure with fifteen angles”, etc. The same goes for all the solid figures ending in -εδρον, which indicates the “surface”, from ἔδρα “seat” (e.g., ὀκτά-εδρον, δωδεκά-εδρον, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκά-εδρον, for a solid with eight, twelve, and fourteen surfaces respectively). Other examples are παραλληλεπίπεδον, a figure delimited by parallel surfaces (from the

¹³ Cf. LÓPEZ FÉREZ (2000) 43-45.

¹⁴ DEMOCR. fr. 33B D.-K., καὶ γὰρ ἡ διδασχὴ μεταρυσμοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μεταρυσμοῦσα δὲ φυσιοποιεῖ “for education transforms the human being and by transforming him molds his nature”; cf. VON FRITZ (1938) 36-37.

adjective ἐπίπεδος “flat”, and “plane” in geometry), πολλαπλάσιος “multiple”,¹⁵ and ὁμόκεντρος “concentric”.¹⁶

In astronomy, too, compounds abound. One example concerns the phases of the moon (Geminus 9, 11): μηνοειδής “crescent-shaped”, διχότομος “cut in half” (i.e., the half-moon), ἀμφίκυρτος “convex on each side” (i.e., the moon in its second or third quarter), πανσέληνος “full moon”.¹⁷

Finally, the same compound can be used in different technical fields. One example is ὠκυτόκιος, which derives from ὠκύς and τίκτω and literally means “promoting a quick birth”. In this sense it is applied to plants which have that effect (Diosc. 4, 14, 2; 5, 154; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9, 9, 3) and, in the neuter, also to any such medicine (Hippoc. *Mul.* 1, 77; Ar. *Thesm.* 504). But the word is also employed by Apollonius of Perga as a title for one of his works (Eutoc. *In Archim.* III 258, 16-17 Heiberg-Stamatis = IV 162, 12-13 Mugler Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Περργαῖος ἐν τῷ Ὀκυτοκίῳ) – of course in a metaphorical sense.¹⁸

1.3. *Metaphors and metonyms*

The third strategy consists in using terms from other semantic fields metaphorically: words from daily language indicating a common object or phenomenon are recycled for a ‘new’, unknown scientific object somehow resembling the common one (usually in its appearance or, more rarely, in its function).

¹⁵ Note that compounds like διπλάσιος or ἡμιόλιος can have a technical meaning (“double” and “in the ratio of one and a half to one [e.g., 3:2]”, especially in musical notation), but also a more common one (generally “double” and “half as much”, respectively).

¹⁶ Similar productivity is shown by Theophrastus with compounds formed with ῥίζα; see TRIBULATO (2010) 491.

¹⁷ Μηνοειδής and πανσέληνος are not neologisms, as they occur in HDT. 1, 75, 5 and EUR. *Ion* 1155, for example; by contrast, διχότομος and ἀμφίκυρτος are new technical terms.

¹⁸ The same title is recorded for a work on rhetorical phrasing by Telephus, a grammarian of the second century CE (*Suda* τ 495; ω 61).

While metaphors are present everywhere in the Greek language, starting with Homer, we find the first ‘technical’ metaphors already among the Presocratics, who used very colorful images to describe their principles and philosophical ideas, as with Heraclitus’ River and Empedocles’ Love and Strife.¹⁹ Metaphors remain popular in later philosophy. One of the most famous ‘technical’ words of Aristotle, who uses reasoning based on likeness in many of his biological-philosophical works,²⁰ is ὕλη, which literally means “wood”, but in Aristotle becomes the substratum or “matter” of any physical object.

Turning to ‘real’ sciences, medicine is again the field most studied.²¹ Here, two criteria can be recognized in the choice of imagery: similarity in aspect and similarity in function. In the first category, applied to bones are, e.g., περόνη “pin” (of a buckle), for a small bone of the leg (now called with a Latin term, *fibula*); κερκίς, the “weaver shuttle” or “pin beater”, for the tibia or the radius;²² πλάται “oars”, for the shoulder-blades; or κοτύλη “cup”, for a joint socket. Among bodily organs, ἱρίς “rainbow” (from the goddess Iris) is the colored part of the eye, τὸ (ἐντερὸν) τυφλόν “the blind” is the part of the intestine without outlet, and μῦς “mouse” is the muscle.²³ In pathology, too, there are descriptive metaphors: e.g., ἄνθραξ “charcoal”, for a disease of the skin; στρόφος “twisted cord”, for a colic, which is a twisting of the bowels; ἥλος “stud”, for a callus or wart (on both humans and plants) because of its shape and hardness; κριθή “grain of barley”, for a sty on the eyelid (cf. It. *orzaio*). Metaphors from zoology still in use today are καρκίνος “crab”, for cancer, and πολύπους “octopus”, for a

¹⁹ Cf. LLOYD (1966) 210-252 and (1987) 176-181.

²⁰ Cf. LLOYD (1966) 258-270 and (1987) 183-203, 209-214.

²¹ On metaphorical language in medicine, cf. LANZA (1979) 118-119; SKODA (1988); LANGHOLF (1989) 12-16; LANGSLOW (2000) 178-201 (on Latin).

²² On this double meaning, see below, § 4.

²³ Herophilus (c. 330/20-260/50 BCE) is particularly famous for using descriptive metaphors to name the organs and bones he discovered through human dissection (and perhaps vivisection); cf. VON STADEN (1989) 157-161.

polyp. On the other hand, similarity in function explains some metaphors that are used for bones: e.g., ζύγωμα “bolt”, for the zygomatic arch or cheekbone, because it “connects” the cranial with the facial bones, or θώραξ “corselet”, for the thorax, which “guards” the internal organs. Among organs, metaphors based on function are: πυλωρός for the pylorus, the “gate-keeper”, which is the lower orifice of the stomach that “oversees” what gets out from this organ; πόρος “strait”, indicating the pore, which is a “passage” through the skin; χιτών “tunic”, which is used for many internal membranes that surround organs; πύλαι “gates”, which refers to various orifices in the body. Finally, πέψις (and the verb [συμ]πέσσω), which indicates the idea of “softening, ripening” (hence a change of status because of heat), is also used to mean “to cook”; and from this the metaphorical meaning “digestion” derives.²⁴ Subsequently, following another metaphorical step, the same word may indicate a disease that is (or is not) “concocting” (Hippoc. *Acut.* 42 = 11, 51-52 Littré: οὐ πέσσεται ἡ νοῦσος). Finally, a name of a known, external anatomical part can also be metaphorically reused for an internal one on the basis of similarity: for example, bones or organs (femur, heart) have a κεφαλή “head”; the uterus has an ἀρχήν “neck”; hands and feet have a στῆθος “breast” (i.e., the ball); and the heart has οὐατα or ὦτα “ears”.

Yet metaphors are not confined to medicine. Botany uses medical terms referring to the human body: in Theophrastus, for example, κεφαλή “head” can indicate a part of a plant to which roots are attached (*Hist. pl.* 1, 6, 9), the “head” of the poppy (*Hist. pl.* 9, 8, 2), and an inflorescence (*Hist. pl.* 9, 11, 6).²⁵ The same author also applies the verb ψωριάζω, whose primary meaning is “to have an itch” (in the human body), to the fig in the sense of “to be scabby” (*Caus. pl.* 5, 9, 10). Metaphorical adjectives can similarly be used to qualify a root: see ἰνώδης

²⁴ Whence, of course, the modern *Pepsi* – named after its digestive properties.

²⁵ On the language of botany, especially in Theophrastus, see TRIBULATO (2010), from whom this example is taken (p. 483).

“fibrous” (lit. “with tendons”), σαρκώδης “fleshy”, or θυσανώδης “tassel-like” (*Hist. pl.* 1, 6, 4).

Machines were also described using terms from human (or animal) anatomy. Philo of Byzantium’s torsion engine, for example, has “legs” (σκέλη), “arms” (ἄγκωνες) with “heels” (πτέρναι), “eyebrows” (ὄφρῦς), a “tortoise-shell” (χελώνιον), a “hand” or “claw” (χεῖρ), and “little wings” (περυγία).²⁶

Metaphors are equally used by the ‘dry’ and technical mathematicians, even if they are less frequent there than in the biological sciences. From anatomy, mathematics takes πλευρά “rib”, for the side of a triangle or other figure, and ἰσοσκελές to indicate a triangle that has two identical σκέλη “legs”, in the sense of “supports” (i.e., sides). Botany and zoology inspire the names of certain curves: so the κισσοειδής (γραμμή), the “cissoid”, is “the curve similar to ivy”, and the κογχοειδής (γραμμή), the “conchoid”, is “the curve similar to a shell”. Even more metaphorical from this point of view is κοχλίας “snail”, for a three-dimensional spiral form that resembles the shell of a snail.²⁷ Another metaphor explains the term ἵπποπέδη, naming a figure-eight curve, the “hippopede”, traced by a planet according to Eudoxus’ model; the word literally means “horse-fetter” and is appropriate because horses were tied with figure-eight-shaped shackles. Similarly, μηνίσκος, literally “lunar crescent”,

²⁶ Cf. e.g. (with E.W. Marsden’s technical translation) PHILO *Bel.* 54, 9-10 τοῖς δὲ σκέλεσιν αὐτῆς πλάτος μὲν διδόναι διαμέτρου τέταρτον μέρος “give its side-poles a width of 1/4D”; 70, 18 ὁ δὲ ἄγκων τὴν πτέρναν εἶχεν ἐπηρευσμένην ἐπὶ τῶν λεπίδων “the arm had its heel pressing against the plates”; 57, 6 τὰς περιεχούσας ὄφρῦς “the surrounding edges”; 54, 12-13 τὰ περυγία, δι’ ὧν τὸ χελώνιον ἄγεται “the ridge-poles through which the block is drawn”; and 74, 19-20 ἦν γὰρ ἡ χεῖρ ἐν τῇ διώστρᾳ καθηρμοσμένη, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων καταπαλτῶν ἐν τοῖς χελωνίοις “the claw was fitted to the slider, just as to the blocks in other catapults”. See also the images in MARSDEN (1971) 162, 180, 181, and the list of all these parts in MARSDEN (1971) 266-267, 268-269.

²⁷ In fact, the word for “snail” is also used in mechanics to indicate a “roller” (e.g., BITON 58, 9) or a “screw”; of the latter Oribasius lists two types used in surgical machines: the “square snails” and (with another metaphor!) the “lenticular snails” (ORIB. 49, 4, 54: τῶν δὲ κοχλιῶν οἱ μὲν εἰσι τετράγωνοι, οἱ δὲ φακωτοὶ “among screws, some are square, some are lentil-shaped”).

indicates the “lune”, a concave-convex area bounded by two circular arcs as studied by, among others, Hippocrates of Chios (fifth century BCE). Finally, the ἄρβηλος is literally a semi-circular knife used by shoemakers, but Archimedes adopted the term for a geometrical figure with that shape. Even leaving aside all these complicated curves and shapes with exotic names, several ‘common’ verbs adopted to discuss mathematical objects are metaphorical, or at least start from a concrete or visual image: τέμνω for “cutting” (i.e., “secating”) a line, figure, etc., ἄγω for “leading” (hence “drawing”) a line, πίπτω for a line that “falls” (i.e., “intersects” a square, segment, etc.).

Another interesting case is κέντρον, the “center” of a circle. Literally κέντρον is the “horse-goad”, a pointed device used to spur on the animals. Because of its shape, the word came to denote many pointed objects, such as the point of a spear (Polyb. 6, 22, 4), the sting of wasps (Ar. *Vesp.* 225, 406), or the prickles of the sea-urchin (Ael. *NA* 12, 25); more technically, it was used to designate a spur to keep a “tortoise” (another metaphor, indicating a shed that protects besiegers) stable on the ground (Apollod. *Poliorc.* 144, 1), and the point of a pair of compasses (Vitr. 3, 1, 3). Since compasses draw circles and the point is also the “center” of the circle, κέντρον was then used by mathematicians in that particular sense. While κέντρον is thus used metaphorically in biology and mechanics, in mathematics it becomes a metonym.

Other metonyms that work in the same way (i.e., by transfer from the means onto the object) can be found in harmonics. Thus, the “foot” (πούς) in rhythm is so called because it is through our feet that we mark rhythm, as Aristoxenus says.²⁸ Another metonym in Aristoxenus is λιχανός. Literally this means “licking” (from λείχω), and so, metonymically, with or without δάκτυλος, it refers to the “forefinger”. But in Aristoxenus,

²⁸ ARISTOX. *Rhythm.* 2, 16 Pearson: ὃ δὲ σημαινόμεσθα τὸν ῥυθμὸν καὶ γνῶριμον ποιοῦμεν τῇ αἰσθήσει, πούς ἐστιν εἷς ἢ πλείους ἐνός “the means by which we mark rhythm and make it perceptible to the senses is a foot, one or more than one”.

following a second metonymic step, ἡ λιχανός (sc. χορδή) then indicates both the string struck with the forefinger, and the note thereby produced.

2. The reason behind a name

After surveying the linguistic strategies informing the coinage of technical terminology, another important element to discuss, even though briefly, is the logic behind the choice of certain terms. In other words, how did physicians, mathematicians, etc. choose the names by which to call their objects of study?

2.1. ‘Descriptive’ terms

A large part of the technical lexicon may be regarded as ‘descriptive’, since the technical terms themselves describe a perceptible phenomenon or its effects.

Most metaphors in medicine as well as in mathematics work by their descriptive quality. Among compounds, some anatomical terms are based on others, with further qualifications added in accordance with their relative position. Thus, μετακάρπιον indicates the bones in the palm of the hand, which are “after” the καρπός “wrist”; ἐπιγλωσσίς, the “epiglottis”, is a valve which covers the larynx and is “above” the γλῶσσα “tongue”. A very interesting example of naming what one sees comes from mathematics: see below, § 5.2, for a discussion of the hyperbola, parabola, and ellipse.

Names can also focus on a specific characteristic or effect of a natural phenomenon or concept. For example, drugs can be called after their effect, like the ἀριστολογεία “birthwort”, which means “excellent for childbirth”.²⁹ Plants or stones can

²⁹ DIOSC. 3, 4, 1 ἀριστολογεία· ὠνόμασται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἄριστα βοηθεῖν ταῖς λοχοῖς “aristolochia: it is so called from the belief that it is extremely beneficial to women during childbirth”.

be named after their characteristics: e.g., *ἡλιοσκόπιος*, the “sun spurge”, which “looks to the sun”, or *σεληνίτης* (λίθος), the “selenite” or “moon-stone”, which was supposed to be found at night with the waxing moon (Diosc. 5, 141). The same criteria apply to names for diseases. These often indicate the affected body part (e.g., *κεφαλαλγία*, *περιπνευμονία*, *ἡπατῖτις*, *νεφρῖτις*, *δυσεντερία*) or their color (e.g., *ἄλφοί* “dull-white leprosy”, *ἐρυσίπελας* “erysipelas”, a disease characterized by red patches on the skin); or they suggest what the patient feels (e.g., *καῦσος*, a remittent fever with a “burning” sensation; *κυνάγχη* “canine quinsy”, referring to a sore throat where patients feel as if “strangled like a dog”) or describe the way the disease affects the body (e.g., *λιποθυμία* for a “swoon”, which happens when the “vital force” “fails”, *παραφροσύνη* for “delirium”, which is when one is “out of one’s mind” or, more literally, “beside oneself”).

All the compounds denoting geometrical figures are also descriptive: for example, the focus can be on the number of angles for plane figures (e.g., *τετράγωνον* “[figure with] four angles”, i.e., “square”, *πεντάγωνον* “[figure with] five angles”, etc.) or on the “faces” for solid figures (e.g., *τετράεδρον* “[solid with] four faces”, *ὀκτάεδρον* “[solid with] eight faces”, *πολύεδρον*, “[solid with] many faces”); or else, the relevant terms describe the figures in some other way, as with *παραλληλόγραμμον* “[the figure] bounded by parallel lines”.

2.2. *‘Historically’, ‘geographically’, or ‘mythically’ derived names*

Names in technical disciplines can also recall the ‘history’ or myth behind certain phenomena or objects. They are hardly technical terms, but rather tend to be words familiar to laypeople. The most famous case is, of course, astronomy, where constellations and stars are often named after a hero or heroine. However, something similar also occurs in medicine and botany. For example, a disease can be named after the person who first

cured it, as with the *Χειρώνειον ἔλκος* “Chiron’s sore”, or after the person who first suffered from it, as with the *Τηλέφειον ἔλκος* “Telephus’ sore”. Equally, a medicine or “remedy” (*πάνακες*) may be given a ‘historical’ or mythical name, for example the root known as *πάνακες Χειρών(ε)ιον* “Chiron’s all-heal” (which cures venom of snakes), or the remedies “of Asclepius” and “of Heracles” respectively (*πάνακες Ἀσκληπιεῖον* / *Ἡράκλειον*).

Similarly, plants can derive their names from those who first used them as drugs, like the black hellebore which some call *Μελαμπόδιον* because the goatherd Melampus used it to cure the daughters of Proteus of their madness (Diosc. 4, 162, 1). Plants may also be named after the places where they grow: e.g., the *στοιχάς* “French lavender”, which derives its name from the Stoichades (the modern Îles d’Hyères) (Diosc. 3, 26), or the *λιγυστικόν* “lovage”, from Liguria (Diosc. 3, 51, 1). Minerals too can have geographic names, like the *μίλτος Σινωπική*, the “Sinopic red earth”, called after Sinope where it was sold (Diosc. 5, 96, 1), or the famous *Μαγνητὶς λίθος*, the “Magnesian stone”, i.e., the “magnet”.

3. The Greek scientific lexicon: making ‘phenomena’ visible

The above survey allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions about how the lexicon of the sciences works.

First, the three linguistic strategies outlined (use of existent terms, creation of neologisms, and recourse to metaphors) are employed by many disciplines other than medicine, although the latter is the most studied one; notably, the mathematical sciences avail themselves of similar strategies as well.

Second, the three strategies are not mutually exclusive. Thus, there can be ‘metaphorical neologisms’ like *χισσοειδής* (*γραμμή*) or *ἐξάνθημα*, indicating an “efflorescence” on the skin (i.e., a pustule), and *λογχιτὶς*, a metaphor built by means of the suffix *-ῖτις*, to indicate a plant with spear-shaped seeds.

The third point worth stressing is that in general this lexicon is quite transparent. This is obvious where common words are reused, but neologisms and metaphors are also seldom obscure.

Technical neologisms are 'normal' Greek words as far as their suffixes or compositional elements are concerned. In fact, no suffix seems to be exclusively used in technical terminology. Leaving aside suffixes like *-ικός*, *-ειδής*, or, for verbs, *-άω*, *-έω*, *-ίζω*, *-άζω*, which are obviously not technical *per se*, we may consider the most 'medically' oriented words, like those in "-itis". These definitely sound technical *to us*, because in modern languages they are specifically connected with medical terminology (e.g., *arthritis*, *bursitis*, *tendinitis*, etc.). In Greek, however, the suffix *-ϊτις* also produces a great number of feminine adjectival forms that are unrelated to inflammations or plants.³⁰ For example, it can be used in geographic and more generally spatial denominations, such as *Ζεφυρϊτις*, an epithet of Aphrodite as worshipped in Cyprus, *Πιτανῖτις*, indicating a woman or the region "of Pitane", *γυναικωνῖτις* "women's apartments", or *παρωκεανῖτις*, "sea coast". Similarly, the suffix *-αῖνα* is found not only in terms for foul diseases, but also in feminine nouns denoting animals (e.g., *κάπραινα* "wild sow") or in the very common *θεράπαινα* "handmaid". I therefore suggest that not only were these neologisms quite transparent to a native Greek speaker because they were Greek-based, but they did not even look foreign or esoteric, as they made use of 'building blocks' that were common in the Greek language in general.

As for metaphors (and metonymies), these are among the most effective means to name new objects, concepts, and phenomena in disciplines where the description of a new reality is paramount. Accordingly, they are used not only in biology and medicine, which are mostly descriptive sciences, but also in mathematics to describe particular types of curves and in philosophy to illustrate abstract principles.

³⁰ As already noted by WILLI (2003) 67, n. 41.

Naming a new phenomenon or concept with a word that is taken from common language and denotes there similar but better-known phenomenon can be linked with ‘analogy’, a widespread epistemological procedure through which the human mind makes sense of the unknown by comparing it to something similar and known. Particularly in the sciences, new phenomena are often compared and illustrated by means of models or analogues taken from known reality. The Greeks used this process extensively to understand natural phenomena through reasoning by likeness, arguments by analogy, etc.³¹ Technical language employs metaphors for the same reason. A metaphor taken from daily language and denoting a common object or phenomenon better ‘visualizes’ the new object or idea. The metaphorical lexicon can thus be seen as the application to language of analogical scientific reasoning. Therefore, the use of metaphors in mathematical and medical authors in the Hellenistic period cannot be understood, as Netz claims, as an example of the ‘carnavalesque’ and hybrid nature of scientific writing, where scientists “move towards the literary mode”.³² It is rather a most common epistemological strategy, which is in fact present from the very beginning of Greek scientific thought, as examples from the Presocratics, Aristotle, and the Hippocratic writers show.

If metaphors are visualized images by default, I would like to suggest that even neologisms, formed with common Greek suffixes and by composition, were in a way ‘visual’ – although based on a different type of visualization, which is connected more with language and etymology than with ‘sensory’ analogy. Since Greek scientific language is all Greek-based, it automatically sounded less unfamiliar to laypeople than modern scientific language does, even when rather common modern technical terms are concerned. For example, while laypeople generally

³¹ On analogy in ancient scientific discourse, see REGENBOGEN (1930); LLOYD (1966); LANGHOLF (1989).

³² NETZ (2009) 149-160 (the quotation is taken from p. 160).

know what an aneurism is, they might not know what the word really means – that ἀνεύρυσμα is derived from ἀνευρύνω “to dilate” and thus refers to the “bulging” of a blood-vessel. In this case, the meaning is clear but the etymological reasons *why* the aneurism is so called (in other words, the fact that *aneurism* is a ‘speaking’, i.e., etymologically transparent and suggestive, name) remain hidden to most people. Similarly, everyone knows what a pentagon is – but how many know *why* it has that name? None of this would happen to Greek native speakers, of course. They might not know the specific, nuanced meaning of a technical word, but they had no problem in grasping its etymological origin, and hence the general sense of the word.³³ The same is true of metaphors. Here again, in modern scientific language many of them are still present, but since their Greek origin is not known to most speakers we hardly perceive their ‘educational’ and visual force: for example, pores for us are just ‘pores’, and while the fact that the etymology is now opaque does not prevent us from understanding the meaning, we have still lost the descriptive sense that they are “passages”. Similarly, we all know what the coccyx is, but we are hardly aware that this odd name is actually teaching us something about the shape of that bone, which is similar to the beak of a “cuckoo” (κόκυξ). The same is true for mathematics: we all know what the ‘center’ of a figure is, and professional mathematicians will know what a ‘cissoid’ is; but how many of them visualize it as an ivy-like curve? And most of us do not know that the ‘center’ of a circle visualizes the drawing of the circle with a compass.

³³ Cf. also LLOYD (1987) 204, who rightly notes: “the general sense was given by the root, in each case, though by itself this was not necessarily very informative. What counted as *the* disease of the pleura, or kidneys, [...] was often a matter of dispute and depended on the writer’s views on both the symptoms and the causes at work”. Lloyd is certainly correct; here, however, I am focusing on the etymological transparency of technical terms and how they may have sounded more familiar to a Greek native speaker than modern medical terminology does to us (the latter being etymologically opaque, since it is based on ‘foreign’ roots).

Even the mythical names for stars will have been much more suggestive to a Greek than to the modern stargazer: any Greek would have been familiar with Andromeda's story and figure, for example. For many of us, by contrast, *Andromeda* is simply an odd name for a constellation. If anything, such a name must therefore have made it easier for a Greek to remember the constellation, whereas for us it tends to be just another new term to remember.

To conclude, a large part of the Greek technical lexicon consists of 'speaking' names, whose ability to 'speak' comes either from the fact that they are based on easily recognizable (and common) Greek roots, or that they use images taken from common language or from mythology; in either case, they draw on the common cultural reservoir of all Greek speakers. I would thus suggest that, thanks to the different strategies adopted (namely, 'etymological' visualization in the case of compounds or new coinages by means of suffixation, 'analogical' visualization in the case of metaphors, 'cultural' visualization in the case of mythical and historical names), Greek technical language is much more transparent³⁴ and in a way more 'democratic' than the corresponding scientific terminology used nowadays (and indeed since the end of antiquity).

4. Is Greek scientific terminology 'scientific'?

The fact that the Greek technical lexicon is clearer and more visual than our technical terminology does not *per se* speak to whether it is 'scientific'. As a working definition of what constitutes technical/scientific terminology I will adapt the analysis of Andreas Willi³⁵ and propose the following:

³⁴ WILLI (2003) 95 already reached similar conclusions for fifth-century Athens. I am now expanding his suggestion to cover later periods as well as additional sciences, notably mathematics.

³⁵ WILLI (2003) 66 and 69; see also LANGSLOW (2000) 6-28 and FÖGEN (2003).

1. Technical/scientific terminology is recognized by native speakers as belonging to a specific technical field, and specialists in particular are self-conscious in employing a vocabulary which is 'theirs'.
2. It is not in common currency, even if it may be understood by non-specialists.
3. It tends to be standardized, economic, and concise (i.e., polysemy and synonymy are generally avoided in favor of monosemy).
4. It tends to be systematic (i.e., it covers all aspects of a semantic field).
5. It is expressively neutral (i.e., the lexemes belonging to it do not convey any judgment: cf. e.g. *gonorrhea* vs. the slang term *the clap*).

I will now briefly review each of these points to see if the Greek technical lexicon complies with these characteristics.

In order to obtain evidence on how a layperson would have perceived the terms that are deemed technical according to (1), one must look at phenomena such as comic parody, as Willi has done for Aristophanes.³⁶ In later periods it is more difficult to find parody, but there is didactic poetry, which we will look at below (§ 6). For now, however, I will concentrate on the self-consciousness of the technical practitioners.

In this respect, both medical and mathematical languages seem to conform to our expectation. The stock expression $\delta/\eta/\tau\omicron$ [...] $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma/\eta/\omicron\nu$ is often used by the Hippocratic (and later) physicians to mark a technical term (e.g., Hippoc. *Morb.* 2, 65, 1; *Aff. int.* 47, 1; Gal. *Nat. fac.* 2, 24, 12-13 Kühn).³⁷

³⁶ WILLI (2003) 51-95, 96-117.

³⁷ But there are exceptions: cf. LLOYD (1983) 154-155. A similar self-consciousness is displayed by Theophrastus, who stresses his use of terms 'borrowed' from other fields, for example when he notes that he employs $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ "tendons" and $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\varsigma$ "veins" in speaking about plants both because there are no terms for these parts in plants and because they resemble analogous parts in animals (*Hist. pl.* 1, 2, 3: $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ δὲ καὶ $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\varsigma$ καθ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἀνώνυμα τῇ δὲ ὁμοιότητι μεταλαμβάνουσι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζώοις μορίων "fibers" and "veins" [in plants] do not have a specific

The main evidence that medical terminology was perceived already in antiquity as ‘technical’ is offered by the development of Hippocratic lexicography in Alexandria in the third century BCE, the only parallel to which is the lexicography on Homer. In both cases, there was a need of some sort of exegesis to ‘translate’ Homer and Hippocrates into Koine Greek.³⁸ In mathematics, meanwhile, “definitions” (ὁροί) are set out at the beginning of many mathematical treatises. This search for definitions goes beyond Euclid, Archimedes, or Apollonius and reaches into astronomy (for example, Geminus’ *Introduction to the Phenomena*). In the mathematical sciences in particular, defining a technical lexicon becomes paramount because, whereas medicine prefers neologisms, mathematicians use many common words, which must therefore be precisely defined for the discipline. Yet no lexicography on mathematics ever developed. This can be interpreted in different ways: that there was less of a need for it (because it was a more specialized field), that there was a smaller lexicon, or that there was less confusion. I believe it was a combination of all three reasons, as I will explain below (§ 5.1). Interest in definitions is attested earlier for other technical fields too, as may be gathered from the examples of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* Δ and Aristoxenus’ *Harmonica* and *Rhythmica*. In fact, Aristoxenus even discusses the reason why certain notes are given specific, technical names (e.g., λεχάνος in *Harm.* 2, 47-49). Thus, if one of the staple ingredients of scientific and technical language is to be ‘self-conscious’ in establishing the specific (i.e., technical) meaning of its concepts by defining the terms used, then the Greek technical lexicon does qualify, and from early on.³⁹

Turning to (2), a technical lexicon, as a consequence of being recognized as belonging to a specialized field, should not be actively used (even when understood) by non-specialists.

name but borrow it from the [corresponding] parts in animals due to their similarity”); cf. TRIBULATO (2010) 486-487.

³⁸ On ancient medical lexicography, see VON STADEN (1992).

³⁹ See also THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 1, 1, 9.

Here we must distinguish between ‘common’ words that acquire a more specific meaning and neologisms or metaphors, which are likelier to be opaque to non-specialists. However, as we have seen, in the Greek scientific lexicon even neologisms and metaphors were more transparent to laypeople than modern technical terminology is. Thus, while the technical nuances of specific terms may have been known mainly to experts, I think that there was not such a divide between experts and laypeople, at least as far as a basic grasp of the terms’ etymological meaning is concerned.⁴⁰ Even so, there were cases of double terminology, one for insiders and one for outsiders; for example, Galen (*Meth. med.* 10, 423, 17-424, 2 Kühn) mentions the case of the term *κάταγμα* “fracture”, which was the word that everyone could understand, whereas the technical term *ἄπαγμα* was unknown to laypeople. Yet this seems to be mostly a question of use rather than understanding, since to a native speaker of Greek *ἄπαγμα* was as etymologically clear as *κάταγμα* (both being derived from *ἄγνυμι* “to break”, with the addition of *κατά* and *ἀπό* respectively).

By contrast, a lack of standardization, polysemy, and synonymy (3) are often observed in the technical lexicon of many fields of Greek science, even if there are some differences between medical and mathematical sciences. In medical terminology, polysemy and synonymy are often present.⁴¹ One term can thus be used for different organs (polysemy): for instance, *κερκίς* indicates the tibia in Herophilus (Ruf. *Onom.* 123 = Heroph. fr. 129 von Staden), but starting with Galen it is later also used to mean “radius” (e.g., Gal. *Anat. adm.* 1, 5 = 2, 245, 2 Kühn; *Oss.* Ia, 4 Garofalo = 2, 733, 11 Kühn;

⁴⁰ In fact, the necessity of being understood by laypeople is already apparent to the author of the *Ancient Medicine* 2, 3: *μάλιστα δέ μοι δοκεί περὶ ταύτης δεῖν λέγοντα τῆς τέχνης γνωστὰ λέγειν τοῖσι δημότησιν* “But to me it seems most important that in speaking about this art [i.e., medicine] one must say things that are understandable to laypeople”.

⁴¹ On this problem, see LANZA (1979) 116-117; LLOYD (1983) 160-167; SKODA (1988) 316-317.

Orib. 47, 6, 1);⁴² and κεφαλή, αὐχὴν, and πύλη are used to indicate many different internal parts of the body. There is also synonymy, as for example with the bronchi, which, as Rufus of Ephesus (c. 100 CE) explains, could be called βρογχίαι, σήραγγες, or ἄορταί.⁴³ Botany, like medicine, shows both polysemy (e.g., Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9, 16, 1-3, explaining that there are two plants called δίκταμνον “dittany”, beside one called ψευδοδίκταμνον “false dittany”) and synonymy (e.g., Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9, 8, 2: the “spurge” is called both τιθύμαλλος and μηκώνιον). In mathematics, the cases are more nuanced. A “point” can be called σημείον, but also πέρας “extremity” (of a segment), κέντρον “center” (of a circle or a sphere), μέσον “middle” (of a segment), κορυφή “top” (of a triangle or a cone). Similarly, a line segment can be named πλευρά “side” (of a polygon) or ἡ τοῦ κέντρου “the (line) from the center” (for a radius in a circle), but also βάσις “base” (of a triangle) or ἄξων “axis”.⁴⁴ However, the synonymy here is only apparent, because the object indicated by the different names is clearly different within the context. By the same token, the “radius” of a circle is ἡ ἐκ τοῦ κέντρου (γραμμή); yet when the construction of circles is described we always read κέντρῳ μὲν τῷ Α διαστήματι δὲ τῷ ΑΒ κύκλος γεγράφθω ὁ ΒΓΔ “let a circle, BCD, be drawn with a center, A, and a radius, AB” (Eucl. *El.* 1 *Dem.* 1). What has been translated with “radius” is διάστημα, meaning “interval”. The word indicates the radius *only* in this specific context, where reference is made to a circle, so that the two names (ἡ ἐκ τοῦ κέντρου and διάστημα) are contextual variants.⁴⁵ The only true synonyms in mathematics do not concern ‘real’ technical names but rather common (and hardly technical) words: for example, σχῆμα and εἶδος for “figure”, ἄγειν and

⁴² Cf. SKODA (1988) 33-34, 43-44, who also notes (p. 45) that in HIPPOC. Oss. 17 κερκίς indicates the fibula (usually called περόνη).

⁴³ RUF. *Onom.* 159: αἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν πλεύμονα ἀποφύσεις, βρογχίαι, καὶ σήραγγες, καὶ ἄορταί.

⁴⁴ Cf. FEDERSPIEL (1992) 398; also NETZ (1999) 108-113.

⁴⁵ Cf. FEDERSPIEL (2005).

ἀνάγειν for “to trace” (a line), and διαίρειν, τέμνειν, and διατέμνειν for “to cut” (a figure or a line). These uses generate no ambiguity.

With regard to the question of ‘systematicity’ (4), things are often difficult to determine because in many disciplines the evidence is limited, consisting only of fragments. However, in those texts which we do possess either in full or in a continuous – though perhaps not complete – form, we see at least an *effort* at being systematic. The case of Euclid is obvious, but the same is valid for Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* Δ, for Aristoxenus’ *Harmonics*, and for Geminus’ *Introduction to the Phenomena*, all of which seem to systematically ‘name’ all the objects or ideas they discuss.

Deciding whether this lexicon is expressively neutral (5) is not straightforward. One example that immediately comes to mind is the term ἱερὴ νοῦσος “sacred disease”, which was substituted by the Hippocratic physicians with the ‘neutral’ name ἐπίληψις or ἐπιληψία (although the title of the pertinent treatise remained Περὶ τῆς ἱερῆς νούσου).⁴⁶ But the more important question is how we evaluate metaphors, as these can be judgmental. As we have seen, metaphors in medical and mathematical terminology range from items of daily life to comparison with other natural/biological objects. I have not carried out a complete survey of metaphorical usages in the Greek technical languages, but the main driver behind the examples I have collected seems to be ‘visualization’ – as is generally true for Greek metaphors starting with Homer. Do these uses reveal a ‘judgment’? To me, they suggest an attitude of looking at nature as a domain where everything is connected, and where similarities are therefore readily found – which in turn can be seen as one of the characteristics of science.

⁴⁶ Theophrastus, too, speaks of ἱερὰ νόσος when talking about herbs that are useful against epilepsy (*Hist. pl.* 9, 11, 3).

5. The difference of mathematics

So far I have sought to emphasize the similarities between the medical and the mathematical sciences in terms of the strategies used to create their terminology and the reasons behind it. In the previous section I have also stressed that the scientific lexicons of medicine and mathematics have similar flaws, like the presence of synonymy, and that the specialists concerned display a similar self-conscious attitude. But there are also differences, and it is on these that I will now concentrate. I will do so focusing on mathematics, because in this field there are linguistic phenomena that significantly change the way in which the technical texts can be received by laymen.

5.1. *The 'economy' of the mathematical lexicon*

As we have seen, descriptive sciences like medicine, botany, zoology, and mechanics used common words, 'transparent' neologisms, and 'speaking' metaphors, which were rather easy to understand. Although their lexicon sounded technical, many of these texts could be read and understood by neophytes once they had familiarized themselves with the specific vocabulary. On the other hand, since these descriptive sciences build up a nomenclature in order to 'name' all the phenomena, items, etc. that pertain to a given discipline, their vocabulary is vast and in principle always expanding. In addition, the principle behind a classificatory nomenclature is that each term is used for a specific phenomenon/item and that there is little room for terminological predictability. In other words, even when knowing that an inflammation of the eyes is called *ὀφθαλμία*, I cannot reliably predict the term for an "inflammation" of the mouth (*στοματία? *στοματ-ῖτις? in reality, it is *στομαλγία*, at least according to Pollux 2, 101).

By contrast, mathematics works in a completely different way. Since it is a deductive science, the idea here is that once

the basic geometrical concepts are defined (ὅροι “definitions”) and some general “truths” are established (κοινὰ ἔννοιαι “common notions”), the rest can be rationally derived. This is exactly what we see in the mathematical texts, starting with Euclid, and it affects the lexicon as well. For example, once we have a τρίγωνον, it is pretty obvious what a τετράγωνον and a πεντάγωνον are, and we can even coin a new word like *ἑπτακαίδεκάγωνον for a figure with seventeen angles. Thus, while there are many terms in geometry, in fact they all derive from a small terminological basis, so that understanding and expanding the lexicon is relatively easy.

Most metaphorical names in mathematics were coined to name new curves or odd shapes, just as physicians would name a new organ. However, curves and odd shapes are to a certain extent unique and limited; for plane and solid figures, as we have just seen, the terminology is generated through compounds that are easy to understand (involving numbers, basic words, etc.). The lexicon of mathematics, therefore, is not different, but smaller than the lexicon of other descriptive sciences: it works by logical expansion from a rather limited number of key terms, whereas in the natural sciences each object has its own name and, in principle, no relationship to other objects.

To conclude, mathematical language is different from the language of the descriptive sciences not because it relies on different strategies or has a more specialized vocabulary; rather, it too uses common words, ‘transparent’ neologisms, and ‘speaking’ metaphors – while in fact having a less diversified lexicon. Yet there is something else that makes mathematics difficult, even though the latter relies on a vocabulary that is quite close to standard Greek. I will discuss this ‘something’ in the next two sections.

5.2. *From analogy to abstract visualization*

The main problem that affects mathematical texts, I suggest, is that while descriptive disciplines like medicine and botany

seem to stop at new coinages and metaphors to visualize their content, in the mathematical sciences we witness a further step into this analogical/visual terminology, which I call the transition from analogy to ‘abstract visualization’. The naming of the ellipse will show what I mean.

For the Greeks, the ellipse was the section of a cone or cylinder cut by a plane that is not parallel to the base:

ἐάν γάρ κώνος ἢ κύλινδρος ἐπιπέδῳ τμηθῇ μὴ παρὰ τὴν βάσιν, ἡ τομὴ γίγνεται ὀξυγωνίου κώνου τομή, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁμοία θυρεῶ.
(Eucl. *Phaen.*, *praef.*, p. 6, 5-8 Menge)

“For if a cone or a cylinder is cut by a plane that is not parallel to the base, the section is that of an acute-angled cone, which is similar to a shield.”⁴⁷

Here Euclid does not call the curve “ellipse” but says that it is similar to a shield, θυρεός. Since this latter word originally means “door-like”, it already involves a figurative reference to the term θύρα “door”: a θυρεός is an *oblong* shield, hence different from a round ἀσπίς. The analogy undoubtedly gives an idea of what an ellipse looks like.

The name “ellipse”, however, is due to Apollonius of Perga (third/second century BCE), who systematized the theory of conics in his *Conics* (of which books 1-4 survive in Greek, books 5-7 in Arabic, and book 8 is lost). Without reporting his long demonstration of what an ellipse is, nor explaining the difficult mathematical reasoning behind it, which is beyond the scope of this paper, I will refer to a diagram (Fig. 1) to show the origin of the name “ellipse”. In fact, to understand why the ellipse is called “ellipse”, one must start from the “parabola” (*Con.* 1, 11), another ‘new’ name given by Apollonius (alongside “hyperbola”).

Apollonius’ method is based on comparing the areas of the figures built on the coordinates of an arbitrary point on the

⁴⁷ For a discussion on the authenticity of the introduction of this treatise, see BERGGREN / THOMAS (1996) 8-13. Whether this passage is indeed by Euclid or not does not impact my argument; for the sake of clarity, however, I will still call its author ‘Euclid’.

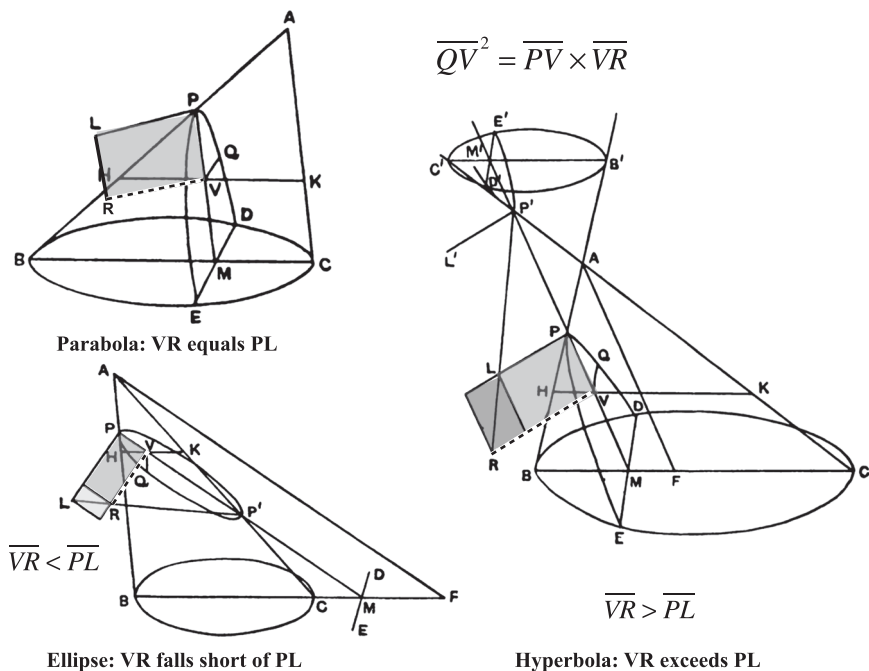


Fig. 1. Parabola, Ellipse, Hyperbola
(Apollon. Perg. *Con.* 1, 11-13)

curve (the “conic”) obtained by intersecting a cone with a plane. He compares the square described on the segment QV, which we would call the “abscissa” of the point on the conic, with the rectangle contained by what we would call the “ordinate” of the same point on the conic (the segment PV), and another segment PL, which he builds from the figures. In the case of the parabola (*Con.* 1, 11), one gets $QV^2 = PV \times PL$, which means that the square of QV, if “applied” ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$) to the segment PL (namely, if transformed in a rectangle with one side being PL), gives PV as the other side (the gray area in Fig. 1); from this comes the name $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ “application”. In the case of the ellipse (*Con.* 1, 13), Apollonius makes a similar

argument, but this time the square QV^2 if “applied” to the segment PL , needs a line segment VR shorter than PL in order to maintain PV as the other side and obtain $QV^2 = PV \times VR$, with $VR < PL$. Thus, the rectangle $PV \times VR$ (the gray area in Fig. 1) is smaller than (“falls short” of) the rectangle $PV \times PL$ (the gray area + the light gray area) – whence the name ἔλλειψις “defect”. A similar argument is made for the remaining curve (*Con.* 1, 12), except that in this case VR is longer than PL , so that the rectangle $PV \times VR$ (the gray area + the dark gray area) exceeds $PV \times PL$ (the gray area) in size – whence the name ὑπερβολή “excess”.⁴⁸

While Euclid’s description was rather easy to understand even for a neophyte, what about the Apollonian definitions? Here, the ellipse is no longer a ‘shield’ but the explanation of what one sees on the diagram. “Ellipse”, “parabola”, and “hyperbola” are still ‘speaking’ names, hence unproblematic to process from a linguistic point of view: their etymological meanings may be lost to us – also because conics are now defined utilizing different arguments –, but for a Greek it would have been obvious that ἔλλειψις meant “defect”, παραβολή “application”, and ὑπερβολή “excess”. Moreover, none of these terms was a neologism. They were all well-known and easily-understood Greek words. But are they easy to understand *mathematically*? I think it is obvious that they are not, even if they are all based on ‘visualizations’ of these objects, just like Euclid’s ‘shield’.

The point I would like to make is therefore that even if the term might have been clear from an etymological point of view, this would not necessarily translate into an understanding of *why* the name was given, as this required extensive mathematical training. This is where the mathematical lexicon, although based on the same principles and still aiming

⁴⁸ On the names of the parabola, ellipse, and hyperbola, see HEATH (1921) II 138; cf. also NETZ (1999) 100-101.

at visualization, becomes more technical and difficult – not because it is linguistically more technical, but because the very words imply some mathematical reasoning that may not be obvious.

5.3. *Visualizing mathematical objects: anaphoric articles, letters, and diagrams*

With conics we have seen how diagrams and demonstrations are integral parts of the naming of a geometrical object. In fact, this is a wider phenomenon typical of mathematical language.

The ‘technical’ names of geometric objects (e.g., σημείον, γραμμή, γωνία, κύκλος, τετράγωνον) are used by mathematicians in the so-called definitions, but in the demonstrations (theorems and problems), which form the real core of mathematical deductive reasoning,⁴⁹ another way of naming geometrical objects is often observed, and this works mainly at the level of syntax. For example, rather than simply being referred to as τὸ σημείον, a point is here named τὸ σημείον τὸ Α or τὸ Α σημείον or, in the most abbreviated form, τὸ Α, where Α is the letter that is given as the name of that point.⁵⁰ Similarly, we can have ἡ ΑΒ for “the (line passing through the points) Α and Β”, ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν ΑΒ, ΒΓ “the (angle formed by the lines) ΑΒ and ΒΓ”, ὁ ΑΒΓ “the (circle passing through the points) ΑΒΓ”, τὸ ΑΒΓΔΕ “the (polygon whose vertexes are the points) ΑΒΓΔΕ”, τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ΑΒ, ΒΓ “the (rectangle contained) by (the segments) ΑΒ and ΒΓ”. The complete linguistic phrase that lies behind an expression like τὸ Α is in fact τὸ σημείον τὸ ἐφ’ οὗ Α “the point upon which the letter Α is written”; and in the same way, τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ΑΒ, ΒΓ is to be understood as τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τμημάτων τῶν ΑΒ καὶ ΒΓ περιεχόμενον ὀρθογώνιον “the

⁴⁹ Cf. HEATH (1926) I 117-142; ACERBI (2007) 218-219.

⁵⁰ Α is thus always in attributive position, and *τὸ σημείον Α would be wrong; cf. ACERBI (2007) 269.

rectangle contained by the segments AB and BC".⁵¹ Even if this is brachylogic phrasing, for a Greek speaker the combination of article + preposition + letters would have been much more natural than for us, given the widespread use of the article to substantivize any prepositional phrase – so this form of expression would not have been unusual from a purely linguistic point of view.⁵² But this is not the end of the story.

The main 'characters' in these phrases are: definite articles, letters, and prepositions, and they all have an essential function. The article that is proposed to denotative letters has an anaphoric function of 'pointing' to the diagram where the letters are reported. So a sentence like *ἔστω τρίγωνον ἰσοσκελές τὸ ABΓ...* (Eucl. *El.* 1 *Dem.* 5) means "let there be an isosceles triangle, ABC", where *τρίγωνον ἰσοσκελές* is the subject conveying the indefinite 'general' idea of the geometric object, while the apposition *τὸ ABΓ* points to the 'real' geometrical object, i.e., the triangle depicted in the diagram.⁵³ The letters indicate the most important points of that line, plane, or solid figure, thus 'visually' identifying these objects in the diagram. With a similar function, prepositions situate in space all (definite) points, lines, angles, etc. and help to define their relative position (e.g., *ἡ πρὸς τῷ B* "the [angle originating] at the [point] B").

⁵¹ On the ellipsis of the noun and the difference of usage between the 'short' form (without the noun) and the 'long' form (with the noun) in this type of phrases, see FEDERSPIEL (1995) 281-285. Cf. also NETZ (1999) 133-136.

⁵² Logical relationships in mathematics are often expressed by syntactic means and specific formulae. I cannot treat these here, but it will suffice to say that both syntax and formulae, though strictly regulated, are not complex, as they are entirely made up of plain Greek words and constructions. However, there are sometimes problems with syntactic abbreviations: see FEDERSPIEL (2003), who takes into consideration the 'abbreviated syntagms' (those briefly discussed here) as well as the 'abbreviated clauses' (more complex and long forms of abbreviated phrasing, here omitted). On mathematical formulae, cf. AUJAC (1984); NETZ (1999) 127-167.

⁵³ The point is fully discussed and further exemplified in FEDERSPIEL (1995), who underscores the 'general law' that in mathematical texts the first occurrence of a geometric object is indefinite (i.e., general), hence the term indicating it is not accompanied by the article. Thus, in the example reported above the subject is *τρίγωνον ἰσοσκελές* and not *τὸ ABΓ*; cf. also ACERBI (2007) 293-295.

As is clear, this way of naming geometrical objects is strictly linked to the diagrams where the letters can be seen. While the diagrams in our manuscripts may not be original, the denotative letters prove that diagrams were an integral part of mathematical writing⁵⁴ and worked as visual aids for the reader to follow the demonstration. Denotative letters thus connect the general enunciation with the diagram, which represents only a particular case for didactic purposes, even if the demonstration has a general validity beyond the figure in the diagram. The use of denotative letters is therefore in a way parallel to that of metaphors. Both letters and metaphors help readers to ‘visualize’ the scientific phenomenon studied.

However, in these examples, and even more so in cases like the ones concerning conics discussed above, there is a fundamental difference in the way this ‘visualization’ is carried out. While metaphors point to something outside the discipline and known to the reader/audience, denotative letters are *self-referential*, as they point to a diagram that is still part of the same mathematical realm. This language is thus more difficult and technical because it is enclosed *within the same field* and does not go beyond it – although its ‘visual’ strategies are very similar to those of medicine. The fact that mathematics needs to be visual *within itself* is a consequence of it being an abstract and deductive discipline. Even so, the Greek mathematicians found a way to make it visual, though one requiring a prior understanding of mathematical concepts.

6. Reaching beyond the experts?

We may now wonder whether this distinction between descriptive and deductive sciences and their respective lexicons can explain what we find when we look at texts that aim at a wider audience. As is well known, technical didactic poetry

⁵⁴ On lettered diagrams in Greek mathematics, see NETZ (1999) 12-67 and 68-88.

such as that of Aratus and Nicander was very popular in the Hellenistic period. These poems were ‘best-sellers’, notably that of Aratus; and yet they are full of technical words, a fact which seems to have bothered the ancient public less than it would bother modern readers if they were faced with poetry on quantum mechanics or biology.⁵⁵ It looks as if people did not face insurmountable problems when reading poems full of technical terminology. I have tried to explain this phenomenon by stressing how relatively easy and ‘user-friendly’ Greek technical terminology was in every discipline. In addition, given the nature of Hellenistic poetry and its obsession with glosses and erudite details, reading Aratus or Nicander would not have been so different from reading, say, a passage from the *Aitia* or (worse!) Lycophron’s *Alexandra*.

Interestingly, however, all the instances of ‘popular’ poetry on technical subjects involve descriptive sciences. Even Aratus uses the technical terminology of astronomy, but only as far as mythical names are concerned. He does not deal with mathematical reasoning, nor does he use ‘real’ mathematical language.⁵⁶ For example, in order to describe the constellation of the Triangle (Δελτωτόν, another metaphor!) as an isosceles triangle he says that two of its sides are clearly equal to each other (*Phaen.* 235-236: ἰσαιομένησιν ἑοικὸς / ἀμφοτέραις [i.e., πλευρῇσιν]) – hardly a technical expression after Euclid’s *Elements*. Of course there is no trace of mathematical astronomy with denotative letters and diagrams here. Aratus’ poem thus deals with the ‘descriptive’ part of astronomy only, making it similar to medicine or botany.

And yet, there are some examples of mathematical poetry: e.g., several epigrams in book 14 of the *Palatine Anthology* (nos. 1-4, 6-7, 11-13, 48-51, 116-147) as well as the famous *Cattle Problem* attributed to Archimedes. However, these seem to be wholly different from the poems of Aratus and Nicander.

⁵⁵ Cf. FÖGEN (2003) 35-36, who however focuses on Latin authors.

⁵⁶ On the language of Aratus in general, cf. KIDD (1997) 23-32.

First of all, they are not didactic poems but ‘riddles’, which are left to the reader to solve. Second, they do not use any technical lexicon. The epigrams deal mostly with counting apples, nuts, talents, time (years, days, hours), weight (minae), and distances (stades),⁵⁷ and they are written in standard poetic Greek. Similarly, the *Cattle Problem* is about counting the cows of Helios.⁵⁸ While the epigrams are more about logistics in the ancient sense (i.e., calculation), the *Cattle Problem* is a real (and difficult) mathematical problem which was not solved until modern times.⁵⁹ Yet the language of the poem (just like that of the epigrams) is hardly technical but rather Homeric. So why was the mathematical technical lexicon not used in these compositions? The problem, I think, was that the real mathematical idiolect was not considered a proper medium for poetry because it moreover required external diagrams. What we have here are very difficult or even impossible problems, which are however expressed in plain language. I would even suggest that if they were composed by real mathematicians (and this is debated), they might have served to underscore the gap between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’: first, these poems propound riddles while offering no solution; second, they look like games, as if they were the pastime of serious practitioners, who ‘gave up’ their own language (i.e., reverted to standard Greek) and yet wrote something incomprehensible to outsiders – which, in effect, is another way of saying that mathematics was for the select few, with or without its own technical language.

The only exception to this state of affairs (at least to my knowledge) is the debated letter of Eratosthenes to King Ptolemy, transmitted by Eutocius in his commentary on Archimedes’ *On the Sphere and Cylinder* (III 88, 3-96, 27 Heiberg-Stamatis = IV 64, 5-69, 11 Mugler). This is a mixed text, in the form of a letter addressed to King Ptolemy III and aimed at presenting

⁵⁷ Cf. TAUB (2017) 39-49 and 135-143.

⁵⁸ Cf. TAUB (2017) 35-39.

⁵⁹ Cf. KNORR (1986) 294-295.

Eratosthenes' own solution of the famous problem of the doubling of the cube. The letter switches between genres. After the salutation, we find a quotation of an unknown tragedy telling of Minos, who had to build a tomb for his son Glaucus and wanted to 'double' it (hence the problem); a survey of past attempts to solve the problem by Hippocrates of Chios, Archytas, Eudoxus, Menaechmus; Eratosthenes' geometrical proof, followed by another mechanical proof (with a description of the instrument that is to be built); a note that these proofs had been inscribed on a monument built to memorialize the accomplishment; and finally Eratosthenes' own epigram to celebrate his feat, which was also inscribed on the monument. This is a very odd potpourri and has raised serious doubts about the text's authenticity.⁶⁰ The geometric part is purely technical and reads like any other text by Euclid or Apollonius. If it is authentic, it is a very odd piece indeed. Regardless, it is definitely not a text for 'outsiders' but rather addressed to one person only; Eratosthenes was not trying to 'reach out', but to brag about his own merits with his boss. The fact that the king might not have understood the proofs may have made Eratosthenes look even smarter.⁶¹ So although eccentric and doubtful, this letter too suggests that mathematical writing (whether for insiders or outsiders) aimed at being obscure, drawing a dividing line between those who understand and those who do not. Most interesting is the epigram (which is the only part generally considered authentic) (Eratosth. fr. 35 Powell, from Eutoc. *In Archim.* III 96, 10-27 Heiberg-Stamatis = IV 68, 17-69, 11 Mugler):

Εἰ χύβρον ἐξ ὀλίγου διπλήσιον, ὦγαθέ, τεύχειν
φράζεαι, ἢ στερεὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἄλλο φύσιν

⁶⁰ Starting with Wilamowitz; see KNORR (1986) 17-24, who however advances some good arguments in favor of authenticity; cf. KNORR (1986) 210-218 for a mathematical analysis. For further discussion of the text, see also TAUB (2008) and (2017) 55-71, as well as NETZ (2009) 160-163.

⁶¹ The same may be the case with Archimedes' *Sand-Reckoner*, dedicated to Gelon of Syracuse.

εὔ μεταμορφῶσαι, τόδε τοι πάρα, καὶν σύ γε μάνδρην
 ἢ σιρὸν ἢ κοίλου φρεϊάτος εὐρὺ κύτος
 τῇδ' ἀναμετρήσαιο, μέσας ὅτε τέρμασιν ἄκροις
 συνδρομάδας δισσωὶν ἐντὸς ἑλγης κανόνων.
 Μηδὲ σύ γ' Ἀρχύτew δυσμήχανα ἔργα κυλίνδρων
 μηδὲ Μεναιχμείους κωνοτομεῖν τριάδας
 διζῆται· μηδ' εἴ τι θεουδέος Εὐδόξοιο
 καμπύλον ἐν γραμμαῖς εἶδος ἀναγράφεται.
 Τοῖσδε γὰρ ἐν πινάκεσσι μεσόγραφα μυρία τεύχεις
 ῥεῖά κεν, ἐκ παύρου πυθμένος ἀρχόμενος.
 Εὐαίων, Πτολεμαῖε, πατήρ ὅτι παιδὶ συνηβῶν
 πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ Μούσαις καὶ βασιλεῦσι φίλα
 αὐτὸς ἐδωρήσω· τὸ δ' ἐς ὕστερον, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ,
 καὶ σκήπτρων ἐκ σῆς ἀντιάσειε χερὸς·
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς τελείοιτο, λέγοι δέ τις ἄνθεμα λεύσσω·
 Τοῦ Κυρηναίου τοῦτ' Ἐρατοσθένης.

“If, friend, you care to find from a small [cube] a cube double its size, or nicely to change any solid figure into another, this is in your power; you could measure a fold, a pit, the wide basin of a hollow well in this way, when you catch between two rulers [two] means converging with their extreme ends. Do not try the difficult business of Archytas’ cylinders or to produce by means of conic sections the triads of Menaechmus; not even if some curved form of lines is described by god-fearing Eudoxus. For in these tablets you could easily find a myriad of means, starting from a small base. Fortunate are you, Ptolemy, because, as a father equal to his son in vigor, you gave him all that is dear to the Muses and to kings. May this last in the future, heavenly Zeus, and may he also receive the scepter from your hands. Thus may this be and let anyone who sees this offering say: ‘this is of Eratosthenes of Cyrene’.”

While not using denotative letters, this passage does contain some technical lexicon (κύβος, στερεός, κύλινδρος, κωνοτομεῖν, γραμμή, μεσόγραφον, underlined in the Greek). But again, it does not explain the proof. Rather, it describes the past history of the problem and then celebrates Eratosthenes and praises the king. In a sense, this is the closest example to a ‘descriptive’ poem about mathematics. Equally, it is not a riddle, and yet from it one cannot learn much other than that there has been a series of failed attempts at solving the problem in the past.

Mathematics, it thus seems, cannot be learned without diagrams, denotative letters, and prose – and in order to get those, one has to dive in into the ‘real’ stuff. Only after learning the principles, with all their logical intricacies (including the prose), one also enjoy the poetic riddles, because at that point one may actually be able to solve them. But when mathematics tries to be descriptive and uses the technical lexicon without abstract visualization, it can only be a ‘history’ of mathematics – this being the only aspect of mathematics that non-specialists can understand.

7. Conclusions

The preceding analysis has shown that the use of common terms, new coinages (involving derivation and composition), and metaphors is not limited to medicine but shared by the other sciences (biology, mathematics, harmonics, and astronomy). It has also suggested that the lexicon produced through new coinages or metaphors/metonyms is in fact quite easy to understand from an etymological/visual point of view for any speaker of Greek.

Yet mathematics also employs what I have called ‘abstract visualization’, which tightly connects the text and the words in it to the diagram and the geometric demonstration. Because of this abstract and self-referential visualization, mathematical language becomes more technical – not in linguistic terms, but conceptually speaking.

This is one of the most important differences between the descriptive and the deductive sciences when we compare how they were received outside their respective circles of experts. While the relative transparency of much of the technical lexicon may explain the popularity of didactic poetry in the domain of the descriptive sciences (e.g., Nicander and the astronomy of Aratus), this difference may also explain the odd nature of mathematical poetry, which is very obscure without

using any technical terms. In a way, the impression one gets is that while didactic texts dealing with the descriptive sciences are 'accessible' despite their length and technical vocabulary, those engaging with the deductive sciences require an audience of people who have already learned the discipline 'from the inside': all that is left to the outsider is the history of the discipline.

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DISCUSSION

A. Willi: I find the distinction you draw between the creation of terminology in descriptive and deductive sciences extremely helpful and convincing; but at the same time I ask myself to what extent this is a distinction between two ‘opposites’ and not rather a sliding scale. When I think of ancient grammar and linguistics, it seems to me that this field partly aligns with your descriptive and partly with your deductive sciences. For one thing, one might perhaps compare expressions like τὰ εἰς νῦμι for “the verbs in -νῦμι” with something like geometrical ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν AB – of course what is at stake is not a diagram here, but it is at least some sort of an imaginary paradigm table. More importantly though, and to give just one example, when we have terms like μετοχή for “participle”, this is by no means transparent to someone who does not already know what the ‘participation’ implied by the term refers to: in order to understand it, one first needs to be aware of the fundamental distinction between nouns and verbs.

F. Schironi: Yes, you are right. Indeed there are ‘in-between cases’. Aside from grammar (which is a very good example I did not think of, although I have worked so much on the topic) I can think of astronomy and mechanics. In fact, the example of Aratus I gave was meant to illustrate exactly this. Astronomy can lean toward the deductive sciences when it is mathematical astronomy, but it can also be a ‘descriptive science’ when it is simply an illustration of constellations, their shapes, and their relative positions. Aratus treats astronomy only in the latter sense; indeed, the lack of mathematical analysis is one of the criticisms that Hipparchus will level against him, together with the fact that Aratus did not bother to carry out his own

empirical observations (Hipparch. *In Aratum* 1, 1, 8: οὐ κατ' ἰδίαν παρατηρήσας ἢ μαθηματικὴν κρίσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις προφέρεισθαι).

L. Prauscello: I would consider the example of ἄπαγμα not as a case of polysemy but simply as a case of hyponymy, with ἄπαγμα representing a 'specialised subset' of κάταγμα. The testimony of Oribasius seems to support this interpretation: *Coll. Med.* 46, 6: οὐχ ἕτερόν τι γένος πάθους ἐστὶ τὸ ἄπαγμα τοῦ κατὰγματος, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἄπαγμα.

F. Schironi: I listed it as a case not of polysemy but of double terminology, one for insiders and one for outsiders. As Galen and Oribasius testify, the term used by the outsiders (κάταγμα) was known by the insiders; yet, I am not sure that it is the same as saying that κάταγμα is more generic than the technical term ἄπαγμα, which would be the hyponym.

O. Tribulato: My question concerns the language of mathematics. Do you have evidence that technical compounds may have been alternating with 'phrasal terms', i.e., fixed phrases made of a noun and a specifying genitive, which have the same syntactic organization as the compound? I have briefly dealt with this phenomenon, a kind of 'compression', in my works on compounding and Langslow too identifies this feature as one of the markers of Greek medical language. I refer to forms such as ὀποβάλασμον alternating with the phrase ὁ ὀπὸς τοῦ βαλσάμου: theoretically, the latter is the starting point whereas the former is the univocal technical term derived from it. The thing that I always found interesting is trying to understand whether there is a rationale behind the alternating use of both naming strategies.

F. Schironi: I have not found anything like that so far. One reason may be that most mathematical compounds are either nominal, but without a modifying element that has the role of a specifying genitive next to the head (e.g., παραλληλεπίπεδον,

πεντάγωνον, δωδεκάεδρον, διάμετρος, περιφέρεια), or adjectival, so that the syntactic situation you describe is also excluded (e.g. ὀρθογώνιος, ἀμβλυγώνιος, ὁμόκεντρος, πολλαπλάσιος, ἰσοσκελής, ἑτερομήκης); cases like ἵπποπέδη where an alternation like the one mentioned by you might in theory be possible are rare, and they are so much terminologized that there is little scope for variation: a mathematical ἵπποπέδη is simply not the same as a ‘horse’s fetter’, and πέδη alone is not a mathematical term either.

Of course you can have enunciations in which the compound is explicitly clarified by another phrase, as in Eucl. *El.* 6 *Dem.* 5: Ἐὰν δύο τρίγωνα τὰς πλευρὰς ἀνάλογον ἔχῃ, ἰσογώνια ἔσται τὰ τρίγωνα καὶ ἴσας ἔξει τὰς γωνίας, ὅφ’ αἱ ὁμόλογοι πλευραὶ ὑποτείνουσιν “If two triangles have their sides proportional, the triangles will be equiangular and will have those angles equal which the corresponding sides subtend”. Similarly, Diophantus clarifies his compound κυβόκυβος “sixth power” as follows (*Arithm.* 1, *praef.* p. 4, 26 Tannery): ὁ δὲ ἐκ κύβου ἑαυτὸν πολυπλασιάσαντος ‘κυβόκυβος’ “the result of the cube multiplied by its own is the ‘sixth power’”.

But I think that in mathematics the closest parallel to the phenomenon of ‘compression’ that you are interested in is the alternation of ‘full’ phrases with specific terms indicating geometrical objects vs. brachylogic phrases where only denotative letters, articles, and prepositions are present, without the ‘head noun’. For example, Euclid starts *El.* 1 *Dem.* 1 with the full phrase: Ἐστω ἡ δοθεῖσα εὐθεῖα πεπερασμένη ἡ AB “Let a given finite straight line, AB, be given”, but then refers to the same “finite straight line” only with ἡ AB (ἴση ἐστὶν ἡ ΑΓ τῇ AB). The linguistic process is of course different but the idea of ‘compression’ behind it is similar.

A. Vatri: What are the earliest examples of denotative letters? Do we need to surmise that texts that contained them were accompanied by diagrams (e.g., Aristotle’s *De memoria et reminiscentia*)?

F. Schironi: The general consensus is that when there are denotative letters in a text, the latter was also accompanied by diagrams. So, in the case of Aristotle, we assume that there were diagrams in his texts, even if they are not preserved in the manuscripts. In Aristotle we also find the first secure attestation of denotative letters; however, we must distinguish two cases. Sometimes he uses denotative letters in a real mathematical/geometric context (e.g., *An. pr.* 41b15-22; *Cael.* 287b7-14; *Mete.* 363a34-364a4) – in this case we can assume that a diagram accompanied the text (or the oral lecture). However, Aristotle also uses denotative letters in logical treatises when he simply wants to indicate an undetermined entity or a quality (e.g., *An. pr.* 39a14-41a20 *passim*; *An. post.* 79a33-81a34 *passim*). In this case, obviously, the letters did not refer to a diagram. As for *De memoria et reminiscencia*, which you mention, I tend to consider the first case (452a17-26) a non-mathematical use (so no diagram accompanied the text), but the second one (452b15-22) a more geometric use, since Aristotle speaks of ‘proportional’ segments and of construction. These distinctions are of course partly subjective; for example, Einarson (“On Certain Mathematical Terms in Aristotle’s Logic”, *AJPh* 57 [1936] 33-54 and 151-172, at 156-159) understood cases like *An. post.* 84b3-14 as more ‘geometrically’ oriented than is usually assumed.

Before Aristotle, the only possible case of denotative letters being used in connection with diagrams is the fragment of Hippocrates of Chios reported by Simplicius (*In Phys.* 1, 2, pp. 60, 22-69, 49 Diels). But this is difficult to assess because Simplicius is quoting from Eudemus, and so we do not know whether the letters were original or added later by Eudemus, who was a pupil of Aristotle. I would however lean toward their originality because otherwise it would be impossible to follow the demonstration, which seems to be reported as Hippocrates of Chios wrote it.

L. Prauscello: I have a broader question about the intended readership of technical literature, in particular mathematical

texts. To what kind of readers did they reach out or gesture? Often mathematical texts have extended and quite sophisticated prefaces (see, e.g., the example of Eratosthenes you quote) to powerful addressees (kings etc.): rhetorically, there seems to be a double bind technique, so to speak: the mathematical authors somehow present their texts on the assumption that the contents will be understood, but at the same time they proudly proclaim the autonomy/difficulty of their disciplines.

F. Schironi: Yes, I agree. There is a tension in many mathematical texts between the prefaces, which are very personal and often present the text as ‘easy’ to non-specialists (e.g., Archimedes to Gelon in the *Sand-Reckoner*, Eratosthenes in his epigram to Ptolemy III on the doubling of the cube, or the proem of Hipparchus’ *Commentary* to Aratus), and the treatise itself, which is highly technical and written in a very impersonal style, typical of mathematical prose. I think this might be part of the ‘game’ I hinted at: it is a way to impress the reader, who (as in the case of Ptolemy and Gelon) is or might also be the patron. A different case is when the preface is addressed to another mathematician, as with the many prefaces of Archimedes to Eratosthenes or Dositheus, or of Apollonius to Eudemos. In this case, the personal touch and the claim that the addressees will be able to follow are justified, because the text circulated among connoisseurs.

F. Dell’Oro: Par rapport aux termes techniques que tu appelles ‘métaphoriques’ et qui renvoient à l’aspect de l’objet à décrire, je me demande si on ne pourrait pas parler de ‘mécanisme iconique’, vu que, comme tu l’as justement dit, la métaphore dans ces cas ne renvoie pas à la fonction (d’une partie du corps, comme, par exemple, les omoplates appelées *πλάται* “rames”), mais seulement à leur aspect extérieur. Même dans le cas des maladies (*κράκινος* “crabe” et “cancer”) la signification ne se fonde sur rien d’autre que sur une image.

F. Schironi: Yes, in the cases you mention the metaphor is iconic because it insists on similarity of aspect. However, when we have metaphors or figurative terms that focus on the function of the organ/bone (e.g., πυλωρός, πόρος) it is not the 'aspect' which is the focus but the 'function' that the body part has – so the question is really to decide what we mean by 'iconic' metaphors: are they only those metaphors which focus on the external similarities (i.e., the aspect) or do they include metaphors which 'visualize' other elements like, for example, the function of organs or bones?

A. Cassio: Your decision not to take a diachronical approach to the vocabulary used by the Greeks for each scientific field is understandable, given the enormous amount of materials and problems involved. Yet, as far as medicine is concerned, one should not forget that one of the main aims of the impressive bulk of Hippocratic lexicography was to elucidate an incredible amount of vocabulary that had been rendered obsolete by the passage of time. All I want to do now is to draw attention to some of the remarkable complications posed by the old and respected Hippocratic terminology, since the physicians of Hellenistic and Roman times had to struggle with many words found in the *Corpus* whose meaning was far from obvious. This is clear from, e.g., various entries in Erotianus' *Vocum Hippocraticarum collectio* and numerous passages in Galen. To give only two or three examples, in the Hippocratic writings some perfectly obvious words could be used with a special meaning, very different from the usual one, like e.g. κάτοπτρον "mirror" for "probe" (Erotianus p. 56, 5 Nachmansohn κάτοπτρον· ἡ μηλωτής). At times the same medicinal/poisonous plant was called by different names in different dialects and areas, as with "hemlock" being called κραμβίον in Sicily (Erot. p. 55, 2 Nachm. κραμβίον· Σικελοὶ τὸ κώνειον οὕτω καλοῦσι) and κάμμορον or κάμαρον in Magna Graecia (Erot. p. 51, 16-18 Nachm. Ζήνων ὁ Ἡροφίλειος κάμμορον ἢ κάμαρόν φησι καλεῖν τὸ κώνειον τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Δωριεῖας). These local terms had found their way into

the old medical writings, and after centuries it was necessary to explain what they meant. Problems were occasionally also posed not by medical terminology but by non-technical words that had become obsolete, like the adjective θαμινός “frequent” (Erot. p. 44, 10 Nachm. θαμινά· πυκνά). Interestingly enough, some obsolete Ionic terms could be familiar to physicians from the Homeric text (e.g., δέρτρον “peritoneum”, Hom. *Od.* 11, 579, Hippoc. *Epid.* 5, 1, 26), but often things were not as simple as that: Galen felt obliged to explain that μελεδών in Hippocrates meant “attention, concern”, while it meant “anxiety, distress” in Homer (*Dictionum exolet. Hippocr. explicatio* 19, 121 Kühn: μελεδών ἢ ἐπιμέλεια, οὐχ ὡς παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ ἢ λύπη).

Hundreds of special cases show that in Imperial times the Hippocratic corpus was still authoritative, but far from easy to understand correctly, not so much because the terms were technical, but because both technical and non-technical ones had fallen into disuse.

F. Schironi: Thank you, Albio, for this addition. You are of course correct in claiming that with Hippocrates it is not only a question of technical lexicography but also one of old-fashioned terms which are no longer understood in later times, exactly as happens with the Homeric *glossai*. This is definitely the case with non-technical words like μελεδών or θαμινός, but also with κάτοπτρον, since Galen, for example, uses μηλωτίς, which is the gloss used by Erotianus for κάτοπτρον, or with the dialectal variants of κώνειον. Not having adopted a diachronic approach to the question in this article, I did not look at this aspect, but of course this is something I will work on for my broader project on scientific language.

However, now that you bring up the question of Hippocratic lexicography, I also wonder whether its development might not also be due to the fact that, unlike with Euclid, in the Hippocratic corpus there are very few definitions, or they are scattered in the corpus, so that the need was felt to collect all these odd names and give them definitions.

L. Huitink: Although I agree with your thesis that ‘technical’ mathematical language is less transparent than that of other realms of knowledge, such as medicine, I wonder just how ‘transparent’ the latter really is. Take your example *περόνη*. I absolutely agree that the origin of this term, which is used for a small bone in the leg, is to be found in the (vague) physical resemblance between a thin bone and a “pin”. However, how much does that help me when I am not a schooled student of medicine? For, within medicine, *περόνη* is the term for a specific bone, which allows me to distinguish it from, for example, the *κερκίς* and other bones. In other words, within the semantic field of “bones”, *περόνη* fulfills a highly specific function. Would you agree that this is in fact what makes *περόνη* a properly *technical* term, the origin of which in a very different semantic field is no longer that important?

F. Schironi: I see your point and agree that when the term was used by doctors and among doctors it clearly became technical and most likely lost any ‘metaphorical’ underpinning. However, my point was mostly about how such a lexicon would have been perceived by ‘outsiders’. To them, ignorant of skeletal anatomy, *περόνη* may have sounded ‘more familiar’ (because it was a common name of a rather common object) than to a modern layperson *fibula* does, which is simply a bone – and the name itself does not remind the layperson of anything else, unless this person knows some Latin. Of course, this is speculative because we cannot interview any Greek speaker of the Classical or Hellenistic periods, but the number of ‘common’ words reused to name anatomical parts and organs is so overwhelming that in my view we can indeed conclude that this lexicon sounded less esoteric and more visually ‘suggestive’ to Greek laypeople than the modern medical lexicon sounds to us. This of course does not mean that a layperson would have known what the bone called *περόνη* looked like ‘in reality’ – yet the word was more suggestive to him/her than *fibula* is to us.

A. Willi: Perhaps one could construct an additional argument in favour of the overall transparency of at least medical terminology from the fact that in the scene with the fake doctor in Menander's *Aspis* the figure is not characterised by the use of 'complicated' words, as might be the case in a modern comedy with a 'doctor' in it, but by the use of a particular dialect (Doric) – so the implication seems to be that in order to be taken seriously as a doctor, it would help to adopt the language of the medical schools in Cos or Cnidus, whereas the knowledge of a specialist lexicon is less of a determining factor.

F. Schironi: Yes, this is definitely a very good point. He is a fake because he does not speak Ionic but rather Doric. Interestingly, Italian *commedia dell'arte* too characterizes a 'doctor' in dialectal terms: Dottor Balanzone speaks Bolognese dialect because Bologna was a renowned university, the most ancient one in Italy (and in the whole of Europe). So here Dottor Balanzone is not a fake doctor but rather the caricature of a doctor, with the right dialectal accent.

I wonder, however, whether this is a specific choice of Menander and not necessarily the only way to 'make fun' of doctors. I think that one could also make fun of technical language by using lexicon, just as happens in Aristophanes' *Clouds* with music and meter at ll. 638-654; I have no problem in thinking that a similar accumulation of (transparent) medical terms would have achieved a similar comic effect. Similarly, a dialogue based entirely on a distorted theory of humors, the four elements, and concoctions would also have been comical if crafted in a comic/exaggerated vein, as happens in *Clouds* with geometry/geography at ll. 202-217, with Chaerephon's research on mosquitoes at ll. 156-164, or with linguistics at ll. 658-693; in all of these passages there is little technical lexicon, but the comic pseudo-scientific target is quite evident. In other words, I think that these are two different strategies of making fun of a doctor, either using the dialect or using an excessive accumulation of technical terms, because both a specific dialect

and a specific lexicon (though one more transparent to laypeople than the modern medical lexicon) were typical characteristics of medical language. In fact, in the *Aspís* too, we have a limited use of technical lexicon connected with the doctor's art (τᾶς ἐμᾶς τέχνας at l. 461): τὰν χολάν/τᾶς χολᾶς at ll. 439 and 451 and φ]ρενῖτιν at l. 446.

S.D. Olson: In contemporary English, technical terms are routinely based on Greek or Latin. You argue throughout that the Greeks had instead a far more 'visual' system for generating such terms. My own sense is that you implicitly take this way of operating to be superior to our own, because more transparent. The way they formed new words is in any case very different from how we proceed, and it has different social effects. But I wonder whether it might not be useful to borrow the idea Luuk has raised in his contribution of verbal technology, i.e., the notion that language is not merely a fixed set of capabilities (although it is that) but also a process that human beings experiment with and sometimes improve upon. What we would see with the Greeks, then, are some initial efforts to work out how to generate new words in an environment of rapid cultural and technical change, hobbled in their sense by the lack of shadow prestige languages – or perhaps an unwillingness to use what was available in older 'barbarian' tongues. If so, we might be able to characterize them as not just working in parallel with us but as our cultural ancestors in this regard.

F. Schironi: Yes, I agree. I am not claiming that a 'visual' technical lexicon is *per se* better than our scientific lexicon, in which technical words are marked out as technical because they are mostly based on Greek and Latin roots. In fact, I do not think that a visual or 'easier' lexicon is better when it comes to technical language. One of the risks of such a lexicon is the lack of precision, which indeed we know Greek technical terminology faced. I also agree with you that the lexical situation I describe is indeed a process, in which the Greeks needed to

'name' a great deal of new discoveries in several fields, and to do that they did not have any other 'authoritative' language to use to differentiate the new technical lexicon from standard Greek, as is the case with modern technical lexicons in many disciplines. So what I have briefly described here is the beginning of technical terminology (at least in the Western tradition), and we can see it as a continuum from the Greeks to us. In this process we witness a move from a monolingual, rather 'transparent' lexicon to a mostly Latin- or Greek-based lexicon, which clearly distinguishes itself from standard language.

A. Vatri: A point on your example from Aratus: the Latin versions of this text (Cicero, Germanicus, and Avienus) do not translate the name of the constellation but just borrow it from Greek (*Deltoton*); an explanation of the origin of this name is added by Cicero (who mentions the name of the letter) and Germanicus (who refers to the Nile delta – a different metaphorical use of the letter name). Can the reception of didactic poetry by Roman intellectuals educated in Greek tell us something about what would and what would not be perceived as a technical term?

F. Schironi: I think it would help in understanding how it was perceived. But I would not be surprised if in many cases the 'technical' term was borrowed and transliterated as in the case of *Deltoton*. However, there are also cases of names of constellations that are translated into Latin, for example *Δίδυμοι*, which becomes *Gemini* (Cic. *Arat.* fr. XXII; German. *Arat.* 148, 163, etc.), or *Ἀρκτοι* and *Ἀμᾶξι*, which Germanicus translates as *siue Arctoe seu Romani cognominis Vrsae / Plaustraque* (*Arat.* 25-26), where *Arctoe* is a transliteration of *Ἀρκτοι*, *Plaustra* is the translation of *Ἀμᾶξι*, and *Vrsae* is the pure Roman name. Often the choice between a transliteration, a translation, or the Roman name is also connected with an etymological reference, which the Latin author wants to maintain (e.g., German. *Arat.* 329-332, with *Sirium*) or to add (in the case of new

Roman names or literal translations from the Greek into Latin; e.g., Cic. *Arat.* 121 with *leuipes* *Lepus* instead of Λαγῶς). These different tactics in appropriating a technical name seem to suggest that the choice often depended on purely poetical needs or stylistic choices more than on the need or desire to create a technical lexicon that was partly Greek-based and partly Latin-based. This is even more true since these texts were aimed at readers who were mostly bilingual and so would not have had any problem in enjoying the sophisticated etymological play with Greek transliterations, Latin calques, or translations.

F. Dell'Oro: Quel est le rôle des emprunts d'autres langues dans la constitution du lexique des langues techniques que tu nous as présentée?

F. Schironi: The mathematical sciences do not show any imprint from other languages. Medicine too seems to be mainly Greek-based. The one field that shows borrowings from other languages is botany, where we have Semitic-derived words such as, for example, the following ones, all used by Theophrastus: λίβανος, σμύρνα, κασία, κινάμωμον (*Hist. pl.* 9, 4, 2, etc.), and κύμινον (*Hist. pl.* 1, 11, 2). In this case, however, we are not dealing with the adoption of Semitic words by a scientist; rather the scientist uses common words, some of which happen to be borrowed from another language (for example, κασίη, κινάμωμον, and σμύρνη occur in Hdt. 3, 107, 1; 3, 110; and 3, 111; μύρρα and κασία in Sappho fr. 44, 30; σμύρνη in Eur. *Ion* 89 and 1175; λίβανος in Sappho fr. 44, 30, Hdt. 4, 75, 3, Eur. *Bacch.* 144; and κύμινον is attested even in the Linear B tablets as *ku-mi-no/na*). In other words, when Greek technical language goes for new coinages, these are always based on Greek words and roots, except in the case of common words, some of which might be loan-words from other languages, especially Semitic ones.

VII

S. DOUGLAS OLSON

FROM 'CANONICAL' LITERATURE TO ALCIPHRO

ABSTRACT

This paper undertakes a detailed examination of the language of four of Alciphro's *Letters of Farmers* and argues that the source of much of the learning on display is likely not the primary texts themselves but secondary scholarship. The *Letters* can thus be understood as important evidence for how 'canonical' literature was received in the so-called 'Second Sophistic' period, and indeed for what that 'canon' was.

In his initial charge for these *Entretiens*, Andreas Willi described their goal as "exploring to what extent our understanding of literature in the Greek world is enriched if, for once, we see in its language not just a diffuse recording instrument, but an artistically manipulated tool for the creation of meaning". In this paper, I attempt to tie together the handling of a number of 'canonical' works of Greek literature by Hellenistic and Roman-era lexicographers with the *Epistles* of Alciphro, from the third century CE or so, with particular attention to some of the *Letters of Farmers*. Exploring Alciphro's work in this way, I argue, offers insight into his literary style and training and his expectations of his audience, while also shedding light on a largely obscure chapter in the history of the ancient reception of earlier literature.

As a preliminary example of the question I am attempting to address, consider a single three-word phrase from section 3 of *Epistle* 2, 19 (discussed in more detail below), τρίτην ταύτην

ἡμέραν, literally “this the third day”, i.e. “two days ago, the day before yesterday”. This is a relatively rare expression, attested once in Menander in precisely this form (although divided across two verses)¹ and as simple ἡμέραν τρίτην in Xenophon, Plato, Antiphanes, and Menander again;² glossed by Pollux and Zonaras, the latter seemingly drawing on Orus and citing the passages of Xenophon, Antiphanes, and Menander;³ and used three more times by Alciphro, multiple times by Lucian in the form τρίτην ἡμέραν, and once by Aelian in the form τρίτην [...] τὴν ἡμέραν.⁴ Put another way, τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν is a patent Atticism, which has been mined out of various fifth- and fourth-century Athenian texts by ancient scholars and taken over by ‘Second Sophistic’ authors.⁵ In what follows, I show that similar vocabulary drawn from similar sources appears again and again in the *Epistles*,⁶ a point rarely made in the secondary literature in anything more than general terms, obscuring what Alciphro is doing and what he expects from his readers. More important, I argue that much of this literary and social color likely comes not direct from Middle and New Comedy or other texts from the same period, as is generally but again often only vaguely asserted,⁷ but from what we today would call secondary

¹ MEN. fr. 894.

² THUC. 8, 23, 1; XEN. *Cyr.* 6, 3, 11; ANTIPHAN. fr. 276 K.-A.; MEN. *Epit.* 440.

³ POLL. 1, 67; ZONAR. p. 1744 Tittmann = ORUS fr. A 79 Alpers.

⁴ ALCIPHRO. 1, 1, 1; 2, 18, 1; 2, 30, 1; cf. 3, 28, 1. In LUCIAN. at e.g. *Tox.* 58; *Dial. deor.* 14, 1. In AELIAN. at *NA* 7, 10.

⁵ For the so-called ‘Second Sophistic’ movement and the political and cultural anxieties that drove it, see esp. BOWIE (1970).

⁶ SCHMID (1887-1897) is the standard reference, but is so dense as to be almost unusable and in any case omits discussion of Alciphro. VIEILLEFOND (1979) 126-129 offers scattered specific remarks on the topic.

⁷ KÖNIG (2013) 187 n. 1 lists recent treatments of Alciphro’s sources or supposed sources, none of them substantial. See also FUNKE (2016), esp. 224-229, who attempts to trace the influence of Menander in Alciphro, but ultimately concedes that the links have to do mostly with language and plot-motifs rather than specific allusions to or reworkings of individual known texts. The classic discussion is VOLKMANN (1886), who again mostly establishes generic rather than specific connections in the language.

scholarly sources, and that a familiarity with learning of that sort and an appreciation of virtuoso displays of it must have been a vital part of reading and enjoying Alciphro and authors like him.⁸ A considerable amount of sophisticated work has been done on the *Epistles* over the last twenty years or so, concentrating on their character as letters, on the communicative strategies and ironies that result from putting exceedingly refined words in the mouths of seemingly unrefined characters, and on the relationship between the text and standard Second Sophistic rhetorical exercises.⁹ My goal is not to disallow or replace observations made on the basis of such readings of the *Epistles*, but to supplement and set them in context, allowing us to see more of Alciphro and to gain a better understanding of the literary and scholarly traditions that lie behind his work.

To make the implications of the argument clear, I begin with some remarks about the history of Attic comedy, its scholarly reception in the ancient world, and how that scholarship appears to have been put to use in the Second Sophistic period. At least a thousand comedies were likely performed in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries alone, although only eleven by Aristophanes have come down to us through the manuscript tradition, along with a handful of others by Menander, some of them more or less complete, preserved in papyri. Beyond this, we have thousands of fragments, most of them quoted by authors of the Roman and Byzantine periods. The scholars working in Alexandria and in other centers of learning influenced by the Library generally have quite specific interests, many of which we today would describe as 'antiquarian': producing lists of historical persons ranging from politicians to philosophers to prostitutes, and of whatever information could be gleaned about them; catalogues of e.g. fish and how they were caught and prepared (cf. the work of the otherwise obscure

⁸ Thus also SCHMITZ (2004) 101-102, referring specifically to POLL. 1, 96-98 on fishing vocabulary, but not taking the discussion much further than this.

⁹ See esp. ROSENMEYER (2001) 255-307; SCHMITZ (2004); KÖNIG (2007); KÖNIG (2013), esp. 197-205; VOX (2013); DRAGO (2018).

Dorion, which likely supplied most of the material for Athenaeus Book 7), cups (whence much of Athenaeus Book 11), and wreaths (whence portions of Athenaeus Book 15); collections of legal and political terms and their definitions (cf. what survives of Harpocration) and of apothegms (represented today by the corpus of paroemiographers); and most significant for this paper, studies of vocabulary in 'good authors' however defined (whence much of the material in Pollux and in the mostly lost or severely epitomized Atticist lexicographers). Comedy was particularly useful for such purposes, since it talks in detailed, graphic terms about individual persons, food, drink, furniture, and the like, and uses colorful, colloquial language. This enormous enterprise of reading, research, and excerpting appears to have been carried out in the conviction that the texts and periods in which the Alexandrians and their academic descendants were interested were deeply significant, or at any rate more significant than their own times. Homer in particular *mattered*, as did texts from late fifth- and fourth-century Athens, and whatever the original point of all this scholarly excerpting, list-making, and glossing was, a large part of why Homer and fifth- and fourth-century literature came to matter for aspiring Roman-era sophisticates was because the latter often aspired to write or speak in 'good classical Greek'.

One means to that end was to read widely and carefully in ancient authors, so as to develop a sense of appropriate vocabulary and style and an ability to refer casually to important figures, events, and institutions from the past. Practically speaking, extensive research and study of this kind must not have been an option for most people, both because it required a library and a considerable investment of time and because the judgments in question depended on substantial scholarly expertise. The obvious alternative was to rely on others, i.e. on one's teachers but also on handbooks such as those of Moeris and Phrynichus, which offered advice as to what the proper Attic term was for various *koinê* words, or on thesauruses like that of Pollux. That such learning could be badly applied or taken too

far is apparent from Athenaeus' anecdotes about Pompeianus of Philadelphus, who used to say things like "I'm hastening off to destruction" (ἀπολούμενος ἐπείγομαι) when he meant "I'm hurrying off to take a bath",¹⁰ from Lucian's satire of the learned Lexiphanes, who committed similar blunders, and from the boorish behavior of Athenaeus' symposiarch Ulpian, who was nicknamed *Keitoukeitos* because he always asked κείται ἢ οὐ κείται; ("Is this mentioned anywhere [in 'good literature'] or is it not?") when food was presented to him.¹¹ But the goal appears to have been to display one's elegance and sophistication by using Greek nominally appropriate to an educated contemporary of Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, or Menander, all leavened with a bit of Herodotus, Homer, or whatever else the individual in question or his scholarly masters regarded as a 'classic'. This high-stakes antiquarianism in turn implies the existence of a reading and listening public keenly attuned to such distinctions and able to appreciate the presence of an otherwise obscure *mot juste*, the use of an approved combination of particles or a well-chosen image, or a knowing allusion to a famous text or institution.

In what follows, I use a close study of four of the *Letters of Farmers* to argue that – whatever their other meanings and purposes – Alciphro's *Epistles* can be productively read as stylistically oriented exercises whose wit consists not just in their charmingly colorful depictions of socially marginal and generally put-upon fictional characters, but in their insistent, highly wrought use of language and antiquarian information of the sort Hellenistic and Roman-era scholars were concerned to assemble and analyze. Indeed, this can easily be understood as one of the central points of the *Epistles*; their seeming lack of substantial content disguises an extraordinary intellectual busyness just below the surface of the text which contemporary readers were concerned with and well-equipped to detect. My

¹⁰ See ATH. 3, 97f-98c.

¹¹ ATH. 1, 1e.

larger contention is that much of this learning or apparent learning is to be traced to scholarly sources and school training rather than to a profound immersion in the original texts themselves. Two methodological points must be made in advance. The first is that the loss of most ancient Greek literature makes our task more difficult. In a number of cases, I argue that Alciphro references – likely at second hand – a specific passage of e.g. Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, or Demosthenes. If this is in fact part of his method of composition or of the nature of his sources, there must be other, similar allusions we are no longer in a position to identify. The saving grace is that our canon – not coincidentally – appears to overlap to a substantial extent with the one with which Alciphro and his contemporaries and predecessors were working. We have the two great Homeric epics; Herodotus and Thucydides; a considerable number of plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes; a large amount of Lysias, Demosthenes, Plato, and Xenophon; and thousands of comic fragments, mostly selected precisely for their value as evidence for fifth- and fourth-century language, customs, and historical events and persons. That Alciphro and the secondary authorities he knew and relied upon had more of some of these authors and their contemporaries than we do thus does not leave us entirely in the dark. Second, the lexicographic tradition itself is badly battered, as a consequence of which I can demonstrate conclusively only in a few cases that this is the source from which Alciphro got his material. Instead, I will routinely cite Homer and fifth- and fourth-century texts, on the one hand, and Alciphro and to a lesser extent Lucian, Aelian,¹² and Philostratus (who seem to work in a similar manner), on the other, and will argue that the links between the two bodies of material leave little doubt as to

¹² For the relationship between Aelian and Alciphro, see REICH (1894) 26-45; BONNER (1909) 32-44, arguing that the two authors drew independently on older literary sources (which Bonner assumes both studied at first hand), with comments in the second section regarding Alciphro and Longus (responding to REICH [1894] 46-50); DRAGO (2013).

how they are connected. This means that I will occasionally resort to speculation, that some of the arguments I advance are stronger than others, and that many points remain obscure. But the case I am building is cumulative, and I hope to show that there are so many certain examples of such appropriation that we should assume it even when the evidence is not entirely clear.

I begin with Alciphro 2, 19 (Polyalsos to Eustaphylus), discussed briefly above, and in particular with sections 3-4, where the evidence is denser and more interesting than in the first two sections, allowing the rest of the letter to be read in light of the pattern they establish:

(1) Πλαγγών δὲ τὸ (2) Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον, ὃ (ἐ)τρέφομεν (3) ἄθυρμα τῇ δεσποίνῃ προσηνές, ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν (4) λιχνείας ἐπὶ τὸ κρέας ὀρυῆσαν κεῖται σοι (5) τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν (6) ἐκτάδην νεκρὸν ἤδη (7) μυδῆσαν. ἔλαθον οὖν (8) ἐπὶ κακῷ κακὸν (9) ἀναρριπίσας. καὶ τίς παρὰ τῷ (10) σκυθρωπῷ τῶν τοιοῦτων συγγνώμη; φευξόμεθα (11) ἢ ποδῶν ἔχομεν, (12) χαιρέτω δὲ ὁ ἀγρός καὶ (13) τὰμὰ πάντα. (14) ὦρα γὰρ (15) σώζειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ μὴ (τὸ) (16) παθεῖν ἀναμένειν ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι.

"Little Plangon, however, the Maltese puppy we were raising as a pet to please my mistress, rushed too greedily at the bait, and now, you see, it lies outstretched, already a mouldering corpse, dead for two days now. So, unawares, I heaped trouble on trouble. And what mercy will be found in the old churl's heart for such offences? Good-bye to the farm and all my possessions! It's time to save my own skin and, instead of waiting for trouble, to take measures before it arrives."¹³

(1) Πλαγγών is a personal name in Demosthenes as well as the name of a notorious prostitute in late fourth-century Athenian comedy.¹⁴ Alciphro's choice of it is thus most easily read as a bit of antiquarian color, particularly since it shows up again in the *Epistles* at 4, 13, 12, where it belongs to a courtesan. (2) A

¹³ Translation adapted from BENNER / FOBES (1949), as also below.

¹⁴ DEM. 9, 3; ANAXIL. fr. 22, 8 K.-A.; the title of a play by Eubulus; TIMOCL. fr. 27, 2 K.-A.

Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον is mentioned also by Philostratus, three times by Aelian, and twice by Lucian, always in precisely this way, as well as by a number of other Roman-era authors.¹⁵ This thus looks like an Atticist trope, the earliest mention of such dogs being in Aristotle and Theophrastus.¹⁶ (3) ἄθυρμα in the sense “toy, source of childish delight” is attested in early epic and subsequently in Sappho and Euripides.¹⁷ Put another way, this is a poetic rarity, the sort of word one might expect a lexicographer to pick up. The combination with τρέφω, on the other hand, is *not* standard, but appears also once in Philostratus and once in Aelian.¹⁸ That seems unlikely to be coincidence, and this is probably a prescribed combination based on a now-lost exemplar. (4) λιχνεία is attested before the Roman period only in Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, and Aeschines Socraticus.¹⁹ This must thus have been identified as ‘good Attic vocabulary’, in support of which one may note that Lucian has it seven times, Aelian twice.²⁰ Whether the combination with ἄγαν is also intended as an Atticism is unclear, although LSJ *s.v.* “with a substantive” (with definite article) includes only Attic examples. (5) τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν, another Atticism, is discussed above. (6) Adverbial ἐκτάδην is attested twice in Euripides,²¹ but nowhere else before the Roman period, when it appears three more times in Alciphro and twice in Lucian.²² In all these

¹⁵ PHILOSTR. *Imag.* 2, 17, 13; AEL. *NA* 7, 40; 13, 42; 16, 4; LUCIAN. *Symp.* 19; *Philops.* 27 (always specifically κυνίδιον Μελιταῖον); also PLUT. *Mor.* 472c; STRAB. 6, 277 ὅθεν τὰ κυνίδια ἂ καλοῦσι Μελιταῖα; AESOP. *Fab.* 75, 3 H.-H. Μελιταῖα κυνίδια.

¹⁶ ARIST. *Hist. an.* 612b10 τὸ μέγεθος ἡλίκον Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον τῶν μικρῶν; cf. [ARIST.] *Pr.* 892a21; THEOPHR. *Char.* 21, 9 κυναρίου δὲ Μελιταίου.

¹⁷ E.g. *Il.* 15, 363; *H. Cer.* 16; SAPPH. fr. 44, 9 L.-P.; EUR. fr. 272 Kannicht.

¹⁸ AEL. *NA* 6, 29 (from Phylarchus); PHILOSTR. *Imag.* 2, 17, 13.

¹⁹ E.g. XEN. *Oec.* 1, 22; PL. *Resp.* 519b; ARIST. *Part. an.* 660b9; AESCHIN. *SOCR.* fr. 34, 7 Dittmar.

²⁰ E.g. LUCIAN. *Merc. cond.* 24; *Lex.* 25; AEL. *NA* 7, 34; 13, 2.

²¹ EUR. *Tro.* 463; *Phoen.* 1698 ἐκτάδην σοι κεῖσθον.

²² ALCIPHR. 3, 15, 4 ἐκτάδην κεῖσθαι νεκρόν; 3, 19, 7 ἐκτάδην κείμενος; 3, 36, 4 ἐκτάδην κεῖται; LUCIAN. *Dial. mort.* 12, 5 ἐκτάδην κείμενον; 17, 2 ἐκτάδην ἐκείμην.

cases, the adverb is associated with a form of *κεῖμαι*, as in this passage, and here it has the dative as well, as in *Phoenissae*. There can thus be little doubt that this is another prescribed expression and that Alciphro is (consciously or not) echoing Euripides, although with no obvious larger point. (7) *μυδάω* (literally “be damp”) is a rare verb of interest to the lexicographers.²³ It seems to be used of a dead body before the Roman period only at Soph. *Ant.* 410 *μυδῶν τε σῶμα*, but then appears in that sense not only here but also at 1, 20, 2 and in Lucian.²⁴ While this might be coincidence, more likely both authors found the use discussed and approved of in some secondary authority. (8) *κακὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ* is a matter of a different sort. The phrase appears repeatedly in later authorities as a gloss on *πῦρ ἐπὶ πυρί* at Pl. *Leg.* 666a, and given Alciphro's general fondness for gnomic material, it is tempting to think that – like the other ‘wise sayings’ that fill his work – it is drawn from a paroemiographer.²⁵ Whether that means that “Evil upon evil” was already found in now-lost classical sources, or its mere presence in a secondary source, even if as a gloss, was good enough for Alciphro to take it over, is unclear. (9) *ἀναρριπίζω* appears also at 4, 8, 2, as well as three times in Lucian and once in Athenaeus.²⁶ Phrynichus seems to have been interested in the word, as was whatever lexicographer (excerpted in Photius) cited Pherecrates fr. 27 K.-A., and Pollux treats it as well.²⁷ This creates the impression that the word – also preserved in fragments of Antiphanes and Demades²⁸ – was regarded as an

²³ HSCH. μ 1783 *μυδῶντες· διυγραίνοντες· σηπόμενοι*, 1784 *μυδῶσι· σεσημένους; Synag.* μ 285 *μυδῶντες· βρέχοντες, διυγραμμένοι, σαπέντες.*

²⁴ LUCIAN. *Philops.* 11; *Dial. mort.* 12, 5 *μυδῶντα [...]* *κατὰ νόμον ἀπάντων τῶν σωμάτων* “mouldering in the manner of all bodies”; cf. AEL. *NA* 15, 18 ἢ *σάρξ μυδήσῃ.*

²⁵ For *πῦρ ἐπὶ πυρί*, note AR. fr. 469, 2 K.-A.; Pl. *Leg.* 666a with ZENOB. 5, 69 = PHOT. π 1562 (etc.) (= PAUS. ATT. π 45) *παροιμία, ἥς μέμνηται καὶ Πλάτων· κακὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ.*

²⁶ LUCIAN. *Anach.* 21, 26; *Tim.* 6; ATH. 13, 570a.

²⁷ PHRYN. *PS* fr. 219* de Borries (from Photius = *Suda* = *Synag.* ~ Hsch.); PHOTO. α 1638, citing PHERECR. fr. 27 K.-A.; POLL. 6, 129.

²⁸ ANTIPHAN. fr. 200, 16 K.-A.; DEMAD. fr. 78.

Attic rarity and was used by Alciphro and his contemporaries on that account. (10) σκυθρωπός is attested first in Aeschylus and then in Euripides, Aristophanes, Xenophon, and Plato.²⁹ It appears elsewhere five times in Alciphro, repeatedly in Lucian, and in Aelian,³⁰ all of whom clearly use it to create the impression of a good colloquial style. (11) Alciphro has ἤ ποδῶν ἔχειν (“as fast as one can”) also at 3, 36, 4, and Aelian uses the same – otherwise unusual – expression repeatedly.³¹ This is thus most easily explained as a taught phrase modeled on Herodotus³² and here perhaps specifically Pl. *Grg.* 507d ἀκολασίαν δὲ φευκτέον ὡς ἔχει ποδῶν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν “each of us must flee licentiousness as fast as his feet will carry him”. (12) χαίρετω in the sense “A long goodbye to”, i.e. “Enough of!, To hell with!” is attested in Herodotus, Euripides, and comedy³³ and seems to be a late fifth-century colloquialism. Lucian also has it twice,³⁴ suggesting that this was another taught expression. (13) Although τὰ μὰ πάντα seems unremarkable, it is attested only four times: here, in Lucian, in Philostratus,³⁵ and at Eur. *Supp.* 1126. The latter is thus most likely the model for the Roman-era passages. (14) ὦρα (ἔστι) plus infinitive is found twice in Homer and then (as LSJ notes) “also in Trag(edy) and Attic”. Alciphro has the expression at two other points;³⁶ Lucian and Aelian use it;³⁷ and it is tempting to think that this too was a taught expression.

²⁹ AESCH. *Cho.* 738; e.g. EUR. *Alc.* 797; AR. *Lys.* 707; XEN. *Mem.* 2, 7, 12; e.g. PL. *Symp.* 206d.

³⁰ ALCIPHR. 1, 13, 3; 3, 28, 2; 3, 36, 2; 4, 2, 3; 4, 7, 8; e.g. LUCIAN. *Pisc.* 12; *Merc. cond.* 33; AEL. *VH* 14, 22; *Epist.* 15, 23; ARISTAENET. 1, 17, 16-17.

³¹ AEL. *NA* 2, 39 ἡ ποδῶν ἔχει φυγῆς ἄρχεται; 3, 21 ἡ ποδῶν εἶχεν ἀνέθει; 6, 48 ὡς εἶχεν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ποδῶν; 10, 48 οἱ μὲν ἔθρον ἡ ποδῶν εἶχον.

³² HDT. 6, 116, 1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθουν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ “the Athenians lent aid to the city as fast as their feet would carry them”; 9, 59, 2 ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστοι εἶχον “they pursued as fast as each group’s feet would carry them”.

³³ E.g. HDT. 2, 117; 4, 96, 2; EUR. *Med.* 1044; MEN. *Epit.* 573; PHOENIC. fr. 4, 2 K.-A.

³⁴ LUCIAN. *Herc.* 8, 2; *Gall.* 33, 4.

³⁵ LUCIAN. *Dial. mort.* 18, 1; PHILOSTR. *VA* 5, 38.

³⁶ ALCIPHR. 2, 32, 3; 3, 5, 2.

³⁷ E.g. LUCIAN. *Iud. voc.* 6, 10; *Iupp. trag.* 14; AEL. *VH* 1, 21; 2, 34.

(15) Alciphro uses σώζειν ἑαυτόν also at 3, 11, 2, which suggests that he thought he had good authority for the expression. Both passages appear to be specific echoes of Pl. *Grg.* 512d ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ, τὸ σώζειν αὐτόν "but this is virtue: to save oneself". Whether the quotation is drawn from Plato himself or has come to Alciphro through a secondary authority is uncertain; the line is memorable enough to have drawn notice in either case. The same is true of (16) παθεῖν ἀναμένειν ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν φυλάσασθαι, which quotes and then alludes to Dem. 19, 224 ἐκλελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ παθεῖν ἀναμένειν τὰ δεινὰ, ἐτέρους δὲ πάσχοντας ὀρῶντες οὐ φυλάττεσθαι "you seem to me to have grown slack and to be waiting to suffer terrors, and although you see others suffer them, not to be protecting yourselves", a passage picked out for discussion also by Hermogenes and Tiberius.

This is only the first half of *Epistle* 2, 19, and these are only the echoes and allusions to earlier texts we can see today. It is nonetheless striking how much of Alciphro's language has been taken over from earlier authors and in ways that suggest not so much a witty 'Hellenistic' allusiveness as a careful, concerted effort to use authorized vocabulary, constructions, and references easily understood as drawn from lexicographic sources or the like. Put another way, Alciphro 2, 19, 4 does not appear to be commenting on or 'playing with' Plato and Demosthenes but to be quoting them – perhaps better put, reusing their language – in a primarily stylistic exercise. A similar impression is created by the first two sections of the letter:

(17) πάγην ἔστησα ἐπὶ τὰς (18) μισαράς ἀλώπεκας (19) κρεάδιον τῆς (20) σκανδάλης (21) ἀπαρτήσας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπολέμουν τὰς (22) σταφυλάς, (23) καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰς (22bis) ῥάγας ἐκοπτον (23bis) ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ (24) ὀλοκλήρους ἀπέτεμον τῶν (22tris) οἰνάρων τοὺς βότρους, ὁ δεσπότης δὲ ἐπιστήσεσθαι (25) κατηγγέλλετο – ἀργαλέος ἄνθρωπος καὶ δριμύς, (26) γνωμίδια καὶ προβουλευμάτια (27) συνεχῶς ἐπὶ (28) τῆς Πνυκὸς Ἀθηναίους εἰσηγούμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη διὰ (29) σκαιότητα τρόπου καὶ (30) δεινότητα ῥημάτων (28bis) ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔνδεκα ἀγαγὼν – δείσας μὴ τι πάθοιμι κἀγὼ (31) καὶ

ταῦτα τοιοῦτου <τοῦ> δεσπότου ὄντος, τὴν (32) κλέπτειν ἀλώ-
πεκα συλλαβῶν ἐβουλόμην παραδοῦναι. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οὐχ ἦκε.

"I set a trap for those cursed foxes, with a bit of meat tied to the trigger. They were raiding the vines, not only chewing at the grapes but going so far as to bite whole clusters off of them; and it was reported that my master was about to arrive – he is a harsh and bitter man, who is continually proposing trifling decrees and resolutions to the Athenians on the Pnyx and who, by his rough ways and skillful oratory, has previously sent many a man to the Eleven. So since I was afraid, especially considering what sort of man my master is, that something might happen to me as well, I wanted to catch the thieving fox and turn it over to him. But the fox never came near the trap."

(17) *πάγη* is found four times in Herodotus and subsequently in Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle,³⁸ and is easily explained as having been picked up by Alciphro as fifth/fourth-century vocabulary. (18) *μιαρός* is attested already at *Il.* 24, 420, but is extremely rare before the fifth century and then common in comedy, Plato, and Demosthenes.³⁹ It is also common in Alciphro, as well as in Lucian,⁴⁰ both of whom apparently regard it as "good colloquial vocabulary". *μιαρός* and *ἀλώπηξ* are combined elsewhere only at *Ar. Thesm.* 1133 *μιαρὸς ἀλώπηξ, οἷον ἐπιτήχιζέ μοι*. Whether the echo is significant is impossible to say, but there is no obvious direct reference to the Aristophanic passage (where the reference is to a deceptive woman) and Alciphro may have got the combination, but divorced of its original context, from a secondary authority. (19) and (21) Diminutive *κρεῖδιον* (also once in Aelian and glossed by Pollux)⁴¹ and the compound *ἀπαρτάω* are fifth/fourth-century Attic vocabulary⁴² and likely appear in Alciphro for that

³⁸ E.g. HDT. 2, 121; subsequently at XEN. *Cyr.* 1, 6, 39; PL. *Leg.* 824; ARIST. *Mir.* 834a9.

³⁹ E.g. AR. *Eq.* 239; PL. *Resp.* 589e; DEM. 18, 134.

⁴⁰ ALCIPHR. 2, 2, 1; 2, 16, 3; 2, 21, 1; 3, 3, 1; 3, 26, 4; 3, 36, 2; e.g. LUCIAN. *Iupp. trag.* 19; *Tim.* 34.

⁴¹ AEL. *NA* 2, 47; POLL. 6, 33.

⁴² *κρεῖδιον*: e.g. AR. *Plut.* 227; XEN. *Cyr.* 1, 4, 13; CEPHIS. fr. 8 K.-A.; ALEXIS fr. 180, 2 K.-A. Also HIPPOC. *Epid.* 7, 3, 38 = 5, 372, 4 Littré. *ἀπαρτάω*: e.g.

reason. (20) *σκανδάλη*, by contrast, is found only here and in late Byzantine sources. *σκανδάληθρον* would seem to be expected, being attested at Aristophanes and then in Pollux (twice) and perhaps in Phrynichus.⁴³ That would make that form of the word an Atticism, and – to move briefly into hypothetical argument via analogy – it is tempting to think that *σκανδάλη* has come to Alciphro through a source no longer available to us and thus that it too has a good classical pedigree, although in this case one we cannot see.⁴⁴ (22) *σταφυλή* is attested in early epic⁴⁵ and is rare outside of it. *ῥάξ*, by contrast, appears to be Attic,⁴⁶ as is *οἶναρον* (also picked up by Timaeus in his *Lexicon*).⁴⁷ This section of the *Epistle* thus looks like a learned cluster of related vocabulary drawn from a source similar to whatever lies behind Poll. 1, 243 ἀμπέλου σταφυλαὶ καὶ βότρυες, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν αἱ σταφυλίδες καὶ αἱ σταφίδες “grapevine clusters (*staphulai*) and bunches of grapes, and from these words grape-bunches (*staphulides*)”; 6, 21 ἀπὸ δ' οἶνου καὶ οἰνάνθαι αἱ ἄμπελοι καὶ οἶναρα τὰ φύλλα “from wine (*oinos*) grapevines are *oinanthai*, and the leaves are *oinara*”. (23) The combination καὶ οὐ μόνον is found in Thucydides, the orators, Xenophon, and Plato,⁴⁸ but not before them. Lucian has it three times, once followed by ἀλλ' ἤδη καί but generally by ἀλλὰ καί, as in the classical period, while Aelian has it five times, generally with ἀλλὰ καί or a variant thereof.⁴⁹ All this suggests that the phrasing was tagged as an Atticism and as worthy of imitation. The same is true of the

EUR. *Andr.* 412; THUC. 6, 21, 2; XEN. *Eq.* 10, 9; DEM. 12, 7; ARIST. *Gen. an.* 716b29.

⁴³ AR. *Ach.* 687; POLL. 7, 114 (both in reference to mousetraps); PHRYN. PS fr. 351* de Borries *σκανδαλήθρα· καὶ σκάνδαλα λέγουσιν* (from Photius).

⁴⁴ But see the discussion that follows.

⁴⁵ E.g. HOM. *Il.* 18, 561; *Od.* 5, 69.

⁴⁶ SOPH. fr. 398, 2 Radt; PL. *Leg.* 845a; e.g. ARIST. *Hist. an.* 552b20; e.g. THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 3, 17, 6.

⁴⁷ E.g. CRATIN. fr. 269, 2 K.-A.; XEN. *Oec.* 19, 18; THEOPHR. *Caus. pl.* 5, 4, 1. Cf. TIM. *Lex.* ο 2.

⁴⁸ THUC. 8, 68, 4; e.g. XEN. *Mem.* 1, 7, 2; e.g. PL. *Symp.* 206a; ISAE. 2, 43.

⁴⁹ LUCIAN. *Iud. voc.* 11 (followed by ἀλλ' ἤδη καί); *Vit. auct.* 23; *Laps.* 2; e.g. AEL. *NA* 16, 20; *VH* 3, 13.

combination ἀλλ' ἥδη καί, which is also found in Attic prose⁵⁰ but not before. (24) ὀλόκληρος is fourth-century Attic vocabulary, common in comedy and in Plato and Aristotle.⁵¹ Lucian has it twice,⁵² suggesting that it too was treated as approved vocabulary. (25) καταγγέλλω is first attested in Xenophon and Lysias,⁵³ and is perhaps used by Alciphro on that basis. (26) γνωμίδιον is attested three times in Aristophanes⁵⁴ and thereafter first here and in Lucian.⁵⁵ Even more striking, Lucian also has the phrase γνωμίδα καὶ προβουλευμάτια, and προβουλευμάτιον is attested nowhere else. Alciphro and Lucian are thus almost certainly drawing the combination of words from the same – presumably Atticist – source, and προβουλευμάτιον must have been attested somewhere in fifth- or fourth-century literature, most likely (given the diminutive form and the deteriorative sense) in comedy. (27) συνεχῶς is an Atticism, used for example by Eupolis, as we know from Photius,⁵⁶ showing that the word was of interest to the lexicographers. (28) ἐπὶ τῆς Πνυκὸς and ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔνδεκα are bits of Attic topographic/political color of the sort one would expect to be drawn from a source similar to Harpocration, and an example of what Schmitz calls “material classicism”.⁵⁷ (29) σκαϊότης is fifth/fourth-century vocabulary,⁵⁸ and Lucian has it as well,⁵⁹ suggesting that it was recognized as such. That σκαϊότητα τρόπου is an echo specifically of σκαϊότητα

⁵⁰ THUC. 6, 86, 4; XEN. *Cyr.* 8, 8, 16; ISOC. 4, 140.

⁵¹ In comedy at e.g. PL. *COM.* fr. 188, 9 K.-A.; ANAXANDR. fr. 40, 10 K.-A.; in Plato at e.g. *Phdr.* 250c; in Aristotle at e.g. *Hist. an.* 585b36.

⁵² LUCIAN. *Macr.* 2; *Philops.* 8.

⁵³ XEN. *An.* 2, 5, 38; LYS. 25, 30.

⁵⁴ AR. *Eg.* 100 (with βουλευμάτιον, diminutive of βούλημα “purpose, plan”); *Nub.* 321; fr. 727 K.-A. (from Phrynichus).

⁵⁵ LUCIAN. *Par.* 42.

⁵⁶ EUP. fr. 485 K.-A. (drawn from PHOT. σ 754). But see the discussion, where this claim is challenged and rephrased.

⁵⁷ SCHMITZ (2004) 92-93. For the Pnyx, see also ALCIPH. 3, 25, 3; e.g. LUCIAN. *Bis acc.* 9. For the Eleven, e.g. LUCIAN. *Bis acc.* 5; *Iupp. conf.* 16 with *scholia*; *HARP.* α 167; π 21.

⁵⁸ SOPH. *Ant.* 1028; HDT. 7, 9, 2, β; THUC. 4, 80, 3; PL. *Resp.* 411e; DEM. 6, 19 σκαϊότητα τρόπων.

⁵⁹ LUCIAN. *Tim.* 44.

τρόπων at Dem. 6, 19 is worth considering, given that the words never occur together elsewhere before the Roman period. (30) δεινότης is likewise fifth/fourth-century vocabulary,⁶⁰ in this case attested exclusively in Attic prose, and Demades actually refers once to Demosthenes' δεινότης τῶν ῥημάτων.⁶¹ Once again, moreover, Lucian has the word, in this case seven times.⁶² (31) Exclamatory καὶ ταῦτα (properly "and at that!") is another Atticism, which is used repeatedly by Alciphro as well as by Lucian.⁶³ Here it seems to be *misused*, which might be taken to suggest dependence on a half-understood model or handbook. (32) κλέπτεις, finally, is found before this only in Herodian, who knows it as an accentual oddity. But Herodian has got the word from somewhere, meaning that Alciphro has not invented it but has taken it over from a literary source.

Whether the points made above render Alciphro's *Epistles* more intriguing reading is a matter of individual taste. The analysis nonetheless suggests that among the interests of the letters may have been not only what they say but also how they say it in terms of vocabulary, phrasing, and incidental references. Behind this style of writing, moreover, seem to lurk not so much primary sources as learned collections of 'good' words, expressions, and constructions drawn from or authorized by authors such as Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato, Demosthenes, and the comic poets; paroemiographers; and historians of the quotidian details of Athenian life in the classical period and of the associated vocabulary. And all of this implies an audience similarly familiar with such material and capable of appreciating how it is put to use, although with no obvious interest in original context. Compare 2, 24 (Gemellos to Salakonis):

τί ταῦτα, ὦ (1) Σαλακωνίς, (2) ὑπερφηανεῖς (3) τάλαινα; οὐκ ἐγὼ σε εἰς (4) τοῦργαστήριον καθημένην παρὰ τὸν (5) ἀκεστήν τὸν (6) ἑτερόποδα ἀνειλόμην, (7) καὶ ταῦτα (8) λάθρα

⁶⁰ E.g. THUC. 3, 59, 1; ANTIPH. 5, 5; PL. *Tht.* 177a; ISOC. 3, 43.

⁶¹ DEMAD. fr. 79 (of Demosthenes). But see the discussion.

⁶² E.g. LUCIAN. *Alex.* 4.

⁶³ E.g. AR. *Ach.* 349; e.g. ALCIPHRO. 2, 24, 1; 2, 26, 2; e.g. LUCIAN. *Iupp. trag.* 6.

τῆς μητρός, καὶ καθάπερ τινὰ (9) ἐπὶ κληρον (10) ἐγγυητὴν ἀγαγόμενος ἔχω; σὺ δὲ φρυάττη, (11) παιδισκάριον εὐτελές, καὶ (12) κιχλίζουσα καὶ μωκωμένη με (13) διατελεῖς. (14) οὐ παύσῃ, τάλαινα, τῆς ἀγερωχίας; ἐγὼ σοι τὸν ἐραστὴν δεῖξω δεσπότην καὶ (15) κάχρυσ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν φρύγειν ἀναγκάσω, καὶ τότε (16) εἴσῃ παθοῦσα (17) οἱ κακῶν σου τὴν ἐνέσεισας.

“Why, Salakonis, are you so disdainful, wretch? Didn’t I carry you off when you were sitting in the workshop with the lame tailor, and without my mother knowing it at that? And aren’t I now keeping you as if you were an heiress to whom I am engaged? But you, you cheap little slave, puff yourself up and go on tittering at and mocking me. Put a stop to your insolence, wretch! I’ll show you that your lover is your master, and I’ll force you to roast barley in the countryside; then you’ll know by sad experience the sort of trouble you’ve plunged yourself into.”

For the modern reader, this is a disturbing letter – Gemellos has paid good money for Salakonis and is writing to express his outrage that she is unenthusiastic about him forcing himself upon her sexually. The ugliness of the situation becomes even more obvious in *Epistle* 2, 25, in which Salakonis writes back to say that she loathes Gemellos’ hairy body and foul breath and has decided to hang herself rather than submit to him again. As for the language with which Gemellos expresses himself and its apparent sources: (1) Σαλακωνίς is from σαλάκων, which Aristotle uses for a pretentious person, while Hermippus has σεσαλακωνισμένην in his *Iambs* and Aristophanes uses the compound διασαλακωνίζω.⁶⁴ The scattered evidence thus suggests that this is ill-attested Attic vocabulary – precisely the sort of expressive rarity one would expect a lexicographer to collect – and it thus cannot be an accident that Alciphro also has cognate σαλακωνία at 4, 18, 4. (2) ὑπερηφανέω is a Homeric rarity⁶⁵ and then shows up in Hellenistic and Roman-era authors,

⁶⁴ E.g. ARIST. *Eth. Eud.* 1233b1 σαλάκων; HERMIPP. *Iamb.* 5, 2 West σεσαλακωνισμένην; AR. *Vesp.* 1169 διασαλακωνίσσον.

⁶⁵ A Homeric *hapax* at *Il.* 11, 694 ταῦθ’ ὑπερηφανέοντες.

presumably on that basis; Pollux disapproves of it,⁶⁶ which shows that its status was a matter of discussion and presumably that some authorities recommended it, while others did not. For my purposes the word is interesting because it points to another stratum of learning – Homeric vocabulary, also a topic of intense Hellenistic and Roman-era scholarly inquiry – on display within the *Epistles*. (3) *τάλαινα* is typically tragic vocabulary, from which it is taken over occasionally into comedy.⁶⁷ Alciphro has the word again in this same letter and three more times as well, while Lucian uses it once.⁶⁸ (4) *ἐργαστήριον*, a generic word for a commercial workspace, is first attested in Herodotus, Attic prose, and comedy,⁶⁹ and seems to be an example of a rare word of the type a lexicographer might pick up. (5) *ἀκεστής* is attested in the classical period only at Xen. *Cyr.* 1, 6, 16; that the word was judged interesting by Hellenistic and Roman-era scholars is apparent from the fact that Pollux mentions it and Phrynichus identifies it as an archaism for common *ἡπήτης*.⁷⁰ This is thus a clear example of a rare Atticism making its way from a fourth-century author to the lexicographers, and from the lexicographers to second- and third-century authors, as witness the fact that Lucian also has *ἀκεστής* not just once but four times.⁷¹ (6) *ἐτερόπους* is attested before this only in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*,⁷² a text written in a pointedly Attic style, meaning that neither Alciphro nor Philostratus is likely to have coined it. The closest parallel appears to be *ἐτερόφθαλμος* ("one-eyed"), which is used by three fourth-century Athenian authors and was of interest to

⁶⁶ POLL. 9, 146 τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τὸ ὑπερηφανεῖν οὐκ ἐπαινῶ.

⁶⁷ In tragedy at e.g. AESCH. *Ag.* 1247; SOPH. *El.* 450; EUR. *Supp.* 941; *Hipp.* 841. In comedy at e.g. AR. *Thesm.* 690.

⁶⁸ Also ALCIPHR. 2, 14, 2; 4, 5, 1; 4, 9, 5; cf. LUCIAN. *Dial. meret.* 12, 2.

⁶⁹ HDT. 4, 14, 1. In Attic prose at e.g. XEN. *Hell.* 3, 14, 7; AESCHIN. 1, 124; DEM. 25, 52. In comedy at AR. *Eq.* 744; ANTIPHAN. fr. 22, 3 K.-A.

⁷⁰ POLL. 7, 42; PHRYN. *Ecl.* 64 Fischer.

⁷¹ LUCIAN. *Fug.* 17; *Pseudol.* 9; *Nigr.* 25; *Dial. D.* 18, 1.

⁷² PHILOSTR. *VS* 1 p. 515, 7.

Phrynichus (who approves of it).⁷³ The obvious conclusion is that this is another rare Attic word recommended by the lexicographers on the basis of an original from the classical period that no longer survives. (7) I have already discussed καὶ ταῦτα, which in this case is used correctly. (8) The combination λάθρα [...] μητρὸς is attested elsewhere only at Soph. *OT* 787 λάθρα δὲ μητρὸς καὶ πατρὸς πορεύομαι “I made my way in secret from my mother and my father”, a sufficiently famous text that it is easy to believe that Alciphro or his source is referring directly to it. Be that as it may, λάθρα + a genitive object with a definite article is otherwise restricted before the Roman period to one appearance in Xenophon, one in Plato, and λάθρα τῇσδε γῆς “in secret from this land” in Euripides.⁷⁴ Lucian, meanwhile, has λάθρα τῆς Πηνελόπης,⁷⁵ suggesting again a taught sense of ‘good style’ shared with Alciphro. (9–10) ἐπίκληρος is a technical Athenian legal term, the sort of word one would expect to be collected by an authority like Harpocration. It is used three other times by Alciphro, including at 1, 6, 1 with ἐγγυητῆς as part of a quotation of the Attic marriage formula, and is patently a deliberate antiquarian touch.⁷⁶ ἐγγυητῆς for its part is attested first in Herodotus and is then extremely common in, although not confined to, Attic prose;⁷⁷ Lucian and Aelian both have it.⁷⁸ (11) παιδισκάριον εὐτελές seems to recall Men. *Mis.* fr. 2, 1 παιδισκάριόν με καταδεδούλωκ’ εὐτελές “a cheap little slave girl has enslaved me”, which is one of only two known instances of the noun in the classical period and appears to be echoed also in Clement of Alexandria’s *Miscellanies* 2, 15, 64 and Arrian’s *Digest* of Epictetus 3, 25, 6, making it clear that the passage was well-known. Lucian has παιδισκάριον at

⁷³ ἑτερόφθαλμος; DEM. 24, 140; e.g. ARIST. *IA* 714a7; DEMAD. fr. 32. Cf. PHRYN. *Ecl.* 107 Fischer μονόφθαλμον οὐκ ἐρεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἑτερόφθαλμον.

⁷⁴ XEN. *Cyr.* 6, 4, 2; PL. *Lys.* 211a; EUR. fr. 1132, 38 Kannicht.

⁷⁵ LUCIAN. *Ver. hist.* 2, 29.

⁷⁶ Also ALCIPHR. 3, 22, 2; 3, 28, 4.

⁷⁷ E.g. HDT. 1, 196, 3; ISAE. 3, 78 ἡ ἐγγυητὴ γυνή.

⁷⁸ AEL. fr. 103; LUCIAN. *Hermot.* 77; *Vit. auct.* 1; *Catapl.* 10.

Dial. mort. 22, 7, suggesting again that he regarded the word as good classical vocabulary. (12) *κίχλίζω* and *μωκάομαι* appear together at two other points in Alciphro and in the same order,⁷⁹ making this something like a fixed phrase for him and likely one he was taught. *κίχλίζω* is attested first in Aristophanes and appears in Aelian in a thematically related passage.⁸⁰ Moeris disapproves of the verb, which leaves no doubt that its status as good Attic vocabulary was a matter of interest to the lexicographers.⁸¹ *μωκάομαι* is not attested in what survives of Attic literature, but is found in Aelian;⁸² it too may thus hark back to a now lost source, explaining Alciphro's apparent sense that it and *κίχλίζω* work well together. (13) *διατελέω* + participle is common in Herodotus and Attic (see LSJ *s.v.* II), as well as in Lucian,⁸³ and is probably another example of approved style. (14) οὐ παύση [...] τῆς ἀγερωχίας; finds a close parallel at 1, 6, 4 πέπαυσο τῆς ἀγερωχίας, suggesting reliance (perhaps through a learned intermediary) on a common model. Alciphro also uses οὐ παύση + gen. at 4, 3, 1, making this look like a set phrase, and the construction is apparently an Atticism and was likely identified as such in one of his sources.⁸⁴ (15) For κάχρυς [...] φρύγειν, cf. Cratin. fr. 300, 2 K.-A. φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχρυς, the only other example of the combination before Galen (himself actively involved in research on

⁷⁹ ALCIPHR. 3, 42, 3 (also with thematic similarities); 4, 6, 3.

⁸⁰ AR. *Nub.* 983; AEL. *Ep. rust.* 11. Also AR. fr. 347, 4 K.-A.; THEOC. 11, 78; HEROD. 7, 123.

⁸¹ MOER. κ 19. Cf. *AB* p. 271, 30 ~ *Et. Magn.* p. 516, 17 (defining *κίχλίζω* as a "whorish laugh").

⁸² AEL. *NA* 1, 29.

⁸³ E.g. LUCIAN. *Sat.* 36.

⁸⁴ οὐ παύση + gen. in classical texts at EUR. *Med.* 93-94; *Bacch.* 1360-1361; EUP. fr. 108, 1 K.-A.; AR. *Lys.* 1160; ISOC. 4, 11; ἀγερωχος is attested in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 2, 654; *Od.* 11, 286) and other early poetry (e.g. HES. fr. 150, 30 M.-W.; IBYC. fr. S192b, 14; PIND. *Nem.* 6, 33), and is apparently glossed by Phrynichus (*PS* fr. 58*, 1 de Borries ἀγερωχος· γαῦρος, σεμνός, θρασύς, ὑπερόπτης). That Alciphro has ἀγερωχία also at 1, 6, 4; 3, 31, 2; 4, 6, 3, that Philostratus uses it repeatedly (e.g. *VA* 2, 28), that Aristaenetus (1, 22, 2) has it as well, and that the lexicographer Eudemus glosses it (3, 30 Niese), combines to suggest that the word was found in a canonical text lost to us.

Attic vocabulary);⁸⁵ Pollux and Aelius Dionysius (in glosses on φρύγετρον “roasting vessel” and κάχρυς, respectively);⁸⁶ and Moeris (who identifies κάχρυς as an Atticism, although the word is also attested in Hippocrates).⁸⁷ (16) εἴσῃ [...] οἷ κακῶν appears to be modeled on or inspired by Eur. *Med.* 1306 ὦ τλῆμον, οὐκ οἶσθ’ οἷ κακῶν ἐλήλυθας “Wretch, you do not know what point of troubles you have reached”, the only example of οἷ κακῶν attested before this. The combination is also found three times in Xenophon of Ephesus and in later writers, suggesting that it was a taught phrase.⁸⁸ (17) οἷ [...] σαυτὴν ἐνέσεισας, finally, seems modeled on or inspired by the odd and unexpected use of the verb at Soph. *Ant.* 1273-1274 με [...] / ἐν δ’ ἔσεισεν ἀγρίαις ὁδοῖς “he shook me onto savage paths”.

Epistle 2, 24 thus reinforces the impression created by 2, 19 in regard to Alciphro’s language. The vocabulary and seeming set-phrases used in the letter go back insistently to Atticisms and in one case to a Homeric rarity, and in a number of cases can be traced without much question to specific fifth/fourth-century texts available today, suggesting that there were other models we can no longer detect (for example for ἑτερόπους or for the combination of κιχλίζω and μωκάομαι). And while the evidence for this is badly fractured and inadequate, the combination of the emphatic use of many of the same words in other Roman-era authors with stylistic tendencies similar to Alciphro’s and the appearance of a number of them in what remains of the lexicographic tradition makes it a reasonable hypothesis that Alciphro is drawing for the most part not on complete tragedies, comedies, historical texts, and the like but on secondary scholarly work.

⁸⁵ GAL. 19, 11, 3-4 Kühn.

⁸⁶ POLL. 1, 246 φρύγετρον, ὃ τὰς κάχρυς ἔφρυγον; AEL. DION. κ 17 κάχρυς· κριθαὶ πεφρυγμέναι.

⁸⁷ MOER. κ 18 κάχρυς Ἀττικοί· κριθαὶ πεφρυγμέναι “Ελληνες. For κάχρυς, also AR. *Nub.* 1358; *Vesp.* 1306; e.g. THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 3, 14, 1; HIPPOC. *Morb.* 3, 17, 32 = 7, 158, 17 Littré.

⁸⁸ XEN. EPH. 1, 3, 4; 5, 7, 5; HELIOD. *Aeth.* 8, 6, 6; 9, 3, 6.

These conclusions are supported by *Epistle* 2, 22 (Hyle to Nomios):

(1) **θαμίζεις** εἰς ἄστὺ κατιών, ὦ Νομίε, καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν (2) οὐδ' ἀκαρῇ θέλεις ὁρᾶν· (3) ἀργὸς δὲ ἡ γῆ (4) χηρεύουσα τῶν ἐκπονούντων, ἐγὼ δὲ (5) οἰκουρῶ μόνῃ μετὰ τῆς (6) Σύρας (7) ἀγαπητῶς τὰ (8) παιδία (9) βουκολοῦσα. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν (10) αὐτόχρημα (11) μεσαιπόλιος ἄνθρωπος (12) μειράκιον (13) ἀστικὸν ἀνεφάνης. ἀκούω γάρ σε (14) τὰ πολλὰ (15) ἐπὶ Σκίρου καὶ Κεραμεικοῦ διατρίβειν, οὗ φασι τοὺς (16) ἐξωλεσάτους σχολῇ καὶ (17) ῥαστώνῃ τὸν βίον (18) καταναλίσκειν.

"You're always going down to the city, Nomios, and you're unwilling to give even a glance to the farm. Our land lies idle, bereft of men to work it, and I am tending the house alone with Syra and taking care of the children as best I can. Meanwhile, although you're a middle-aged person with hair already gone part gray, you resemble a boy about town; for I hear you're spending most of your time in Skiron and the Kerameikos, where they say the biggest rascals waste their lives in idleness and ease."

Unlike Salakonis in *Epistles* 2, 24 and 2, 25, Nomios does not reply, leaving Hyle in a desperate and impossible situation. Once again, however, my interest is in how she expresses herself rather than in what she says. (1) **θαμίζω** with a particle is found already once in the *Odyssey*⁸⁹ but seemingly after that first at the opening of Plato's *Republic*, where Socrates is not going off to the city but to Piraeus.⁹⁰ Alciphro uses language similar to **θαμίζεις εἰς ἄστὺ κατιών** at 1, 4, 2 ἄστὺδε θαμίζεις [...] συνεορτάζουσα and 2, 28, 1 εἰς ἄστὺ καταβάς, where the influence of *Od.* 15, 505 ἐσπέριος δ' εἰς ἄστὺ ἰδὼν ἐμὰ ἔργα κάτειμι "in the evening I will return to the city after I have inspected my fields" is perhaps heard instead. None of this is satisfactory, but it is difficult to escape the impression that the beginning of this letter recalls a combination of these primary texts or others similar to them – or, better put, secondary scholarship drawing

⁸⁹ *Od.* 8, 451.

⁹⁰ *Pl. Resp.* 328c ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐ δὲ θαμίζεις ἡμῖν καταβαίνων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ "Socrates, you don't often come down to the Piraeus to see us".

on and analyzing them. (2) οὐδ' ἀκαρῆ (also in Lucian;⁹¹ cf. μηδ' ἀκαρῆ once in both Alciphro and Lucian⁹²) is attested a handful of times in fifth/fourth-century Athenian literature,⁹³ as is simple ἀκαρῆ, including at Antipho fr. 146 Thalheim, which is drawn from Hesychius = Photius and thus patently from a lexicographer. Indeed, Moeris α 89 specifically identifies the word as an Atticism, making it a reasonable conclusion that Alciphro and Lucian have got it from a similar source. (3) For ἀργός in the sense "fallow", LSJ s.v. (B) I.2 cites only three passages from fourth-century Athenian prose,⁹⁴ suggesting that this is another Atticism identified as such in antiquity. (4) ἡ γῆ χηρεύουσα τῶν ἐκπονούντων appears to be an echo of *Od.* 9, 124 ἀνδρῶν χηρεύει (of Cyclops Island), which is also picked up in Plutarch and Aelian.⁹⁵ Perhaps all three authors refer specifically to Homer, but just as likely they have got the trope as a bit of approved rhetorical color from a secondary source. (5) οἰκουρῶ is Attic vocabulary,⁹⁶ and the fact that it is used again by Alciphro, as well as by Lucian, Aelian, and Plutarch,⁹⁷ suggests that it was recommended to them. (6) The name Σύρα is a bit of Attic color also picked up by Lucian.⁹⁸ (7) ἀγαπητῶς is colloquial fourth-century Attic vocabulary⁹⁹ also found at 1, 16, 2 and common in e.g. Plutarch and Aelian.¹⁰⁰ (8) παιδία is a fifth-century form, very common in Herodotus, comedy, and

⁹¹ LUCIAN. *Am.* 10.

⁹² ALCIPHR. 4, 14, 1; LUCIAN. *Am.* 26.

⁹³ In addition to ANTIPH. fr. 146 Thalheim (discussed below), AR. *Vesp.* 541; AV. 1649; [DEM.] 50, 56.

⁹⁴ XEN. *Cyr.* 3, 2, 19; ISOC. 4, 132; THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 9, 12, 2.

⁹⁵ PLUT. *Pomp.* 28, 4 Δύμην τὴν Ἀχαΐδα, χηρεύουσιν ἀνδρῶν τότε; AEL. *NA* 4, 59 ἀνθρώπων χηρεύουσα.

⁹⁶ First attested at AESCH. *Ag.* 809; subsequently e.g. SOPH. *Phil.* 1328; HERMIPP. fr. 46, 3 K.-A.; PL. *Resp.* 451d; [DEM.] 59, 86; [ARIST.] *Ath. pol.* 56, 4.

⁹⁷ Also ALCIPHR. 4, 13, 19; LUCIAN. *Nigr.* 18; e.g. AEL. *NA* 5, 18; 9, 53; PLUT. *Per.* 11, 1; 34, 1.

⁹⁸ AR. *Pax* 1146; PHILEM. fr. 117, 1 K.-A.; APOLLOD. CARYSTIUS fr. 8, 1 K.-A.; LUCIAN. *Dial. meret.* 4, 4, 5.

⁹⁹ E.g. PL. *Lys.* 218c; *Menex.* 245e; LYS. 6, 45; ISOC. 14, 41; DEM. 19, 200; DIPH. fr. 89, 2 K.-A.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. PLUT. *Mor.* 321c; e.g. AEL. *NA* 5, 11.

prose¹⁰¹ and used repeatedly by Alciphro,¹⁰² doubtless for that reason. (9) LSJ *s.v.* I.2 offers only one other example of βουκο-λέω + person in the sense of "caring for", at Ar. *Vesp.* 10, where the reference is to tending a god. A better parallel is *H. Merc.* 167 βουκολέων ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ διαμπερές "always taking care of you and me", in which case – regardless of what one thinks of the date of the *Hymn* – this must be another of Alciphro's epic rarities. (10) αὐτόχρημα is attested before this only at Ar. *Eq.* 78, but is also used at 2, 26, 1 and six times by Aelian.¹⁰³ Whether the word has been drawn direct from Aristophanes or not, therefore, it appears to be employed because it is both attested as Attic and unusual. (11) μεσαιπόλιος is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* at *Il.* 13, 361, and is attested subsequently only once in 'Aesop'¹⁰⁴ and in scattered Roman-era sources, including at 2, 13, 2 and Ael. *NA* 12, 43. This is accordingly another epic rarity best explained as drawn from a source that collected such words, a conclusion supported by the fact that Galen and Pollux both treat it as a bit of *recherché* but useful vocabulary.¹⁰⁵ (12) μειράκιον is colloquial Attic, common in comedy and prose.¹⁰⁶ Alciphro uses it 15 times, Lucian over 50, Aelian almost 40.¹⁰⁷ (13) ἄστικός is also Attic¹⁰⁸ and accordingly draws Pollux' attention.¹⁰⁹ Alciphro has it five more times, Lucian four, Aelian three.¹¹⁰ (14) τὰ πολλά in the adverbial sense "often,

¹⁰¹ E.g. HDT. 2, 2, 3; EUP. fr. 261, 3 K.-A.; AR. *Lys.* 99; ANDOC. 1, 26; XEN. *Oec.* 3, 10; PL. *Leg.* 910c; ISAE. 12, 3.

¹⁰² E.g. ALCIPHRO. 1, 6, 3; 2, 8, 1.

¹⁰³ E.g. AEL. *NA* 2, 44; 14, 10.

¹⁰⁴ AESOP. *Fab.* 31, 1 H.-H.

¹⁰⁵ GAL. 18b, 221, 8-10 Kühn; POLL. 2, 12.

¹⁰⁶ First attested at PHERECR. fr. 70, 3 K.-A.; also in comedy at e.g. EUP. fr. 104, 2 K.-A.; e.g. AR. *Eq.* 556. In prose at e.g. ANTIPH. 2, 4, 8; XEN. *Hell.* 1, 2, 42; PL. *Symp.* 192a; ISAE. 5, 40.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. ALCIPHRO. 1, 11, 1; 3, 19, 1; 3, 22, 3; e.g. LUCIAN. *Im.* 1; *Philops.* 37; e.g. AEL. *NA* 6, 63; *VH* 1, 30.

¹⁰⁸ First attested at AESCH. *Supp.* 501, 618; *Eum.* 997; subsequently at THUC. 5, 20, 1; LYS. 17, 3; DEM. 55, 11; MEN. *Dys.* 41; also twice at THEOC. 20, 4; 20, 31.

¹⁰⁹ POLL. 9, 17.

¹¹⁰ ALCIPHRO. 1, 11, 1; 2, 5, 2; 2, 8, 3; 3, 34, 1; 3, 35, 3; LUCIAN. *Bis acc.* 11, 9; *Dial. deor.* 20, 7; *Dial. meret.* 7, 3; 15, 2; AEL. *NA* 4, 59; 6, 63; 8, 22.

generally, mostly, repeatedly” appears to be an Atticism;¹¹¹ Alciphro has it also at 1, 8, 1; 2, 18, 1; 2, 28, 2; 3, 34, 1, Lucian scores of times.¹¹² (15) ἐπὶ Σκίρου καὶ Κεραιμεικοῦ (meaning ~ “gambling and whoring”) is echoed at 3, 5, 1, where Skiron is a district for prostitutes, as also in an entry in Harpocration = *Suda* citing Theopompus,¹¹³ while at 3, 12, 3 and 3, 28, 3 the same is supposedly true of the Kerameikos.¹¹⁴ This is thus another bit of Attic color drawn at least in part from the lexicographic/antiquarian scholarly tradition. (16) ἐξώλης is attested once in Herodotus and is common in colloquial Attic.¹¹⁵ After that, it surfaces in Plutarch;¹¹⁶ twice more in Alciphro, including at 3, 18, 4 Ἀθῆναι καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι κυβευτῶν οἱ ἐξωλέστατοι “Athens and the foulest of those who shoot dice in Athens”, which appears to be closely connected to this passage; once in Lucian;¹¹⁷ and twice in Aelian.¹¹⁸ (17) ῥαστώνη is attested in the classical period in Herodotus and Hippocrates, and then in Attic prose;¹¹⁹ the combination with σχολή raises the possibility that this is a specific echo of Dem. 18, 45 τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ’ ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δელεαζομένων “ensnared by the ease and idleness of their daily life”, where both words are similarly in the dative. ῥαστώνη appears again in the Roman era twice in

¹¹¹ E.g. EUP. fr. 172, 4 K.-A.; EUR. *Ion* 239; *Bacch.* 486; THUC. 1, 13, 1; 1, 78, 2.

¹¹² E.g. LUCIAN. *Demon.* 21; *VH* 1, 13.

¹¹³ THEOPOMP. *FGrH* 115 F 228 διέτριβον ἐν Σκίρῳ οἱ κυβεύοντες “those who shoot dice spent their time in Skiron”.

¹¹⁴ For the Kerameikos (also mentioned at 4, 8, 11) as a place for prostitutes, cf. ALEXIS fr. 206 K.-A.

¹¹⁵ HDT. 7, 9, 2, β.1; in colloquial Attic at e.g. EUP. fr. 51 K.-A.; AR. *Pax* 1072; ANDOC. 1, 126; ANTIPHAN. fr. 157, 12 K.-A.; DEM. 19, 172.

¹¹⁶ E.g. PLUT. *Mor.* 13a; *Pel.* 26, 4.

¹¹⁷ LUCIAN. *Nigr.* 23.

¹¹⁸ AEL. fr. 123, 14; 325, 5.

¹¹⁹ In Ionic prose at HDT. 3, 136, 2; e.g. HIPPOC. *De arte* 11, 22 = 6, 20, 17 Littré. In Attic prose at THUC. 1, 120, 4; 3, 136, 7; XEN. *Eq.* 7, 19; PL. *Resp.* 525c; ISOC. 4, 36; DEM. 18, 45; 19, 219. Note also DIOD. SIC. 38/39, 9; DION. HAL. 2, 3, 3; and PLUT. *Mor.* 655c, combining to suggest that ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ may have come to be treated as a set phrase.

Lucian and once in Aelian,¹²⁰ as one might expect if the word were an approved Atticism. (18) *καταναλίσκω* is found in Hippocrates and Attic prose,¹²¹ on the one hand, and in Aelian (who has an expression very similar to τὸν βίον καταναλίσκειν),¹²² on the other, and was likely regarded as good fifth/fourth-century vocabulary.

Once again, only a handful of the words and phrases noted in this letter can be traced specifically to the lexicographic tradition. We are nonetheless in the position of believing either that Alciphro himself has done all the painstaking reading and checking that would be required to assemble this combination of rare words (including two Homeric *hapax legomena*) and typical fifth- and fourth-century, mostly Attic vocabulary, or that he has drawn most of this from elsewhere. The simpler thesis – and thus the one to be preferred – is the second, especially given how many of these words also show up in Lucian and Aelian. Nor does Alciphro re-use the specific sources to which his language can on occasion be traced in any obviously clever way; the borrowing and adaptation is on an almost exclusively lexical level.

Much the same is true of *Epistle* 2, 20 (Thallos to Pityiskos):

πάντα φιλῶ (1) *τρυγᾶν* – ἔστι γὰρ τὸ καρπῶν (2) *ἀποδρέπεσθαι* πόνων (3) *ἀμοιβή δίκαιος* – ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἐθέλω (4) *βλῖττειν* τὰ (5) *σμήνη*. ἔχων οὖν (6) *σίμβλους* ὑπὸ τῇ πέτρᾳ, ἀποκλάσας (7) *κηρία* (8) *νεογενῇ* (9) *πρῶτον μὲν* τοῖς θεοῖς (10) *ἀπηρξάμην*, (9bis) *ἔπειτα* δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ὑμῖν (10bis) *ἀπάρχομαι*. ἔστι δὲ (7bis) *λευκά* ἰδεῖν καὶ (11) *ἀποστάζοντα* (12) *λιβάδας* (13) *Ἀττικοῦ μέλιτος*, οἷον αἱ (14) *Βριλήσσαι λαγόνες* (15) *ἐξανθοῦσι*. (16) *καὶ νῦν μὲν* ταῦτα πέμπομεν, (17) *εἰς νέωτα* δὲ δέχοιο παρ' ἡμῶν μερίζω (18) *τουτωνὶ καὶ ἡδίονα*.

¹²⁰ LUCIAN. *Merc.* 3 μετὰ πάσης ῥαστώνης καὶ ἡδονῆς; *Demon.* 5; AEL. *NA* 7, 42.

¹²¹ E.g. HIPPOC. *Epid.* 2, 4, 2, 12 = 5, 126, 2 Littré; XEN. *Mem.* 1, 2, 22; PL. *Phd.* 72d; ISOC. 3, 31; ARIST. *Part. an.* 651a22; THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 2, 6, 2.

¹²² AEL. *VH* 3, 13 τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου [...] καταναλίσκειν “to waste most of their life”, and note also LYCURG. 1, 94; ALCID. fr. 1, 19; DION. HAL. *Lys.* 25, 71.

“I’m fond of bringing in any sort of harvest – for reaping crops is a just return for labor – but I particularly like extracting honey from bee-hives. Since I have some hives under the cliff, therefore, I broke off new combs; and first I made a preliminary offering to the gods, and then I make a gift to you, my friends. They are light gold in appearance and drip libations of Attic honey, the sort the flanks of Brilessos produce. I am now sending these (to you), and next year may you receive even larger and sweeter ones than these from us!”

Unlike the letters examined previously, 2, 20 is strikingly upbeat and is perhaps supposed to be written by a tenant sending his landlord an annual gift or *θάλλος* (LSJ *s.v.* III), as Benner / Fobes suggest. As for Thallus’ language: (1) *Alpha*-contract *τρυγάω* (in contrast to the Homeric *omicron*-contract *τρυγρόω*¹²³) is a fifth/fourth-century form¹²⁴ but rare after that. Lucian has it seven times, Aelian six,¹²⁵ suggesting that Alciphro uses it because it represents approved vocabulary with a distinctly ‘classical’ resonance. (2) *ἀποδρέπω* is a rare poetic word found in Hesiod and Pindar,¹²⁶ and is thus precisely the sort of item one would expect lexicographers to collect. But the use of the middle plus genitive is odd, and the fact that Alciphro has it again at 3, 15, 2, as does Aelian,¹²⁷ may suggest a now-lost model. (3) The combination *ἀμοιβή δίκαιος* appears repeatedly in Roman-era authors, including twice in the pseudo-Lucianic *Ass.*¹²⁸ It is attested in the classical period only at Theophr. *De piet.* fr. 12, 55, which might mean that Alciphro or his source got it from there. But this also sounds like a fixed proverbial phrase, like *κακὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ* at 2, 19, 3, and the obvious alternative is that the phrase is drawn from a paroemiographer – which

¹²³ HOM. *Il.* 18, 566; *Od.* 7, 124.

¹²⁴ E.g. HDT. 4, 199, 4; AR. *Vesp.* 634; *Pax* 1339; XEN. *Oec.* 19, 19; PL. *Leg.* 844e.

¹²⁵ E.g. LUCIAN. *Catapl.* 20; *VH* 1, 22; 2, 14; e.g. AEL. *NA* 9, 32; 9, 45.

¹²⁶ HES. *Op.* 611; PIND. *Pyth.* 9, 110; note also ARCHIP. fr. 50, 3 K.-A. *κῆπον ἀποδρέπεις*.

¹²⁷ AEL. *NA* 6, 21.

¹²⁸ E.g. [LUCIAN.] *Asin.* 27.

admittedly only pushes the problem back one step. (4) βλέτω, by contrast, appears to be distinctly Attic,¹²⁹ and is recommended by Pollux (albeit with a definition that does not fit the use of the word here) and glossed by Timaeus on Plato and Hesychius (in a way that does),¹³⁰ suggesting a connection to the lexicographic tradition. (5) The impression that Alciphro has got βλέτω from a lexicographer is reinforced by his use of σμῆνος, which is attested first in Hesiod and thereafter repeatedly in Attic,¹³¹ and which Pollux¹³² offers at the beginning of the section that also includes βλέτω, and which Phrynichus approves.¹³³ (6) Between σμῆνος and βλέτω in Pollux, moreover, appears plural σίμβλοι, which is also found in the same section of Hesiod as σμῆνος¹³⁴ and then in the singular in Aristophanes and Aristotle¹³⁵ and in the plural a number of times in Aelian.¹³⁶ Alciphro thus seems to be offering a showy cluster of specialized vocabulary, as he does many other times in the *Epistles*,¹³⁷ probably on the basis of a text resembling Pollux. (7) This is all the more so because κηρία λευκά too appears in the same section of Hesiod,¹³⁸ which has clearly served as a source for whatever work lies behind this section of Alciphro. This is

¹²⁹ E.g. SOPH. fr. 778 Radt; AR. *Lys.* 475; PL. *Resp.* 564e; ARIST. *Hist. an.* 627a32.

¹³⁰ POLL. 1, 254 ἐρεῖς δὲ σμῆνος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μελιττῶν· ὁ δὲ τόπος σίμβλοι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον μελιττουργεῖν· βλέττειν δὲ τὸ καπνίζειν τὰς μελίττας καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναχωρεῖν “you are to refer to the mass of bees as a *smēnos*; *simbloi* are the place [they are found], while the occupation is *melittourgein*; *blittein* is “to blow smoke at the bees and cause them to withdraw”; TIM. *Lex.* β 10 = HSCH. β 752 βλέττειν· ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ μέλι ἀπὸ τῶν κηρίων *blittein*: “to extract honey from hives”.

¹³¹ HES. *Theog.* 594. In Attic at e.g. AESCH. *Pers.* 127; CRATIN. fr. 2 K.-A.; AR. *Nub.* 297; XEN. *Oec.* 17, 15.

¹³² POLL. 1, 254, quoted in n. 130.

¹³³ PHRYN. *PS Epit.* pp. 66, 5; 110, 14 de Borries.

¹³⁴ HES. *Theog.* 598.

¹³⁵ AR. *Vesp.* 241; ARIST. *Hist. an.* 627a6.

¹³⁶ E.g. AEL. *NA* 1, 58; *Ep.* 5, 4.

¹³⁷ Similar clusters of specialized vocabulary at e.g. 2, 16, 1 τὴν ἐχέτλην [...] καὶ δύο δρεπάνας “the plow-handle and two sickles”; 2, 21, 3 σκαπάνη [...] ὑπὸ τῇ δικέλλῃ καὶ τῇ σμινύῃ “a spade [...] the mattock and the hoe”.

¹³⁸ HES. *Theog.* 597.

especially the case given the extreme rarity of λευκός in the sense 'light gold', for which LSJ *s.v.* cites only one other example (from Herodotus). (8) νεογενής is Attic vocabulary¹³⁹ and νεογενῆ is a distinctly Attic form. (9) Alciphro also has πρῶτον μὲν [...], ἔπειτα – a common combination in Attic authors¹⁴⁰ – at 3, 7, 4; 3, 40, 1, as does Lucian;¹⁴¹ this looks like another learned stylistic gesture. (10) The repeated use of ἀπάρχομαι – attested already at *Od.* 3, 446; 14, 422 in reference to sacrifice and then numerous times in fifth/fourth-century sources¹⁴² – in what seem to be two slightly different senses is striking. Were Alciphro a Hellenistic poet, we would inevitably read this as an indication of the author's awareness of a learned dispute surrounding the proper meaning of the word, which Lucian also uses.¹⁴³ (11) ἀποστάζω is fifth/fourth-century vocabulary and a poeticism in Attic,¹⁴⁴ while (12) λιβάς is also a poeticism,¹⁴⁵ although the word is attested in Hellenistic epic as well as in Attic¹⁴⁶ and is thus generally high-style. (13) The reference to Attic honey is a typical bit of fifth/fourth-century color.¹⁴⁷ (14) Βριλήσσαι λαγόνες (meaning "the slopes of Mt. Pentelikon") finds a parallel only at Callim. fr. 552 Pfeiffer Βριλησσοῦ λαγόνεσσιν. Either Alciphro is echoing Callimachus – which would expand his range of literary reference considerably – or, more likely, both poets are recalling some famous but now otherwise unknown text. In either case, this is clearly a deliberate

¹³⁹ E.g. AESCH. *Cho.* 530; SOPH. fr. 754, 5 Radt; XEN. *Cyn.* 10, 23; PL. *Sph.* 259d; ANTIPHAN. fr. 55, 4 K.-A.

¹⁴⁰ E.g. SOPH. fr. 395* Radt; AR. *Vesp.* 1177; THUC. 1, 115, 5; ISAE. 3, 78.

¹⁴¹ E.g. LUCIAN. *Iupp. trag.* 49; *Par.* 11.

¹⁴² E.g. HDT. 3, 24, 4; EUR. *El.* 91; AR. *Ach.* 244; XEN. *Hier.* 4, 2.

¹⁴³ Of a preliminary sacrifice at LUCIAN. *Syr. D.* 60.

¹⁴⁴ E.g. SIMON. 519 fr. 79, 9 Page; e.g. HIPPOC. *Mul.* 205, 3 = 8, 392, 19 Littré; in Attic also at SOPH. *Ant.* 959; EUR. *Ion* 1011.

¹⁴⁵ First attested at AESCH. *Pers.* 613, subsequently at e.g. SOPH. *Phil.* 1216; EUR. *Andr.* 116; ANTIPHAN. fr. 55, 13 K.-A. ('dithyrambic' style); in prose at THEOPHR. *Hist. pl.* 2, 4, 4.

¹⁴⁶ CALLIM. fr. 250, 10 Pfeiffer; AP. RHOD. 4, 606; 4, 1735; NIC. *Ther.* 61.

¹⁴⁷ For Attic honey, e.g. AR. *Pax* 252; *Thesm.* 1192; ANTIPHAN. fr. 177, 1-3 K.-A.; ARCHESTR. fr. 60, 17-18 K.-A.

rarity. (15) ἐξάνθεω is used by both Hippocrates¹⁴⁸ and Attic authors,¹⁴⁹ and thus likely appears here as a bit of 'good classical vocabulary'. (16) καὶ νῦν μὲν is found twice in early epic¹⁵⁰ and then repeatedly in Attic.¹⁵¹ Alciphro has it again at 2, 34, 2, suggesting that this is another taught combination. (17) εἰς νέωτα is attested in the classical period in Xenophon, Theophrastus, and the comic poets,¹⁵² and then three times in Lucian,¹⁵³ which probably means that he and Alciphro have it as an approved Atticism. Finally, (18) the deictic *iota* on τούτωνι is an Atticism.

These are only four of the *Letters of Farmers*. The impression created is nonetheless that Alciphro's language is overwhelmingly drawn from fifth- and fourth-century (primarily Athenian) sources, with a smattering of learned epicisms thrown in. In a number of cases, a specific model for a phrase can be identified. But this does not appear to be a learned game of allusion to and reworking of individual exemplars. Instead, what Alciphro is borrowing is *language* of a sort nominally appropriate to characters lodged in a make-believe late-classical Athenian world lightly colored by its Homeric and Hesiodic predecessors. As for the sources for this material, perhaps they come from Alciphro's own deep, careful reading of early epic, the Attic poets and orators, etc. – in which case we seem obliged to imagine an audience that is similarly learned, allowing it to use its own broad, subtle knowledge of canonical sources to make sense of the freshly composed text before it. What tells against this thesis is not only its inherent improbability but the fact that the readership for which the *Epistles* are written is seemingly expected to appreciate their various verbal gestures without being concerned

¹⁴⁸ E.g. HIPPOC. *Epid.* 2, 3, 1, 25 = 5, 102, 5 Littré.

¹⁴⁹ AESCH. *Pers.* 821; EUR. *IT* 300; THUC. 2, 49, 5; XEN. *Cyn.* 5, 5; PL. *Plt.* 273d; ANTIPHAN. fr. 294 K.-A.

¹⁵⁰ HOM. *Il.* 24, 685; *H.Ap.* 326.

¹⁵¹ E.g. AESCH. *Sept.* 21; EUR. *Andr.* 732; XEN. *An.* 2, 4, 3; PL. *Men.* 85c.

¹⁵² XEN. *Cyr.* 7, 2, 13; 8, 6, 15; e.g. THEOPHR. *Char.* 3, 3; in the comic poets at e.g. ALEXIS fr. 131, 7 K.-A.

¹⁵³ LUCIAN. *Vit. auct.* 1; *Bis acc.* 4; *Hermot.* 4.

with the content of specific models. What is wanted is instead a generic appreciation of words, phrases, customs, names, and the like – and just enough survives of the ancient scholarly tradition touching on these and similar matters to suggest that this tradition, and the broader tradition of teaching and learning it represents, is the basic resource or set of interrelated resources that lies behind the *Epistles*. Like his audience, Alciphro is learned, but in a secondary manner. He knows the vocabulary and constructions he employs and the set of conventional cultural and literary tropes to which he refers primarily through intermediary texts and teachers, and the obvious conclusion is that he expects the same of his audience. Had we more of the antiquarian and lexicographic work on which Alciphro drew, we would be in a position to appreciate more fully the cleverness and sophistication of his work. But just enough of it survives to let us catch fleeting glimpses of a significant aspect of the literary art of the *Epistles*. The *Letters of Farmers* are not a mere collection of words. Attention to Alciphro's language nonetheless opens up aspects of his work that might otherwise remain invisible to us, and helps make better sense of the author, his genre, and his time.

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DISCUSSION

A. Cassio: Texts like the letters of Alciphro are fascinating on many counts, especially because of the complete artificiality of the situations described and their focus on the resurrection of the old Attic dialect. Obviously the ‘correct’ preparation of such texts posed problems, since the authors ran the risk of committing ridiculous blunders like the ἀπολούμενος you mention. In some cases the Attic models are easily recognizable, but matters are not always so easy; for instance you mention ἀ *propos* of σκανδάλη the closest possible model, Attic σκανδάλη-θρον, but σκανδάλη itself seems completely isolated, and it is hard to say what happened: a mistake? an Attic form unknown to us? an invented hyper-sophisticated form? ἀμυγδάλη “almond” was the Attic counterpart of Hellenistic ἀμύγδαλον, and I would not exclude that Alciphro decided to modify the banal σκάνδαλον by ‘Atticizing it back’ into σκανδάλη. In other words, the use of invented Attic forms should not be excluded.

Another tricky instance is ὑπερηφανέω, which is Homeric (*Il.* 11, 694) but seems to have enjoyed success only in post-classical times (Polybius, the *Septuagint*, and Christian authors), so that it is hardly surprising that Pollux 9, 146 advised against it: he accepted the noun (ὑπερηφανία) but not the verb (τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τὸ ὑπερηφανεῖν οὐκ ἐπαινῶ). Probably Alciphro thought that Homer’s use of it would have excused its presence in an Attic text, but the Atticists accurately distinguished between Homer and Attic and recommended Attic. Many Atticist texts pose problems that are more complicated than we would like.

S.D. Olson: Alciphro is clearly playing a sophisticated literary game, and he expects his audience to enjoy watching him play it. Unfortunately for us, he never makes the rules of his

game explicit, and all we can do is work them out from the texts themselves. Homer, for example, clearly falls within the range of authors Alciphro regards as canonical for his own purposes, regardless of what a strict Atticist might think; what one would like to know is how eccentric this point of view was. That *σκανδάλῃ* "sounded right", even if it was not, may well be the case. If so, however, Alciphro may not have been the one to generate it. Added to this is the fact that we do not have as much evidence as we would like – which is to say that a great deal inevitably escapes us, and that numerous words or turns of phrase in the *Epistles* that today seem flat, puzzling or 'wrong' might make sense if we had one more play of Sophocles or one more speech of Lysias. All texts from antiquity, after all, are more complicated than we would like – or at least more complicated than we can appreciate. In this case, we see something but not everything. Perhaps that is enough.

As for the 'complete artificiality' of the situations described in the *Epistles*, the world Alciphro's characters inhabit appears to be very much that of Attic Middle Comedy, which (so far as we can tell from the fragments) was similarly full of rustic farmers, obnoxious if amusing parasites, sophisticated courtesans, hypocritical philosophers, hapless fishermen, and the like. Whether anyone in Alciphro's time believed that Attica had been like that hundreds of years ago is unclear. But perhaps they did, or at least partially did, which is to say that the project carried out in the *Epistles* is not so much the invention of a world as a nominal recreation of one.

A. Vatri: *δεινότης* was a technical term in Imperial literary criticism (e.g. in Longinus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*). Longinus and Dionysius (but cf. already Demetrius) use it with a specialized sense to describe a specific rhetorical quality ("vigour", "vehemence"); in Plutarch and Dionysius himself it may be used more generically to designate "rhetorical ability". The fragment of Demades is a nice parallel for Alciphro; but De Falco, the editor of

Demades' fragments, considers it spurious and assigns it to a rhetorical exercise on a Demadean theme. In this light, the use of δεινότης in the *Epistles* seems to point to rhetorical education more than anything.

S.D. Olson: This is another example of how fragile our evidence is. If De Falco is right, the passage I have cited is not evidence for the Attic prose character of this word but for its reception in the Roman period. The case I am trying to build, however, is cumulative. Other fifth- and fourth-century prose authors appear to use δεινότης, whether Demades did or not; were all those uses too to be expunged by editors, this point would have to be struck, but others would stand; and my overall claim is that the underlying impression of how Alciphro operates and what he expects from his readers would not be substantially different as a consequence.

O. Tribulato: You raise fundamental questions about the role of imitation in Greek literary language and the extent to which we can understand its motivations. In regard to this, I have two questions. The first concerns methodology. In your analysis of the words used by Alciphro you have given their first attestation in Attic (or sometimes earlier) literature and have highlighted how they resurface in Atticist works or in the Second Sophistic. I wonder whether working with these two extremes may not lead us to miss the fact that some of these words may have a richer linguistic history, which might lead us to doubt that they would be perceived by Alciphro's readers specifically as Atticisms. Take the adverb συνεχῶς, for instance. What is specifically Attic about it? συνεχῶς is pervasive in Greek prose of any age, and *koinê* prose is no exception. Another case is σκυθρωπός: what is the actual Attic hidden reference of this word? It was used continuously in *koinê* works, such as the *Septuagint*, the *New Testament*, Diodorus Siculus, etc. In itself, σκυθρωπός does not strike me as learned Attic vocabulary: is a specific passage implied?

My second question concerns your interpretation of the *purpose* of Alciphro's stylistic exercise in imitation. Is it only a question of using 'correct' language which readers may have found interesting or educational – or is the point to parody Attic texts and epic by adopting their linguistic strategies? The first strategy may be the use of marked epic and tragic language (thus, e.g., *μυδάω*, *τάλαινα* and *ἄθυρμα*) for trivial or laughable situations in a way not dissimilar from the comic cook who speaks in snatches of Homeric Greek. The other strategy would be to resort to language specifically marked as comic to further characterize the humorous aspects of these scenes. For instance, in Alciphro 2, 19 the mix of high-brow rare words and references to humbler settings may have been intended to create a humorous contrast between the self-stylization of the protagonist as a 'refined man' and his brutal conduct.

S.D. Olson: You are right that *συνεχῶς* is more widely distributed than I imply. Photius, patently echoing some lost lexicographer, approves it in the sense "constantly" – which seems to be the normal meaning in the classical period, and also how Alciphro uses it – but not in the sense 'frequently'. The note in Photius shows that the proper use of the word was a matter of dispute, and that Attic authors were cited to help resolve the question. But that is not a strong argument, and were my thesis as a whole dependent on it, the reader would be well-advised to be sceptical. *συνθροπός* is more suggestive, because the word does first surface in Attic texts. The question becomes whether that was enough to brand it as 'good classical vocabulary' even if not as a pure Atticism. My own sense is that Alciphro or his teachers or sources worked less scientifically than we might like in this regard; a word might have a 'good pedigree' if it first appeared and was concentrated in texts they regarded as canonical, even if we today would question some of their judgments.

As for your second question, my own feeling is that we do not need to choose between the two options you outline and

that nothing is gained from attempting to do so. One important aspect of the humor in the *Epistles* is certainly the fact that a slave on an Attic farm, for example, has the time and ability to draft a verbally rich and beautifully expressed description of his troubles with the local foxes: grand language and grand models for strikingly trivial matters as experienced by what one would on the face of it have expected to be a very unsophisticated person. But that need not be the only point of interest in the text, and my claim is that something even cleverer is going on simultaneously on a different level in the *Epistles*, and that this has to do with the vocabulary and constructions themselves and how they are sourced and deployed.

A. Willi: I like the idea that Alciphro's letters are primarily *exercices de style*, and as such presuppose an in-depth familiarity with imperial lexicography rather than an impressive first-hand scholarly knowledge of a wide range of classical literature *per se*. But I wonder whether we can confidently assert this and whether there is not a 'middle' option, i.e. to assume that Alciphro was indeed widely read in classical literature and had simply acquired a near-native competence of its language in this way. Would it really have to be a sign of serious scholarship on his part to have learned that variety by assiduous although potentially superficial reading?

Second, looking at the specific examples you highlight, I am struck by Alciphro's use of seemingly Euripidean ἐκτ' ἄδην – not because the lexeme is remarkable as such, but because to me the construction with an adverb in -δην looks like something that would not normally be used in prose (a passive participle being an obvious alternative). If I were right on that, it would point to a – in my view remarkable – indifference to generic variation: if the point was to depict how ordinary Athenians might have written letters in classical times, did a well-educated audience not have to object to finding a typically tragic feature within the mix?

S.D. Olson: It is of course impossible to know what Alciphro read and did not read, and the answer to your first question depends to a considerable extent on something we do not fully understand and perhaps never will, which is the extent to which fifth- and fourth-century Athenian texts were circulating in the Roman world in the third century CE or so. What we can say with a more substantial degree of confidence, is that Alciphro's audience could not all have read and studied e.g. the comic and tragic poets and the Attic orators in the depth and with the care that would be required to appreciate the nuances of the use of language in the *Epistles*. Put another way, *someone* had studied the vocabulary of these texts and others very carefully, whether we think that activity was carried out primarily in the Library at Alexandria and similar institutions (as I tend to believe) or also by Alciphro in his own working space (as you suggest). My own impression is that Alciphro does not write as a fluent semi-native speaker of mock-classical Greek, but in a way that suggests a careful attention to learned rules, hence *inter alia* the repetition of fixed expressions and vocabulary items I have attempted to document both in the *Epistles* and in Lucian and Aelian. But all that really matters is that the audience for which Alciphro wrote must inevitably have had most of their classics at second hand. I suppose this gets to your second point as well: Did Alciphro (or Alciphro's audience) have the linguistic sophistication to see the point regarding ἐκτάδην you raise and to object to its appearance in his prose? The implicit answer would seem to be that they did not, even if they were well enough informed to be certain that this was 'good vocabulary' drawn from Euripides.

L. Huitink: I have a question regarding the 'level' of the Attic borrowings you discern. Many of them come from Middle Comedy, but some are from tragedy and some appear particularly *recherché* (e.g. εἰς νέωτα, which seems a rarified expression from the *Halbattiker* Xenophon in particular). Can you give an indication as to what sorts of Atticisms are more common,

both in Alciphron and in late Atticizing literature as a whole? And does an answer to that question have implications for the 'flavour' of Alciphro's letters? Of course, for Alciphro and his readers, classical Attic was to a large extent a 'dead' language, to be reconstructed from sources from the classical period. But does Alciphro intend his farmers and other 'lowly' characters to be speaking a passable imitation of 'real' (vernacular) Attic of the classical period (as conceived by Alciphro and his audience), or is the 'fun' in part that such characters speak in a rarified and precious (strictly literary) language?

S.D. Olson: A complete answer to your larger questions would require a study of the *Epistles* as a whole, something beyond the scope of this paper. As other participants at the *Entretiens* have noted, Alciphro uses *inter alia* his choice of vocabulary to paint a picture of an imaginary classical Attica, and as you suggest, a clearer understanding of how he manipulated his primary material would give us a better sense of what he is up to when he does so. One striking gap, for example, involves obscenity. What survives of fifth-century comedy leaves little doubt that Athenians had a rich abusive lexicon of words for body-parts, sexual acts, and the like, and there seems no reason to doubt that the average man on the street used such language as often as some of us do. But such words seem largely – perhaps entirely – lacking in Alciphro, who has apparently censored his sources in this regard or relies on sources that have done the censoring for him. But neither is the language simply 'rarified and precious', given the obvious delight the *Epistles* take in straightforwardly 'prosaic' words for farmers' tools, fishermen's devices, bee-hives, and the like.

F. Schironi: I am convinced by much of what you showed us; this is certainly a time when knowledge is transmitted and acquired through encyclopedias, compendia, and anthologies. Many of the words you discuss, however, are not simply Attic but occur first in Homer or Herodotus and are then used by

Attic prose writers or poets. Does this suggest that instead of 'Atticism' we should speak of the 'classicism' of the Second Sophistic period?

S.D. Olson: There seems little doubt that an 'Atticist' movement was active in the Roman world at this time. But whatever that movement is or means, you are right that Alciphro appears to represent a slightly different phenomenon: he is interested in and ready to use Attic vocabulary, but his lexical net is cast more widely. It is interesting in this context to consider Athenaeus, whose sources also seem prepared to cite Homer, Herodotus, the lyric poets, and the like as testimonia for approved vocabulary, while simultaneously relying most heavily on Attic authors and especially the comic poets. Perhaps we would do best, as you suggest, to look for diversity rather than uniformity in ancient intellectual and literary practice until we have sorted through the primary material for this period more carefully than anyone has had the time or inclination to do so far.

VIII

FRANCESCA DELL'ORO

CHOIX D'AUTEUR

LES LANGUES DE L'ÉPIGRAMME ÉPIGRAPHIQUE APRÈS 400 AV. J.-C.
ET LA LIBERTÉ DE CHOIX DES RÉDACTEURS PAR RAPPORT
AUX TRAITS DITS 'ÉPIQUES'

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to present a short history of the language(s) of the Greek epigraphic epigram after 400 BC, focussing on the absence/presence of features that are commonly termed 'epic'. While *CEG* 830 reflects the increasing influence of Attic in the fourth century, the dialectal mixture of *GV* 755 and the use of the epic-Ionic dialect in *GV* 1907 illustrate the later development of the epigrammatic language. Moreover, these epigrams were selected as their authors seem to have consciously engaged in a dialogue with the epic model, or to have deliberately refused to do so.

1. Pour un aperçu d'une histoire des langues de l'épigramme épigraphique

La langue de l'épigramme épigraphique est irréductible à une définition unitaire.¹ Les débuts du "first known written genre

¹ "Le iscrizioni non hanno un punto di irradiazione unico, quindi non vi sono le premesse perché si crei il connubio con un determinato dialetto": PALUMBO STRACCA (1987) 430. – Je souhaite remercier vivement Andreas Willi ainsi que la Direction et tout le personnel de la Fondation Hardt pour l'organisation des *Entretiens*. Grâce à la générosité de la Direction, j'ai pu séjourner en novembre dernier à la Fondation et terminer ainsi la rédaction finale de cette

in the Greek tongue”² remontent aux premières attestations alphabétiques en grec (*CEG* 432, 454) et son histoire s'étale sur toute l'Antiquité. Les choix linguistiques des rédacteurs ont été influencés non seulement par des changements majeurs dans l'histoire de la langue grecque – par ex., l'émergence de la *koinê* à base ionienne-attique –, mais aussi par l'anoblissement de l'épigramme en un genre littéraire reconnu. Des recueils d'inscriptions de l'époque classique³ on passe, à l'époque hellénistique, aux recueils d'épigrammes “e non più solo di iscrizioni”.⁴ Le but de ma communication est de mettre en lumière la tension entre tendances unitaires (ou de genre) et tendances individuelles (les choix des auteurs) après 400 av. J.-C. : d'un côté, la diffusion de l'alphabet commun, de l'autre, celle de la *koinê* contribuent à créer une base épigraphique et linguistique plus uniforme qu'auparavant. Je me concentrerai, plus particulièrement, sur la présence ou l'absence dans les épigrammes épigraphiques de traits qu'on peut définir comme ‘épiques’, un élément linguistique constitutif de la langue de l'épigramme littéraire et également, mais de manière plus variable, de l'épigramme épigraphique. D'abord je fournirai un bref état de la question de l'étude de l'épigramme épigraphique et de sa langue en particulier. Ensuite je présenterai trois études de cas – du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. à l'époque impériale – qui présentent trois langues différentes (l'attique, un mélange dialectal, la langue ionienne-épique) et dans lesquelles les auteurs montrent qu'ils ont engagé un rapport différent avec les traits épiques. Aucun de ces trois cas ne présente de solutions linguistiques exceptionnelles et les trois épigrammes ont été sélectionnées parce qu'il m'est paru possible d'entrevoir des choix linguistiques conscients de la part de leurs auteurs.

contribution. Je souhaite également remercier le Harvard's Center for Hellenic Studies pour son soutien indéfectible à mes recherches.

² BRUSS (2005) 168.

³ A. PETROVIC (2007) 93-98 ; TSAGALIS (2008) 53-56.

⁴ GARULLI (2012) 14.

2. L'épigramme épigraphique en tant qu'objet d'étude linguistique

L'épigramme épigraphique n'est pas seulement l'ancêtre, mais aussi l'un des modèles – implicite ou explicite – de l'épigramme fictive. D'ailleurs, le jeu avec les codes épigraphiques (par ex. les formules fonctionnelles de dédicace) est, avec la brièveté, l'un des critères distinctifs du genre. Si la présence et le rôle des codes épigraphiques dans les épigrammes littéraires, en particulier hellénistiques, sont au cœur de plusieurs études,⁵ on s'est plus rarement intéressé à la question de l'influence de l'épigramme littéraire sur les épigrammes épigraphiques.⁶ De même, on s'est rarement intéressé à la 'préhistoire' de l'épigramme littéraire, en étudiant les épigrammes épigraphiques des époques archaïque et classique du point de vue littéraire.⁷ Les épigrammes épigraphiques ont été étudiées encore plus rarement à partir d'une approche globale qui ne soit pas seulement littéraire, mais aussi épigraphique et linguistique.⁸ Cependant, on peut affirmer aujourd'hui que, grâce à l'intérêt renouvelé pour les rapports entre les deux typologies d'attestations, l'étude de l'épigramme épigraphique et celle de l'épigramme littéraire sont désormais de plus en plus perçues comme s'intégrant l'une à l'autre.⁹

Les épigrammes épigraphiques – soit transmises par voie directe soit citées par des auteurs – ont longtemps été considérées comme des expressions poétiques 'sous-littéraires' à cause de leurs buts pragmatiques qui les opposeraient, du moins en principe, aux épigrammes 'littéraires' réunies dans un recueil avec d'autres poèmes du même genre et transmises par la tradition

⁵ FANTUZZI (2004), en particulier 283-338 ; BRUSS (2005) ; MEYER (2005) ; TUELLER (2008) ; cf. aussi ROSSI (2001) ; PETROVIC (2007) ; SENS (2011).

⁶ PARSONS (2002) ; BETTENWORTH (2007) ; DE STEFANI / MAGNELLI (2011), en particulier 545-549 ; GARULLI (2012) ; CHRISTIAN (2015).

⁷ TSAGALIS (2008) ; BAUMBACH / PETROVIC / PETROVIC (2010).

⁸ Par ex., CASSIO (2007) ; KACZKO (2016).

⁹ SISTAKOU / RENGAKOS (2016).

manuscrite.¹⁰ L'intérêt croissant pour l'épigramme épigraphique en tant qu'ancêtre et modèle des épigrammes littéraires a pour-tant amené à reconsidérer l'existence et l'opportunité d'une séparation nette entre les deux typologies d'attestation.¹¹

Ces deux modalités d'attestation ne sont cependant pas sans conséquence pour notre réception de la langue de l'épigramme et il faut donc bien les garder à l'esprit. Gow et Page dans leur édition des épigrammes hellénistiques de l'*Anthologia Graeca* dégagent trois groupes d'épigrammes:¹² les épigrammes écrites "in Epic and Ionic dialect"; les épigrammes écrites "in a dialect which might properly be called non-Ionic, but which in this book it will be convenient, and in the Hellenistic age hardly incorrect, to call Doric"; les épigrammes dans lesquelles "the two dialects are inextricably mixed", comme déjà dans les inscriptions attiques en vers et ailleurs. Lorsque la tradition les confronte à des variantes dialectales pour les épigrammes du troisième groupe, Gow et Page ont fait valoir un critère d'uniformité ("the forms which best match the rest of the epigram"), bien que conscients du fait que certaines variantes pourraient être entrées dans la tradition suite à l'emploi de la part des copistes et correcteurs du même critère; lorsque la tradition est concordante, ils ont décidé d'introduire le moins de changements possibles et de 'presque' les limiter aux passages où un seul mot est 'aberrant'. Que le résultat des choix éditoriaux de Gow et Page ne soit pas toujours satisfaisant avait déjà été montré de manière convaincante par Palumbo Stracca à travers des cas de double attestation.¹³ L'analyse de Sens des 'dorismes' du 'Nouveau Posidippe' (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309) l'a ultérieurement confirmé.¹⁴

¹⁰ Par ex., HÖSCHELE (2010) 89 ("subliterar", "Gebrauchspoeseie" vs "Buch-epigrammatik"). Cf. aussi THOMAS (1998) 205 ("functional" vs "literary"), qui remarque toutefois que "the fiction of functionality is part of the essence of the developing epigrammatic genre".

¹¹ Voir notamment GARULLI (2012), en particulier 28-30 ; et CHRISTIAN (2015) 17-24.

¹² GOW / PAGE (1965) XLV-XLVI.

¹³ PALUMBO STRACCA (1987) ; voir aussi KACZKO (2009) ; GARULLI (2012).

¹⁴ SENS (2004).

L'étude des épigrammes épigraphiques, de son côté, a donné des résultats parfois divergents, en particulier quand il s'est agi de savoir si les auteurs ont employé leur propre dialecte. Les études de Mickey, qui ont eu une influence considérable jusqu'à une date récente, donnaient une réponse négative à la question "Were they [*sc.* les rédacteurs] then self-consciously writing 'literature' in their own dialects?".¹⁵ De plus, Mickey dégageait une tendance à éviter les formes dialectales locales, qui se serait renforcée entre les plus anciennes attestations de l'âge archaïque et les épigrammes composées avant 400 av. J.-C.¹⁶ Pourtant Buck reconnaissait déjà l'importance du contexte épichorique, tout comme l'ont fait plus récemment Palumbo Stracca, Cassio, Dell'Oro, Passa et Kaczko.¹⁷ En particulier, Alonso Déniz et Nieto Izquierdo ainsi que Guijarro Ruano expriment une prise de position nette contre les conclusions de Mickey par rapport à l'emploi du dialecte local.¹⁸ Les données recueillies par Mickey semblent donc pouvoir s'appliquer au cas particulier qu'elle étudie de manière plus approfondie, celui de la Thessalie, mais moins à d'autres régions. D'ailleurs, une perspective diachronique permet de mieux rendre compte des données et des résultats recueillis par Mickey : la tendance à éviter des traits ressentis comme nettement locaux se serait accentuée avec le temps et en parallèle de l'affirmation de l'ionien comme langue de l'épigramme.¹⁹

Une autre question importante est celle de la présence d'ionismes et de traits épiques. Dans ce cas aussi, Mickey arrivait à la conclusion que les auteurs d'épigrammes épigraphiques ne recherchaient pas consciemment à ce que leurs vers sonnent comme 'ioniens'.²⁰ Elle est suivie par Passa qui dégage une "tendenza a usare elementi linguistici dei dialetti epicorici a

¹⁵ MICKEY (1981a) ; (1981b) 54.

¹⁶ MICKEY (1981b) 56.

¹⁷ BUCK (1923) ; PALUMBO STRACCA (1987) ; CASSIO (1994) ; DELL'ORO (2013) ; PASSA (2016) ; KACZKO (2016).

¹⁸ ALONSO DÉNIZ / NIETO IZQUIERDO (2009) ; GUIJARRO RUANO (2015).

¹⁹ PASSA (2016) 274.

²⁰ Cf. MICKEY (1981b) 42 sur la dépendance postulée entre 'ionien' et 'épieue'.

spese dello ionico, il dialetto tradizionalmente associato in età arcaica all'épica e all'élegia".²¹ Buck était quant à lui d'un autre avis. En répondant à Kretschmer, qui limitait le cas d'emploi de formes épiques à la nécessité métrique, Buck met en évidence des cas où le rédacteur a choisi une formulation 'épique' là où l'adhésion au dialecte local n'aurait pas été problématique.²² Sans toujours aborder la question d'un emploi conscient,²³ et avec des nuances différentes, les experts cités plus haut s'accordent aussi sur l'importance de la composante épique dans les épigrammes épigraphiques.²⁴ D'ailleurs, cette présence est amplement reconnue pour la période hellénistique également, quand l'épigramme littéraire s'épanouit.²⁵

La question de l'emploi des traits épiques est plus complexe que généralement reconnu. On peut se demander ce qu'un datif en -οισι(ν) ou un génitif en -οιο – pourvu qu'ils puissent être interprétés comme des traits littéraires – ont de spécifiquement épique en soi. S'il semble raisonnable de supposer une influence de la langue épique pour la phase la plus ancienne de l'histoire de l'épigramme épigraphique, en va-t-il de même pour les époques suivantes, quand, en plus de l'influence de l'épique, on peut supposer celle d'autres langues littéraires?²⁶ Le problème qui émerge ici est celui des différentes lectures possibles de formes qu'on trouve à partir d'Homère, mais qui dès l'époque archaïque pouvaient être lues comme se rattachant

²¹ PASSA (2016) 273.

²² BUCK (1923) ; KRETSCHMER (1913) 325-326; voir, par ex., la fin d'hexamètre *κασιγνήτου πονέθης* (CEG 143, 6), alors que *κασιγνήτου ἐπονθήθης* aurait été possible.

²³ On pourrait en effet penser à un emploi générique, une fois que l'élément 'épique' est intégré à la langue épigrammatique; cf. PASSA (2016) 278 ("man mano che si va avanti nel tempo, infatti, essi [sc. les épigrammes sur pierre] attestano un uso sempre più marcato del dialetto ionico. Ciò comprova oltre ogni ragionevole dubbio la forza di penetrazione della dizione ionico-epica, che nel corso dell'epoca arcaica si andava evidentemente affermando come l'unica di prestigio").

²⁴ Voir, par ex., KACZKO (2009) 91 ("epigrams [...] being verse compositions, are influenced by poetical models, above all by epics").

²⁵ Voir, par ex., BING (2009) 125 ("pervasive reference to epic diction and values").

²⁶ Voir, par ex., TSAGALIS (2008), en particulier 268-273, pour l'influence de la langue tragique sur les épigrammes attiques du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.

à d'autres genres littéraires, y compris l'épigramme elle-même. Dans les épigrammes postérieures à 400 av. J.-C. sélectionnées dans cette contribution, ces éléments épiques semblent avoir joué un rôle pour les rédacteurs au-delà des codes du genre épigrammatique. L'auteur de *CEG* 830 les a évités, le rédacteur de *GV* 755 a créé un mélange dialectal avec des formes 'doriennes' et le poète de *GV* 1907 a employé une langue ionienne-épique. Ces choix linguistiques, une fois mis en contexte, ne sont pas exceptionnels en soi, mais il y a pour chacune de ces épigrammes la possibilité de justifier l'hypothèse d'un emploi (ou d'un refus) conscient des traits de la langue épique. Cela montre que le modèle épique a continué à être vivant bien au-delà de l'époque archaïque et en concomitance avec d'autres modèles littéraires et/ou linguistiques.

Avant de présenter les trois épigrammes, je voudrais souligner la variabilité à laquelle les experts sont confrontés par les épigrammes épigraphiques. Les problématiques que ce court aperçu a permis de toucher sont symptomatiques du genre : la pratique de l'épigramme s'est étalée sur plusieurs siècles et sur plusieurs régions ; en outre, comme le montre bien la maladresse de certaines épigrammes par rapport à la métrique ou au style, ce genre n'était pas pratiqué seulement par des esprits cultivés. C'est cette situation d'extrême variabilité²⁷ qui empêche des généralisations valables dans toute situation pour le genre de l'épigramme et qui contraint à en spécifier toujours le rayon de validité (temporelle, géographique, etc.), ou au moins à nuancer toute affirmation. C'est pour cette raison que dans cette contribution j'ai préféré parler de langues de l'épigramme.

3. *CEG* 830: l'attique, un choix international

Si l'importance de la tradition ionienne-épique dans la formation d'une langue de l'épigramme a été soulignée dans plusieurs études, une évaluation de l'influence de l'attique, en particulier

²⁷ Voir, par ex., PASSA (2016) 273.

au IV^e siècle, quand ce dialecte était une langue de prestige et que la *koinê* à base ionienne-attique était en train de se diffuser dans toutes les régions de la Grèce,²⁸ manque encore.

Si on prend le cas de la Béotie et si on fait abstraction de toute possible affiliation littéraire là où il est possible de renvoyer à la *koinê*, on trouve une épigramme comme *CEG* 630 (publique), écrite dans une *koinê* (Τύχη, νικήσας) qui évite un trait marqué de l'attique (κρείσσων vs κρείττων),²⁹ une épigramme comme *CEG* 635 qui atteste des mots avec rétroversion attique (φθονερά, πατρίας, οἰκείαι face à Θήβη, πάσης, ἀρετήν, γῆς, γνώμη) ainsi qu'un trait souvent perçu comme 'épique' comme le datif long ἀ]γαθοῖσι, des épigrammes comme *CEG* 632 qui présente des traits locaux ou non-attiques (άνικα, Σπάρτας, κλάρωι, καρύσσει, νικαφόρα pour la phonologie; voir aussi τηνάκις et le génitif Εὐρώτα) sur une base linguistique qu'on peut rapprocher de la *koinê* (φέρειν, κρείσσονες) et sur laquelle se greffent des formes avec allongement vocalique (Ξεινοκράτης dans le vers 2 mais Ξενοκράτης dans l'en-tête, δουρί).³⁰ En dehors de l'Attique, les rédacteurs s'orientent donc vers une *koinê* qui évite les traits marqués du dialecte attique et qui peut accueillir des traits locaux (non-ioniens-attiques) ou des traits que l'on peut définir de manière générale comme 'épiques'. La situation des épigrammes attiques est variée, elle aussi. Je me limite à citer quelques cas significatifs. Dans *CEG* 469 (publique), le mot poétique γὰρ est employé à côté du duel ἄνδρε ποθεινώ, mais dans *CEG* 511 on lit la variante poétique ἡελίο à côté de la forme non attique ἐών (voir aussi le syntagme au datif σοῖ[σι φίλο]ις).³¹ L'auteur de *CEG* 466 (publique)

²⁸ LÓPEZ EIRE (1993), (1996).

²⁹ Cf. aussi *CEG* 636. *CEG* 786 est aussi une épigramme publique, mais l'auteur opte pour un autre choix linguistique : voir la note suivante.

³⁰ "The dialect is mainly literary Doric, but with epic elements (e.g. κρείσσονες, l. 7), coming close to the language of Pindar" (RHODES / OSBORNE [2003] 150). La même forme peut donc être lue de manière différente. Pour la présence d'éléments non-ioniens-attiques, cf. aussi *CEG* 631, 633, 634, 693, 786 (on remarquera la forme mixte ἱερῶι face au génitif νίκας), 788, 789, 790.

³¹ Les formes longues sont originelles dans le dialecte attique, mais elles étaient déjà des archaïsmes au V^e siècle av. J.-C. (LÓPEZ EIRE [1993] 49). Les

s'oriente vers une variété marquée d'attique (ἐλευθερίας κρεῖττον), tout comme celui de *CEG* 487 (φυλάττω). Si, donc, écrire dans la *koinê* à base ionienne-attique est devenu commun pour les auteurs d'épigrammes du IV^e siècle, la marge de choix des rédacteurs consiste dans la possibilité d'introduire des formes locales (par ex., ἀνίκα en Béotie, φυλάττω en Attique) et/ou de formes dites 'épiques' (ἀγαθοῖσι en Béotie, ἐών en attique)³² et/ou de renvoyer à une autre affiliation littéraire spécifique. Dans la plupart des cas, il n'est pas possible de connaître les raisons qui ont amené un auteur à s'orienter vers une variété donnée, mais le cas de *CEG* 830, une épigramme en l'honneur du rhéteur Gorgias de Lentini écrite en attique,³³ permet de formuler l'hypothèse que son auteur, en évitant l'emploi des traits dits 'épiques' les plus marqués (par ex., un génitif en -οιο à côté d'un datif en -οισι), a voulu éviter le mélange dialectal afin de rester près de la langue employée par Gorgias dans la rédaction attique de ses écrits.³⁴

L'épigramme *CEG* 830,³⁵ gravée sur un bloc de calcaire noir (env. 0,44 × 0,60 m.), a été trouvée près du temple de Zeus à Olympie. Elle accompagnait une statue de Gorgias que Pausanias atteste avoir vue (6, 17, 7-8). La datation à la première moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. est essentiellement basée sur la

datifs dissyllabiques masculins pouvaient donc être perçus dans les épigrammes attiques comme des archaïsmes, mais aussi comme des ionismes : par ex., ἀστοῖσιν (*CEG* 483), ἀνθρώποισι (*CEG* 492).

³² Voir d'ailleurs *CEG* 888 qui mélange formes attiques (ἡλικίας à côté de, par ex., ἀρετῆς, ἐαυτοῦ) et formes dites 'épiques' (par ex., πολλοῖσιν Λυκίοισι, ἄστεα), en introduisant une forme dorienne (φραδῆι). Cf. aussi CASSIO (2014), en particulier 260-261.

³³ GALLAVOTTI (1979) 24 ; TZIFOPOULOS (1991) 211.

³⁴ On sait que Gorgias est considéré "verosimilmente il primo autore di dialetto ionico a comporre in attico" (VESSELLA [2016] 362), un choix qui n'est pas du tout évident, si on considère l'origine de Gorgias, la circulation en Sicile d'écrits rhétoriques en dialecte épichorique (CASSIO [1989]), le fait que Gorgias voyagea et devint un auteur international et panhellénique, et enfin que son attique ne devait pas être "sans accent" (WILLI [2008] 302). Il est très probable que nous disposons d'une rédaction attique de ses écrits pensée pour un public attique, plutôt que de textes qui reflètent exactement la manière de s'exprimer de Gorgias en tous les endroits de la Grèce par lesquels il est passé (WILLI [2008] 300-303).

³⁵ *Editio princeps* FRÄNKEL (1877) 43-47, n° 54 ; voir aussi *IvO* 293, c. 415-418.

paléographie.³⁶ La statue pourrait donc avoir été dédiée du vivant de Gorgias (375 est l'année présumée de sa mort) ou peu après. La disposition de l'inscription, en alphabet ionien commun, est soignée, avec une division nette des trois parties du texte: en-tête, premier couple de distiques (ou première épigramme), deuxième couple de distiques (ou deuxième épigramme). Aucun élément n'invite à penser que les deux couples de distiques aient été gravés à deux moments différents. Dans le premier couple on trouve la formule de dédicace de la statue, la célébration du commanditaire – et peut-être aussi auteur – Eumolpe avec ses liens de parenté, d'éducation et d'amitié avec Gorgias. Le deuxième couple est divisé entre une célébration de l'art de Gorgias et une défense de ce dernier face à l'accusation d'ostentation pour avoir érigé une riche statue de lui-même à Delphes. Je présente ici le texte de l'édition de Hansen (*CEG*) avec les corrections de Tzifopoulos³⁷ dans l'apparat critique:

- (i) Χαρμαντίδου Γοργίας Λεοντίνος.
 - (ii) τῇμ μὲν ἀδελφὴν Δηϊκράτης τῇγ Γοργίου ἔσχεν, |
ἐκ ταύτης δ' αὐτῷ γίνεται Ἴπποκράτης, |
Ἴπποκράτους δ' Εὐμόλπος, [ὃς εἰ]κόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκεν |
δισσῶν παιδείας κ[α]ὶ φιλί[ας] ἔνεκα.
 - (iii) Γοργίου ἀσκήσαι ψυχὴν ἀρετῆς ἐς ἀγῶνας |
οὐδεὶς πω θνητῶν καλλίον' ἤρρε τέχνην· |
οὗ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γυάλοις εἰκὼν ἀνάκειται |
οὗ πλούτου παράδειγμ', εὐσεβίας δὲ τρόπων.
- 2 ἀδελφὴν – 3 αὐτῷ – 4 ὃς εἰκόνα – 5 καὶ φιλί[ας] ἔνεκα
- (i) “Gorgias de Lentini fils de Charmantides.
 - (ii) Deikrates eut comme femme la sœur de Gorgias,
et de celle-ci Hippocrate lui naquit,
ensuite (naquit) Eumolpe fils d'Hippocrate, qui dédia cette
statue
en signe de reconnaissance pour deux (raisons), l'éducation et
l'amitié.

³⁶ TZIFOPOULOS (1991) 211.

³⁷ TZIFOPOULOS (2014) 158-159.

- (iii) Personne, sinon Gorgias, parmi les mortels ne trouva un art plus beau
pour exercer l'âme dans les travaux de la vertu.
De lui une statue est placée aussi dans les vallées d'Apollon,
Non comme signe de richesse, mais de la piété de ses mœurs."

Dans l'en-tête, le génitif patronymique est positionné avant le nom de Gorgias, ce qui n'est pas usuel en épigraphie.³⁸ On peut identifier les traits suivants comme attiques : l'*alpha* de παιδείας (vs ion. παιδείης), φιλίας (vs ion. φιλήης) et εὐσεβίας (vs ion. εὐσεβήης), le génitif Γοργίου (vs ion. -εω ou -ω), le génitif Ἰπποκράτους avec contraction, la forme ἀδελφή (vs ion. ἀδελφῆ). À διττός l'auteur a préféré la forme non-marquée δισσός,³⁹ aussi employée par les auteurs attiques, et qui est d'ailleurs la seule variante attestée dans les épigrammes attiques du IV^e siècle.⁴⁰ Cette préférence pour -σσ- entre dans les tendances ionisantes de l'attique⁴¹ et l'examen de la tradition du texte de Gorgias laisse supposer que les formes en -σσ- devaient être les formes originales.⁴² De plus, l'emploi de δισσός à la place de δύο "kann ein gorgianischer Ionismus sein".⁴³ La définition de Delphes comme Ἀπόλλωνος γύαλα rappelle Pindare (*Pyth.* 8, 63) ainsi que des passages de tragédie.⁴⁴ La forme εὐσεβία dans le dernier vers est poétique. On la trouve déjà chez Théognis (1142) et elle est aussi connue de la tragédie. La forme en -ία est un substitut métriquement convenable pour εὐσεβεια comme le montrent maintes épigrammes attiques.⁴⁵ Il n'y a que

³⁸ GALLAVOTTI (1979) 25 ; cf. aussi LAZZARINI (1976) 62-65.

³⁹ Dans le dialecte attique du V^e siècle av. J.-C., les formes avec -ττ- sont employées dans la langue parlée, mais évitées dans les textes de style élevé, comme la tragédie ou Thucydide (THUMB [21959] 302-303).

⁴⁰ CEG 539, 10 ; 526, 2, 7 ; 570, 1 ; 584, 3 ; cf. aussi CEG 879, 3 (Macédoine).

⁴¹ LÓPEZ EIRE (1959) 44-57 et (1996) 19-42.

⁴² WILLI (2008) 301 n. 91.

⁴³ WILLI (2008) 302 n. 95.

⁴⁴ EUR. *Phoen.* 237 (lyr.) ; *Ion* 245 ; *Andr.* 1093 ; SOPH. fr. 460 Radt.

⁴⁵ CEG 592, 5 (datif singulier en début d'hexamètre) ; 595, 7 (dans la deuxième partie d'un vers qui semble être un pentamètre de mauvaise facture) ; 603, 3 (entre le deuxième et le troisième pied d'un hexamètre).

deux formes qui puissent être lues comme des renvois à la langue épique, notamment *καλλίον(α)* avec ι (vs att. ῑ), qui est d'ailleurs également lyrique, et l'adjectif homérique *θνητός* (qu'on trouve toutefois aussi en prose)⁴⁶.

Le rédacteur de *CEG* 830⁴⁷ n'a pas employé le dialecte dont Gorgias était un locuteur natif, l'eubéen de Lentini, car celui-ci était désormais un dialecte mourant. Dans la Sicile de la première moitié du IV^e siècle av. J.-C., ce dialecte a été victime non seulement de l'expansion politique et militaire des villes doriennes, mais aussi de la formation et de la pression d'une *koinê* à base dorienne.⁴⁸ Dans un cas pareil, il est naturel que le rédacteur de *CEG* 830 se soit orienté vers une langue de prestige et non vers le dialecte local. Un peu plus d'un siècle auparavant, le rédacteur de l'épigramme funéraire pour le béotien Mnasiheos (Akraiphia, env. 520-510 av. J.-C.) avait fait le choix – exceptionnel, comme l'a relevé Cassio⁴⁹ – d'employer le dialecte ionique : *μνῆμ(α), ἐπ' ὁδοῖ, ἀρχαίῃς, φιλεμοσύνῃς* (avec l'exception de la scansion de *καλόν* avec ᾱ, qui est d'ailleurs déjà épique: voir, par ex., Hes. *Op.* 63). Au IV^e siècle, l'attique était désormais devenu une langue de prestige internationale et, comme on l'a montré, il était devenu une des langues de l'épigramme épigraphique vers laquelle il était naturel pour l'auteur de *CEG* 830 de s'orienter, d'autant plus que ce

⁴⁶ Voir, par ex., Pl. *Symp.* 202e.

⁴⁷ *CEG* 830 ne montre pas les caractéristiques typiques de l'épigramme dédicatoire, dans laquelle – à l'époque archaïque et jusqu'au début de l'époque classique – on emploie le dialecte du commanditaire. Le rapport entre Gorgias et Eumolpe est semblable à celui qui se crée entre la figure du défunt et celle du commanditaire dans l'épigramme funéraire, quand les deux figures ne coïncident pas. L'identité du défunt ou du dédicataire pouvait être soulignée, à l'époque archaïque et au début de l'époque classique, par les biais de l'alphabet et/ou du dialecte, souvent à travers des compromis: voir, par ex., les trois épigrammes sous *CEG* 380, trouvées à Olympie, et le commentaire de LURAGHI (2010) 78-79. La pratique est attestée aussi pour les époques suivantes, même si l'alphabet n'est plus un moyen pour véhiculer l'identité et que les traits dialectaux sont devenus plus stéréotypés: voir, par ex., *GV* 1603 où l'auteur souligne l'identité béotienne d'Eugnotos aussi à travers les choix dialectaux (par ex., ἑών, βροαδρομέων).

⁴⁸ MIMBRERA (2012).

⁴⁹ CASSIO (2007).

choix lui permettait également de rester près de l'un des dialectes employés par Gorgias lui-même. Je crois que l'on peut interpréter en ce sens aussi l'absence dans l'épigramme de traits épiques marqués, qui peut donc être expliquée comme un hommage à la variété de dialecte attique employée par Gorgias. D'ailleurs, il est aisé de se rendre compte que d'autres rédacteurs d'épigrammes du IV^e siècle retrouvées à Olympie n'ont pas hésité à introduire des formes épiques marquées: dans *CEG* 820, qui présente une phonologie dorienne (par ex., Σπάρτας), on lit βασιλῆες, dans *CEG* 828, qui présente une phonologie attique (par ex., Ὀλυμπίαι ἡνίκα), on lit le génitif épicure Ἀλκινόῳ (vs att. Ἀλκίνοῦ). Si *CEG* 830 devait être un hommage à l'attique de Gorgias, il y avait sûrement peu d'espace pour des traits épiques marqués, qui auraient renvoyé à une autre langue de prestige.

4. *GV*755: un nouveau modèle de mélange dialectal

Certaines épigrammes de l'*Anthologie* combinent des traits ioniens(-attiens) avec des traits non-ioniens-attiens, souvent appelés 'doriens'. Ce mélange, que l'on trouve aussi dans l'épigramme épigraphique, avait déjà surpris Gow et Page, comme on a déjà pu le constater ci-dessus (section 2). En tant que lecteurs modernes, nous sommes souvent à la recherche d'une raison expliquant l'emploi de ces traits non-ioniens-attiens qui créent un nouveau mélange dialectal, car basé sur la *koinê* et non plus sur les dialectes locaux, comme c'était le cas à l'époque archaïque et au début de l'époque classique. Magnelli, par exemple, rappelle comment, pour les 'dorismes' de Posidippe, on a supposé "a stylized form of realism, a mark of affiliation with certain literary traditions or, in court poems, an allusion to the supposed Dorian ancestry of the Ptolemies".⁵⁰ Aussi, dans les épigrammes épigraphiques le dialecte peut marquer

⁵⁰ MAGNELLI (2007) 177.

une affiliation littéraire et/ou l'identité,⁵¹ ce qui me semble montrer une continuité de fond avec les pratiques archaïques et classiques. Dans cette section, je me propose de montrer, à l'aide de l'épigramme funéraire *GV 755*, l'interaction entre le plan local – Chalcis en Eubée – et le plan littéraire – quels sont les modèles possibles desquels s'est inspiré l'auteur de l'épigramme ? –, le dialecte eubéen n'étant plus vivant et le genre épigrammatique étant désormais pratiqué aux plus hauts niveaux littéraires. En outre, la présence de formes de la *koinê* ainsi que de formes non-ioniennes-attiques pousse à se demander quel était le poids des traits dits 'épiques' pour cette épigramme.

GV 755 (= *IG XII 9, 954*)⁵² nous amène à Chalcis en Eubée à la fin de l'époque hellénistique.⁵³ Il s'agit de l'épigramme pour Apatourios, un jeune philosophe inconnu par ailleurs.⁵⁴ L'épigramme a été gravée sur un bloc de marbre réemployé ensuite

⁵¹ Voir COUGHLAN (à paraître), qui présente l'épigramme *SGO 20 / 14 / 01* comme un exemple d'emploi de traits 'doriens' comme marqueurs d'identité ainsi que d'affiliation littéraire. Il apporte aussi de nombreux exemples du dialecte comme simple marqueur d'une affiliation littéraire : par ex., *SGO 01 / 01 / 07* ; *03 / 01 / 02* ; *09 / 01 / 03* ; *03 / 07 / 17* ; *16 / 55 / 03*. Ces épigrammes montrent que l'emploi d'éléments non-ioniens-attiques et non-ioniens-épiques n'est pas toujours stéréotypé et limité au cas d'*alpha* long comme dans *GV 755*.

⁵² *Editio princeps* STEPHANI (1843) 19-20, avec transcription : table II Chalcis n° 6. Voir aussi WELCKER (1845) 238-240, avec la transcription de N. Ulrich, qui semble avoir été le dernier à avoir vu la pierre.

⁵³ Je suis la datation proposée par D. Knoepfler dans le *LGPN I*. On remarquera qu'on a fait plusieurs propositions de datation, mais qu'on n'en a presque jamais exposé les raisons : "in oder gegen die römische Zeit" (WELCKER [1845] 240, paléographie) ; "aus der Zeit Philons von Larisa" (PREUNER [1920] 289) ; "fortasse ante Chr. n." (KAIBEL [1878] n° 103) ; "um 100?" (PEEK dans *GV 755*) ; "fl. II^a" (PUECH [1994] 262, n° 228). Le dessin soigné des lettres fait par Stephani permet d'établir qu'il n'y a aucune forme exclusivement caractéristique de l'époque impériale. Certaines lettres conservent encore une forme classique (notamment *thêta* avec point interne $\odot$; cf. aussi l'*epsilon* avec les barres horizontales de même longueur et l'*omega* avec une grande courbe), d'autres utilisent des formes de transition (*mu* et *sigma* présentent les barres externes parallèles, les barres du *nu* sont de la même longueur) ou hellénistiques (notamment *alpha* à barre brisée A ; cf. aussi les apex dans l'en-tête). La lettre *pi* avec ses barres verticales de même longueur (II) et la barre horizontale qui se prolonge sur les deux côtés suggère la pleine époque hellénistique. Pour les formes des lettres après le V^e siècle av. J.-C. je me suis basée sur GUARDUCCI (21995) 1, 368-390.

⁵⁴ PUECH (1994) 262, n° 228.

comme marche d'escalier dans une tour et aujourd'hui perdu.
Je donne ici le texte de *IG XII 9*, 954 :

Ἀπατούριος
Δα[μ]α[ρ]μένου
χαῖρε.
[ἐ]νθά[δε κηρὶ δα]μ[έ]ντα τὸν ἔξοχον ἐν πραπίδεσσι
[Ε]ὐ[βο]ί[ας ἐρατ]ῆς ἄδε κέκευθε κόνις,
[ἐ]σθλὸν ἐ[ν ἡιθέοι]ς Ἀπατούριον, ὅνθ' Ἑκαδήμου
[λ]έ[σ]χαι κ[αὶ σοφί]ας μῦθος ἐ[π]άγλαισεν.
[πο]λλὰ σὺ μ[ὲν λείβ]ων πάριθι, ξένε, δάκρυα κανθοῖς·
οὐχ ὁσίη [κενεᾶς τ]ῶιδε νέμειν χάριτας.
[ἀλ]λὰ προ[φωνή]σας ὄνομα κλυτὸν ἔννεπε χαίρειν,
[καὶ] τὸ παρ[ερχομένοι]ς ξυνὸν ἀμειβόμενος·
[β]ῶ[λό]ς σοι κο[ύφα] Ἑλεφνηορὶς ὁστέα κρύπτει
[ἀ]ν[θο]φυῆς [μεγάλα]ς εἵνεκα σωφροσύνας.

“Apatourios
fils de Damarmenos
Salut!

Ici, cette terre de l'Eubée aimable recouvre
l'homme exceptionnel dans ses pensées, dompté par un destin
(de mort),
Apatourios, habile parmi les jeunes, que les sages conversations
d'Hecademos ont fait briller.
Va, ô passant, versant de tes yeux beaucoup de larmes!
Il n'est pas permis de lui distribuer de grâces vides.
Mais dis 'Salut!' une fois prononcé le nom illustre
et réponds avec la formule commune à ceux qui passent :
'Que légère la terre eubéenne cache tes os,
(terre) fleurie grâce à ta grande sagesse!'"

Comme le texte est fragmentaire en certains points, je me limiterai à prendre en considération dans mon analyse les parties dont la lecture est assurée. Cette épigramme, écrite à partir d'une base qu'on peut identifier comme la *koinê* ionienne(-attique),⁵⁵ présente un vernis 'dorissant' : il est sûr que les *ᾱ* ont été maintenus dans ἐρατ]ῆς et ἄδε au vers 2 ainsi que dans σωφροσύνας au vers 10. Cela n'est pourtant pas le cas pour le nom du héros

⁵⁵ Il n'y a aucune forme exclusivement attique (et non-ionienne ou non-poétique) : voir notamment ὁσίη au vers 6. Ξένος sans allongement compensatoire peut être interprété comme un élément de *koinê* ou comme un élément poétique.

Ἑκάδημος, pour le nom ὅσίη (v. 6) et pour l'idiotype Ἐλεφηνόρις (v. 9). Παπίδηςσσι pourrait être interprété comme une forme éolienne ou dorienne, -εσσι étant une terminaison qu'on retrouve dans les dialectes du Nord-Ouest, mais la connotation poétique de ce mot⁵⁶ pousse à rejeter une fonction mimétique et à chercher une affiliation littéraire dans la langue homérique. La forme ξυνός (vs κοινός) renvoie au dialecte ionien et de façon plus générale à la langue poétique (épique, lyrique, tragique). La forme κοινός aurait été métriquement équivalente, ce qui fait apparaître ξυνός comme un choix du rédacteur. La co-présence de ces deux formes peut déjà être un indice vers la langue ionienne-épique. Certaines formes, comme ἐσθλός, appartiennent à la *koinê* ionienne-attique, d'autres formes, comme ἐννέπω, au langage poétique.

Les raisons expliquant le choix de teinter la langue de cette épigramme d'un vernis non-ionien-attique et non-ionien-épique qui se détache de la base ionienne ne sont pas évidentes. La provenance de l'épigramme, Chalcis en Eubée, ne semble pas avoir pu déterminer le choix de ce vernis. Apatourios n'est pas non plus identifié comme un étranger. L'anthroponyme Ἀπατούριος est tiré du nom des fêtes Ἀπατούρια, célébrées à Athènes et dans les îles ioniennes.⁵⁷ Cet anthroponyme semble donc tout à fait à sa place en Eubée.⁵⁸ De plus, il ne semble pas que

⁵⁶ On le retrouve dans les textes hexamétriques, typiquement épiques, dans Pindare (qui recourt aussi au datif παπίσιν, *Ol.* 2, 94) et dans les parties lyriques de la tragédie.

⁵⁷ *Apatouriôn* est aussi un des mois du calendrier chalcidien.

⁵⁸ L'anthroponyme Δαμάρμενος est attesté surtout dans les régions non-ioniennes (*LGP*N IIIa [9 fois], IIIb [4 fois] sur un total de 15 attestations), mais voir PAUS. 5, 13, 5 ("un pêcheur d'Érétrie" qui pêcha de la mer l'omoplate de Pélops et devint ensuite son gardien à Olympie). Le premier élément de cet anthroponyme composé est tiré de la racine δαμ- "soumettre, vaincre" (cf. δαμάζω) plutôt que du substantif δῆμος "peuple", le second vient du participe ἄρμενος du verbe ἀραρίσκω "adapter" ("être prêt à vaincre, soumettre"). Hérodote atteste la forme Δημάρμενος (5, 41, 3 ; 6, 65, 6), mais les sources épigraphiques attestent de manière concordante la forme Δαμάρμενος. Comme le rappelle Bechtel (*HPN*, p. 116), il n'est pas toujours possible de faire une distinction claire entre δαμ- comme dérivé du substantif δῆμος/δᾶμος ou comme dérivé de la racine verbale δαμ-.

le vernis ‘dorien’ renvoie ici à une tradition littéraire spécifique, sinon celle de l’épigramme elle-même. La présence du dialecte ‘dorien’ dans *GV* 755 semble en fait renvoyer à un emploi de genre pour élever le style.⁵⁹

Avant de discuter de la présence de réminiscences épiques, j’évoquerai deux autres réminiscences littéraires possibles. La première attestation du syntagme ἄδε κέκευθε κόνις (v. 2) apparaît dans *GV* 539, une épigramme épigraphique attestée par la voie littéraire (Thuc. 6, 59, 2 ; cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1367b21 ; Isid. Pelusiot. 3, 224). Elle est attribuée à Simonide par Aristote, et Petrovic considère cette paternité digne de confiance.⁶⁰ D’après Petrovic, en outre, le syntagme pourrait être une “Neuprägung”. Il est intéressant qu’on la retrouve dans deux autres épigrammes attribuées à Simonide. *Anth. Pal.* 7, 443, 4 présente ἄδε tout comme *GV* 755 et le syntagme y apparaît dans la même position métrique. Au début de *Anth. Pal.* 7, 510 le syntagme présente une tournure différente : Σῶμα μὲν ἀλλοδαπῇ κεύθει κόνις “Une terre étrangère couvre ton corps”. Ces attributions à Simonide pourraient être le symptôme, sinon d’une vraie paternité des épigrammes, du moins d’une paternité ressentie du syntagme.⁶¹ Le poète de *GV* 755 semble donc s’être inspiré de la tradition épigrammatique simonidéenne, ce qui reviendrait à un cas d’influence intra-générique, comme on l’a déjà vu pour la présence des ‘dorismes’.

Comme l’a déjà remarqué Di Marco, la fin d’hexamètre ὄνθ’ Ἐκαδήμου est une “clausola d’esametro [...] singolarmente affine” à celle d’un hexamètre des *Silloi* de Timon de Phlionte (30 Diels = 30 Di Marco), notamment οἷ θ’ Ἐκαδήμου.⁶² Il me semble intéressant d’explorer cette piste. On notera d’abord,

⁵⁹ COUGHLAN (à paraître) arrive à des conclusions semblables, par ex., pour le mélange dialectal dans l’épigramme BERNAND (1969) n° 64.

⁶⁰ A. PETROVIC (2007) 250-259.

⁶¹ Les autres attestations épigraphiques du syntagme ἄδε/ἄδε κέκευθε κόνις, toutes deux tardives, ont l’une ἄδε (*IC* II viii, 11), l’autre ἄδε (*GV* 778). Cf. aussi, avec une variation dans la formulation et avec enjambement, *IG* IV 51, 1-2 (... κόνις ἄδε / κεύθει...).

⁶² DI MARCO (1989) 181.

outre la même position métrique dans l'hexamètre, la même séquence : relatif suivi par l'enclitique $\tau\epsilon$ et par le génitif $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon$. La forme $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ pour le nom du héros éponyme $\alpha\kappa\alpha\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ est rarissime.⁶³ En tant qu'anthroponyme et comme mot clef qui renvoie à l'Académie athénienne, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ a gardé sa phonologie (ionienne-)attique. La présence de ce probable archaïsme dans l'épigramme ne suffit pas pour démontrer une dépendance du texte de Timon. Toutefois, le parallélisme entre l'épigramme et les hexamètres de Timon s'étend du plan formel (pronom relatif + $\tau\epsilon$ + même anthroponyme dans la même position dans le vers) à celui du contenu. Platon y est en effet décrit en tant que $\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\delta\upsilon\epsilon\pi\eta\varsigma$ "suave orateur". Comme Timon souligne la douce élocution de Platon, l'épigramme remarque l'effet de la même habileté pour Apatourios.⁶⁴ Si Platon égalait dans ses écrits les cigales perchées sur les arbres qui entouraient l'Académie ($\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\iota\zeta\iota\nu\ \iota\sigma\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma,\ \omicron\acute{\iota}\ \theta'\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\ /\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\zeta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \theta\pi\alpha\ \lambda\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu\ \iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu$ "pareil dans ses écrits aux cigales, qui perchées sur les arbres de l'Académie émettent leur voix qui a la douceur du lis"), le poète de l'épigramme souligne comment Apatourios s'est distingué parmi les jeunes grâce aux conversations pleines de sagesse qu'il savait entretenir (v. 3-4).

La langue de *GV*755 présente des traits épiques, comme par ex. la présence simultanée d'un datif en $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ et de la forme $\zeta\upsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Il y a d'autres éléments qui pourraient être définis, du moins de manière générale, comme 'épiques', comme $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ au vers 7, qui rappelle le début de l'*Odyssée* (*Od.* 1, 1 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\epsilon\pi\epsilon,\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha,\ \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$ "C'est l'Homme aux milles tours, Muse, qu'il faut me dire"⁶⁵) ou $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\beta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (par ex., *Il.* 3, 437 $\tau\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \Pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\beta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ "mais Pâris ainsi

⁶³ Voir DIOG. LAERT. 3, 7-8, qui conserve le passage de Timon, ainsi qu'un fragment d'Eupolis (fr. 36 K.-A.) et *IG* I³ 1091 ([*h*]όρος τῆς ἑκαδεμείας "Limite de l'Académie").

⁶⁴ L'auteur de l'épigramme a évacué toute implication parodique: voir DI MARCO (1989) 180-181 ; CLAYMAN (2009) 107-108.

⁶⁵ Toutes les traductions de l'*Odyssée* sont de V. BÉRARD.

lui répond⁶⁶). Le datif éolien *πραπίδεσσι* est attesté à partir d'Homère (6 fois), cinq fois dans la formule *ιδυίησι πραπίδεσσι(ν)* “par son esprit savant”.⁶⁷ Le syntagme *ἐν πραπίδεσσι* est attesté dans un fragment d'Hésiode (fr. 25, 38 M.-W. *ἐ[σ]θλὸς δ' ἐν πραπίδεσσι* “sage dans son esprit”) qui présente un adjectif (positif) devant le syntagme comme dans le premier vers de *GV755*.⁶⁸ Le syntagme *οὐχ ὅσῳ* au début du pentamètre et suivi par un infinitif (ici *νέμειν*) ressemble formellement à *Od.* 22, 412 plus qu'à d'autres passages où le syntagme apparaît plus tard :⁶⁹ *οὐχ ὅσῳ καταμένουσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι* “trionpher sur les morts est une impiété !”. Du point de vue du contenu, il s'agit dans les deux cas d'un reproche : dans l'*Odyssee* Ulysse condamne la réaction peu appropriée d'Euryclée qui exulte après le massacre des prétendants,⁷⁰ alors que dans l'épigramme la pierre apostrophe le passant et l'invite à ne pas distribuer de faveurs vides,⁷¹ c'est-à-dire non sincères. Ces éléments dits ‘épiques’ sont-ils à lire sur l'arrière-plan de l'épopée ou s'agit-il de l'emploi de la langue d'un genre, celle de l'épopée, que l'épigramme s'était appropriée depuis longtemps ? Le fait que les parallélismes ne soient pas si nombreux pour les formules *ἐν πραπίδεσσι* et *οὐχ ὅσῳ* + infinitif apporte un premier élément de réponse, tout

⁶⁶ Toutes les traductions de l'*Iliade* sont de P. MAZON.

⁶⁷ *Il.* 1, 608 ; 18, 380 ; 18, 482 ; 20, 12 ; *Od.* 7, 92. Le seul *πραπίδεσσι* se trouve dans *Od.* 8, 547.

⁶⁸ Cf. aussi *ἐν πυκιναῖς πραπίδεσσι* “dans ses sages pensées” (*Cypria* fr. 1, 3 Bernabé) et *ἐν πραπίδεσιν* (ARCHIM. *Problema bovinum* 41 et *Anth. Pal.* 10, 70, 7). Dans une épigramme épigraphique qui remonte à l'époque hellénistique, on lit *Γοργώ, τῶν καὶ χειρὶ [κ]αὶ ἐν πραπίδεσσι <ν> ἄμω[μον]* “Gorgo, sans reproche dans ses actions et dans ses pensées” (*Didyma* 567, env. 100 av. J.-C.) et la même structure syntaxique apparaît également dans une épigramme d'époque romaine : *αἰσῖος ἐμ φιλότῳ καὶ ὄλβιος ἐμ πραπίδεσσι* “juste dans l'amitié et heureux dans ses pensées” (*IGUR* III 1351, fin du III^e siècle / début du IV^e siècle).

⁶⁹ Cf. aussi *Od.* 16, 423 (Pénélope fait des reproches aux prétendants après avoir découvert le plan d'Antinoos pour tuer Télémaque : *οὐδ' ὅσῳ κακὰ ῥάπτειν ἀλλήλοισιν* “ourdir les maux d'autrui, n'est-ce pas sacrilège ?”).

⁷⁰ Voir PEELS (2015) 44-45.

⁷¹ Cf. *τὰς μαστῶν ψευδομένας χάριτας / καὶ κενεὰς ὥδινας* “sein frustré de sa récompense, vaines douleurs de l'enfantement” chez Méléagre (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 468, 6-7, trad. P. WALTZ).

comme le fait que le nom *ὄσῑη* présente une phonologie ionienne et que l'on trouve *ξυνός* à la place de *κοινός*. Mais il y a un élément plus particulier dans l'épigramme pour Apatourios qui peut favoriser la lecture des éléments de caractère épique comme éléments consciemment tels. Il s'agit de l'adjectif *Ἐλεφνηγορίς* au vers 9, qui est pour nous un hapax et peut-être un néologisme créé par le poète de cette épigramme. Comme *Ἐκάδημος*, cet adjectif tiré d'un anthroponyme conserve sa phonologie ionienne. *Βῶλος Ἐλεφνηγορίς* indique la "terre eubéenne": Éléphénor était le héros qui conduisait les Eubéens à Troie. Il est mentionné en tant que tel dans le Catalogue des vaisseaux du deuxième livre de l'*Iliade*.⁷² Choisir d'appeler l'Eubée "terre d'Éléphénor" n'est pas du tout anodin, car cette formulation renvoie à l'épopée et au passé glorieux de l'Eubée. On peut donc conclure que l'emploi de formes ioniennes-épiques, qui peuvent coexister avec des formes non-ioniennes-attiques et non-ioniennes-épiques, est tout à fait conscient.

5. GV 1907: Homère, un modèle toujours actuel

Comme on l'a vu, à partir du III^e siècle av. J.-C., la langue de l'épigramme épigraphique peut être décrite, sur le modèle de la langue de l'épigramme littéraire, comme un mélange dialectal à base ionienne-attique sur laquelle se greffent des éléments allogènes, notamment ioniens-épiques (ou que l'on a appelé de façon générale 'épiques') et parfois des éléments non-ioniens-attiques et non-ioniens-épiques (souvent dits 'dorismes'). La question que l'on s'est posée pour GV 755 peut aussi se poser pour des épigrammes plus tardives : une fois ces éléments dits 'épiques' devenus partie intégrante du code épigrammatique, les auteurs

⁷² *Il.* 2, 536-541 (οἱ δ' Εὐβοῖαν ἔχον μένεα πνείοντες Ἀβαντες / [...] / τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευ' Ἐλεφνήνωρ ὄζος Ἄρηος / Χαλκιδοντιάδης μεγθύμων ἀρχὸς Ἀβάντων "Puis viennent ceux d'Eubée, les Abantes, respirant la fureur [...] Ceux-là obéissent à Éléphénor, rejeton d'Arès, fils de Chalcodon capitaine des Abantes magnanimes"); cf. aussi *Il.* 4, 463-464.

ressentaient-ils encore dans leur emploi un lien avec le genre épique? Il est évident qu'avec le temps, le modèle épique pouvait rester, tandis que les auteurs de référence changeaient: ainsi, dans l'Antiquité tardive, à Homère vient s'ajouter Nonnos.⁷³ Dans cette troisième étude de cas, je me limiterai à discuter de la présence des traits dits 'épiques' à la lumière d'une citation homérique. On connaît en fait plusieurs cas de citations assurées de vers homériques dans des épigrammes post-hellénistiques,⁷⁴ ce qui révèle au moins que la poésie homérique restait l'un des modèles du genre épigrammatique. Pour mieux illustrer la continuité avec le modèle homérique, j'ai choisi une épigramme chrétienne dans laquelle l'auteur adapte au pentamètre du distique élégiaque et réutilise un vers homérique très connu, mais très peu présent dans les épigrammes. Il s'agit du vers qui décrit la douceur des mots qui sortent de la bouche de Nestor dans le premier livre de l'*Iliade* (1, 249).

GV 1907⁷⁵ est une épigramme funéraire chrétienne pour le médecin égyptien Dioskoros, un personnage qui appartenait très probablement au cercle d'Ambroise.⁷⁶ Elle a été trouvée sous le pavement de la Basilique des Apôtres à Milan. L'inscription se compose de plusieurs vers en grec pour un total de cinq distiques élégiaques, d'un distique en latin qui rend en latin le sens du premier distique grec et, finalement, de l'indication de la date. Elle a été gravée sur une dalle de marbre blanc (2,19 × 0,91 × 0,045 m.). L'écriture est soignée. L'inscription remonte à la période entre le milieu du IV^e siècle et les premières décennies du V^e siècle. Je reproduis ici le texte de l'édition de Guarducci :⁷⁷

ἐνθάδ' ἀριζήλοιο Διοσκόρου | ἔπλετο σῆμα,
οὗ μέλιτος | [γ]λυκίων φθόγγος ἔην | στόματος. |

⁷³ Voir, par ex., AGOSTI (2006-2007).

⁷⁴ Voir SGO V, 334-335 pour une liste de citations, variations et allusions à des vers de l'*Iliade*, de l'*Odyssée* ainsi que des *Hymnes homériques* dans les épigrammes de l'Orient antique.

⁷⁵ *Editio princeps* FERRARIO (1948).

⁷⁶ GUARDUCCI (21995) 4, 508 ; McLYNN (1994) 234.

⁷⁷ GUARDUCCI (21995) 4, 505-507.

ἱητροῦ τάφος εἰμὶ Διοσκόρου, | ὃς διὰ τέχνην
 πολλάκι κάμνοντας ῥύσα[το καὶ θανάτου. |
 οὗτος παντοίης σοφίης ἐπὶ τέρματ' ἐλάσσας
 ἐνθάδε σῶμα | λιπὼν ἐς παράδισον ἔβη. |
 ἐνθάδ' ἀνὴρ κεῖται τέχνης | Παιήονος ἴδρις,
 μύθωι καὶ | χάρισιν πάντας ὑπερπτάμενος,
 τοῦνομα πατρὸς ἔχων | Διόσκορος· ἦν δ' ἀπὸ πάτρης
 Αἰγύπτου ζαθέης, ἣ δὲ πόλιν τὸ Γέρας. |

*hic est ille situs Dioscurus ill[a]qu[e] lingua
 conticuit, mell[e] dulcior ille sonus.*

[de]p(ositus) XII Kal(endas) [Dece]mb(res).

“Ici se trouve le monument du célèbre Dioskoros,
 le son (sortant) de ses lèvres était plus doux que le miel.
 Je suis la tombe du médecin Dioskoros, qui grâce à son art
 sauva souvent les malades, même de la mort.
 Celui-ci, ayant atteint les termes de chaque genre de science,
 laissa ici son corps et s’en alla au paradis.
 Ci-gît un homme connaisseur de l’art de Pæan,
 qui fut supérieur à tous dans les grâces de la parole,
 qui portait le nom de son père, Dioskoros. Il venait de sa patrie,
 la sainte Égypte, la ville est Gêras⁷⁸/son honneur.

Ici est déposé le célèbre Dioskoros et cette langue
 se tut, ce son plus doux que le miel.

(II) fut déposé le 20 novembre.”

L’auteur de cette épigramme s’oriente vers le langage épique
 traditionnel : génitif en -οιο (ἀριζήλοιο), ancien comparatif en
 -ίων ([γ]λυκίων vs le plus moderne et plus courant γλυκύτερος),
 distension pour la forme verbale ἔην (v. ἦν), ῥύσα[το sans aug-
 ment (mais voir *Il.* 5, 344 : ἐρύσατο), πολλάκι (vs πολλάκις).
 Certains mots sont poétiques et déjà homériques: ζαθέης (*Il.* 1,
 38+), ἴδρις (*Od.* 6, 233+). Plus particulièrement, le premier
 pentamètre est une adaptation du vers homérique τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ
 γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδὴ “de sa bouche ses accents

⁷⁸ Selon l’interprétation de FEISSEL (1984) 563, “[l]a pointe de l’épigramma-
 tiste tient justement au fait que son dernier mot pouvait à la rigueur paraître
 intelligible, à qui ignorait le toponyme, dans les acceptions plus ou moins natu-
 relles qui, de nos jours, ont divisé les interprètes”.

coulent plus doux que le miel” : on y retrouve le syntagme μέλιτος γλυκίων précédé par un pronom au génitif avec une forme ancienne de comparatif,⁷⁹ alors que la métaphore de la voix qui coule (ρέειν) des lèvres de Nestor (ἀπὸ γλώσσης) est évacuée et que le mot αὐδή est remplacé par φθόγγος στόματος. Qu’il s’agisse d’une citation du vers homérique est garanti non seulement par la structure génitif + syntagme μέλιτος γλυκίων, mais aussi par le contexte: les propos de Dioskoros sont doux – le concept est souligné aussi dans le quatrième pentamètre – tout comme l’étaient ceux de Nestor, le champion homérique de l’art de la parole. Dans l’*Anthologie Grecque* on trouve deux épigrammes qui présentent le syntagme μέλιτος γλυκίων : 8, 136, 2, attribuée à Grégoire de Nazianze (τὸν μέλιτος γλυκίῳ ἦθεα καὶ πραπίδας “dont les mœurs et les pensées sont plus douces que le miel”) et 15, 40, 23, attribuée à Kometas (ὦν καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης γλυκίων μέλιτος ῥέειν αὐδή). Dans une réélaboration du vers attestée dans une autre épigramme épigraphique, c’est le renvoi à la douceur des mots qui est évacué: οὗ Κελτοῖς λαλέοντος ἀπὸ γλώσσης ῥέει πειθῶ “dont, lorsqu’il s’adressait aux Celtes, la persuasion coulait de la bouche” (*IGF* 143, 7, Lyon, III^e siècle ; trad. J.-C. Decourt).⁸⁰ Le vers de l’*Iliade* est probablement repris presque à la lettre dans une épigramme funéraire attique du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. pour un autre expert de la parole (un ὑμνωδός, peut-être un auteur tragique), *CEG* 578, 7 (après env. 350 av. J.-C. ?) : οὗ καὶ ἀπὸ [γλώσσης μέλιτος] γλυκίων ῥέειν αὐδή].⁸¹

⁷⁹ La métaphore des ‘mots de miel’ était diffusée ; voir, par ex., MORI (2007) pour Apollonius de Rhodes.

⁸⁰ On a quelque difficulté à préciser la profession (évangéliste ? commerçant ?) du personnage pour lequel cette épigramme a été composée (voir le commentaire de J.-C. DECOURT dans *IGF*). Dans l’épigramme attique *IG* II² 13133 (I^{er}/II^e siècle ap. J.-C.), le troisième vers reprend des concepts et des expressions semblables : [ν]αὶ λίτομαι, γλυκερὴν ἀπὸ χείλεος ἔκβαλε φωνήν “Je te supplie, envoie de tes lèvres une voix douce”.

⁸¹ Voir TSAGALIS (2008) 278. Il est impossible de savoir si la pierre portait γλώσσης ou γλώτης ; cf. aussi *CEG* 578 *ad loc.*

De ces attestations à la fois littéraires et épigraphiques émerge le fait que le vers de l'*Illiade*, même s'il devait être bien connu,⁸² n'était pas employé souvent par les auteurs d'épigrammes, ni avec des modifications minimales ni par le biais d'une adaptation. Si la langue de l'épigramme avec ses éléments épiques est sûrement stéréotypée, à tel point que l'on peut justement se demander si les auteurs ressentaient encore un lien avec la langue homérique, les connaissances littéraires de même que l'habileté du poète de *GV* 1907 permettent de renouer avec la tradition homérique et de la réactualiser, et cela même dans un environnement culturel complètement transformé comme la ville de Milan à l'époque d'Ambroise.

6. Conclusion

Grâce aux trois études de cas présentées, on a pu s'approcher de trois moments clés pour l'histoire de la langue de l'épigramme : l'émergence de l'attique comme langue de l'épigramme au IV^e siècle av. J.-C. ; l'emploi d'un mélange dialectal, en continuité avec les époques précédentes, mais qui à partir de l'époque hellénistique comporte souvent des 'dorismes' stéréotypés sur une base linguistique ionienne-attique ; l'emploi de la langue ionienne-épique, en continuité avec l'époque hellénistique, à l'époque impériale. *GV* 755 ainsi que *GV* 1907 montrent un engagement conscient envers l'héritage homérique, l'une à travers la création d'un (probable) néologisme épique, l'autre à travers la réélaboration d'un vers homérique. L'auteur de *CEG* 830, au contraire, a refusé d'intégrer des traits épiques marqués dans son poème, ce qui est aussi une manière de répondre à l'emploi de ces traits dans d'autres épigrammes. On peut donc conclure que, même si ces traits étaient devenus des éléments de genre dans la langue de l'épigramme, certains auteurs d'épigrammes épigraphiques, tout comme ceux d'épigrammes littéraires, étaient

⁸² Cf., par ex., HERMOG. *Id.* 2, 4, 95.

non seulement capables de les relier à l'héritage homérique, mais aussi de les valoriser et de leur donner un sens dans de nouveaux contextes.

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DISCUSSION

A. Willi: When we look at the long history of a genre like the inscriptional epigram, and consider its relationship with another genre – in your case, epic –, we can adopt different perspectives. On the one hand, as you have done, we can focus on individual compositions and try to make out how they engage (or do not engage) with that other genre, taking both the former and the latter as somewhat static and self-contained entities. But should we not also ask how the intertextual ‘target genre’ – say, epic – is redefined as times change? In other words, if we find for example a given Homeric line (like the one about Nestor’s speech) cited in both an epigram of fourth-century BC Athens and in one of fourth-century AD Milan, the type of intertextual engagement this shows is fundamentally dissimilar because ‘being Homeric’ conveyed something completely different in late-classical Athens and in late-imperial Northern Italy: in the second case the primary function might well have been to display culture and learning (unless the phrase had become a trite topos anyway, which seems perfectly possible), whereas in the former the quotation as such can hardly have impressed anyone. You have not of course denied this, but by focusing very much on the individual text alone, you may risk losing sight of the bigger picture that emerges when we collocate any given epigram within its wider literary environment, whether historically, geographically, or culturally defined. How easy will it have been, for instance, to read *CEG* 830 as specifically ‘Gorgianic’ when it belongs to a context where similar generically ‘Attic’ compositions were not unusual, as you yourself seem to suggest? Or why should I, as a late-Hellenistic Euboean reader, associate a phrase like βῶλος Ἐλεφνηνορίς specifically with Homer – not least when the noun βῶλος is

extremely rare in Homer (attested only once: *Od.* 18, 374) but appears to have become rather more common in later poetry: is the reference to a local hero, Elephenor, who happens also to be mentioned in the *Iliad*, really sufficient to trigger such a response?

F. Dell'Oro: I think that we should never look at words as isolated entities. On the one hand, words act on the hearer or the reader in terms of the relation they have with each other. On the other hand, words may recall not just an author, but more likely an entire literary and cultural context. In the case of βῶλος in *GV* 755, why should we separate βῶλος from its adjective Ἐλεφνηορίς? It is the entire phrase with its (probable) neologism Ἐλεφνηορίς which would have struck the cultivated hearer/reader of the epigram. Coming now to the intertextual references which this phrase could have triggered, I must point out that I have been very cautious on this point and I have never spoken of a direct dependency of this phrase on the *Iliad* or on Homer. In fact, I have stated a dependency on – more generically – epic poetry. If we look at the rare attestations of the name of the hero Elephenor from the archaic to the Hellenistic age, we see that the mention of his name is mainly associated with that of Euboea: e.g. Hes. fr. 204, 52 M.-W. (from the *Catalogue of Women*) αὐτὰρ ἅπ' Εὐβο[ί]ης Ἐλεφήνωρ ὄρχαμος ἄ[νδρ]ῶν, Hellenicus 4 F 143 Jacoby ἦσαν δὲ μετὰ <τοῦ Ἐλεφήνωρος τοῦ> Χαλκιδόντος τοῦ Ἀβαντος ἐν Εὐβοίαι, [Arist.] fr. 640 Rose (funerary epigram n° 33) ἐπὶ Ἐλεφήνωρος κειμένου ἐν Τροίᾳ· νήσου ἅπ' Εὐβοίης Ἐλεφήνωρα ἀρχὸν Ἀβάντων / ἐνθάδ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ μοῖρα κατέσχε βίου. The first and the third quotations show quite clearly that not only could the name of Elephenor be easily associated by anyone with Euboea, but also very probably with epic contexts.

As for *CEG* 830, this epigram must be understood as the product of a specific moment of transition, in which the use of the Attic dialect becomes a possible linguistic choice among others. When we try to understand the linguistic choices of the

writers of epigraphic epigrams, we should never forget that the contexts in which these epigrams were produced are mostly opaque for us. Usually we do not know anything about the commissioning person and his or her ambitions, the person for whom the epigram was composed, the composer and his degree of familiarity with literature, and so on. *CEG* 830 is a very special case, as Gorgias is not an unknown author in the history of Greek literature and thought, nor are his writings. Moreover, his town of origin, Lentini, experienced considerable turmoil at times and this had some influence on the dialect used in Lentini and probably also on the choice of the dialect used for this epigram. The sum of these facts makes it worthwhile – I believe – to try to reconstruct some thoughts which could have emerged while preparing the epigram. Even though, as you seem to suggest, Attic was the common linguistic choice – a view with which I do not agree –, this does not exclude the possibility of a ‘Gorgianic’ reading.

More generally, I would like to recall that the history of the inscriptional epigram still has to be written. This can be done only by studying the epigrams in their specific and material context, before trying to connect them with the general development of the literary genres in Ancient Greece. For example, the fact that Attic was one of the literary languages of the Greek epigram during the fourth century BCE has not yet received enough attention. I think that there is still room for more exploration.

O. Tribulato: Nella tua relazione ti sei chiesta, a più riprese, se la lingua epica è rimasta un modello per gli autori dell’epigramma e, se sì, perché. Questa prospettiva interpretativa, almeno nella formulazione che hai presentato, mi pare problematica sotto due aspetti:

1. È davvero possibile immaginare uno scenario all’interno della cultura greca in cui la lingua epica *non* è un punto di riferimento? Altrimenti detto: visto che la lingua epica ha giocato in tutta la grecità un ruolo di modello, in che cosa consiste

la particolarità degli epigrammi che hai discusso – e, più in generale, del genere epigrammatico – rispetto alle convenzioni della lingua letteraria *tout court*, dove abbondano alcuni degli stessi elementi tipicamente epici che tu hai evidenziato nei tre testi? Tu trovi interessante che un epigramma tardo-antico da Milano possa citare Omero: ma Omero non ha mai cessato di essere l'autore di riferimento per i poeti di lingua greca, dunque perché questa ripresa dovrebbe essere particolarmente significativa?

2. Per discutere “la tensione tra scelte unitarie e scelte di autore” non sarebbe forse più proficuo investigare la scelta del dorico, che al contrario della lingua epica è invece estraneo all'epigramma delle origini e non è sempre presente neanche in quello post-classico? Nell'epigramma di Calcide, per esempio, sembra più marcata la scelta del dorico piuttosto che quella dei tratti epici. A proposito del *mélange* linguistico di questo epigramma tu affermi che esso può rappresentare una continuazione delle pratiche arcaico-classiche. A me invece pare che la situazione sia del tutto rovesciata: mentre in età precedente tratti dialettali non ionico-attici sono marchi del carattere locale della composizione, nell'età ellenistica al contrario sembrano piuttosto far parte di una convenzione letteraria che travalica i confini regionali per farsi lingua condivisa. È per questo motivo che sarebbe stato a mio avviso più promettente non già ricercare tratti ionico-epici e studiare le loro possibili motivazioni, come tu fai, ma piuttosto provare a fornire una mappatura dell'uso di tratti dorici (inizialmente estranei alla lingua del genere). Tanto più che in un certo numero di casi, i tratti ‘epici’ sono anche tratti condivisi dalla lingua lirica (e poetica in generale): tu questo lo ricordi all'inizio, ma poi sembri abbandonare questa prospettiva, quando per es. definisci l'uso del dativo *-οις* in CEG 635 come un epicismo *tout court*.

F. Dell'Oro: 1. Proprio perché la lingua epica resta un punto di riferimento costante all'interno della produzione letteraria greca, gli esempi piuttosto rari di epigrammi che instaurano un

rapporto non pedissequo con tale modello, come, benché in maniera diversa, le tre iscrizioni qui presentate, possono essere considerati come una cartina tornasole che rivela un *engagement* con i modelli letterari come anche una riflessione linguistica. La lingua dell'epica è a tal punto elemento costitutivo del genere dell'epigramma che ci si può chiedere se gli autori di epigrammi, e soprattutto quelli di epigrammi epigrafici che rivelano livelli culturali e di competenza molto diversi tra loro, si rifacessero direttamente al modello epico o non piuttosto a una lingua di genere dell'epigramma. Per riprendere l'esempio che tu adduci, cioè quello del secondo verso di *GV* 1907, non è tanto significativo il fatto che un epigramma possa citare Omero, segno di un rapporto tutto sommato pedissequo, ma che il suo autore rielabori un verso dell'*Iliade*. Tale rielaborazione testimonia una volontà di appropriarsi del testo omerico, di far sì che siano lampanti al contempo sia il modello che l'intervento del poeta più tardo. Ci si potrebbe poi interrogare sulla rifunzionalizzazione del verso omerico: perché poteva essere importante per un medico che la sua voce fosse dolce? McLynn (1994) 234 immagina Dioskoros in un coro. Ci si può forse chiedere se non sia qui in gioco piuttosto un qualche valore terapeutico attribuito alla parola.

Per concludere su questo punto, è proprio la presenza costante della lingua epica come modello che permette uno studio diacronico unitario della lingua dell'epigramma nelle varie regioni del mondo di cultura greca. Certe scelte non banali degli autori di epigrammi epigrafici possono poi permetterci di intravedere il loro dialogo con tale modello, sia che quest'ultimo fosse diretto, sia che fosse mediato.

2. Dire che il dorico è un dialetto "estraneo all'epigramma delle origini" equivale in primo luogo a negare l'importanza – evidente – dei dialetti locali, e quindi anche dorici, nel primo sviluppo dell'epigramma epigrafico. Le tue affermazioni sembrano poi negare la possibilità di un'influenza – certamente più sfuggente – di tradizioni letterarie, cultuali o oracolari di dialetto dorico o comunque non ionico. Un esempio lampante

viene da quelle parole che si riscontrano – anche o solo – nella loro variante non ionico-attica negli epigrammi attici. Ne dà una lista già Buck (1923) 134, che riprende studi più antichi. Si possono citare, per esempio, Ἀθήνα (per esempio *CEG* 235, 1 dove contrasta con ἡδέε del verso successivo) o φρασμοσύναι (*CEG* 243, 2 dove contrasta con il successivo μετρ<ὀ>ς). Che si faccia intervenire la lirica corale, come pensava Buck, o altre influenze (rimando qui per brevità e a titolo di esempio alle interessanti riflessioni sviluppate da Kaczko [2016] 247-249 per il dativo φρασμοσύναι), anche in area attica l'attico e la lingua ionico-epica non erano i soli punti di riferimento per il redattore nel momento della composizione di un epigramma.

La mia affermazione sulla continuità della presenza del mélange dialettale si riferiva specificamente alla funzione dei dialetti – ‘dorici’ o meno –, cioè al loro impiego, in primo luogo, come marcatori di identità e, in secondo luogo, come possibili rinvii a una tradizione letteraria. Abbiamo esempi che mostrano la continuità della prima pratica, anche se magari con tratti poco marcati, così come della seconda per epigrammi epigrafici di età post-classica e questo mi interessava sottolineare.

Secondo l'interpretazione che ne ho dato, i ‘dorismi’ presenti in *GV* 755 riflettono un impiego del ‘dorico’ prima di tutto come lingua di genere condivisa a livello sovraregionale. *GV* 755 sembra infatti rifarsi a un mélange dialettale di genere che prevede la presenza di dorismi (che a me paiono superficiali nel caso in questione), che non sono necessariamente da interpretarsi come tratti locali (cioè rivelatori di un'identità). Un epigramma come *GV* 1907 presenta invece un mélange dialettale, anch'esso di genere, che coincide con la lingua ionico-epica, senza quella concomitanza di altri dialetti che possiamo trovare negli epigrammi epigrafici pre-ellenistici.

Per concludere, benché importante, la trattazione dell'impiego degli elementi dorici mi avrebbe costretto ad occuparmi di un aspetto limitato del problema dell'evoluzione della lingua dell'epigramma. La lingua ionico-epica è una presenza costante

nella storia dell'epigramma e permette quindi di dare una visione di insieme della sua evoluzione. È stata questa constatazione che ha guidato la mia scelta.

A. Cassio: Following on from what has just been remarked, *à propos* of the Apatourios epigram, you seem to subscribe to Bechtel's hesitation about the interpretation of the personal names with Δαμ^ο as a first member: are they related to (1) δᾱμος, the non-Attic-Ionic form of δῆμος, or to (2) the root of δάμνημι/δαμάζω? To my mind, in the specific case of Apatourios' father Δαμάρμενος, (1) is the only possible solution, which prompts further reflection on the use of Doric forms in this epigram:

(i) Δαμάρμενος is a compound like θυμάρμενος "pleasurable" (Bacchyl. 3, 71; Callim. *In Dian.* 167), and ἄρμενος "suitable, pleasing", found in Homer and later poets, is a "Restform eines im Griechischen sonst verschollenen Wurzelaorists"⁸³. Precisely as θυμάρμενον is defined by *Suda* θ 549 as τὸ τῇ ψυχῇ ἄρέσκον, Δᾱμάρμενος is a Doric personal name meaning τῷ δᾱμῷ ἄρέσκων.

(ii) Δαμάρμενος and Δαμαρμενίδας (in all likelihood Δᾱμ-) are apparently found only in Doric-speaking areas, Epidauros, Laconia, Delphi, Argos. Δαμάρμενος, the mythical "pêcheur d'Érétrie" (as you call him), who drew up Pelops' shoulder blade from the sea, and whose name you seem to take as an indication that it was in use in Euboea, is highly suspicious as supporting evidence for a local Euboean name because according to the story told by Pausanias in his book on Elis (5, 13, 4-6), Δαμάρμενος was 'adopted' by the Eleans who made him and his descendants guardians of Pelops' 'sacred' shoulder blade – so that the name might in fact be the name of an ancestor of a prominent Elean family for whom a mythical story linked to Euboea was invented *a posteriori*.

⁸³ J.A. HARDARSON (1993), *Studien zum urindogermanischen Wurzelaorist* (Innsbruck), 199.

(iii) What really clinches the matter is the name of a prominent Spartan, grandfather of two wives of Spartan kings, attested as Δημάρμενος in the Herodotean text (5, 41 and 6, 65), clearly an Ionicized form of Δᾱμάρμενος, like Δημάρητος for Δᾱμάρᾱτος. Had Herodotus linked Δαμ-άρμενος to δᾱμ-άζω, he would never have turned Δᾱμ- into Δημ-.

Δαμάρμενος the father of Ἀπατούριος was probably a foreigner from a Doric-speaking area who had moved to Euboea and called his son by a local name. The Doric forms of the epigram, certainly composed by a very learned man, may be mainly due to a literary whim, but we cannot rule out that the origin of the father might have played a role.

Besides, I agree with Andreas that βῶλος Ἐλεφνηορίς does not guarantee an immediate association with Homer. Apart from the fact that in Homer βῶλος is attested only once and in its original meaning of "lump of earth", Elephenor king of the Abantes of Euboea is mentioned by numerous prose authors after Homer (e.g. Hellanicus, Plutarch, and others) and is a mythical figure that must have been familiar to many inhabitants of the island. If anything, it is the non-Homeric innovation Ἐλεφνηορίς that should attract our attention.

F. Dell'Oro: As far as βῶλος Ἐλεφνηορίς is concerned, I have already answered Andreas. Let me just say again that I have not spoken of any immediate association of βῶλος with Homer.

In respect of the proper name Δαμάρμενος, I would like to mention that proper names do not always reflect the dialectal features of the place where they are attested and that they can also be re-interpreted in a way which does not reflect their (correct) etymological origin. A proper name with Doric features in an Ionic context does not necessarily imply that the person who bore it was of Doric origin. In the case of the father of Apatourios, Δαμάρμενος, on the one hand, as you said, we cannot rule out that he was a foreigner, but on the other we do not have enough elements to prove it. If the origin of Apatourios or of his father (or more generically of their ancestors) was really at

issue, it is strange that no clear reference to it emerges in an epigram of five elegiac couplets. The presence of Doric (superficial) features cannot be used to prove the origin of the family of Apatourios, as this would not be methodologically sound. The content of the epigram does not support in any way the hypothesis of a Doric origin of the family of Apatourios. Now the question is: why should we create a link between some possible family origins, which the author of the epigram is not flaunting, and the use of Doric features in the epigram? Be that as it may, the use of Doric features in this epigram seems first of all a literary device.

As concerns more specifically the etymology of *Δαμάρμενος*, which I could not go into in more depth in my contribution, it seems suspicious to me that we find the (supposed) Attic-Ionic variant *Δημάρμενος* only in literary texts. In other words, *Δημάρμενος* could be a re-interpretation of an original form *Δαμάρμενος*. In fact, Herodotus mentions it together with the name *Δημάρητος/Δαμάρητος* which could have influenced the interpretation of *Δαμάρμενος* as *Δημάρμενος* in the later transmission of the text. Like you, Bechtel seems to interpret *Δαμάρμενος* as built on *δῆμος* (cf. *HPN* 123). Nevertheless, he is aware of a kind of continuity between *δᾶμ-* and *δᾱμ-* in the formation of proper names (with different meanings, of course). In Eretria in the fourth century BCE, *Δήμιππος* called his son *Ἰππόδαμος* which should probably be interpreted as a compound from the root of *δαμάζω* rather than as from *δῆμος/δᾶμος*. As concerns the second part of the compound, I would like to mention the use of *ἄρμενος* found e.g. in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* 4, 1461: *οἱ τ' ἄρμενοι ἐς τόδε ἔργον* "and the ones apt to this task".

To sum up, first of all, the etymology of the proper name *Δαμάρμενος* is not straightforward. Secondly, even if one accepts that *Δαμάρμενος* was originally the Doric equivalent of *Δημάρμενος*, one cannot be sure of the interpretation of the name in Late Hellenistic Chalcis. Thirdly, the father is mentioned only in the header, but never in the epigram: were the

supposed Doric origins of Apatourios' family really important, they would have been explicitly mentioned, even shortly, in the epigram.

L. Huitink: Connecting with what has just been said, and taking into account that you yourself make out so many different linguistic sources or points of reference alongside the language of epic – such as lyric, epichoric dialects, other literary genres (Gorgias, Timon, etc.) –, I would like to ask about the overall impression. Are readers of such epigrams intended to parse the language similarly and note all these discrete influences (or even look for specific sources), or does the language of these epigrams amount to a register that is specifically 'epigrammatic'? And if so, how would you characterize that register in terms of its literary 'level'? Related to this is also the question at what point certain linguistic features do stand out as peculiar (as deviating from the norm) and should (or would) make an audience think about them and interpret them.

F. Dell'Oro: The variety of the epigrams collected in the *Greek Anthology* shows that we have to consider it as a very adaptable genre: not only from the point of view of its content, but also from that of the wide range of linguistic choices (from funerary to scoptic epigrams). Apart from the fact that epigrams are usually short compositions, it is difficult to see specific epigrammatic features which are not shared by some other genre. We should also bear in mind that the literary competence of the authors of literary and epigraphic epigrams can vary a lot. This makes it difficult to define the epigram neatly as a literary genre with a specific register.

As for the audience, neologisms (e.g. Ἐλεφηνορίς in the phrase βῶλος Ἐλεφηνορίς) would probably have struck them more than the re-elaboration of a Homeric verse (οἷ μέλιτος [γ]λυκίων φθόγγος ἔην στόματος), and this re-elaboration more than a rather precise quotation (οἷ καὶ ἀπὸ [γλώσσης μέλιτος] γλυκίων ῥέ[εν αὐδῆ]).

VIII

OLGA TRIBULATO

LINGUE LETTERARIE E DIALETTI NELL'ESEGESI ANTICA

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates how ancient scholarship deals with the Greek dialects. Grammatical sources mostly examine the dialects in their literary dimension and not as geographically-defined varieties. This approach is mirrored in the wider reflection of historical, literary, and rhetorical sources, which establish a close connection between a certain dialect, the ethical and psychological attitudes of its *genos*, the language of canonical literary authors, and its psychagogic effects on the audience.

1. Introduzione

Nel capitolo quinto del suo *pamphlet* su Tucidide, Dionigi di Alicarnasso fornisce un *excursus* sull'origine del genere storiografico.¹ Nonostante i predecessori di Erodoto e Tucidide venissero dalle più diverse regioni della Grecia, operarono scelte simili sia nell'organizzazione delle loro opere “per popoli e città” (κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις), che si basava sull'uso di racconti

¹ Ringrazio Andreas Willi per l'invito, la Fondation Hardt, Pierre Ducrey, Gary Vachicouras e gli altri partecipanti per una indimenticabile settimana di *Entretiens*, e in particolar modo Lucia Prauscello e Albio Cassio. Gli insegnamenti di quest'ultimo sono stati la fonte di ispirazione di questo lavoro. Sono anche grata alla dott.ssa Ilaria Paliuri per la collaborazione nelle fasi iniziali di questa ricerca.

locali, sia nell'uso di "favole" e "colpi di scena teatrali" (μῦθοί τινες [...] καὶ θεατρικά τινες περιπέτειαι). Lo stile (λέξις) è parte integrante di questa visione dionigiana della 'forma locale' della storiografia greca delle origini, che privilegiò, senza alcuna pretesa di elaboratezza, il medesimo dialetto (διάλεκτος).² Come Dionigi spiega poi nel capitolo 23, rispetto ai primi storiografi Erodoto e Tucidide innovarono non solo nella concezione della materia storica, ma anche nell'uso della lingua. In termini moderni, potremmo dire che il loro merito è stato quello di avere elevato l'imperfetto uso dei dialetti locali al livello di lingue letterarie canoniche: è noto come per Dionigi i due storici siano i più puri modelli di ionico ed attico (cfr. Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 3, 16).

Di simili riflessioni sulla forma dialettale della lingua letteraria sono disseminati i testi greci di ogni epoca, eppure non è sopravvissuto alcun trattato che affronti la questione in modo organico, come hanno già discusso alcuni studi divenuti classici.³ Lo scopo di questo contributo è offrire una sintesi aggiornata sugli assunti sui quali si fonda la percezione dei 'dialetti letterari' nell'erudizione antica, ivi inclusa quella bizantina. Sono due gli aspetti che metterò a fuoco. Primo, in che modo sono descritte le varietà dialettali nella grammatica antica, e se questo ci permette di definire quale ruolo venisse attribuito a ciascuna di esse all'interno della comunicazione letteraria. Secondo, come la più ampia riflessione di tipo storico e stilistico delle fonti retoriche e letterarie ha trattato la interconnessione tra dialetto, caratteri etico-psicologici del *genos* che lo parlava, lingua letteraria

² λέξιν τε ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὴν αὐτὴν ἄπαντες ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ὅσοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς προείλοντο τῶν διαλέκτων χαρακτῆρας, [...] καὶ μηδεμίαν σκευωρίαν ἐπιφαίνουσιν τεχνικὴν "e tutti per lo più coltivarono lo stesso stile, privilegiando lo stesso tipo di dialetto [...]: (uno stile) che non rivela alcuna elaboratezza tecnica" (DION. HAL. *Thuc.* 5, 30-34 Radermacher-Usener). La successiva discussione del capitolo 23, dove Dionigi menziona lo ionico e l'attico come lingue dei primi storiografi, chiarisce che qui διάλεκτος significa "dialetto". Sulla 'forma locale' della prima storiografia secondo Dionigi si veda PORCIANI (2001) 34-40.

³ HAINSWORTH (1967); VERSTEEGH (1986); MORPURGO DAVIES (1987); CASSIO (1993).

di certi autori 'dialettali' canonici ed effetto che essa suscitava nel pubblico.⁴

La mia analisi si concentra su ionico, dorico ed eolico, che la stessa esegesi antica spesso tratta in contrasto con l'attico, avviatosi già nella prima età ellenistica a divenire la varietà letteraria di maggior prestigio. Il § 2 ripercorre i noti presupposti genetici della teoria antica dei dialetti, soffermandosi in particolare sul fatto che il loro numero si fissa presto in cinque (inclusa la koinè). Il § 3 presenta una veduta d'insieme dei più rappresentativi fenomeni linguistici associati a ciascun dialetto e sul modo in cui essi sono trattati nelle fonti grammaticali, che permette di mettere a fuoco alcuni elementi di dettaglio. Innanzitutto, come sia l'approccio sia la terminologia linguistica varino a seconda del dialetto trattato: lo ionico tende ad essere contrastato con l'attico, il dorico suddiviso in sotto-varietà e l'eolico descritto sulla unica base del testo di Saffo e Alceo. In secondo luogo, il rapporto di dipendenza e insieme variazione che lega l'esegesi bizantina a quella di età precedente. Si tende a considerare gli esegeti bizantini dei meri epitomatori delle conoscenze più raffinate delle epoche precedenti, ma in alcuni casi è evidente che le loro opinioni si trovano già formate in testi più antichi, come nel caso del *P.Bour.* 8 (cfr. § 3.1). Il § 4 infine va al cuore dell'aspetto teorico della riflessione antica, soffermandosi sui testi che illustrano le caratteristiche etiche e gli effetti sonori e psicologici che gli antichi collegavano a ciascun dialetto.

Dal modo in cui le fonti trattano della lingua dei grandi autori-modello emerge quanto di più vicino a una 'storia linguistica' della letteratura greca sia stato prodotto in età antica. Sebbene non costituiscano una teorizzazione organica, queste riflessioni sulla forma linguistica dei testi letterari e sulla sua funzione – in rapporto sia all'effetto creato nel pubblico sia all'evoluzione della teoria degli stili letterari – rappresentano un

⁴ Non tratto qui dell'evoluzione del significato di *διὰλεκτος* nel pensiero linguistico antico, per cui rimando agli studi citati nella nota precedente, da integrare con CONSANI (1991); LAMBERT (2009) e soprattutto VAN ROOY (2016), che fornisce una sintesi aggiornata.

imprescindibile punto di riferimento per qualsiasi studio moderno che, non fermandosi alla superficie dell'analisi dialettale, desideri raggiungere una comprensione del ruolo della lingua nella comunicazione letteraria della Grecia antica.

2. La dialettologia antica: prospettive genetiche e prospettive linguistiche

L'approccio più antico ai dialetti presuppone un collegamento indissolubile tra *genos* e dialetto: esso è già presente nel *Catalogo delle donne* (fr. 9 M.-W.), in cui le tre stirpi greche (Dori, Eoli, Ioni) vengono fatte risalire a tre mitici capostipiti, discendenti di Elleno, e i cui nomi 'parlanti' evocano anche il nome dei dialetti.⁵ Questo quadro in sostanza include anche gli Attici/Ateniesi pur senza nominarli, in quanto essi sono συγγενεῖς ("della stessa stirpe") degli Ioni. Il rapporto tra Ioni e Attici tuttavia fu complesso e subì alcune variazioni significative che si riflettono nella dialettologia. Già nel fr. 4a, 2 West di Solone, dove l'Attica è ambigualmente definita *πρεσβυτάτην* [...] *γαῖαν Ἰαονίης* "la più antica terra di Ionia", e poi nel corso del V secolo si fa strada un radicale sovvertimento dell'originario rapporto di discendenza degli Ateniesi dagli Ioni, che attraverso il mito dell'autoctonia degli Ateniesi giunge ad affermare l'idea che gli Ioni siano loro *ἄποικοι* ("coloni").⁶ L'origine ateniese degli Ioni è ribadita in Strabone (8, 1, 2), dove si trova anche una traccia delle conseguenze linguistiche di questa idea: ovvero che lo ionico sia una forma di *παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς* ("attico antico"; cfr. § 4.1).⁷

Questa evoluzione mostra molto bene come da una iniziale impostazione di tipo genetico – nella quale i dialetti sono tre perché tre sono le stirpi – le teorie dialettali antiche abbiano poi

⁵ Su questo frammento e il suo orientamento 'etnico' si veda il classico HAINSWORTH (1967) 64-65.

⁶ Si vedano HALL (1997) 51-53 e (2002) 68-71, anche per il ruolo di queste teorie nell'espansione ateniese di V secolo.

⁷ Cfr. HAINSWORTH (1967) 67-68 e *infra*, § 4.1.

acquisito una prospettiva 'linguistica', nella quale l'attico assume dunque un'identità separata dallo ionico. Le prime tracce di questa quadripartizione si trovano in Eraclide il Periegeta (fr. 3 Müller), ma le sue esposizioni più complete sono in Strabone (8, 1, 2) e in un famoso scolio a Dionisio Trace,⁸ che è anche una fonte preziosa per comprendere il carattere attribuito a ciascun dialetto, come si vedrà meglio *infra* (§ 4.3). La ridefinizione del rapporto di precedenza tra Ioni e Ateniesi e tra i loro dialetti diviene standard nelle fonti più tarde, fino a permeare l'esegesi bizantina. Se ne coglie ancora l'eco in Eustazio (gli Ioni sono ἄποικοι degli Ateniesi e lo ionico è la παλαιὰ Ἀττικὴ; in *Il.* 1, 14, 10 van der Valk, *Comm. in Dion. Perieg.* 423, 42-44 Müller).

L'altra differenza tra dialettologia delle origini e teorie di età successiva è l'inclusione della koinè del novero delle *dialektoi* greche, di cui si coglie una prima traccia in Trifone.⁹ Con poche eccezioni (per lo più riferibili all'attico¹⁰), i grammatici antichi non distinguono tra stadi linguistici diversi poiché manca loro una sistematica metodologia diacronica:¹¹ la koinè non è pertanto riconosciuta come una varietà posteriore derivata dallo ionico-attico, ma viene considerata un dialetto, collocato a fianco degli altri su un piano atemporale.¹² L'esegesi bizantina eredita e perpetua questa ripartizione in cinque varietà: l'orgogliosa definizione della koinè come la διάλεκτος ἧ πάντες χρῶμεθα ("il dialetto che tutti usiamo", Greg. Cor. Περὶ διαλέκτων 1, 12 Schäfer) permette ai Bizantini di sostenere su basi linguistiche l'ininterrotta continuità tra la Grecia antica dialettale e il loro tempo.

⁸ *Schol. Vat. in Dion. Thrac.* 3, 117, 18-19 Hilgard.

⁹ Si vedano GIESE (1837) 46 e CASSIO (1993) 78-79. MORPURGO DAVIES (1987) 14 discute della circolazione di questa ripartizione nelle fonti di età imperiale.

¹⁰ Cfr. PROBERT (2004).

¹¹ LALLOT (2015), a proposito di Apollonio Discolo ed Erodiano. NÜNLIST (2012) discute delle tracce di una consapevolezza storico-linguistica in Aristarco, concludendo che "perhaps not all ancient scholars lacked a sense of 'Sprachgeschichte'" (p. 160). Cfr. ora anche SCHIRONI (2018) 599-601.

¹² Cfr. e.g. CLEM. AL. *Strom.* 1, 142, 3-4; il *commentariolus Byzantinus* edito in *Grammatici Graeci* I.3, 567, 32-33 Hilgard; PSELL. *Poem.* 6, 3-6.

3. Dalla teoria alla pratica: la descrizione dei tratti tipici di ciascun dialetto nelle fonti antiche

Quello che ho presentato in modo essenziale è il quadro teorico nel quale si inserisce la trattazione grammaticale dei dialetti nelle fonti antiche, che è una ‘conquista’ dell’età ellenistica: prima di questo momento, i Greci produssero solo riflessioni estemporanee sulla natura del greco in quanto lingua.¹³ Per la descrizione dei dialetti gli Alessandrini svilupparono un peculiare approccio teorico (già evocato da Lucia Prauscello nella sua relazione), che ne classifica le caratteristiche principali come delle variazioni (πράθη) rispetto a un prototipo analogico: esso è talvolta chiamato συνήθεια, altre volte è identificato con la koinè, in altri casi con un astratto ‘accordo tra i dialetti’.¹⁴ Oltre alla teoria dei πράθη, l’altro caposaldo della metodologia linguistica antica è il ricorso ad autori-modello rappresentativi di ciascun dialetto. Ne risulta che la dialettologia antica è essenzialmente una *teoria dei dialetti letterari*, ovvero delle *forme linguistiche* tramandate nei testi letterari greci.

L’individuazione di questi principi permette di comprendere perché, anche quando i grammatici contrastano gli esiti dialettali con quelli attici o di koinè, essi non giungano mai alla teorizzazione di una maggiore correttezza di una varietà rispetto ad altre, o alla subordinazione dei dialetti a un’idea di lingua come varietà standard. Questo ulteriore passo è un prodotto della sintesi di epoca bizantina, nella quale i dialetti sono presentati come varietà definite da alcune caratteristiche linguistiche essenziali e contrastate con la ‘lingua’, che coincide con la koinè.¹⁵

¹³ Anche le modalità secondo le quali la lingua dell’epigramma su pietra ammette o evita tratti del dialetto epicorico, soprattutto in contesto extra-locale, forniscono indizi sulla coscienza dialettale dei Greci: cfr. MICKEY (1981).

¹⁴ Lo studio classico è WACKERNAGEL (1876). Si vedano anche SIEBENBORN (1976) 150; CONSANI (1991) 26-27; CASSIO (1993) 85-86; VAN ROOY (2016) 253.

¹⁵ Si veda CONSANI (1991), imprescindibile per lo studio della formazione e tradizione testuale dei compendii dialettologici tardo-bizantini.

3.1. *Lo ionico*

Le fonti erudite riservano ampio spazio alle caratteristiche fono-morfologiche dello ionico. Un elemento comune è il contrasto, che avviene di solito in termini neutrali, tra lo ionico e l'attico, rispetto al quale la norma ionica è talvolta percepita nei termini di un mutamento. Due fenomeni rappresentativi e opposti di tale approccio metodologico sono il passaggio di /a:/ (ᾱ) ad /ɛ:/ (η) e le contrazioni. Nel primo caso, i grammatici ricorrono al termine τροπή “mutamento”, in una prospettiva storica corretta. Il passaggio ad /ɛ:/ suscita interesse non tanto per quanto riguarda il confronto dello ionico con la maggioranza degli altri dialetti, ma quasi solo per η ionico che si contrappone ad *alpha purum* attico e di koinè.¹⁶ La stessa prospettiva si riscontra nel trattamento delle contrazioni, anche se in modo più incongruo. Il mantenimento di iato vocalico è visto come un fenomeno essenzialmente ionico (quando invece sappiamo che era diffuso in molte varietà arcaiche greche), in contraddizione con la prassi attica. In una spiegazione attribuita a Filosseno dagli scolii all'*Odissea*, ad esempio, l'avverbio ἀψευδέως “veramente” è spiegato come una forma “in scioglimento ionico” (ἐν Ἰωνικῇ διαλύσει) a partire da ἀψευδῶς.¹⁷ L'osservazione di questa tendenza generale non deve tuttavia portare alla conclusione che lo ionico venisse considerato una varietà poco prestigiosa. Al contrario, in virtù dei suoi autorevoli autori-modello (Omero, Erodoto, Ippocrate, ecc.), questo dialetto gode di uno status che permea

¹⁶ Cfr. per esempio HDN. 1, 340, 9-10 Lentz: Τὰ εἰς ρη ἰωνικώτερα κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ α εἰς η βαρύνεται, κόρη, Ἀσκη πόλις Βοιωτίας, κτλ. “I sostantivi ionici in -ρη, in cui α muta in η, ritraggono l'accento: (per esempio) κόρη, Ἀσκη – città della Beozia –, etc.”. Si noti però che il testo è ricostruito da Lentz mettendo insieme pezzi diversi di Cherobosco: sul problema dei frammenti di Erodiano, che non dispone di un'edizione critica aggiornata che corregga i più evidenti difetti di prospettiva dell'edizione di Lentz, rimando a DICKEY (2014).

¹⁷ PHILOX. fr. 2 Theodoridis (= *Schol. BHQ Vind.* 133 ad ξ 485 Dindorf).

persino la lessicografia atticista, che nota le particolarità ioni-
che, ma di rado le censura.¹⁸

Se le grandi sintesi grammaticali di età imperiale e i materiali
esegetici a Omero, Ippocrate e – in minor misura – Erodoto
contengono una messe imponente di informazioni sullo ionico,
in epoca bizantina questa esegesi millenaria si riduce in buona
parte a un distillato molto schematico di regole fisse ad uso
scolastico, di cui si coglie un'eco nel fatto che in *Poem.* 6, 11-15
Psello descrive lo ionico citando solo dei genitivi: Πέρσεω,
Δημοσθένεος, Περσέων e νυμφέων. Vediamo qui un effetto
chiaro della radicale opera di semplificazione attuata da epito-
matori e 'linguisti' bizantini sulla millenaria esegesi agli autori
dialettali. Tuttavia, sarebbe errato pensare che i materiali di epoca
antica siano tutti esempi di raffinata analisi linguistica molto
lontana dalla manualistica bizantina.

Uno spiraglio su trattazioni alternative a quelle dei grandi
grammatici imperiali è aperto dai papiri, che rivestono una par-
ticolare importanza dal momento che sostanzialmente leggiamo
Trifone, Eraclide, Erodiano ecc. in citazioni di epoca molto più
tarda. La recente pubblicazione di un papiro di II secolo d.C.
– *PSI* 1609, che contiene forse una porzione περὶ Ἰάδος di un
più lungo trattato Περὶ διαλέκτων – ci mette di fronte al caso
interessante di canoni relativi alla declinazione dei sostantivi
maschili in ionico che riecheggiano molto da vicino le regole e
la stessa terminologia semplicistica dei più tardi trattati Περὶ
διαλέκτων.¹⁹ Le due regole superstiti del papiro concernono i
nominativi del tipo Ἑρμείης, Σωστίης e i genitivi del tipo Πέρ-
σεω, Ξέρξεω. Anche in questo caso la norma attica e di koinè
è l'implicito punto di partenza dal quale lo ionico è visto diver-
gere perché non preserva *alpha purum*.

¹⁸ Cfr. e.g. POLL. 2, 8 (νεογνός “appena nato” è ‘ionico’ perché si trova in Erodoto); 2, 76 (ὀδμή “odore” è ionico e poetico) e 3, 98 (su ἥδων ed ἦσε, particípio presente e aoristo di ἥδω “rallegrare”). La sola evidente eccezione è PHRYN. *Ecl.* 235 Fischer, su Erodoto, il cui status speciale nella lessicografia atticista ho discusso in TRIBULATO (2016).

¹⁹ Tale l'interpretazione in LUISELLI (2013), *editio princeps*.

PSI 1609 testimonia un'attività dialettologica antica ripartita in una tipologia di canoni nota dai più tardi trattati bizantini ma che si trovano già formati nella letteratura grammaticale del II secolo. Allo stesso tempo, mi pare che la formulazione dei due canoni possa essere ricondotta a più complessi materiali grammaticali di II secolo d.C., che si ispiravano al criterio dell'autore-modello.

Prima degli esempi di nominativi maschili della I declinazione (*Ἑρμείας/Ἑρμείης, Σωσίας/Σωσείης*) viene data un'informazione apparentemente incongrua: il canone si applica ai sostantivi *μὴ φύσει Δωρικά* ("che non sono dorici per natura"). Il paragone con altre fonti mostra che nella dottrina grammaticale i sostantivi 'dorici per natura' non erano termini dialettali di ascendenza dorica, ma *tipi di declinazione*. Nella fattispecie, si tratta di quei sostantivi in *-ᾱς* (di norma nomi propri) che hanno il genitivo in *-ᾱ*, come *ὁ Λάας, τοῦ Λάα*. In vari passi degli scolii di Cherobosco a Teodosio troviamo la spiegazione secondo la quale questi sostantivi erano di origine dorica (in virtù del non mutamento di *ᾱ* in *η*) ed è molto probabile che dell'intera faccenda si fosse occupato lo stesso Erodiano.²⁰

Penso che l'interesse dei grammatici sia stato stimolato dal fatto che forme come *Λάας* sono presenti nella lingua di Omero ed è indicativo che, secondo l'integrazione di Luiselli, Omero sarebbe stato menzionato proprio all'inizio di *PSI* 1609.²¹ Come testimonia ancora Cherobosco (1, 121, 17-26 Hilgard), le discussioni sulla declinazione di *Λάας* si intrecciavano con quelle relative a *λαός* e i suoi composti come *Μενέλαος*, il cui *ᾱ* creava problemi perché si sottraeva alla regola generale del passaggio ad *η*. In sostanza, è molto probabile che il primo canone di *PSI* 1609 avesse dietro anche una dottrina grammaticale più raffinata che si occupava di 'eccezioni' nello ionico omerico.

La scelta dei genitivi *Πέρσεω* e *Ξέρξεω* a cui è dedicato il secondo canone fa invece pensare che l'autore-modello alla base

²⁰ Cfr. CHOEROB. 1, 120, 31-35 e 121, 1-17 Hilgard.

²¹ LUISELLI (2013) 115.

di queste citazioni fosse Erodoto, che usa spesso questi due genitivi: nel caso di Πέρσεω si può anzi parlare di un uso erodoteo esclusivo, visto che le altre poche attestazioni occorrono tutte in testi grammaticali. Il confronto tra i due canoni suggerisce dunque che il compilatore di *PSI* 1609 abbia riformulato – in chiave dialettologica e in un formato semplificato che si ispira al criterio dell'autore-modello – informazioni di natura paradigmatico-accentuale che erano discusse nella grammatica di epoca contemporanea, anticipando così una tendenza che è molto ben rappresentata nella trattatistica bizantina.

3.2. *Il dorico*

Il dorico occupa un posto particolare all'interno della dialettologia antica. È il dialetto più sovente suddiviso in sottovarietà:²² la maggior parte di esse sono di derivazione letteraria (il siracusano di Epicarmo, il laconico di Alcmane, ecc.), ma non mancano tracce di un interesse nei confronti delle varietà locali come il cretese.²³ La trattatistica dialettale eredita la contrapposizione etica e culturale tra Dori e Ioni (su cui si veda *infra*) e ciò si riflette sia nella terminologia scelta per descriverne i principali fenomeni linguistici, sia nella selezione dei tratti tipici del suo 'carattere'. Se, come si è visto, la spiegazione dei tratti linguistici ionici parte spesso da un implicito punto di riferimento attico, rispetto al quale lo ionico è visto divergere, il dorico è contrastato con un'entità che non è semplicemente attica, ma che rappresenta piuttosto l'unità dei dialetti attico e ionico, che gli esegeti antichi sembrano ricreare in modo implicito anche in assenza di un concetto analogo al nostro 'ionico-attico'.

Un caso in cui si può osservare bene questo approccio è quello del trattamento di /a:/ (ᾱ), che i grammatici antichi contrastano

²² HAINSWORTH (1967) 70-71; CASSIO (1993).

²³ Sulla glossografia antica di orientamento locale si veda il classico LATTE (1925).

con /ε:/ (η) ionico-attico e di koinè, senza alcuna consapevolezza del fatto che è quest'ultimo ad essere un mutamento del primo e non viceversa.²⁴ Connesso a questo, grande attenzione è riservata alla flessione dei sostantivi maschili della I declinazione in -ᾱς, in particolare per quanto riguarda il genitivo in -ᾱ (esito di -ᾱο). I grammatici sono interessati al fatto che questa declinazione dorica mostra alcune analogie con la declinazione contratta attica (tipo Μῆνᾱς, Μῆνᾱ) che si preserva nella koinè e non è raro trovare discussioni sulla corretta definizione di queste declinazioni: Cherobosco per esempio nota che esse sono sempre distinte dall'accento e che è errato chiamare 'dorica' quella con accentazione perispomena.²⁵

L'altro argomento della morfologia dei sostantivi che suscita un grande interesse è la declinazione dei pronomi e degli aggettivi personali, sia dal punto di vista della forma della radice che dal punto di vista delle desinenze: un gran numero di passi provengono dal Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας di Apollonio Discolo,²⁶ una delle fonti principali per la conoscenza delle sotto-varietà doriche (che Apollonio esemplifica sulla base degli autori letterari).²⁷ Numerosi altri passi riguardano fenomeni della coniugazione: le III persone singolari in -τι, le I persone plurali in -μες, le III persone in -ντι. Su quest'ultimo tratto è interessante un passo di Eustazio con citazione da Eraclide Milesio (Eust. *In Od.* 1, 246, 17-35 Stallbaum = Heraclid. Mil. fr. 44 Cohn), in cui si contrastano gli esiti dorici e quelli eolici e si discute anche delle terze persone dei futuri dorici del tipo ποιησοῦντι.²⁸ Da questa

²⁴ Per es. STEPH. BYZ. 9, 43, 5-6: Ἰθωμήτης διὰ τοῦ η καὶ Δωρικῇ τροπῇ Ἰθωμάτας "Ἰθωμήτης 'di Itome' con η, e con mutamento [vocalico] dorico Ἰθωμάτας" (= HDN. 2, 357, 6-7 Lentz).

²⁵ CHOEROB. 1, 142, 36-37 Hilgard.

²⁶ Per es. 1, 95, 1-3 Uhlig su ἄμέες dorico contrapposto ad ἄμμες eolico; 1, 96, 23-97, 4 Uhlig su ἄμιν ed ἄμιν, ecc.

²⁷ Per es. 1, 101, 1 Uhlig su ψε forma siracusana (la fonte è Sofrone).

²⁸ Il frammento di Eraclide contiene una complessa teoria sul vocalismo dialettale dei verbi atematici improntata ai principi dell'analogia ed esposta anche in altri suoi frammenti tramandati da Eustazio. Per questa teoria e i suoi presupposti metodologici, si veda PRAUSCELLO (2017) 37-38.

succinta rassegna si nota come la descrizione antica dei tratti principali del dorico si avvicini molto a quella dei moderni manuali scolastici.

3.3. *L'eolico*

Un fatto ben noto a chi si occupa di esegesi linguistica antica è che per i grammatici greci l'eolico corrispondeva sostanzialmente alla varietà asiatica esemplificata dalla poesia di Saffo e Alceo e da alcuni elementi della lingua epica. Gli antichi, che pure riconoscevano il carattere eolico di Tessali e Beoti, non erano interessati a contrastare i diversi esiti in queste varietà del gruppo eolico. Non esiste, per esempio, un capitoletto in Erodiano dedicato alla geminazione nell'eolico di Saffo e Alceo vis-à-vis quanto succede in tessalico e beotico. Ciò conferma ancora una volta che l'interesse dei grammatici non era storico-linguistico, ma linguistico-letterario: le regole grammaticali (alcune per noi errate, altre corrette) venivano enunciate per spiegare le variazioni che determinate forme greche assumevano nella lingua di autori importanti, non per raggiungere la descrizione completa di un dialetto. Questa stessa metodologia poteva dunque condurli a riservare al beotico un certo spazio nelle loro descrizioni ma solo in quanto *dialetto usato da Corinna*: il beotico non interessa per sé, così come non interessa affatto il tessalico, dialetto privo di dignità letteraria.²⁹

Se consideriamo quanto è sopravvissuto dell'esegesi linguistica antica vediamo che (come anche nel caso del dorico) essa si costruisce su una gran parte di quelle caratteristiche che

²⁹ Si noti però che in *Schol. Marc. in Dion. Thrac.* 3, 309, 29 Hilgard l'Αἰολίς viene identificata con il dialetto dei Βοιωτοί "cioè i Tebani" (ἡγούσιν τῶν Θηβαίων: forse un riflesso del predominio beotico nella lega tebana post-classica? Cfr. VOTTERO [2006]). Anche in *Schol. Lond. in Dion. Thrac.* 3, 469, 32-33 Hilgard si distingue l'Αἰολίς Βοιωτικὴ da quella dei Λέσβιοι: ringrazio Lucia Prauscello per questi riferimenti. Sull'esegesi linguistica antica a Corinna si veda VESSELLA (2012), con bibliografia precedente.

ancora oggi costituiscono l'ossatura di una grammatica dialettale dell'eolico: la baritonesi, la psilosi, la dittongazione, la coniugazione in -μι dei *uerba uocalia*, la sincope, le forme del tipo βρόδον e gli infiniti tematici del tipo λέγην. Per quanto riguarda la dittongazione, i commenti riguardano forme specifiche, come μοῖσα (cfr. Hdn. 2, 1, 30 Lentz = *Epim. Hom. [ordine alfabetico]* μ. 65 = 500, 6 Dyck). Il funzionamento della dittongazione però sfugge del tutto ai grammatici antichi, come dimostrano le equazioni analogiche secondo cui a tutti gli /a:/ dorici corrispondono /ai/ eolici.

La cultura greco-romana di età imperiale aveva un enorme interesse per la poesia eolica di Saffo e Alceo, la cui lingua ha un grosso ruolo nella teorizzazione di Apollonio Discolo ed Erodiانو. L'importanza dell'eolico a quest'epoca è confermata anche dalle fonti papiracee, come dimostra il noto *P.Bour.* 8 del II secolo d.C.³⁰ Le 117 righe superstiti (molte delle quali lacunose) del papiro, che non reca intestazione, sembrano copiare in una scrittura molto curata una qualche trattazione περὶ Αἰολίδος, che comincia dalla discussione di alcune forme dittongate (ll. 1-24). Trova qui posto la nota teoria iperdialettale che attribuisce all'eolico sostantivi maschili della I declinazione in -αις sulla scorta di un ragionamento analogico (il papiro considera il fenomeno autentico e ne parla nei termini di un πλεονασμός di *iota*). Dopo una parte molto lacunosa (ll. 25-54) seguono una descrizione degli ottativi del tipo λεγόμετο (ll. 55-67) e alcune regole sugli infiniti (ll. 67-72) e sulla coniugazione atematica dei *uerba uocalia* (ll. 73-80). Il resto del papiro è molto frammentario, ma vi si intravedono citazioni dei poeti lesbii.

Per la dovizia e la sistematicità delle informazioni e la quantità di citazioni letterarie il *P.Bour.* 8 è considerato il testimone dell'attività di un grammatico di primo livello e l'ipotetica attribuzione a Trifone è spesso citata in letteratura.³¹ Rispetto a un esemplare di questo tipo, i trattati dialettologici bizantini – che

³⁰ Ed. in WOUTERS (1979) 274-297.

³¹ Riferimenti in WOUTERS (1979) 293-294; cfr. CASSIO (1993) 79.

ripetono all'infinito informazioni che risalgano ad Erodiano e sono state via via semplificate – sono al contempo più elementari e meno accurati nella ripetizione delle informazioni. Il peso maggiore è dato agli elementi di fonologia, con esempi del tutto scollegati dalla tradizione letteraria della lirica eolica: Saffo e Alceo sono sì menzionati come autori-modello, ma si tratta di nudi nomi in un'epoca in cui non erano più letti per via diretta.³²

4. Il 'carattere' dei dialetti greci e i loro autori-modello

Vengo ora a discutere il cuore della mia relazione, ovvero – per usare le parole-chiave del titolo di questi *Entretiens* – la *funzione* che gli antichi attribuivano all'uso della *forma* dialettale. Si tratta di una funzione di tipo etico-psicologico: le fonti sono pressoché unanimi nel presentarci lettori o ascoltatori di un certo pezzo letterario o di una certa espressione linguistica che reagiscono alla lingua attraverso *emozioni*, che a loro volta suscitano in loro giudizi etici. Queste notazioni sugli effetti etico-psicologici della forma dialettale formano l'ossatura dell'approccio linguistico antico ai testi letterari, delineando quanto di più vicino a una *storia linguistica della letteratura greca* sia stato prodotto dall'esegesi antica.

4.1. *Lo ionico*

Come si è già accennato *supra* (§ 3.1), lo ionico gode di un indubbio prestigio nelle teorie linguistiche, stilistiche e letterarie degli antichi. Innanzitutto, si riconosce a questo dialetto il ruolo di lingua del poeta per eccellenza, Omero. La percezione di Omero come autorità ionica tuttavia non è monolitica. Già

³² I relativi passi dei trattati sono raccolti in CONSANI (1991) 98-99 e 117-121. Sul *Nachleben* di Saffo in età bizantina, si veda PONTANI (2001); su Alceo, LIBERMAN (1999) lxx-lxxx.

alcuni degli esegeti antichi, anticipando in qualche modo la moderna teoria della 'fase eolica', vedevano nella sua lingua piuttosto un modello di eolico che di ionico.³³ Altri invece (Dione Crisostomo, *Vita Homeri* pseudo-plutarchea, Filodemo) lo consideravano quasi una *summa* dei dialetti greci, una teoria che trova spazio anche in Erodiano.³⁴ Il fatto che questo campione della grammatica normativa usi molto frequentemente Omero per esemplificare fenomeni linguistici è una perfetta dimostrazione di quanto l'epos omerico fosse il fondamento della cultura greca e dunque anche della sua lingua.³⁵ In alcuni passi delle sue opere Erodiano tratta alcune forme omeriche come tipiche dell'attico 'antico', un trattamento che fa il paio con l'idea aristarchea secondo cui Omero era ateniese.³⁶

Vengono poi Erodoto – seconda autorità del canone storico – e Ippocrate, il cui ionico è al contempo una marca distintiva dello stile medico e un 'problema' per gli intellettuali di epoca atticista, come si evince dalla difficoltà di conciliare precetti atticisti e lingua dei medici che rivela Galeno e cui allude anche Polluce nella seconda lettera prefatoria dell'*Onomasticon*.³⁷ Nell'apprezzamento antico di Erodoto lo ionico è talvolta citato come un elemento fondamentale del suo stile, contraddistinto dalle virtù di piacevolezza (ἡδονή), grazia (χάρις) e dolcezza (γλυκύτης). Il giudizio positivo su Erodoto ha in Dionigi di Alicarnasso il primo importante sostenitore. Nella *Lettera a Pompeo Gemino* lo storico è lodato per la piacevolezza della sua narrazione, ottenuta sia attraverso una corretta disposizione della

³³ Cfr. SCHIRONI (2018) 612-615.

³⁴ Sull'origine di questa teoria e il suo uso nelle fonti retorico-grammaticali, si vedano BLANK (1988) 141-142 e JANKO (2000) 377 n. 4.

³⁵ PONTANI (2012).

³⁶ Per l'approccio di Erodiano ai dialetti nella lingua omerica è ancora utile STEPHAN (1889) 24-36. Sulla teoria dell'attico antico si veda la sintesi di SCHIRONI (2018) 620-622 e, sulla sua presenza in Erodiano, PROBERT (2004).

³⁷ Cfr. e.g. GAL. *De differentia pulsuum libri iv* 8, 635 Kühn: καὶ ἡμετέρας δὲ δύο πραγματείας ὁ βουλόμενος ἔχει, τὴν τε περὶ Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἰατρικῶν "Chi vuole [approfondire le questioni terminologiche] ha a disposizione anche i miei due trattati, l'uno sui termini attici e l'altro su quelli medici".

materia (scelta e circoscrizione del soggetto; enumerazione degli avvenimenti; partecipazione alla narrazione) sia attraverso lo stile, caratterizzato da un puro dialetto ionico, di cui egli è massimo modello (τῆς Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανών, Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 3, 11). La lingua, come l'abilità narrativa, valgono allo storico la frequente assimilazione ad Omero, che si esplica nella famosa definizione di Erodoto ὁμηρικώτατος del trattato *Sul Sublime* (13, 3) e più compiutamente nella riflessione retorica di Ermo-gene. In *Id.* 319-320 Rabe la λέξις γλυκεῖα – lo “stile dolce”, che è innanzitutto poetico – viene riconosciuta anche ad Erodoto perché, pur essendo un prosatore, ha scelto lo ionico come Omero ed Esiodo: il suo dialetto è definito “poetico” e “dolce” (καὶ ἔστιν ἡ Ἰὰς ὅπερ ἔφην ποιητικὴ πῶς, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἡδεῖα).³⁸

Attraverso la teorizzazione retorica, l'idea che lo ionico sia dolce, piacevole e quasi ontologicamente poetico conosce un'ampia fortuna, che sopravvive in età bizantina. Alla ἰωνικὴ χάρις come elemento di stile in prosa fa riferimento Psello (*Or. for.* 1, 2676 Dennis), mentre Fozio parla di ἡδονή sia nel *codex* della *Bibliotheca* relativo ad Erodoto (60), sia in quello dedicato a Ctesia (72, 45a): un passo che nell'accogliere la lunga tradizione di connessione tra ionico, stile piacevole e abilità narrativa menziona anche quell'elemento favoloso (μυθῶδες) che altrove caratterizza in negativo lo stile degli storici troppo ‘omerici’.³⁹

Altre fonti forniscono una descrizione dell'effetto prodotto dalla χάρις ionica nell'uditorio. In un passo delle *Imagines*

³⁸ Sul passo si veda l'analisi di PRIESTLEY (2014) 199-203.

³⁹ PHOT. *Bibl. cod.* 72, 45a: Τῶν μέντοι γε μύθων, ἐν οἷς ἐκείνῳ [scil. Erodoto] λοιδορεῖται, οὐδ' οὗτος [Ctesia] ἀφίσταται, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφόμενοις αὐτῷ Ἰνδικά. Ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ τῶν διηγημάτων αὐτοῦ γίνεται διασκευῇ τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον ἐχούσῃ πολὺ, καὶ τὸ ἐγγὺς τοῦ μυθώδους αὐτὴν διαποικίλλειν. “Tuttavia, anche Ctesia non si astiene dall'usare racconti (per i quali critica Erodoto), soprattutto nel suo libro intitolato *Ἰνδικά*. La piacevolezza della sua narrazione risiede per la maggior parte nell'arrangiamento delle digressioni, che ha molti elementi emozionanti e inattesi e abbellimenti che la avvicinano al racconto favoloso”. Alcuni famosi giudizi negativi del μυθῶδες degli storici “imitatori di Omero” sono in LUCIAN. *VH* 1, 3; PLUT. *Mor.* (*De Herodoti malignitate*) 874b.

Luciano loda la dolcissima voce di Pantea, sposa di Abradata, la cui pura lingua ionica è simile al canto (Lucian. *Im.* 13-15). Nel descrivere le abilità di Scopeliano di Clazomene (città ionica), grande ammiratore di Gorgia di Leontinoi (altra città ionica), Filostrato (*VS* 1, 519) afferma che “la capacità di parlare in modo arguto è naturale tra gli Ioni” (πρὸς φύσεως μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἰωνικοῖς τὸ ἀστεΐζεσθαι). Filostrato sottolinea la piacevolezza di Scopeliano in opposizione al giudizio di quanti lo considerano appollosso, perché retore asiatico.

È indicativo che nella descrizione delle critiche dei detrattori con cui si apre la biografia di Scopeliano spicchi l'aggettivo ἀκόλαστος “sfrenato” (Philostr. *VS* 1, 515). Accanto alle qualità positive, venivano infatti attribuiti agli Ioni molti difetti, tra cui la lascivia, la corruzione morale, la depravazione sessuale, l'oscenità e la sfrenatezza. Caratterizzazioni di questo tipo sono già abbondanti in commedia attica, come è noto. Ciò che qui importa, tuttavia, è che tali giudizi etici finiscono con il permeare anche la teoria musicale e attraverso essa il discorso linguistico.⁴⁰ Nel noto passo di *Resp.* 398e Platone annovera l'armonia ionica tra quelle “molli” (μαλακαί) e il giudizio è ripreso in molte altre fonti, tra cui Plut. *Mor.* 822b, dove l'armonia ionica è detta suscitare l'inclinazione ai piaceri e la sfrenatezza (τὴν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ὀλισθηρὸν καὶ ἀκόλαστον αὔξουσιν). In *Deipnosophisti* 14, 19-20 – che riporta un passo di Eraclide Pontico con quella che è forse l'introduzione più accessibile alla connessione tra i γέννη greci, le tre armonie musicali, e i loro rispettivi caratteri – si sostiene che il genere ionico si sia evoluto da un'iniziale austerità all'effeminatezza. Quello dell'effeminatezza ionica è un *topos* dispregiativo che però deve avere avuto la sua origine nell'apprezzamento dell'eleganza del portamento e dei costumi ionici, poi divenuti motivo di scherno in commedia.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Sull'argomento si veda anche CASSIO (1984) 119-120. ABERT (1899) contiene ancora molti commenti utili a passi fondamentali.

⁴¹ A causa di questa rappresentazione comica, “ionico” è glossato come sinonimo di “effeminato” anche nella lessicografia più tarda: cfr. HSCH. ι 1200 Latte (ἰωνικόν· τρυφερόν· ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατεργάτορος, καὶ θηλυκοῦ. ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐκωμω-

Anche in questo caso il passo dalla sfera etica alla teoria dei suoni e della lingua è evidente. Aristide Quintiliano afferma che esistono vocali di suono “maschile” (tra le quali α) e altre di suono “femminile” (tra le quali η) e che la prevalenza di uno dei due tipi di vocali determina il carattere virile o effeminato dei dialetti. Su questa teoria e la sua possibile dipendenza da Aristosseno tornerò a breve (§ 4.2) perché ha avuto soprattutto un impatto su tutta una serie di ‘miti’ antichi e moderni che sono fioriti intorno al carattere dorico. Per quanto riguarda lo ionico, la femminilità dei suoi suoni è talvolta vista come parte integrante della sua piacevolezza, ma altre volte assume una connotazione negativa. Lo stesso Filostrato, che nella *Vita* di Scopeliano di Clazomene loda il carattere ionico, riporta altrove il rimprovero che Iseo di Assiria (oratore un tempo dedito a mollezze e piaceri) mosse all’ancora giovane Dionisio di Mileto, suo discepolo, per l’eccessivo *cantato* della sua dizione ionica.⁴²

Questi passi ci permettono dunque di cogliere la grande complessità dell’immagine che lo ionico evoca nei commentatori antichi. Dialecto imparentato con l’attico; lingua di base dell’epica, della lirica, della medicina e della filosofia;⁴³ migliore tra tutti per l’eleganza, la dolcezza, la piacevolezza e la poeticità, lo ionico può però ammantarsi anche di connotati negativi quando l’eleganza cede all’affettazione, la dolcezza all’effeminatezza e la piacevolezza alla lascivia. Proprio in quest’ultima accezione negativa i caratteri dello ionico possono così venire contrastati con quelli tipici del dorico, in una scala di valori che vede spesso quest’ultimo uscire vincitore.

δοῦντο οἱ Ἴωνες “‘ionico’: ‘voluttuoso’; o, detto di un invertito, anche ‘effeminato’. Per questo infatti venivano derisi gli Ioni in commedia”) e *Suda* ι 495 Adler (ἰωνικός· Ἑλληνικός, Ἀθηναῖος, ἀρχαῖος, καὶ ἰωνικῶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀβρῶς, ἐμυροφόρου τε καὶ διεκινῶν Ἰωνικῶς. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις “‘ionico’: ‘greco’; ‘ateniese’; ‘antico’. ‘Alla maniera ionica’: nel senso di ‘delicatamente’; ‘portavano mitre e si muovevano alla maniera ionica’: Aristofane, nelle *Tesmoforiazuse*”).

⁴² PHILOSTR. *VS* 1, 513: Τῷ δὲ Μιλησίῳ Διονυσίῳ ἀχροατῇ ὄντι τὰς μελέτας ζῶν ὥδῃ ποιοιμένῳ ἐπιπλήττων ὁ Ἰσαῖος “μειράκιον” ἔφη “Ἰωνικόν, ἐγὼ δὲ σε ᾄδειν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσα.

⁴³ Cfr. HIMER. *Or.* 60, 2: ἰωνικὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ λύρα καὶ ἱατρικὴ καὶ ποίησις.

4.2. *Il dorico*

Il carattere più di frequente associato ai Dori e al loro dialetto è l'ἀνδρείότης, parte integrante di un 'mito' della superiorità militare dorica di cui dà già testimonianza Tucidide (6, 76-80).⁴⁴ È noto come questa virilità dei Dori possa riflettersi anche nella loro lingua e nell'armonia che da loro prende il nome. Nel *Lachete* (188c-d) Platone definisce "l'uomo che sia veramente tale" (ὥς ἀληθῶς ὄντος ἀνδρός) come colui che nella vita accorda le parole alle azioni (τῷ ὄντι [ζῆν ἡρμοσμένος οὗ] αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον σύμφωνον τοῖς λόγοις πρὸς τὰ ἔργα) senza artifici, secondo l'armonia dorica (ἀτεχνῶς δωριστί). Platone rifiuta invece l'armonia ionica – insieme a quelle frigia e lidia, altrove definite scomposte – come non adatte all'uomo vero. Vi è qui un'implicita lode del carattere dorico (e dunque probabilmente del suo dialetto) come più virili ed etici dello ionico.

Il giudizio platonico ha ampia eco nelle opere successive e contribuisce a creare l'idea della superiorità morale degli autori di lingua dorica. Nella *Vita di Pitagora* Giamblico afferma che il dialetto dorico è il migliore, oltre ad essere il più antico (l'opinione è attribuita a Metrodoro, figlio di Epicarmo).⁴⁵ Ma è nel capitolo di Aristide Quintiliano cui ho già fatto riferimento (2, 13 Winnington-Ingram) che si coglie appieno come l'opposizione tra Ioni e Dori, e la loro musica, investa anche la sfera linguistica e in particolare la teoria dei suoni.⁴⁶ Benché Aristide all'inizio classifichi α tra i suoni 'intermedi', dice poi che quando si trova in contrapposizione con η è maschile per natura: per esemplificare questa situazione viene addotto l'esempio dell'opposizione tra dorico e ionico, che corrispondono alla

⁴⁴ CASSIO (1984) 118-119.

⁴⁵ IAMBL. *VP* 241-242. Il passo fornisce inoltre una preziosa testimonianza sulle associazioni tra dorico e medicina, tra essa ed Epicarmo, e tra questi e Pitagora: cfr. CASSIO (1984) 128-129.

⁴⁶ CASSIO (1984) 124-125; TARTAGLINI (2003) 339-340; UCCIARDELLO (2005) 42-43.

“tendenza contraria dei loro *ethnê*” (δηλοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ αἱ τῶν διαλέκτων ἀλλήλαις ἀντιπεπονθυῖαι τῇ τῶν ἑθνῶν ἀναλόγῳ ἐναντιοτροπίᾳ, ἡ Δωρίς τε καὶ Ἰάς). Anche in Aristide dunque si ritrova il ragionamento linguistico per cui /a:/ dorico è percepito come una sorta di mutamento rispetto ad /ε:/ ionico e non viceversa.

Come ha sostenuto Albio Cassio, gran parte dell'apprezzamento nei confronti dell'*alpha* dorico deve dipendere dal prestigio della lirica corale.⁴⁷ Le teorie di metricologi e musicologi, che si interessarono molto alla lirica corale, devono avere influenzato anche la retorica e la tecnica di emissione del suono e di pronuncia dei discorsi, nonché più in generale una tendenza ad accomunare il dorico all'eolico nelle teorie armonico-musicali e di opporli allo ionico. Un fatto interessante è che nell'esegesi strettamente linguistico-grammaticale non tutti i poeti del canone corale hanno la stessa prominenza. Questo deve dipendere da una scala di maggiore autenticità del dorico di ciascuno di loro: per esempio, vediamo che Alcmane è molto citato, mentre Ibico è usato di rado per esemplificare tratti generali dorici ed è considerato come una fonte specifica sul dialetto di Reggio (che in origine non era dorico). Ciò indirettamente conferma la tesi che la forma originaria della lingua di Ibico dovesse essere molto più ionica di quanto non appaia oggi e che solo in una fase post-classica, forse in imitazione dell'evoluzione linguistica di Reggio e della Magna Grecia, il testo debba essere stato sottoposto a una ulteriore dorizzazione.⁴⁸

In sostanza sembra che la tradizione dialettologica greca abbia promosso al ruolo di canone dorico innanzitutto i poeti che erano dorici per provenienza, lasciando da parte quelli il cui dialetto, secondo la definizione datane nei trattati tardo-bizantini,

⁴⁷ CASSIO (1984) 122-124. Si veda anche WILLI in questi *Entretiens*.

⁴⁸ La tesi di una originale *facies* ionica del testo di Ibico risale a Wilamowitz ed è stata più volte ripresa: per una rassegna della storia degli studi, con molti nuovi elementi, cfr. UCCIARDELLO (2005) 30-45. Indizi della successiva dorizzazione operata dall'edizione alessandrina in poi, tra cui l'accentazione, sono discussi in CASSIO (1999) 202-208 e UCCIARDELLO (2005) 45-50.

“è del tutto rilasciato” (παντελῶς ἀνεῖται): ovvero Ibico, Simonide e Bacchilide (ma talvolta anche Pindaro), che non erano dorici di stirpe.⁴⁹ I germi di questa teoria tardo-bizantina si colgono tuttavia già nell'esegesi più antica. Lo dimostra non solo la prominenza di Alcmane nelle fonti grammaticali, ma soprattutto l'interesse per il siracusano di Epicarmo e Sofrone, che perdura anche in epoche nelle quali delle loro opere non si leggeva più nulla: Sofrone viene ancora ricordato (addirittura come esempio di laconico!) nei trattati tardo-bizantini.⁵⁰

Alla rosa di autori di sicura lingua dorica, anche se variamente autentica, le fonti aggiungono talvolta, in modo più incongruo, Omero ed Esiodo. Si tratta in genere di commenti su forme che non rientrano nei canoni dello ionico, tra cui *in primis* /a:/ preservato: ciò avviene anche nel caso di forme non dialettali, come i sostantivi e participi in -ᾶς, -αντος della III declinazione o la III persona plurale dell'imperfetto ἦν.⁵¹ Esiodo è trattato come un caso a sé nelle fonti erudite e ciò deve dipendere dal fatto che, nonostante l'indubbia *facies* ionico-epica dei suoi poemi, gli elementi linguistici non omerici e la sua provenienza beotica – che elude il collegamento tradizionale tra provenienza, dialetto della stirpe e lingua letteraria di elezione – devono averlo isolato all'interno del canone epico.

4.3. *L'eolico*

La percezione dell'eolico presenta alcune differenze rispetto a quella degli altri due dialetti. Innanzitutto, come si è già visto,

⁴⁹ CONSANI (1991) 116, § LXVIII; UCCIARDELLO (2005) 52-53.

⁵⁰ CONSANI (1991) 116, § LXVII; cfr. GREG. COR. Περὶ διαλέκτων 371-373 Schäfer.

⁵¹ Cfr. CHOEROB. 1, 123, 12 Hilgard: εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ Δωρικὰ συστέλλοντα τὸ α, ὡς παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ (*Th.* 521) δῆσας ἀλυκτοπέδησι Προμηθεά, κτλ. “ci sono anche altre forme doriche che allungano α, come in Esiodo: ‘legando Prometeo con catene inestricabili’”; HERACLID. MIL. fr. 50, 26-29 Cohn. Sui ‘dorismi’ di Esiodo si vedano MORPURGO DAVIES (1964) e CASSIO (2009) 183-189, che offre anche una rassegna aggiornata delle opinioni moderne sulla sua lingua.

il canone letterario di riferimento è di gran lunga più ristretto e coincide con la lirica di Saffo e Alceo. Questa limitazione sembra avere avuto un effetto anche sulla descrizione del carattere del dialetto, dell'armonia eolica e del *genos*. Il frammento di Eraclide Pontico (163 Wehrli = 114 Schütrumpf) già considerato in § 4.1, afferma in merito all'armonia eolica che "il carattere eolico è altero e turgido, e anche un po' vanesio, e ciò si addice al loro amore per l'allevamento di cavalli e per l'ospitalità: è un carattere non malvagio, ma pieno di dignità e coraggio. Perciò sono loro tipici l'amore per il bere, il sesso e ogni rilassatezza nello stile di vita. Per questo motivo gli Eoli hanno il carattere tipico dell'armonia ipodorica".⁵²

Abbiamo qui la tipica mistione tra elementi caratteriali della stirpe ed effetti suscitati dall'armonia musicale nell'uditorio.⁵³ Le abitudini tipiche degli Eoli sembrano avere dietro una pluralità di approcci. Il modello della lirica lesbica, e in particolare quello della poesia erotico-simposiale di Alceo, si intravede nella menzione della passione per il bere, il sesso e lo stile di vita rilassato. L'amore per i cavalli presuppone invece una visione etnica più ampia, che include tra gli Eoli i Tessali, noti cavalieri e allevatori. Alterezza, turgidità e vanità riflettono invece teorie di tipo retorico-linguistico, come vorrei sostenere a conclusione di questa rassegna sul carattere dei dialetti greci.

La prima caratteristica che Eraclide riconosce all'armonia eolica è quella di essere *ὀγκώδης* "turgida". Nella sua accezione retorica, l'aggettivo è ambiguo: può identificare uno stile troppo elaborato, i cui eccessi scadono nella volgarità (e.g. Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 3, 41), ma può anche identificare quella *gravitas* che veniva

⁵² τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰολέων ἦθος ἔχει τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ὀγκῶδες, ἔτι δὲ ὑπόχαυνον, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς ἱπποτροφίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ξενοδοχίαις· οὐ πανοῦργον δέ, ἀλλὰ ἐξηρμένον καὶ τεθαρρηχός, διὸ καὶ οἰκεῖόν ἐστ' αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοποσία καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν δίκαιαν ἄνεσις, διόπερ ἔχουσι τὸ τῆς Ὑποδαυρίου καλουμένης ἁρμονίας ἦθος.

⁵³ L'aspetto teorico-musicale e storico-letterario del frammento di Eraclide Pontico è stato molto studiato. Si vedano HAGEL (2009) 431-434 per la teoria armonica e PRAUSCELLO (2012) 68-70 per l'innovazione poetico-musicale in Laso e l'*ethos* del ditirambo, entrambi con bibliografia precedente.

riconosciuta a vari livelli della teoria retorico-linguistica dei μουσικοί e dei μετρικοί greci come un elemento positivo, da ricercare attraverso specifiche scelte di fonemi e di composizione sillabica.⁵⁴ Così in un passo di *Poem.* 1 (181, 12-14 Janko) Filodemo usa proprio ὀγκώδης per riportare una teoria di Andromenide relativa al valore delle sillabe e dei suoni in esse contenuti: le sillabe “pesanti” emesse dai poeti sono associate ai suoni “più splendenti” (ὀγκώδεις συλλαβὰς τῶν λαμπροτάτων φθόγγων). Questo passo non discute di eolico, ma può essere utile per mettere a fuoco un altro aspetto della connessione tra teoria armonica, fonetica e descrizione del carattere di un dialetto.

All'armonia eolica si riconosceva infatti una gravità che trova un parallelo nell'enfasi che le fonti grammaticali accordano al fenomeno della baritonesi. Nello scolio a Dionisio Trace (3, 117, 18-27 Hilgard), che contiene una *summa* semplificata delle teorie greche sul carattere dei dialetti, la baritonesi diviene, insieme alla psilosi, il segno distintivo dell'arcaicità e antichità dell'eolico: τὸ δὲ Αἰολικὸν [*scil.* ἡθοῦς] τῷ τ' αὐστηρῷ τῆς διαίτης καὶ τῷ τῆς φωνῆς ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν βαρύτητα τῶν τόνων καὶ τὴν ψιλότητα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐζηλώκασιν (“il carattere eolico [si distingue] per l'austerità dello stile di vita e l'antichità della lingua: per questo essi prediligono la gravità degli accenti e l'assenza di aspirazioni”). Questa strana affermazione (che lo scoliaste infatti critica con veemenza: Τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔστι πιθανόν· τί γὰρ ἡ βαρεῖα τάσις καὶ τὸ ψιλὸν πνεῦμα πρὸς τὸ αὐστηρὸν τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν; “Questo non è credibile: cosa hanno a che fare l'accento grave e lo spirito dolce con l'austerità del loro modo di essere?!”) deve dipendere –

⁵⁴ La migliore esposizione di questa teoria delle lettere (στοιχεῖα οὐ γράμματα) è probabilmente quella del *De compositione* di Dionigi di Alicarnasso (14-19), sul quale si vedano STANFORD (1967) 33-34 e PORTER (2010) 236-239. Essa risale forse già a Democrito e viene ripresa in numerose altre opere, tra cui Aristide Quintiliano. L'opinione riportata da Filodemo identifica il *lambda* come il suono più splendente, mentre Dionigi – che organizza la sua esposizione dei fonemi su una scala di sonorità – considera le vocali (in particolare *alpha*) come i suoni migliori (DION. HAL. *Comp.* 19).

come ha notato Albio Cassio – dalla polisemia di βαρύς e τόνος, che dall’ambito grammaticale passano alla sfera musicale (in cui indicano suoni e scale basse e piacevoli) e infine all’ambito etico (dove indicano appunto la *gravitas* e la dignità).⁵⁵ In sostanza, il carattere, l’armonia e il dialetto eolico venivano percepiti come un terreno di mezzo tra la severità e la virilità del dorico e la rilassatezza e l’effeminatezza dello ionico. L’eolico possiede al tempo stesso forza e gravità, caratteri che possono connetterlo al dorico, ma anche una tendenza all’elevazione e a uno stile non eccessivamente severo, insieme a un *êthos* incline ai piaceri della vita che lo avvicinano allo ionico (si ricorderà che proprio ubriachezza e mollezza caratterizzano le melodie συμποτικαί collegate all’armonia ionica e condannate in *Resp.* 398e).⁵⁶

Non è questa la sede per approfondire il discorso sulla teoria armonica dei Greci e i suoi addentellati con la linguistica, la teoria dell’*êthos* e la psicologia.⁵⁷ Ciò che però mi preme notare, in conclusione, è la lunga durata degli effetti di questa teoria sulla percezione dei dialetti. Può forse risultare interessante che Eustazio (*in Il.* 1, 14, 7-17 van der Valk), subito dopo aver espresso la teoria che gli Ioni sono ἄπιοικοι degli Ateniesi (cfr. *supra*), affermi anche che ὅμοιον δέ τι καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Δωρίδος διαλέκτου λέγεται, ὥς καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμοιότητά τινα ἔχουσιν (“si dice qualcosa di identico in merito al dialetto eolico e al dorico, poiché anche essi hanno una qualche similarità”, *in Il.* 1, 14, 11-12 van der Valk). Il contesto illumina le motivazioni di questa affermazione in apparenza incongrua. Il passo discute della prima parola dell’*Iliade*, μῆνιν, definita “attica e ionica”, e delle sue possibili varianti, tra cui μᾶνιν – la forma dorica ed eolica, attestata in Pindaro e Alceo. Come attico e

⁵⁵ CASSIO (1984) 125-128. In Aristide Quintiliano (cfr. *supra*) la βαρύτης è invece associata al dorico: cfr. TARTAGLINI (2003) 340.

⁵⁶ Le implicazioni armonico-musicali della medietà del modo eolico sono discusse da PRAUSCELLO (2012) 74.

⁵⁷ Per questi rimando ad alcuni studi selezionati: i classici ABERT (1899) e ANDERSON (1966); BARKER (1989) per i testi e BARKER (2007) per l’elaborazione teorica; ROSSI (2000) per una veduta d’insieme sugli effetti psicagogici della musica.

ionico, anche dorico ed eolico “hanno qualcosa in comune”: sebbene Eustazio non lo espliciti, si deduce dal passo che questa somiglianza si basa sul comune mantenimento di /a:/. Abbiamo dunque qui una riflessione specificamente linguistica sulla parentela tra dorico ed eolico che, a distanza, può spiegare anche la vicinanza tra i caratteri delle due stirpi, entrambi dotati di forza e gravità: due qualità che, come abbiamo visto, venivano connesse proprio al caratteristico suono dell'*alpha*.

5. Conclusioni

In questo contributo ho discusso molti passi di autori antichi e bizantini non per analizzarne la lingua da studiosa di linguistica, ma viceversa per valutarne il loro stesso approccio alla lingua e alla variazione dialettale. Dai frammenti dei grammatici e dagli altri prodotti dell'erudizione antica emerge una visione piuttosto chiara del modo in cui i dialetti (cioè le *forme* linguistiche) erano descritti e collocati in una griglia valutativa dagli esegeti antichi. I fenomeni linguistici venivano selezionati e commentati non sulla base di un criterio di correttezza (o di un'idea di standard linguistico), ma in base alla funzione che essi rivestivano nei generi letterari, essenzialmente quelli della poesia di epoca arcaica e classica. Dai commenti sui dialetti che troviamo in un gran numero di autori non grammaticali – di fatto da Platone ad Eustazio, in una continuità di pensiero che è straordinaria – emerge poi un'altrettanto chiara idea della *funzione* che questa varietà linguistica aveva nella percezione del pubblico dei poeti e degli scrittori greci. Lo ionico è pertanto più poetico e piacevole perché legato al genere principe dell'epos; il dorico più austero e virile perché associato alla lirica corale, ecc.

Il naufragio della gran parte dell'erudizione linguistico-grammaticale antica non permette di capire fino a che punto i suoi vari prodotti fossero diversi tra di loro. Il confronto tra le opere dialettologiche e grammaticali di età imperiale e i compendî di

età bizantina mostra quale semplificazione e sclerotizzazione i materiali antichi abbiano subito, ma al tempo stesso evidenzia anche quanto sia rimasto vivo nella cultura greca medievale l'interesse per la funzione dei dialetti nella letteratura antica. D'altronde, un prodotto come *PSI 1609* serve anche a constatare come non tutto ciò che riteniamo tipicamente 'bizantino' sia davvero tardo. Il confronto stesso tra questo papiro e la più articolata discussione di *P.Bour.* 8 suggerisce di esercitare maggiore cautela nel ritenere l'esegesi linguistica di età imperiale come un blocco monolitico: è evidente che anche nel pieno della più sofisticata attività linguistica dei Greci esistevano opere dialettologiche di orientamento molto diverso – l'uno più incline a fornire elementari regole di grammatica in chiave dialettale e l'altro più rivolto all'esegesi linguistica letteraria. Senz'altro, però, bisogna sottrarsi alla tentazione – piuttosto diffusa tra i linguisti moderni – di considerare questi resti grammaticali come del tutto irrilevanti per una definizione delle forme linguistiche greche nel loro contesto di fruizione.

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DISCUSSION

A.C. Cassio: Grazie per questo ottimo quadro dell'approccio dei Greci all'*êthos* dei loro dialetti (ovviamente letterari): un approccio estetico-stilistico-musicale che vive di collegamenti più o meno arbitrari tra i suoni (per i Greci peraltro strettamente collegati ai segni scritti) e un loro preteso 'carattere' che toccava anche il comportamento morale: una cosa lontana anni luce da quello che oggi si intenderebbe per approccio linguistico ai dialetti. Per quanto riguarda lo ionico l'affermazione della sua *χάρις* e 'dolcezza' è quasi ossessiva, e non è un caso che si continuasse a scrivere in ionico anche in tarda età imperiale: Prassagora di Atene scrisse una (perduta) vita di Costantino il Grande in ionico (cfr. Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 63). È interessante che Dionigi di Alicarnasso, passando in rassegna, nel capitolo 5 del *De Thucydide*, le opere per noi perdute di vari logografi, afferma in sostanza che le loro opere 'rimanevano' (cioè in pratica continuavano a essere copiate e lette) ancora ai suoi tempi grazie alla *ὥρα* e alla *χάρις* che le pervadevano: *ἐπιτρέχει μέντοι τις ὥρα τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν καὶ χάρις, τοῖς μὲν πλείων, τοῖς δ' ἐλάττων, δι' ἣν ἔτι μένουσιν αὐτῶν αἱ γραφαί*. In pratica il loro valore come testi storici e mitografici è annullato, e tutto è concentrato sulla gradevolezza dello stile.

O. Tribulato: Ti ringrazio per queste interessanti aggiunte ai passi che ho discusso. Mi permettono di notare che sono state specificamente le teorie sullo stile della prosa ad aver decretato la lunga durata del prestigio dello ionico come lingua letteraria: pensiamo per esempio alla satira che ne fa Luciano nel *De dea Syria*. Penso che Dionigi di Alicarnasso abbia avuto un grosso peso in queste teorie relative allo ionico – o almeno questo è ciò che ci appare ora che dell'esegesi antica abbiamo perduto

così tanto. Come ho accennato nella relazione, Dionigi riteneva sia Erodoto che Tucidide modelli di *lingua*: ma quanto allo *stile*, aveva molte critiche a riguardo alla prosa difficile e agli arcaismi lessicali del secondo, perché infrangevano il principio dionigiano della *σαφήνεια*. Le critiche a Tucidide e l'apprezzamento di Erodoto vanno dunque intese nel contesto di una teoria dell'imitazione che si rivolgeva soprattutto agli oratori: Dionigi si stupiva della moda del suo tempo di imitare Tucidide ad ogni costo.⁵⁸ Dunque, ho il sospetto che tutte le volte che leggiamo commenti sulla *χάρις* dello ionico (da Dionigi in poi) siamo di fronte a un 'sistema di valori' che aveva innanzitutto la prosa come punto di riferimento e citava poi gli esempi canonici della poesia (Omero, Anacreonte, ecc.) come ulteriore puntello, ma sostanzialmente in modo aggiuntivo: le teorie antiche dello stile riguardano la prosa (si veda Ermogene e si vedano i passi di Psello e Fozio cui ho fatto riferimento nel § 4.1).

F. Schironi: I was wondering why you did not take into account Lesbonax, who writes an entire treatise to interpret several syntactic features as dialectal *schêmata*. Would taking into account Lesbonax help your argument about tracing a history of Greek literature through dialects?

O. Tribulato: Thank you for bringing up Lesbonax, whom I have neglected for a reason. The fragments from his works deal with grammatical (essentially syntactic) peculiarities which he classified by geographical area ('Corinthian', 'Euboean', etc.) or author ('Ibycean', 'Alcmanian', etc.). It is clear that Lesbonax's framework has little to do with dialectology (and his information on local peculiarities should be handled with care). Rather, it is based on literary usage, and chiefly on Homer, whom he

⁵⁸ Si veda ora la sintesi in C. DE JONGE (2017), "Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Thucydides", in S. FORSDYKE / É. FOSTER / R. BALOT (a c. di), *The Oxford Handbook of Thucydides* (Oxford), 641-658.

quotes abundantly. Although Lesbos complies with the general orientation of Greek linguistic scholarship to which I referred in my paper, namely that it was based on literary dialects, it is very difficult if not impossible to understand why he gave 'ethnic' (or regional) names to certain *σχήματα*. So it seems to me that by and large what has survived is of little use for a more detailed definition of Lesbos' view on the issues I discussed in my paper, namely the ancient scholars' *perception* of the local and literary dialects and of their purpose in literature. Lesbos gives us a taxonomy of *σχήματα* according to dialect, but then does not actually *evaluate* them in a way that would make it possible for us to ask questions such as "Did Lesbos perceive Ionic to be pleasant?" (to return to the point Albio just made). So, for instance, when Lesbos tells us that the "Colophonian *σχῆμα*" consisted in using the dative instead of the genitive and then quotes *Il.* 7, 383 *νηὶ παρὰ πρύμνῃ* (which he contrasts with the 'normal' *παρὰ τῇ πρύμνῃ τῆς νηός*), he does not tell us what *effect* he thinks this figure achieved. Hence, what we have here is a strange treatise on literary style which gives us little information about the purpose of these syntactic variations and how they (and their alleged 'dialectal' or 'ethnic' character) might have been perceived by a Greek audience.

A. Willi: You have mentioned that some authors of choral lyric do not seem to have been considered 'truly' Doric, presumably because of their origin; one of them is Ibycus and you suggested that, given this situation, there might be truth in the hypothesis that the original linguistic appearance of Ibycus' poems was in fact more Ionic than what has come down to us. On the one hand, this makes good sense, but on the other hand a further absentee from the list of 'truly' Doric sources is Stesichorus: but would this then also entitle us to conclude that the original text of Stesichorus' poems may also have been more 'Ionic' than what we now have – an idea I would personally find much more difficult to accept?

O. Tribulato: I may be mistaken, but my impression is that Stesichorus is not a member of the grammarians' Doric canon not just on account of his language having a more pronounced Doric/Ionic melange than 'conventional' choral poets, but also because his poetry was recognized as being ontologically different from that of Alcman, Pindar, Ibycus, etc. So I would not interpret his absence as proof of an originally more Ionic *facies* of his text – the Doric layer is certainly authentic, though it is not a priori impossible that some other superficial Doric features may have been added at a later time, as scholars from Wilamowitz to Finglass have claimed. Rather, I would interpret it as evidence that Stesichorus' poetry was perceived as a 'mixed bag' of elements which did not completely comply with the ancients' idea of 'Doric choral poetry'.

Also, it is difficult to locate the origin of the idea that some authors were not truly Doric because they did not hail from Doric lands: we see it clearly at work only in the late-Byzantine compendia. Our impression that Herodian used Ibycus exclusively to exemplify the dialect of Rhegium may after all be fallacious or incomplete, because we do not know how much of Herodian was lost or reshaped in later times. Still, in the case of Stesichorus it is interesting to see that the first time we get a Doric labeling for a form attributed to him is in Byzantine lexicography: there is little trace of Stesichorus as a 'Doric' author in earlier scholarship.

L. Huitink: I think the move you make in your paper first to discuss the 'bare' linguistic material ancient authors seem to have been interested in and then their interpretations is a helpful one. But I wonder if in the end you could say a bit more about the relationship between the two. In particular, I wonder about the direction of explanation: do the 'cultural' and 'pathological' characteristics ascribed to Ionians etc. somehow follow from the linguistic characteristics ascribed to their dialects, or are pre-existing preconceptions supported with linguistic evidence? Even if the latter option seems *prima facie* more plausible, I

still wonder what happens if we try to push the first. I find it striking that very early on already, preconceptions about, say, Ionians (Anacreon, say) and Dorians (especially Spartans) seem to be tied up with speech habits (in a wider sense of the word than just dialects). So, is there anything at all which makes it logical/conventional/etc. to link speech habits and character traits? Are there perhaps modern cognitive studies which could shed light on such issues?

O. Tribulato: This is a thought-provoking question that challenges me to think about an overarching conceptual framework by which to approach a large and diachronically extended mass of very disparate material. I am not sure that this is possible in a short paper, but it would definitely be worth trying in the future. The structure I gave my paper intentionally proceeded from the technical nitty-gritty of grammar books and scholia to the more cultural approaches of other texts. I started from the grammatical level because I wished to show that our reading of the ancient approach to literary language and style cannot be disjoined from the study of technical texts, no matter how frustrating they might be (especially when we face the problems of transmission of this material and hence of its ancient 'authenticity'). Once we get to grips with the tiniest details of their linguistic theories we realise that these texts are very different 'grammars' from modern ones. Dialectal variations mattered because of their role in literary texts, essentially those from the great literature of the past. So, I would say that in a way language description depends on texts, and hence that it was probably not disjoined from what these texts said and from extra-linguistic ideas about, e.g., the poet, his personality, the habits and characters of the region he came from, etc. And you are right in bringing up Ionians and Spartans as examples because the idea that Ionians are refined etc. owes quite a lot to the perception of Ionian authors: we have for instance vase images of Anacreon wearing an Asian attire, something which must have gone hand in hand with the contents and general 'feeling' of his poetry. And when we turn to

the Spartans, it is true that a lot of their Classical representations imply the mimesis of their language and way of speaking (as in Aristophanes, where the mimesis is not simply on the level of dialectal morpho-phonology but involves vocabulary and speech attitude: in *Lysistrata*, for instance, Lampito is portrayed as being quite abrupt in her way of speaking). Having said this, I do not think that true grammarians such as Herodian are liable to "support pre-existing preconceptions with linguistic evidence". This is something one may find in more general discussions of language, or in later and more simplistic material (e.g. some Byzantine scholia). Finally, to get to your concluding question – whether there are modern cognitive studies which deal with the logical connection between speech habits and character traits – I confess my ignorance but I believe there must be. This would be a very interesting topic to pursue from a Classicist point of view, so thank you for bringing it up.

A. Willi: Your rich paper has splendidly sketched the variety of responses to the language of literature in ancient scholarship. One of the striking things is that it seems possible, at least in some cases, to make almost contradictory claims in response to the same variety – in your material this is especially clear for the diverging positive *or* negative evaluation of Ionic. But would it be correct nevertheless to maintain that these things are never completely haphazard: in the specific case at hand, for example, what underlies the 'positive' evaluation is an implicit contrast of Ionic (Herodotean) prose with its Attic counterparts, whereas the 'negative' evaluation primarily relates to the realm of poetry where the main alternative option is Doric/Aeolic? In other words, when coming across such judgments, we would always have to be fully aware of their situational context, even if they are *formulated* in the most general terms.

O. Tribulato: The point you make ties in beautifully with the question Luuk has just asked, namely whether it is possible to detect a rationale behind the treatment of linguistic features

in an 'ethical' perspective. As you suggest, the rationale in the seemingly contradictory way in which the ancients dealt with traits (both linguistic and ethical) from the same dialect/*genos* is revealed by the specific context in which a certain statement is made. If I may follow up on this and elaborate on your suggestion, I would say that a recurrent pattern in such statements implying a positive or negative evaluation of a dialect is their 'binary' structure. What we get is a one-to-one opposition: Ionic/Doric, Aeolic/Ionic, Herodotus/Thucydides, and so on. But the interesting fact, for me, is that no matter how these 'single combats' may end up, the ancients almost never come up with a general 'ranking' that holds true for each and all situations. That is, while we may get statements such as "Doric is more manly than Ionic", we seldom get statements such as "Doric is the manliest of all and hence the best", to put it crudely (though see Iamblichus for an exception). In a way, this is the fascinating side of Greek views of language: that they are profoundly respectful of the cultural and dialectal variety of Greek. This is not to be taken for granted in every culture: in Italy, for instance, the language question tried to wipe out dialectal diversity from early on.

A. Vatri: Solo un'osservazione sul termine *τόνος*, che in musica indica la tensione di una corda e, di conseguenza, l'altezza del suono prodotto dalla corda stessa. Questo termine entra nel lessico della musica (prima che della musicologia) in questo senso; se applicato al linguaggio, indica in primo luogo l'altezza a cui viene pronunciata una sillaba (ad es. nella *Retorica* di Aristotele) e quindi l'accento (anch'esso, ovviamente, musicale). In musicologia, *τόνος* acquisirà più tardi un significato tecnico (i *τόνοι* sono "scale" definite non solo dalla sequenza degli intervalli tra le note ma anche dalla loro altezza assoluta – una nozione che supera quella delle *ἁρμονίαι*, definite solo dagli intervalli e non dall'altezza assoluta). Quindi non mi sentirei di dire che il termine è passato dalla sfera grammaticale alla sfera musicale.

O. Tribulato: Grazie per la precisazione. Naturalmente tu hai ragione: *τόνος* è innanzitutto una parola non tecnica, che poi diviene tipica della terminologia musicale e infine del lessico tecnico della musicologia e della grammatica. Ciò che volevo dire è che nel caso specifico di quello scolio a Dionisio Trace sull'eolico, il punto di partenza è grammaticale (la baritonesi) ma il punto di arrivo di tipo 'etico' (l'eolico è austero) presuppone un passaggio attraverso la teoria musicale delle *ᾄρμονίαι* e dei *τόνοι*.

F. Schironi: I think it might be good to contextualize the passages from Eustathius you discuss (*In Il.* 1, 14, 7-17 van der Valk; *Comm. Dion. Perieg.* 423, 39-45 Müller), saying that the idea that Ionic and Attic, on the one hand, and Aeolic and Doric, on the other, are connected derives from Strabo (8, 1, 2).

O. Tribulato: As concerns the *παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς*, Eustathius did indeed have this particular passage of Strabo in mind, though – as you know very well yourself – the theory was much older than Strabo. I am not so convinced, however, that Strabo is also behind the equating of Doric and Aeolic, at least not in any significant way. The passage in the commentary on Dionysius Periegetes does not mention Doric and Aeolic, while the starting point in the passage of the Iliadic commentary is the linguistic analysis of *μῆνιν*. Here Eustathius' aside on the similarity of Doric and Aeolic is a premise to his commentary on *μᾶνιν* (*ὅμοιον δέ τι καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Δωρίδος διαλέκτου λέγεται, ὥς καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμοιότητά τινα ἔχουσῶν. Δωριεὺς δὲ τὴν παρὰ Ἀττικῶς μῆνιν μᾶνιν εἴποι ἄν*). Strabo's statement on the other hand has another layer: when he says that Doric and Aeolic are related, he is offering linguistic evidence in support of his statement that in ancient times the Peloponnese was Aeolic and that it became Doric with the arrival of the Heraclidae (8, 2, 2), which is what he is really interested in. But Strabo has a long tradition of discussions about the Dorians' *Ursprungsland* behind him. In some of these discussions it was identified

with regions which more or less coincide with Thessaly (an Aeolic land; Strabo later says that the Aeolians of the Peloponnese were Achaeans). So, to conclude, my impression is that while Eustathius certainly knew Strabo very well, it cannot be proven beyond doubt that here he is specifically referring to this passage by the geographer: his framework seems to me to be very different from that of the ethnic-mythological discussions to which Strabo bears witness.

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Formes et fonctions des langues littéraires en Grèce ancienne

Neuf exposés suivis de discussions

*Albio Cesare Cassio, Lucia Prauscello, Andreas Willi,
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