

REDEFINING THE STANDARDS IN ATTIC, KOINE, AND ATTICISM

EUHORMOS



Edited by

Chiara Monaco, Robert Machado, Eleni Bozia

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Redefining the Standards in Attic, Koine, and Atticism

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Eleni Bozia



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Foreword

EUHORMOS is an international book series intended for monographs and collective volumes on Greco-Roman Antiquity. Specifically, we welcome for publication manuscripts related to the concept of ‘anchoring innovation’ by classical scholars of all disciplines from all over the world. Books in this series will be published as much as possible in Open Access. EUHORMOS is one of the results financed by the Dutch so-called Gravitation Grant (2017), awarded to a consortium of scholars from OIKOS, the National Research School in Classical Studies. See <https://anchoringinnovation.nl/>, where we also list earlier results from this research programme.

The ancient world saw many examples of change and innovations. The unique accessibility of materials from and about this period in the ancient Mediterranean frequently makes it possible to analyze successful and unsuccessful ‘anchoring’ of change: the various ways in which ‘the new’ could (or could not) be connected to and embedded in what was already deemed familiar. ‘New’ and ‘old’ are mostly not used as objective labels, but also a matter of the perception, framing, and valuation by relevant social groups and actors. ‘The new’ is not restricted to the technical or scientific domains, but can also include the ‘new information’ imparted by speakers through linguistic anchoring strategies; innovations in literature and the arts; political, social, cultural, legal, military, or economic innovation; and new developments in material culture.

The name ‘Euhormos’ itself is well-anchored. It is the Homeric term for a harbor ‘in which the anchoring is good’, although the careful reader will notice that danger is never far away. This dynamic nature of ‘anchoring’ and the risks involved in it are embraced by our research team as part of this title. For now though we will focus on its auspicious aspect, since we are looking forward to affording ‘good anchorage’ to studies contributing to a better understanding of ‘anchoring innovation’ in Greco-Roman Antiquity.

Ineke Sluiter

Academic Director, Leiden

On behalf of the Governing Board of the Anchoring Innovation Programme

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Introduction

Chiara Monaco, Robert Machado and Eleni Bozia

1 Preliminary Remarks

This volume brings together studies on the most significantly attested varieties of Ancient Greek: Attic, Koine, and Atticist Greek. These varieties have a shared history, closely linked to the political vicissitudes of the Greeks—Attic as the official language of the Athenian Empire; Koine as the language of the Macedonian Empire and the Hellenistic Kingdoms; and Atticist Greek as the language of the Greek elite under the Roman rule. By the time of the rise of Attic, Greek had been written down for centuries. Still, changes in the socio-political landscape effectuated linguistic change and ensured that this time one variety would emerge as an internationally official form of Greek. Its progeny, the Koine and Atticist Greek, would be the poles around which Medieval and Modern Greek would orbit. Grammars were (and still are) built around them, the process of selection and codification based on them. Even today, the other Greek varieties are considered deviations or derivatives from these grammars.

This process has encouraged us to think of these varieties—Attic, Koine, and Atticism—in homogeneous terms within the context of standard/s and standardization, despite the complicated attestation and history of each and the diversity of texts composed in them. Many previous studies on these varieties or single aspects of them have tended to focus on what unites the language of each (Thumb 1906; Threatte 1980, 1996; Colvin 2014). Moreover, the works on the history of the Greek language as a whole (Christidis 2007; Bakker 2010; Horrocks 2010) have looked to emphasize the importance of broad political and social trends to linguistic history. Increasingly, however, works have emerged seeking to break down their apparent homogeneity and examine the role of individual texts and genres in a variety's history at any given period.¹ As a result, the questions raised by previous works about the mechanics of language change, speakers' perception, and the development of identities can be better analyzed by investigating the mutual influence of these three varieties.

We believe that the time is ripe to engage more constructively with these varieties and approach them from a novel perspective as living organisms

¹ Brixhe & Hodot (1993a); Willi (2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2010); Cartlidge (2014); Vessella (2018); Colvin (2020); Bentein & Janse (2020).

through their speakers and the texts composed in them. The analysis of the different aspects of the process of standardization together with a reflection on changes and innovations, anchored to these evolving standards, constitute the backbone of this volume. Each contribution looks closely at how authors starting from a familiar linguistic standard adopt changes and explore the socio-dynamics behind language usage, bringing about innovations and ultimately rethinking and reconfiguring those standards. Our approach is informed by linguistics, sociolinguistics, and literary studies as each contributor discusses the use of Greek through actual speakers and situates their linguistic particularities not within a framework of technical observations but rather as dynamically evolving entities that are conditioned by as much as they condition the linguistic and socio-cultural realities. The originality of our outlook and its challenge is to consider the varieties of Greek not as independent, monolithic entities but rather as living languages, which were deeply intertwined, and to investigate the history of the Greek language as a continuous flow of verbal and social dynamics rather than a juxtaposition of separate stages. Thematic and chronological divides in the study of Greek are often helpful and necessary, but they can prevent us from asking important questions about the relationships between the varieties. For example, what happened to Attic has significant consequences for our understanding of the Koine and Atticism, and the study of the latter two varieties inevitably informs our understanding of Attic.

Therefore, the aim of this book is to go beyond the idea of Attic and Koine as standards and to look at the varieties in relation to each other. In the confrontation between the idea of 'standards' (which can be conceived as 'anchors') and 'deviations' from those standards in the form of 'innovations', we examine how seemingly disparate ways of speaking and expressing oneself, when studied through the lens of socio-literary interconnectedness, may translate linguistic standardization and complexity into historico-linguistic and cultural continuity and language wealth. Within this framework, the contributors apply interdisciplinary perspectives to provide new insights into the complexity of Greek and language use overall. Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968, pp. 100–101), in their work on dialects, speak of "orderly heterogeneity" that modulates into "structured variation". The contributions of this volume trace the process through the homogeneous heterogeneity of the speakers themselves and investigate more of what is behind and beyond the labels Attic, Koine, and Atticist Greek, drawing a new picture of the interplay between them and the amalgamated socio-literary reality they bring about. Our intention is to transcend the traditional boundaries—chronological, stylistic, and dialectal—and provide 'snapshots' from the long and complex history of Greek on the way the three

varieties interact. Our contributors redefine the so-called standards to detect, not homogeneous and unified representations, but discontinuities and break-ups in a continuous and multifaceted process of standardization, which has characterized the Greek language. In the analysis of the continuities and discontinuities, the volume will also show that these standards are not objective or stable but are often deliberately constructed: what counts as ‘Attic’ is often a matter of perception and ideology. In this way, the standards are continuously negotiated: they can be a standard to aspire to or something to be rejected, a process that is termed as ‘negative anchoring’.² For instance, Atticism is negatively anchored in the literary Koine, in the sense that what was considered Attic was often established on the basis of what was not used or less common in the Koine. In this respect, an important factor in the process of standardization of linguistic changes is the successful anchoring—essentially the connection between what is perceived as new and what is perceived as already familiar—through which linguistic changes become successful and therefore true ‘innovations’, among relevant communities and societies. Innovations may become acceptable, understandable, and desirable when relevant social groups can effectively integrate and accommodate them in their conceptual categories, values, beliefs, and ambitions.³

The contributions approach the topic from three perspectives. In the first section, experts in linguistics provide insights into the formation and evolution of Attic, Koine, and Atticist Greek against the backdrop of Imperial and Byzantine lexica, and papyri. In the second section, scholars examine the fashioning of language through literature and vice versa. They afford the reader unique appreciations of writers such as Xenophon, Aelius Aristides, and Christian authors, as they consider the usage of the language in these texts, the degree of literary influences, and their subsequent literary reception, as well as to what degree such ferments had an impact in setting the standards. Finally, the third section includes essays that discuss the socio-political bearings of language standards. Experts problematize the formation of the idea of ‘classical’ language in the fifth century BCE, the question of *paideia* in the Imperial period, and the shaping of identity through personal name modification. These are all topics that mirror social changes and definitions of citizenship. The section closes with a chapter on the setting of modern standards in teaching Greek thus bringing the concept of anchoring to contemporary perspectives on the Greek language. All approaches provide unique insights into multiple levels of anchoring. In some of the contributions, authorial

² Sluiter (2017, p. 33).

³ Sluiter (2017, p. 23).

particularities are anchored in the connections between standards and their redefinition by focusing on the many possible relations between standards and departure from those standards. Against this backdrop, the definition of canonical authors is another way to anchor linguistic choices to models of language. Others contributions redefine those standards and situate their authors within a framework of a novel combination of old and new, or of the old recontextualized within new circumstances and literary spaces. Contributors also rethink the idea that ‘old’ and ‘new’ are not only used as anchoring labels of standardization. Instead, they propose that such concepts are also and frequently employed in an evaluative sense and the load they carry depends on the speaker, context, societal domain, and object.⁴ The flexibility of these terms makes it particularly easy for them to be weaponized for argumentative and rhetorical purposes (e.g., in the Atticist movement what was old (or not new) was ideologized as correct). In this vein, some papers demonstrate how Greek authors understood and manipulated their audience’s expectations regarding language standards to promote their own socio-cultural and political agendas, enhancing the idea of the ever-shifting nature of the standards. In sum, this volume rethinks the established linguistic and literary stereotypes as well as the standard anchors for what have been thus far attempts at standardization, all the while providing an innovative appreciation of the Greek language and its speakers.

2 Attic, Koine, and Atticist Greek as Standard Languages

In referring to these varieties as ‘standards’, we tread on controversial territory. The concept of a standard language is an intensely tricky one especially when mapping the concept onto the ancient world. Scholarship from Western traditions with long-established notions of ‘national’ languages, standard grammars and ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ forms can find it difficult to empathize with the significantly different sociolinguistic situation presented by the ancient Greco-Roman world, where literacy and education were restricted, there was no ideological association with a nation-state and the technology and institutions that enable a truly standardized national language did not exist.⁵ This difference in perspectives, which often ends up in a sort of ‘reading back’ from modern sociolinguistic contexts, goes together with a tendency to propose a

4 Sluiter (2017, pp. 9 and 31). On the concept of new in Greek see D’Angour (2011). On the relationship between Old/New and language evaluation see Thomas (1991).

5 For further discussion of these issues, see Haugen (1966); Joseph (1987); Colvin (2009, 2011); Wardhaugh (2010); Milroy & Milroy (2012); Clackson (2015).

chronological reading of standardization as a linear process and to prioritize literary texts (Colvin 2014). This attitude has produced a polarized approach to the question of standardization, with a general oversimplification of important phenomena, i.e., the relationship between raising ‘standards’ and varieties, the role of language change in the process of standardization, and the lack of clarity about the relationship between codification, prescription and purism among others.

Modern studies on the concepts of standard and standardization, among which the recent *Cambridge Handbook of Language Standardization* (Ayres-Bennett & Bellamy 2021), have contributed to identifying some questions, which need to be taken into account: the problematic definition of standard(s) and standardization, the ideological nature of these concepts (Milroy & Milroy 2012), the difference between ‘language standards’ and ‘standard language’ (Joseph 1987, pp. 4–7) and so on. The first problem appears in establishing a comprehensive definition of ‘standard’, in the form of a codified set of linguistic forms and structures (the product of corpus planning), which has some kind of recognition and promotion (status planning) (Pountain 2016). This definition includes the crucial ideas of corpus planning, status planning,⁶ recognition, and promotion. The numerous models of standardization developed in the last 30 years have dealt with these concepts in different ways, trying to enhance the complexities of the standardization process and its different manifestations in diverse linguistic, historical, and sociocultural contexts.

The traditional starting point for a general, although limited, description of the process of standardization is Haugen’s (1966, then revised in 1983, p. 270 and 1987, p. 64) four stages of selection, elaboration,⁷ codification, and implementation (or acceptance). These criteria continue to form the basis of most definitions of standardization, although the range and criteria vary largely from scholar to scholar as more recent studies have shown (Ayres-Bennett & Bellamy 2021).

A particular crucial point relates to the relationship between the process of codification and correctness. Garvin (1959), Stewart (1968), and more systematically Milroy and Milroy (2012) relate prescriptive attitudes to the phenomenon of standardization by focusing on the presence of an ideology of correctness. This is one of the key contributions of Milroy and Milroy together with the idea that standardization is an ideology, “a set of abstract norms to which usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent” (2012, p. 19). However, these studies do not clarify the crucial difference between codification, prescriptivism,

6 A distinction made by Kloss (1969, p. 81).

7 The concept of elaboration builds on Kloss’ definition of *Ausbau* (1967).

and purism, ignoring the problematic opposition between ‘descriptive’ and ‘prescriptive’ (Ayres-Bennett 2020). The lack of clarity on these concepts is a crucial issue in understanding the process of standardization in the history of the Greek language and it is the cause of a widespread confusion between phenomena of correctness, which developed at an early stage, and the multifaced and never-ending process of standardization.

Together with this, another important aspect is the distinction between ‘informal’ and ‘formal’ standardization (Stewart 1968, p. 534), the first entailing “uncodified but socially preferred norms of usage” and the second implying “deliberate conformity to codified rules”.

The different modelling of the standardization process has overall contributed to seeing standardization as a spectrum or ongoing process (Garvin 1959; Kloss 1969; Haugen 1987; Joseph 1987, p. 19; Auer 2005) with any one variety being considered as a point on that spectrum or process. Broadly speaking, however, scholarship agrees that standard languages are united by:

- 1) Relative homogeneity in form
- 2) Use in a wide variety of functions, especially more formal communicative settings (law, education, business)
- 3) A sense of correctness
- 4) A sense that the standard variety is a target for speakers of multiple different languages or varieties.

Far from aiming at an exhaustive account of the modern studies on standard/s and standardization, our aim is to raise some questions anchored in the traditional investigation of the concept of standard as applied to the ancient world and to see, through the insights of actual users of Greek in a variety of genres both literary and beyond, whether any of our varieties of Greek meet the criteria mentioned above.⁸ To this end, a crucial contribution has been the volume by Georgakopoulou and Silk (2009), where some of the problematic aspects of the idea of standard in the definition of Greek are posed in particular with reference to the Koine and Atticist Greek. Specifically, the contributions explore the relationship between varieties and forming standards, the distinction between codification and correctness, and the relationship between formal and informal standardization. However, there are still some controversial points which need further discussion.

As suggested by Clackson (2015), the linguistic panorama of the ancient world is better described as a situation of competing varieties. This system of competing models constitutes the peculiarity of the Greek world, where different linguistic varieties functioned as diverse, albeit not always codified models, at different levels of the social structure, and for various purposes. Examples

8 On the process of standardization of the Greek language, see Bentein and Monaco (2024).

of competing varieties can be seen at any time in the history of the Greek language, for instance with Ionic and Attic and the different varieties of Attic in the fifth and fourth century, not to mention the other dialects that played a crucial role in the Greek literary panorama.⁹ A pertinent example of this phenomenon is represented by Atticism, which, with its revitalization and attempted codification of Attic as the language of culture, replaced the Koine in its high variety by creating a state of competition between two systems—Attic (or Atticism) and Koine.¹⁰ This is reflected in the (educated) speakers' support for one variety or the other. In these contexts of competing varieties, Versteegh (1987), Pagani (2014, 2015), and Clackson (2015, pp. 313–315) provide evidence for the development of a sense of 'correct' Greek (*Hellenismos*) already in the third century BCE, but one which allowed considerable variation, drawing on the dialectal diversity which existed from Homer until the dominance of the Koine and the literature which it produced.¹¹ In this respect, Clackson (2015) has explored the case of regarding Classical Latin and the Koine as examples of standard languages. He argues that, while stages of selection and, to an extent, codification had been reached both for the case of Koine and for Latin, the debate about 'correctness' had not reached a level of development such that there was general acceptance. This highlights the reality that without modern methods of communication and, perhaps crucially, publishing, the ability to move beyond the codification stage was almost impossible. Moreover, without a centralized education system, the means of persuading the population to a stage of acceptance of the new variety, which could then lead to elaboration, did not really exist. It, therefore, seems that no ancient variety could reach an understanding of a standard language as laid out by modern scholars as Haugen or Milroy and Milroy (2012). The problem can be raised at different stages of the Greek language.

With regard to Classical Greek, there are two distinct periods at which the usual criteria for a standard language may be relevant. The first is the period when Attic was chiefly the dialect of Athens, and the question emerges of whether the dialect had become a standard out of the variety of dialects which we know were spoken in the city but for which there is scanty or no evidence. The variety within contemporaneous Attic texts speaks in part to multiple dialects, as well as, naturally, different formalizations of different registers, and it is true to say that those genres which are closest to the spoken variety/ies of

9 Bubeník (1993), and Morpurgo Davies (2002 [1987]).

10 For a detailed description of the varieties of Atticism, see Kim (2017).

11 For a discussion on the developments of treatises discussing the vices of the *Hellenismos* (βαρβαρισμός and σολοικισμός), see Sandri (2020).

Attic differ from particular registers such as oratory or legal inscriptions which tend to be more conservative. This is certainly partly a feature of standardization, but the lack of evidential depth prevents us from being able to categorize this as such a phenomenon or rather mere register-based variation. We are also faced with an evidential problem. Whereas the range of texts in the Koine and Atticistic Greek gives us an insight into the linguistic culture which surrounds them (lexica, grammatical comments, and a wide diachronic and diastratic range in our texts) we have limited evidence of such phenomena in Attic. Nevertheless, variation between certain genres and a lack of cross-over in certain registers with certain features speak indirectly to a culture of correctness already in Attic.¹²

The second obvious moment at which Classical Attic may have attained the status of a standard language by some criteria is the stage immediately before the Koine, as Attic became a more international variety utilized by the Macedonian court *inter alia*. Here, this variety, at times known as Great Attic or 'New' Attic, which had clearly undergone a degree of de-Atticization in several important respects, seems certainly to have been moving towards the status of a standard language, even if it might not have reached all the criteria laid out by some scholars.

With regard to the Koine, Joseph (1987, p. 50) refused the notion that any stage of Greek had reached his definition of a standard, owing chiefly to the lack of evidence for his seventh criterion: that of cultural borrowing. He nevertheless saw in the Alexandrian Greek the closer form of standard language. Horrocks (2010, p. 84) called the Koine "the standard written and spoken language of the upper classes". Likewise, Colvin (2014) has suggested that the Koine can actually be interpreted as the first example of a standard. In the Hellenistic period and beyond, the Koine undoubtedly reached a level of relative uniformity, was used in a variety of functions, and was the target variety for multiple speakers of Greek and non-Greek languages (Colvin 2009). It became the spoken form of language as well as the language of administration and commerce at the expense of local dialects and was used for technical writing, such as Euclid's mathematical texts or writings not meant as high literary prose. Authors of the period, like the historian Polybius, mold an elevated version of Koine.

However, the uncontested reign of the Koine, so to speak, ended with the Second Sophistic and the belletristic Atticist revival during the Imperial centuries. The relationship between the Koine and Atticism has been well

12 Novokhatko (2015).

established and contains both diachronic and synchronic elements.¹³ As the Koine became the established form of Greek and time continued to pass, the distance between it and the Attic of the Classical age, which had made up the educational canon, grew. At various points in the Post-classical period, this led to efforts to bring the Koine in literary registers closer to the ideal Attic of the inherited canon. This reached a height during the Second Sophistic with the flourishing of the Atticist movement. The continued pull of Koine and Atticist Greek and the latter's claim to purity shaped the language for many centuries afterward.¹⁴ However, even in this case, a 'pure' Attic could not be standardized, as the Greek was now spoken by a large number of L2 speakers, each of whom decided individually the level of conservatism they would adhere to, which of the Classical Attic authors to imitate as each one came with their register of Attic, and whether new forms of Attic were adulterated or simply indications of linguistic evolution.¹⁵ Thus, the history of the Greek language, with its diachronic and synchronic variants, hindered the creation of an established standard language, univocally defined and accepted, leaving space for a series of quasi-standards.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the question that persists is how this variation is to be considered and appreciated. Do speakers and authors manipulate and modulate these standards or lack thereof to create a linguistic consensus, or is the reality that of a language that is a living and breathing medium of expression that adjusts to the cultural, geographical, and expressive creativity under the 'international' banner of the Greek language? In fact, as will be analyzed in different contributions in this volume, there is a close link between language standardization, identity building, and identification. Any standard that emerges creates an outlet for identity. Each speaker chooses to be identified with or against it or somewhere in between, and the tension between the monolithic standard and the natural linguistic variation within it can be utilized for this purpose. Sluiter (2017, p. 31) argues that: "'Old' and 'new' are terms that people use for what they believe is 'old' or 'new', or what they (choose to) construct as 'old' or 'new'." With this in view, the chapters in this volume rethink the very concept of standards either through innovative linguistic changes that

13 A good discussion of the issues can be found in Wahlgren (1995).

14 For Roman tendencies to learn both Koine and literary Attic, see Kaimio (1979); Biville (1992, 1993); Horrocks (2010, pp. 124–188). For difficulties to distinguish between Classical Attic and Koine and accusations of solecisms on these grounds, see Fabricius (1962). The lexicographers and the *Antiatticist* constitute proof of this oscillation (Latte 1915). On Hellenistic and early Imperial prose writing, see Wifstrand (2005) and particularly the introduction, and Wahlgren (1995).

15 Schmid (1887–1897); Swain (1996); Whitmarsh (2005).

led to their evolution or as reconsidered anchors against the backdrop of novel socio-cultural frameworks.

Therefore, speakers' perceptions and constructions about the language end up being as important as linguistic facts. The speakers' perception and the desire to opt for one form of language rather than another, according to the kind of social status associated with that particular variety, is a crucial aspect in the definition of an abstract notion of correct language that in the ancient world was not based on a set of defined grammatical rules and was definitely not universally accepted. The protracted conflict between Imperial Attic and Koine, which is formalized in the Atticist practice of establishing Attic as the correct language of the educated elite in contrast to the Koine—the contemporary, less formal language of the people—contributed to a particular perception of the two linguistic varieties that probably influenced the perception of the scholars of Greek up to our age. *Diglossia*, the idea of two forms of a language, one for 'higher' registers like education, literature, and government and one for more everyday purposes, was there in the varieties of Attic and in the registers of Koine, but reached a new and polarizing pitch in the Atticism vs. Koine divide.¹⁶

What is unquestionable is that these labels—Attic, the Koine, and Atticism—have been attached to the language of a variety of texts, which share a large number of features but which themselves also vary at all linguistic levels. Whether or not they were standards for the speakers and writers of their day, they have retrospectively been defined as such by teachers and scholars of the Greek language, necessarily imposing an artificial sense of unity among texts that show a significant amount of variation. When a specific form is labeled as 'Attic', it is, in fact, automatically anchored to a specific type of language, while the different forms of Attic are too often overlooked. The acts of labelling, naming, or categorizing can be therefore considered anchoring functions,¹⁷ and this nominal homogeneity of Attic, Koine, and Atticist Greek has to be problematized.

This volume seeks to tease out variation in these varieties, both in how they were used and how they were later approached. By investigating anew different aspects of the relation between standards and varieties (onomastics, didactic, metalanguage, literature), the chapters collected in this volume show how the formation of collective and individual identities in different periods is determined by carefully selecting a specific language connected with the speakers' perception and with certain ideological and political matters. We

16 For an analysis of the idea of diglossia in the ancient world, see Ferguson (1959). However, more recent studies have proposed a more varied situation better described with the idea of 'register continuum', see Colvin 2011 and Clackson 2015 among others.

17 Sluiter (2021).

ground our approach in the well-established discussions of usage of a certain pronunciation or specific features of the language, the imitation of classical models together with the prescription of certain rules, and the fashioning of language according to socio-political issues, which are all the key aspects of our interpretation of these alleged 'standards' and their development. However, transcending the stereotypical litmus tests of those standards, our analysis is possible only when we recognize the importance of the mutual influence of the three varieties. This mutual influence is often tacitly acknowledged but rarely explored, though it underpins so much of our understanding of ancient Greek. To this end, this volume explores the innovative use and reuse of Greek throughout periods, genres, authors, and varieties against the backdrop of a reconsideration of traditional anchoring standards.

3 Attic

Attic was the dialect of Athens and its surrounding region of Attica from the Archaic period down to around 300 BCE.¹⁸ The endpoint is always controversial, and this date is usually picked both for the new reality of Greek as a language spoken by thousands more speakers across the Hellenistic kingdoms and also as a sign of the cultural and political decline in the importance of Athens compared to its significant position in the fifth and fourth centuries.

The established narrative for this variety is intimately tied to the fortune of the Athenian state and the cultural documents that were produced within its boundaries. Attic, therefore, starts its recorded history with a distinctly conservative local epigraphic variety and a more innovative open and influenced literary variety. Throughout, the primary source of linguistic influence and prestige is chiefly the Ionic dialect. From the moment our manuscript texts come into existence in the city, they present a complex relationship with the Ionic dialect. Thucydides and tragedians both write 'Attic', but a variety that almost certainly would not have been identical to that of any speaker of the dialect on the streets of Athens, de-Atticized as it was to tap into Ionic traditions of poetry and historiography. This was a kind of Attic different, for example, from the Attic of comedy, which instead represents a form of language that is much closer to the one spoken at the time.¹⁹ However, by the late fifth century,

18 The distinction between Attic and the Ionic dialects seems to have occurred in the first quarter of the first millennium and is usually dated to around the eleventh century (Colvin 2007, p. 35).

19 See López Eire (1991); Willi (2002, 2003a, 2003b).

the cultural prestige of the dialect had increased enough that writers began to write in a more overt Attic,²⁰ although a variety that seems to be representative of the educated elite within the city, not the poor or rural demes that made up the majority of its population.²¹ This educated, perhaps literary Attic—a label itself, which still spans multiple registers of the language—continued to change, though in different ways as the different corpora demonstrate. Oratory changed at a slower pace than comedy, with the latter apparently keeping much closer track of the changes occurring in the spoken language in Athens and Attica.²²

Thus, the linguistic situation of Athens in the fifth and fourth century was far from being homogeneous. Literary texts and inscriptions showed differences in language due to differences in the socio-cultural level of the speakers, the registers, and the literary genres. Variation is frequently encountered on multiple axes: diachronic changes, various registers, convergence with other dialects, and geographical factors as Attic became a pluricentric variety after the growing use of the dialect in international discourse. Furthermore, at the same time, in Athens, a growing number began to speak Attic as their non-native dialect. The arrival of foreigners, the presence of metics,²³ the contacts with other languages and dialects, and the development of the sophistic movement with its new linguistic fashion are all events that influenced contemporary Attic through the development of specific phonological and morphological traits.²⁴

Some fifth-century Athenian texts testify to awareness about different variants of spoken Attic (see Machado, this volume) together with a developing idea of a prestige variety of Attic (see Novokhatko, this volume). A fragment of Aristophanes (fr. 706 K-A) contrasts the ‘feminized’ language of the urbane and the ‘rustic’ language of the countryside and recommends a middle path.²⁵ The so-called Old-Oligarch, the author of the treatise known as the *Constitution of*

20 See Denniston (1952); Dover (1997); Vessella (2016).

21 For more recent evidence, see Colvin (2004, 2020).

22 See Horrocks (2010, pp. 69–70); Machado (forthcoming).

23 Hansen (1999, 2006).

24 Hock (1986, p. 486) and Bubeník (1993) suggest that the ultimate origin of a de-Atticized version may have stemmed from the variety that developed in one of the most important harbors of Ancient Greece, Piraeus. It is quite conceivable that here the interdialectal variety based on Attic, West Ionic, and ‘mild’ Doric dialects developed. See Colvin (1999, 2020) and Willi (2003a). On the degree of linguistic diversity in Athens, see Cassio (1981) with bibliography; López-Eire (1997, pp. 85–89).

25 Aristoph. 706 K-A: [...] διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσσην πόλεως, | οὐτ’ ἀστεϊάν ὑποθλυτέραν | οὐτ’ ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγοικωτέραν [‘his] language is the normal dialect of the city—not the effeminate high-society accent, nor uneducated, rustic talk’ (transl. Colvin 2020).

Athens (ca. 420 BCE), criticized the mixed culture of Athenians, showing his conservative attitude and his negative position towards any kind of novelty. The style, way of living, and in particular, the language spoken in Athens at that time were taken to be a mixture of diverse Greek and barbarian components (Ps. Xen. *Const. Ath.* 2.8).²⁶ The criticism leveled by the Old Oligarch was probably addressed to the process of Ionicization of some Attic features, which characterized the type of international Attic that would constitute one basis for the Hellenistic Koine.²⁷

The growth of the Athenian Empire meant Attic and Ionic coming into contact in multiple domains and at multiple levels. The administrative aspect of this interaction is often to be found in the emergence of so-called Great Attic or *Großattisch* (Thumb 1906), a variety used in many inscriptions issued by Athens to its client states. The adoption of this variety by the Kingdom of Macedonia proved the crucial turning point in the history of Attic, removing the evolution of this language as the sole preserve of Athenians.²⁸ With Philip II and then Alexander the Great, Great Attic (by the time of Alexander, now virtually the Koine)²⁹ was spread across the Macedonian Empire, and the Koine came of age.

In barely more than a century, Attic went from being a conservative variety spoken by a few tens of thousands in a corner of Greece to the basis of an innovative new version, almost the exemplar of Greek, which would be spoken by millions. This briefest of summaries represents one view of the state of knowledge. While the broad contours are now mostly understood, much remains to be discovered about the mechanics of the change. For example, what role did Ionic play in influencing the formatively changing Attic dialect, and how? Ionic was clearly a complex anchor for Attic: some embraced it in the form of Ionicized Attic, others resisted it, defining proper Attic in contradistinction to Ionic. Was there a difference between the Ionic from which educated writers borrowed and the organic mingling of Attic and Ionic by speakers in the city? Did these processes interact?

26 *Ath. Pol.* 2. 7–8: [...] ἔπειτα φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνας ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρῶνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένην ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. ‘Further, hearing every type of language, they have taken one feature from here, another feature from there. Greeks on the whole use their own language, customs and dress; but the Athenians use a mixed bag taken from all the Greeks and barbarians’ (transl. Colvin 2020).

27 See Teodorsson (1974, 1978, 1979); Willi (2002); Colvin (2009, 2011, 2020).

28 Silk (2009); Horrocks (2010, pp. 79–83).

29 See Horrocks (2010, p. 81).

Scholars now concern themselves with increasingly marking the very real differences between Attic and Koine Greek during the period when the latter emerged—itself a vexed question. As a result, our understanding of the much more nuanced nature of this process has been enhanced.³⁰ There are significant questions to answer here: As Attic was gradually affected, which social groups were affected first and how? How did these new varieties of Attic—which, of course, were not just Ionicizing but also developing internally in the system of Attic—spread throughout the complex social and literary milieux of the city at the time? Was the process really as teleological or linear as the narratives have sometimes made it look? These questions can only be answered through a much closer analysis of the texts that make up what we think of as Attic, especially in light of developments in linguistics.

Part of the problem of Attic, in fact, lies in tying the various strands of evidence together. This requires serious consideration of the varieties which make up our image of what ‘Attic’ actually was and to take manuscript texts as artifacts of the sociolinguistic landscape in which they were developed. The contributions in this volume try to deal with this last point and with the vexed question of what speakers themselves thought and how they acted.

Passages such as that of the Old Oligarch and Aristophanes mentioned above, together with other comic fragments, can provide pieces of information about different phenomena associated with linguistic varieties, for instance the existence of a general idea of correct language not universally defined and accepted and not based solely on linguistic criteria; the presence of conservative linguistic tendencies likely associated with political ideas; the socio-cultural role of linguistic varieties; and the understanding of the attitude of the speakers towards the concept of language variety and language change. In fact, through the speakers’ perception, we can have an insight into the process of language evolution and the spreading of linguistic innovations (see Novokhatko and Machado, this volume).

These themes will be explored in several essays here, though as ever, with a variety spoken by long-dead speakers, the evidence is often indirect and circumstantial. Nevertheless, their import for the development of Greek is significant, and a closer examination of these issues is one of the contributions this volume hopes to make.

30 See Brixhe (1988, 1990); López-Eire (1986, 1993); Brixhe & Hodot (1993b); Willi (2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2010); Colvin (2020).

4 Koine

If there are problems identifying precisely what we mean when referring to Attic, these problems are even more extensive with the Koine. This issue has even affected the teaching of Greek to this day (see Ryan, this volume). At its heart, the term refers to the newly spread, de-Atticized but broadly Attic variety of Greek, which began to evolve in multiple different locations after the Macedonian adoption of Attic as the language of its Empire. It can be said to be a chronological term for the development of the language, roughly bracketing the end of the dominance of Athens and Attic as the centers for development and innovation in the language and the emergence of several new poles for the language to develop around. It is the Greek spoken in and around the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The Great Attic, which had emerged as a quasi-pan-Hellenic standard, had been adopted by the court of Philip and then Alexander. As they took Greek to new lands, the importance of Attic as the center of the Greek language, and even of this Great Attic, quickly lessened. With the early death of Alexander and the break-up of his Empire, the Koine emerged as the Great Attic used by the Greeks in this new world. Decrees, letters, shopping lists, and literature were produced in this dialect from Macedon to Bactria, enabling us to understand much more broadly the role of the region and register in the use of this variety. From the end of Alexander to the early Roman Empire, the Koine was the dominant form of the language, especially outside the Old Greek world, where the dialects continued to be used for far longer.³¹ The scale and range of its attestation have forced scholars to consider texts not only as part of this greater linguistic supersystem but also as documents produced in their own linguistic, social, and political context. New norms were carved out of the evolved language, its Classical past, and the new Atticist revival (see Bentein, this volume). The tension between the Koine as linguistic reality and each speaker's idiolect leaves much fertile ground for scholars still to explore and holds lessons for those working on other periods in the Greek language's history (see Smith and Bentein in this volume, on how this even applies to orthography). Koine became a spoken language and was no doubt used for literature early on. Very little of this likely popular literature survived, whereas documents concerning business and administration have survived, shaping our picture of the Koine. This is not so much a question of bankers informing poets. It is about language in evolution, where the old is prized for literary merit, and newer forms take time to reach a level of literary acceptability. Thumb (1901) early

31 See Bubeník (1989) for details.

on considered the questions of the regional variation of the language, and it is undoubtedly clear that within the corpus of documents we call Koine, there is a large mix of documents, periods, varieties, and possibly dialects.³² Everything from Polybius³³ to the papyrological finds from Egypt,³⁴ Greek political inscriptions, and the Judeo-Christian texts of the Levant³⁵ has been referred to as an example of the Koine.³⁶ This naturally raises questions of register and of the attitude of speakers (many of whom are now L2 speakers of Greek who had at each instance to seek their own path in this linguistically complex environment [see Cerroni and Crellin, in this volume]). Moreover, the language used in Attica since the third century BCE represented another milieu entirely and was examined by López-Eire (2002) in his article on the relationship between Hyperides and Menander and by Teodorsson (1978). As the Koine emerged and continued to develop during the Hellenistic period in different ways and at different places, always accounting for differences of register and geography, there was once again the conflict for every speaker and writer between the language of the celebrated canon, now increasingly divorced from the present usage of the language, and what was being spoken at the time. This would eventually lead to the schismatic moment of Atticism. Still, the sheer scale of the Koine, both in its geographical spread and the variety of documents that survive, shows evidence of this almost from the start. It is a variety that was simply of a different order of magnitude compared to its Attic predecessor.

One starting point is the fact that ancient grammarians, such as Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian, and Clemens Alexandrinus, came to define the Koine as the fifth dialect distinguished from the other four but at the same time as the universal language which subsumed all the dialects.³⁷ What then was the relationship between the various varieties of the Koine which speakers perceived? And was the Koine ever perceived as Greek *tout court*? Scholars such as Horrocks (2010, pp. 79–189) and Torallas Tovar (2014) have sought to bring some unity by noting the development trend over the several centuries when the Koine is the usual linguistic form. Notwithstanding this fact, however, the Koine seems to begin as a multidialectal variety even at the start. The Koine of Athens, as represented by Menander (Cartlidge 2014) and indeed by the inscriptions of the city, evolved in a different way and at a different pace to that which was exported to Syria, Egypt, and beyond. Of course, the emergence

32 Bubeník (1989).

33 De Foucault (1972).

34 See Mayser and Schmoll (1970); Gignac (1976, 1981); Teodorsson (1977).

35 Porter (2000); Lee (2018).

36 Horrocks (2010, pp. 79–188).

37 Consani (1991); Probert (2004, 2019); Van Rooy (2020, pp. 13–36).

of several powerful kingdoms from the break-up of Alexander's Empire led to several different centers around which the notion of a 'standard' Greek could gravitate. However, the corpus used in education was still centered on the canonical Attic authors of the fifth and fourth centuries.³⁸ This provided a centripetal force towards unity in the dialects of Greek. As time went on, however, the forces of language change operated at different paces, and without the emergence of a canon written in the Koine, regional fragmentation occurred. It became more apparent that what constituted Greek no longer was the same as what it had been in the Classical period.

These are all issues that the study of only the Koine cannot address, but once again, the links between the three varieties can help us to address them. From its emergence, the constantly developing Koine was continuously looking over its shoulder at the frozen grammar of Classical Attic. Still, the Koine came closest of the three varieties to becoming a proper standard, used in a wide array of registers, including business and government, and learned by tens of thousands of non-native speakers as a *lingua franca* in the new Greek world. It could not, however, shake free of the prestige of Attic in educational and literary affairs, and with a growing interest in grammatical and exegetical activities, the gulf between the two became something some speakers wished to address specifically. Societal use of the Koine established it as the go-to anchor either to be adopted or to be opposed.

5 Atticism

Atticism developed at the connection of our two varieties. Attic was the model language, but practitioners and theorists of the Atticist movement heatedly debated which texts constituted 'proper' Attic—another example of how anchors are constructed. Through these debates, they noticed what modern sociolinguistic studies have proven: the fact that Attic had many diachronic and diastratic varieties within its texts. Koine, whose higher varieties would be replaced by Attic, was the language against which many Atticists sought to react. Atticistic Greek was the attempt to revive Classical Attic grammatical features, though more often than not, this involved some compromise with the way the Koine had developed. In this respect, the study of Atticist Greek joins the study of Attic and the Koine—it cannot be understood without reference to both.

38 Morgan (1998); Cribiore (2001).

In fact, Atticism, which developed from the type of ‘diglossia’ showcasing a high, non-Atticizing register and a low colloquial one, had its roots in the growing attempts to make Koine more literary in the Hellenistic age.³⁹ In the second century CE, Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Gramm.* 233–235)⁴⁰ gave a clear example of different registers in ancient Greek that were supposed to be used according to the contexts. However, he never referred to Attic or Atticist Greek to define the ‘urbane and literary’ language as opposed to the more colloquial variety.⁴¹ Throughout the Hellenistic and Imperial Greek worlds, this literary Koine continued to be the language used by the elite, in which any prose writing was composed (see Huitink and Rood, this volume).⁴² However, by the second century CE, the Koine started being systematically replaced by corresponding Attic forms since certain Atticizing critics no longer considered the Koine as sufficiently cultivated to be used as the written variety.⁴³ The main tendency of these purists was to correct the written language and take it as close as possible to the Attic of the Classical authors of the fifth century BCE. In fact, as Kim (2017, p. 49) has claimed, Atticism can be seen primarily as a reaction against the literary Koine and its non-Attic elements, which was seen as a sort of negative anchor,⁴⁴ and only at a second stage as a reaction against the ‘low’ colloquial speech of the masses. This is the reason why when Galen (*De differ. puls.* 583, 1–2 Kühn) ridicules the Atticists and defends the ‘contemporary’ Greek συνήθεια (customary usage), he does not refer to the Greek spoken on the streets by ‘sailors, merchants, and traders’ but the educated standard that the elite writers employ in writing and speaking.

The first consideration, therefore, places the Atticist tendency in the context of the literary belletristic production.⁴⁵ That is why Horrocks’ (2010, p. 136) understanding of Atticism as a “state of mind inculcated by the education system and reinforced by the practice and prejudice of the aristocracy” thoroughly explains the socio-political aspect of this phenomenon. In fact, in the Imperial

39 This connection between the diglottic situation of the Hellenistic age and the development of Atticism is at the basis of the debate on the dating of Atticism. According to the two different schools, Attic can be understood as a Greek (cf. Norden 1898, p. 149; Dihle 1977; Hidber 1996) or as a Roman phenomenon (Wisse 1995; de Jonge 2008, pp. 14–16).

40 Blank (1998).

41 Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994, pp. 117–118).

42 Jannaris (1903); Versteegh (2002); Colvin (2009); Blomqvist (2010).

43 On the flourishing of Atticist tendencies in the Hellenistic age, see Dihle (1977); Monaco (2021, pp. 121–175).

44 Sluiter (2017, p. 33).

45 The pervasive aspect of Atticism determined the spread of Atticizing tendencies also in the spoken language for which see Connolly (1983), Lee (2013), and Roumanis (2016).

age, language became one of the most obvious markers of elite status,⁴⁶ and the use of specific words and constructions was under the constant scrutiny of those ready to catch the mistakes of their peers.

The heart of Atticizing culture was undoubtedly the competitive sphere of Imperial Greek oratory,⁴⁷ but it also influenced different types of literary production. However, the levels of strictness in Atticist practice could vary considerably with authorial practices determining the degree of anchoring in Classical Attic and redefining the standards in the form of innovative Imperial Greek. Many Greek texts from this period continue to be written in a Koine similar to that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, despite some concessions to Atticizing tastes such as Pausanias' *Periegesis*, Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*, and the works of Galen. But one also encounters figures such as the orator Aelius Aristides (117–181 CE), undoubtedly the most rigorous extant Atticizing author (as also recognized by Phrynichus, one of the stricter lexicographers of the period, see Photius *Bibl.* 153). Other, less strict Atticists include Lucian (ca. 125–180 CE), the historian Arrian of Nicomedia (writing ca. 130–160 CE), and Philostratus of Lemnos (ca. 170–250 CE), who in turn speaks of the Atticizing skill of several second- and early third-century CE orators (Herodes Atticus and Aristocles: VS 568; Pollux of Naucratis: 592; Athenodorus: 594; Aelian of Praeneste: 624).

The effort of Atticizing is very much expressed in the existence of Atticist lexica—collections of Attic words and forms to be used or rejected in order to write and speak 'correct' Greek. These lexica reflect different kinds of tendencies in a more or less purist approach to the language. The two lexica written by Phrynichus from Bithynia (second century CE)—the *Selection of Attic Words* (Ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων)⁴⁸ and the *Sophistic Preparation* (Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή)⁴⁹—are the best representation, together with the lexicon of Moeris (probably third century CE),⁵⁰ of a strict purist attitude which tried to reconstruct an artificial Attic on the basis of opposition to the Koine. What was used in the contemporary language was to be replaced with some more sophisticated words attested in ancient sources.⁵¹ However, even in the lexica, there was not any uniformity in the definition of a set of Atticizing rules, and a general arbitrariness characterized the promotion of Attic words. Those like

46 Swain (1996, pp. 17–42); Whitmarsh (2005, pp. 45–47).

47 Withmarsh (2005).

48 Lobeck (1820); Rutherford (1881); Fischer (1974).

49 Borries (1911).

50 Hansen (1998).

51 Monaco (forthcoming).

Pollux of Naucratis (second century CE author of *Onomasticon*)⁵² undertook a more moderate position. On the other extreme, there were those like the so-called Antiatticist who, with his lexicon,⁵³ tried to uphold the contemporary language by demonstrating that suspected non-Attic words were already used in ancient authors.

The reproduction of an attempted Attic language had a clear social value, and the cultural aspect behind the promotion of Atticist Greek is a crucial aspect of Atticism, as language became a way of demonstrating Greekness or cultural identity (see Bozia and Crellin, this volume). This aspect has been illuminated since Wilamowitz's contribution in 1900, which was highly influential in shaping the study of the topic today. From this, studies such as Bowie (1991), Anderson (1993), Swain (1996), Schmitz (1997), Goldhill (2001, 2002), Whitmarsh (2001, 2005, 2013), Hall (2002), and Kim (2010) have all focused mostly on the cultural innovation of the Second Sophistic and have sought to understand Atticism within the cultural context of the second century. This approach brought about a comprehensive evaluation of the phenomenon by joining together the two main trends of scholarly investigations on Atticism—the analysis of discussions, and complaints about Atticizing language, on the one hand,⁵⁴ and the study of the texts written in Atticizing Greek, on the other.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, these two aspects are often kept separated, preventing the clear definition of Atticism.

The aim of this volume is to analyze Atticism in tandem with the other two varieties and to answer some of the many questions that still require investigation. While an analysis of Atticism provides information about the perception of Attic and the Koine, the knowledge of Attic and the Koine informs, in turn, that of Atticism. It requires, in fact, a more fine-grained analysis of the organic linguistic rules which lie behind the Attic of the fifth- and fourth-century dialect to know how well Atticist authors deployed the same rules (see Rubulotta, this volume). Also, an analysis of the contemporary understanding of Attic by Atticist practitioners informs our knowledge of language change in the Imperial age and our editing of Attic texts. This approach brings the following questions: What mistakes did the authors of the Imperial age make in comprehending texts from the fifth and fourth centuries? Could Atticist Greek be

52 Bethe (1900–1937). On Pollux's approach see Tribulato (2018).

53 Valente (2015). On the Antiatticist's approach see Cassio (2012); Tribulato (2021).

54 See Monaco (2021); Strobel (2005, 2009, 2012); Tribulato (2014, 2018, 2019, 2021 and the ERC project PURA); Vessella (2018).

55 See Bompaire (1994) for Lucian; Boulanger (1923) and Pernot (1981) for Aelius Aristides; de Jonge (2008) and Wiater (2011) on Dionysius of Halicarnassus; de Lannoy (2003) for Philostratus; Tonnet (1988) for Arrian.

considered itself a separate variety of Greek, with its own set of rules different from those of either Attic or the Koine and with its own internal varieties (i.e., the different Atticist Greek used in literary works and the different types of Attic promoted in the lexicæ)? What kind of influence did Atticism have on the later development of Greek? And what do Atticist tendencies tell us about the speakers' perception of Attic and Koine?

These questions can be answered with a look at both the literary and the lexicographical Atticist production. In fact, in the attempt to adapt the Greek as it was in the Imperial age to the Attic of the canonical texts, Imperial writers ended up creating another variety that was neither Attic nor Koine, reviving obsolete linguistic constructions and readapting them to a living language. Consequently, Atticism effectively became a revived dialect with new rules applied.⁵⁶ The way these constructions were used gives us an insight into the use of the Greek language and the understanding of specific linguistic phenomena by contemporary speakers. For instance, Imperial writers developed classical features in an unclassical way, such as the use of the dual in Lucian and the optative in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.⁵⁷ This also explains the internal variety of Atticist Greek in which the more or less accurate imitation of Attic or the more or less purist attitude in prescribing a certain language in the case of the lexicæ depends on the taste, the level of education, and the ideology of the practitioner and the lexicographer (see Bozia, in this volume).

This approach gives us a perception of the way Attic and Koine were perceived at that time. What, in fact, is still absent in the understanding of Atticism is a metalinguistic approach to the question of the interpretation of Attic and Koine, which goes together with a more linguistic analysis. To this end, the methodological outlook promoted by this volume in the mutual understanding of the three varieties will benefit the research on Atticism in two ways: first, in a retrospective understanding of the development of Attic and Koine and the way they developed in time, and second, in the way they were understood and used by contemporary second- and third-century writers and lexicographers.

In this respect, the prescriptions found in the lexicæ give us an insight into the phenomenon of language change, suggesting how much specific categories fall out of use or are not understood anymore in their original value.⁵⁸ Other than this, these Atticist prescriptions also provide interesting information about the perception the speakers had of the process of language change and

56 Horrocks (2017).

57 See Horrocks (2010, p. 141).

58 La Roi (2022).

the way they conceive Attic and Koine in relationship to each other (see Monaco, in this volume).⁵⁹ As can be detected from the structure of the lexica and the types of prescriptions promoted by them, Atticists saw Attic and Koine as sort of monolithic systems with almost no continuity and as little overlap as possible between each other. They almost, through their activities, re-created Attic and Koine, anchoring their standards on their individual perceptions. Certain linguistic features are described as Attic and others as belonging to the Koine, in a dualistic form (x is Attic, y is Koine). The result is a description provided by the lexica that is very far from the one we reconstructed above based on a general fluidity between the different varieties and that is heavily depending on the perceptions of each lexicographer. This is also the reason why the intransigent imitation of Attic, for which Phrynichus of Bithynia is perhaps the most conspicuous example, and the best performances, for instance, Aelianus who was praised for his perfect pronunciation of Greek due to his being a Roman (Philostratus *VS* 624), were actually attributed to foreigners who were the major protagonists of the Atticizing tendency, showing that learning or teaching Attic as a foreign language without any malign influence from the natural language was actually advantageous and a reason for their success (see Bozia, in this volume). This reveals the distance between the artificial Attic that was reconstructed and considered the imitable language, and the vivid contemporary Greek.

In promoting this 're-standardized' Attic language, Atticism, as expressed in the literary and lexicographical production of the second century CE, was, therefore, the zenith of the ideological process that had developed over the centuries and that had promoted the idea of a correct Greek as a shifting ideal. That ideal could not be fully defined in linguistic terms but was anchored to a particular ideology and socio-cultural background and was expressed by the most extremist Atticizing practitioners through a distinctive opposition between the two varieties and by the less extremist in the form of a compromising mixture of Attic and Koine.

These considerations take us back to the process of standardization and the malleable notion of standards as mentioned at the beginning of this introduction and explain our desire to explore a more nuanced perspective that examines the ways that Attic and Koine were conceived by Atticist practitioners, the type of Attic they sought to reproduce, and ultimately the bases on which forms could be categorized as Attic or Koine and its effect on standardization and usage. This is what the chapters in this volume will do, trying to bring together the more practical and the more theoretical aspects of Atticism as

59 For a discussion of the relationship between Koine and Atticism, see Frösén (1974), although his approach is notoriously problematic.

pragmatic manifestations of the Greek language anchors and their innovative reconstitutions in literature.

6 Summary and Goals of the Volume

This volume, therefore, has as its objectives two main aims. The first is to begin more explicitly to explore these three varieties as linguistic spectra through an in-depth study of their individual ranges and registers. The second is to tie together these varieties as quasi-standard, re-standardized, or innovative entities more closely and explore the relationship between them and the problems arising from such approaches. It may be hoped that a more fine-grained analysis coupled with a holistic approach to all three varieties may increase our understanding of the forces that drove Greek, its history, transmission, and standardization.

The first section “Setting the standards” brings together chapters that discuss norms and standards and their definition by ancient authors and in modern scholarship. The authors discuss the process of standardization, standardization as anchoring, and variations as linguistic innovations. Specifically, Bentein perceptively proposes that a more profound analysis of standards and Koine should involve the study of norms. He then analyzes norms as positive and negative anchors in Greek official writing between the first and third centuries CE and suggests different methods by which to retrieve them and study their typology. Smith’s chapter complements Bentein’s theoretical approach, as she examines spelling norms in Koine against the backdrop of historical orthographies. The author argues that Greek historical spelling is indeed anchored in the past, but orthographic variations in the papyri between the first and third centuries CE show how writers dealt with phonemic ambiguity, accommodating phonological innovations within the existing standard spelling. Monaco’s chapter proceeds further to examine the issue of the use of Attic and non-Attic forms through the lens of Menander and the Atticist lexicographers. More importantly, she argues that the analysis of the Atticist lexicographers’ critique of Menander’s phonology, morphology, and syntax and their use of specific labels to describe his language give us insights into the development of the anchors of Attic and Koine and the lexicographers’ reflection of ideological approaches in the setting of standards. The section on “Fashioning language through literature and vice versa”, staying true to the title of the volume, goes beyond the standards to recontextualize anchors through the lens of specific authors who, through their linguistic choices, acknowledge, mirror, and accommodate contemporary literary, social, and religious realities. Huitink and Rood

focus on Xenophon's particularities not as veering from proper Attic but as displaying how literary Attic interacts with the spoken language in Athens. Ultimately, they very persuasively make the case that the author innovates stylistically while remaining anchored in contemporary Attic as well as in the historiographical tradition. Rubulotta then rethinks and challenges the anchoring idea that Xenophon is not an Attic author by displaying Aelius Aristides' emulation of the former's language. So, she pushes the standards themselves to question who it is that establishes anchors and how one can go beyond the standards by reconsidering, transcending, or even transgressing those anchors. Finally, Cerroni takes us beyond the standards in more than one way, as he examines the distinction between Classical authors and Hellenistic novelties through the author of 2 Maccabees, a work that was labeled Asianic, but which uses Attic forms to anchor itself in cultural legitimacy. Cerroni makes the case that while observing various standards—Greek literary prose, high Koine, and Hellenistic rhetorical devices—the author still transcends them by not selecting a single authoritative model while displaying a quest for grammatical correctness that at times foreshadows Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Finally, the last section on the “Socio-political aspects of language” moves beyond the standards methodologically to examine language as anchored in its linguistic specificities, but looking at it as a socio-political manifestation as well. The contributors discuss language and how it is actualized through literature, and how language and literature together become an enactment of the authors' social positioning. The last chapter actually brings us to the present to consider how academic and pedagogical choices, when it comes to selecting textbooks and authors, may still be determinants of standardization, re-standardization, and the subconscious act of arbitrating yet new anchors for the students of Greek. Novokhatko discusses how Old Comedy anchors Classical Attic as standard Greek and *attikizein* appropriates social legitimacy. With this in view, she explores the linguistic contrast of Attic and non-Attic forms as a means to shape linguistic diversity and social structures. Machado analyzes the source of the high frequency of the dual in Aristophanes and first asks whether, in light of recent scholarship, this may be down to later interpolations. Having anchored these duals in the Attic of Aristophanes, he uses the texts of the comic writer to examine both the social and linguistic factors which were used to anchor the innovation of an eroding category of the dual. This challenges our traditional understanding of the use of the dual in standard Attic. Crellin then introduces another aspect of the prowess of language, this time within the context of religion. He argues that the practices of inflection of personal names in the New Testament—the standard Greek practice of inflecting non-Greek names

and the Old Greek Biblical standard of not inflecting—are indicative of the authors' attempts at anchoring their identity either in the Greco-Roman world, or the Biblical world of their ancestors. Bozia then moves the discussion to the High Empire and argues that Imperial Attic proves to be anchored in Classical Attic while being creatively remodeled. She makes the case that, in particular, non-native speakers of Greek reinvent themselves within novel Imperial linguistic and cultural models anchored in long-standing traditions but also accommodating the more diverse citizenry. In the final chapter, Ryan fittingly brings the volume to a closure by rethinking the process of language standards in modern pedagogical settings. Her contribution discusses the teaching of New Testament Greek and asks the reader to consider the Greek anchors that the modern student builds based on our teaching standards. This chapter explores the ramifications of decisions made about the status and nature of the Greek being taught and argues that the anchoring standard, in this case, is the text selection and the type of 'standard' Greek we teach.

In closing, the process of standardization is clearly neither linear nor neat. It is rather an organic confluence of linguistic and socio-cultural factors filtered through theories, practices, everyday use, and literature, and conditioned by human perceptions and preconceptions. We hope that this volume will shed some light on these processes but more importantly open the way for more scholarly reconsiderations of language standards befitting the complexity and uniqueness of linguistic creativity.

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PART 1

Setting the Standards



Koines, Standards, and What's behind Them: Capturing Linguistic Norms in Greek Official Writing

Klaas Bentein

If norms are the basis on which language as a social phenomenon is constituted, should not norms be the hub of sociolinguistic research? (Kauhanen 2006, p. 37)



1 Introduction

Much of the discussion about the early history of the Greek language, the Post-classical period in particular, has centered around the notions of 'Koine' and 'standard': both terms figure prominently, for example, in Horrocks' (2010) overview of the Greek language.¹ Horrocks (2010, pp. 67–68) describes how in the fifth century BCE the use of the Attic dialect expanded, functioning not only as a literary standard, but also as an administrative one, commonly referred to as 'Great' or 'International' Attic, a variety which was characterized by the inclusion of a number of Ionic features, replacing local Attic forms. With the conquests of Alexander the Great, it was not Macedonian that was introduced throughout the empire, but this form of Ionicized Attic, known as the Koine or 'common' language. While the Koine served as a written standard at first, it was also increasingly spoken throughout the Greek world,² first by the upper classes, and later on more generally by non-native speakers, as a result of which the linguistic gap between (classical) Attic and the Koine widened

¹ My work was undertaken in the context of the ERC Starting Grant project EVWRIT ('Everyday writing in Graeco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt. A socio-semiotic study of communicative variation', www.ev writ.ugent.be), a project which has received funding from the European Research Council under the Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement No. 756487).

² Horrocks (2010, pp. 83–84).

considerably. The Koine was also used for literary purposes,³ until its use met with resistance under Roman rule, when a return to the Attic of the classical canon was advocated (known as 'Atticism').

Linguistic studies have contrasted and compared the processes of standardization and koineization in a variety of languages. For both of these processes, a number of typical stages have been identified: Joseph (1987), for example, considers 'superposition', 'acculturation', 'emergence', 'codification', 'elaboration', and 'control' typical for standardization, and Siegel (1985) recognizes four stages of koineization, called 'preKoine', 'stabilized Koine', 'expanded Koine', and 'nativized Koine'.⁴ Whereas this line of research seems to suggest that the central concepts of 'standard' and 'Koine' are clearly distinct, scholars tend not to keep them apart:⁵ Siegel (1985, p. 363), for example, has suggested that a Koine can always be considered "at least informally standardized", whereas Joseph (1987, p. 65) has noted that "every standard language ... serves as a koine in some measure". That such suggestions have been made can, among others, be related to the fact that the different stages of the two processes form continua, and that synchronically speaking 'Koine' and 'standard' are prototypical concepts, that is, concepts with a number of typical characteristics not all of which need to be fulfilled.⁶ A conceptual leap forward in this regard has been the introduction of two types of synchronic 'standards', called 'language standard' and 'standard language' respectively by Joseph (1987, pp. 3–7), to which two types of standardization have been connected:⁷ standardization in the sense of focusing, variant reduction and norm emergence vs. standardization in the sense of language codification and prescription.⁸ Whereas notions such as 'standard' and 'substandard' are often employed in linguistic studies of Ancient (especially Post-classical) Greek,⁹ typically little discussion is offered in which sense they are used.

In discussions of Koines and standards, the central importance of '(linguistic) norms' is often highlighted: Tuten (2003, p. 49), for example, notes that "an understanding of norms is essential to the development of an integrated

3 Historiography and technical/scientific prose in particular.

4 For more recent discussion, see Tuten (2003), who claims that the generalizable stages of koineization can probably be limited to two, 'the prekoine' and 'the stabilized koine' (p. 27).

5 As also noted by Tuten (2003, p. 84).

6 Joseph (1987, pp. 19–20); Tuten (2003, p. 89).

7 Deumert (2004, p. 6).

8 Deumert (2004, p. 6) notes that language standards exist in every society, whereas this is not the case for standard languages.

9 See e.g. Leiwo (2005) and Evans (2010), both of whom focus on documentary papyri. Leiwo (2005, p. 239, n. 8) explicitly defines his use of the term 'substandard'.

model of koineization". When it comes to Ancient (Post-classical) Greek, too, studies have touched upon the notion of norms: studies of Atticism¹⁰ have described in detail the sociological aspects of the norm conflict¹¹ that arose in the Roman period, whereas studies of linguistic variation have explored a number of ways to uncover linguistic norms in the Post-classical period,¹² including norm clusters such as linguistic registers. Much of this, however, has been done without an explicit focus on (or even mentioning of) the concept of norm, so that we still lack a discussion of what norms are, and how they function as positive or negative 'anchors', that is, something to aspire to or to be rejected. In this chapter, I will focus on the typology and retrieval of norms, that is, which different types of norms exist, and what the different methodologies are to retrieve them. I will explicitly look into both aspects, that is, the typology and retrieval of norms: I will suggest that it is beneficiary to explicitly relate the two. My discussion will focus on Greek official writing, more in particular petitions from the third and fourth centuries CE.

The chapter is organized as follows: after presenting a typology of (linguistic) norms in §2, I outline five different approaches to retrieving linguistic norms (§3). I then apply the proposed norm typology to these approaches (§4) and show that substantial differences exist in terms of what sorts of norms they uncover. Concluding observations are made in §5.

2 Norms: a Typology

Whereas the importance of norms has been generally acknowledged, their definition has been the subject of much debate. Brennan *et al.* (2013, p. 15) argue that most proposals so far have been reductive, in the sense that they characterize norms in non-normative terms: the best-known proposals in this regard are those that understand norms as social practices, such as conventions, customs, and traditions (the 'norms as social practices' view)¹³ and those that understand norms as clusters of desires (the 'norms as desires' view).¹⁴ Having shown that both types of accounts are deficient, Brennan *et al.* (2013, pp. 28–35) propose what they call a non-reductive account of norms: they argue that a normative principle functions as a norm within a group if two

10 See e.g. Kim (2010).

11 For the notion of 'norm conflict', see Bartsch (1987, pp. 292–326).

12 See e.g. the papers in Bentein & Janse (2020).

13 See e.g. Young (2003).

14 See e.g. Bicchieri (2006).

conditions are met: (i) a significant portion of the members of the group have normative attitudes¹⁵ that reflect the content and normative force of the normative principle; (ii) a significant portion of the members of the group know that a significant portion of the members of the group have normative attitudes that correspond to the normative principle. Brennan *et al.* (2013, p. 35) argue that their characterization of norms offers a more satisfactory account of norms than its rivalling accounts and is able to explain what norms have in common and what distinguishes them from other related phenomena.

Next to the general characterization of norms, scholars have also proposed different typologies of norms, to which I will turn now. Before doing so, I should specify that it is not my intention to give an in-depth discussion of all the different types of norms that have been proposed in the literature: rather, my goal is to present a typology that is relevant for our most immediate purpose, that is, linguistic norms.

Whereas linguistic norms were an important point of attention in the work of major structuralist thinkers such as Hjelmslev and Coseriu, and Prague school linguists such as Vachek and Havránek,¹⁶ they received somewhat less attention in the last part of the twentieth century: Bartsch's (1987) study functioned as the main reference point for some time. In recent years, however, linguistic norms have received new attention by scholars working in ELF such as Piippo (2012) and Hynninen (2016). Moreover, various edited volumes on the topic have appeared, such as Locher and Strässler (2008) on English, Lunde and Paulsen (2009) on Russian, and Lenz and Plewnia (2010) on German and English.

2.1 *Formal vs. Informal Norms*

Brennan *et al.* (2013, pp. 40–56) argue that a fundamental distinction can be made between 'formal' and 'informal' norms. While this distinction resembles that between norms that have been written down vs. those that have not been,¹⁷ it does not do so entirely: there are examples of informal norms that are explicitly written down (such as etiquette books), and there are also examples of formal norms that are not written down (such as the British constitution).

Brennan *et al.* (2013, pp. 40–56) list a number of crucial differences between formal and informal norms: (i) formal norms are backed up by secondary rules that establish mechanisms of legislation and adjudication; these do not exist

15 Normative attitudes include normative beliefs, judgements, and other cognitive states; normative expectations; and reactive attitudes and dispositions to have such attitudes.

16 For discussion and references, see Hartung (1977); Bartsch (1987, pp. 65–83).

17 'Recorded' vs. 'non-recorded' norms.

with informal norms; (ii) formal norms typically involve the application of tangible sanctions (fines, incarceration, etc.) which are imposed by a higher authority; informal norms involve different enforcement mechanisms, such as disapproval;¹⁸ (iii) whereas formal norms involve normative principles that only apply to actions, informal norms seem to involve a richer set of objects: there are informal norms, for example, that relate to attitudes as well as to the ways in which we think or deliberate.

When it comes to language, standard language norms seem to correspond best to what Brennan *et al.* (2013) consider formal norms: in modern societies, they are typically backed up by secondary rules that help with their interpretation; one may be tangibly sanctioned for not following standard language norms, even though this is most often not the case; and they involve actions (writing correctly), rather than attitudes or thoughts. It may not come as a surprise, therefore, that many have considered standard language norms the prime, or even sole example, of linguistic norms.¹⁹

2.2 *Social vs. Descriptive Norms*

Brennan *et al.* (2013, pp. 57–89) further subdivide informal norms into two types: *moral* norms, such as those that forbid murder, rape, and torture, and *social* norms, such as norms of gift-giving and social address. Brennan *et al.* (2013, pp. 57–59) differentiate between these two types on the basis of the role that social practices play in grounding the normative attitudes behind them: whereas moral norms are constituted by attitudes that are practice-independent, social norms are constituted by attitudes that are grounded in presumed social practices.

Brennan *et al.* (2013, pp. 70–71) identify a number of mechanisms through which social practices can come to have normative significance: so, for example, particular social practices may come to represent aspects of a valuable identity (*identification*); other practices may come to represent authoritative expressions of the social groups to which we belong (*obligation*); and still other social practices may come to have importance through simple force of habit (*habituation*). Bicchieri (2006, pp. 29–34) pays even more explicit attention to such social practices by recognizing not only ‘social’ but also ‘descriptive’ norms: descriptive norms relate to what people commonly do in certain situations (such as fashions and fads), without there being any normative attitudes, and without other people explicitly disapproving of norm deviance or approving of norm conformity.

18 Compare Tuten (2003, pp. 49–54) on norm enforcement.

19 Cf. Švejcér (1987, p. 125) on the ‘monolithic’ norm.

As Bicchieri (2006, p. 29) notes, there is a very close relationship between descriptive and social norms: what is a descriptive norm for one group may function as a social norm for another group. It may therefore be worth recognizing both types of norms. When it comes to language, such a recognition entails an interesting broadening of the scope of linguistic norms: it shifts the attention from the norms of the standard language to those of other types of varieties (and speech communities), such as dialects, sociolects, registers, etc.²⁰ Such a position was explicitly advocated by Prague school linguists such as Havránek (1964 [1936]) but has been criticized²¹ for explicitly focusing on ‘the’ norm of a dialect, without allowing for conflicting norms within the speech community. Including descriptive norms also shifts the attention from *correctness* (which is narrowly associated with standard language norms) to *appropriateness*: an important notion in this regard is that of ‘communicative competence’,²² which refers to the ability to differentiate one’s way of speaking according to the social situation.

Linguistic scholarship has further explored the relevance of distinguishing between ‘social’ and ‘descriptive’ norms. Andersen (2009), for example, using the terms ‘deontic’ and ‘declarative’ norms instead, argues that each type can be further subdivided. Andersen (2009) refers to declarative norms as ‘statistical’ norms, because linguists typically use quantitative methods to find out what is common linguistic behavior. He also recognizes the existence of a second type of declarative norms, which he calls ‘experiential’ norms: this refers to what speakers consider to be common, whether or not it is statistically speaking also the case. For deontic norms, Andersen (2009) also proposes a twofold distinction: ‘prescriptive’ vs. ‘living’ norms. Prescriptive norms are codified correctness norms that reflect the standard. Living norms, on the other hand, are non-codified appropriateness norms that are constructed in speech communities. Such norms are shaped in communities through what Andersen (2009) calls an implicit dialogue.

2.3 *Co-ordination vs. Partiality Norms*

Discussing the function of norms in society, Brennan *et al.* (2013, pp. 51–56) suggest that the notion of ‘accountability’ plays a major role. They see an important difference in this regard between moral norms on the one hand and social norms on the other: whereas the former create a kind of individual accountability (accountability among individuals *qua* individuals), the latter create a kind of social accountability (accountability among individuals as members

20 Cf. Hyninen (2016, p. 21).

21 See e.g. Bartsch (1987, p. 74).

22 Cf. Hymes (1972).

of a group).²³ This can be connected to what we noted above with regard to practice-dependence: since social norms are dependent on social practices, it is natural that they create social accountability.

In an earlier, much-cited study, Ullmann-Margalit (1977) connected the function of norms to their emergence, suggesting that a distinction can be made between three types of norms, corresponding to three different types of interaction situations in which norms come into being: these are called 'Prisoner's dilemma norms', 'co-ordination norms', and 'partiality norms' respectively. The first type comes into being in so-called Prisoner's dilemma situations: typical examples are payment of income tax vs. tax evasion, voting in the elections vs. picnicking on that day, etc.: compliance with the norm is the best option from a collective point of view, but only the second-best option from an individual point of view. The second type comes into being in co-ordination situations: typical examples include driving on the left (or right), dress, or etiquette: in such cases, conformity to regularity can solve a recurrent co-ordination problem, and all the parties involved either win or lose together. The third type originates with situations of inequality: an example is the relationship between employers and employees, or that between rulers and their subjects. In such cases, the party that is in a favorable position will want to maintain it. One option to do so is to fortify it by norms: once value is attached to the status quo, it is no longer necessary to react to deviance with brute force, because now more subtle penalties are in place, such as disapproval.

When it comes to standard language norms, it seems natural to think of them in terms of co-ordination norms (that is, arising out of an interaction situation in which people want to communicate effectively with each other), as has been argued by Bartsch (1987, pp. 111–140) among others. Other linguists, however, have suggested that standard language norms should rather be viewed as partiality norms, as they also serve to maintain the position of the upper classes.²⁴ Bartsch (1987) acknowledges that standard language norms may have both functions but argues that they should be characterized as co-ordination norms first and foremost.

2.4 *User Norms vs. Observer Norms*

As Hynninen (2016, p. 25) notes, one of the major questions addressed in studies of social norms is the relationship between normative *beliefs*, on the one hand, and normative *behavior*, on the other. Whereas scholars such as Bicchieri (2006) and Brennan *et al.* (2013) tend to focus on normative beliefs when defining social norms, other scholars have identified norms with observable, recurrent

23 Cf. Brennan *et al.* (2013, pp. 87–89).

24 See esp. the work of Bernstein (1971).

patterns of behavior. Both positions have received criticism: with regard to the latter position, for example, it has been pointed out both in linguistics and in the social sciences that speakers' normative beliefs do not necessarily correspond to their actual behavior. Hynninen (2016, p. 26), therefore, argues that it may be beneficiary to separately explore 'behavior' (that is, norms as actual practice) and 'beliefs' (that is, evaluative behavior concerning language).

Bartsch (1987, pp. 217–218) has developed a model to describe differences between behavior and beliefs respectively.²⁵ She distinguishes between two types of domains, called 'population domain' (*Bevölkerungsbereich*) and 'situational domain' (*situativen Bereich*). These refer respectively to the number of people for whom a norm is relevant vs. the types of situations in which a norm is relevant.²⁶ She then goes on to argue that the status of norms within these domains may be different: she distinguishes between an *Existenzbereich* (the number of people for whom a norm as *praxis* exists), *Anerkennungsbereich* (the number of people who accept the existence of a norm), *Übernahmebereich* (the number of people who have adopted a norm) and *Rechtfertigungsbereich* (the number of people for whom a norm is justified).²⁷

In a recent contribution (Bentein 2020), I have made a related distinction that is more readily applicable to our current topic. I suggested that in linguistic discussions one should distinguish between two main types of primary sources: there are sources where linguistic norms are directly put into practice (literary and documentary texts), and there are others where linguistic norms are in the first place discussed (schoolbooks, lexica, grammatical treatises, etc.). I defended the view that these two types of sources, which I called 'user-centered' and 'observer-centered' respectively, form a continuum: in between lie sources such as annotated manuscripts, documentary texts with scribal corrections, stylistic reworkings, etc., where linguistic norms are consciously taken into account, but their discussion is not the primary purpose. Extending this distinction to linguistic norms, one could differentiate between 'user norms' (~ linguistic behavior) and 'observer norms' (~ linguistic beliefs).

2.5 Produktnormen vs. Gebrauchsnormen

In her 1987 study, Bartsch introduces a hierarchical model of linguistic norms, arguing that a distinction can be made between 'higher-order' and 'lower-order' norms.²⁸ Higher-order norms regulate the use of lower-order norms, and are

25 For recent discussion, see Kauhanen (2006, p. 42); Hynninen (2016, p. 26).

26 Bartsch (1987, p. 161) also specifies a whole range of different roles people can have vis-à-vis norms.

27 Bartsch's (1987) model allows one to capture aspects such as language standardization and norm conflicts in a very precise way.

28 Cf. Bartsch (1987, pp. 155–156).

typically not transient, contrary to lower-order norms. They can be considered 'principles', in the sense that there are no alternatives to them: so, for example, the rationality principle, which stipulates that actions are goal-oriented. When it comes to language, Bartsch (1987, p. 187) considers the 'principle of communication' (*Kommunikationsprinzip*) as the highest norm, which stipulates that one should express oneself in such a way that one is understandable for the communicative partner.²⁹

When it comes to lower-order linguistic norms, Bartsch (1987, p. 171) makes a broad distinction between two types, which she calls *Produktnormen* and *Gebrauchsnormen*:³⁰ whereas the former regulate the substance and form of means of communication (they are therefore also called 'technical' norms), the latter regulate the use of these communicative means (they are therefore also called 'instrumental' norms). Both can be further subdivided: *Produktnormen* encompass intonational, phonetic, orthographic, morphological, and syntactic norms, whereas *Gebrauchsnormen* encompass semantic, pragmatic and stylistic norms. Bartsch (1987) does not consider whether all of these different types of norms have an equivalent status. So, for example, it has been suggested that syntax has a different status than lexis/morphology, in the sense that it would display less variation, and that it would less easily be connected to sociolinguistic differences.³¹ This may be related to the fact that when comprehension is endangered (which arguably happens more easily with orthographic/lexical deviance), people tend to be more normative,³² but is in need of further study.³³

Having reflected about different types of norms, it is tempting to try to classify them in a number of larger groups, horizontally and/or vertically. So, for example, an argument could be made that whereas some of the distinctions that have been made above are related to the persons adopting the norms (user vs. observer norms), others go into the essence of linguistic norms (e.g. *Gebrauchsnormen* vs. *Produktnormen*), and still others concern the types of situations in which they are used (e.g. co-ordination norms vs. partiality norms)—the *who*, *what*, and *when* (or *how*) of norms so to speak. One could then try to vertically organize these different groups,³⁴ as illustrated in the following Figure:

29 The principle can also be formulated from the point of view of the hearer: 'interpret the communication in such a way that the interpretation in the broadest sense corresponds to what the speaker intends'.

30 Compare Hartung (1977, p. 27); Bamgbose (1987, p. 105).

31 See e.g. Hudson (1996, pp. 43–45).

32 Cf. Bartsch (1987, pp. 18–21).

33 For some observations with regard to Ancient Greek, see Bentein (2020).

34 For an unrelated hierarchical proposal, see Hartung (1977, pp. 39–40) (without visual representation).

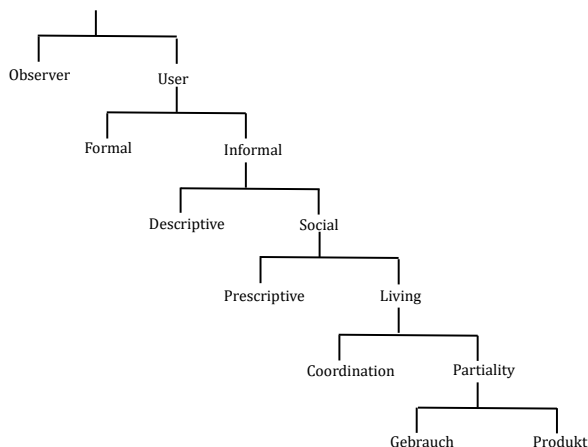


FIGURE 1.1 Types of norms hierarchically ordered

There are a number of elements that need to be clarified by future research: (i) horizontally, it is hard to maintain a three-fold distinction between persons, situations and qualities; in particular the status of formal vs. informal and social vs. descriptive norms is unclear (persons or qualities?); (ii) vertically, the relationship between formal and informal norms, and between social and descriptive ones has been clearly established in the literature; this is much less the case for other types of relationships; (iii) at present, the figure drastically oversimplifies, since it goes to the next level in the hierarchy only for the right member of the previous level.

3 Capturing Linguistic Norms in Greek Official Writing

As I mentioned before, scholars working in Greek linguistics have not been insensitive to linguistic norms: in recent years, various approaches have been developed to retrieve norms. Such studies typically do not compare their own approach to other potential approaches, however, and they do not explicitly refer to research on norms. In what follows, I will briefly outline five types of approaches which have been proposed in the literature and apply them to a corpus of Greek official writings, documentary petitions in particular.

Before specifying the corpus, it is worth asking why Greek official writing should have its own norms, or in other words, why such a corpus is relevant for our present purposes. Both from a theoretical and linguistic point of view, there are good reasons to make this assumption, I believe. In her psycho-sociological research on norms, Bicchieri (2006, esp. pp. 81–99) has made an argument for

the embeddedness of norms in 'schemata', that is, cognitive structures that represent stored knowledge about people, events, and roles. Event schemata or 'scripts' describe what happens at restaurants, soccer games, theatres, lectures, etc., defining the actors and roles, and the stereotyped sequences of actions that are appropriate in such contexts. Bicchieri (2006, p. 57) argues that as soon as a person has categorized a situation as being of a certain type, based on certain situational cues, a script will be activated, and the corresponding beliefs, preferences, and behavioral rules (norms) will be prompted.³⁵ Although this is not explicitly acknowledged by Bicchieri (2006), an argument could be made that written genres form such event schemata/scripts: Kuiper (2009), for example, has argued for the existence of so-called formulaic genres, which display a fixed structure and (semi-)formulaic phrases introducing each of the structural parts. Greek petitions form a good example: White (1972) a.o. has shown that petitions consist of four sections (opening, background, request, and closing), each of which is characterized by distinct formulaic phrases.

For the present study, I have analyzed a corpus of around one hundred petitions from the third/fourth century CE, all of which were written on papyrus.³⁶ All of these petitions come from so-called 'archives', that is, groups of texts that have been collected in antiquity for sentimental or other reasons. Most of the petitions can be found in a group of four archives: those of the camp commander Flavius Abinnaeus, the lawyer Aurelius Ammon, and the landowners Aurelius Isidorus and Aurelius Sakaon.³⁷ The petitions in these and other archives are addressed to a variety of officials: some are addressed to higher officials, such as the prefect or the *catholicus*; others to mid-level officials such as the *strategos*; and still others to lower-level local officials and military officials such as the *nyktostrategos*, *praepositus pagi*, or *centurio*.

3.1 *Approach 1: Variationism*

The first approach is based on what many still consider the dominant paradigm in sociolinguistic theory, 'variationist' sociolinguistics, or alternatively 'Labovian' sociolinguistics, after the founding father of the discipline.³⁸ As the

35 See Bicchieri (2006, p. 57) for an informative visualization.

36 They were all written and found in Egypt, with the exception of the petitions from the Euphrates archives.

37 I have also included petitions from a number of smaller archives: Aion son of Sarapion and Valerius son of Antiourios, Aurelius Kyros nyktostrategus, Aurelius Serenus alias Sarapion son of Agathinos, Euphrates archives, Family of Pamour, Logistai of Oxyrhynchos, Nekrotaphoi of the Oasis, Papnouthis and Dorotheos, and Sarapion alias Apollonianus and sons. For further information, see <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/>.

38 For an outline, see e.g. Bayley (2013).

name indicates, linguistic variation is central to this approach: it is considered a fundamental feature of language. Scholars argue that such variation does not occur in a random fashion: synchronically, it is connected to (constrained by) social categories such as age, gender, status, etc.³⁹ Such synchronic variation is considered to be the reflection of diachronic change.

The linguistic areas ('functional domains') that have been investigated from a variationist point of view are many: initially, research concentrated on phonetic variation, but then expanded to other types of variation as well. A methodological question that accompanied this expansion was to what extent morpho-syntactic variants are of the same nature as phonetic ones: the latter can be considered to be semantically/functionally equivalent, but can the same be said of the former as well? Scholarship argued that functional *similarity* was acceptable, too, and proceeded to the investigation of other types of variation.⁴⁰ The same was done for historical sources, under the heading of 'historical sociolinguistics'.

For our present purposes, I will briefly focus on variation in the area of causality. Scholars have highlighted the central importance of causality in the way we experience the world: Stukker, Sanders, and Verhagen (1999, p. 66), for example, note that "[causality] is one of the most basic aspects of the way humans conceive coherence in the world they inhabit, in their experiences, and in their relationships with other people". When it comes to our corpus, causal relations can be expected to play an important role, too, since petitioners need to establish a link between the background that is sketched in the petition and the request that is made: the latter is typically introduced by a verb such as ἀξιῶ or δέομαι, and then followed by a causal particle such as οὖν, διὰ τοῦτο, etc. Next to this type of 'forward' causality, petitions also contain instances of 'backward' causality, that is, cases where the consequence is mentioned first, and then related to the antecedent through the use of a particle such as γάρ.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this section, variationists typically relate linguistic variation to social factors such as gender, age, education, etc. For ancient sources, one does not always have such information available. When it comes to petitions, one social factor that is often available and that can be viewed as playing a potentially significant role for the linguistic choices petitioners make is the social status of the addressee: the petitions in our corpus were addressed to various types of officials, so it may be interesting to analyze whether this has an influence on the choice for a causal expression. Figure 1.2 relates causal co-ordinating conjunctions to the social status of the addressee:⁴¹

39 Linguistic (internal) factors, too, may have an impact on speakers' choices.

40 See e.g. Lavandera (1978).

41 I did not include particle combinations in the investigation.

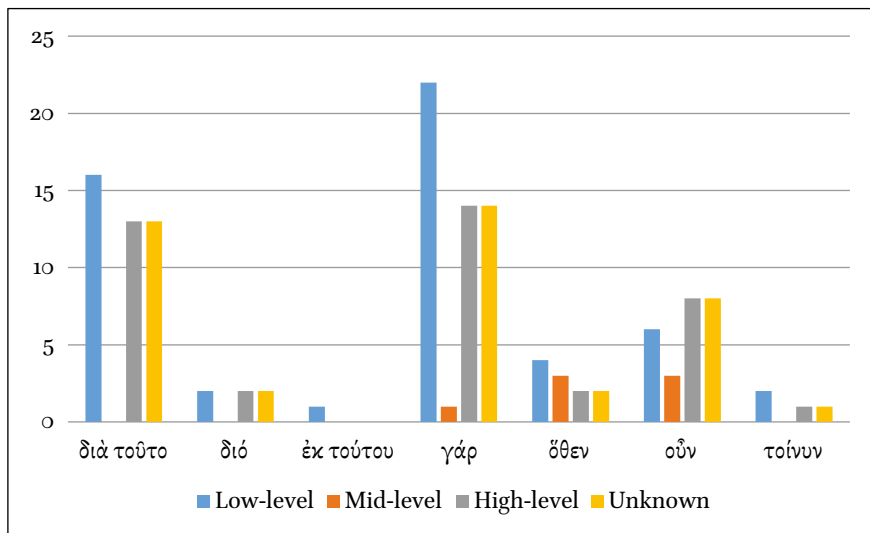


FIGURE 1.2 Causal co-ordinating conjunctions & social status

Figure 1.2 suggests that there was not a lot of difference between petitions addressed to different types of addressees when it comes to the use of causal co-ordinating conjunctions: in texts written to mid-level officials such as the *strategos*, which are less well represented in our corpus, there was a preference for just two conjunctions, ὅθεν and οὖν.⁴² In texts written to lower and higher officials, which are better represented, a broader range of conjunctions was used: διὰ τοῦτο, γάρ and οὖν constitute the preferred choices, next to διό and ὅθεν. Interestingly, there do seem to be specific preferences in individual archives: so, for example, διὰ τοῦτο is preferred in the archives of Flavius Abinnaeus, Aurelius Ammon, and Aurelius Sakaon, whereas οὖν is most frequently used in the archive of Aurelius Isidorus.

We can specify the use of these causal conjunctions in our corpus by not only taking into account the social rank of the addressee but also the syntactic level at which they are used: most of the causal conjunctions used in our petitions are used at a 'global' level,⁴³ that is, connecting the request to the background, but causal conjunctions can also be used at more 'local' levels, that is, connecting two sentences in one and the same structural part, or even two clauses. The following Figure gives an overview of the use of our causal conjunctions:

42 This only partially corresponds to the observations made in Bentein (2016), which focuses solely on the use of causal conjunctions at the start of the request.

43 In this function, they are often referred to as 'discourse markers'.

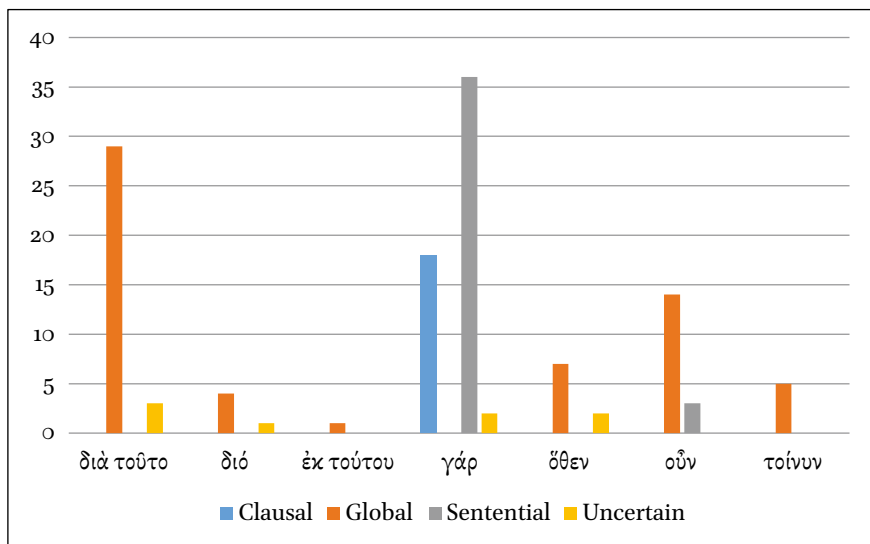


FIGURE 1.3 Causal co-ordinating conjunctions & syntactic level

Figure 1.3 shows that at the clausal and sentential level, there is much less variation in co-ordinating causal conjunctions: γάρ is the only conjunction that is used at the clausal level, and at the sentential level the range of conjunctions is limited to γάρ and οὖν. Combining Figures 1.2 and 1.3, we can say that in our corpus of petitions διὰ τούτου, διό, ἐκ τούτου, ὅθεν, and τοίνυν are used specifically for global causal relations, and that only ὅθεν is attested for all three types of officials.

To conclude, it is worth asking whether similar variation can be found in the domain of subordinating causal conjunctions. The answer is yes: here, too, one can find many variant expressions, forming fixed combinations with certain moods: so, for example, one finds the use of διὰ τό, τῷ, ὡς, and ὥστε with the infinitive; διότι, ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ὅτι, and ὡς with the indicative; and ἐπεί and ὡς with the participle. The set of subordinating conjunctions in our corpus differs from that of co-ordinating conjunctions in two ways: (i) in terms of directionality, most subordinating conjunctions express backward, rather than forward causality; (ii) subordinating conjunctions are typically used for coherence relations that are local, rather than global in nature. When subordinating conjunctions are used in between structural parts in petitions, that is, between the background and the request, they are typically found in combination with a co-ordinating conjunction.⁴⁴

When we relate subordinating conjunctions to the social rank of the addressee, as we did with co-ordinating conjunctions, there seem to be more significant differences:

44 See e.g. SB XXII 15496, l. 10 (245 CE); P.Cair.Isid. 78, l. 10 (324 CE).

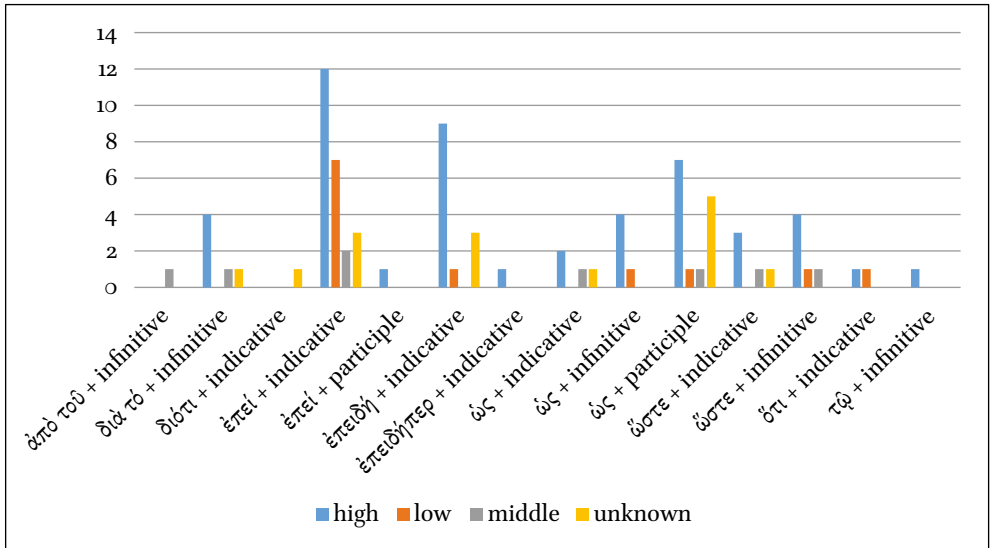


FIGURE 1.4 Subordinating causal conjunctions & social status

Figure 1.4 shows that in texts addressed to a lower official a restricted number of subordinating conjunctions was used: mostly ἐπεὶ with the indicative, and less frequently ὥς with the infinitive or participle, ὥστε with the infinitive, and ὅτι with the indicative. In petitions addressed to a higher or mid-level official, on the other hand, we see a broader range of conjunctions: here, too, ἐπεὶ with the indicative is the most frequently used, but we also find ἀπὸ τοῦ, διὰ τό and τῷ with the infinitive, ἐπειδὴ and ἐπειδήπερ with the indicative, ὥς with the infinitive, indicative, and participle, ὥστε with the indicative and infinitive, etc. These alternative constructions most frequently appear in the archive of Aurelius Ammon *scholasticus*,⁴⁵ but we also see an effort to use these alternatives in archives such as those of Aurelius Sakaon, Aurelius Isidorus, and the Euphrates archives. This does not come as a surprise, since petitions in these archives are relatively often addressed to higher officials such as the prefect. It is interesting to contrast with the archive of Flavius Abinnaeus, where all petitions are addressed to Abinnaeus in his capacity of *praefectus alae* (camp commander): here, co-ordinating conjunctions seem to be preferred; only in three texts are subordinating conjunctions used.⁴⁶

45 There are ten instances of ἐπειδὴ with the indicative, and eleven of ὥς with the participle.

46 P.Abinn. 42, ll. 8–9 (325–375 CE) (διὰ τό); P.Abinn. 34, ll. 12–13 (346 CE) (ἐπεὶ with the indicative); P.Abinn. 54, l. 22 (346 CE) (διότι with the indicative; the text is reconstructed).

3.2 *Approach 2: Modern Grammarians*

As an alternative to the inductive approach presented above, one can also start from linguistic norms that have already been specified in reference works such as dictionaries and grammars and analyze to what extent a given corpus complies with such norms. Unfortunately, not much reference material is available for non-literary papyri: the only complete grammar that we have is Mayser (1926–1938), which concentrates on the Early Post-classical (Ptolemaic) period (that is, III–I BCE). The only lexicon that we have, Preisigke (1925–1927), was completed nearly a century ago and has not been significantly updated (although there have been various supplements). Both of these works were completed a long time ago, when much less papyrus texts had been edited, and there was no access to digital resources. Moreover, these scholars were working in a traditional philological framework, without paying explicit attention to factors such as linguistic variation.

Fortunately, attempts have been made in various handbooks to summarize the major linguistic developments in the Post-classical period. One such overview that I will focus on here is that by Horrocks (2007, pp. 630–631), who distinguishes between three levels of writing in the later Roman period—(i) basic/non-literary, (ii) official and scientific/technical, and (iii) literary—and outlines a number of linguistic features on the basis of which each level can be characterized. Horrocks (2007) does not specify exactly which sorts of texts he considers under the label ‘official’, but he does so in his later monograph (Horrocks 2010): relevant text types include not only petitions, but also imperial edicts, public proclamations, official correspondence, contracts, and juridical proceedings.⁴⁷

Horrocks (2007, pp. 630–631) lists seven main features for his second level of writing, most of which are related to the fields of complementation and adverbial subordination:

- (i) frequent use of *τυγχάνω* in the sense of ‘to be’; and of impersonal *ἔτυχε* + accusative and infinitive;
- (ii) the use of *οἶτι* after verbs of thinking (instead of the Classical *AcI*) and verbs of perception (instead of the Classical *AcP*);
- (iii) the use of quoted speech rather than a subordinate clause after verbs of saying;
- (iv) a liking for impersonal passives of the type ‘it is said [that X]’ (instead of personal passives of the type ‘s/he is said [to X]’);
- (v) the use of articular infinitives governed by a goal-denoting preposition to express purpose, and more generally of prepositional infinitives functioning in the manner of gerunds;

47 Horrocks (2010, pp. 89–90).

- (vi) the use of infinitives in indirect commands, especially active infinitives in a context where no agent is specified;
- (vii) the use of irregular *φημί* with an accusative and infinitive.

For the present discussion, I will regroup these seven features as follows: (a) the use of *τυγχάνω* and *φημί* and their complementation patterns; (b) the use of complementation patterns after verbs of thinking, saying, and ordering; and (c) the use of the articular infinitive instead of finite subordination patterns.

When it comes to the first group, one indeed finds a significant number of attestations of the verb *τυγχάνω* in the sense of 'to be' in our corpus: so, for example, *πολύτρωποι* (l. *πολύτροποι*) *τυγχάνουσι* *ἐ* (l. *αἱ*) *τῶν ἀνδρῶν* (l. *ἀνδρῶν*) *πλεονεξίαι* 'manifold are the covetous acts of men' [transl. Boak & Youtie] (P.Cair.Isid. 62, l. 5 (296 CE)). Such occurrences can mainly be found in the archives of Aurelius Isidorus (nine examples), Flavius Abinnaeus (two examples), and Sakaon (two examples).⁴⁸ There are none in the archive of Aurelius Ammon *scholasticus*. In this archive, we do find a related use, namely that of *τυγχάνω* with the participle, as in P.Ammon II 41, l. 18 (348 CE) *ἀποδημ[ίαν ὕ]περόριον ἔξω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τυγχάνει στείλαμενος* 'he has prepared a stay abroad outside of Egypt'.⁴⁹ The use of *φημί*, on the other hand, does not play a role in our petitions. Only a single example can be found: *διὰ ται* (l. *τε*) *μεσιτῶν φήσασα* 'having made statement through witnesses' (P.Cair.Isid. 62, ll. 15–16 (296 CE)). This may be text-type related: there do not seem to be a lot of occasions for acts of saying, and when there is one, the more common *λέγω*⁵⁰ tends to be used.⁵¹

The second group of features, too, gives a mixed image. Our corpus contains about sixty passages where either a verb of thinking or a verb of perception is followed by a complementation pattern, but in none of those is *ὅτι* used—the AcI and AcP represent the dominant patterns. After verbs of perception, there is some variation: in the archives of Aurelius Sakaon and Aurelius Isidorus, one also encounters the use of *ὥς* with the participle,⁵² *ὥς* with the infinitive,⁵³ and the AcI.⁵⁴ Verbs of thinking (mostly *νομίζω* and *προσδοκάω*) show less variation: here, the NcI forms the only alternative in our corpus,⁵⁵ a pattern which is attested in the archive of Aurelius Ammon *scholasticus*. Horrocks (2007) also

48 See e.g. P.Sakaon 38, l. 12 (312 CE); P.Cair.Isid. 73, l. 10 (314 CE); P.Abinn. 33, l. 8 (346 CE). In SB XXII 15496, l. 11 (245 CE) (from the Euphrates archives), *τυγχάνω* is used with the meaning of 'to exist', 'to live'.

49 For a similar example from the Sakaon archive, see P.Sakaon 36, l. 20 (280 CE).

50 See e.g. P.Ammon II 41, l. 51 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 43, l. 1 (348 CE).

51 In the Sakaon archive the verb *φάσκω* is also attested. See e.g. P.Sakaon 41, l. 17 (324 CE).

52 See e.g. P.Cair.Isid. 79, ll. 8–9 (300–324 CE); P.Sakaon 38, ll. 24–25 (312 CE).

53 See e.g. P.Cair.Isid. 62, l. 23 (296 CE).

54 See e.g. P.Sakaon 39, ll. 11–15 (318 CE).

55 See e.g. P.Ammon II 41, l. 5 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 41, ll. 6–7 (348 CE).

mentions the use of quoted speech after verbs of saying as a typical feature of official writing, presumably referring to the use of ‘recitative’ ὅτι. This is a feature that is not present in our corpus. For the same verb class, Horrocks (2007) mentions the use of impersonal passives (as in ‘it was said that ...’) as a characteristic feature: such constructions, too, are hard to come by in our corpus: in the archive of Ammon *scholasticus*, one repeatedly finds the expression φήμης διαδοθείσης ‘the rumor was spread that’.⁵⁶

Verbs of ordering are, unsurprisingly, well represented in our corpus, with over one hundred and fifty attestations. The complementation patterns that are used after these verbs are varied: in about 80% of the cases, one finds an infinitive, either an AcI or an NcI. Alternatively, one encounters parataxis (with or without καί),⁵⁷ ἵνα with the subjunctive,⁵⁸ ὅπως with the subjunctive or the infinitive,⁵⁹ or ὥστε with the infinitive.⁶⁰ These alternatives mostly occur in the archives of Flavius Abinnaeus, Aurelius Sakaon, and Aurelius Isidorus.⁶¹ About half of the infinitives used after a verb of ordering are active, and the other half is passive, so the active voice does not seem to be over-represented, as Horrocks (2007) claims. It is true, however, that the agent of the infinitival complement clause is often omitted (about 75%), both with active and passive infinitives.

When it comes to the last type of feature, the use of the articular infinitive, we do find quite a few instances in our corpus. Most of these indicate a goal: so, for example, we find examples with πρὸς τό (e.g. πρὸς τὸ ἐκδικηθῆναι με ‘so that I would be done justice’ (P.Abinn. 28, l. 24 (ca. 346 CE)),⁶² and less frequently with εἰς τό (e.g. εἰς τὸ δυνηθῆναι με ἀμέμπτως καὶ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας τέλεσμάτα διευθῆναι ‘so that I can pay without blame the farming taxes’ (PSI XII 1243, ll. 24–26 (208 CE)) and ὑπὲρ τοῦ (e.g. ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνατραπήναι με τῆς ιδίας ‘to oust me from my property’ (P.Cair.Isid. 69, l. 21 (310 CE)). Nevertheless, the majority of the goal expressions are made through the more regular combination of the subordinating conjunctions ἵνα and ὅπως with the subjunctive.⁶³ In our corpus, articular infinitives are also used instead of expressions of cause

56 See e.g. P.Ammon II 41, ll. 37–38 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 45, ll. 12–13 (348 CE).

57 See e.g. P.Abinn. 47, ll. 10–13 (346 CE); P.Sakaon 39, ll. 17–19 (318 CE).

58 See e.g. P.Abinn. 34, ll. 15–16 (346 CE).

59 See e.g. P.Abinn. 57, ll. 21–24 (346 CE) (subjunctive); P.Col. VII 169, ll. 14–15 (318 CE) (infinitive).

60 See e.g. P.Cair.Isid. 69, ll. 4–5 (310 CE); SB XXII 15496, ll. 9–10 (245 CE).

61 In the Abinnaeus archive, infinitival complementation is rare altogether. Two infinitival complements can be found in P.Abinn. 51, ll. 15–16 (346 CE).

62 For similar examples, see e.g. P.Cair.Isid. 66, ll. 6–7 & 21–22 (299 CE); P.Ammon II 30, l. 15 (348 CE).

63 In one case, a goal infinitive is used: P.Abinn. 56, ll. 11–12 (346 CE).

and time: we find infinitives accompanied by μετὰ τό (e.g. μετὰ τὸ λεικμήσαι (l. λικμήσαι) με τὰς ἀλωνίας 'after I had finished winnowing the threshing-floors' (P.Abinn. 50, l. 10 (346 CE)), διὰ τό (e.g. διὰ τὸ ἄπορόν με εἶναι 'because I am poor' (SB XIV 11980, l. 29 (207 CE))),⁶⁴ and ἀπὸ τοῦ (e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ [καταβαλεῖν δημόσια μετρήμα]τα κατὰ [τ]ὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῇ δίδμοιρον μέρος 'from contributing the two thirds of the public imposts due from her' (P.Sakaon 37, ll. 5–6 (284 CE))).⁶⁵

To conclude, we can say that while some of Horrocks' (2007) features seem to have relevance for our corpus, others do not. In principle, this discrepancy can be explained in two ways: either Horrocks' (2007) list has less explanatory potential than it presumes to have, or our corpus is in some way atypical. I suspect the truth lies in between: petitions included in some archives (such as those of Flavius Abinnaeus, Aurelius Isidorus, and Sakaon) seem to have different linguistic characteristics than those in other archives (such as that of Aurelius Ammon *scholasticus*). Since Horrocks' (2007) category of official writing is a very broad one, it does not seem unlikely that functional reasons may stand in the way of the more frequent realization of some features (e.g. verbs of saying and their complements).

3.3 Approach 3: Ancient Grammarians

Next to modern grammarians, one can also make a comparison with ancient grammarians. The analysis of both types of grammatical sources fits in a recent trend in sociolinguistics to pay more attention to 'metalinguage', that is, the use of language to comment on language.⁶⁶ Metalinguage, when broadly conceived, can be encountered in many different domains: so, for example, people use language to describe grammatical structures, differences in word meanings, people's strategic purposes in talk; or to compare different genres, styles, dialects, and languages, etc. As a number of scholars have stressed, such metalinguistic comments form an important source of information with regard to how social groups view language and communication; they can help us to gain a better insight into (changing) language attitudes and ideologies.⁶⁷

Particularly relevant for us are the so-called 'Atticist' grammarians:⁶⁸ these grammarians composed works (often referred to as 'lexica') informing speakers and writers of Greek which forms were considered correct (that is, good Attic Greek), and which ones were not. Guidance in this regard was felt to be

64 For similar examples, see P.Sakaon 42, ll. 4–5 (323 CE); P.Ammon II 38, l. 25 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 41, l. 39 (348 CE).

65 Also note the use of περὶ τοῦ with the infinitive in P.Oxy. LIV 3775, ll. 10–11 (342 CE).

66 See esp. the volume by Jaworski, Coupland & Galasiński (2004).

67 Cf. Piippo (2012, pp. 158–160).

68 See e.g. Lee (2013).

needed, since in Post-classical times the gap between the lower (spoken) and the higher (written) registers had widened considerably. In the context of this contribution, I will compare the language of our petitions to one such Atticist lexicon, Phrynichus' *Ecloga*. Phrynichus was a rhetorician from the second century, born in Bithynia, and famous for his strict Atticism. Two of his works survive, one of which is the *Ecloga* (Ἐκλογή Ἀττικῶν ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων). Because the work as we have it consists of only two books, the *Ecloga* was previously considered to be an epitome; however, scholars nowadays think it is more or less complete.

Little research has been done on the impact of works such as Phrynichus' *Ecloga* and Atticism in general, on documentary sources. For the present study, I have manually compared the index of words in Fischer's (1974) edition with those of the four major archives included in our corpus.⁶⁹ Comparing Phrynichus' prescriptions and proscriptions with the papyrological corpus is somewhat less straightforward than it may seem: there are cases where there is a lexical match, but where Phrynichus has a different meaning in mind. So, for example, we find the use of τόμος in the archive of Aurelius Isidorus (P.Cair.Isid. 74, l. 24 (315 CE)): use of it is recommended by Phrynichus (12) but only in the context of a piece of meat or bread (instead of τέμαχος), not in the sense of 'roll'. In other cases, there is a near match, but it is difficult to judge how far Phrynichus' approval or disapproval would have extended. Phrynichus (206) comments, for example, that it is better to use ἔφησθα rather than ἔφης. Presumably, this means that he does not approve of the sigmatic aorist formation ἔφησα, which is attested in our corpus (e.g. P.Cair.Isid. 62, l. 16 (296 CE)), but this is difficult to know. Similarly, Phrynichus (115) states that one should not use χειρσίν but χερσί: in our corpus, the form χερσίν is attested (P.Ammon II 38, l. 28 (348 CE)): what would Phrynichus have thought about such an intermediate form?

After carefully considering in which cases there was a 'real' match, I ended up with twenty-eight entries from Phrynichus' *Ecloga* (consisting of both a prescription and a proscription) that I considered directly relevant. Several of these are attested in multiple texts and/or archives: in total, I retrieved one hundred and two matches. For some of the orthographic and morphological prescriptions Phrynichus makes, our corpus almost always contains the correct form: so, for example, Phrynichus (6) notes that μέχρι and ἄχρι should be written without the final *sigma*: in our corpus, μέχρις occurs twice, and ἄχρις only

69 Based on the editions of Boak & Youtie (1960) (Aurelius Isidorus); Bell *et al.* (1962) (Flavius Abinnaeus); Parássoglou (1978) (Aurelius Sakaon); Willis & Maresch (1997) and Maresch & Andorlini (2006) (Aurelius Ammon).

once.⁷⁰ Comparable in this regard is the use of the adverb *πάλιν*: Phrynichus (247) notes that the rhetoricians and poets of his day often pronounce the form without final *nu*, but this does not seem to be an issue in our corpus: the form is only attested with final *nu*.⁷¹ There are a couple of morphological entries in our corpus, too, that are attested multiple times: so, for example, Phrynichus (79) recommends the use of the infinitival form *γενέσθαι* instead of *γενηθῆναι*. In our corpus, only the former is attested.⁷² A similar example is the use of the accusative form *υἰόν*: Phrynichus (234) comments that one should use this form rather than *υἱέα* (a formation parallel to *υἱέος* and *υἱεῖ*). In our corpus, only *υἰόν* is attested.⁷³

Even though Phrynichus makes relatively few syntactic pre- and proscriptions, some of them are relevant to our corpus; compared to the above-mentioned orthographic and morphological entries, they seem to be more of an issue for our writers. One entry that is relevant concerns the use of *τυγχάνω*: Phrynichus (242) comments that when one uses this verb with the meaning of 'to be', one should always add the participle of *εἶμι* (don't say *φίλος μοι τυγχάνεις* but *φίλος μοι τυγχάνεις ὢν* 'you are my friend'). As I already noted in §3.2, *τυγχάνω* is quite frequently used in our corpus with the meaning of 'to be', almost always without the addition of a participial form. It is used only once with the participial form added: *κἄν μείζονες ὄντες τύχωσι* 'even if they happen to be greater' (P.Ammon I 4, l. 57 (348 CE)). Another syntactic entry that is relevant to our corpus concerns the use of *μέλλω* with an infinitive: Phrynichus (313/347) considers it a severe mistake to use the aorist infinitive after *μέλλω*: one should use the present or future infinitive instead (don't say *ἔμελλον γράψαι* but *ἔμελλον γράφειν* or *ἔμελλον γράψειν* 'I intended to write'). In our corpus, *μέλλω* is attested four times with an infinitive: in half of them, an aorist infinitive is used. So, e.g., *καθ' ὃν μέλλω καιρὸν ἀναπλεῦσαι* 'at the time when I intend to sail back' (P.Ammon II 37, l. 13 (348 CE)).⁷⁴

Lexical observations are predominant in Phrynichus' *Ecloga*, so it does not come as a big surprise that the large majority of the matches with our petitions are also lexical in nature. Many of these concern verbs. Remarkably, all of the matched verbs in our corpus concern proscriptions: either they are used in the wrong way, or a different verb should have been used altogether. So, for example, Phrynichus (187) comments that one should use *ἀνάκειμαι* for statues

70 P.Abinn. 55, l. 10 (351 CE); P.Ammon II 33, l. 4 (348 CE); P.Cair.Isid. 76, l. 5 (318 CE).

71 See e.g. P.Cair.Isid. 68, l. 19 (309/310 CE?); P.Sakaon 48, l. 16 (343 CE).

72 See e.g. P.Ammon II 38, ll. 42 & 65 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 41, l. 56 (348 CE).

73 See e.g. P.Abinn. 53, l. 9 (346 CE); P.Abinn. 54, l. 14 (346 CE).

74 For the prescribed form in our corpus, see P.Ammon II 42, l. 5 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 43, l. 17 (348 CE).

that are erected, and not for people lying down (in which case one should use simple *κεῖμαι*). In our corpus, however, *ἀνάκειμαι* is used with this second sense: so, e.g., *πρὸς θάνατον* (l. *θάνατον*) *ἀνάκειμαι* (l. *ἀνάκειμαι*) ‘I am in a condition bordering on death’ (P.Abinn. 54, l. 14 (346 CE)).⁷⁵ Another interesting case concerns the correct expression for being grateful: for Phrynichus (10), one should use *χάριν εἰδέναι*, rather than *εὐχαριστεῖν*. In our corpus, petitioners typically include a reference to future gratitude but mostly by means of the collocation *χάριν ὁμολογέω*,⁷⁶ of which we don’t know whether Phrynichus would have approved. In the archive of Aurelius Sakaon, however, we do find the condemned form *εὐχαριστεῶ*: *διὰ παντός τῇ τύχῃ σου εὐχ[α]ριστήσω* ‘I will forever be grateful to your fortune’ (P.Sakaon 38, l. 29 (312 CE)).⁷⁷ When it comes to nouns, our petitions contain both pre- and proscribed forms. For example, Phrynichus (16) recommends the use of *προθεσμία* rather than *διωρία* ‘period, interval of time’, a recommendation that is followed throughout, not only in the archive of Aurelius Ammon but also in that of Aurelius Sakaon: so, e.g., *[ἔως ὅτου ἡ π]ροθεσμία ἐξῆκεν* ‘until the appointed period ran out’ (P.Sakaon 38, l. 24 (312 CE)).⁷⁸ Proscribed, on the other hand, is the use of *σῶμα* with the meaning of ‘slave’: Phrynichus (356) prefers the use of *ἀνδράποδον*. In the archive of Aurelius Ammon, however, *σῶμα* is used multiple times with this meaning: so, e.g., *\Νίκης/ τῆς μητρὸς τούτων τῶν σωμαμάτων [μαρτυρομένης]* ‘with Nike the mother of these slaves testifying’ (P.Ammon II 41, ll. 50–51 (348 CE)). Phrynichus also makes a couple of observations on adverbs that can be found in our corpus: so, for example, Phrynichus (285) notes that one should not use the adverbial form *πρώτως*, but rather *πρώτον*. The proscribed form is attested in P.Sakaon 40, ll. 9–10 (318–321 CE): *νῦν πρώτος* (l. *πρώτως*) *ἐπέρχεται[ι]* ‘she proceeds (against me) now for the first time’. Similarly, Phrynichus (99) notes that one should not use the adverb *ἐνδον* with a sense of motion. Such a sense of motion is, however, present in P.Cair.Isid. 75, l. 12 (316 CE): *ἐνδον γενόμενοι* ‘having gone inside’.

To conclude this short overview, we can relate the use of pre- vs. proscriptions to the four different archives that we have investigated. In absolute numbers, there seem to be three groups: in the archive of Aurelius Ammon, proscribed forms are attested in the majority of the cases (ca. 81%); in the archives of Flavius Abinnaeus and Sakaon, there is a balance between pre- and proscribed

75 Another example can be found in P.Abinn. 52, l. 15 (346 CE).

76 See e.g. P.Cair.Isid. 74, l. 19 (315 CE); P.Cair.Isid. 76, l. 20 (318 CE).

77 For another example, see P.Sakaon 42, ll. 26–27 (ca. 323 CE).

78 For some instances from the archive of Aurelius Ammon, see e.g. P.Ammon II 28, l. 4 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 29, l. 8 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 30, l. 8 (348 CE); P.Ammon II 31, l. 14 (348 CE).

forms; and in the archive of Aurelius Isidorus, proscribed forms are used in the majority of the cases (ca. 71%). These figures may be distorted because of the frequent appearance of certain forms: so, for example, in the archive of Aurelius Ammon there are multiple instances of γένεσθαι (6), προθεσμία (7), and μέχρι (7). When we do not take into account the multiple occurrences of one and the same form, the differences are somewhat less extreme (prescribed forms in Aurelius Ammon: 64%; proscribed forms in Aurelius Isidorus: 67%), but the conclusions remain the same.

3.4 *Approach 4: Editorial Regularizations*

Yet another way to approach linguistic norms in Greek petitions is through the editorial regularizations that have been proposed by the editors of papyrus texts.⁷⁹ Whereas some of the first papyrus editions refrained from making comments about non-standard features, in later editions adding editorial regularizations became common practice and was included in 1931 in the Leiden conventions.⁸⁰ Such editorial regularizations first and foremost concern spelling variants. Youtie (1963, p. 22), for example, describes the process of editorial regularization as follows: “immediately after the text the papyrologist puts a critical apparatus in which he gives conventional equivalents for vulgar or mistaken spellings”.

Regularizations are mostly indicated in the critical apparatus (typically with the abbreviation *l.* for ‘lege’), but editors sometimes indicate them in the main text through critical signs. In the context of this chapter, I have collected all editorial interventions found in the critical apparatus of the online editions of our petitions. Linguistic regularizations make up the large majority⁸¹ of these interventions (ca. 73%).⁸² As can be expected, most of the regularizations deal with orthographic variation caused by pronunciation changes in the Post-classical period (78%).⁸³ Around 44%⁸⁴ of these concern variation between ι and ει (attesting to the identification of the Classical Greek diphthong /ei/ with the simple vowel /i/). In most cases, writers use ι instead of

79 See e.g. Depauw & Stolk (2015); Stolk (2018; 2020).

80 Stolk (2018, pp. 119–120).

81 There are also editorial suggestions, paleographical notes, and scribal corrections.

82 Stolk’s (2018, p. 125) number of 92% editorial linguistic interventions for the entire papyrological corpus is significantly higher. I suspect that the presence of the archive of Ammon *scholasticus*, where many editorial suggestions and paleographical notes are made, has an influence.

83 As Stolk (2018, p. 125) notes, it is not always easy to distinguish between different linguistic levels.

84 This corresponds very well with the number of 40% given for the entire papyrological corpus by Stolk (2018, p. 125).

ει: a number of forms can be frequently found in our corpus, such as ἐκδικῖν for ἐκδικεῖν, ἐπί for ἐπεί, ἐπιδή for ἐπειδή, τρῖς for τρεῖς, χρία for χρεῖα, etc. Less frequently, ει is used instead of ι, as a form of hypercorrection: so e.g. ἀμείμητον for ἀμίμητον (P.Ammon II 37, l. 8 (348 CE)), γυνεκεῖ for γυναικί (P.Cair.Isid. 62, l. 8 (296 CE)), εἶμει for εἶμι (SB XXII 15498, l. 16 (252–256 CE)), εἶνα for ἶνα (P.Sakaon 46, l. 14 (342 CE)), etc. Other corrections involve the use of ε for αι, ο for ω, α for αυ (vowels and diphthongs); and γ for κ, τ for θ, λ for ρ, π for φ, etc. (consonants).

Morpho-syntactic regularizations are less frequently attested. Stolk (2018, p. 125) distinguishes between two broad types, which roughly correspond to morphology and syntax: (i) morphological interchange between different declensions or conjugations (e.g. -α vs. -αν in the accusative singular), and (ii) morpho-syntactic variation between the use of morphemes in a particular syntactic context (e.g. the genitive vs. the dative case to express the recipient after a verb of giving). Both types occur more or less with the same frequency in our corpus. Syntactic regularizations occur slightly more frequently (60%): they typically involve confusion between cases, such as between the accusative and the genitive case (e.g. τοῦτο for τοῦτου in P.Abinn. 45, l. 20 (343 CE)), the genitive and the dative case (e.g. σου for σοι in P.Abinn. 34, l. 9 (342–351 CE)), the accusative and the dative case (e.g. φυγῇν for φυγῇ in P.Abinn. 51, l. 11 (346 CE)), etc. Concord also plays a role: often concord is not maintained, and a dependent form is used in a different number or case from its head noun, or vice versa (e.g. ἀρουρ[ῶ]ν ... ὄντων for οὐσών in P.Col. VII 173, l. 14 (after 342 CE?); τῷ τοῦ νομ[οῦ] στ[ρατηγ]οῦ for τῷ ... στρατηγῷ in P.Mert. II 91, l. 16 (316 CE)). In a couple of instances, we also see that the wrong mood was chosen, such as the indicative for the participle (e.g. συλλαβονται for συλλαβόντες in P.Grenf. II 78, l. 14 (307 CE)), the infinitive for the indicative (e.g. ἀ[π]ο[δ]ίξι for ἀποδείξει in P.Cair.Isid. 62, l. 22 (296 CE)), or the infinitive for the participle (e.g. πεποικέναι for πεποι<η>κότων in P.Abinn. 49, l. 15 (346 CE)).

The morphological regularizations mostly include variation in verbal morphology (ca. 65%), such as contract forms (e.g. τολμούντε[ς] for τολμώντας in P.Abinn. 49, l. 21 (346 CE)), aorist and imperfect forms (e.g. ἐπῆλθα for ἐπῆλθαν in P.Abinn. 45, l. 10 (343 CE); ἐγείνατο for ἐγένετο in P.Kell. I 21, l. 6 (321 CE); εἶχαν for εἶχον in P.Sakaon 48, l. 19 (343 CE)), and athematic forms (e.g. δυνόμενος in P.Mert. II 92, l. 18 (324 CE)). Variation in nominal morphology typically concerns nouns of the third declension (e.g. [ἐσ]θῆταν for [ἐσ]θῆτα in P.Cair.Isid. 63, l. 25 (296 CE); πατέραν for πατέρα in P.Sakaon 40, l. 15 (318–321 CE); θ]υγατέρα for θυγατέρα in P.Oxy. LIV 3770, l. 3 (334 CE)) and pronouns (e.g. σέν for σε, ἐμέν for ἐμέ in P.Sakaon 45a, ll. 13 & 16 (334 CE)).

To conclude, it is worth noting that there are noticeable differences between the different archives in terms of the number of linguistic regularizations. For example, if we count the number of linguistic regularizations per 100 words, we see that especially the petitions in the archives of Flavius Abinnaeus (10.7 per 100 words), Aurelius Isidorus (7.4 per 100 words), Papnouthis and Dorotheus (6.2 per 100 words), Sakaon (5.5 per 100 words), and the Euphrates archives (8.1 per 100 words) contain many linguistic regularizations.⁸⁵ Such differences can be partly connected to the social status of the addressee: in these archives, petitions are relatively often addressed to lower or mid-level officials such as the *riparios*, the *praepositus pagi*, the *eirenarchês pagi*, and the *strategos*, or to military officials such as the *praefectus alae* and the *beneficiarius*. Even inside one and the same archive, the effect of social status can be noticed: for example, in the archive of Aurelius Isidorus the number of regularizations per 100 words drops significantly in petitions addressed to higher officials, especially in P.Cair.Isid. 74 (1.6 per 100 words), P.Col. VII 169 (2.6 per 100 words) and P.Cair.Isid. 67 (3.7 per 100 words).⁸⁶

3.5 Approach 5: Scribal Corrections

One last approach that I want to discuss here is the analysis of scribal corrections, that is, corrections that have been made by the ancient writers themselves (or alternatively, a corrector).⁸⁷ Such scribal corrections have been studied by a number of scholars, including Luiselli (2010) and Papathomas (2018). In modern-day linguistic scholarship, too, linguistic corrections have been of interest. Especially scholars working in the framework of 'Language Management Theory' (LMT)⁸⁸ have stressed the fact that speakers/writers not only have a generative competency (that is, the ability to produce messages), but also a corrective competency (that is, the ability to monitor such messages, to compare them with norms, to evaluate any deviations, and to decide on potential adjustments).⁸⁹ Another important distinction made in LMT is that between simple, discourse-based language management, which involves a

85 Compare with the archive of Aurelius Ammon, where 0.2 corrections per 100 words occur.

86 Two other petitions in the archive have a higher ratio, however: P.Cair.Isid. 73 (314 CE) (4.9 per 100 words) and P.Cair.Isid. 66 (299 CE) (5.5 per 100 words).

87 According to Papathomas (2018, pp. 163–164), in Late Antique letters the majority of the corrections are made either by the writer him/herself or someone in his/her immediate environment, rather than by a professional corrector.

88 Recent discussions include Nekvapil (2006) and Spolsky (2009). Other terms that have been used in the literature are 'language planning' and 'language correction'.

89 Cf. Jernudd (1990, p. 63).

single party (the person making the utterance), and organized language management, which is more systematic, and involves two parties, a manager and a person managed.⁹⁰

For Jernudd and Neustupný (1987), simple language management starts when a speaker observes that his discourse deviates from the norm. Generally focusing on orally produced language, scholars have studied the nature of these corrections, and the conditions under which they occur.⁹¹ Such studies mostly focus on linguistic competence, but, as Nekvapil (2006, p. 98) argues, corrections may also be related to the management of communicative or socio-cultural phenomena. A similar argument has been made by Papathomas (2018) with regard to linguistic corrections in Greek documentary sources, more specifically letters from the fifth to the eighth century CE.⁹² To be more specific, Papathomas (2018) distinguishes between four groups of corrections:⁹³

- (i) grammatico-syntactic corrections;
 - (ii) stylistic corrections (e.g. the addition of particles);
 - (iii) corrections made in the context of the rhetorical-communicative design of the text (e.g. enhancing courtesy by adding addressees or epithets);
 - (iv) corrections concerning practical information (e.g. a name or a function).
- Even though there seems to be some overlap between the different categories, Papathomas' (2018) classification gives us a good overview of the different types of corrections: the first three categories are particularly relevant for our present purposes, because they reflect a conscious effort made by the sender to conform to different types of linguistic norms, and to make the text as convincing as possible.⁹⁴

In our corpus, I encountered around 160 scribal corrections.⁹⁵ When it comes to the first category, that of 'grammatico-syntactic corrections', Papathomas

90 See e.g. Nekvapil (2006, p. 96).

91 See e.g. Schegloff (1979); Kurhila (2001).

92 Papathomas (2018, p. 145, n. 1) explicitly notes that it would be interesting to extend the analysis to petitions. Luiselli's (2010) study includes petitions, but is less systematic.

93 Some of these categories are further subdivided in Papathomas (2018).

94 Cf. Papathomas (2018, p. 165).

95 These scribal corrections are indicated in a variety of ways in the editions: they may be indicated through the Leiden signs \ ... / (addition) and || || (deletion), or they may be signaled in the critical apparatus (or a combination of both). Broadly speaking, four types can be distinguished: (i) simple deletions, (ii) simple additions, (iii) deletions followed by an addition in the direct vicinity (the prototypical case being a word with a deletion and addition), and (iv) deletions followed by an addition in the larger context. Scribal corrections of the third type are often signaled in the critical apparatus, and typically concern a small unit such as a letter or a syllable; they have been counted as one scribal correction.

(2018) distinguishes between corrections concerning individual letters/syllables vs. corrections concerning words and phrases. He argues that the first type is by far the most frequently attested,⁹⁶ and this is also true for our corpus (around 60%). In many cases, this concerns orthographic corrections related to the pronunciation changes already mentioned under §3.4: so, e.g., προσετέθει is corrected into προσετέθη (P.Ammon I 10, b, l. 2 (348 CE)), φρουρηθένσω[ν] into φρουρηθέντω[ν] (P.Ammon II 41, l. 69 (348 CE)), Ἡρουίδος into Ἡρωίδος (P.Cair.Isid. 125, l. 14 (208 CE)), κάλ[α]ντος into κάλ[α]νδος (P.Lips. I 39, l. 8 (390 CE)), σπιρομένων into σπειρομένων (P.Mert. II 92, l. 3 (324 CE)), etc. In other cases, scribal corrections concern what seem to be misspellings; letters that have been forgotten or misspelled are changed: so, e.g. καστάξαντες is changed into βαστάξαντες (P.Cair.Isid. 75, l. 13 (316 CE)), and letters are added in ἀδελφός/, Ἀμμωνιανός/, ἔθεν/το (P.Col. VII 169, ll. 4, 5 & 9 (318 CE)), and Ταα\μ/πεμοῦ (P.Oxy. LIV 3771, ll. 4–5 (336 CE)). In some cases, changes at the level of the individual letter or syllable also have morpho-syntactic relevance, and may be related to concord or verbal/nominal morphology: so, for example, ἐληλυθησα is changed into ἐληλυθηία (P.Sakaon 40, l. 12 (318–321 CE)), ἀμφοτέροι into ἀμφοτέρων (P.Oxy. XLVIII 3393, l. 4 (365 CE)), and μίαν into μιᾶς (P.Cair.Isid. 79, l. 6 (300–324 CE)). In some cases, a simple deletion or addition with morpho-syntactic relevance is made: so, e.g., ὄν\τα/ (P.Abinn. 28, l. 10 (346 CE)), τιν\α\ς\ (P.Abinn. 56, l. 8 (342–351 CE)), and θελήσ\α\ς\ (l. θέλεις) (P.Cair.Isid. 70, l. 13 (310 CE)).

As mentioned above, Papathomas (2018) also recognizes grammatico-syntactic corrections at the level of words or even phrases: so, for example, in our corpus the article is added or deleted on several occasions: \οί/ (P.Ammon II 36, l. 1bis (348 CE)); \οί\ (P.Ammon II 46, v, l. 13 (348 CE)); \ό/ (P.Cair.Isid. 62, l. 7 (296 CE)); \τῶν/ (P.Cair.Isid., l. 10 (320 CE)). Papathomas' (2018) classification becomes somewhat confusing at this level because it also includes lexical additions and deletions, not only elements that are grammatically required (such as a main verb, a head noun) but also those that are not (such as an adverb). So as not to have too much overlap with the category of stylistic corrections, it seems best to only include information that is grammatically required: so, for example, we find the addition of the verbs \φανείη τις . ./ (P.Ammon I 8, l. 3 (348 CE)), \ἀκούσας/ (P.Ammon II 41, l. 48 (348 CE)), and \θαρω\ν/ (SB III 7205, l. 4 (290–292 CE)), and of the prepositional phrases

Scribal corrections of the fourth type are typically signaled through editorial signs in the main text; these have been counted as two scribal corrections.

\ύπ' αὐτῶν/ (P.Sakaon 39, l. 14 (318 CE)) and \ύπ' ἐκείνου/ (P.Ammon II 42, l. 13 (348 CE)) after passive verbs. As a deletion, we find the deletion of the phrase \ἐδικαιώθη ὑπὸ τῶν μ[εταξὺ], which was written twice in P.Ammon II 35, l. 14 (348 CE).

Papathomas' (2018) three other categories are represented, too, in our corpus, though much less so than the first. When it comes to stylistic corrections, we can again make a distinction related to the linguistic level at which the correction is operative: for example, we see that individual words or phrases may be replaced by a lexical equivalent that has more stylistic weight: so, for example, \μου/ is preferred over \τις ἐμὸς/ (P.Ammon II 41, l. 16 (348 CE)); \[ἀλλ]ὰ οὐδὲ τ[ο]ῦτο/ over \[καί]περ οὐτε/ (P.Ammon II 41, l. 68 (348 CE)); \λοιπὸν/ over \ἤδη/ (P.Ammon II 41, l. 70 (348 CE)); and \καθ' ἡσυχίαν/ over \ἐν σιωπῇ/ (P.Ammon II 47, l. 9 (348 CE)). Alternatively, longer phrases may be deleted or added: so, ἐπανελθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπολάβημι/ is replaced by ἐπανελθόντι τῷ ἀδε[λ]φῷ ἀποκαταστήσῃ/ (P.Ammon II 34, l. 9 (348 CE)), and \κατέλειπεν ἀνδράποδα ἑαυτοῦ ἐνταυθί/ by κατέλειπεν ἀνδράποδα π[α]ρ' ἐμ[ο]ῖ ἐνταυθοῖ (P.Ammon II 41, l. 19 (348 CE)).⁹⁷ In some cases, the addition of a single function word such as a co-ordinating or subordinating conjunction can entirely change the construction.⁹⁸

When it comes to the third category, corrections made to improve the rhetorical-communicative design of the text, Papathomas (2018) discusses both cases where courtesy is enhanced by the addition of addressees or honorific epithets, and those where misunderstandings are avoided through the addition of possessive or demonstrative pronouns. In our corpus, only the latter type of correction seems to be attested, which can undoubtedly be related to the time span of our corpus: whereas Papathomas (2018) is interested in Late Antique letters, which are well known for their emphatic politeness, our corpus stems from an earlier time period. The addition of pronouns to increase referential coherence is attested in several documents: so, for example, \αὐτῶι/ (P.Ammon II 47, l. 3 (348 CE)) and \ἐκείνου/ (P.Ammon II 39, fragm. d, l. 3). Moreover, in various other cases words and phrases are added to make the text more specific. So, e.g., \γυνα[ί]κες οὖσαι/ (P.Cair.Isid. 75, l. 14 (316 CE)), \τότε/ (P.Ammon II 41, l. 68 (348 CE)), and \παρ' ἄνομα/ (P.Ammon II 41, l. 61 (348 CE)). Here again, there is potential for overlap between the different categories: Papathomas' (2018) last category also has to do with the avoidance of misunderstandings

97 Luiselli (2010, p. 82) also comments on this scribal correction.

98 See e.g. the deletion of καί in P.Cair.Isid. 66, l. 21 (299 CE).

but is in the first place related to practical matters such as names, places, numbers, or functions. Examples from our corpus are: \έν τῷ πεδίῳ/ (P.Mert. II 92, l. 17 (324 CE)), \Κυνοπολίτῳ/ (P.Sakaon 44, l. 13 (331/332 CE)), \έγγυητής/ (P.Ammon II 42, l. 18 (348 CE)), \ὁ [᾽Α]μμων/ (P.Ammon II 40, l. 25 (348 CE)), and \Νίχης/ (P.Ammon II 41, l. 50 (348 CE)). A couple of deletions have to do with wrong information that is corrected: θυ[γατρός] is deleted and changed into γυναικός (P.Abinn. 45, l. 4 (343 CE)), and πέντε is deleted and changed into ἕξ (P.Turner 44, l. 9 (331/332 CE)).

As can be noticed, many of the scribal corrections cited here come from one particular archive, that of Aurelius Ammon. This is not a coincidence: the archive is unique, in that it contains a series of drafts of one and the same petition, concerning a dispute between Ammon and a certain Eugeneios over part of the inheritance of Ammon's brother Harpokration.⁹⁹ This allows one to track the various stages of composition throughout the archive.¹⁰⁰ Obviously, making corrections was an important part of that process.

4 Discussion

By combining a number of different methodologies, we have arguably gained more insight into the linguistic norms behind official writing, petitions in particular. So, for example, we have retrieved a number of linguistic features that are typical for petitions: causal conjunctions, τυγχάνω in the sense of 'to be', verbs of ordering followed by an infinitive or another complementation pattern, the articular infinitive, etc. We have also learned that petitions frequently contain orthographic deviations, which were sometimes corrected by the writers themselves. Petitions complied in certain respects with what was advocated by ancient grammarians, but here too deviations can be found, especially when it comes to lexis and syntax.

Another important observation that we have made is that even in a small corpus such as ours there are significant linguistic differences between the texts: this can be connected to the social context in which they were written, and partly goes together with the archives to which they belong. One such archive in particular stands out, that of Aurelius Ammon *scholasticus*: on the one hand,

99 As Maresch & Andorlini (2006, pp. 43–44) note, not all of the documents have the same addressee: some are addressed to the *catholicus* Flavius Sisinnius, whereas others are addressed to the prefect.

100 Cf. Van Minnen (2002, pp. 182–183).

we find more scribal corrections in this archive, but, on the other hand, the language seems to be of a higher register than what is attested elsewhere—more archaic syntactic constructions are used, ancient prescriptions are followed to a higher extent, and there are less orthographic deviations. That this archive stands out should not surprise us: many of the petitions in this archive reflect a different stage of writing (that is, they are mostly drafts); they were written by a well-educated writer with a high social status and addressed to high-ranking officials.

While each of the approaches presented in §3 forms a way of retrieving linguistic norms, they are usually not brought together, and they are rarely explicitly compared. The norm typology in §2 can aid us in this regard: while there does not seem to be a big difference between the five different approaches in terms of formal vs. informal norms, there are noticeable differences in terms of the other types of norms. There is a very clear difference, for example, when it comes to whose linguistic norms are being retrieved (§2.4): whereas the variationist approach attempts to retrieve user (writer) norms in an objective way, the other approaches all start from other actors' observations. As shown in Figure 1.5, next to the initiator¹⁰¹ and receiver of the text, there are a number of different actors, such as the ancient grammarian and corrector in antiquity, and the modern grammarian and editor in modern times:¹⁰²

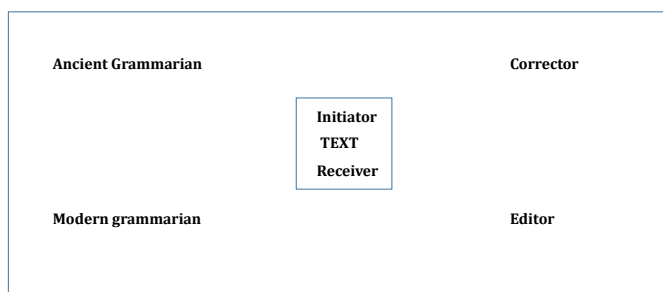


FIGURE 1.5 Actors involved in normative processes

101 I use 'initiator' to avoid the problematic term 'writer': texts were often dictated to a scribe, so that it is unclear who should be considered their writer.

102 Some scholars do not allow for multiple actors, modern grammarians in particular. See e.g. Bartsch (1987, pp. 174–185), and contrast with Gloy (1975, pp. 285ff.).

Evidently, one can also use observer-oriented approaches to retrieve variation in our texts, and then proceed with a variationist analysis, but such approaches are interesting in their own right because they give us insight into which types of linguistic norms other actors decide to focus on. They add, in other words, another layer of complexity to the analysis.

There are also substantial differences between the different approaches in terms of which linguistic types of norms are being retrieved (§2.5): as we have seen, variationists and modern grammarians (in the way presented here) are mainly oriented towards syntax and pragmatics. Ancient grammarians, on the other hand, are mainly focused on lexis, whereas orthography plays a significant role for scribal corrections and especially editorial regularizations. Somewhat simplifying, one could say that the first three approaches are more oriented towards *Produktnormen*, whereas the analysis of editorial regularizations is more oriented towards *Gebrauchsnormen*. The analysis of scribal corrections is intermediate.

Major differences also exist in terms of the normative character of the linguistic norms that are analyzed (§2.2): the variationist approach is mainly interested in statistical regularities, statistical norms, in other words, whereas the comparison with modern grammarians is based on modern scholars' intuitions, experiential norms. The comparison with ancient grammarians starts from prescriptive norms, as does the analysis of editorial regularizations, though in a more indirect way (many of these regularizations are based on the Classical norm learned in school). Scribal corrections are intermediary: rather than reflecting purely declarative norms, they give an account of living norms.

The difference between co-ordination norms and partiality norms (§2.3) is based on whether language is being used to improve communication or to maintain a situation of inequality: from this point of view, one could say that the variationist approach, with its emphasis on the social context in which language is used, is explicitly oriented towards partiality norms; so is the comparison with ancient grammarians. Since our comparison with modern grammarians started from the observation that different 'levels of writing' existed in antiquity, one could make the same argument for this type of approach. Scribal corrections indicate both co-ordination and partiality norms: sometimes there is a conscious effort to improve the linguistic register, but on other occasions scribal corrections are made to improve the communication (that is, to eliminate misunderstandings). Editorial regularizations could, perhaps, be seen as an instance of co-ordination norms, at least from the point of view of the modern editor: they are often made to improve the communication with the (Classically formed) modern audience.

Interpreting the norm typology introduced in §2 in terms of five continua, our observations can be schematically represented as follows:

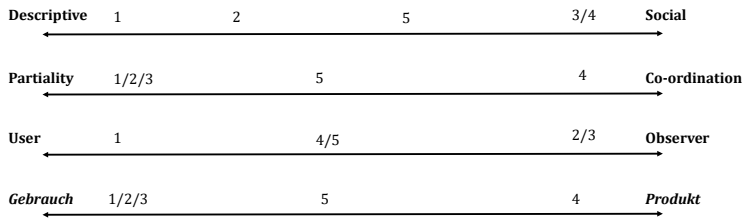


FIGURE 1.6 Types of norms as continua

Key: 1 = variationist analysis; 2 = comparison with modern grammarians; 3 = comparison with ancient grammarians; 4 = analysis of editorial regularizations; 5 = analysis of scribal corrections.

A schematic overview such as this can help us to understand which types of approaches are similar in nature: we see that the first two approaches often go together, as do the second and third approach. The two last approaches only combine once, but conceptually seem to be relatively close. That these methodologies should be grouped this way does not, of course, come entirely as a surprise: the different approaches that I have highlighted are based on three types of theoretical frameworks—variationism, metalanguage, and language management—of which approaches 1, 3, and 5 constitute the prototypical instances. Figure 1.6 can also be used for other purposes: to understand which types of norms (rather than which types of approaches) are conceptually related, and to better grasp where further research is needed.

To conclude, since the aim of this chapter is to better understand the scope of a number of different approaches towards linguistic norms, I have not been very critical of them. It is worth emphasizing, however, that each approach individually is not without its weaknesses: the variationist approach, for example, is based on a sound methodology but may come across as somewhat random, since in principle one can pick any variant field as an object of study. Overviews by modern grammarians suffer from the reverse problem: here a clear choice is made in terms of linguistic features, but there is a methodological problem in the sense that we do not know to what extent modern grammarians' intuitions really correspond to linguistic reality. The comparison with ancient grammarians suffers from yet another problem, namely the question of relevance: how do we prove that these authors, who were oriented towards a highly educated elite audience, also had an impact on the production of everyday texts? That our writers use *νίόν* instead of *νιέα* or *γενέσθαι* instead of *γενηθῆναι* may not really have been a matter of conscious choice. Consistency and transparency are an issue for editorial regularizations. Editors must choose which purpose their regularizations

serve:¹⁰³ to help a Classically trained audience to read Post-classical texts, or to correct what ancient writers, too, would have corrected. They are not always very clear about such choices, however, and even within a single edition one encounters variation: in the Abinnaeus archive, for example, the aorist infinitive [ἐν]ενκεναι is corrected into [ἐν]εγχεῖν on one occasion (P.Abinn. 56, l. 11 (346 CE)), but a similar form, εὔραν, is not changed into εὔρον (P.Abinn. 49, l. 13 (346 CE)). Scholars intending to study Post-classical morphology will have a hard time undertaking a comprehensive analysis on the basis of such regularizations. The analysis of scribal corrections perhaps comes closest to the original writer, but here we need to understand that judgments by ancient authors may be very different from judgments by modern editors and grammarians: in one text, for example, the form ὄν was changed in ὄντα in antiquity, and then again into ὤν in modern times (P.Abinn. 28, l. 10 (346 CE)).

Rather than preferring or abandoning one particular approach, an argument could be made for a combined analysis such as the one that was presented in this chapter, on condition, of course, that conscious attention is paid to what sorts of data are being retrieved.

5 Conclusion

I started this contribution by pointing out that while the concepts of 'standard' and 'Koine' have become central in current discussions of language variation and change in the Classical and especially Post-classical periods, they are surrounded by confusion. I suggested to supplement such a Koine/standard-based approach with a focus on linguistic norms: while linguistic norms have received some attention in current scholarly work, the different methods to retrieve them have not been explicitly compared, and they have not been based on a firm theoretical understanding of the concept of 'norm'. On the basis of a new norm typology, I showed that the different methods used to retrieve linguistic norms do not overlap: they retrieve different types of norms. Rather than preferring one approach over the other, I suggested that future research may invest in a combined approach such as presented here.

I have not engaged with many other important issues concerning linguistic norms. To conclude this chapter, I will briefly outline four issues which I consider to be of particular relevance:

103 Cf. Stolk (2018, p. 134).

- (1) The analysis that was presented here was very static: it concerned the synchronic analysis of linguistic norms from a single genre. Recent studies by Piippo (2012) and Hynninen (2016) have made a case for a more dialogically oriented approach,¹⁰⁴ whereby attention is paid to processes of norm negotiation and evaluation. The same approach should, I think, be developed for Ancient (Post-classical) Greek, whereby the standardization of linguistic change can be seen as a form of successful ‘anchoring’ of what is perceived as new to what is perceived as already familiar.
- (2) Norms, as we have seen, always entail an evaluative component, and it would therefore be interesting to pay more attention to writers’ motivations, and audiences’ evaluations. Evidently, we almost never know whether a petition was favorably received in antiquity,¹⁰⁵ and to what extent language use had any role to play,¹⁰⁶ but we have enough source material to contrast a single writer’s linguistic production in different social situations, and we can also analyze modern editors’ and grammarians’ receptions of the texts as a field of research in its own right.¹⁰⁷ A number of theories have been developed that can help us better understand linguistic production and evaluation, including Bourdieu’s (1993) work on ‘the market of symbolic goods’.
- (3) I have not been able to do much more than to draw attention to linguistic regularities in one specific social setting. It would be interesting to analyze to what extent the linguistic norms uncovered here are shared by other genres (contract writing, for example), and to what extent there are systematic variations within the genre. A concept that could be further developed in this regard is that of ‘norm cluster’.¹⁰⁸ there is some resemblance with the notion of ‘language standard’, but I believe the former offers more opportunities for fine-grained analysis, since one is explicitly invited to focus on how individual norms come together.¹⁰⁹
- (4) There are other approaches towards the retrieval of linguistic norms that have not been included here: these include the study of ancient scholia, handbooks, the critical apparatus in editions of literary texts, etc. Related to this is the exploration of other types of norm-governed

¹⁰⁴ The same point was already made by Hartung (1977, p. 63).

¹⁰⁵ For a letter that was unfavorably received, see P.Oxy. xvi 1837, ll. 1–3 (vi CE).

¹⁰⁶ Luiselli (2010, p. 75) makes some observations about the relevance of language use for obtaining a favorable response from the addressee.

¹⁰⁷ See Evans (2010) for some observations.

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. Winston (2018), who uses the notion in her insightful analysis of international norms.

¹⁰⁹ Another interesting point is to study how relations between norms are conceptualised: see e.g. Colvin (2009, pp. 33–34) for two competing models.

semiotic resources: Colvin (2009, pp. 40–41), for example, observes that in Classical times the different Greek states not only had their own written standards but also their own variety of the alphabet. In the case of Greek petitions, it would be interesting to relate the use of linguistic norms to that of typographical norms, in an attempt to define ‘multi-modal’ genres.¹¹⁰

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110 For a multimodal approach to women’s letters, see now Bentein (2023).

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Orthographic Variation beyond Spelling Mistakes: Tremas and Adscripts in 194 Greek Papyrus Letters

Winnie Smith

1 Introduction

Greek has a very long tradition of historical spelling. It is, in that sense, anchored in the past: in the words of the introduction to this volume, users of Post-classical Koine Greek were “continuously looking over [their] shoulder at the frozen grammar of Classical Attic”, even as the grammar could only *be* frozen by later generations, who were able to construct an idealized past because it was no longer messily alive. ‘Later generations’ is deliberately vague: while some parts of the history of selecting (and constructing) Classical Attic as a model for later Greek, such as the Atticist movement, were conscious processes driven by elite individuals (Kim 2023, pp. 124ff.), others were more organic. This includes Greek’s orthographic conservatism, one aspect of which, the use of iota adscripts, I will be looking at in this chapter.

With a few minor exceptions,¹ spelling norms for writing Koine Greek were the same as those for Classical Greek. In historical orthographies, spelling conventions are slow to change to keep pace with phonological changes (Coulmas 2003, pp. 96–102). This means that the gap between conservative written norms and the sounds of Greek increases with time, and the increasing size of that gap is clearest in writers who do not spell normatively. As a result, spelling variants have frequently been used as an indirect clue to variation and change in speech.

However, the importance of orthography for reconstructing phonology arguably also means that historical linguistics has not always considered orthography much in its own right (Evans 2012). In this chapter, I discuss

1 The most famous is probably the spelling of Classical GIGNOMAI ‘become’, which is spelled <ginomai> in Koine Greek. Following practice in Early Modern English spelling research (cf. e.g. Culpeper & Kytö 2010, p. 199, n. 2), I will be using small caps for the citation forms of words, which, like a lemma, are superordinate: e.g. YOU includes *you*, *u*, *yew*. Angled brackets highlight specific forms under discussion, which may be variants. For example, I might well spell YOU <u> when messaging friends online.

two orthographic variables in a sample of around 200 Ancient Greek letters to illustrate some of the misconceptions this can encourage. The letters are all papyri (texts written on a reed surface) dated to between 50–250 CE, and sent, received and/or found at ancient Oxyrhynchus, Egypt. At this period, Egypt was under Roman control, and ancient Greek was the default written language.

Some but not all of the texts in this set contain adscripts, tremas, or both. **Adscripts** denote a specific kind of spelling variation, where the graphemes <ω, η, α> (ō, ē, a) may be followed by an iota (<ι>, <i>) in certain circumstances (see p.). In Roman-era papyri, adscripts are optional (Clarysse 1976): thus e.g. ἀδελφῶι (with adscript) and ἀδελφῶ (without adscript) are equivalent forms of *adelphōi* (BROTHER.DAT.SG.). **Tremas**, also called diaereses (pl.; sg. diaeresis), are diacritics. They typically take the form of two dots, “, and mainly occur over <ι, υ> (i, u). Though tremas are far from random (see page onwards), they are also not written systematically.

Both variables expose problems with a chain of assumptions sometimes made about spelling in ancient Greek papyri. Crudely speaking, the reasoning runs as follows:

1. Ancient Greek spelling is standardized.
2. In a standardized orthography, well-educated people adhere to the standard.
3. Consequently, spelling variation is a sign of poor literacy.
4. Being less literate, variable spellers' choices reflect speech sounds: they are phonemically motivated.
5. However, being less literate, variable spellers' phonemically motivated choices may reflect language contact between spoken Greek and Egyptian.
6. This complicates analyses which aim to distinguish between spellings which reflect this language contact and spellings which reflect diachronic sound changes shared by all varieties of Greek.²

This sequence is a construction anchored in how linguistic normativity operates in the highly codified European national languages used for classical scholarship, and not in the different ways language standards operated in Greco-Roman antiquity, where drivers of standardization such as mass education and the nation-state did not exist (Introduction, this volume). Though

2 For an overview of 1–3, see (Colvin 2009, pp. 34ff.); 4–6: (Horrocks 2010, pp. 111–113).

there are things to unpack at every stage of the sequence, I will focus on steps 3 and 4. Through a case study of a single papyrus, P.Oxy. 12 1482, I will illustrate how the connection between spelling variation and illiteracy in papyri (step 3) is at least in part a back-formation: a concept from scholars' own literate cultures transferred, sometimes uncritically, onto ancient texts. Indeed, the assumed link between variation and illiteracy is so strong that it can lead to an overly narrow interpretation of orthographic variation in Greek papyri, ignoring patterns that do not fit that narrative.

Because tremas and adscripts are not written systematically, they have received relatively little attention as text features in their own right, with the notable exception of Clarysse (1976) on adscripts and Ast (2017) on tremas among other diacritics. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this lack of regularity has been interpreted as more evidence of lack of literate sophistication in ancient writers. In an important monograph on the ancient book, Schubart (1921, p. 85) argues that "sie [d.h. die Schreiber] setzen die Punkte auf diese Vokale ohne Wahl, wie es ihnen gerade einfällt".³ Such authoritative but unsupported claims remain influential, so that editors can feel that adscripts and tremas are used "in what can seem like a capricious manner" (Ast 2017, p. 147).

This is a shame, as where they occur, both features are used in ways which challenge associations between variation, error, and illiteracy. By looking at the distribution of tremas and adscripts, I hope to show narratives that equate orthographic variation with error require more nuance than they are sometimes given. For instance, the variation as error model is partly a result of a tendency in previous linguistic work on papyri to concentrate on *spelling* variation, i.e. variation in the character choices for representing a particular sound in writing. But if orthographies are treated as sets of conventions for how language is written (Rutkowska & Rössler 2012, p. 213), variation in these conventions extends to differences below character level (e.g. letterforms) and in non-character text features, e.g. punctuation, diacritics, and word spacing. As the example of P.Oxy. 12 1482 will show, tremas can exist happily in texts with atypically high spelling variation; this is significant because tremas are more frequently associated with literary and school texts aimed at pupils, especially Homer (Fournet 1995; Cribiore 1996, pp. 83–84), and in exercises written by them (Cribiore 2005, pp. 190–191). The presence of tremas in a text, however spelled, thus suggests more than elementary formal literacy.

3 'They [i.e. writers] place the points over these vowels indiscriminately, as the fancy takes them.' Own translation.

If tremas challenge the link between variation and illiteracy, adscripts show that viewing spelling variation as error also depends on how spelling variation is defined. As with tremas, adscripts are a variable feature whose variability is not consistently reflected in editions. They are sometimes included in the transcription, sometimes in a critical apparatus, sometimes not noted, and at other times silently regularized to modern print conventions. The last three options can make print transcriptions appear more regular than the underlying papyri, helping to reinforce modern expectations of regular written norms which are partly a product of the editing process.

2 An Illiterate Writer?

The impetus for considering tremas and adscripts alongside what is traditionally treated as spelling error came from a caustic assessment of an ancient writer's literacy. In the second century CE, a man called Moros sent a letter that was discarded, preserved, excavated some 1,700 years later, and published in 1916 as P.Oxy. 12 1482. It may or may not have been written by someone else, since using scribes was common in Roman Egypt, whether the sender wrote Greek confidently, hesitantly, or not at all. For isolated documents like this, it is hard to know whether the sender was also the writer, so I will call the latter X, to avoid paraphrases later on. Whoever X was, their writing ability came in for the full weight of scholarly disapproval. According to Grenfell and Hunt, its original editors, the papyrus displays "the rude uncial of an illiterate writer, who makes numerous mistakes of spelling in spite of several corrections" (Grenfell and Hunt 1916, p. 241).

The rude uncial of an illiterate writer is a memorable phrase, all the more so because it makes little sense. The letter, all in one hand, is well preserved. It contains 160 words over 26 lines, enough to say that X's handwriting does not display the characteristics of Greek papyrus texts produced by inexperienced adult writers. These include:

- letters formed separately;
- unconfident letter shapes, sometimes formed by many strokes ('multistroke');
- large spaces between letters;
- lack of uniformity (e.g. uneven lines and margins, letter shapes, and direction of writing).

P.Koeln 10 419 (third-fourth century CE), a letter which does contain many of these features, is a useful comparison here. Features that display lack of writing confidence in P.Koeln 10 419 include unequal letter size and spacing, multistroke letter shapes, different amounts of ink used per letter, and writing that does not keep to a consistent line. I have annotated some of these features on the image of lines 15–17 below.

By contrast, P.Oxy. 12 1482 displays none of these features. Instead, it shows even lines, consistent letter shape and spacing, and some letter sequences joined together through ligatures (e.g. the sequence $\sigma\tau\iota$, $\delta\tau\iota$ (*hoti*, THAT.CONJ), in l. 3).

An image of the first three lines is reproduced in Figure 2.3, but as it is of far lower quality than the one for P.Koeln 10 419, the differences between the two papyri are perhaps clearest when comparing the texts of both papyri traced from the images, rather than the images themselves. Partially legible letters are shown, with dotted lines for the missing portions. Lost letters are not marked. In P.Oxy. 12 1482, l. 1, the image shows what appears to be a small vertical line after $\varepsilon\pi\iota\mu\alpha\chi\omega$, which may or may not be the top fragment of a damaged iota adscript. Both of the papyrus' editions (P.Oxy. 12 1482 or Sel.Pap. 1 124) read $\varepsilon\pi\iota\mu\alpha\chi\omega\theta$. There is nothing on this line in the current volumes of the *Berichtigungsliste* (Vols. 1–13). Given the poor image quality, I have tentatively noted the stroke in the tracing here and at Figure 2.5 but will follow the editions in transcription.

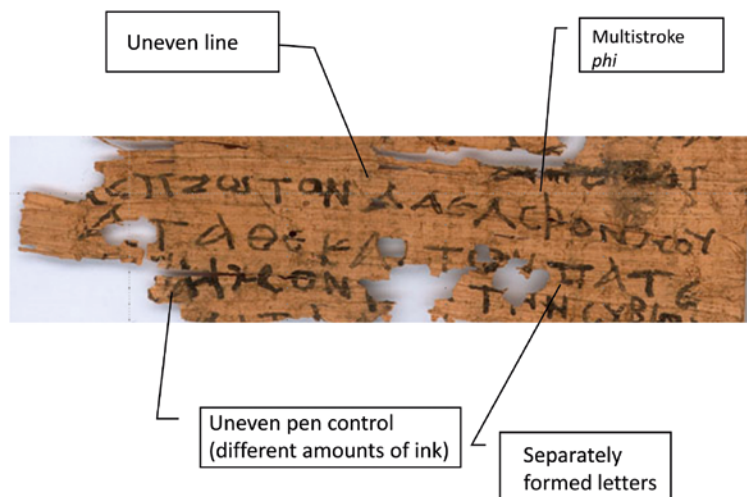


FIGURE 2.1 Low literacy features in P.Koeln 10 419, ll. 15–17

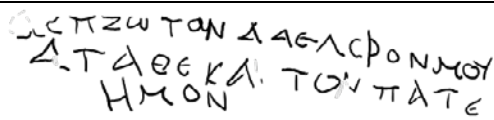
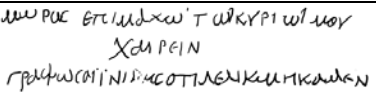
P.Koeln 10 419		P.Oxy. 12 1482
		
close	ασπζωτοναδελφονμου	μωρος επιμαχωι τωκυριωμου
diplomatic	αγαθεκαι τονπατε	χαιρειν
transcript	ραημων	γραφωσοιινιδησοτιλελικμηκαμεν
edited text	άσπ<ά>ζω τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Ἀγαθε καὶ τὸν πατε- ρα\ν/ ημον	Μῶρος Ἐπιμάχῳ τῷ κυρίῳ μου χαίρειν. γράφω σοι ἵν' ἰδῇς ὅτι λελικμήκαμεν
transliteration	<i>aspazō ton adelphon mou</i> <i>Agathe kai ton pate-</i> <i>ran hēmon</i>	<i>Mōros Epimakhōi tōi kuriōi mou</i> <i>khairein.</i> <i>graphō soi hin' idēs hoti lelikmēkamen</i>
translation	say hello to my brother, Agathos, and to our father	Moros to Epimachus his master, greetings. I'm writing to you so that you know that we've winnowed...

FIGURE 2.2 Comparison of hands in P.Koeln 10 419 and P.Oxy. 12 1482

The difference in letter sizing, spacing, shape, and direction is immediately visible when comparing P.Koeln 10 419 on the left against P.Oxy. 12 1482 on the right. The contrast with the hand of a truly unconfident writer, as in P.Koeln 10 419, shows that X's 'rude uncial' was, in fact, perfectly fluent. The image of P.Oxy. 12 1482, ll. 1–3 also shows X using some of the genre conventions of Greek papyrus letters from Egypt, namely word spacing and decorative word arrangement in the opening address (Sarri 2017, pp. 114–120), with *khairein* (l. 2) centered and occupying a line to itself:

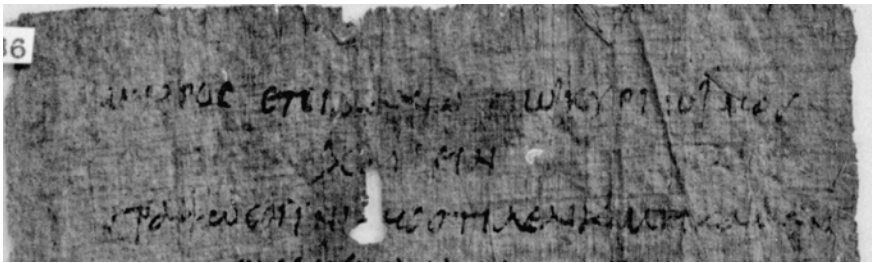


FIGURE 2.3 P.Oxy. 12 1482, ll. 1–3

Someone who can pen a whole letter fluently, and is familiar with genre layout conventions, can hardly be called illiterate in the sense of struggling to write. The level of literacy represented by fluency should not be underestimated in Roman Egypt. Also, in the second century CE, Petaus, a village scribe charged with investigating concerns about his colleague Ischyriion's literacy, reported back to the *strategos* that Ischyriion was not illiterate (*agrammatos*) because he was able to sign his own name (Kraus 2000, pp. 329–336). Petaus, in fact, struggled to sign his name consistently himself, but that does not detract from the fact that he thought the ability to sign one's name an acceptable definition of literacy in a document intended for administrative superiors.

Spending some time looking at P.Oxy. 12 1482's supposedly *rude hand*, the first component in Grenfell and Hunt's negative assessment of X's literacy shows that the epithet is unjustified. It also calls for a reassessment of their second reason for calling X an *illiterate writer*: irregular spelling.

X's spelling is indeed variable. 26 of the papyrus' 160 lacuna-free words (or 16%) are marked as spelling variants by the editors, in addition to X's own corrections. It is also true that, seen as a whole, Greek papyrus spelling is rather consistent: the mean correction rate for the c.60,000 documents available through the Papyrological Navigator (meta)database (PN; <https://papyri.info/>) is 2%, and the median 2.3% (Depauw & Stolk 2015, pp. 203–204).

X's letter is thus substantially more variable than average, and also exhibits a range of variation patterns, including:

TABLE 2.1 Variant types in P.Oxy. 12 1482

Variation type	Graphic units	Examples	Phonemic background
interchange	⟨ει⟩ ⟨ι⟩, ⟨η⟩	see Figure 2.4 below	iotacism (/i/ maps to ⟨ει⟩ ⟨ι⟩, ⟨η⟩) (Horrocks 2010, pp. 160–170)
	⟨υ⟩ ⟨ου⟩, ⟨οι⟩	τυτων reg. Τούτων l. 10 χυνικε, χυνικα reg. Χοίνικε(ς), χοίνικα(ς) ll. 9–10	underdifferentiation of Greek /y/ (see below)
	⟨θ⟩ ⟨τ⟩	θειμης reg. τιμής l. 11	possibly, underdifferentiation of Greek /t/, /th/ /θ / (Gignac 1976, pp. 92–96); (Loprieno 1995, pp. 43–44)
	⟨ε⟩ ⟨η⟩	παρες, reg. Πα<ν>άρης ll. 7, 13	loss of phonemic vowel length (/e/) maps to ⟨ε⟩, ⟨η⟩ (Horrocks 2010, pp. 160–170)
omission			possibly, syllable deletion following transfer of Coptic stress (Dahlgren 2016, pp. 98–103)

As shown in the table, there are phonemic factors involved in all these patterns, and ⟨υ⟩ | ⟨ου⟩ interchanges in particular are characteristic of Greek-Egyptian contact (Dahlgren 2017, pp. 68–80). My point here is not to deny phonemic influence on variable spelling, but to argue that phonemic spelling does not account sufficiently for written variation even in a document, such as this one, with spelling variation substantially above average.

Phonemically, for example, the variants in P.Oxy. 12 1482 show that for X /i/ corresponded to at least three graphic units: {⟨ει⟩, ⟨ι⟩, and ⟨η⟩}. Interchanges in both directions between ⟨ι⟩ ↔ ⟨ει⟩ and ⟨ει⟩ ↔ ⟨η⟩ also imply an equivalence between ⟨ι⟩ and ⟨η⟩, as shown in Figure 2.4.

line	editorial wordform		transcription & gloss		grapheme variation	
	as read	regularized	as read	regularized	as read	regularized
3	ἰδῆς	εἰδῆς	<i>idēs</i>	<i>eidēs</i>	<ι>	<ει>
know.2.sg.perf.subj.act.						
8	εἰσχύσωμεν	ἰσχύσωμεν	<i>eiskhusōmen</i>	<i>iskhusōmen</i>	<ει>	<ι>
be_able.1.pl.aor.subj.act						
11	θειμῆς	τιμῆς	<i>theimēs</i>	<i>times</i>	<ει>	<ι>
price.gen.sg.						
16	δοκιμάσις	δοκιμάσεις	<i>dokimasis</i>	<i>dokimaseis</i>	<ι>	<ει>
decide.2.sg.fut.ind.act						
16-17	Βασταζι	βαστάζεις	<i>bastazi</i>	<i>bastazeis</i>	<ι>	<ει>
transport.2.sg.pres.ind.act						
17	Γράψις	γράψεις	<i>grapsis</i>	<i>grapseis</i>	<ι>	<ει>
write.2.sg.fut.ind.act.						
19	ἢ	εἰ	<i>ē</i>	<i>ei</i>	<η>	<ει>
if.conj.						
19	Θέλεις	θέλεις	<i>thelis</i>	<i>theleis</i>	<ι>	<ει>
21	ἀποτέθεικα	ἀποτέθηκα	<i>apotetheika</i>	<i>apotethēka</i>	<ει>	<η>
store.1.sg.perf.ind.act						

FIGURE 2.4 Graphic interchanges in P.Oxy. 12 1482

This is, rhetorically, its own form of construction: as Sluiter (2017, pp. 31–32) points out, appeals to technology are often used to frame a research method as an advance, even though ‘new’ is not necessarily better, or even new at all. Empiricist approaches to language have a long tradition, and even computer-assisted corpus or corpus-based work is now over 60 years old (Jenset & McGillivray 2017, pp. 67–73). Quantifying spelling variation by using digitized transcriptions is not valuable because it is newfangled; it is valuable because it makes it possible to see patterns in data in a new way, and thus challenge—or confirm—earlier hypotheses. Having anchored using digital tools as an appropriately classical way of innovating to refresh tradition (new is the new old), let me describe my method. The search targeted texts:

- in Ancient Greek;
- whose provenance was given as Oxyrhynchus (i.e. found and/or sent there);
- dated strictly between 50–250 CE;
- whose metadata matched one or more search terms in English, German, Italian or French used by editors to describe letters.⁴

The search retrieved 202 matches. 8 were duplicates or not (electronically) transcribed, leaving a sample of 194 texts.

Letters are an inherently fuzzy category, and several of the documents have been called letters by one group of editors and something else by another. P.Oxy. 77 5111, for instance, is entitled *Petition of Temple Personnel* in the edition, and *Schreiben (amtlich)* ((official) correspondence) in the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis data archive. All the same, I have included all the results, regardless of their status as letters, since the main focus was on looking at tremas and adscripts overall rather than grouping them by document type.

To count the number of tremas and adscripts, I relied mainly on checking XML-encoded transcriptions accessed through PN against digital or print images of the document. Access to images matters, since changes introduced by remediation (transferring information from one format to another (Kichuk 2007)) can mean print editions can differ from what can be read from the papyrus or an image of it. Editorial practice on noting tremas and adscripts varies: P.Oxy., for instance, has from Volume 1 in theory always written iotas adscript if present on the papyrus, and regularized them to subscript if not (P.Oxy. 1, p. xvi). Documents edited in condensed form, however, may in fact regularize both <ω> and <ωι> to φ, as with e.g. P.Oxy. 42 3085, ll. 1–2, where the edition’s

4 The specific terms were: letter OR correspondence OR Brief OR Schreiben OR Korrespondenz OR lettre OR lettera.

Ἑρμείας Σαραπίωνι τῷ	<i>Hermeias</i>	<i>Sarapiōni</i>	<i>tōi</i>
φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν	<i>philtatōi khairein</i>		

corresponds to

Ερμείας Σαραπιωνι τω	<i>Hermeias</i>	<i>Sarapiōni</i>	<i>tōi</i>
φιλτατῳ χαίρειν	<i>philtatōi khairein</i>		

A further reason for checking images is that PN's XML files do not always encode these features, particularly tremas, in the same way as print editions. For example, change logs on the XML files sometimes record that editorial diaereses were missed in a previous version of the PN record. So, a change made to P.Oxy. 63 4353 (not in the sample) on 29 March 2011 specifies that 8 editorial tremas have been added to the file:

```
<change when="2011-03-29T16:00:25.414-04:00" who="https://papyri.info/editor/users/joshuad.sosin">
  Vote - Accept-Straight-to-Finalization - Accept, but note (καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)) --> καὶ (λαμ(προτάτης)). Overhaul
  reg throughout; also numerous old entry omissions: ancient diaeresis ibn lin1 ὑπάτων, lin4 Ζωϊλάτος, lin6
  ταπητρόφος, lin13 ταπητούφικῳ, lin14 ὑπέρ, lin19 ὑπερθέσεως, lin21 ὑπαρ, lin24 ὑπέρ,
</change>
```

FIGURE 2.6 Remediation changes to P.Oxy. 63 4353

In simple terms, therefore, I relied on images to check for the presence of tremas and adscripts where available, checking for tremas on all documents and adscripts when not editorially marked. Where images were not available, I accepted tremas and adscripts noted by editors as printed. If editors of texts without an image did not mark tremas or adscripts, I excluded these texts from my calculations, since there was no way of checking whether the papyrus lacked these features, or whether they had simply not been transcribed.

4 Adscripts

4.1 Background

Iota adscripts occur after <ω>, <η>, <α> (ō, ē, a) where these represent etymological long vowel diphthongs. Third century BCE papyri commonly write adscripts, suggesting that these sequences still represented spoken diphthongs. However, by the mid-first century CE, the date of the earliest document in my sample, these diphthongs had long monophthongized. The number of adscripts written in non-literary texts declines steeply in the second century BCE (Clarysse 1976, pp. 150–151), and, from the same period on, monophthongization is supported by spelling variants where e.g. etymological <ω> is hypercorrected to <ωι>, e.g. ὁμολογῶι (*homologōi*) for ὁμολογῶ

(*homologō*) (AGREE.1.SG.IND.PRES.ACT) (Gignac 1976, pp. 183–186), and, with many more examples, Depauw and Stolk 2015).⁵

This means that where adscripts are written in etymologically correct positions in my texts, the choice of <ωι> over <ω> does not have a phonological basis. Though adscripts can in theory appear elsewhere (e.g. in contract verb forms, or in lexical roots in items such as *ōion* ‘egg’), in practice, historical adscript spellings in papyri are largely confined to affixes: dative singular forms (e.g. *adelphōi* BROTHER.DAT.SG.) for nouns, adjectives and pronouns, and subjunctives for verbs (e.g. *eidēis*, ‘so that you know’⁶). Their usage is also often pragmatically restricted. Both Clarysse (1976, p. 151) and Youtie (1947, p. 111) observe that adscripts correlate with document section, surviving longest in

- the opening portions of document types where a sender addresses a recipient (e.g. letters and petitions);
- delivery addresses, indicating where the document was to be sent.

A secondary complication is that modern print conventions for representing etymological *ōi*, *ēi*, *ai* in Ancient Greek differ from papyrus ones. Figure 2.7 shows three options for representing *ōi*:

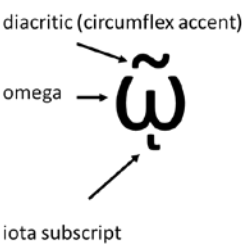
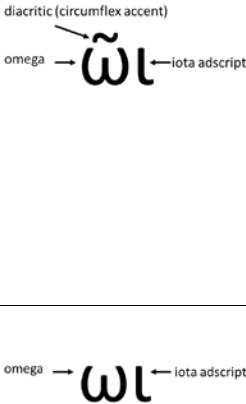
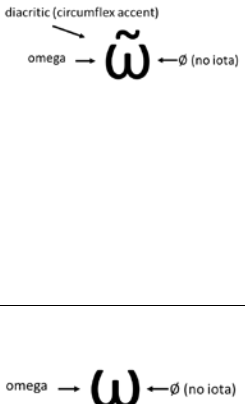
Option 1	Option 2	Option 3
		

FIGURE 2.7 Allographs of *ōi*

5 Depauw and Stolk (2015) [accessed 28 June 2019] give 9 examples of second-century BCE texts with *homologōi* ὁμολογῶι == ὁμολογῶ *homologō* (‘I agree’) spread across 5 different provenances. The 9 include P.Princ. 2 17, l. 3; O.Bodl. 1 257, l. 2; P.Münch. 3 53, l.4; P.Tebt. 1 11 ctr, l. 4, and PSI 9 1023, l. 3.

6 *Eidēis*, though semantically present, is morphologically perfect: KNOW.2.SG.PERF.SUBJ.ACT.

Modern print editions use options 1 or 2 (with diacritics). Iota subscripts are a modern print and medieval manuscript convention, generally dated to the twelfth century CE onwards; they are vanishingly rare in papyri and pre-medieval inscriptions (for two exceptions, see Clarysse 1976, p. 151, nn. 6–7). Papyrus letters themselves use options 2 or 3, generally without diacritics.

By convention, any ancient forms using option 3 are regularized to option 1 in print editions: thus e.g. *adelphō* (papyrus ἀδελφω, without diacritics), would be printed as ἀδελφῶ (*adelphō_i*). The treatment of option 2 varies: some editions preserve ancient adscripts (printing ἀδελφωι as ἀδελφῶι), while others also regularize ἀδελφωι to ἀδελφῶ.

4.2 *Textual Patterns*

Where editors use options 1 and 2 in the same text, I have assumed that the difference between subscript and adscript iotas is meaningful and consistent: i.e. that if adscript ωι is transcribed, any print ω regularizes papyrus <ω>. I therefore, did not check the images of papyri where adscripts were editorially marked.

Of the 194 documents, 90 contained at least one adscript marked by the editor. This left 104 documents where adscripts are not editorially marked. I have again excluded documents which only print subscripts and do not have an image available. There were 38 of these, leaving 73 texts for which I checked the images manually. I found only one adscript not marked by the editor: τῶι on P.Oxy. 36 2781, l. 2. As I have not found a correction in the *Berichtigungsliste*, I present the image below:

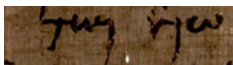


FIGURE 2.8 <tōi üiō>, P.Oxy. 36 2781, l. 2

This makes a total of 91 total documents in which an adscript was identified. These 91 documents contained a total of 290 adscripts. As expected, these are not evenly distributed. In absolute terms, there is one clear outlier: whereas the other documents range between 1–11 adscripts, SB 22.15708 contains 22, as illustrated in Figure 2.9:

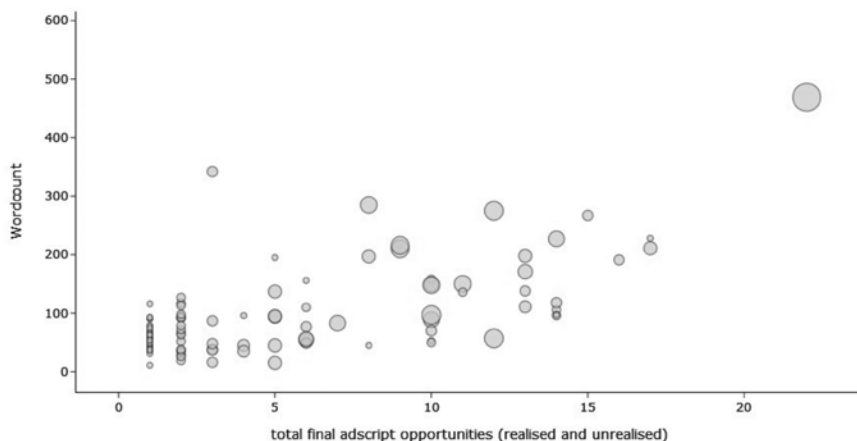


FIGURE 2.9 Distribution of adscripts in 193 papyri (excluding TM 20506)

However, absolute numbers do not say anything about the proportion of words with adscripts in each text, particularly as SB 22 15708 is also the second-longest document in the sample in terms of both total and lacuna-free words. Proportionally, SB 22 15708 is much less remarkable: just under 5% of its words are adscripted, whereas 12 texts have proportions of 10% or above.⁷

All of these 12 texts are short. None is longer than 75 editorial words, which includes partially or fully restored wordforms, below both the mean (109 words) and median (82.5) for the dataset. Seven are short because of extensive damage to the papyrus and can be discounted. Five, however, are both materially and textually fairly complete.⁸ Concentrating on these, there is a tendency for adscripts to be written in the first few and final lines of the text, matching Youtie's and Clarysse's observations about where adscripts occur.

7 These are: P.Oxy. 2 297; P.Oxy. 3 523; P.Oxy. 3 589; P.Oxy. 18 2184; P.Oxy. 41 2976; P.Oxy. 44 3176; P.Oxy. 47 3341; P.Oxy. 47 3357; P.Oxy. 75 5054; P.Oxy.Hels. 47c; SB 10 10275; SB 16 13058.

8 Truncated: P.Oxy. 3 589; P.Oxy. 18 2184; P.Oxy. 41 2976, P.Oxy.Hels. 47c; SB 10 1027; damaged text: P.Oxy. 44 3176; P.Oxy. 47 3341; (near-)complete: P.Oxy. 2 297; P.Oxy. 3 523; P.Oxy. 47 3357; P.Oxy. 75 5054; SB 16 13058.

TABLE 2.2 Preserved adscripts by line

Papyrus	Preserved adscripts	Lines	Total lines
P.Oxy. 2 297	4	1, 2, 17, 17	17
P.Oxy. 3 523	2	2, 4	4
P.Oxy. 47 3357	3	1, 2, 2	20
P.Oxy. 75 5054	2	2, 17	17
SB 16 13058	1	1	14

This pattern holds out across the dataset: 39% (113 / 290) of all adscripts occur in the first 2 lines, and 52% (152 / 290) in the first 4. The high proportion of adscripts in these 5 texts is, therefore, partly a function of their length: the shorter a text is, the more of it is made up by the opening greeting and delivery address. This makes SB 22 15708 stand out again, since its proportionally high score is attributable to adscripts occurring regularly in the body of the letter, i.e. in a portion of the text where it is typically less frequent. ¾ of the texts in the sample have fewer than 130.5 words; of the 52 texts which are longer, only 5 have an adscript proportion of 4% or above.⁹

These texts are also unusual in other ways. Two are associated with cultured contexts: P.Oxy. 18 2192 is a letter about books, and the sender of P.Oxy. 73 4959, Ammonios, was an ex-gymnasiarch, a position of considerable social prestige. The set also account for 3 of the 5 instances of adscript -*āi*,¹⁰ which is underrepresented. This provides a tentative suggestion to explore in future work, namely that adscript -*āi* may potentially be more of a clue to a writer’s formal educational level than -*ōi* or -*ēi*. Character by character, -*ωι* adscripts are considerably more frequent than adscripts involving either -*ηι* or -*αι*. This is not entirely surprising. I have already explained that most adscripts occur in specific document sections: opening greetings and delivery remarks. Canonically, opening greetings follow a rigid construction framework as in Table 2.3.

This frame provides three dative slots, all of which provide the opportunity for writing adscript forms. (In the example, all three opportunities are realized, but that is not always the case.) Most recipients in the sample are men. -*ω(ι)* is always the ending for the masc.dat.sg. definite article. Although -*η(ι)* and -*α(ι)*

9 P.Oxy. 1 113 (4.6%); P.Oxy. 47 3356 (5.9%); P.Oxy. 70 4773 (5.1%); SB 22 15708 (4.7%); P.Oxy. 73 4959 (4.6%).
10 P.Oxy. 73 4959, ll. 1, 5; SB 22 15708, l. 10.

TABLE 2.3 Typical opening greetings as exemplified by P.Oxy. 47 3357, ll. 1–2

Sender's name (nominative)	Recipient's name (dative)	Definite article (dative)	Modifier (dative)	Verb (non-finite)
Δίδυμος	Διονυσίωι	τῶι	φιλτάτῳι	χαίρειν
Didumos	Dionusiōi	tōi	philtatōi	khairein
DIDYMOS.MASC.	DIONYSIOS.MASC.	ART.MASC.	DEAR.MASC.DAT.	GREET.PRES.
NOM.SG.	DAT.SG.	DAT.SG.	SG.SUPERL.	IND.ACT.INF.
Didymos	to_Dionysios	the	dearest	greetings
Didymos to his dearest Dionysios, greetings.				

are possible terminations for first-declension masculine nouns and adjectives (e.g. the proper names Ἡρακλείδῃ, *Hērakleidēi*, HERAKLEIDES.MASC.DAT.SG. (P.Oxy. 45 3240, ll. 10–11), or Θρακίδαι, *Thrakidai*, THRAKIDAS.MASC.DAT.SG. (P.Oxy. 47 3332, l. 1, outside the sample)), the largest group of masculine nouns are second declension stem, where the dative singular ending is -ω(ι).

The gender skew towards male recipients in papyrus letters thus helps account for the greater frequency of -ω(ι) adscripts. However, there is also a difference between the three graphic units when comparing the proportion of wordforms that could end in an adscript to those that do. With a single exception (κωμωιδουμένων *kōmōidoumenōn*, COMEDIANS.PART PL.PRES.MP.MASC.GEN, P.Oxy. 18 2192, ll. 28–29), all adscripts in the sample occur at the ends of words. As most editions in the sample print ωι for papyrus ωι and regularize papyrus ω∅ (zero adscript) to subscript φ, comparing word-final adscripts to word-final subscripts can provide a rough idea of what proportion of dative singular wordforms are written with an adscript. 4 illustrates the proportions for each of the three graphic units:

TABLE 2.4 Comparison of word-final adscripts and subscripts

	Medial adscripts	Final adscripts	Total adscripts	Final subscripts	Final adscripts + subscripts	Adscript as % of total dat.sg. -V(ι)
Ωι	1	232	233	483	715	32%
Ηι	0	46	46	186	232	20%
Αι	0	5	5	55	60	8%

These numbers are very crude and would need further refinement for analysis. For example, the table doesn't separate nominal from verbal forms, both of which can end in adscript slots. It also includes hypercorrect spellings in forms where there was no etymological long diphthong.¹¹ Despite their noisiness, however, the data suggest some hypotheses to explore in future work.

One is that the proportionally higher occurrence of $\omega\iota$ adscripts is a frequency effect: in other words, that the fact that $-\omega(\iota)$ datives occur more frequently than datives in $-\eta\iota$ or $-\alpha\iota$ gives writers greater confidence in deciding $\omega\iota$ is an appropriate graphical choice. Alongside greater frequency, both $-\omega$ and $-\omega(\iota)$ also benefit from greater graphical predictability as a dative ending for substantives. In second-declension masculines, $\omega(\iota)$ is graphically unambiguous: the name Dionysus, whether spelled $\langle\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\rangle$ or $\langle\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\iota\rangle$, can only be dative. This is not the case for 1st-declension feminines, where forms like $\langle\text{adelphē}\rangle$ are homographs, potentially indicating both nominative / vocative $\langle\text{adelphē}\rangle$ ($\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\eta}$, SISTER.SG.FEM.NOM|VOC) and dative $\langle\text{adelphē}\rangle$ ($\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\eta\grave{\eta}$, SISTER.SG.FEM.DAT, without adscript). While one might expect that an iota adscript would be used in forms like $\langle\text{adelphē}\rangle$ to disambiguate between potential homographs, this does not appear to have been the case. To understand this, it is helpful to think of adscript occurrences (how many instances of SISTER.SG.FEM.DAT are spelled $\langle\text{adelphē}\iota\rangle$) in contrast to opportunities (how many instances of SISTER.SG.FEM.DAT there are, however they are spelled, because all could theoretically be spelled $\langle\text{adelphē}\iota\rangle$). Looking at parts of speech which inflect for case, the 194 texts examined contain 20 adscripts. There are a further 114 opportunities (specifically, ones where the ending is not reconstructed, as editors rarely reconstruct adscripts in lacunae), which means the overall realization rate for these substantives is 15% ($20/(20 + 114)$). This is considerably lower than for substantives which end in $\bar{o}(i)$ (106 adscripted forms, a further 283 undamaged opportunities, $106/(106 + 283) = 27\%$), even though unadscripted forms are more ambiguous for $\bar{e}(i)$ datives than for $\bar{o}(i)$ datives.

Morphological ambiguity therefore appears to decrease rather than increase the proportional rate of adscript use. Final $-\alpha\iota$ is particularly ambiguous, which may help account for its particularly low adscript rate: as well as acting as a plural morpheme, it also occurs commonly in aorist (perfective) infinitives (e.g. $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\alpha\iota$ *grapsai*, WRITE.AOR.INF.ACT) and in non-inflecting wordforms, e.g. the highly frequent conjunction $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (*kai*, 'and').

Further qualitative support for the importance of predictability comes from a trend in the sample. Of the 30 documents which preserve only one adscript,

11 E.g. $\tilde{\epsilon}\chi\omega\iota = \tilde{\epsilon}\chi\omega$, HAVE.1.SG.PRES.IND.ACT. (P.Oxy.Hels. 47a, l. 12).

24 place it on the masculine dative singular definite article, τῷ. Τῷ is the least variable part of the greeting frame, which at its most basic can be reduced to

[sender's name].NOM τῷ [recipient's name].DAT, [verb phrase]

assuming the recipient is a man.

It would be interesting to see whether the greater predictability of -ω(ι) in substantives translates to a higher rate of spelling variation in subjunctives, where -ω is more graphically ambiguous, compared to -η or -α, which are graphically ambiguous endings for nouns as well as verbs. However, this will have to wait for another time, as the sample does not provide enough material to answer this question. The 194 papyri preserve only 18 verb forms written with an adscript, compared to 261 adscripts in nouns, adjectives, articles, and pronouns:

TABLE 2.5 Adscripts in 194 papyri by inflection type

Inflection type	Word class	Frequency counts
declension	proper noun	76
	Article	69
	common noun	55
	Adjective	31
	Pronoun	30
conjugation	Verb	18
n/a	<i>Unclear</i>	3

As ever, raw frequency counts are problematic: virtually every letter will contain several definite articles which the writer may or may not choose to write a particular way, whereas not every letter contains a subjunctive. Without a fully part-of-speech tagged dataset, identifying the proportion of subjunctives that are adscripted is error-prone, as (ironically) many wordforms are morphologically ambiguous. I am planning to tag my dataset in the next stage of my work. Even without tagging, however, there is something other than raw frequency to suggest that writers are less comfortable adscripting verb forms than substantives. 9 of the 18 adscripted verbs are in fact etymologically incorrect, with adscripts used on indicative forms.

Overall, the distribution of adscripts thus shows a preference for substantive endings that are morphologically unambiguous. For verb forms, frequencies

are low, but the rate of irregularity suggests something similar: morphological ambiguity causes difficulty in writing adscripts in historically appropriate circumstances. The preference for unambiguous morphemes (i.e. dative $-\omega$ over $-\eta$ or $-\alpha$) is interesting given dative-genitive interchanges in Roman papyri suggest that changes leading to the eventual loss of dative case were already in progress (Stolk 2017, pp. 187–189). It is also worth linking this to the similar preference for writing adscripts on predictable words in predictable patterns and text positions. So, while 24 of the 30 texts with a single preserved adscript write it on $\tau\omega\iota$ as part of an opening greeting, the overall proportion of dative articles written with an adscript (23%, 69 of 228 tokens) is lower than that of some less frequent lexical items, e.g. the wordform *philtatōi*, (DEAR.DAT.ST.SUPERL). Here, the spelling $\phi\iota\lambda\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\iota$ outnumbers $\phi\iota\lambda\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\emptyset$ 11 to 6 (65% of 17 tokens). The reason is that *philtatos* is strongly associated with greeting formulae (all instances in the sample are in greetings), while definite articles co-occur with nouns rather than with document sections. This further suggests that many writers used adscripts in pre-memorized lexicogrammatical patterns, with more pattern-based usage at the more confident end, and lexically restricted rules at the other, sometimes confined to $\tau\omega\iota$. Equally, many writers' confidence is lower with first-declension forms and outside greetings or delivery notes. Letter-writing was a known exercise in Greek and Coptic schooling (Cribiore 2005, pp. 215–219). The evidence of adscripts in real-world letters provides further evidence that explicit rule-learning and memorization played a role in how writers learned to draft letters.

5 Tremas

On this analysis, adscripts can be seen as a case of deliberate spelling variation which conveys respect to the reader. Tremas can also be interpreted as a reader-oriented feature, though perhaps in a more textual and less social sense. Most non-literary papyri are written largely without orthographic word division (a practice termed *scriptio continua*). In letters, (some) word spacing is fairly common, though by no means the default. Like adscripts, word spacing is concentrated in opening greetings, as illustrated in Figure 2.3.

A few letters in the sample use tremas to signal they are not following optional adscript and spacing conventions. In texts without word spacing, pen lifts are unlikely to coincide with word breaks, and may clash with them. P.Oxy. 41 2956 l. 22, for example, contains the sequence $\tau\omega\iota\delta\iota\omega$, *tōidiō*. Despite the line number, this is the beginning of a letter. There is a pen lift after the first iota, separating *tōi* from *diō*. Given option of word spacing in openings, this

could make it look as if the intended reading was τῶι διῶϞ, ‘to the divine ...’, with the dative article τῶι, frequently adscripted in letter openings. However, the writer’s intended reading is τῶϞ ἰδιῶϞ, ‘to (my) own ...’. The trema indicates the beginning of the new word in a situation where word and spatial boundaries do not coincide, as shown in Figure 2.10:

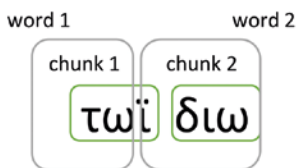


FIGURE 2.10
Space / word ambiguity in P.Oxy. 41 2956, l. 22

5.1 *Background*

This use of a trema as a word separator ties in well with an observation made in previous discussions of tremas in Greek papyrus documents: that they are more frequent at the beginning of words (so-called inorganic diaereses) than word-internally (organic diaereses) (Cribiore 1996, pp. 83–84; Ast 2017, p. 151, n. 29).

Tremas are less common in the sample than adscripts, occurring 124 times over 57 texts. These counts were derived from checking all papyri with images, since editions differ in noting tremas. The majority of the tremas, 106, are word-initial. However, saying tremas are more common word-initially (a description of occurrence patterns) is not quite the same as saying they function as word separators. When it comes to describing the function of tremas, scholars have tended to comment, if at all, on their “errati[c]” use (Cribiore 1994, p. 2). Part of the problem may be an expectation that tremas, when they occur, all signal the same thing. My discussion of tremas here will be tentative, as the overall figures are lower than for adscripts, but it appears they fulfil a variety of functions, some of which stand out more clearly from raw numbers than others.

5.2 *Textual Patterns*

While the trema in P.Oxy. 41 2956, l. 22 is apparently acting as a word separator, there is good reason to think the role of tremas is not that straightforward. For a start, why do tremas overwhelmingly occur over only two graphemes, iota <ι>, (i) and upsilon <υ>, (u)? If word separation is a useful feature to ancient as well as modern readers, then one might wonder whether tremas are used occasionally above other letters in ambiguous sequences.

Such usage, however, appears to be genuinely rare. All the tremas in the sample are over iota (92 tokens) or upsilon (32 tokens). Separately, I also looked

at 4,420 papyri, from all time periods, which contain the wordform *khairein* (GREET.PRES.IND.ACT.INF.). This is frequently, though not exclusively, associated with letters. As many of the letters in the smaller sample also contain *khairein*, the larger set of documents overlaps with the smaller one. 871 of the documents in the larger set contain at least one trema encoded in PN XML files using the *diaeresis* attribute:

<hi rend="diaeresis">.

There were 3,753 editorial tremas across these 871 documents, of which iota and upsilon together account for over 99% of the total:

TABLE 2.6 Letters with tremas in 871 papyrus texts

Character	Editorial tremas	% of total tremas
I	2271	60.51%
Y	1447	38.56%
O	17	0.45%
E	4	0.11%
Coptic <i>	3	0.08%
A	3	0.08%
n/a	2	0.05%
Γ	2	0.05%
H	2	0.05%
Latin <i>	1	0.03%
T	1	0.03%
Total	3753	

The larger dataset also shows tremas occurring more frequently over iota than upsilon. Without knowing character counts (i.e. the frequency of iota and upsilon as characters), this may or may not be a meaningful difference. In the next stage of my work, I am gathering character counts to see whether tremas occur over a greater proportion of iotas. Nevertheless, the difference in raw frequencies makes it worth thinking about whether there are any qualitative differences in the contexts in which iota and upsilon appear.

Returning to the sample of 194 letters, it turns out that tremas tend to cluster on a relatively small number of lexical items. 21 of the 117 total tremas in these documents (18%) appear on the subordinator ἵνα *hina*, SO_THAT.CONJ.,

TABLE 2.7 Top 10 lemmas with tremas in 194 letters

Word position	Aspiration	Trema letter	Rank (descending frequency)	Transliterated lemma	Raw counts	% of total tremas	Document spread
word-initial	aspirated	Iota	1	hina	21	18%	14
		upsilon	2	su (2 pl.: <i>hum-</i>)	9	8%	7
	unaspirated	iota	3	hieros	7	6%	5
			4	Iulius	6	5%	4
			5	idios	5	4%	5
	aspirated	upsilon	6	huios	5	4%	5
			7	hypo	5	4%	4
			8	hypomnēma	4	3%	4
word-internal	unaspirated	iota	9	Zoilos	3	3%	2
word-initial			10	Isidoros	3	3%	3

spread across 14 separate papyri.¹² Table 2.7 shows all lemmas (dictionary head-words, rather than a headword’s constituent wordforms) in the sample with more than 2 tremas each.

The three leftmost columns mark up particular features of the character the tremas occur on. At first, there appears to be no neat correspondence between e.g. word position, aspiration, and character. However, if iota and upsilon are treated distinctly, it is possible to develop some hypotheses about usage patterns.

Starting with *hina*, it is interesting that the item most frequently equipped with a trema should be such a short word. 21 tokens with tremas is a remarkably high proportion of the 25 total instances of editorial *hina*, both read and restored. One hypothesis is that tremas become associated with *iv̄α* because *-iv̄-* is graphically a highly ambiguous sequence in *scriptio continua*. For example, *-in* appears word-finally as or as part of several other inflectional suffixes, including:

- iv̄ for acc.sg. of *-i*-stem substantives (e.g. *polin*, CITY.ACC.SG.FEM.);
- (v̄) in various 3rd person plural verb forms (e.g. *phēsi(n)*, SAY.3.SG.PRES. IND.ACT.);
- ειν, an infinitival suffix (e.g. *graph|ein*, WRITE.PRES.INF.ACT., or *graps|ein*, WRITE.FUT.INF.ACT.).

12 P.Oxy. 77 511; PSI 4 281; P.Oxy. 12 1482; P.Oxy. 41 2996; P.land. 7 139; P.Oxy. 6 932; P.Oxy. 10 1294; P.Oxy. 14 1758; P.Oxy. 14 1760; P.Oxy. 47 3341; P.Oxy. 73 4959; PSI 121248; P.Amh. 2 136; P.Oxy. 14 1673.

Given the range of suffixes that the sequence -tv- could be involved in, having a three-character word beginning with tv- written straight after the preceding word, without separation, has a clear potential to confuse.

Hina is frequent enough as an individual wordform to show a clear pattern for tremas on iotas: marking word division in morphologically ambiguous written sequences. This pattern is not restricted to *hina*, as shown by *tō|idiō*, but neither is it the only pattern. The other major use of tremas in the dataset, in proper names, generally involves clarifying syllable division within words rather than boundaries between them. 33 of the 124 total tremas occur in proper names, all on iota. 17 of these occur word-medially, e.g. in the male name *Zōilos*. As seen above with adscripts, the sequences -ōi- and -ō could both correspond to /o/ at this period. The spelling *Zōīlos* helps to disambiguate the sequence, indicating that the iota is not part of a digraph, which would produce /zolos/, but instead an independent grapheme (producing /zoilos/).

While this 'organic' use of diaereses is well-known (Turner 1987, pp. 10–11), it is interesting to note that 11 of the 17 medial tremas in the sample occur in etymologically non-Greek names, both Egyptian (e.g. Phmoīs, Thaīs, Talobaīs, Hēraīs) and Latin (alternative spellings of *Flavius*, e.g. Φλαουῖος *Phlaouiōs*; Φλαυῖος *Phlauiōs*). Transliterations of proper names are particularly variable cross-linguistically, since they often contain sound sequences which are difficult or impossible to represent using the grapheme-phoneme mappings of the borrowing language (Van Guilder 2007, pp. 25–26). With Roman names, for instance, there is considerable variation between ways of representing Latin <u> in Greek.¹³ Tremas could be seen as a related transliteration tool, assisting readers with grapheme sequences which either have unusual phoneme mappings in etymologically foreign names (e.g. <ai> ~ /ai/ in Thais, rather than the more usual <ai> ~ /e/ of e.g. <καί> *kai* /ke/ 'and' (Gignac 1976, pp. 192–193)) or are unusual full stop (e.g. <υι> in Φλα(ο)υῖος¹⁴). Since the numbers in the sample are low, it is not possible to make more than a suggestion to explore in future work. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to see whether the

13 <u> is transliterated variously as <ου, υ, ο, β> (<ou, u, o, b>). For the name *Flavius*, a PN search on 01.07.2019 returned 1,603 hits for *Flaoui*-, 803 for *Flai*- and 2 for *Flaoi*- (P.Strasb. 5 369; P.Rainer Cent. 94). Actual counts for *Flaoui*- in particular will be lower, as *Flaoui*os often goes back to the abbreviation Φλ() expanded by editors.

14 Outside the frequent lexeme *huios* 'son', where variants like <uos> (e.g. BGU 7 1559, ll. 2, 4) and <ios> (e.g. *iois* son.dat.PL., P.Sarap. 67, l. 10) suggest that <υι> was a digraph in Roman Egypt (<υι> ~ /y/ or /i/), the sequence occurs overwhelmingly in loanwords. <υι> remains disyllabic in some etymologically Greek words (datives of u-stem nouns such as *ikhthui*, FISH.DAT.SG.; *ophrui* EYEBROW.DAT.SG.; but these are often furnished with tremas themselves (e.g. P.Oxy. 1 73, l. 22; SB 10 10562, l. 15). This further suggests that <υι> was a sequence which was liable to cause difficulty in decoding.

association with proper names is borne out in a larger dataset, and especially to know whether there is a correlation with Egyptian names inflected as Greek dental stems, whose *aitos* | *-aidos* genitives appear unusual.

Seen in this way, the use of tremas, if not systematic, is internally consistent. In texts written largely without word division, the distinction between organic (medial) and inorganic (initial) diaereses based on lexical position is arguably less relevant than their functional similarity. Whether medial or initial, tremas most commonly act as sequence separators, clarifying boundaries between syllables and words. Used as sequence separators, tremas are also a clear sign of a writer's textual awareness. Since their primary purpose is to assist a reader by removing the ambiguity from a sequence where there are multiple ways of decoding spelling to sound, tremas are in itself an acknowledgement of how language as written differs from speech.

This does not mean that all tremas function neatly as separators between sequences that could be vowel digraphs. Initial upsilon with trema appears both in sequences that form graphically ambiguous combinations across word boundaries, e.g. *-au-* (/aw/ ~ /ay/) in *proskunēmaumōn* (προσκύνημα ὑμῶν, 'your respects', P.Amh. 2 136, l. 6) and in ones that do not, e.g. *-nu-* in *dēlonumein* (δῆλον ὑμεῖν, normatively δῆλον ὑμῖν, 'clear to you', P.Oxy. 73 4959, l. 14). For frequent forms such as *huios*, *humin*, and *hina*, the effect may be partly lexical: because tremas help establish e.g. *hina* as a separate word where there is the potential for confusion, and *hina* is frequent, one might hypothesize that tremas become associated with *hina* by default. However, this cannot account for more marginal uses of tremas, such as over letters other than <υ u> or <ι i>, or over both elements of an initial <ῠ ῡ> sequence.¹⁵ Tremas which do not appear to function solely as syllable separators require further exploration,¹⁶ but the discussion I have provided of their main function—as a decoding aid at graphically ambiguous boundary points—cautions against assuming they are erratic or illogical because they are only used occasionally. Where tremas occur, their core function is logically motivated. Marginal usages, being by definition less frequent, remain harder to interpret. But even if not all tremas can be explained, it is reasonable to start from the default assumption that fringe uses are as much motivated by a desire to assist the reader as more frequent ones.

15 This particularly affects forms of *huios* (SON.NOM.SG.). In the larger sample, documents with this pattern are: PSI 15.1535; P.Oxy. 56.3855; PSI 14.1423; BGU 2.412; BGU 4.1080; P.Oxy. 14.1768; P.Oxy. 51.3612; SB 10.10725; BGU 20.2874.

16 For example, tremas may sometimes reflect quantity differences in formerly distinct phonemes whose quality had already merged to /i/. Parker (2000, p. 160) suggests this for a New Testament papyrus, and the larger sample has several cases of the conjunction *ei* 'if' (/i/, historically /e:/) written as *ī*.

6 Conclusion

Looking beyond spelling irregularity to orthographic variation more broadly can thus prove interesting in a variety of ways. On the one hand, variation can reveal nuances of how writers perceived and dealt with phonemic ambiguity in ways that may not be obvious through spelling alone. In addition, the use of tremas to signal a mismatch between word spacing and word boundary, as in *tō|ī diō*, shows writers using graphic variation in an explicitly textual way. The same applies to adscripts. Even in writers whose confidence in selecting between $\langle\omega\rangle$ and $\langle\omega\iota\rangle$ is limited to the definite article in letter openings, the desire to write an adscript somewhere in a greeting section shows an awareness of the social meaning that can be conveyed by choosing one phonologically equivalent allograph over another.

As the data also provides empirical support for previous observations that many writers only felt comfortable writing adscripts in openings and delivery addresses, documents which preserve multiple adscripts outside these document sections may imply higher levels of familiarity with literate conventions. These texts thus emerge as a fertile group in which to explore the relationship between non-phonemic and phonemic spelling variation. P.Oxy. 73 4959, for instance, contains both tremas and adscripts, and is atypical of the set for including adscript *-ai*. At the same time, these marks of text awareness sit alongside iotacistic interchanges (*humein* for regular *humin*, /ymin/).¹⁷

Looking at the distribution of orthographic variants can thus help build a more nuanced picture of the practice of literacy in Roman Egypt. Several of the patterns discussed here are only preliminary sketches, and there is plenty to do in filling them in. Sometimes, this work might result in revising estimates of writers' literacy upwards, as spelling variation seen as error by editors clearly sits alongside non-error variation (adscripts) (e.g. adscripts) and trema use in texts which use them proficiently. At other times, it might lead to questions about what high or low literacy means. If the underuse of *-ai* compared to *-ōi* adscripts holds across a larger dataset, for example, this would confirm a potential area of uncertainty even for competent writers. Combining a quantitative approach to papyrus spelling with careful contextualization can thus help suggest gradations of literacy, clarifying what it initially seemed to complicate.

¹⁷ Ll. 4, 11, 11a, 14.

Appendix

UI	TM	HGV_identifier	Images	Editorial	Editorial	Additional	Additional
D	number			adscripts	tremas	adscripts	tremas
						found	found
1	20696	P.Oxy. 1 34 V	None	No	Yes	No	No
2	15658	P.Oxy. 49 3510	Img (ext.), Print	Yes	No	No	No
3	20707	P.Oxy. 1 45	None	No	No	No	No
4	21701	P.Amh. 2 136	None	No	Yes	No	No
5	20216	P.Cair. Preis. (2. Ed.) 3 2	Img (ext.), Print	No	No	No	No
6	22266	P.Col. 10 265	Img, Img (ext.), Print	Yes	No	No	No
7	20912	P.Corn. 46	Img (ext.)	Yes	Yes	No	No

FIGURE 2.11 Sample data

8	15725	PUG 1 12	Print	Yes	Tbc	No	No
9	17344	P.Iand. 7 139	Img (ext.)	Yes	Yes	No	No
10	21182	P.IFAO 3 18 Z. 1 – 22	Print	No	No	No	No
11	21217	P.Köln 3 142	Img (ext.), Print	Yes	No	No	No
12	21244	P.Laur. 3 63	Img (ext.), Print	No	No	No	No
13	21369	P.Mich. 11 623	Img (ext.)	No	Yes	No	No
14	78532	P.Mil. Vogl. 1 11	Print	Yes	Tbc	No	No
15	28900	P.Oslo 2 52	Img (ext.)	Yes	No	No	No
16	21531	P.Oslo 3 84	None	No	Yes	No	No
17	28401	P.Oxy. 1 40 Einleitung	Print	Yes	No	No	No
18	20706	P.Oxy. 1 44	Print	Yes	No	No	No
19	20707	P.Oxy. 1 45	Img (ext.)	No	No	No	No
20	20708	P.Oxy. 1 46	Img (ext.)	Yes	No	No	No
21	20709	P.Oxy. 1 47	None	No	No	No	No
22	20719	P.Oxy. 1 57	None	No	No	No	No
23	20723	P.Oxy. 1 61	None	No	No	No	No
24	20725	P.Oxy. 1 62 R	None	No	No	No	No

25	20724	P.Oxy. 1 62 V	None	No	No	No	No
26	20737	P.Oxy. 1 78 Z. 1 – 10	None	No	Yes	No	No
27	28405	P.Oxy. 1 113	Img (ext.)	Yes	No	No	No
28	28407	P.Oxy. 1 115	Img (ext.), Print	Yes	No	No	No
29	28408	P.Oxy. 1 116	None	No	No	No	No
30	20540	P.Oxy. 2 269	Img (ext.)	Yes	No	No	No
31	20570	P.Oxy. 2 297	Img, Img (ext.)	Yes	No	No	No
32	25672	P.Oxy. 2 299	None	No	No	No	No
33	25673	P.Oxy. 2 300	None	No	No	No	No
34	25686	P.Oxy. 2 396	None	No	No	No	No
35	25689	P.Oxy. 2 400	None	No	N/A	No	No
36	20609	P.Oxy. 3 474	None	No	No	No	No
37	20619	P.Oxy. 3 483	Img (ext.)	No	No	No	No
38	20621	P.Oxy. 3 485	None	No	Yes	No	No
39	28363	P.Oxy. 3 523	Img (ext.)	Yes	No	No	No
40	28366	P.Oxy. 3 526	Img (ext.)	No	No	No	No
41	28367	P.Oxy. 3 527	Img (ext.)	No	No	No	No

42	28368	P.Oxy. 3 528	None	No	No	No	No
43	28369	P.Oxy. 3 529	Img (ext.)	No	No	No	No
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Menander and the Alexandrian Dialect: the Atticists' Perspective on Menander's Language

Chiara Monaco

1 Introduction

During the Imperial age, Menander was one of the most popular authors in the education curriculum.¹ However, in the second century BCE, with the development of a movement known as Atticism, which promoted the imitation of classical authors as models of language and style, Menander became the target of criticism from purists. The intransigent Atticists, seeking to reproduce a 'pure' Attic, had to deal with a very popular author whose language did not reflect the kind of language they wanted to promote. The focus of this chapter is not to take a position on the widely debated issue of the impact of the Atticist movement on the disappearance of Menander from the educational curriculum, but rather to examine how the Atticists deal with Menander's language and, in particular, how they describe it.² The Atticists' views of Menander's language are particularly relevant to the question of the relationship between Attic, Koine, and Atticism, and even more so to the problem of defining a body of canonical authors who would act as anchors on the basis of which innovations could be rejected or accepted. Menander straddled a fine line between Attic and Koine, and his language did not fit the parameters of purity established by the strictest Atticists. For the most rigorous purists, he is, therefore, a negative anchor whose linguistic choices must be rejected, while for the less intransigent, he is a good source for confirming the ancient pedigree of

1 On the popularity of Menander in the Hellenistic and Imperial period, see Easterling (1995), Montana (2007), and Nervegna (2013, pp. 11–62).

2 On the role of Atticist lexicography in the disappearance of Menander, see Arnott (1979, pp. xiii–xiv), Blanchard (1997, pp. 222–224), and Lamagna (2004, pp. 198, 207), who argue that the exclusion of Menander and the other playwrights of Middle and New Comedy from the Byzantine educational syllabus is mainly due to their proximity to the Koine. Easterling (1995) objects to this view and claims that the criticism of Menander's language did not determine the disappearance of Menander from the educational curriculum. For a discussion of the two positions and a new approach to the question, see Tribulato (2014, pp. 199–200).

contemporary expressions. These opposing views are also reflected in the association of Menander's language with what is said to be new, Ἀσιανός 'Asianic' and Ἀλεξανδρεωτικός 'Alexandrian', which serve on the one hand to stigmatize the playwright's language by associating it with non-Attic forms, and, on the other hand, to justify usages considered unacceptable, for which Menander is seen as a positive anchor to certify their ancient pedigree (i.e., this is said to be used by the Alexandrians, but Menander also uses it). In this sense, the Atticists used Menander as an example of anchoring innovation in terms of language use and audience perception.

This analysis builds on an article by Olga Tribulato, published in 2014, which makes a significant contribution to understanding the role of Menander in Atticist lexicography. Tribulato's article provides a clear overview of the different positions around the figure of Menander and a detailed picture of why Menander came to occupy the center of the Imperial linguistic debate as the representative of a particular type of language. Based on this, I will analyze the types of linguistic labels that lexicographers used to describe Menander's language. The analysis of the Atticist lexicographers' critique of Menander's phonology, morphology and syntax, and the association between Menander and certain chronological (i.e., νέα Ἀτθίς 'new Attic', νεώτεροι 'new poets') and geographical labels (i.e., Ἀσιανός 'Asianic', Ἀλεξανδρεωτικός 'Alexandrian') give us insights into the lexicographers' predisposition towards language varieties and the process of language change, revealing the positioning of Atticist lexicographers towards the interactions between Attic and Koine. After a brief introduction to the centrality of Menander in education and in the language debate (sections 2, 3 and 4) and to the lexicographical methodology (section 4), this chapter will focus on the way Menander's language is described in the Atticist lexica (section 5) and on the connection between Menander and the Alexandrian dialect (sections 6 and 7). The aim is to show that the association between Menander's forms and Alexandrian expressions is functional to express the more or less intransigent instances of the Atticist lexicographers.

2 Menander's Centrality in Education

It is well known that Menander was an extremely popular author at all levels of Greek culture before the Byzantine age. During the second century CE, some views expressed by writers attest to the playwright's popularity in the classroom. For example, in his eighteenth *Oration* (18.7), Dio Chrysostom encourages young men to study Menander and Euripides instead of the

earlier playwrights. He also claims to prefer Euripides to the old tragedians and Menander to the writers of Old Comedy.³ The praise of Menander not only relates to his comic production but also to other aspects of his work such as his style, the moral aspect of his plays, and characterization, to the point that, as Plutarch suggested in *Mor.* 854a–b, his poetry became ‘the most accepted subject in theatres, in discussions, and at banquets, for reading, for instruction and for dramatic competition [...]’ (transl. Fowler).⁴ Menander’s style is also widely lauded by Quintilian, who singled out the playwright as one of the authors who should be studied by any Roman orator (10.1.69–72).

Similarly, in the rhetorical treatises of the time, Menander is presented as a model for certain types of composition and style. Demetrius (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας 153) quotes Menander as an example of χάρις ‘grace’; Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Imit.* 2.14) praises the playwright for his style and his practical utility in rhetorical training;⁵ Theon (*Progym.* 8.24–5 Spengel) cites Menander, together with Plato and Homer, as an example to be imitated in the creation of characters; and Hermogenes refers to Menander’s plays as sources for an ordinary and simple style (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου 2.352 Spengel).⁶ Rhetorical exercises show that maxims from Menander’s plays were very popular at all times: they were used for writing practice in elementary education and were collected and memorized at higher levels.⁷ Menander’s popularity was due, among other things, to his depiction of real life and to the fact that his language was relatively accessible.⁸

Although a lexicographical interest in Menander’s language was already expressed by the Alexandrian scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium (see fr. 263 AB Slater and fr. XXI Nauck), a more linguistically focused interest in the

3 Hunter (2009, p. 46) and Karavas & Vix (2014, p. 184). On the circulation of Menander in antiquity, see Nervegna (2013, pp. 201–251).

4 For this passage, see Easterling (1995, p. 153 and n. 2). For an analysis of Plutarch’s approach to Menander’s language see Karavas & Vix (2014, pp. 183–187) and Nervegna (2013, pp. 49–54). For a comparison between Aristophanes and Menander on matters of language and style, see Plutarch’s *Comparationis Aristophanis et Menandri epitome* 853b.

5 For a discussion of Demetrius and Dionysius’ opinions on Menander, see Karavas & Vix (2014, pp. 193–194).

6 For Theon and Hermogenes’ examples, see Easterling (1995, p. 154). For a discussion of the presence of Menander in these two authors, see also Karavas & Vix (2014, pp. 194–195).

7 On the reuse of Menander’s *sententiae* in second-century CE orators, see Karavas & Vix (2014, pp. 187–193), with particular reference to Lucian and Aristides.

8 On Menander’s fortune see Blanchard (1997), Cribiore (2001, pp. 199–200), Pernigotti (2005) and Montana (2007, p. 261, with bibliography at n. 20).

playwright's language developed in the first and second centuries CE.⁹ This interest can be seen, for instance, in Galen's fascination with the language and vocabulary of the comic poet, to the extent that he regarded Menander's plays as a kind of dictionary in which he could find certain usages and certify syntactic constructions.¹⁰ This attitude also characterized the lexicographical production of the period with Menander becoming one of the most discussed authors in the debate on the definition of correct language. For example, in his *Eclogue of Attic Nouns*, Phrynichus, one of the strictest Atticists of the second century CE, testifies to the playwright's success and criticizes those among 'the best of the Greeks' who 'think Menander is great and raise him above everything Greek' (*Ecl.* 394 Fischer). However, after the second century CE, the development of the Atticist movement and the renewed interest in the Old Comedy—and in particular in Aristophanes as a good model of language—marked a reversal of interest in Menander.¹¹

3 Menander's Centrality to Linguistic Debate

Situated at the crossroads between Attic and Koine, Menander became the object of linguistic controversy in the Imperial age, when Atticists debated the type of Greek to be proposed as a model language. Different approaches to the playwright's language arose because he represented a type of language in which the linguistic innovations that would spread in the Koine began to appear. The most comprehensive work on Menander's language is a doctoral thesis by Ben Cartlidge.¹² Cartlidge builds his analysis of Menander's language around a crucial question of whether the language of the playwright can be defined as Attic or Koine. As he shows in his dissertation, it is possible to say that Menander's dialect is still Attic, but a kind of Attic that is already influenced by certain developments that will characterize the Koine. In this

9 On Aristophanes of Byzantium's interest in Menander and his importance in the process of canonization of the playwright, see Nervegna (2013, p. 56). Cf. Montana (2007, p. 257) for the analysis of passages in which Aristophanes cites Menander.

10 See Karavas & Vix (2014, p. 185) and Coker (2018, p. 75). One of the most significant examples concerns the use of Menander to prove a grammatical point: Galen quotes the title of the play *Αὐτὸν τιμωρούμενος* (in *De humero iis modis prolapsos quos Hippocrates non vidit* 18a.384–5 K) as an example of the construction of the verb *τιμωρέσθαι* + accusative with the meaning of 'to punish'.

11 On Menander and Aristophanes in the Hellenistic age see Montana (2007, p. 261). On the revival of Aristophanes in opposition to Menander between the fourth and the sixth centuries CE, see Cavallo (1986, pp. 100–119) and Zuntz (1975, p. 63, n. 1).

12 Cartlidge (2014). See also Vessella (2016, pp. 425–429) and Durham (1913).

way, Menander's language provides an insight into the transformation of fifth-century Attic. This is not the place to give a complete account of the language of the playwright. However, I will begin by referring to the dominant features of his style in order to offer some guidelines. Generally speaking, the language of Menander is full of contemporary Attic expressions that reflect the register of the Attic middle class, including considerations of age, social status, and the gender of the speakers.¹³ Menander's language is still Attic, as is shown by typical Attic features such as the optative, dual, and middle aorist. Still, it is also open to linguistic innovations, foreign usages, and daily-life expressions.

In terms of morphology, there is a general tendency to simplification: Menander uses both thematic and athematic forms of the same verbs, for instance, οἶμαι/οἴομαι 'to think' (οἶμαι in *Asp.* 156, *Dysc.* 461, *Syc.* 249; οἴομαι in *Sam.* 372, *Dysc.* 730, *Perik.* 303), ἀπολλύω/ἀπώλλυμι 'to kill' (ἀπολλύει in *Epitr.* 437 and fr. 420.3 K-A and ἀπολλύται in fr. 64.8 K-A), ὀμνύω/ὀμνυμι 'to swear' (ὀμνύω in *Kol.* 46, 87.1 and ὀμνυμι in fr. 239.1 K-A.), or alternative forms like εἶπα/εἶπον 'to say' (εἶπα in *Perik.* 318 and εἶπον *Dysc.* 256, *Sam.* 489);¹⁴ he also admits formations such as the perfect ἀπεκτάγκασι (*Mis.* fr. 9 Arnott) from ἀποκτείνω 'to kill', rather than the classical ἀπεκτόνασι, or ἐγάμησεν 'to marry' (661 K-A) in place of ἔγημε. In terms of word formation, he uses suffixes which were common at the time, such as -μός, -μα, -ικός and -ώδης, verbal adjectives in -τος, and verbs in -ίζω, and he offers many examples of privative compounds formed in ἀ- and δυσ- (e.g., ἀγαπησμός 'affection' 338 K-A; ὑπόθημα 'pledge' *Epitr.* 288; προνοητικός 'cautious' *Epitr.* 344; ἐργώδης 'troublesome' 58 K-A; ἔγχυτος 'cake cast into a shape' 409.9 K-A; ἡδυλίζω 'to flatter' 29 K-A; ἀδιάφθορος 'uncorrupted' 516 K-A; δυσδιάθετος 'hard to dispose of' 22 K-A.).¹⁵ Double-prefixed verbs are also common—e.g., ἐξαπέρχομαι 'to depart from', παρεξάλλαττω 'to change' (*Sam.* 257)¹⁶—as are compounded forms which have the same meaning as the verb in its simple form, e.g., ἀναθεάομαι 'to contemplate again' (*Perik.* 817), ἐξεργάζομαι 'to achieve' (*Sam.* 340, *Epitr.* 895).¹⁷ Cases of semantic shifts

13 For this form of linguistic characterization, see Zini (1938) and Pascucci (1971).

14 The convergence of thematic and athematic forms was already common in Attic, see Kühner & Blass (1890–1892, Vol. 1.2, pp. 194–195).

15 For a detailed analysis of these formations with examples, see Durham (1913, pp. 22–35). For the formation of nouns and compounds in Menander, see Cartlidge (2014, pp. 33–139).

16 See Durham (1913, pp. 31–33) and Giannini & Pallara (1983).

17 As Vessella (2016, p. 425) shows in his analysis of the types of innovations found in Menander, the process of composition and suffixation represent the main feature of the language of the playwright. Nevertheless, these are linguistic mechanisms which are already used in the fifth-century language, especially in prose (Vessella 2016, pp. 354–370); as Vessella claims "la loro presenza in Menandro segnala piuttosto la perdita di connotazione tecnica di molta termonologia nata nei decenni precedenti" (p. 428).

are also commonly attested in the language of the playwright.¹⁸ The variety expressed by Menander's language, which includes linguistic innovations but is still rooted in Attic, becomes a crucial issue for Atticist lexicographers.

4 The Lexicography of the Second Century and Its Use of Menander

Menander was a central figure in Atticist lexicography from an early stage. Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias (both early second century CE), the forerunners of Atticist lexicography, considered Menander an authority in Attic phonology, word formation, and semantics.¹⁹ As Tribulato²⁰ has shown, the turning point in the perception of Menander came in the second century CE, when the development of Atticism led to a reduction in the number of linguistic models. The tendency of strict Atticists—such as Phrynichus—to reproduce a language that was as close as possible to the fifth-century Attic of the classical texts had a significant impact on their perception of the different stages of the Greek language and the relationship between Attic and Koine. The artificial reconstruction of Attic was carried out by drawing a systematic opposition between Attic and Koine usages. This opposition typically took the form 'X is Attic (and acceptable), Y is Koine (and unacceptable)', even though sometimes the supposed koine forms were already well attested in the classical authors.²¹

This tendency to reconstruct an artificial Attic *ex negativo*—i.e., on the basis of what is not found or is less common in the Koine—and to select distinctively Attic words had an important effect on the selection of the canon of imitable authors. From the point of view of a rigorous Atticist, Menander, Xenophon, and the playwrights of the Middle and New Comedy were excluded from the list of literary models. These authors were all associated with a later Attic that did not reflect the type of language that the rigorous Atticists wanted to propose as the recommended one. In this respect, Phrynichus in his *Eclogue*²² encouraged

18 See Vessella (2016, p. 428).

19 On Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias' references to Menander, see Tribulato (2014, p. 204, with nn. 26–29).

20 (2014, p. 204).

21 For an analysis of this approach, see Monaco (2024).

22 This lexicon is probably an epitome in two books of a longer work. The arrangement of the entries which discuss Attic and non-Attic usages do not appear in alphabetical order. For the critical edition and discussion on the transmission of the text, see Fischer (1974); see also Rutherford (1881) and Lobeck (1820).

the audience not to trust the spurious and unlearned Attic of Menander (cf. *Ecl.* 394) and the other playwrights of the Middle and New Comedy (*Ecl.* 322 and 358), but rather to learn the language of the ancients.²³ The language of Menander expresses an internal variability that is rejected by the fanatics of Atticism, who tried to impose uniformity over linguistic variety by advocating the idea of purity and authenticity.²⁴ On the other hand, Menander, together with the playwrights of the Middle and New Comedy, is always proposed as a good model by the Antiatticist,²⁵ who sought to defend contemporary language by showing an open approach to language variety and quoting ancient authors as sources for words considered to be late formations.²⁶ These different positions on Menander's language as a witness to language in evolution are expressed in the Atticist lexis through the use of specific linguistic labels to describe the language of the playwright.

5 Menander and Linguistic Labels in the Atticist Lexica

In the Atticists' discussion of the most acceptable form of Greek, the use of linguistic labels and, more generally, evaluative language is crucial to expressing the purist approach of the lexicographers.²⁷ Expressions such as παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς 'old Attic', νέα Ἀτθίς 'new Attic', and κοινὸν 'common language' had a long tradition in grammatical production.²⁸ However, in the second century CE, they were rethought within the framework of the binary opposition of acceptable vs. non-acceptable. For a rigorous Atticist the idea of νέα Ἀτθίς evoked post-classical

23 Cf. Fischer (1974, p. 60, 17). On Phrynichus' critical glosses against Menander, see the following passages: phonetic *Ecl.* 304; lexicon *Ecl.* 391, 393, 394; word-formation *Ecl.* 170, 390, 392, 402, 410; semantic change *Ecl.* 341, 367. On the question of the distribution of the glosses on Menander in Phrynichus' lexicon, see Strobel (2012, pp. 160–164).

24 The idea of the existence of a one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning and a general intolerance for optional variability characterize the linguistic approach of the intransigent purists, see Monaco (2021, pp. 8–10 and 37–47) and, more generally, Milroy & Milroy (1999, pp. 19–22) and Thomas (1991, pp. 129–133). On the question of authenticity in Phrynichus' *Eclogue*, see Kim (2023).

25 The Antiatticist is the author of a lexicon which survives in an abridged version in a tenth-century Parisian manuscript, Coislinianus gr. 345. For the critical edition and a detailed discussion of the transmission of this text, see Valente (2015). For an analysis of the Antiatticist's approach, see Cassio (2012), Tribulato (2023) and Fiori (2022, pp. 13–24).

26 For a full understanding of the lexicographical methodology see Strobel (2009), Tribulato (2014, 2023), and Monaco (2021, pp. 15–81).

27 On the use of evaluative language in the lexis see Roumanis & Bentein (2024). On the 'anchoring' function of the act of labelling, naming or categorizing, see Sluiter 2021.

28 See Hedberg (1935, pp. 10–17), Galligani (2001, pp. 44–47), and Probert (2004, 2006).

developments that were considered unacceptable, while παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς was associated with a classical and authoritative tradition. In this context, the concepts of ‘old’ and ‘new’ are understood as ideological constructions, namely as what the lexicographers believe or choose to be ‘old’ or ‘new’.²⁹ As Durham has shown in his valuable contribution to the study of Menander’s language, Menander’s uses are classified in the Atticist lexica into three different groups, which reflect the nature of the criticism directed against them.³⁰

The first and more general kind of criticism leveled at Menander refers to the use of words classified as ἰδιωτικόν ‘everyday’, ἀδόκιμον ‘unacceptable’, ὑπόφαυλον ‘low’, etc. Examples of this category include the following gloss by Phrynichus *Ecl.* 410: Ἀκρατεύεσθαι· ἀδοκίμῳ ὄντι οἷ τε πολλοὶ χρῶνται τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ Μένανδρος (fr. 591 K-A). λέγε οὖν οὐκ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι—To be incontinent (ἀκρατεύεσθαι), the many and Menander use this word which is non-authentic: you should say do not exercise self-control (οὐκ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι). Other examples are found at *Ecl.* 341, 393, 394, 402, 408, etc.

Second and more interesting is the opposition between Menander and the groups identified as οἱ ἀρχαῖοι and οἱ παλαιοί ‘the ancients’, and the association of Menander with οἱ νεώτεροι ‘the new poets’, οἱ νῦν ‘the contemporaries’, ἡ νέα Ἀτθίς ‘New Attic’, ἡ νέα κωμῳδία ‘the New Comedy’, or what is said to be used παρ’ ἡμῖν ‘by us’. Many examples of this kind can be found in Phrynichus, such as in *Ecl.* 170 concerning the word μεγιστᾶνες ‘great men’, *Ecl.* 390 on πορνοκόπος ‘one who has commerce with prostitutes’, *Ecl.* 391 on λήθαργος ‘forgetful’, and *Ecl.* 397 on μετριάζειν ‘to be moderate/to be unwell’. In all these glosses, the expressions οἱ δ’ ἀρχαῖοι or οἱ δ’ ἀρχαῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι are used to describe correct usages in opposition to alternatives attested in Menander—see, for instance, *Ecl.* 390 πορνοκόπος· οὕτω Μένανδρος (fr. 585 K-A), οἱ δ’ ἀρχαῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι πορνότριψ λέγουσιν, -πορνοκόπος Menander in this way, while the old Athenians say πορνότριψ.³¹ The words criticized by the intransigent purist in the glosses mentioned above all belong to types of compounds (μεγιστᾶνες) or new formations (πορνοκόπος) which became common in the Koine and replaced more archaic usages, which were the ones preferred by the purists.³² The idea of νέα Ἀτθίς

29 See Monaco (2024) and more generally Sluiter (2017, p. 31).

30 Durham (1913, pp. 16–17) provides an analysis of the different categories with examples.

31 On πορνοκόπος, see Lamagna (2004, p. 202). For a similar gloss see also Thom. Mag. *Ecl. Voc. Att.* 291.15 Ritschl.

32 In these cases, Phrynichus seems to take issues with new compounding categories. In the case of μεγιστᾶνες, the problem relates to certain structural developments affecting compounding in post-classical Greek (cf. *Ecl.* 32 μεσονύκτιον ‘at midnight’; 167 μεσοδάκτυλα ‘space between two fingers’; 392 μεσοπορεῖν ‘to be half-way’; 394 δύσριγος ‘sensitive to cold’; 402 καταφαγᾶς ‘gluttonous’), but similar discussions are also seen for multi-word

as used by the intransigent purists is thus strictly connected to the kind of linguistic usages which anticipate the developments of the Koine and which are often found in authors such as Xenophon, Menander, and other playwrights of the Middle and New Comedy.³³ On the other hand, the usages found in these authors are approved by the Antiatticist as proofs of contemporary forms in ancient authors; examples of this kind can be found in α 99 on ἀνάβα 'go up!', κατάβα 'go down!', διάβα 'pass over!', ε 92 on ἐξάλλασσω 'to change/to amuse', κ 104 on καταφαγᾶς 'gluttonous', etc.³⁴ In fact, from the point of view of less strict Atticists, the type of linguistic variety called νέα Ἀτθίς represents the intermediate passage between the Attic of the fifth century and the Koine, and it was seen as the kind of language on the basis of which certain alleged koine expressions could be justified as Attic and, therefore, as acceptable.

The last and most remarkable group is made up of the words used by Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, Ἀσιανοί, Μακεδόνες, Ἕλληνες or expressions defined as Ἀσιατικόν, Ἑλληνικόν, βαρβαρικόν. As mentioned above, geographical labels, as well as

expressions and suffixed verbs such as *Ecl.* 10 εὐχαριστέω 'to be thankful'; 97 εὐκαιρέω 'to have leisure'; 411 αἰχμαλωτίζω 'to take as prisoner'; 410 ἀκρατεύομαι 'to be incontinent'. For a discussion of the composition of these forms, see Tribulato (2005, pp. 325–330; 2015, p. 113) and Risch (1945). A second problem, concerning forms like πορνοκόπος, refers to the replacement of root compounds (such as πορνότριψ), which were residual constructions in Greek, with thematic formations in -ος (cf. *Ecl.* 308 ἐπίτοκος 'near childbirth' in place of ἐπίτεξ and *Ecl.* 174 οἰκογενής 'born in the house' in place of οἰκότριψ, see Phrynichus' *Praep. Sophist.* 17.15 de Borries). These forms found a parallel in ancient grammatical theories; see Herodian, *Καθ. Προσ.* 111 1246.26 Lentz, with examples such as παιδότριψ 'physical trainer', οἰκότριψ 'a salve born in the house', πεδότριψ 'wearing out fetters' etc. See Tribulato (2005, pp. 158–164) for these forms.

33 It is possible that this distinction between Old and New Attic derived from the differentiation between the two stages of Comedy, see ΣThuc. 1.30.1 (ed. Kleinlogel): τροπαῖον ἢ παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς, ἥς ἔστιν Εὐπόλις, Κρατίνος, Ἀριστοφάνης, Θουκυδίδης· τρόπαιον ἢ νέα Ἀτθίς, ἥς ἔστι Μένανδρος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι [...] 'τροπαῖον trophy is Old Attic, of which Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes and Thucydides; τρόπαιον is New Attic, of which Menander and others'. This distinction is represented in a later Byzantine source *Prolegomena de Comoedia, Scholia Aristoph.* 1A V (Koster (1975, p. 13), in which the distinction between the Old and New Comedy is expressed, among other things, on the basis of language. On the distinction between different stages in comedy, see Nesselrath (1990, pp. 172–187). On the Aristotelian distinction between Old and New Comedy, see Nesselrath (2000, p. 244, nn. 18 and 27), and Sidwell (2000, p. 256, n. 8). In the Hellenistic age, the linguistic differences between Old and New Comedy underpin the discussion of the authorship of ancient plays; the Alexandrian scholar Eratosthenes of Cyrene (third century BCE) considered spurious certain plays attributed to the playwrights of Old Comedy because of supposedly non-correct language usages, while he preferred to attribute the same plays to authors of New Comedy, see Mureddu (2017) and Monaco (2021, pp. 127–135). The same approach is inherited by Phrynichus in passages like *Ecl.* 255, see Monaco (2024).

34 For an analysis of these glosses, see Tribulato (2014).

chronological ones (i.e., ἡ παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς / ἡ νέα Ἀτθίς), are used by the Atticists with an ideological bias in their attempts to define the language on the basis of the binary structure ‘acceptable vs. non-acceptable/authentic vs. non-authentic’, which corresponds to the opposition ‘(Old) Attic vs. non-Attic’ (non-Attic = Ἀσιατικόν, Ἑλληνικόν, βαρβαρικόν, etc.). These terms should not be seen as precise labels describing different varieties of Greek on the basis of well-defined linguistic features. Rather, they should be seen as abstract and arbitrary terms that identify what intransigent Atticists consider to be a not-acceptable form of Greek.³⁵

In this context, I will focus on the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς and its association with the language of Menander. Various attestations found in the Atticist lexica of the second century CE in which Menander is explicitly associated with one of these labels feature instances of words used by the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς.³⁶ The association between the forms used by the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς and those which are found in Menander is telling in two ways: first, it helps us to understand the meaning of this label as used in the lexica; and, second, it contributes to our understanding of the way in which Atticist lexicographers interpreted the language of Menander.

6 Words Used by the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς³⁷

The first question to be addressed concerns the definition that Atticist lexicographers gave to the linguistic label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. It is helpful to begin by acknowledging Alexandria’s central role in the Greek cultural system. Founded by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE on the model of Athens, this multicultural

35 The dichotomies center/periphery, familiar/foreign, us/they, which all refer to the basic binary structure correct/incorrect, are central to the purist mindset in most cultures, see Thomas (1991, pp. 122–134).

36 Among the examples concerning the use of other labels I list here a few cases. Moeris, in drawing his opposition between οἱ Ἀττικοί and οἱ Ἑλληνες (which represents the binary structure of his lexicon), never mentions the name of Menander but among the words listed as used by οἱ Ἑλληνες there are many forms also found in Menander (for instance, α 74; α 113; γ 6; ε 17; μ 13; μ 25; π 82; σ 1; σ 10 Hansen ed.). In Poll. 10.162 the Macedonian word καυσία, which indicates a felt hat used by the Macedonians, is said to be used by Menander. In an Aristophanic scholion (Sch. Aristoph. Av. 1563a Holwerda ed.), the form λαμῶς ‘impudent’ is said to be used περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν and attested in Menander with the same meaning. For a discussion of the last passage, see Montana (2007, p. 264).

37 For the earliest studies on the Alexandrian dialect, see Sturz (1808), who identified the Alexandrian dialect as a mixture based on a Macedonian substratum and Egyptian influences. The main problem of this work is that the author identified the dialect of Alexandria with the Septuagint. For more recent studies, see Fraser (1972, Vol. 2, pp. 147–148); Canfora (1987, p. 79 with bibliography), and Fournet (2009).

city—with its Egyptian, Jewish, Greek and Macedonian communities—became the center of Hellenic culture.³⁸ The establishment of institutions, such as the Library and the Mouseion, created a cultural continuity between Alexandria and Athens.³⁹ The centrality of Alexandria within the cultural panorama of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods influenced the definition and perception of Alexandrian Greek. The dialect spoken in Alexandria was likely a mixture of different elements due to the diverse composition of its population. Dettori's description of Alexandria gives a suggestive picture of this variety as “un calderone linguistico panellenico (e non solo)”.⁴⁰ However, this internal variety is typical of the Koine in general, and it is difficult to identify in the Greek spoken in Alexandria a specific dialect whose morphological and syntactic features distinguish it from the contemporary Koine. Many linguistic features described by grammarians as characteristics of the Alexandrian dialect were common to the Koine. Thus, grammarians and lexicographers, already in the Hellenistic age, did not use the expression Ἀλεξανδρεῖς to refer to specific forms of the dialect of Alexandria but to refer to koine usage in general. Indeed, as Ascheri claims, “[i] grammatici spesso parlano di usi linguistici degli Ἀλεξανδρεῖς solo perché, per ovvi motivi di prestigio e molto spesso di provenienza, hanno scelto Alessandria come punto di osservazione, ma nella maggioranza dei casi non è possibile sapere se questo o quel fenomeno linguistico, che essi identificano come specificatamente alessandrino, non fosse in realtà presente anche in altre poleis e in altre varietà di greco”.⁴¹ This use of the term Ἀλεξανδρεῖς should not be surprising since this kind of generalization is common in the terminology used by grammarians and lexicographers,⁴² and it may also have been due to the lack of specific terminology for the contemporary language that would correspond to our modern term ‘Koine’.⁴³ Expressions such as ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος and κοινόν did not have a clear and unambiguous meaning.⁴⁴

38 See Fraser (1972, Vol. 1, pp. 38–92) and Shipley (2000, pp. 192–201).

39 On the Library and the Mouseion, see Erskine (1995, pp. 38–48). The idea of Alexandria as a ‘New Athens’ underpinned the cultural propaganda of the Ptolemaic dynasty. For discussion, see Ferguson (1911, p. 69); Erskine (1995, pp. 40–47), and Hunter (2003). On the connection between Athens and Alexandria, see Montanari (1993) and Fraser (1972, Vol. 1, pp. 306–312). An analysis of the cultural status of Alexandria is provided by Ascheri (2010, pp. 145–149, with bibliographical references at nn. 79, 82 and 82).

40 Dettori (2000, p. 37, n. 105).

41 Ascheri (2010, p. 136). Like other scholars, Ascheri recognizes only certain lexical elements as specific to the dialect of Alexandria.

42 See Latte (1915, p. 387).

43 Jannaris (1903) enhances the discrepancies between the modern usage of the term Koine and the meaning of forms such as ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος, κοινόν, κοινῶς etc. in ancient sources.

44 See Versteegh (1987), Consani (1991, pp. 15–53) and Cassio (1993). Maidhof (1912) claims that the Atticist lexicographer Moeris (early third century CE) was the first to use

The same kind of generalization is common in Atticist lexis but here it is enriched by ideological views with the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς describing forms of ‘bad Greek’.⁴⁵ A telling example is found in Phrynichus’ *Eclogue*:

Ecl. 305: τεθεληκέναι· ἀλεξανδρεωτικὸν⁴⁶ τοῦνομα, διὸ ἀφετέον Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτό, ἡμῖν δὲ ῥητέον ἡθεληκέναι.⁴⁷

τεθεληκέναι; this is an Alexandrian form, so the one [used] by the Alexandrians and the Egyptians must be rejected, and instead we must say ἡθεληκέναι.

Here, Phrynichus contrasts two forms of the perfect of ἐθέλω. In his view, while the reduplicated form τεθεληκέναι is widespread in the dialect of Alexandria and Egypt, the one that those who wish to speak correctly should use is ἡθεληκέναι.⁴⁸ A better explanation of the two forms of the perfect is given by the Byzantine scholar Thomas Magister (thirteenth century CE) in his *Eclogue of Attic Nouns* (Ritschl ed.):

κοινόν and κοινῶς with the meaning of colloquial Greek, an idea discussed in Monaco (forthcoming).

45 The use of the word Ἀλεξανδρεῖς can be compared to the use of the label Ἀσιανός in the lexicography. The opposition between Asianic and Attic usages is common in the purist lexis where the word Ἀσιανός is always mentioned to indicate an incorrect usage. Examples of this kind can be found in Phrynichus, where expressions used by οἱ Ἀσιανοί *Ecl.* 238 and οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι *Ecl.* 270 and 305 are mentioned as examples of incorrect forms. Conversely, the Antiatticist showed in the glosses κ 40 and β 19 that the words labeled by the purists as Ἀσιανός found attestations in ancient sources. This opposition is not an innovation of the Atticist lexis but already finds attestations in the Hellenistic debate and in particular in Crates of Mallos, a scholar from the school of Pergamon. Two fragments (Fr. 109 Broggiato = 68 Mette and 19 Broggiato = 76 a Mette) of his disputed work *περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου* testify to the opposition between expressions defined as Ἀττικὸς and Ἀσιανός, see Broggiato (2000) with relevant bibliography. For some considerations about the usages of the labels Ἀσιανοί and Ἀλεξανδρεῖς in grammarians, see Latte (1915) and Fournet (2009).

46 As explained in the following line, the adjective is used metonymously and identifies Alexandria with the whole region, see Fournet (2009, p. 11).

47 For this form see Fournet (2009, pp. 14–15).

48 In the case of Phrynichus’ *Praep. Sophist.*, there is only one attestation of the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς in a passage dealing with the meaning of the word ψυχγωγός ‘necromancer/kidnapper’ *PS* 127.12. In this case, Phrynichus does not express any explicit comment with regard to the Alexandrian expression, which may be due to the epitomization of evaluative comments or to the different approach of the *Praep. Sophist.*, for which see Matthaios (2015, p. 295) and Tribulato (2023).

172 1–3 ἡθέληκα Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐθέλω, ἐθελήσω, ἡθέληκα. τὸ δὲ τεθέληκα Ἀλεξανδρεωτικόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θέλω κανονιζόμενον.

The Attics say ἡθέληκα from ἐθέλω, ἐθελήσω, ἡθέληκα. Instead, τεθέληκα is an Alexandrian usage, being conjugated from θέλω.

The form ἐθέλω is the Attic form, whereas the form θέλω with the perfect τεθέληκα is the form used in the Koine, and which is mainly attested in the Septuagint, the New Testament⁴⁹ and in the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri.⁵⁰ This latter form is therefore not specific to the dialect spoken in Alexandria but is a common form attested in the Koine and, as such, is rejected by the strictest purists as an example of bad Greek.

A similar approach, which can give us a broader perspective on the use of this label as identifying a form of ‘bad Greek’ opposed not only to Attic but also to the ‘standard’ Koine, is found in the second-century grammarian Herodian, who, in his *Περὶ παθῶν* (III 2 388.10–12 Lentz = *EM* 106.23 Gaisford), refers to the dialect of Alexandria in order to define a barbarian form that, he claims, is not used in Greek. The form in question is ἀνήγκακα, and the passage, reported by *EM*, reads as follows:

ιστέον ὅτι βάρβαρόν ἐστιν, οὐχ εὐρισκόμενον παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν ἐν χρήσει, ὡς λέγει Ἡρωδιανός· ἐν μόνῃ γὰρ τῇ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δημῳδῇ συνηθείᾳ εὐρίσκεται. λέγουσι δὲ τινες Ἀττικὸν εἶναι· ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ δευτέρᾳ συλλαβῇ τὸ αὐτὸ σύμφωνον. γίνεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναγκάζω, ἀναγκάσω, ἡνάγκακα· καὶ καθ’ ὑπερβίβασμόν, ἀνήγκακα. δύναται καὶ σύνθετον εἶναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκάζω, τὸ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις λαμβάνω· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀγκάσω, ἡγκακα· καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνὰ προθέσεως ἀνήγκακα.

It is clear that it [ἀνήγκακα] is barbarous, not found in the usage of the Hellenes, as Herodian says; it is found only in the spoken usage of the Alexandrians. Someone says, however, that it is Attic. It is not. For it does not have the same consonant in the first and second syllables. It is from ἀναγκάζω, ἀναγκάσω, ἡνάγκακα and, by transposition, ἀνήγκακα. It is also possible that it is a compound of ἀγκάζω ‘I take with bent arms’ and from this ἀγκάσω, ἡγκακα and, with the preposition ἀνὰ, ἀνήγκακα.

49 Blass, Debrunner & Funk (1961, p. 101).

50 Mayser (1938, Vol. 1.2, p. 119), Gignac (1977, p. 247) and Clarysse (2008).

According to Herodian,⁵¹ the form ἀνήγκακα in place of ἡνάγκακα is never attested in Greek (οὐχ εὐρίσκόμενον παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἐν χρήσει), here probably representing the 'standard' Koine, and it is used only in the spoken variety of Alexandria (ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δημῳδεὶ συνηθείᾳ), which indicates a popular usage. As such, it must be considered barbarous (βάρβαρόν ἐστιν).⁵² As Ascheri claims,⁵³ although Herodian is here contraposing a high and low usage in the Koine, this passage contains a telling reference to the debate about the opposition/continuity between the Alexandrian (Post-classical Greek) and Attic dialects, as the expression λέγουσι δέ τινες Ἀττικὸν εἶναι suggests.⁵⁴ This phrase indicates that words found in the dialect of Alexandria, which indicates Koine Greek, may have been criticised as forms of bad Greek by some conservative analysts but accepted as Attic usage by others. The various attestations of Alexandrian usage in the Antiatticist seem to recall the latter position.

The label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς is used by the Antiatticist to refer to usages which are common in contemporary language⁵⁵ but which can also be attested by ancient authors, as he clearly shows in the following passage:

β7 βατάνια· τὰς λοπάδας, ὡς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. <Ἄλεξις (fr. 24.3, 178.9, 178.18)>
Ἀντιφάνης Γάμοις (fr. 71.1 K-A).⁵⁶

βατάνια; the plates, like the Alexandrians. <Alexis (fr. 24.3, 178.9, 178.18)>
Antiphanes [used it] in *The Wedding Celebrations*.

Here, the gloss of the Antiatticist seems intended to rehabilitate a word that the strict purists had probably censored as Alexandrian (bad Greek). The word in question, βατάνια, which Hesychius considers to be Sicilian—β 318: βατάνια· τὰ λοπάδια, ἣ δὲ λέξις Σικελική⁵⁷ 'βατάνια, flat dishes, a Sicilian word'—was

51 On the use of terminology in Herodian, see Probert (2011).

52 Another similar example with an explicit association between the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς and the adjective βάρβαρος is found in Orus fr. A 42 Alpers. Other sources from the Imperial age seem to share this view of the Alexandrian variety as identifying a form of bad Greek opposed to Attic or to the 'standard Koine'. See, for instance, Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Mat.* 1.213.

53 Ascheri (2010, pp. 142 and 152).

54 Herodian is probably the source of the *EM* for this sentence too.

55 On the interpretation of this word in the Antiatticist, see Latte (1915, pp. 384).

56 For an analysis of βατάνια, see Fournet (2009, p. 24) and Radice Colace (2000, Vol. 2, pp. 44–45). See also Valente (2015, p. 33) and Fiori (2022, pp. 13–24) for the relationship between Aristophanes of Byzantium and the Antiatticist on this word.

57 Fournet (2009, p. 18) interprets this form as one of the Dorisms that had entered the Alexandrian dialect.

described by Pollux to be a typical form of colloquial speech (κατὰ τὴν τῶν ιδιωτῶν συνήθειαν) at 10.108—ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἰππάρχου Παννυχίσιν (fr. 5 K-A) εὐρησθαί φασι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ιδιωτῶν συνήθειαν εἰρημένον βατάνιον ‘they say that it is found in the *Pannuchis* by Hipparchus said βατάνιον according to the colloquial speech’—and he cites its appearance in the comic poet Hipparchus (third century BCE).⁵⁸ The Antiatticist shows that this word was also attested in Alexis 24.3 K-A and Antiphanes 95 K-A.⁵⁹

Another passage in which the Antiatticist provides literary evidence for controversial usages is the following gloss:

ε1: ἐλέγσαν, ἐγράφοσαν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν. Λυκόφρων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ (21)· “ναῦται λίαζον κάπο γῆς ἐσχάζοσαν”.

The Alexandrians say ἐλέγσαν, ἐγράφοσαν and similar forms. Lycophron in *Alexandra* [says] “ναῦται λίαζον κάπο γῆς ἐσχάζοσαν”.

The form discussed here is the ending -οσαν rather than -ον to mark the third person plural of the imperfect. This usage has spread in the Koine, was not a peculiarity of the Alexandrian dialect, and was probably considered a form of bad Greek. The Antiatticist offers as a literary source a reference to Lycophron, a Chalcidian poet who flourished in Alexandria in the Hellenistic period. This reference is not surprising since, as Valente⁶⁰ claims, “the Antiatticist adapted his source to his purposes of extending the boundaries of literary language”. The gloss of the Antiatticist probably comes from Aristophanes of Byzantium’s *On the forms supposed of not having been used by the ancients* 19 A-D Slater, from whom the Antiatticist inherited a more open approach to language variety.⁶¹ This word is regarded as a Chalcidian expression in various sources such as Eust. *Od.* 1761.30 Stall. [...] φωνῆς Χαλκιδέων ἰδιά εἰσιν and Cherob. in *Theodos.* VI 2.64.28 GG. In other cases, it is described as a form common in Asia (ὁ δὲ καὶ οἱ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ χρώμενοι φωνῇ ποιοῦσι, see Heracl. Mil. fr. 50 ex Eust. *Od.* 1759.35 Stall). The fact that these endings are associated with the dialect of Alexandria, Chalcidian usage or forms used in Asia suggests that they were common forms in the Koine, classified differently according to the source. However, there are cases in which these endings are considered to be forms already used by

58 For the meaning of the expression συνήθεια in Pollux and its opposition to Attic, see Matthaios (2013, p. 111) and Valente (2013, p. 151).

59 This form is attested also in Eubulus 38 K-A.

60 (2015, p. 31).

61 Cf. Nauck (1848, p. 203). For an analysis of Aristophanes’ passage, see Callanan (1987, p. 63) and Latte (1915, p. 384, n. 3).

ancient authors; cf. Phot. ε 573 Theod.: ἐλέγσαν καὶ ἐτρέχσαν καὶ τὰ ὅμοιά ἐστι παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς 'ἐλέγσαν and ἐτρέχσαν and similar forms are [attested] in the ancients'.

Thus, the use of the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς requires careful attention, and its meaning cannot be taken at face value. First, it is not generally used to refer to dialectal peculiarities of a particular area but rather to common usages in the Koine.⁶² Second, the use of this label is part of a debate about the definition of the recommended form of language and reflects wider considerations about the connection between Attic and Koine (the 'Alexandrian dialect'). The study of the relationship between Alexandrian and Attic dialects probably began in the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic grammarians such as Demetrius Ixion in his work *On the dialect of the Alexandrians*⁶³ (third century BCE) and later Irenaeus Pacatus in his treatise *On the dialect of the Alexandrians which is from the Attic dialect*⁶⁴ (first century CE) supported the idea of continuity between the Alexandrian and Attic dialects. These grammarians promoted the same approach that later informed the Antiatticist's lexicon, which opposed the purists' intransigent

62 See Fournet (2009, p. 17): 'le label « alexandrinisme » ait été employé par les grammairiens anciens, souvent enfermés dans la querelle atticisme/antiatticisme, pour des formes qui ont été vite banales dans tout le domaine hellénophone.' On this confusion between the Alexandrian dialect and the Koine, see also Fraser (1972, Vol. 2, p. 147, n. 197); Reitzenstein (1897, p. 383); and Thumb (1901, p. 171).

63 Staesche (ed.) 1883. Demetrius Ixion was also the author of an Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις, as transmitted by Sch. Ar. Av. 1569b (Holwerda ed.). Ascheri (2010) provides a detailed analysis of Demetrius' work on the Alexandrian dialect and claims that Demetrius used Attic as a model by which to testify the correctness of some Alexandrian expressions, proving that Attic had a certain status at that time and that he envisioned a sort of continuity between Attic and the Greek used in Alexandria. Federico Favi discussed Ascheri's examples and other sources attesting to 'Alexandrian' forms in a paper presented at the conference 'Perceptions and Social Uses of the Ancient Greek Dialects' Oxford University, September 2023.

64 On Irenaeus and his works, see Suda π 29 Adler. Irenaeus was also the author of Περὶ Ἀττικῆς συνηθείας. See Cohn (1905); Degani (1995, p. 519); and Regali (2020). The fragments of his work on the Alexandrian dialect are collected by Haupt (1876, pp. 434–440) and Reitzenstein (1897, pp. 382–387). In this work, the author tried to prove the derivation of the Alexandrian dialect from Attic by using etymological and analogical methods; for discussion, see Ascheri (2010, pp. 144–145). In Irenaeus' treatise, Attic seems to be used as a model language to prove the correctness of Alexandrian expressions, its main purpose being to state the continuity between Attic and the Greek spoken in Alexandria. It is, therefore, not without reason that Irenaeus is broadly considered to be the forerunner of second-century Atticism and in particular the moderate Atticist position later represented by the Antiatticist. On Irenaeus' atticistic attitudes, see Haupt (1876, pp. 436–439), Regali (2020); Matthaios (2015, p. 240, n. 261); and Ucciardello (2019, p. 172, n. 7) with reference to the epithet ὁ Ἀττικιστής used for the author, cf. EM 527.55 Gaisford: Εἰρηναῖος ὁ Ἀττικιστής.

opposition between Attic and Koine (Ἀσιατικόν, Ἑλληνικόν, Ἀλεξανδρεωτικόν) forms. Thus, the way in which the label Ἀλεξανδρεωτικόν/ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς is used in the Atticist lexica reveals a purist attitude towards language, which is even more evident in the association of the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς with an author like Menander, who, as seen above, was at the center of the Atticists' linguistic debate.

7 The Ἀλεξανδρεῖς and the Language of Menander

The above discussion serves to contextualize the cases in which Menander's language is associated with expressions used by the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. The first example is taken from Phrynichus and reads as follows:

Ecl. 367 τί χειμάζεις σεαυτόν. Μένανδρος (fr. 162 K-A) εἶρηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ὁμοίως. πειστέον δὲ τοῖς δοκίμοις τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι τοῦνομα.

"Why do you stress yourself [τί χειμάζεις σεαυτόν]". Menander said it instead of λυπεῖν, and so did the Alexandrians. But one should trust reliable writers who do not know this form.

The first aspect to consider in this fragment concerns the use of the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς; as seen above, this label is often used to identify alleged non-Attic usages. The association of Menander with Alexandrian usage is a clear act of censorship against the playwright's language, which, according to Phrynichus, cannot be defined as Attic. The criticism leveled at this verb used with the meaning of λυπέω is probably due to the fact that, although it is attested in Attic writers, it became common in the Koine and is used mainly in the New Testament, a text traditionally associated with the Alexandrian dialect.⁶⁵

The original meaning of the verb χειμάζω⁶⁶ is 'to expose to the winter cold', 'to pass the winter' or 'to raise a storm'.⁶⁷ This verb is also commonly used with a metaphorical meaning 'to distress' or 'to annoy', referring to a person, which is the meaning censored by Phrynichus and said not to be used by οἱ δόκιμοι.⁶⁸ This metaphorical use, however, finds many attestations in ancient authors,

65 See Fournet (2009, p. 17).

66 Sturz (1808, pp. 72–73) lists this word among the Alexandrian usages.

67 The noun χειμών has the double meaning of 'winter' and 'storm'.

68 See Ammonius *Diff.* 511 Nickau: χειμάζειν οὐ μόνον τὸ παραχειμάζειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐνοχλεῖν, ὡς Μένανδρος ἐν Ἡνίοχῳ - χειμάζειν not only [means] to winter at a place but also to trouble as in Menander in *The Charioteer*.

not only in tragedy (Aeschylus *Pr.* 563; Sophocles *Phil.* 1460; and Euripides *Hipp.* 315), which is a fertile ground for metaphorical language⁶⁹ but also in Plato (*Plt.* 273d; *Phlb.* 29b; *La.* 194c; *Tht.* 170a), Gorgias (*Pro Palam.* 107 T. VIII), and Epicurus (Fr. 452 Usener).⁷⁰ The verb is attested in the active form, 'to afflict' and the passive form, 'to be distressed'. According to Lobeck,⁷¹ the metaphorical shift of this verb into the category of *verba affligendi* is the result of medical language, in which the verb is used to denote the effects of fever, a connotation that develops from the phrase *χειμὼν καὶ τρόμος* 'discomfort and trembling'. From this expression, the verb *χειμάζεσθαι* takes the meaning of *aestufebrique iactari* (see, e.g., Hippocr. *Prog.* 24.30 Littré; Galen, *De Trem. Palp. Conv. Liber VII* 636.18 K).⁷² From this usage, the physical symptoms describing somatic distress (as caused by fever) are used metaphorically to describe an emotional state; the physical experience of fever is used to describe psychological distress. This kind of semantic shift is common in other verbs that describe physical symptoms caused by a particular bodily change. For example, the verb *φρίσσω* 'to tremble' describes a physical reaction to the effects of cold or fear. This verb is also attested with the metaphorical meaning 'to fear' to denote the emotion that causes the physical reaction.⁷³ This verb is derived from the noun *φρίκη* 'shivering', a word associated in medical treatises with fever and cold sweats.⁷⁴ As Cairns suggests in an article on the representation of emotions through bodily symptoms, this word refers to the somatic symptoms of fear and often appears as a metonym for the emotion itself.⁷⁵ Another similar case mentioned by Cairns is the verb *ρίγέω*. This verb, which denotes a low physical temperature, can be used metaphorically to mean 'to shudder'. According to Cairns, "in the language of emotion, it is typical for the physical symptom to be used as a metonym for the emotion with which it is associated".⁷⁶ The

69 See Rutherford (1881, p. 480). The use of metaphorical language in tragedy is very common. Among the metaphorical usage of expressions describing physical states or activities we can list forms such as *ἀλάομαι* 'to wander', which is used with the metaphorical sense 'to wander in mind, be perplexed' in Soph. *Aj.* 23. On the metaphorical aspect of the language of Sophocles, see Battezzato (2012).

70 The verb also appears in Aristophanes *Ran.* 361, where the metaphorical meaning behind *χειμάζω* is probably that of the ship of state in the storm.

71 Lobeck (1820, pp. 387–388).

72 Browning (1958, p. 71) refers to the abstract language of medicine as used in the description of human psychology or medical treatment.

73 This verb is analysed by Cairns (2016).

74 For the attestations in Hippocrates' corpus and Galen, see Cairns (2016, p. 12, n. 3).

75 Cairns (2016).

76 Cairns (2016, p. 3).

verb χειμάζω thus seems to belong to what Cairns calls a “network of emotional imaginary” in which physical distress expresses a psychological state. This progressive semantic shift towards the emotional or psychological sphere is a phenomenon that characterizes a considerable part of the Greek lexicon.⁷⁷ It became more common in the Koine and was particularly widespread in the Christian language, where we see a general evolution of the lexicon towards abstraction. Menander is a good source for attesting to this kind of semantic shift.⁷⁸

Another similar case of semantic shift attested in Menander is again associated with the dialect of Alexandria. The source of this expression is the Antiatticist, who mentions an unusual usage attested in the language of the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, for which he finds an attestation in Menander. The gloss reads as follows:

ε 9 2: Ἐξαλλάξαι· ὡς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ τέρψαι. Μένανδρος· ἀνθρώπον ἐξαλλάξομεν.

To change [Ἐξαλλάξαι]; like the Alexandrians, instead of to amuse. Menander: “we will amuse the man”.

As in the case of the verb χειμάζω above, the reference to Menander shows that Ἀλεξανδρεῖς refers to a more general type of language than the local dialect spoken in Alexandria. Moreover, Menander’s testimony is probably used by the Antiatticist to endorse this form as already used by ancient authors. However, the same expression is censored by Phrynichus because it is attested in Menander and another playwright of the New Comedy and, therefore, according to Phrynichus, does not have an Attic pedigree:

77 For an analysis of similar phenomena, see Cairns (2013, 2016); for emotional language in Hellenistic literature, see Chaniotis (2013). For a study of other cases of semantic shifts in Koine, see Cerroni (2020).

78 Among the many cases of metaphorical usages, Cartlidge (2014, p. 61) lists βρυχηθμός ‘gnashing of teeth’ used with the metaphorical sense of ‘lamentation’ in *Epit.* 472 and κίγλις in *Asp.* 478, which is the verbal noun of κίγλιζω ‘wag the tail; change constantly’ but which is used by Menander with the meaning ‘disorder, confusion’. Other examples are found in Vessella (2016, p. 428) who refers to compounded forms and morphological and semantic *hapax legomena* such as ὑπέλειος ‘smooth’, ὀξυπείνως ‘greedy’, εὐήλις ‘of good stature’ and καταφαγᾶς ‘gluttonous’ with a similar emotional connotation. See also Cerroni (2020, p. 99) who mentions Menander 761.8 K-A on the emotional value of the word παράστασις (with the meaning ‘propensity, desire’).

Ecl. 341 Ἐξαλλάξαι· τὸ τέρψαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν εἰς εὐφροσύνην· χρή φυλάττεσθαι οὕτω λέγειν, οὐ γὰρ χρώνται οἱ δόκιμοι, Φιλιππίδης (fr. 36 K-A) δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος (fr. 540 K-A) αὐτῷ χρώνται.

Ἐξαλλάξαι: to amuse and put in a cheerful mood. One should guard himself against saying this, the approved writers do not use it, but Philippides (fr. 36 K-A) and Menander (fr. 540 K-A) do.

This kind of usage is found in authors of the New Comedy, such as Menander and Philippides—and also in Anaxandrides' *Θησεύς* fr. 21 K-A in the form ἐξάλλαγμα 'amusement' also defended by the Antiatticist ε 93—and in Hellenistic authors such as Parthenius of Nicaea (24.1).⁷⁹ According to Phrynichus, the problem with this form seems to be the same as with the verb χεῖμάζω, namely that it has undergone a process of subjectification—a progressive semantic shift of the lexicon towards the psychological and emotional sphere—⁸⁰ which is a common phenomenon in the Koine.⁸¹ As in the case of the verb χεῖμάζω, here we have another example of semantic shift attested in a verb which describes a physical activity with the meaning 'to change', 'to turn another way', which is interpreted in a metaphorical sense as 'to change mood', 'to amuse'. In this case, the physical activity described by the action 'to turn from one course to another' takes on the meaning of 'to divert someone's attention away from what is troubling or troublesome'. The development of this emotional connotation is not unusual and has its cognate in the Latin form *divertere*,⁸² which has the same formation and the same semantic evolution (de + vertere = ἐκ⁸³ + ἀλλάσσω; turn away > amuse).⁸⁴ The semantic shift of the verbs χεῖμάζω and ἐξαλλάσσω reflects the diversity of the Greek language in which the same word can be used with multiple meanings. This phenomenon is defended by the Antiatticist but criticized by the strict purists whose reconstruction of a correct language is based instead on the idea of mutual

79 See also an attestation in a papyrus of the second century CE, P. Oxy III 531.18.

80 For an analysis of this phenomenon see Traugott (1989) and Athanasiadou *et al.* (2011).

81 Another similar case to ἐξαλλάσσω is represented by the verb διασκεδάζω (which is better attested as διασκεδάννυμι in classical texts), which has the original meaning of 'to scatter, to disperse' but in late Greek developed the additional sense of 'to have fun, to enjoy'.

82 The semantic shift in Latin is attested in late sources.

83 On the function of the prefix ἐκ- in a descriptive-intensive function, see Strömberg (1946, p. 61).

84 The best verb in English for reflecting this double meaning is 'to divert' in the sense of 'to change direction' and 'to take someone's attention away from something'. This second meaning refers to the act of giving pleasure by distracting one's attention from what distresses. This double meaning is also found in the Italian *divertire*.

exclusivity (this is acceptable/this is not) and one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning.

Thus, in the two cases of semantic shift analyzed above, a form attested in Menander is associated with the Alexandrian dialect, which is probably identified with the contemporary language and with certain types of literary production. This means that Ἀλεξανδρεῖς became a useful label for identifying forms common in the Koine that were condemned by strict purists as not having a 'good' Attic pedigree but accepted by the Antiatticist if they had already been used in the ancient authors. The association between Menander and the Alexandrian dialect thus performs an instrumental role in the lexicographers' aims. From the perspective of a rigorous Atticist, it proves that Menander's language is not Attic enough. Conversely, from the point of view of a less intransigent Atticist, Menander testifies to the correctness of the so-called Alexandrian expressions, proving a continuity between the Attic language and the Koine and giving examples of the internal variety of the Greek language.

8 Conclusion

Two main conclusions can be drawn from the above analysis. First, these glosses suggest that the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, as already mentioned in previous studies, is not used to refer to typical usages of a dialect spoken in Alexandria, which we do not know much about but is generally used to refer to the mixture of Attic and non-Attic elements within the contemporary language. This label then acquires a negative meaning in connection with the Atticist debate, when the words associated with the usage of the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς were condemned or approved according to the ideology of the lexicographers. The generalization of the label Ἀλεξανδρεῖς has several implications for the terminology of the Atticist lexica. First, as mentioned above, ancient terminology cannot be taken at face value, and a modern perspective cannot be applied to ancient usage. In other words, what we call Old Attic, New Attic, or Koine does not correspond to παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς, νέα Ἀτθίς, and κοινὸν in ancient sources. Second, ancient labels do not outline well-defined linguistic systems but are abstract notions that can reflect ideological approaches to language; these approaches are seen in the Atticist lexica, whose purpose was to define a pure language. Third, there is little consistency in the use of terminology in ancient sources. As a result, these terms do not have unambiguous meanings but can be used in different ways according to the intentions of their authors. They should, therefore, be analyzed in the context in which they are used.

A second conclusion concerns the role of Menander in the Atticist debate. On the one hand, Menander is condemned by Phrynichus as a bad model, since his language is perceived as too close to contemporary language and incapable of recreating an Attic language distinct from the Koine. Thus, the association of Menander with the Alexandrian dialect identifies the playwright's language as non-Attic. On the other hand, from the perspective of a more moderate Atticist such as the Antiatticist, the mixture of Attic and later formations in Menander's language testifies to the ancient pedigree of contemporary (Alexandrian) usage and to the great variety of the Greek language with its various literary and local forms.

In summary, the analysis of these different approaches to Menander's language and the use of linguistic labels sheds light on the lexicographical methodology and its approach to linguistic issues by identifying two main tendencies. Whereas Phrynichus conceives of language change as a process of progressive degeneration in which Attic and Koine are seen as two monolithic entities, the Antiatticist inherited from previous sources a much more open approach to the internal variability of the Greek language and to the continuity between Attic and Koine. These two approaches to the development of Greek have characterized the Greek linguistic debate until very recently and have shaped Greek identity and the Greeks' relationship with their past.

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PART 2

*Fashioning Language through
Literature and Vice Versa*



Xenophon, Professional Military Vocabulary, and the Formation of the Literary Koine

Luuk Huitink and Tim Rood

1 Introduction

The following passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* describes how, during the retreat of the Ten Thousand up north along a path following the River Tigris, a Persian army, which has been harassing the Greeks, finally decides to withdraw.¹ However, the Persians next make an unexpected move and occupy a high position in front of the Greeks in order to prevent them from marching on along the same route:²

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκούοντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁψὲ ἐγίγνετο, ἀπήισαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδόκει λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατὰγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἤδη ἐώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζεύξαντες καὶ διήλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίου. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥστε τῇ ὕστεραίαι οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἧ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὅφ' ἦν ἡ κατὰβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. (Xen. *An.* 3.4.36–38)

¹ LH's part of 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://anchoringinnovation.nl/>>. We wish to thank Andreas Willi and the audience at the 'Beyond Standards' conference for their valuable comments on the paper from which the present chapter derives. Papers by LH's former students Daan Mulder and Henric Jansen on the language of Xenophon and Aeneas Tacticus, respectively, have also helped shape the ideas presented here; we warmly thank both of them.

² The text is that of Huitink & Rood (2019); the translation is our own.

When the Greeks realized that they [the Persians] wished to withdraw and were passing the word along, the order to pack up was sounded within hearing of the enemy. And for a time the barbarians refrained from setting out, but when it was getting late, they went off; for, as a matter of fact, they did not usually think it paid to march and turn into camp at night. When the Greeks clearly saw that they were finally withdrawing, they broke camp and went on their way themselves, and accomplished a march of as much as sixty stades. And so the two armies got so far apart that on the next day the enemy did not appear, nor yet on the third. On the fourth, however, after pushing forward by night, the barbarians occupied a high position, by which the Greeks were about to pass, the spur of a mountain, along the base of which ran the road down into the plain. When Chirisophus saw that the spur was already occupied, he summoned Xenophon from the rear and asked him to come to the front and bring the light-armed troops with him.

At first sight, the passage may seem like a straightforward bit of Greek historiographical prose dealing with military matters.³ In fact, on closer inspection, it displays a surprisingly high density of unusual words and expressions:

- διαγγελλομένους ‘passing the word of command from man to man’ (LSJ s.v.): middle διαγγέλλομαι is an absolute *hapax* in this sense in extant Greek literature (the Xenophonic occurrence is cited at Suda δ 517 Adler). To convey the sense of an order being passed down the ranks, Xenophon elsewhere uses the verbs παρεγγυάω or παραγγέλλω.
- λύνει αὐτούς ‘it is profitable to them’: this is an extremely rarefied expression, equivalent to the much more common λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς. Impersonal λύει (a mostly poetic alternative to λυσιτελεῖ) is construed with the accusative instead of the expected dative also at Sophocles, *Electra* 1005 and Euripides, fr. 661.28–9 *TrGF*.⁴
- κατὰγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ‘return to camp’: this sense of κατὰγομαι is also attested at Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.18, *Symp.* 8.39 and *Cyr.* 8.5.17. However, the verb’s usual sense in the classical period is ‘put in to shore’ (i.e. of ships; so already Hom. *Od.* 3.178, and then e.g. Hdt. 4.43.5; Xen. *An.* 5.1.11).
- χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον ‘a high position’: the adjective ὑπερδέξιος occurs first in Xenophon (×8) and Aeneas Tacticus (×1), while it is common in Hellenistic and Imperial historiography.

3 See Rood (2010) for the development of the Greek ‘war monograph’ and Hau (2014) for a general characterization of the content and texture of such narratives.

4 Cf. Finglass (2007, p. 413). The f family of manuscripts of the *Anabasis* in fact reads λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς, but this is clearly *lectio facillior* and so probably a gloss on the much rarer expression.

- ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους ‘spur of a mountain’: the noun ἀκρωνυχία, literally ‘tip of the toe(-nail)’, but metaphorically applied to part of a mountain, is found first in Xenophon (×3) and very occasionally in later authors.
- ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς ‘from the rear’: the noun οὐρά ‘tail’ is first metaphorically applied to the ‘rear’ of a marching army in the works of Xenophon (quite frequently) and then also in Hellenistic historiography.

How should we explain this unusual diction, some of which is unique to this particular passage and some to Xenophon’s (historiographical) oeuvre more generally, while yet other items in the list occur first in Xenophon and then recur in later extant Greek literature? In this chapter, we will offer an answer to this question, which centers on the claim that, with the exception of the expression λύειν αὐτούς, all the items on the list likely belong to the professional military vocabulary as it was used by officers and soldiers in Xenophon’s time and that they were consciously adopted by him in order to achieve certain stylistic effects and to underline certain themes.

The argument is structured as follows. We will first make some observations about Xenophon’s diction in general and its place in the history of Greek prose style. We will then argue that traditional explanations of Xenophon’s often remarkable lexical choices, which tend to classify odd items as dialectisms or poeticisms and to suggest that Xenophon fell short of writing ‘proper’ Attic, need to be modified in important ways by taking account of insights in the history of the Greek language and stylistics and of Xenophon’s literary achievement.⁵ In a further step, we will argue that existing explanations also need to be supplemented by an account which brings out Xenophon’s novel use of professional, *in casu* military, vocabulary in his historiographical writings. We will elaborate on the form and structure of this vocabulary and address the question how we may identify relevant items, using *Anabasis* 3 as our main corpus. Finally, we will consider how and why Xenophon employs military terms (returning to the passage cited above) and address the implications of the findings in this chapter for Xenophon’s place in the development of Greek historiographical prose and the literary Koine.

2 Xenophon’s Prose Style: Attic or Non-Attic, or: Is That the Question?

2.1 ‘Pure’ Attic

Judgements of Xenophon’s style are premised on a specific (but often implicit) view of the nature of classical Attic literary prose, especially as it was written

5 This part of the chapter elaborates Huitink & Rood (2019, pp. 23–31, and 2020).

by fourth-century orators like Lysias and Demosthenes and, to a lesser extent, Plato in his early dialogues. It will be helpful first briefly to sketch this view and then to consider why Xenophon poses a problem for it.

As is well known, the earliest Greek prose (mythography and historiography, philosophical and medical treatises) was written in the Ionic dialect. However, the closing decades of the fifth century BCE saw the rise of Attic as a feasible alternative, as evidenced, for instance, by the speeches of Gorgias and Antiphon, the history of Thucydides and the 'treatise' on the Athenian constitution of the 'Old Oligarch'. For reasons which are still in part mysterious, these and other authors broke with the tradition that the dialect in which one wrote was determined by the genre which one practised rather than by one's own origin or that of one's intended audience.⁶ Whatever the reasons for the shift, early practitioners still adhered to some of the established conventions of Ionic prose writing. For instance, they tended to avoid key Attic phonological markers which could be perceived as parochial, usually writing, for example, Ionic (and generally Greek) -σσ- and -ρσ- instead of Attic -ττ- and -ρρ-. Their morphology and vocabulary, too, were influenced by Ionic. For instance, Antiphon (2.1.3) once uses οἶδμεν ('we know'), the Ionic form for Attic ἴσμεν, also found in Herodotus and the Hippocratic corpus. Thucydides also uses many words which appear to be Ionic in origin, such as ὁμαιχμία ('alliance', 1.18.3, for common Attic συμμαχία), νεοχμώ ('cause changes', 1.12.2) and σκυλεύω ('despoil', 4.44.3 and elsewhere; the normal Attic word is σιλάω)—to name but a few likely candidates.⁷

To be sure, it is questionable whether 'Ionicism' is always the most appropriate label for such words. After all, many common Ionic words occurred in Homeric epic, the basis of which is Ionic, and Ionic diction continued to be used in high poetry, such as tragedy, so that many 'Ionicisms' may in fact have been perceived as 'poeticisms'; νεοχμώ, for instance, occurs in Herodotus, which bespeaks its Ionic origin, but it is also found in Aeschylus and Euripides, suggesting that it may have had a poetic ring to it for Athenian audiences. Furthermore, Ionic and Attic spring from the same source (Ionic-Attic), so that

6 See Willi (2008, pp. 302–303), arguing that Gorgias wrote in Attic because he targeted an Athenian audience, and also to put into question hitherto unquestioningly accepted literary conventions. Willi (2010) links the use of Attic and Ionic by Athenian authors to the position they adopted in the νόμος (Ionic) / φύσις (Attic) debate of the fifth century BCE. For accounts of the emergence and crystallization of Attic as a literary language, see Adrados (2005, pp. 142–160); Horrocks (2010, pp. 67–78); Colvin (2014, pp. 163–168).

7 For ὁμαιχμία, see ὁμαιχμία at Hdt. 7.145.2, 8.140a.4. Sheppard & Evans (1876, p. 31) doubt (correctly in our view) that there is a significant semantic distinction between ὁμαιχμία and συμμαχία. For νεοχμώ see e.g. Hdt. 4.201.2, for σκυλεύω e.g. Hdt. 1.82.5.

we can hardly exclude the possibility that some ‘Ionicisms’ were primarily felt as old-fashioned ‘archaisms’ rather than as ‘Ionic’. This consideration might help explain, for example, the isolated occurrences of *σκυλεύω* in a later classical author like Lysias (12.40—a passage of considerable gravity), who does not generally show up much Ionic influence.⁸ However this may be, it is clear that earlier Attic authors like Thucydides forged a prose style based on an ‘international’ and in various respects ‘expanded’ version of Attic.⁹

Now, accounts of the crystallization of Attic as a literary language generally suppose that after careful beginnings, Attic rapidly became the main vehicle for Greek prose, not only for typically Athenian genres like forensic and political oratory and Socratic dialogue, but also for scientific treatises and historiographical narratives. For historiographers, Thucydides soon became an inescapable model, so that in the first half of the fourth century BCE not only the Athenian Xenophon, but also non-Athenian historians like Philistus of Syracuse and Ephorus of Cyme wrote in Attic (although Ctesias of Cnidus appears to have written in Ionic, following Herodotus). And, as the prestige of Attic grew, the influence of Ionic waned. For example, fourth-century authors like Lysias, Plato and Xenophon everywhere write -ττ- and -ρρ-. Such developments have led scholars to suppose that the gap between the language of literary prose and conversational Attic narrowed over time. Orators like Lysias and Demosthenes wrote speeches intended for oral delivery, while Plato often (though by no means always) appears to imitate the language of everyday conversation. Much more than their predecessors, these authors therefore give the impression of capturing vernacular Attic, which entails an avoidance of overtly archaic, poetic and Ionic forms (which may amount to the same thing).¹⁰

It is the (mostly oratorical) prose from the first half of the fourth century BCE which, from the Atticist movement in antiquity itself onwards, has usually been taken as the benchmark of ‘pure’ Attic. On this account, ‘pure’ often implicitly means ‘close to the real thing’ and acquires normative overtones, implying that it was (or should have been) an aspiration of classical prose authors to write an Attic that was ‘close to the real thing’.

8 For these considerations, cf. Willi (2010, pp. 107–108), Horrocks (2010, p. 68).

9 To follow Colvin’s (2014, pp. 163–164) characterization of Thucydides’ style.

10 Colvin (2014, p. 166). He suggests that if a word or form is shared between the orators, the spoken sections of Aristophanic comedy and Athenian prose inscriptions (or between at least two of these three sources), this is conclusive evidence that it was current in spoken Attic. See also Richards (1907, p. 157): the orators “use, we are safe in saying, the actual Attic speech of their time, not indeed in all its colloquial idiom and ease, but in its serious and slightly formal shape”. For Plato’s conversational style, see Thesleff (1967, pp. 63–66).

2.2 *Xenophon the 'Halbattiker'?*

Xenophon is—or at least used to be—one of the first authors read by learners of ancient Greek, and Xenophontic diction figures heavily in (school) grammars and dictionaries.¹¹ Yet, for all that many readers of Greek are likely unquestioningly to consider him a model representative of classical Attic, it is difficult to fit Xenophon into the story of the development of Attic prose outlined above. Indeed, Xenophon's status as an 'Attic classic' was in dispute already in antiquity itself.¹² Next to brief soundbites hailing Xenophon as Ἀττική Μοῦσα ('Attic Muse', Diog. Laert. 2.57) or Ἀττική μέλιττα ('Attic bee', *Suda* ξ 47 Adler), we find ancient lexicographers and other scholars identifying a great many words and forms in Xenophon's works which are entirely or almost entirely alien to the rest of classical Attic prose. Usually, these comments are critical, suggesting that Xenophon fell short of writing the 'pure' Attic of which the orators were seen as the most important representatives, although some ancient scholars defended the position that, *because* Xenophon used a certain word, that word should be regarded as 'good' classical Attic even if it was not in regular use in Attic prose.

Ancient observations on Xenophon's diction fall into several categories. First, lexicographers occasionally note his use of items which belong to dialects other than Attic. For example, the strict Atticist grammarian Phrynichus (second century CE) states that 'Xenophon offends against his native dialect' (παρὰ νομῇ ... Ξενοφῶν εἰς τὴν πάτριον διάλεκτον) by using Ionic ὀδμή ('smell') for Attic ὀσμὴ (*Eclog.* 62 Fischer).¹³ Secondly, several scholars remark on Xenophon's use of poetic expressions. For instance, the second-century Atticist lexicographer Pollux (3.99) also claims that Xenophon sometimes expresses himself 'in a rather poetic manner' (ποιητικωτέρως) and cites his use of γοωμένη ('bewailing', *Cyr.* 4.6.9) in evidence.¹⁴ Thirdly, ancient critics remarked on Xenophon's use of words which became common in the Koine but were rare in classical Attic. Thus, both Phrynichus (*Eclog.* 93 Fischer) and Moeris (α 149 Hansen) condemn Xenophon for using ἀκμήν in the meaning 'still' (*An.* 4.3.26); while ἀκμήν is a

11 For school commentaries on Xenophon's *Anabasis*, see Rijksbaron (2002 = 2018, pp. 376–406).

12 The most elaborate overview of the controversy surrounding Xenophon's language in antiquity remains Münscher (1920, especially pp. 163–180). See also the contribution of Rubulotta (this volume).

13 All manuscripts in fact have ὀσμὴ on all occurrences (×17), excepting *Symp.* 2.3, where part of the manuscripts read ὀδμή. No editor has opted to 'restore' ὀδμή on Phrynichus' authority.

14 For other references to Xenophontic poeticisms, cf. Phot. *Lex.* ε 2535, Hermog. *Id.* 406.15–18 Rabe.

common word for 'still' in the Koine, the grammarians warn that anyone wishing to write proper classical Attic should use ἔτι. The fourth-century grammarian Helladius points to Xenophon's use of accusative plural νομείς (instead of older νομέας) and adds a biographical explanation, stating that 'it is not at all surprising, if a man who spent time on campaigns and mixing with foreigners debases some aspects of his native dialect' (οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἀνὴρ ἐν στρατείαις σχολάζων καὶ ξένων συνουσίαις εἴ τινα παρακόπτει τῆς πατρίου φωνῆς), and warning against considering Xenophon as 'a lawgiver of Attic usage' (νομοθέτην ... ἀττικισμοῦ, *apud Phot. Bibl. cod.* 279, 533b23–28).¹⁵ Galen in a more neutral fashion notes how Xenophon 'often throws in obscure and figurative words' (παρεμβάλλει πολλάκις ὀνόματα γλωσσηματικά καὶ τροπικά, 18.414K).¹⁶

Modern scholars have often sided with those ancient commentators who felt that Xenophon fell short of writing 'pure' Attic prose and have also often adopted Helladius' explanation.¹⁷ In what remains the most elaborate and systematic study of Xenophon's diction, Gautier classifies as many odd items as possible into dialectisms (Ionicisms and Doricisms), poeticisms and Koine-isms ("éléments hellénistiques").¹⁸ Gautier suggests that the facts are best accounted for by the assumption that Xenophon soaked up many non-Attic words during the long time he spent away from Athens and used these, almost subconsciously and usually without stylistic motivation, next to their Attic equivalents. He furthermore argues that Xenophon's diverse linguistic contacts foreshadowed the large-scale societal processes that would lead to the rise of the Hellenistic Koine, which Xenophon therefore anticipated,

15 On the other hand, some Atticist lexicographers did accept Xenophon's authority. For instance, Aelius Dionysius (*Attic. Onom.* β 5 Erbse) suggests (if Erbse's supplement is correct) that βασιλίσσα ('queen'), the common Koine form for classical Attic βασιλεία, is good Attic on the ground that Xenophon already used it (*Oec.* 9.1).

16 The word γλωσσηματικός can conceivably mean 'dialectal' or 'foreign' (cf. Morpurgo Davies 2002 [1987], p. 161 on the meaning of γλωσσῆ), which is how Rutherford (1881, p. 161) and Pomeroy (1994, p. 11) take it. However, in the relevant passage Galen compares Xenophon with Hippocrates, and the Hippocratic examples concern unusual word formations rather than 'dialectal' or 'foreign' words (and of course Hippocrates writes in Ionic, so that a reference to 'dialectal' words in Xenophon would be strange here). Elsewhere in ancient criticism γλωσσηματικός/γλωττηματικός appears to mean 'in need of glossing', 'obscure' (e.g. Dion. Hal. *Amm.* 2.2 on Thucydides, where it is coupled with τροπικός and ἀπρηχαιώμενος); cf. Gautier (1911, p. 17) and Montanari (2015, s.v. γλωσσηματικός).

17 Cf. Pomeroy (1994, p. 14): "Modern analysis of Xenophon's prose has not essentially progressed beyond the observations of the ancient critics".

18 Gautier (1911). For briefer accounts of Xenophon's linguistic peculiarities, see Rutherford (1881, pp. 160–174), Hoffmann & Debrunner (1969, pp. 137–139), Hiersche (1970, pp. 216–221), Pomeroy (1994, pp. 9–15), Gray (2006 and 2017). Much useful information is also gathered in the lexicons of Sturz (1801–1804) and Sauppe (1869).

again more or less by accident. As far as alleged ‘poeticisms’ are concerned, Gautier nuances ancient assessments by arguing that, if a word can be regarded as both a dialectism and a poeticism, it is best regarded as a dialectism on the grounds that, as we have already stated above, many words that occur in high poetry are in fact ordinary Ionic words. This way of looking at things has the benefit of absolving Xenophon of the charge of using poetic language inappropriately to some extent. Even so, there remain a number of poeticisms. Some of these are probably intended, as when Xenophon employs the poetic verb γοῶμαι ‘bewail’ (remarked upon by Pollux, as we have seen above) in a passage that is also otherwise notable for its *pathos*.¹⁹ Others, however, are more difficult to explain; an example is the expression λῦειν αὐτούς from the passage quoted at the outset of this chapter. At least, our evidence makes it seem as if it is a genuinely poetic phrase and does not allow us to trace it to common usage in one or other Greek dialect.²⁰

While Gautier redresses the balance between ‘poeticisms’ and ‘dialectisms’ in Xenophon’s language, he still supposes that Xenophon simply could not do better. Indeed, in the eyes of many modern scholars Xenophon remains a “Halbattiker” (‘half-Atticist’), to use the dismissive term which Wackernagel applied to him.²¹ For instance, Bers suggests that Xenophon is “eccentric and unreliable as a guide to Attic prose usage, whether from artistic incapacity or the variety of his linguistic experience as an exile”.²² And according to Richards, reading Xenophon must have been a rather bewildering experience for ancient audiences with sufficient *Sprachgefühl* intuitively to sense the flavour of individual words: “Now Attic, now Ionic, now poetry, now prose, it is a bizarre diction peculiar to Xenophon.”²³

19 Gautier (1911, pp. 91–92). On other effective poeticisms in Xenophon, see Tsagalis (2002), Huitink & Rood (2019, p. 29). Gray (2017), on the other hand, resorts to the term ‘poeticism’ too rapidly. Xenophon’s deliberate use of poeticisms is one indication that it is not always fruitful to compare his language to that of the orators and find him wanting: whereas the orators may well have tended to eschew poeticisms to avoid sounding pompous, there is no reason why historiographers would (or should) follow suit.

20 Gautier (1911, pp. 142–143) assumes that Xenophon found so many words in common between the high poetry on which he had grown up and dialects other than Attic (especially Ionic), that he lost the ability to discern between normal dialectic words and genuine poeticisms, so that he became prone to borrowing expressions from the poets without stylistic justification.

21 Wackernagel (1907, p. 5).

22 Bers (1984, p. 13).

23 Richards (1907, p. 159).

2.3 *Towards a New Account of Xenophon's Diction*

For all that there is a broad coalition behind it, the assumption that Xenophon would have written proper Attic prose if only he had known how to do so is unsatisfactory. In general, as Dover, one of the few dissenting voices, already observed, “acquaintance with many varieties of a language is as likely to sharpen the ear for differences as to blunt it, especially in so articulate a writer”.²⁴ There are good *prima facie* reasons to take Dover’s observation seriously. First, recent scholarship has established beyond doubt that Xenophon did not operate in isolation from Athenian literary culture, but that he was deeply aware of the works of, for instance, Plato and Isocrates.²⁵ This means that it is unlikely that he had simply forgotten what ‘proper’ Attic prose looked like. A further reason to assume that Xenophon had not simply become insensitive to the differences between the various Greek dialects is his habit, which has in fact long been noted, of occasionally putting recognizably Doric words and phrases in the mouths of Spartan speakers, such as when he makes the Spartan general Chirisophus use Spartan Doric τελέθειν instead of Attic γίνεσθαι in what is also in other respects a particularly ‘Laconic’ speech (*An.* 3.2.3).²⁶ This suggests that Xenophon was sensitive to, and could artfully exploit, dialectal variation.

To arrive at a different account of Xenophon’s lexical choices we should first of all abandon the idea that the style of both the fourth-century orators and that of Xenophon bears a direct relationship to their respective speech habits. Given how ancient Greek literature generally worked, that idea does not sound very plausible to begin with.²⁷ Let us first take the often implicit assumption that the Attic written by orators like Lysias and Demosthenes is ‘close to the real thing’. The problem here is that it is not clear what ‘the real thing’ is supposed to be. Even if we leave aside the variations which must have existed in the speech of, say, city and country dwellers, young and old, men and women, the period under consideration was one of increasing linguistic diversity.²⁸ Owing to the Athenian empire and trading, non-Attic Greeks converged on Athens and Athenians spent more time abroad, and both sorts of interaction must have affected speech habits. The ‘Old Oligarch’ observed already in the

24 Dover (1997, p. 110).

25 See Danzig, Johnson & Morrison (2018) (Plato), Tamiolaki (2018) (Isocrates).

26 See Gautier (1911, p. 134). For further examples and analysis, see Hiersche (1970, pp. 217–218), Colvin (1999, pp. 70–73), Gray (2014, pp. 327–328 and 2017, p. 224), Huitink & Rood (2019, p. 30 and 2020, p. 432).

27 See now, e.g., Prauscello (2019), on the problems involved in scholars’ efforts to identify ‘epichoric’ Boeotian features in Pindar.

28 See Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994, pp. 201–218), Crespo (2010, pp. 126–130), Colvin (2014, pp. 109–111).

closing decades of the fifth century BCE that non-Attic speakers were leaving their mark on Attic:

ἔπειτα φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἑλλήνες ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρώνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένη ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. ('Old Oligarch' [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.8)

Furthermore, hearing every form of speech they have selected one thing from this one and another thing from that one. And the Greeks in general prefer to use their own kind of speech and lifestyle and customs, but the Athenians use one mixed out of that of all the Greeks and barbarians.

A specific development was that the Athenian administration of much Ionic-speaking territory in the empire started to produce a convergence of Attic and Ionic, which remained the language of diplomacy and international commerce after the loss of the empire. It can be traced in official inscriptions from the fourth century BCE found in Attica and elsewhere. This so-called 'Großattisch' ('Great Attic'), which can best be described as a 'modern Ionicized Attic', stands at the basis of the Hellenistic Koine.²⁹

Since we can discern little of this variation and development in the formal prose of the classical orators over the course of the fourth century BCE—in fact, notwithstanding the differences between various authors and speeches, it is the uniformity of their language which is most striking—it may be concluded that their diction is a much more "highly polished *Kunstsprache*" than is often assumed.³⁰ It is even 'pure' in the sense of being 'purist', that is standardized, considerably removed from everyday speech and operating with a 'purged' lexicon, the result of a conscious effort to select from co-existing forms. Among the words and forms which the literary Attic used in formal prose tended to avoid were items which were perceived as vulgar (spoken mostly by the lower strata of Athenian society), or as poetic, archaic, and Ionic (these three often amounting to the same thing). The orators created a distinctive Attic prose style, which was different from that of other types of Attic literature (such as tragedy). It was in part an ideological construct, formed in

29 The term 'Großattisch' is Thumb's (1974 [1901]), still a standard account of the formation of the Koine. The description of it as 'modern Ionicized Attic' is Horrocks' (2010, p. 74). For the epigraphical material, see Schlageter (1909).

30 So recently Hafner (2018, p. 23). Cf. Schlageter (1909, p. 46), calling Attic literary prose from the first half of the fourth century BCE "sehr stark puristisch". Willi (2014) locates the first 'Atticism' (in the sense of a normative set of rules about what constitutes 'good' Attic) in the fourth century BCE.

reaction to the convergence of Attic and Ionic; presumably, certain words were targeted for elimination precisely because they were not exclusively Attic and could be perceived as belonging to a different dialect.³¹

Against this background, Xenophon's lexical choices begin to take on a different appearance. Some 'dialectisms' (especially 'Ionicisms') and supposedly newfangled 'Koine-isms' discerned by ancient and modern critics may in fact have been part of spoken Attic for a long time, but subsequently avoided by most early fourth-century prose authors. This could, for example, be the case with his use of ἀκμήν ('still'), which was condemned, as we have seen, by some Atticist lexicographers. The word was already used, however, by Aeschylus (fr. 339a Radt), possibly as a colloquialism. As Niehoff-Panagiotidis has argued, this means that we should reckon with the possibility that the word had remained in use in vernacular Attic but was shunned by most fourth-century authors as a vulgarism.³² Another example may be the 'Ionicism' σκυλεύω ('despoil') for Attic σιλάω, mentioned above. It is not only found in Lysias, but also in Plato (*Resp.* 469c) and Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.4.19, *An.* 6.1.6) and is adopted into the Koine (it is frequent in Polybius and the Septuagint). All of this makes it likely that the word had a career in the Attic vernacular independent from its use in Ionic, but that it was generally rejected in fourth-century Attic prose in favour of σιλάω, perhaps precisely because σκυλεύω was also (and therefore could be perceived as) Ionic. If this is true, σκυλεύω is part of what Adrados has called a "subterranean" Attic vocabulary, parts of which we encounter in tragedy and even Thucydides, but which then only comes into view again in our literary sources with Xenophon and the later dialogues of Plato, who appears to have adopted a new prose style in his old age.³³

Although the status of individual forms and words can be a matter of dispute given a shortage of evidence, the general trend is clear. From the account sketched here, Xenophon does not emerge as an author who simply could not do better, but as one who consciously broke with the purism of Attic literature and admitted a wider variety of words and forms. Xenophon adopted a style which was closer to the international 'Great Attic' which would evolve into the Koine than that of some of his Athenian predecessors and contemporaries. By using co-existing forms (such as an occasional πορσύνειν next to παρέχειν) Xenophon furnished his style with a non-Attic patina, which signals to the reader that they are not dealing with a parochial Attic work.³⁴ It is significant in

31 See Hunter (1927, p. xlvi), Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994, pp. 219–220), Adrados (2005, pp. 156–160).

32 Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994, pp. 204–205).

33 Adrados (2005, pp. 146, 195).

34 Cf. Willi (2012) on the inconsistent Doric of Theocritus. For the vocabulary shared between Xenophon and the 'Great Attic' inscriptions, see Schläpeter (1909, pp. 46–47).

this respect that this patina is visible especially in the *Agesilaus*, *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*, more so than in the *Hellenica* and the Socratic works.³⁵ It appears that Xenophon forged a new style especially for works which do not deal with Athenian affairs, which are also otherwise generically adventurous, and which may well be intended to appeal to a wide audience across the Greek-speaking world.³⁶ In the case of these works, then, rather than expecting 'proper' Attic, we do better to regard Xenophon's style as one possible development of the 'international' and 'expanded' version of Attic used by his predecessor in the genre of historiography, Thucydides. In the terms of the Anchoring Innovation research project, we can say that Xenophon's innovative stylistic choices are nonetheless firmly anchored in both the changing Attic dialect of his day and in the language of his immediate historiographical predecessor.

3 Xenophon's Use of Military Language

3.1 *Technical Military Language*

Apart from λύνει αὐτούς (which, to be sure, remains difficult to explain), none of the remarkable words and expressions from *Anabasis* 3.4.36–38 listed at the outset of this chapter comfortably fit the sketch of Xenophon's diction given above, because they cannot be assigned to an obvious source in a dialect or literary genre. The fact that some of the items on the list have a metaphorical quality about them—would Galen have regarded ἀκρωνυχία and οὐρά as τροπικά?—and that some of them (like ἀκρωνυχία, ὑπερδέξις and the prefixed verbs διαγγέλλομαι and κατάγομαι) are compounds—if compounds of common types—may at first suggest that Xenophon's own creativity is at work here. However, that assumption soon leads to difficulties: it is unclear why Xenophon would see fit to use such flourishes of language in what is ultimately a rather routine passage of military narrative. Furthermore, the fact that a fair number of the odd words and expressions recur in Koine literature also speaks against the idea that Xenophon coined them himself, because there is no good reason to assume that Xenophon's diction had quite so much influence on later literature.

35 Cf. Gautier (1911, pp. 130–136). Tuplin (1993, pp. 193–197) shows on the basis of the distribution of a number of Xenophon's stylistic peculiarities that it is impossible to explain the difference with an appeal to the (in any case very uncertain) chronology of Xenophon's works.

36 For *Anabasis* as a generic experiment, see especially Bradley (2001), for *Cyropaedia*, see Huitink (2018, pp. 468–472). In the case of *Agesilaus* a specifically Spartan audience may also be targeted. Suggestive in this respect is the fact that *Agesilaus* displays a number of non-Attic words for which the corresponding passages in *Hellenica* employ 'properly' Attic synonyms: Gautier (1911, p. 134), Tuplin (1993, pp. 194–195).

For these reasons we should like to argue that Xenophon's literary experiment in *Anabasis* and elsewhere extended to his adoption of words and phrases that are anchored in the living professional or 'technical' military vocabulary from his time. Xenophon's use of 'technical' vocabularies is in fact well-documented, including his use of military terms.³⁷ Gautier already pointed out that a fair number of genuine 'Doricisms' can in fact be understood as originating from specifically Spartan military roles and institutions.³⁸ An example are the πεντηκοντῆρες ('platoon commanders', ostensibly of a unit of fifty) who appear in the *Respublica Lacedaemonorum* (11.2, 13.4) and the *Hellenica* (3.5.22, 4.5.7) as well as in the *Anabasis* (3.4.21) in a description of how the Ten Thousand adopt a new formation.³⁹ Now, Thucydides (5.66.3) had also once used πεντηκοντῆρες in a description of the command structure of Spartan armies. However, an important difference with Xenophon is that the latter also uses the specific term πεντηκοντῆρες (rather than more loosely employed designations like, for example, ταξίαρχοι) in parts of his narrative in which the command structure of the Spartan army is not the main focus of interest. This testifies to Xenophon's preference for specific, specialized terms, a point to which we will return below.

The professional military vocabulary for which we should like to make a case, however, need not be traced back to a single regional or dialectal provenance or military tradition. Rather, it may be surmised that the increasing professionalization and specialization of warfare in fourth-century BCE Greece went hand in hand with the development of a more or less technical vocabulary designed to give expression to changes in tactics and organization and to facilitate communication between officers and soldiers, who were increasingly often mercenaries originating from various parts of Greece; the Ten Thousand are, of course, the most famous example of such an army.⁴⁰ While war and warfare were no doubt more a part of everyday life for many people in ancient Greece than for people in most modern Western societies, it seems that in Xenophon's lifetime a class of 'specialists in war' (professional soldiers, officers, often mercenaries) emerged, which is a precondition for the development of a specialized, professional language.⁴¹

37 See Gautier (1911, pp. 150–153), Lipka (2002, pp. 46–47), Gray (2006, p. 428), Dillery (2016, pp. 249–250). See, however, Huitink & Rood (2016) for some qualifications to Xenophon's precision in the case of military ranks.

38 Gautier (1911, pp. 35–47, 151).

39 In *Anabasis*, the term may reflect a restructuring of the lines of command on the basis of a Spartan model (proposed by the Spartan general, Chirisophus), but the relation to that model is loose; see Huitink & Rood (2019, p. 161).

40 For the rise of mercenaries, see Trundle (2004).

41 See Willi (2003, pp. 54, 70–71).

It is nonetheless not easy to define technical military language. One thing that needs to be emphasized is that technical military language is not the same as the 'language of soldiers' spoken in barracks (and often characterized by, for instance, vulgarisms). To the extent that the latter is a recognizable variety of language, it is a so-called *Sondersprache*, defined as a distinctive variety of a language spoken by a specific social group. Technical languages (or *Fachsprachen*), however, are not solely defined in terms of the social group or the social context in which they are spoken, but have a content-related component.⁴² According to Langslow in his discussion of medical Latin, for instance, all the utterances of a recognized group of specialists *that relate to their field of specialization* constitute a 'technical language'.⁴³ Yet, such a definition is still too wide. After all, we would not want to say that, when one professional soldier talks to another about, for instance, πολεμεῖν ('being at war') or μάχεσθαι ('waging battle'), those verbs are technical terms, because both clearly are words used by the population at large to talk about war and warfare.⁴⁴

Partly in response to Langslow's wide definition, Willi in his own effort to identify the (parodic) use of technical languages in Aristophanes has suggested a number of criteria which the use of a word should meet for it to count as 'technical'.⁴⁵ Some of those are also relevant for the professional military vocabulary which we find in Xenophon, as we will see. First, since technical language is used to facilitate communication between specialists, truly technical terms have only one meaning (i.e. are monosemous), irrespective of the context in which they are used, and bear a precise relation to other terms within the same field. Secondly, since technical language is used to exchange factual information, technical terms should be 'expressively neutral', that is, not bear a positive or a negative connotation. Thirdly, technical terms are not in general use (the technical German term is *allgemeingebräuchlich*) or, more precisely, they are not on the whole used by non-specialists when referring to the relevant item. In modern languages, which tend to borrow their technical terminology in many fields from Latin and Greek, technical words are often not only not in general use, but also not generally understandable (*allgemeinverständlich*)—apart from doctors, who knows at once what a 'myocardial infarction' is? However, as Willi argues, since Greek did not adopt

42 See De Meo (2005, pp. 171 and 187–197), an effort to outline some features of a Latin *sermo castrensis*. A standard work on *Fachsprachen* is Hoffmann (1985).

43 Langslow (2000, pp. 26–27).

44 It is worth emphasizing the point, because Barends (1955), a lexicon to Aeneas Tacticus, makes precisely this mistake, identifying both these words (and many others along the same line) as 'technical military terms' (marking them with †).

45 The following paragraph summarizes the relevant parts of Willi (2003, pp. 56–65).

foreign words to shape technical vocabularies, the criterion of *allgemeinverständlichkeit* does not apply to Greek technical terms: in ancient Greece, people will have been able to understand many technical terms (even if they did not always grasp the precise technical reference), and it is this fact that made it possible for an author like Xenophon to adopt technical military terms into his historiographical writings to begin with, which were aimed at a larger audience than just his fellow soldiers.

Apart from these semantic factors, formal criteria also play a role in the formation (and then the identification) of technical terms. Three main linguistic strategies are employed in the creation of technical vocabularies: giving a more specific meaning to an existing term (as when φλέβες ‘blood-vessels’ comes to mean ‘veins’, as opposed to ‘arteries’, in certain Hippocratic treatises), the coinage of new terms and, finally, the borrowing of terms from other semantic fields for reuse as metaphors and metonyms.⁴⁶ The coinage of new terms on the whole proceeds by means of productive derivational suffixes (e.g. *nomina rei actae* in -μα and *nomina actionis* in -σις) and by common compounding strategies with, for instance, prefixes like ἐν- and δυσ- or preverbs like περι- or ὑπο-.⁴⁷ Metaphors are usually based on fairly straightforward physical and conceptual resemblances.⁴⁸ Examples can be adduced from specialized military vocabulary in several languages. Consider, for instance, the Latin terms *aries* (‘ram’ > ‘battering ram’) and *testudo* (‘tortoise’ > ‘shield’ and ‘battle formation wherein the soldiers hold their shields above their heads’).⁴⁹ Other examples are the British and American ranks ‘corporal’ for the leader of a ‘body’ of troops (cf. Latin *corpus*), ‘captain’ for the ‘head’ of such a body (cf. *caput*) and ‘colonel’ for the leader of a regiment or ‘column’ (cf. *columna*).

3.2 *Some Specialized Military Vocabulary from Xenophon's Anabasis 3*

When one looks for specialized military vocabulary in Xenophon's *Anabasis* 3 on the basis of the criteria mentioned in the previous section, things are not always clear-cut, since the boundary between ‘technical’ and ‘non-technical’ terms is not clearly drawn. The criterion of *allgemeingebräuchlichkeit* is particularly challenging. Take, for instance, the words σφενδόνη (‘sling’, 3.3.16, 18, 4.4, 4.18; ×10 in Xenophon's complete works) and σφενδονάω (‘to shoot with a sling’, 3.3.7, 15–18, 20, 4.14–15, 17, 27; ×24 in Xenophon's complete works). Both these words are in fairly regular use in Greek literature—the former is first found in Homer, and

46 Schironi (2019, p. 229).

47 Schironi (2019, pp. 230–234).

48 Cf. Lloyd (1987, pp. 172–214), Langslow (2000, pp. 178–201), Schironi (2019, pp. 234–239).

49 For the military vocabulary of the Romans, see De Meo (2005, pp. 171–207).

the latter is already in Pindar—and it is difficult to see what other word anyone could use to refer *specifically* to a sling or to the act of firing a slingshot. In that sense, both words are probably *allgemeingebräuchlich*. Yet, the remarkable fact remains that Xenophon uses both these words much more frequently than, for instance, his predecessors Herodotus (who uses neither) and Thucydides (both once: σφενδόνη at 4.32.4, and σφενδονάω at 2.81.8), despite the fact that all three historiographers often report battles. What seems to be going on here is that Herodotus and Thucydides tend to be less specific in their battle descriptions than Xenophon, preferring general terms like ‘weapons’ and ‘shooting’ to specific terms like ‘sling’ and ‘firing a slingshot’. It is perhaps significant in this respect that Aeneas Tacticus in his—in many ways ‘technical’—treatise on siege warfare at one point (32.8) specifies the general term μηχανήματα (‘war engines’) by καταπάλται καὶ σφενδόναι (‘catapults and slings’), suggesting that normally a general term like μηχανήματα suffices, but that for the specific tactical instructions which he gives more specialized terms are needed (even if Aeneas is talking about a larger kind of ‘sling’ than the hand-held weapons to which Thucydides and Xenophon refer). In that sense, terms like σφενδόνη and σφενδονάω are not *allgemeingebräuchlich*, and their use by Xenophon might be called ‘technical’. For assessments of Xenophon’s style, however, it is ultimately more important to observe that Xenophon differs from his predecessors by often preferring specific terms when describing war than to determine whether words like σφενδόνη and σφενδονάω are properly ‘technical’.⁵⁰

That having been said, there are nonetheless words in Xenophon’s historiographical narratives that are very likely to have been drawn from the actual living professional military vocabulary of his time, including the items on the list of remarkable words and phrases found in *Anabasis* 3.4.36–38. They include not only military ranks (which we will leave to one side), but also terms for features of the landscape and above all tactical manoeuvres. We list the most plausible candidates from *Anabasis* 3, with their places of occurrence in that book, the total number of occurrences in Xenophon’s works, and a brief explanation:

- ἀκρωνυχία (×3: *An.* 3.4.37, 38, *Hell.* 4.6.7): ‘tip of the toe(-nail)’, but here ‘spur’ (of a mountain). The word does not occur before Xenophon and rarely after

⁵⁰ Cf. the acute observations about Xenophon’s style of Higgins (1977, pp. 3–6), especially p. 5 on *Cyr.* 7.1.37 παίει ... τῇ μαχαίρᾳ (‘he struck ... with his sabre’): “the man strikes not with any “weapon”, but with a sabre”. A good example of Thucydides’ avoidance of specific terms is found at 3.98.1: μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἶχόν τε τὰ βέλη ... (‘so as long as the archers had projectiles left ...’), where general βέλη (‘projectiles’) is used instead of specific τοξεύματα (‘arrows’). Note also, finally, that Xenophon sometimes appears to use σφενδόνη specifically for the stone or lead ‘bullet’ used in a sling (e.g. *An.* 3.4.4; cf. LSJ s.v.); that looks ‘technical’, in that it appears to give a specific meaning to a more general term.

him; later occurrences of the word, seemingly with the less specific meaning 'mountain top' (e.g. Philostr. *VA* 3.1.5, *Her.* 33.41, Zonar. *Epitome* 9.16, 24), all date from the Imperial era and are best interpreted as studied imitations of Xenophon. Nonetheless, the word looks like a technical term (rather than a creative, 'poetic' coinage on Xenophon's part), because it is a compound of a common type—ἀκρο-compounds are productive in the classical period (cf. e.g. Aen. *Tact.* 15.6 ἀκρολοφία 'mountain ridge', Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.5.1 ἀκροφυής 'grown high up')—and it is a metaphor based on physical resemblance. The narrative following the occurrence of the word helps explain the metaphor: Ξενοφῶν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι (3.4.41 'Xenophon saw that the summit of the mountain was close above their own army and that from this summit there was a way of approach to the hill where the enemy were'). The 'spur' (here referred to by a non-technical term, λόφος ('hill')), is compared to the tip of a toe, which juts out from the inset of the foot (the mountain: τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν), being connected to it by the middle phalanx bone (a ridge or 'way of approach', called ἔφοδος).⁵¹ Xenophon's insight into the tactical situation reported in the narrative also makes clear why it is useful to have a specialized term for a 'spur' of a mountain, as opposed to just any kind of 'hill': a spur is connected to a mountain with a higher top, and possession of that top makes it possible to dislodge any troops that occupy the spur. The episode of the *Anabasis* ends with the Greeks racing a Persian regiment to the top of the mountain: they take possession of it, so that the Persians can no longer hold the spur, and the Greeks can pass by on the road which the spur overlooked. The use of the technical term at once indicates the tactical problem to be resolved.

- διαγγέλλομαι (×1, *An.* 3.4.37): 'pass a command through the ranks'. The technical credentials of this word are perhaps less strong than those of ἀκρωνυχία. However, the very fact that the verb never recurs anywhere (παρεγγυάω or παραγγέλλω are the preferred terms in Xenophon and later literature) makes it unlikely that Xenophon coined it just for the occasion. And the verb does look technical to the extent that it may well be a new coinage based on a common type of reciprocal middle verbs; one may compare διακελεύομαι 'exhort one another' or διαλέγομαι 'converse'.⁵² Furthermore, it is readily understandable that a term needed to be coined to differentiate the special way of giving an order which it denotes from other ways of giving orders.

51 Cf. the expression for 'on tiptoes' at Eur. *El.* 840 ὄνυχας ἔπ' ἄκρους στάς. Compare also the common metaphor 'foot (of a mountain)' at e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.824, 20.59, Pind. *Pyth.* 11.36.

52 For reciprocal middles with δια-, see Allan (2003, p. 86, n. 138).

We will return below to the question why Xenophon may have employed the term at this junction, but at the very least its use is another sign of Xenophon's attention for military *minutiae*, also noted above.

- ἐκθλίβω (×2, *An.* 3.4.19, 4.20): **'to squeeze out of line'**. This compound verb has several specialized meanings in fields like medicine (it frequently occurs in the Hippocratic corpus), natural philosophy and linguistics.⁵³ It may have been adopted into the military vocabulary from any of these fields to describe the breaking of the line under pressure. The impression that it is a technical term is reinforced by the existence of the more commonly used verb πιέζω, which is in fact used by Xenophon in the same sentence: the specialized term was probably not *allgemeingebräuchlich*.
- κατὰγομαι (×4, *An.* 3.4.37, *Hell.* 4.5.18, *Cyr.* 8.5.17, *Symp.* 8.39): **'return to camp'**. This is an altogether unusual sense of the word before Xenophon. We are probably dealing with an existing word which took on a specialized meaning when used among military 'specialists'. Given its normal sense of bringing ships from the high seas to land, it may have been imported from the navy. Alternatively, there may be a metaphor at work here: 'putting into harbor' is a common way of saying 'reaching safety' in Greek literature (e.g. Theogn. 1274 ἐνωρμίσθην) and soldiers may well have conceived of their camp that way. If there is any mileage in that explanation, the word may offer a glimpse of 'soldier speak'.
- οὐρά (×14, *An.* 3.4.38, 43): **'tail'**, but here **'rear of a marching army'**. The metaphor is frequently employed by Xenophon, and it then recurs in Polybius, where οὐρά is the general term for 'the rear' of an army (whether it is on the march or not—a slight standardization of the metaphor). The fact that both Xenophon and Polybius use the term more likely points to both authors drawing on living military vocabulary than to Xenophontic influence on Polybius. The supposition that οὐρά is a technical term is reinforced by the fact that we also find a specialized word for the 'commander of the rearguard', οὐραγός (*An.* 4.3.26, 29, *Cyr.* 2.3.22, 3.3.40) and by the fact that Polybius in addition knows a verb οὐραγεῖν ('lead the rear' or 'be in the rear').
- ὀπισθοφυλακέω (×11, *An.* 3.2.36, 37, 3.8): **'to guard the rear'**, **'be in the rearguard'**. Again, a word which first occurs in Xenophon, and which is very frequent in Hellenistic and later historiography. The compound testifies to the increasing specialism of Greek armies and the differentiation of functions which must have accompanied that process. The 'rank' ὀπισθοφύλαξ is also first attested in Xenophon (e.g. *An.* 3.3.7).
- πλαίσιον (×12, *An.* 3.2.36, 4.19, 22, 28, 43, 44): **'hollow square'**. This formation comprises hoplites on all four sides of a hollow square, with the middle taken

53 Cf. LSJ s.v.

up by light-armed troops or baggage and non-combatant camp-followers. The word originally refers to a rectangular frame used in construction, so we are dealing with a building-metaphor, based on physical resemblance.⁵⁴ Thucydides describes how Brasidas extricates a Spartan army from mountainous Lyncestis using this formation (4.125.2–3), but does not use the word there, perhaps testifying to his avoidance of ‘technical’ terms. Thucydides does, however, twice use the phrase ἐν πλαίσιω in relation to the Athenians in Sicily (6.67.1, 7.78.2). Later authors seem to call (a variation of) this formation πλινθίον (e.g. Arr. *Tact.* 29.7–8), another brick metaphor.

- **στόμα (×50, *An.* 3.4.42, 43, 44): ‘mouth’, but ‘front’ of a formation in military usage.** Like οὐρά, this word is a metaphorical technical term which Xenophon uses often and which recurs in Polybius. Eustathius (*Comm. in Iliadem* I 743.7–10, IV 335.8–10 Van der Valk) wrongly adduces the Homeric expression πολέμου/πολέμοιο στόμα (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 10.8, 19.313—in fact ‘war’s deadly jaws’) as a parallel. Closer are the uses of στόμα for the ‘point of a weapon’ (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 15.389, Eur. *Supp.* 1206), or the expression κατὰ στόμα ‘face to face’ (e.g. Hdt. 8.11.1, Eur. *Heracl.* 801). The usage for the front of an army may or may not be linked to Hellenistic military uses for the ‘edge of a weapon’ (which has its own metaphorical extensions (Ael. *Tact.* 13; Ascl. *Tact.* 3.5; Polyb. 10.12.7, with Walbank 1967, p. 214)). *Hell.* 4.3.4 describes a clever manoeuvre of the Spartan king Agesilaus: ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκώλυνον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ’ οὐράν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἵππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν (‘When the Thessalians, by charging upon those who were behind, kept interfering with his progress, he sent along to the rear the horsemen who were at the front, except those about his own person’); but the parallel passage in *Agesilaus* (2.2) replaces ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος with the non-technical ἀπὸ τοῦ προηγούμενου στρατεύματος (‘from the part of the army leading the way’). One suspects that the genre of the encomium, to which *Agesilaus* belongs, is less receptive to technical military terms than actual historiographical narrative.
- **ὑπερδέξις (×8, *An.* 3.4.37): ‘higher ground’.** This word does not occur in extant literature before Xenophon, while Xenophon uses it eight times (in *Hell.*, *An.* and *Ages.*). One reason to assume that it is technical is that Aeneas Tacticus (1.2) also uses it in his military treatise, and that Polybius employs it frequently. There are several other reasons to suspect that the word was adopted into literature from living military professional vocabulary. First, the word is a compound of a familiar type, which, as we have seen, is compatible with one common way in which technical terms come into existence. Secondly, the word has a clear technical reference: on all its occurrences, it

54 See Dover (1993, p. 290).

does not simply refer to any 'higher ground', but to 'higher ground' considered *as a tactical position*. Thirdly, it is easy to see that it is useful to have a specialized term to refer to this particular tactical position, given the special advantages which occupying a high place brings to the troops occupying it and the special problems which it poses to the troops passing or attacking it. A fourth indication that the word is a technical term is that it is expressively neutral: originally, it must have meant 'higher ground on the right-hand side', which is the side poorly protected by shields, which were carried in the left hand, and so it probably had a negative connotation.⁵⁵ However, in the usage which we encounter in our texts, ὑπερδέξιος is a standardized and objective term for 'higher ground'.

- **φάλαγξ** (×101, *An.* 3.3.11, 4.23, 26): 'formation of hoplites in battle order'. Given how well-known this formation is, it is surprising to find that the word φάλαγξ does not occur in the required sense before Xenophon. This possibly Doric sense of φάλαγξ⁵⁶ also occurs in Aeneas Tacticus (29.9), but not in either Herodotus or Thucydides (who describes the formation in detail at 5.71, but eschews the word); it passes into the Koine. Homer uses φάλαγξ once in the singular (*Il.* 6.6), but more usually in the plural, to refer loosely to 'a line of troops' (cf. also Tyrtaeus 12.21 West). The use of the singular to refer to a whole hoplite formation may have a metaphorical origin, as the basic meaning of the word appears to have been 'log' (as at Hdt. 3.97.3).⁵⁷

3.3 Conclusion: Xenophon's Use of Military Vocabulary

Further terms from *Anabasis* 3, which may also belong to the professional military vocabulary, could be adduced, but our discussion of the most likely candidates in the previous section suffices to allow certain patterns of usage to be discerned. They are not unlike those found for the 'dialectisms' and genuine 'poeticisms' treated in Section 2 of this chapter. In general, the fact that Xenophon drew on technical military diction in *Anabasis* and elsewhere to a significantly greater extent than Herodotus or even Thucydides is indicative of how Xenophon sought to develop a less elevated style for his historical narratives and how he imbued them with a tinge of realism. In that sense, the effect is comparable to his use of many words that belong to 'Great Attic'. Furthermore, the items discussed above show an interesting division of distribution: some, like φάλαγξ, οὐρά and στόμα, are widely used by Xenophon throughout his works. They resemble the

55 Cf. Pritchett (1971–1991, Vol. 4, pp. 76–78), Whitehead (2001, p. 99).

56 Gautier (1911, p. 40).

57 Cf., somewhat differently and less plausibly, Σ D Hom. *Il.* 4.254, glossing φάλαγγας: τάξεις στρατιωτῶν εἶπεν ὁ ποιητής, ἐπειδὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ξύλοις ἐμάχοντο, φάλαγγας δὲ ξύλα ἐκάλουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ('The poet means lines of soldiers, since in earlier times they used to fight with wooden weapons and the people of old used to call wooden things *phalanxes*').

seemingly random ‘dialecticisms’, in that they give the work a certain ‘patina’, in this case one that suggests a conscientious and precise historian is at work, who is an expert in the military matters which frequently are the subject of his stories and who knows ‘how to talk the talk’, as it were.

Perhaps most interesting, however, are those words which, not unlike the deliberate poeticisms discerned by ancient and modern critics, are only used occasionally: these include, in the passage with which this chapter started, at least ἀκρωνυχία and διαγγέλλομαι and perhaps also ὑπερδέξιος and κατάγομαι. If poeticisms are occasionally inserted to achieve *pathos*, what is the effect of those rare words here? As for διαγγέλλομαι, we should observe that the term is used in a context which thematizes various ways of giving orders. In particular, by passing their order down the ranks, from man to man, the Persians probably wished to conceal their plans from the Greeks (in vain, as it turns out). By contrast, the Greeks use a herald (ἐκήρυξε), because they *want* the Persians to hear: their purpose is to see if the Persians will indeed retreat.⁵⁸ The use of the terms ἀκρωνυχία and ὑπερδέξιος here is also not a coincidence, we think. They occur in a context in which the character Xenophon finds new ways of dealing with a difficult and unfamiliar tactical problem: by formulating the problem in ‘proper’ military terms, Xenophon is indirectly characterized as a professional and good general who knows how to tackle tactical issues. As for the use of κατάγομαι, finally, if it is true that it has connotations of reaching ‘the safety of the camp’, it may point to the eagerness with which Persian armies normally make for their camps at nightfall.

In sum, then, Xenophon appears to have consciously adopted military professional vocabulary into his historiographical narratives and so to have opened up a new chapter in the history of Greek prose style—Polybius, for one, followed suit.

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⁵⁸ For Xenophon's interest in this aspect of tactics, cf. *Eq. mag.* 4.9: τάς γε μὴν ἐξαγωγὰς τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἦττον ἂν οἱ πολέμιοι αἰσθάνοιντο, εἰ ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως γίγνοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ κήρυκος ἢ ἀπὸ προγραφῆς (‘The advance of cavalry is less likely to be detected by the enemy if orders are not given by a herald or in writing beforehand, but passed along’).

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Forerunner of the Koine or Attic Bee?

The Reception of Xenophon in the Imperial Age

Gabriella Rubulotta

1 Introduction

If the debate on Xenophon's language is still open, that is certainly because Xenophon himself cannot find a definite place among authors and genres. Historian, philosopher, novelist, soldier. The language of Xenophon reflects the variety of his interests and the vicissitudes of his life. For this reason, his inclusion among the canonical authors considered as linguistic models by the Atticists has often been seen as problematic.

In this chapter, after outlining the features of the reception of Xenophon in the Imperial age,¹ I provide some cases of literary imitation of Xenophon by an author that has been labeled as one of the most severe Atticists, Aelius Aristides.² This, as a consequence, has repercussions for the traditional idea that Xenophon's language was not Attic enough to be a model for Atticists, or, inversely, can call into question the mighty purism of Aristides, and even the idea of Attic language as it was shaped by Atticists.

During the Imperial age, Xenophon's literature was still very popular. Xenophon was very much quoted, studied, and imitated by the authors of the first centuries CE.³ That naturally explains the interest of grammarians and lexicographers in his language.⁴ The author of the treatise *On the Sublime* alludes to the existence of some commentaries to Xenophon.⁵ Athenaeus attributes to an 'Ephaestion' a monograph on the *Memorabilia*.⁶ The *Suda* mentions a number

1 For a study of Xenophon's diction and its place in the history of Greek prose style, see Huitink and Rood in this volume.

2 E.g. Berardi (2016).

3 Goldhill (2009, p. 109); Pernot (2014, p. 282); on the reception of Xenophon during the Roman Empire, see Münscher (1920, pp. 106–213), Rutherford (1998, pp. 64–79); Sgobbi (2004); Chiron (2014); Gray (2014); Bowie (2016).

4 Münscher (1920, pp. 163–176); Sgobbi (2004); Bandini & Dorion (2000–2011, Introduction, CCLXXVII).

5 [Longinus] *Subl.* 8.1.

6 Athenaeus, xv, 673.

of grammarians who studied Xenophon's language and works.⁷ Nevertheless, the only surviving treatise entirely devoted to Xenophon is *On simple style*, of the Pseudo-Aelius Aristides. Hermogenes, who often quotes Xenophon, takes him into account, along with Plato, as a model of panegyric style.

However, the question of the judgement of Xenophon's language in antiquity reveals two opposite facets. On the one hand, the sweetness and the simplicity of his language brought him the epithet of 'Attic bee': the expression Ἀττικὴ μέλιττα in the *Suda* and in Eustatius, is connected to the concept of γλυκύτης, sweetness. In the same line, Diogenes Laertius defined him as Ἀττικὴ Μοῦσα, and Cicero used very similar words (cf. Cic. *Orat.* 62: *Xenophontis voce Musas quasi locutas*; 32: *melle dulcior*). The purity, καθαρότης, of Xenophon's language, was admired by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, too.⁸ On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that several linguistic elements make Xenophon a forerunner of the Koine.⁹ As a matter of fact, his apparent breaches of the Attic standard and the use of non-Attic words provoked sharp criticism of some lexicographers. In particular, Helladius and the author of P. Oxy 1012 are very severe towards him.¹⁰ Yet the question is more complicated than it seems as a number of these reproaches could be due to the low-quality editions of Xenophon's works used by those lexicographers.¹¹

The use of examples taken from Xenophon by more inclusive lexicographers, such as Pollux¹² and the Antiatticist, shows that this author had his rightful place in the canon of Attic models. However, that gives rise to ambiguous interpretation. If, on the one hand, it is clear that Xenophon was considered by those lexicographers as a good model of language, on the other hand, it can be said that their idea of good language was less restrictive than others. Besides, as Kim has pointed out, since "proper' Greek, as an abstracted linguistic ideal, was essentially a mirage",¹³ debate over which authors should be considered as Attic is set to remain unresolved.

Xenophon's inclusion in the Attic canon seems to have particularly aroused perplexity in scholarship, which is often skeptical about his authority. It is curious that, even when the Antiatticist brings into play Xenophon to defend

7 Aelius Theon of Alexandria (Θέων II, p. 702 n. 206 Adler), Heron of Athens (Ἡρόων II, p. 590 n. 552 Adler), Zenon of Athens (Ζήνων II, p. 507 n. 81 Adler); Aelius Harpocraton (Ἀρποκρατίων I, p. 367 n. 4013 Adler); Tiberius (Τιβέριος IV, p. 545 n. 550).

8 Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 4, 3–4; Plutarch, *Prof. virt.* 79d.

9 Gautier (1911); Cavenaile (1975).

10 P.Oxy. 1012 fr. 14; Photius, *Bibl.* 279, 533b. See also Huitink and Rood (this volume).

11 Sgobbi (2004, pp. 234–235).

12 Michaelis (1877).

13 Kim (2010, p. 478).

the use of a word otherwise judged ἀδόκιμον, even if he zealously calls him ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφῶν,¹⁴ this is seen as suspicious, and the adjective καλός is said to be used “in relation to an author, whose inclusion into the canonic ones was controversial”,¹⁵ as if the Antiatticist was trying in some way to ‘sugar the pill’ for his most severe readers.

Regarding Phrynichus, the most purist of the lexicographers, scholars often presume that as in his *Ecloga* he rejected some words used by Xenophon, he dismissed him *in toto* as a model of Attic language.¹⁶ If, on the one hand, one should be aware of the different goals of Phrynichus in his other work, the *Praeparatio Sophistica*,¹⁷ on the other hand, it is not to be forgotten that, according to Photius, in this work, Phrynichus explicitly included Xenophon in the Attic canon:

Phot. *Bibl.* 158, 101b

Εἰλικρινοὺς δὲ καὶ καθαροὺ καὶ ἀττικοῦ λόγου κανόνας καὶ σταθμὰς καὶ παράδειγμά φησιν ἄριστον Πλάτωνα τε καὶ Δημοσθένην μετὰ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ τῶν ἐννέα χοροῦ, Θουκυδίδην τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντα καὶ Αἰσχίνην τὸν Λυσανίου τὸν Σωκρατικόν.

The best models, norms, and standards of undiluted and pure Attic speech are considered by the author to be Plato, Demosthenes and the other nine Attic orators, Thucydides, Xenophon, Aeschines the son of Lysanias the Socratic.¹⁸

Therefore, although Phrynichus is elsewhere critical towards some expressions used by Xenophon, he considered his language as basically Attic.

If Phrynichus is regarded as the most severe Atticist among the lexicographers, Aelius Aristides is considered the most rigorous among the Atticists. Another element creates a further link between these two authors. Indeed, they are likely to have been fellow pupils of the same teacher, Aristocles of

14 Antiatt. ε 22 Valente.

15 Valente (2015, p. 47).

16 E.g. Jones (2008, p. 261): “When he (i.e. Phrynichus) cites Xenophon, it is to complain that he offends against the rules of his native dialect in using *odmê* rather than *osmê* (62), or to say that his single use of *acmên* in place of *eti* does not justify others in using it (93)” and Kim (2010, p. 478): “While Phrynichus is uncompromising in his strictness, rejecting the testimony of authors like Xenophon, Aristotle, and Menander ...”.

17 See Fischer (1974, pp. 74–77) and Matthaios (2015, p. 293).

18 Transl. N. Wilson.

Pergamon.¹⁹ The obscure figure of Alexander of Cotiaeum, teacher of Aristides, seems to tie the two sophists even closer together.²⁰

Moreover, as Photius reports, Phrynichus had a very high opinion of Aristides, admired for his fine *paideia*.²¹ From this, we can expect that Aristides had the same cultural background as Phrynichus, and that consequently, their pantheon of exemplary Attic writers to imitate included the same authors and that Xenophon was thus one of those.

The linguistic models of Aristides are generally said to be Demosthenes and Plato. However, the presence of Xenophon's literature in Aristides' speeches seems to have been underestimated. Two traditional beliefs are probably behind this state of affairs; the first that Xenophon was not believed to be 'Attic' or rhetorically relevant enough for an orator like Aristides;²² the second that Aristides was too purist to be interested in Xenophon.

A careful reading of Aristides' speeches reveals the presence of Xenophon's literature and language. In the *Platonic speeches*, Aristides invoked Xenophon and his arguments against the ones of Plato. In his *Panathenaicus*, praising the Attic *χώρα*, the orator imitated the preface of the *Poroi*, and he certainly used Xenophon's *Hellenica* in the account of Athenian history. The *Speech to Rome* contains several allusions to the *Cyropaedia*. Then, most importantly, seven declamations are based on Xenophon's historical accounts. The setting of the declamation *On behalf of making peace with the Athenians* is the year 404 and the negotiations concluding the Peloponnesian war. Next, a set of five declamations, the *Leuctran orations*, is inspired by the events following the battle of Leuctra. Finally, the evidence of the lost declamation *Callixenus* shows that its framework was the Arginusae trial as accounted by Xenophon.²³

Therefore, many passages of these speeches hide, to different degrees, variations on Xenophon's words. Indeed, as literary aemulatio of classical authors involved a form of *certamen*, as well,²⁴ it will often appear that Aristides while imitating Xenophon tries to improve his text, by setting up different forms of *variatio*.

Sometimes Aristides' variations on Xenophon convey some elements of his language as well. In his extensive inquiry into Atticism, Schmid identified

19 Jones (2008); Berardi (2016, pp. 249–251).

20 Alpers (1998).

21 Photius, *Bibl.* 158, 101a, 15–27.

22 An important step forward for a new reading of Xenophon's lexical choices has been made in Huitink & Rood (2019 and 2020); see also Huitink & Rood in this volume.

23 Robert (2012, pp. 145–152).

24 Quint. *Inst.* x 5, 5.

a number of words that Aristides borrowed from Xenophon.²⁵ In particular, some of them are recommended by the lexicographers Phrynichus and Moeris as perfect Attic.²⁶

In a comparative reading with Xenophon's text, we now analyze a number of chosen passages taken from Aristides' speeches. Looking at what Aristides decides to keep and what he changes or adds to his original material will show how productive his imitation of Xenophon is.

2 The Praise of Attica (*Panath.* 7–24)—Variations

The praise of the Attic χώρα in the *Panathenaicus* is a demonstration of Aristides' rhetorical virtuosity. Praising the resources of the region, its position, its shape, and its climate, Aristides follows on each *topos* the preface of Xenophon's *Poroi*.²⁷ The imitation of this text is so close that Aristides' praise of Attica can easily be called "un magnifique exemple de plagiat littéraire".²⁸ Today, though, we would rather say that this text contains precious evidence of the literary practice of *mimesis* in the Second Sophistic as theorized by J. Bompaigne (1958). Two examples will adequately show Aristides' treatment of the *Poroi*.

According to Xenophon, Attica has the best climate possible as the region is said to lie at the center of the world. As a consequence, moving away from it, the temperatures encountered will be more hostile, whether it be too cold or too hot. Aristides repeats the same idea:

Xen. *Vect.* 1, 6

ὅσω γὰρ ἂν τινες πλέον ἀπέχωσιν αὐτῆς, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέροις ἢ ψύχεσιν ἢ θάλπεσιν ἐντυγχάνουσιν·

For the further we go from her, the more intense is the heat or cold we meet with.²⁹

25 Schmid (1887–1897, pp. 175–176) ἀδιήγητος, ἀντοκέλευστος, βλάξ, διαπρεσβεύομαι, ἐβελούσιος, ἐπαλλάξ, εὐγνωμόνως, κατάπλεως, κλίνειν, κρυψίνους, ὀποτέρωθι, παιδεύω, περιήκω, ῥιψοκίνδυνος (used by the Pseudo-Aristides), σακκίον, ὑπερεπίπλαμαι, φαιδρῶς, ψυχεῖνός.

26 βλάξ and κατάπλεως.

27 Schmid (1887–1897, Vol. 2, p. 212) acknowledged for the first time Aristides' allusion to the *Poroi*.

28 Gauthier (1976, p. 53); surprisingly, the recent Loeb edition of Aristides' *Panathenaicus* does not mention this important reference at all.

29 Transl. E. Marchant & G. W. Bowersock.

Aristid. *Panath.* 18

ὅσον γὰρ ἂν τις ἀποστῇ τῆς πόλεως δεῦρο ἢ ἐκεῖσε κινήθῃς, ἢ τῇ θέρμῃ πλείον τῆς χρείας ἢ τῷ ψύχει προστυγχάνει.

To whatever degree you distance yourself from the city by moving in one direction or another, you encounter temperatures that are either unhelpfully hot or unhelpfully cold.³⁰

The similarity with Aristides' praise of Attica is surprising, though a few variations are to be found. Aristides uses the verb ἀποστῇ replacing Xenophon's ἀπέχωσιν; θέρμη (recommended by Phrynichus against the form θέρμα used by Menander)³¹ is used instead of θάλπεσιν; προστυγχάνει for ἐντυγχάνουσιν.

In the *Poroi*, Xenophon praises Attica's silver resources. Veins of silver flow in this region, so that this infertile land (γῆ ἢ σπειρομένη μὲν οὐ φέρει καρπὸν) can be more valuable than a lush one:

Xen. *Vect.* 1, 5

ἔστι δὲ καὶ γῆ ἢ σπειρομένη μὲν οὐ φέρει καρπὸν, ὀρυττομένη δὲ πολλαπλασίους τρέφει ἢ εἰ σῖτον ἔφερε. καὶ μὴν ὑπάργυρός ἐστι σαφῶς θεία μοῖρα· πολλῶν γοῦν πόλεων παροικουσῶν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς οὐδεμίαν τούτων οὐδὲ μικρὰ φλέψ ἀργυρίτιδος διήκει.

Again, there is land that yields no fruit if sown, and yet, when quarried, feeds many times the number it could support if it grew corn. And recollect, there is silver in the soil, the gift, beyond doubt, of divine providence: at any rate, many as are the states near to her by land and sea, into none of them does even a thin vein of silver ore extend.

Aristides borrows from Xenophon the vivid expression φλέψ ἀργυρίτιδος, veins of silver, along with the verb διήκω, used by Xenophon as well. The image grows in expressiveness by the addition of the simile of rivulets, ὥσπερ νοτίδας. Emphasis is put on the liquid flow of this invisible resource, which secretly passes through the Attic mountains. Again, the orator follows the *Poroi* by repeating that a barren land (ἄσπορος) can be more fruitful than a fertile one. He spontaneously paraphrases Xenophon's words:

³⁰ Transl. M. Trapp.

³¹ Phryn. *Ecl.* 304.

Aristid. *Panath.* 23

ἔξεστι δὲ ὁρᾶν καὶ τὰς φλέβας τὰς ἀργυρίτιδας ὥσπερ νοτίδας διὰ πάσης τῆς ὀρείου διηκούσας, ὅπως ἄρα μηδὲν ἀργὸν εἴη τῆς Ἀττικῆς μηδ' εἴη ταῖς προσόδοις δυσχωρία μηδαμῇ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐτέρων εὐγεων ἢ τῇδε ἄσπορος νικῶν.

We can contemplate, too, the veins of silver that run like rivulets through the whole of her mountainous region, so as to prevent any part of Attica from being unproductive, or there being bad ground for revenues anywhere in it, but to ensure instead that the uncultivated ground here is superior to the fertile regions of other lands.

But Aristides' *Panathenaicus* is not the only text witnessing the importance of Xenophon's *Poroi* in the Imperial age. Remarkably, Menander Rhetor, who discusses the features of the praise of a country, names the treatise of Xenophon among his literary models for this epideictic genre.³²

3 After Leuctra—Distortion

Certainly, one historical episode—related exclusively by Xenophon in the *Hellenica*, as far as we know—must have particularly impressed Aristides. Xenophon relates that, after the battle of Leuctra, a Theban messenger, crowned as a sign of victory, arrived in Athens, asking for support in the final destruction of Sparta. The circumstances were favorable for Thebes, whose wish for revenge was stronger than ever (λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξείη Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπεποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρήσασθαι).³³ The Athenians did not welcome this message; on the contrary, the city was sad for Sparta, which was overwhelmingly defeated.³⁴ Therefore, 'they did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer'.

³² Men. Rhet. I 345-15.

³³ Hamilton (1996, pp. 55-56).

³⁴ Xen. *HC* VI, 4, 19-20. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἑστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον, λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξείη Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπεποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσαν τὸ γεγεννημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἡνιάθησαν πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὐτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν κήρυκα ἐκάλεσαν, περὶ τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο. καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κήρυξ. 'As for the Thebans, immediately after the battle they sent to Athens a garlanded messenger, and while telling of the greatness of their victory, they at the same time urged the Athenians to come to their aid, saying that now it was possible to take vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians for all the

Aristides reports and recounts this episode twice, once in the *Panathenaicus*, and again in the first *Leuctran oration*. The case is extremely interesting since the orator rewrites this story twice stressing the aspects he is interested in, that is to say, the Athenian philanthropy and the rejection of the oppressor. He keeps his account very close to Xenophon's one, but some hyperbole shows the creative approach of Aristides to Xenophon's text, and perhaps, the attempt to defy his model.

Aristid. *Panath.* 299–300

καίτοι ἀφίκτο μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς κήρυξ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥς ἐπ' εὐαγγελίοις ἐστεφανωμένος [...] οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ κήρυκος οὕτως ἐδάκρυσαν ὥσπερ οἰκείαν τινὰ συμφορὰν ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἀπέπεμψαν ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκοντα, πλείστον δὴ δόξης ψευσθέντα·

Right at the beginning a herald had come from Thebes, garlanded as if bringing good news; [...] but the Athenians wept at the news brought them by the herald as bitterly as if they had learned of some disaster of their own and utterly confounded his expectations by sending him away as if he had come from the barbarians.

Aristid. *Leuctr.* I 5

σύνοιδα γὰρ ὑμῖν, καὶ ὅτε πρῶτον ὁ κήρυξ ἦλθε τὴν μάχην ἀγγέλλων, ὃν ἐστεφανωμένον ὥς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψαν Θηβαῖοι, πρὸς ἀηδίαν καὶ λύπην ἀκούσασιν καὶ οὕτω πόρρω τοῦ συνησθῆναι γενομένοις, ὥστε μήτε εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καλέσαι μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν φιλάνθρωπον ἐνδείξασθαι.

I know that when first the herald came reporting the result of the battle, the one whom the Thebans sent wearing a crown of victory to you, you heard him with displeasure and sorrow, and you were so far from rejoicing with him that you neither invited him to the Town Hall nor showed him any other kindly treatment.³⁵

harm they had done to them. Now the Senate of the Athenians chanced to be holding its sitting on the Acropolis. And when they heard what had taken place, it was made clear to everyone that they were greatly distressed; for they did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer. So the herald departed from Athens without having received a reply.' (Transl. Brownson).

Aristid. *Leuctr.* I 33

καὶ μὴν ὅτι γ' αὐτὴν ἀπείπασθε οἶδεν ὁ τῆς νίκης ἄγγελος, ὃν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔλθόντα οὐδὲν ἐντιμότερον τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου πάλαι πεμπομένων ἐδέξασθε. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ δάκρυσι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐθρήνησαν ἀκούσαντες, μεμνημένος οὐκ ἔρῳ.

Indeed the messenger of victory knows that you have rejected the alliance, for when he came after the battle you received him no more honorably than those of old sent by the Persian. For, although I remember well, I shall not name all who upon hearing of it mourned for the Lacedaemonians with their tears.

In Aristides' account, the reaction of Athens to the news of Leuctra is subjected to overemotional alterations. An aura of great pathos surrounds the scene in Aristides' imagination, where a crowd of Athenians desperately cry 'as bitterly as if they had learned of some disaster of their own', while the disappointment of the Athenians was expressed otherwise by Xenophon, who modestly says that they 'were greatly distressed' (ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἡνιάθησαν πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο). In his *First Leuctran speech*, the orator not only uses weighty words as ἀγῆδιαν καὶ λύπην, 'displeasure and sorrow' to describe the Athenian mood but he also declares that he will not mention all who 'mourned for the Lacedaemonians with their tears'.

Emphasis reaches its peak in Aristides' version of the Athenian treatment of the Theban messenger. Xenophon straightforwardly reports that the Athenians 'did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer. So, the herald departed from Athens without having received a reply'. In Aristides' version, these words are greatly dramatized. To put emphasis on Theban ruthlessness, the orator returns to one of the meanest insults in Greek antiquity, drawing a comparison to the barbarians. Therefore, in the *Panathenaicus* Athenians are said to have 'utterly confounded his expectations by sending him away as if he had come from the barbarians'.³⁶ In the same way, the orator of the *First Leuctran oration* tells his audience of Athenians that 'when he came after the battle you received him no more honorably than those of old sent by the Persian'.

Distortion of original source material in these texts is not a surprise, but rather is justified and required by the literary genres practiced by Aristides. The genre of praise obviously demands some flattering adjustments to history while declamation requires, after all, fiction.

³⁶ Aristid. *Panath.* 299–300.

4 Literal Imitation

Aristides' imitation of Xenophon's literature conveys some elements of his language as well. The vocabulary of Aristides seems to be indebted to Xenophon for quite an uncommon verb before the Imperial age, the verb *περισώζω*, 'to save from death', employed by Xenophon several times. In the *Hellenica*, this verb curiously appears in two similar and mirroring situations: regarding the destiny of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian war and regarding the destiny of Sparta after the battle of Leuctra.³⁷

In his *Leuctran orations*, Aristides recalls both historical circumstances and uses twice the verb *περισώζω*. No doubt that the orator borrowed this verb from Xenophon. The fourth orator of the *Leuctran orations*, speaking in favor of the Thebans, uses the verb concerning the rescue of Sparta after Leuctra and affirms that Sparta will be rescued if that is what Athens commands.

Aristid. *Leuctr.* IV 21

ἐπεὶ καὶ Θηβαίους ἔγωγε νομίζω σφόδρα ἂν ἀσμένως ὑμῖν ὑπακούσαι πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἐὰν κατειργασμένοι τὸν πόλεμον περισῶσαι τὴν πόλιν βούλησθε.

I believe that the Thebans would gladly obey you on the Lacedaemonians' behalf, if, when you have concluded the war, you wish to preserve their city.³⁸

The fifth orator reminds the assembly of the favor Sparta did to Athens in 404. Thanks to her vote, the Lacedaemonians rescued Athens from destruction, *περισῶσαι*, from the *ἀνδραποδισμός* proposed by Thebes and Corinth:

Aristid. *Leuctr.* V 19

ψήφον γὰρ ἤνεγκαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι περισῶσαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν.

The Lacedaemonians voted to save our city.

However, although the five *Leuctran orations* are modeled on different passages of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, the complexity of Aristides' variations often makes his source unrecognizable. A few passages, though, disclose Aristides'

37 Xen. *HG* II, 3, 25, 41; VI, 3, 13; VI, 5, 47.

38 For this passage, the translation proposed by Behr has been slightly changed.

source. In the *First Leuctran oration*, for instance, two arguments meticulously follow the words of Procles of Phlious in the sixth book of the *Hellenica*.

In the first example, the orator, who tries to persuade the Athenian assembly to give aid to Sparta, rejects the idea that in the future Lacedaemonians can again become enemies of Athens. Putting forward this argument, Aristides employs the same expressions used by Xenophon, i.e. the verb φοβέω along with the expression πράγματα παρέχειν:

Xen. *HG* VI, 5, 40

εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἔαν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔτι ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν.

Now if any are fearful that in case the Lacedaemonians escape this time, they may again in the future cause you trouble.

Aristid. *Leuctr.* I 47

οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ φοβηθῆναί μοι δοκεῖτε εἰκότως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ πράγματα ἡμῖν πάλιν παράσχωσιν, ἔαν σωθῶσιν.

You seem to me without good reason to fear that the Lacedaemonians may again cause us trouble if they are saved.

Then the pro-Lacedaemonian orator returns to another claim made by Procles of Phlious, which sounds more like a maxim than a political argument. In Xenophon's account, Procles objects that the Lacedaemonians, if aided, will not be a threat to Athens as 'it is not those whom one benefits, but those whom one injures, of whom one has to fear that they may some day attain great power'.

Aristides' imitation of this passage is literal:

Xen. *HG* VI, 5, 38

ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐχ οὗς ἂν εὖ ἀλλ' οὗς ἂν κακῶς τις ποιῇ φοβεῖσθαι δεῖ μὴ ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν.

Take thought of this, that it is not those whom one benefits, but those whom one injures, of whom one has to fear that they may some day attain great power.

Aristid. *Leuctr.* I 51

ἔπειτα εἰ φοβησόμεθα οὓς ἂν εὖ ποιῶμεν, τίσι θαρρήσομεν;

If we shall fear whomever we treat with kindness, in whom shall we trust?

5 Examples of *apheleia* in the speech *To Rome*

The speech *To Rome* contains several echoes of the *Cyropaedia*, but one passage is particularly relevant to the matter of the influence of Xenophon's style. Aristides praises the Roman army, where each soldier is well trained and specialized in the art of war. While doing that, he returns to a list of similes of a Socratic flavor:

Aristid. *In Rom.* 71

οὐ γὰρ οἱ χθὲς σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες τήμερον ὀπλίται καὶ ἱππεῖς, οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς στρατιώτης μετεσκεύασται ὃς ἀρτίως ἦν γεωργός, οὐδ' οἶον ἐν οἰκίᾳ πενιχρᾷ οἱ αὐτοὶ ὀψοποιοί, οἰκουροῦσι, στρωννύουσιν, οὐχ οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνεμίξατε· οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ἄλλων ὄντας στρατιώτας ὑπὸ τῆς χρείας γενήσεσθαι ἀνεμείνατε.

Those who were yesterday shoemakers and carpenters are not today infantry and cavalrymen, nor as on the stage is one transformed into a soldier who was just now a farmer. Nor as in a poor home where the same people do the cooking and keep house and make the beds, have you also mixed your occupation. Nor did you wait for those who are involved in other tasks to become soldiers out of need.³⁹

The use of humble words such as *σκυτοτόμοι* and *ὀψοποιοί* is certainly impressive in a text expected to be a magniloquent praise of Rome. Aristides is consciously switching to another style, codified by rhetoricians as Hermogenes and, particularly, the Pseudo-Aristides of the treatise *On simple style*, within the concept of *apheleia*. But why would he make such a shift in his speech? A specific literary echo will explain that. The image of a poor house where the same person does all the housework was already sketched by Xenophon in the

39 Transl. C. A. Behr.

Cyropaedia in opposition to the efficiency of the King's kitchen where every person diligently carries out a specific task:

Xen. *Cyr.* VIII, 2, 6

ὃ μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς κλίνην στρώννυσι, τράπεζαν κοσμεῖ, μάττει, ὅψα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοῖα ποιεῖ, ἀνάγκη οἶμαι τούτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἕκαστον προχωρῇ, οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅπου δὲ ἱκανὸν ἔργον ἐνὶ ἔψειν κρέα, ἄλλῳ ὅπταν [...] ἀνάγκη οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐξεργάσθαι ἕκαστον.

In any establishment where one and the same man arranges the dining couches, lays the table, bakes the bread, prepares now one sort of dish and now another, he must necessarily have things go as they may; but where it is all one man can do to stew meats and another to roast them [...] everything that is prepared in such a kitchen will, I think, necessarily be worked out with superior excellence.⁴⁰

Not only some chores evoked by Aristides are to be found in Xenophon's text (Aristid. οἱ αὐτοὶ ὀψοποιοὶ ... στρωννύουσιν/ Xen. ὁ αὐτὸς κλίνην στρώννυσι ... ὅψα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοῖα ποιεῖ, Aristid. the same people do the cooking ... and make the beds /Xen. one and the same man arranges the dining couches ... prepares now one sort of dish and now another) but also, for both authors, the object of praise is the same: the specialization of the people employed—in the kitchens of the King as well as in the army of Rome.

Similar criticism of an army composed of unqualified soldiers was also made by Xenophon in another section of the *Cyropaedia*. Here the author blames the decadence of the Persian army, which has become used to enroll people trained for housekeeping.

Xen. *Cyr.* VIII, 8, 20–21

νῦν δὲ τοὺς τε θυρωροὺς καὶ τοὺς σιτοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ λουτροχόους καὶ παρατιθέντας καὶ ἀναιρούντας καὶ κατακοιμίζοντας καὶ ἀνιστάντας, καὶ τοὺς κοσμητάς, οἱ ὑποχρίουσιν τε καὶ ἐντρίβουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰλλα ῥυθμίζουσι, τούτους πάντας ἱππέας οἱ δυνάσται πεποιήχασιν, ὅπως μισθοφορῶσιν αὐτοῖς.

40 Transl. W. Miller.

But now the rulers make knights out of their porters, bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, bath-room attendants, butlers, waiters, chamberlains who assist them in retiring at night and in rising in the morning, and beauty-doctors who pencil their eyes and rouge their cheeks for them and otherwise beautify them; these are the sort that they make into knights to serve for pay for them.

These words reverberate in Aristides' text as the circumstances are the same ones expressed by the orator: common laborers suddenly becoming soldiers. That is what happened in the Persian army after the death of Cyrus. Rome, on the other hand, banned such a form of conscription.

6 Conclusion

Aristides' readings of Xenophon are a consistent case of reception of a classical author under the Roman Empire and illustrate the agonistic approach of Greco-Roman writers imitating the great authors of the past.

However, this overview can tell us something relevant about the authors taken into account, about Aristides as well as Xenophon. While again noting Aristides' debt to the canon, a new facet of the orator comes to light, the one of an erudite writer who effortlessly quotes niche works like the *Poroi* and episodes taken from the turbulent fourth-century Greek history, showing an "unexpected" interest in Xenophon's language and ideas.

On the other hand, Aristides' variations on Xenophon, so far neglected, prove that this author was studied and appreciated in the landscape of the Second Sophistic more than scholars usually think. Sometimes, Aristides anchors his linguistic choices to Xenophon, one among those canonical authors he took as models of language. Therefore, his innovative imitation of Xenophon's passages results in linguistic borrowings that can now bring new evidence in the debate on Xenophon's 'controversial' inclusion in the Attic canon. Two rigorists, Aristides and Phrynichus, treated Xenophon as a literary Attic model. This statement can contribute to reconsider favorably the place of Xenophon among the authors representative of the *paideia* of the Imperial age.

Certainly, it cannot be denied that in the Koine several elements already present in Xenophon's language are to be found. Indeed, his language and his literature were prophetic of a new era. Undoubtedly, in antiquity there was a debate regarding some unusual expressions used by Xenophon. However, for Atticists and for Aristides, Xenophon still was a classic, an Attic bee.

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Searching for Linguistic Standards in 2 Maccabees

Enrico Cerroni

1 Introduction

A small jewel of educated and refined Greek in the multiform (but not always elegant) world of the Septuagint and the work of a *geschwätzig*¹ writer who loves lexical *variatio* and displays an unwavering commitment to the values of Judaism—this is how the Second Book of Maccabees, the summary of the historical work of Jason of Cyrene (an otherwise forgotten author who lived in the second century BCE), still comes across today, over 150 years after the publication of Grimm's (1857) commentary.

Establishing the causes of the Maccabean revolt continued to arouse the interest of scholars in the twentieth century. Momigliano (1931, 1931–1932) began by highlighting the phenomenon of resistance to the denationalization imposed on the Jews of Judea within the context of complex political relations among the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and various internal currents of Judaism.² Some years later, Bickermann's (1937) book *Der Gott der Makkabäer* represented a significant breakthrough. Its author firmly maintained that the persecution unleashed by Antiochus IV on the Jewish world began internally.³

In recent years, new contributions have come from scholars belonging to different fields. The commentaries by Habicht (1976), Goldstein (1983), Schwartz (2008), Doran (2012), and Troiani and Balzaretto (2018) revisit old interpretations and improve our understanding of the book within its Hellenistic context. The book's linguistic and stylistic aspects have also gained increasing attention.

1 "Wir müssen den geschwätzigen Schriftsteller nehmen so wie er ist" (Niese 1900, p. 14).

2 "The epitome is a somewhat incoherent conglomeration of six main motifs: tribal warrior spirit; miracles and, more specifically, intervention of supernatural beings in events relating to the temple; some basic beliefs about God's intervention in history; the solitary leadership of Judas Maccabaeus; mixed attitudes to foreigners; and the importance of martyrdom" (Momigliano 1975, p. 85).

3 "Die Religionsverfolgung des Epiphanes war weder zufällig noch aus dem Geist des Heidentums hervorgegangen. Sie ging von den Juden selber aus, die eine Reform des Glaubens der Väter im Sinne einer Abkehr vom Einzigkeitsglauben erstrebte, ohne daß sie dadurch den Gott der Väter ganz verlassen und Zion untreu werden wollte" (Bickermann 1937, p. 8). For historical background, see Avi-Yonah (1976), Bar-Kochva (1989), and Grabbe (2020, pp. 340–387).

Indeed, besides the historical issues that it addresses, the work is remarkable within the Septuagint corpus for its unique linguistic quality, which has often been compared with Polybius' prose.⁴ Its language is correct but also rich in innovative Koine forms, which made this σύνταγμα (as it is called at 2.23) stand out. However, the same quality, in addition to the fact that it was written in Greek, also made it unsuitable for synagogue reading and eventually caused Jewish communities to forget its existence.

Despite excellent work on this topic, it is still difficult to determine a plausible chronology from the linguistic evidence. For instance, in his dissertation on the neologisms of 2 Macc., Domazakis (2018) uses internal lexical evidence to support a date in the first century BCE or around the turn of the Common Era.⁵

The question depends on how the book is classified in terms of literary genre, models, and target audience. Although it is often (and properly) considered an Asianic book⁶ and the only surviving example of so-called tragic historiography,⁷ 2 Macc. also deserves attention as a product of Hellenistic

4 The linguistic peculiarity of 2 Macc. when compared to the other books of the Septuagint is not a modern discovery. Jerome had already noted the Greek origin of this text: *secundus graecus est, quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest* (*Praefatio Hieronymi in libros Samuel et Malachim*, PL, Vol. 28, col. 547). Comprehensive overviews of 2 Macc.'s language are provided by Le Moigne (2012) and Shaw (2016); see also Nicklas (2015) on the use of metaphor and Coetzer (2015) for a pragmatic analysis.

5 Domazakis (2018, pp. 357–358). Before Domazakis, there was broad agreement for a date at the end of the second century or during the first half of the first century BCE; see Richnow (1967, p. 71). According to Momigliano (1975, p. 83), who postulates a date of 124 BCE, "In 124 BCE an official of the Jerusalem council was asked to reiterate the invitation to the Egyptian Jews to join in the festival of 25 Kislev [...] 11 Maccabees, as we have it, would be the result of a joint effort by an official of the Jewish community of Jerusalem, whose native language was Jewish or more probably Aramaic, and a writer whose native language was presumably Greek." According to Habicht (1976, pp. 174–177), three layers can be distinguished in the book: the story of Jason, written between 161 and 124 BCE; the epitome, which must have been written not long before 124 BCE, when it was attached to the first letter and sent to Egypt; and the third layer, which can be dated between 124 BCE and the destruction of the Temple (70 CE), when an unknown redactor reworked the epitome into its present form. On the time of composition, see also Nicklas 2016, pp. 310–311.

6 This book can be rightly considered "suma y compendio del asianismo" (Gil 1958, p. 31) as it blends the two major trends of Asianism identified by Norden (1898, pp. 131–149) based on Cicero's review of the leading literary movements of his time (*Brutus* 325). However, Doran (1981, p. 45) argues that "there is no reason to apply the label of 'Asianic' to 2 Maccabees" since Asianism was not properly a literary movement. On the genesis of 'Asianism', a term coined by the Atticist movement as a polemical *Schlagwort*, see also Wilamowitz (1900, pp. 1–8), who uses a date between 55–46 BCE, Hidber (1996, p. 36), and Lucarini (2015, pp. 22–23), who suggests a date around 110 BCE.

7 "Das zweite Makkabäerbuch stellt für uns das einzige Beispiel dieser Litteraturgattung dar, von der sonst keine Werke vollständig erhalten sind" (Bickermann 1937, p. 147). For a

rhetoric. The prologue, for instance, has attracted much interest, especially the point at which the epitomist compares the author of the narrative, Jason of Cyrene, to an architect (2.29 καθάπερ γὰρ τῆς καινῆς οἰκίας ἀρχιτέκτονι τῆς ὅλης καταβολῆς φροντιστέον ‘just as the construction chief of a new building must pay attention to the entire structure’),⁸ whereas he himself sets out to be a decorator, that is, a kind of μεταφραστής (τῷ δὲ ἐγκαίειν καὶ ζωγραφεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς διακόσμησιν ἐξεταστέον ‘the one endeavoring to paint in encaustic and to paint living figures must examine carefully the things suitable for adornment’).

As a matter of fact, the author is fond of most common Hellenistic rhetorical devices, including paronomasia, tricolon, alliteration, homoioteleuton, metaphor, litotes, parallelism, antithesis, chiasm, asyndeton, and prose-rhythm elements.⁹ He also displays a lexical inventory rich in poetic language that is otherwise not attested in the Septuagint. By focusing on some of these Septuagint *hapax legomena*, it is possible to assess the formal originality of the author in comparison with Polybius and other Hellenistic prose writers.¹⁰ The multifarious style of the book shows the potential of the Greco-Judaic culture of the second century BCE to teeter between everyday Koine, bureaucratic or formal language, and literary Koine, as well as the possibility of isolating some extravagant stylistic choices.

This chapter further explores some of the linguistic and stylistic issues related to 2 Macc., focusing on three major stylistic aspects—phonetics, morphology, and, most importantly, lexicon—to determine to what extent a trend towards grammatical correctness (that is, Atticism) can coexist with the clearly Koine features found in an Asianic book such as 2 Macc.

2 Some Phonetic Features

The phonetic features of the book contribute only in a limited way to the present research. One relevant example concerns the treatment of the -ττ- intervocalic group that is sometimes preferred to the -σσ- typical of Koine. An almost

reconsideration of this time-worn category in relation to 2 Macc., see Doran (2012, pp. 3–4); a comprehensive rethinking of the topic is found in Marincola (2013).

8 All Greek quotations are from Hanhart & Kappler's critical edition. Translated texts are from Doran's edition.

9 The best stylistic analysis is that of Gil (1958, pp. 20–30); for a summary, see Doran (2012, pp. 4–5).

10 Recall Deissmann's (1908, p. 45, n. 5) recommendation concerning the abused category of *hapax legomenon*: “Es sind ἅπαξ εὐρημένα, nicht ἅπαξ εἰρημένα.”

indifferent distribution between the two possibilities (e.g., παρατασσόμενοι coexisting with ταπτόμενοι) can be observed, a fact that has been compared to the predominance of the sigmatic forms in the Septuagint.¹¹

Even before the Atticist revival, in high-level Koine, individual words often presented the cluster -ττ- when it was linked to a morphological feature, as in the case of the attic θάττον, which is exclusive to 2 Macc. in the Septuagint (3×: 4.31, 5.21, 14.11),¹² while the most common form of the comparative of τάχύ 'fast' in Hellenistic Greek is τάχιον (e.g., in Wis. 13.9: τὸν τούτων δεσπότην πῶς τάχιον οὐχ εὖρον).¹³ In this respect, the author agrees with Polybius, who likewise uses only the Attic form (20×) to the detriment of both the low Koine and sigmatic form θάσσον. The comparative ἥττων presents a similar case.¹⁴

These moments of finesse, however, are not enough to suggest the presence of systematic linguistic Atticism. In fact, the text also includes Hellenistic forms, such as ἐντινάσσω 'to clash' (4.41, 11.11), notable for its rarity.¹⁵ In literary texts, the Atticist variant of the simple verb τινάττω without the prefix is first attested in Philo (e.g., *Conf.* 69.1 Wendland). Moreover, regarding γιγν- / γιν-, the total absence in 2 Macc. of the Atticizing forms in γιγν- corresponds with data from the papyri and the Septuagint; the revival of forms in γιγν- began some centuries later.¹⁶

3 Morphological Features

It is worth considering a morphological phenomenon related more to Ionic than to Attic features. The uncontracted genitive plural τευχέων is used in place

11 More precise data about this book is found in Thackeray (1909, pp. 121–122). "The substitution of Attic <-ττ-> by the <-σσ-> of the other dialects in e.g. τέτταρες > τέσσαρες was not due to phonetic evolution but to the weight of the majority of the dialects. Nevertheless, -ττ- is still found in ἐλάττων, ἥττων, κρείττων, and derivatives, in other words also in 2, 3, and 4 Maccabees" (Mussies 2016, p. 94). On the fluctuation between -σσ- and -ττ- in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, see Gignac (1976, pp. 145–154).

12 Thackeray (1909, p. 184).

13 Cf. Phryn. *Ecl.* 52.

14 In the LXX, ἥττων occurs eleven times (of which six are in 2 Macc.), ἥσσω only twice" (Thackeray 1909, p. 122).

15 For further details, see Domazakis (2018, p. 178).

16 "In Hellenistic and early Imperial prose, γιν- is clearly the standard spelling (γιγν- is unattested in Polybius, and Strabo only uses γιγν- three times in passages where he is not quoting an earlier source *verbatim*). However, γιγν- returns to use from the second century CE onward" (Favi 2022a). On other phonetic issues with stylistic relevance, such as the alternation between οὔθεις and οὐδεῖς, see Le Moigne (2012, p. 251).

of the classical *τειχῶν* in two passages (12.14, 12.27), to which one may add *ὀρέων* (9.8).¹⁷

As a matter of fact, the author elsewhere employs the common forms *ἐτῶν* (1×), *ἐθνῶν* (8×), and *πληθῶν* (3×). Likely due to the influence of Ionic, uncontracted forms are ubiquitous in Koine,¹⁸ but the origins of this trend are not very clear. From a survey conducted in the *TLG*, it appears that the first non-Ionic prose texts that contain an uncontracted genitive form of *τείχος* are those of Xenophon (2×: *Ag.* 1.22 and *Hip.* 4.15),¹⁹ followed in the Hellenistic age by Philo of Byzantium (p. 82 Thevenot) and the Septuagint. In the latter, the relationship between *τειχῶν* and *τειχέων* is 2:12, while the contemporary (and more learned) Polybius knows only the contracted form (21×) but attests to *ὀρέων* (10.40.11), as does Aristéas (119). The Herodas papyrus (dated to the first or second century CE) attests to the genitive plural forms *πυρέων* (2.80) from *πυρός* and even *χειρέων* (7.3), possibly influenced by *χειλέων*.²⁰ For common nouns such as *τείχος*, *ἄνθος*, *ὄρος*, and *χείλος*, many authors (e.g., Joseph Flavius,

17 On the difference between Ionic and Attic inflection in this case, see Chantraine (1961, p. 69). Considering that a reasonable margin of error must be allowed due to manuscript transmission, it is interesting to read the different positions still taken by scholars on this issue at the beginning of the last century. “Diese offenen Formen scheinen besonders dem Osten des Sprachgebrauchs anzugehören (ohne jedoch hier ausschliesslich zu herrschen) und dürften aus diesen wie andern Erwägungen jonischen Ursprungs sein” (Thumb 1901, p. 63). Moulton (1901, p. 435) emphasizes the comparison with genitives such as *βασιλέων* and *πόλεων*. According to Mayser (1938, p. 37), “auch der Gen. plur. ist regelmäßig kontrahiert—mit verschwindenden Ausnahmen”, such as *βλαβέων* and *κτενέων* for *κτηνῶν*, which “brauchen nicht als Ionismen zu gelten, sondern haben ihr Analogon in anderen vulgären Formen auf –έων”. See the recent comprehensive study by Gerbi (2023).

18 Horrocks (2010, p. 138). As noted by Thackeray (1909, p. 151), “The κοινή preferred the (Ionic) uncontracted form of genitive plural in certain 3rd declension neuters in -ος. So LXX always has *ὀρέων* and *χειλέων* and usually *τειχέων* [...] But *ἐτῶν*, *σκευῶν* are written, and in the other cases, the contracted forms are retained”; see also Meecham (1935, p. 80). A special case must be made for *Antiatt.* α 137: *ἀνθέων* ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνθῶν, ἀπὸ <τοῦ> τὰ ἄνθη and the explanation provided by [Hdn.] *Philet.* 7: ἀνθέων γραπτέον καὶ μὴ ἀνθῶν, ὡς βελῶν καὶ γενῶν, ἵνα μὴ συνεμπέσῃ τῷ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔγραψας, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔδωκας. Indeed, ἀνθῶν must be rejected as it is confusingly similar to ἀνθ' ὧν (‘against whom/which’); on this issue, see Gerbi (2023).

19 Similarly, Xenophon often employs the form *ὀρέων* (11×) instead of *ὀρώων* (3×), but the gen. pl. of *βέλος* is systematically *βελῶν*; see Cavenaile (1975, p. 241) and Huitink & Rood (2019, pp. 23–29).

20 Cassio (1996, p. 161). In a funeral inscription from Smyrna dated between the second and first century BCE, it is possible to find the uncontracted genitive plural *ἐτέων* alongside Koine forms, which, together with other formal choices (e.g., *σπορήν*, *ξεῖνε*, *ἐμεῦ*), shows how, for a public text at that time, “un peu d’ionien était nécessaire pour le rendre vraiment chic” when compiled by a “rhéteur expérimenté” (Cassio 1996, p. 167).

Appian, Origen, Malalas) continued to use the uncontracted genitive plural for centuries, Christians and Byzantines often ubiquitously.²¹

The overall impression is that we are dealing with a relatively common Koine feature that originated from the Ionic *Grundlage* of the language, perhaps with some stylistic pretensions, and then expanded significantly in the Hellenistic period as a useful alternative to the contracted form and for the sake of rhetorical rhythm.

In addition to this Hellenistic trait, several other low Koine features can be identified in the book's verbal morphology. One example is the -αν ending, transferred from the aorist to the third person plural of the perfect indicative instead of -ασι (e.g., καθέστηκαν [10.21] and πέπρακαν [14.5]).²² Other remarkable evidence of low-level Koine is the doubly augmented ἐκατετιθέμην at 9.25.²³ Possible counterpoints to these Koine features are that the athematic presents, such as φημί, are better preserved in 2 Macc. than in the LXX in general²⁴ and that this book has a high number of pluperfects (19×), which has been conveniently explained as "a poor attempt at verbal *variatio*."²⁵

Such morphological inconsistencies between hypercorrect and vernacular usage set the tone for the narrative, although there are a few cases of proper balance, as with the forms νεώς and ναός, which are evenly divided.²⁶

4 Lexicon

Regarding lexicon, it is even more difficult to clearly identify a major trend in the book.²⁷ Although Domazakis (2018) concludes that some of the noteworthy lexical similarities between 2 Macc. and Polybius' *Histories* are best explained

21 Mayser (1938, p. 37).

22 This is a very common phenomenon in inscriptions from the third century BCE, as evidenced, for example, by documents from Pergamon (Mandilaras 1972, pp. 13–14) and the LXX (Thackeray 1909, p. 212). Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Gramm.* 213) classifies the form of the perfect in -αν as Hellenistic.

23 Shaw (2016, p. 415).

24 Le Moigne (2012, p. 252).

25 Shaw (2016, p. 413).

26 The former at 4:14, 6:2, 9:16, 10:3.5, 13:23, 14:33; the latter at 8:2, 10:5, 14:35, 15:18.33; see Doran (1981, p. 27). On Polybius' use, see de Foucault (1972, p. 65); on the Septuagint, see Thackeray (1909, p. 144).

27 The text's unique lexicon has already been noted by Grimm (1857, p. 7). Most later studies privilege the historical and theological dimensions of the text, as does Abel's commentary (1949, p. xxxvi).

if one posits that the author was a reader of Polybius,²⁸ 2 Macc.'s independence from contemporary prose can be demonstrated by focusing on Septuagint *hapax legomena*, some of which are not attested in the *Polybios-Lexikon*.²⁹

Among the rare terms and *hapax legomena* in the Septuagint, I shall focus on a few examples that I deem useful for clarifying the author of 2 Macc.'s lexical choices. These terms are sometimes shared with Polybius, but in other cases, they are independent choices. Finally, some words are clearly Hellenistic and balance the book's scholarly pretensions with Koine components.

4.1 ληρώδης

One of the most interesting *hapax legomena* in the Septuagint is the adjective ληρώδης 'futile', 'silly', which has been systematically ignored in the commentaries. It is found in 12.44, in a passage fundamental to the history of Christian doctrine on the existence of Purgatory. Judah decides to collect the bodies of dead Jews after a clash with the pagans to grant them funeral honors. He discovers that they had hidden sacred objects (ἱερώματα, another lexical rarity) of the idols of the pagan city of Iamnia under their tunics. From this, he understands that the reason for their defeat was the abandonment of their faith, and he sends offerings to the Temple of Jerusalem in hopes of resurrection.

12.44

εἰ μὴ γὰρ τοὺς προπεπτωκότας ἀναστήναι προσεδόκα, περισσὸν καὶ ληρώδες ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν εὐχέσθαι.

For if he were not expecting that the fallen would rise, it would have been superfluous and silly to pray on behalf of the dead.

This is, in fact, the first scriptural reference to the existence of a supernatural kingdom designed for the purification of sins. We come, then, to the use of ληρώδης, a *hapax* in the Septuagint, an adjective in -ώδης formed on the common noun λήρος (i.e., * lā-; lit. ló-ju) 'foolishness'.³⁰ The latter is attested from

28 Domazakis (2018, p. 340).

29 To my astonishment, *LEH* records 375 Septuagint *hapax legomena* in this book (Shaw 2016, p. 409), whereas Domazakis identifies only 68 neologisms (Domazakis 2018, pp. 404–405).

30 On the suffix -ώδης, "enfin il a servi aux médecins pour désigner les maladies ou leurs symptômes: αἰμώδης ἐλκώδης θανατώδης ἰδρώδης ἰκτεριώδης νοσώδης πυρητώδης πυρώδης etc. [...]. En ionien-attique et dans la κοινή, le suffixe a été productif pour constituer le vocabulaire des savants, des techniciens, des médecins" (Chantraine 1933, pp. 429–432); see also de Foucault (1972, pp. 24–25), who records eight new adjectives with this suffix in Polybius.

the time of Archilochus (fr. 327 W.), and the *TLG* records a high frequency in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, especially in comedy. However, there are very few attestations of the derivative adjective in classical literature, in Plato (*Theat.* 174d), Hippocrates (*Coac.* 429), and twice in Aristotle (*Rh.* 1414b 15, *HA.* 579b 3).³¹

Even more scarce occurrences are attested in successive centuries. There is one from the third-century BCE doctor Erasistratus (fr. 79.10 Garofalo), but the testimony is indirect, transmitted by Galen. An ancient scholion on Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.52b.10 Drachmann) indirectly transmits a passage from the second-century BCE historian Artemon of Pergamum related to the myth of Coronis, defined as τέλεον ὄντι ληρώδει.

In documentary papyri, the only recorded case dates to the second century BCE (*BGU* 3.1011, a letter relating to a dispute between officials) and is found in dittology with ψευδῆ, demonstrating the word's tendency to reinforce a previous adjective (e.g., κενός, ψευδής, περιττός): γὰρ πολ[λὰ] ληρώι[δη] καὶ ψευδῆ προσᾶγ[γ] ἐλ[λε]ται κατανοεῖς καὶ αὐτός.

The noun λήρος and its derivative adjective are absent from the lexicon of Polybius (which, however, contains the verb ληρέω), but the lexical group is represented in various later authors, including Philodemus (3× or 4×),³² Diodorus (1×), Philo (1×), Plutarch (2×), Galen (43×, a high frequency, with ληρώδης found in works like *De naturalibus facultatibus* and *De methodo medendi*), grammarians such as Apollonius Dyscolus (7×), and Christian literature (Eusebius 3×). In the fourth century CE, Epiphanius of Salamis seems unable to do without ληρώδης (46×, including the noun ληρωδία). It is also used frequently in the scholia (17×: to Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, Lycophron), for

31 It is worth saying a bit more about the Platonic passage. After recounting the story of Thales, who fell into a well and elicited laughter from a Thracian servant, Socrates discusses the eradication of the philosopher from society: 'As to laudatory speeches and the boastings of others, it becomes manifest that he is laughing at them—not pretending to laugh, but really laughing—and so he is thought to be a fool (ληρώδης)' (transl. Fowler). The Aristotelian passages are from *Historia animalium* and *Rhetoric*. In the former, ληρώδης is used to describe the widespread belief that a lioness expels her uterus during childbirth (ὁ δὲ λεχθεὶς μῦθος περὶ τοῦ ἐκβάλλειν τὰς ὑστέρας τίκτοντα ἐστὶ), while in the latter, a dittology appears (κενὸν καὶ ληρώδες), referring to the practice of categorizing parts of speech too thinly: 'But one must only adopt a name to express a distinct species or a real difference; otherwise, it becomes empty and silly (ληρώδες), like the terms introduced by Licymnius in his *Art*, where he speaks of "being wafted along", "wandering from the subject" and "ramifications"' (transl. Freese). The *Coa presagia*, part of the Hippocratic Corpus, uses ληρωδῶς to refer to symptoms of phthisis: αἱ ἐν φθινώδεσιν ἐπισχέσεις πτυάλων ἐξιστάσι ληρωδῶς, 'the holding up of expectoration in persons with consumption makes them become deranged and talk nonsense' (transl. Potter).

32 *De ira* (2× or 3×): *P. Herc.* 182 (fr. 17 Indelli); *De poematis* 2 (1×): *P. Herc.* 994.

example, at *Il.* 23.471 Erbse: ἀθετεῖται ὡς ληρώδης. Semantically, the adjective lends itself well to a trenchant comment; the best stylistic evaluation is provided by Phrynichus, who explains τυντλώδης καὶ ληρώδης λόγος· οἶον ὁ πεπατημένος καὶ κοινός. τύντλος γὰρ ὁ [πεπατημένος] πηλός ‘muddy and futile speech, as in trampled and trivial. Mud is the trampled earth’ (*PS* 112.15–17).³³

In short, our author’s expression περισσὸν καὶ ληρώδες ‘superfluous and futile’ deserves to be considered a common form in Hellenistic scholarship or, in other words, a lexical choice that demonstrates the multifaceted literary culture on which the author could draw.

4.2 γοῦν

Further evidence of the author’s zeal for literary prose, particularly Attic Greek, comes from the use of the particle γοῦν in the following passage:³⁴

5.21

Ὁ γοῦν Ἀντίοχος ὀκτακόσια πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις ἀπενεγκάμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τάλαντα θάττον εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐχωρίσθη οἰόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας τὴν μὲν γῆν πλωτὴν καὶ τὸ πέλαγος πορευτὸν θέσθαι διὰ τὸν μετεωρισμὸν τῆς καρδίας.

Antiochus then carried off one thousand eight hundred talents from the temple and quickly went away to Antioch. He arrogantly supposed that he could make the land navigable and, because of his heart’s haughtiness, the sea walkable.

As in Polybius and, later, Diodorus, γοῦν is used here at the beginning of a sentence to introduce the so-called ‘part proof’, often corresponding to the intervention of a new character (e.g., *Plb.* 4.16.4 Αἰτωλοὶ γοῦν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ χρώμενοι, 5.70.11 Ἰππύλοχος γοῦν ὁ Θετταλός). In this case, after a short digression on Yahweh’s devotion to the Jews, the new character is Antiochus IV, who is plundering the Temple of Jerusalem.

33 Note that τυντλώδης λόγος is a comic *adespoton* (*com. adesp.* fr. 909 CAF).

34 According to Denniston (1954, p. 450), “γοῦν (γ’οῦν) is almost confined to Attic Greek. Homer [...] provides two examples: Herodotus another two [...]. Most Attic writers use γοῦν freely, though for some reason or other there is no instance in Isocrates. The ‘part proof’ use is perhaps not precise enough for his formal style. Aeschylus, as Wilamowitz points out (on *Ag.* 676), first uses γοῦν in the *Agamemnon*.” In the case of 2 Macc. 5.21, Schwartz (2008, p. 263) ascribes to γοῦν the function of a narrative break marking a return to the narrated part of the story.

This very common Attic Greek particle, with its limiting semantic value of 'at least' or its emphatic one of 'precisely' or added explanation, occurs a handful of times in the Septuagint (2 Macc. 5.21, 4 Macc. 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.6),³⁵ while it occurs in Polybius and Diodorus 18× and 16× respectively, compared with 18× in Thucydides, 75× in Xenophon, 223× in Plato, and, significantly, 98× in the Atticist Dionysius of Halicarnassus.³⁶

4.3 *Some Hellenistic Terms*

Nevertheless, the case of γούν cannot obscure the high frequency in 2 Macc. of typically Hellenistic particles belonging to the *Kanzleisprache*, such as διό (7×) and διόπερ (5×), which were carefully avoided by Dionysius (διό: 8×).³⁷ As a matter of fact, the lexicon does not lack demonstrably Hellenistic forms devoid of any literary merit.³⁸ The author switches with ease between two, if not three, cultural and stylistic levels that otherwise tend to be isolated from one another, thereby creating an original intersection between high-level Koine and highly expressive low-level Koine.³⁹ What follows are some examples.

The first example is the noun διάληψις (3.32) 'opinion' (Muraoka 2009, p. 153 s.v.), a *hapax* in the Septuagint but frequent in the coeval Polybius (56×). Consistent with the primary meaning of διαλαμβάνω 'take', 'seize by the middle' is the concrete meaning of the phrase ἐκ διαλήψεως '(pierce) tip first'. However, a parallel development soon distinguished itself, stemming from the use of the verb in the sense of 'to separate', 'to distinguish' (Hdt. 1.190.1, Pol. 1.18.4) and then 'to decide': the meaning 'distinction', 'concept', 'judgment', already found in Plat. *Leg.* 777a and mentioned here as one of Polybius' clear lexical preferences (e.g., 2.50.11 and, even more interestingly, 6.56.6, where he introduces the

35 According to Muraoka (2009, p. 136 s.v.), γούν has three meanings: "1. introduces a new phase in a chain of connected events: 2M 5.21. 2. introduces an illustrative case: 4M 3.6, cf. 2.5, 8. 3. asseverative particle, *undoubtedly* (4M 2.2)." On its use in 4 Macc., see Breitenstein (1978, p. 18).

36 As with most Greek particles, γούν became less common in later periods and eventually almost disappeared. For instance, it is not attested at all in the New Testament (Connolly 1983, § 5.2.6). On the reasons for this development, see Blomqvist (1969, pp. 144–147). The case of νυνί is similar to that of γούν; in the Septuagint, it occurs only in literary books (18×, one of which is 2 Macc. 10.10). It occurs with increasing frequency from Polybius (1×) and Diodorus (8×) to Dionysius (33×) and Strabo (103×); see Wahlgren (1995, pp. 112–113).

37 See Usher (1960, p. 364), who provides data for διό in Polybius (24×) and Diodorus (13×), and Wahlgren (1995, p. 91).

38 "2 Maccabees betrays its vacillation between vernacular and more cultivated speech" (Walters 1973, p. 113).

39 For a classification of the different levels of Koine, see Cassio (1998) and Kaczko (2016, pp. 387–389).

expression *περὶ θεῶν διάληψις*).⁴⁰ But is this an exclusively ‘Polybian’ stylistic choice?⁴¹ Actually, it is not; suffice it to look also at *Aristeas* (160, 234).⁴² This word was later used in Imperial literature and the *byzantinische Hochsprache* but, significantly, not in the New Testament.

A second example of a primarily Hellenistic form is the adverb *ἀδιαλείπτως* ‘incessantly’ (4× in 2 Macc., 1× in 1 Macc., 1× in 3 Macc.), a *hapax* in Polybius (9.3.8: *ἀδιαλείπτως νικῶντες*) that is also attested in two passages of *Aristeas* (92 and 294), by which time it had become “a Koine adverb”.⁴³ The *TLG* reports as many as 1126 occurrences in Post-classical Greek. While unlike other neo-formations it did not garner reproach from second-century CE purists like Phrynichus and Moeris, it still heightened the Hellenistic caliber of the work.

Even more so, the very rare formation *διάστασις* ‘disposition’ (13.25), derived from the theme *σταλ-* (the same as the perfect *ἔσταλ-μαι*), elevates the work. This *hapax legomenon totius Graecitatis*, linked to the later *στάσις* ‘staunching (of a flow)’ (attested in Galen 4×), was probably coined for the sake of variation instead of the common synonym *διαστολή*, as it is not attested in the papyri.⁴⁴ As is well known, such Hellenistic inventiveness is far removed from later Atticist standards.

4.4 *A Kind of Stylistic Balance*

It is often difficult to classify these lexical developments as belonging to either a low or a high Koine. The former is most open to morphological, syntactical, and semantic innovations from the spoken language, such as the infrequent use of the optative (3× or 4×).⁴⁵ However, even in these cases, there are some caveats: if we look at the diminutive *χρονίσκος* ‘short time’ (11.1),⁴⁶ which is

40 According to *Suda* δ 635 Adler, *διάληψις*: ἐνθύμησις, ἡ γνώσις.

41 “D’autres composés de la même famille sont usuels dans le vocabulaire philosophique: les stoïciens appellent *κατάληψις* la représentation compréhensive, qui donne à l’âme la conscience aperceptive de l’objet, et *ὑπόληψις* le jugement consécutif à une représentation quelconque; ils ignorent *διάληψις*. [...] Chez Polybe il désigne une opération intellectuelle analytique par laquelle l’esprit décompose un problème en ses éléments, tandis que *κρίσις* paraît être une opération synthétique. [...] *Διάληψις* est un des mots favoris de Polybe, alors qu’il est extrêmement rare ailleurs” (Pédech 1964, p. 81).

42 Meecham (1935, pp. 65–66).

43 Meecham (1935, p. 230), who also identifies papyrological evidence (e.g., *PTebt.* 1 27, 45, dated to 113 BCE: *τὴν ἀδιαλείπτως προσφερομένην σπουδὴν*).

44 On the few nouns in *-σις* in Ancient Greek, see Holt (1941, pp. 45–46). Insight into the outcome of liquid and sibilant clusters is found in Batisti (2017).

45 However, the rare use of the optative has also been explained by the lack of direct speech in the narrative (Shaw 2016, p. 412).

46 However, note that “compared to other Hellenistic works, 2 Maccabees is found to have a very low number of diminutives, which indicates its author’s concern to avoid colloquial diction” (Domazakis 2018, p. 167).

also an absolute *hapax legomenon* in Greek literature, or the triple compound προεξαποστέλλω ‘send first’ (12.21), the impression conveyed is that these were original choices due to the author’s preference for variation rather than traits of colloquial language.⁴⁷

Some of these innovations were accepted in an unsystematic manner by writers, specifically Polybius, Diodorus, and other historians of the second and first centuries BCE. Thus, it is not easy to determine in each case when the natural censorship of spoken language in favor of written language would have kicked in. This is especially true for written language that has literary pretensions. Examples are the prefixed κατάκοπος ‘very weary’ in 12.36 (τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Εσδρὶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον μαχομένων καὶ κατακόπων ὄντων ‘as Edrin’s forces had been fighting for a long time and were very weary’) and the expressive ἐντινάσσω ‘to hurl against’, (in the intransitive sense) ‘to hurl oneself’ (4.41: οἱ μὲν πέτρους, οἱ δὲ ξύλων πάχῃ, τινὲς [...] ἐνετίνασσον εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυσίμαχον ‘some snatched up rocks, others stout pieces of wood, while others [...] were hurling themselves at Lysimachos’ followers’; and 11.11: ἐντινάξαντες εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ‘they hurled themselves against the enemy’). First attested in the Septuagint (also in Job 3.17, 16.7), κατάκοπος was apparently not accepted by Polybius but was later used (although rarely) by Diodorus (3×) and even once by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 6.29.2).⁴⁸

This was not the case for ἐντινάσσω, which appears, at least originally, to have been a technical military term but probably became a low Koine expressive compound. This impression is reinforced by the few other attestations of the verb in pre-Common Era texts: 1 Macc. (2.36: οὐδὲ λίθον ἐνετίναξαν αὐτοῖς), a Carian inscription concerning the miracle of Zeus Panamaros dated to

47 This is particularly evident in the first case; in the phrase μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ παντελῶς χρονίσκον, “the conjunction of χρονίσκος with the adjective ὀλίγος and the intensive adverb παντελῶς (the last two equating to the superlative ὀλίγιστος) creates a hyper-emphatic and redundant effect” (Domazakis 2018, p. 168). Moreover, the neologism appears both mismatched—as the suffix -ισκος/-ισκη “is applied only to words of the most concrete kind, i.e., words representing visible or tangible objects of a distinct individuality” (Petersen 1913, p. 174)—and intentionally sophisticated—as the diminutives in -ισκος/-ισκη are well attested in the technical writers of the Hellenistic and Roman periods but are poorly represented in the vernacular language (Chantraine 1933, p. 412). A similar “over-striving for emphasis” can be detected in προεξαποστέλλω (Shaw 2016, p. 415).

48 It is well known that Dionysius’ style retains many Hellenistic traits. “Le vocabulaire porte doublement la marque de la langue hellénistique: d’une part il admet des vulgarismes [...], d’autre part il recherche les mots composés ou dérivés et les poétismes, typiques d’une évolution qui commence dès l’époque alexandrine” (Lasserre 1979, p. 145).

ca. 39 BCE (*Stratonikeia* 10.7: φλόγα πολλήν [α]ὐτοῖς ἐνετίναξεν),⁴⁹ and a short excerpt from the Greek translation of the Aramaic Book of Enoch (1 En. 89.43 Black: ὁ κριὸς ... ἐνετίνασεν εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας).⁵⁰ It is also worth mentioning the rare corradical ἐντιναγμός 'shaking' (Sir. 22.13) and its synonym ἐντιναγμα (*schol.* Hom. *Od.* 17.231 Dindorf). Apart from the aforementioned instances, the verb ἐντινάσσω is attested in only a few later authors, such as Aelianus Tacticus (*Tact.* 19.2) and Epictetus (*Ench.* 33.13 ἐντιναχθήσονται σοι αἱ θύραι 'the doors will be slammed in your face', transl. G. Boter).

The second level is that of high Koine, as attested by the broad and at times even stilted lexical variety as well as by the dismissal of terms deemed too common. The scholastic and erudite aspects of our author's experiment are obvious; he is ashamed even to use the trivial (and common at his time) βλέπω 'see' (except for 2.2, in the prefatory letter, the authorship of which is debated), preferring more sophisticated compounds such as συνοράω 'see, comprehend' (6×, always with a participle), the simple verb ὁράω (2×), and θεωρέω (3×).⁵¹

A series of grammatical features conspire towards the same effect: the preservation of the demonstrative ὃδε (7×), the use of the relative ὁποῖος (1×, in 11.37), the predilection for the connective relative ὅθεν 'where' (7×), the use of the future participle,⁵² and the appearance of deverbal adjectives in -τέος (5×).⁵³

49 For more details on the expression φλόγα ἐνετίναξεν, see Roussel (1931, p. 86).

50 These are listed by Domazakis (2018, p. 178), who also points out that the Greek Enoch has been assigned to a period either between 150 and 50 BCE (Larson 2005, pp. 87–88) or before the end of the first century BCE (Nickelsburg 2001, p. 14).

51 βλέπω, originally construed with a preposition (εἰς, προς, ἐπί) or a local adverb to mean 'to look at', was used normally in tragedy but not in Attic prose. "Being un-Homeric (except. for *Batr.* 67), was avoided by poets such as Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus, Nicander etc., though frequent in Callimachus, Theocritus, Herodas, *AP* etc." (Bulloch 1985, p. 129). In third-century BCE papyri, ὁράω was the standard word for 'to see', but, around the middle of the second century BCE, βλέπω began to compete with it as a synonym. By the first century BCE, βλέπω became the standard word for 'to see' and remains so in Modern Greek; for more details, see Lee (1983, pp. 131–140). As for the Septuagint, "In most of the books βλέπω is the verb commonly used, alternating to a certain degree with ὁράω. This is, e.g., the case in the historical books (Pentateuch, the Judges, the Book of the Kings)" (Thordarson 1971, p. 126). βλέπω is common in Polybius (70× vs. ὁράω 151×, of which 70 are participles), but as early as the first century BCE, it was avoided by, for example, Diodorus; Palm (1955, p. 190) calls it "volkstümlicher". A century later, Dionysius of Halicarnassus tried to restore ὁράω (vs. βλέπω only 6×).

52 Doran (1981, pp. 32–33) considers the use of the future participle in the book "evidence of literary stylization". In fact, it is almost absent from the LXX outside the "literary works" (Thackeray 1909, p. 194).

53 On the last type, note that "sein Gebrauch gehörte wohl niemals der lebenden Volkssprache, sondern der literarischen Kunstsprache und dem auf attischer Grundlage stehenden Kanzleistil an" (Mayer 1926, pp. 359–360).

Among the latter, the rare word ἐλευστέον 'one must come' (6.17), taken from the Hellenistic future ἐλεύσομαι, deserves our attention. It is not a hapax, as it is also attested, e.g., in the Christian theologian Didymus the Blind (*In Zach.* 4.15 Doutrelaeu).⁵⁴ From a genetic point of view, the form ἐλευστέος was also promoted by analogy with the numerous other verbal adjectives ending in -τέος created from ἰδ- themes (e.g., νομίζω, νομιστέος) but also by the widespread Hellenistic use of ἐλεύσομαι instead of the Attic (and later Atticistic) εἶμι.⁵⁵ In this case, one gets the impression of seeing the inventiveness and flair of a pretentious Greek scholar (or perhaps former student).

However, beyond these attempts to achieve a literary register, which are even more striking coming from a Hellenized Jew, another important Hellenistic cultural component stands out in the text, as evidenced by a precise repertoire of forms. I am referring to a type of vocabulary that I would describe as intellectualistic, often confined to bureaucratic use and consisting of abstract words or definitions belonging originally to philosophy (specifically, Stoic philosophy) and then used more widely (e.g., προκοπή 'progress' in 8.8).⁵⁶ Verbs such as διασαφέω 'clarify' (7×) and συννοέω 'reflect (on)' (3×) as well as the impersonal construction of συμβαίνω 'to happen'⁵⁷ belong to this register, which swings between a literary style and a formal register. On the other hand, an adjective such as εὐαπάντητος 'affable' (14.9) (Muraoka 2009, p. 297 s.v.) seems to suffer from the Stoic categorization of virtues as well as its use in the Hellenistic courts.⁵⁸

54 See also Domazakis (2018, p. 365).

55 In Septuagint Greek, there are no examples of εἶμι with a future meaning (Helbing 1907, p. 108). "The tendency to use ἐλεύσομαι instead of εἶμι is already clear in Hellenistic prose. In Polybius, there is no example of εἶμι with a future meaning, and the future is regularly expressed through compounds of ἐλεύσομαι (4.9.5 ἐξελεύσεσθαι, 21.14.7 προσελεύσεσθαι, 24.9.15 κατελεύσεσθαι)" (Favi 2022b).

56 The foundational study of προκοπή in ancient Stoicism is Luschnat (1958, pp. 178–214). "Instead of the 'augmentation of knowledge' (ἐπίδοσις), the favourite term of the fourth century, the Hellenistic age preferred 'cutting one's way forward' (προκοπή), Zeno's word for the unending striving for self-improvement (1, fr. 234 Arnim) and the word which in its Latinized form (*procedere, progredi, processus, progressus*) became the archetype of the modern word 'progress'" (Edelstein 1967, p. 146). A more recent study on the Stoic doctrine of moral progress is Roskam (2005).

57 However, this construction was subsequently avoided by the Atticizing Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Palm 1955, p. 97).

58 A hapax in the Septuagint, εὐαπάντητος 'affable', 'courteous', a prefixed verbal adjective of ἀπαντάω, is a rarity in Greek literature; besides 2 Macc., the TLG reports only a few other instances: Clement Alexandrinus (*Str.* 7.7.45), a scholion on Apollonius Rhodius (*sch. ad Arg.* 4.148a Wendel: εὐαντέα δὲ τὴν εὐάντητον καὶ εὐεξίλαστον ἢ εὐαπάντητον), Theodore Studite (4×), Photius, and the *Suda*. The equally rare term εὐαπαντησία 'affability' is used

Much of this Hellenistic culture is documented in both 2 Macc. and Polybius, but, interestingly, there is a part that Polybius seems to refuse *in toto*. For example, the historian disliked some typical Hellenistic forms of Koine, such as εὐστάθεια ‘stability’, perhaps for the same reasons that led to Phrynichus’ condemnation in the second century CE (*Ecl.* 246). The verb εὐσταθέω ‘to be calm’ is a rarity in the Septuagint; besides 2 Macc. (12.2, 14.25), it is found only in 3 Macc. 7.4 and Jer. 30.26. From a diachronic point of view, the oldest compound of this root is the Homeric adjective εὐσταθής ‘stable, firm’ (9×), found in Hippocrates and rarely in the Septuagint (only in Esth. 3.13g and Sir. 26.18) but absent from Polybius, who never uses εὐστάθεια and its corradicals. The noun εὐστάθεια is also rare in the Septuagint: *H&R* cites a passage of 2 Macc. (14.6), two examples from 3 Macc. (3.26, 6.28), one from Wis. 6.24 (βασιλεὺς φρόνιμος εὐστάθεια δήμου), and one from Esth. (3.13e). One might infer a mostly political use for the word, referring to the concept of kingship, from Aristes 216, 261.⁵⁹ The author of 2 Macc. introduces the concept of the stability of the kingdom, which is the same concept on which the priest Alcimus insisted some years later (14.6). By employing εὐστάθεια, the author of the epitome, or perhaps Jason himself, chooses a lexeme that is distinctly not Attic but rather Ionian, which later became a reason for the grammarians’ censorship.⁶⁰

The epitome also offers original vocabulary drawn from a rhetorical register, including εἰσχυκλέομαι ‘move further in’ in the prologue (2.4), δευτερολογέω (13.22) ‘to speak a second time’ (Muraoka 2009, p. 145 s.v.), and πρωταγωνιστής ‘first row soldier’ (9.11), referring to Judah, who orders Nicanor’s beheading after becoming victorious on the battlefield.

The possibility of nods towards literary culture are based on the author’s multifarious readings. Thus, beyond some scholars’ insistence on the author’s reliance on Polybius, which remains difficult to verify—as Domazakis (2018)

by Plutarch (*De virt. mor.* 441 B 8 = *SVF* 3.255.13) when reporting on the large number of virtues theorized by Chrysippus; he is concerned about the inconvenience of filling philosophy with many strange and meticulous classifications.

59 Meecham (1935, p. 68).

60 “Epicurus re-introduced the words, and his example was followed by subsequent writers, Plutarch, Josephus, Appian, Philo, and others. Cleomedes, *Cycl. Theor.* 2, p. 112, ed. Bak., expressly mentions εὐσταθής among the corrupt terms employed by Epicurus, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν αὐτῷ (sc. Ἐπικούρῳ) διεφθορότα ἐστὶ, σαρκὸς εὐσταθῆ καταστήματα (equable temperament of body) λέγοντι κτλ.” (Rutherford 1881, p. 347). In this sense, Phrynichus, who condemns the forms εὐστάθεια and εὐσταθής (πρόθεν καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν εἰσερρύη, ἀδοκιμώτατα ὄντα, φροντίδος ἄξιον. ἀλλὰ σὺ ἐμβρίθεια λέγε καὶ ἐμβριτής, *Ecl.* 246; see Thumb 1901, p. 209), was only accepting and justifying a criterion of taste that had already been implemented by Polybius.

admits⁶¹—it will be useful to focus on the work's more original literary claims to grasp its actual stylistic level. An emblematic case is that of the prologue, in which the author presents the book as the summary of the most extensive work of Jason of Cyrene. There, he claims to willingly give up precision and to strive for brevity; it has been suggested that a Thucydidean model (1.22.2: ἀκριβεία περὶ ἐκάστου, in the famous methodological chapter) can be detected in the expression τὸ μὲν διακριβοῦν περὶ ἐκάστων 'the minute presentation concerning every particular' (2.28).⁶² Moreover, it is likely that the use of substantivized neuters, which are concentrated in the prologue (2.28–31), can be traced back to a stylistic mimesis of the Athenian historian (see especially τὸ δὲ σύντομον τῆς λέξεως 'the conciseness of diction', τὸ ἐξεργαστικὸν τῆς πραγματείας 'the complete treatment of the historical treatise').⁶³

However, the allusion to Thucydides in the prologue is only one prose tile in a mosaic that shines mainly in its use of poetic terms, which can only be summarized here. Some of these, such as ἀπήμαντος 'unharmful' (12.25),⁶⁴ μόρος 'fate' (9.28, 13.7), σχέτλιος 'unfortunate' (15.5), στυγέω 'to hate' (5.8), the preposition ἄτερ 'without' (12.15),⁶⁵ ἄλγος 'pain' (3.17, which Polybius uses only once in a quote),⁶⁶ and terms from the religious sphere, such as θέμις (6.20, 12.14) used as an adjective 'legally permitted' (Muraoka 2009, p. 327 s.v.), seem to point to the author's familiarity with Homer, tragedy, and literary prose.

61 "The examination of half a dozen morpho-semantic and a few semantic Polybian neologisms which occur in 2 Maccabees provided indications of the deuterocanonical book's lexical dependence on the *Histories*, but no strongly conclusive evidence" (Domazakis 2018, pp. 353–354).

62 Canfora (2013, p. 546).

63 Among the hallmarks of correct Attic usage listed by Horrocks (2010, p. 138) is the construction of abstract nominals with the neuter article and an adjective in agreement.

64 On the poetic flavor of the corradical ἀπήμων, see Dover (1997, p. 104).

65 A *hapax* in the Septuagint, the preposition ἄτερ 'aside', 'without' has been mostly overlooked in commentaries. ἄτερ was current in Homer, Pindar, tragedy, and the Hippocratic Corpus. It is difficult to believe, following Richnow (1967, p. 56), that it had already entered Hellenistic prose on the basis that it is epigraphically attested (e.g., *IK Priene* 65, 106: ἄτερ ὀψωνίου). Indeed, since Polybius does not use ἄτερ, it seems to fit better in the category of "klassische, in hellenistischer Prosa fehlende Präpositionsadverbien, die in der Kaiserzeit wieder auftreten" (Wahlgren 1995, p. 67). In Imperial prose, its frequency increases significantly. For example, it is found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.*: 6×), who often uses variations of the locution ἄτερ αἰτίας (*Ant. Rom.* 3.10.3, 4.19.3, 8.5.2, 11.10.19), Galen, and the Gospel of Luke (22.6: ἄτερ ὄχλου 'in the absence of the multitude'; 22.35: ἄτερ βαλαντίου καὶ πήρας καὶ ὑποδημάτων 'with no moneybag or knapsack or sandals').

66 On the preservation of ἄλγος in Hellenistic and Imperial prose, see Cerroni (2019, pp. 229–233).

Impressed by the impact of the Maccabees' rebellion and Judah and his men's heroism, the author also aspired to an epic flair through adverbial forms such as λεοντηδόν 'like lions' (11.11), ἀγγελιδόν 'in flocks' (3.18, 14.14), and the neologism κρουνηδόν 'as a water source' (14.45).⁶⁷ Religious fervor and a taste for the classification of virtues probably explain the use of many nouns with moral content linked to the sphere of war with which the author conspired to create an epic aura, including εὐανδρία 'courage' (8.7, 15.17), εὐμένεια 'benevolence' (6.29), and εὐτολμία 'boldness' (13.18).⁶⁸ Such heroic concepts were probably difficult to integrate into Polybius' pragmatic historiography, and he thus avoids them due to personal style.

5 Conclusion

The overall impression from this survey is that our author strove to observe several standards, including Classical Greek literary and Hellenistic rhetorical devices, but failed to achieve a coherent style and often resorted to low Koine features. His main concern was μεταβολή, and he lacked an authoritative model to follow.

Indeed, it is difficult to deny the Hellenistic (that is, Asianic) features of the work thoroughly described by Gil (1958). The epitomist did nothing but write according to the taste typical of his time, with all the linguistic care of a scholar. This is a likely explanation for the co-presence of terms taken from classical authors and undeniable Hellenistic novelties as well as the grammatical zeal evident in some of the author's choices, such as the avoidance of βλέπω, perceived as too colloquial, in favor of more pretentious compounds, such as συνοράω. In this regard, it can be argued that he was the forerunner of an Atticist feature later used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. A trace of the scholarly is also found in the adjective ληρώδης (12.44) 'futile', 'foolish', a Septuagint *hapax*, far removed from Polybian style but later extensively used by Philo and Galen.

On the other hand, the emergence of low Koine features, such as new lexical formations and the ending in -αν for the third person plural of the perfect indicative, balance the author's scholarly efforts with components of everyday language.

67 The adverbial suffix -δόν was retained in the Hellenistic Age to the detriment of the suffix -δην; on this topic, see Mathys (2016, pp. 266–269). On the forms κρουνηδόν and λεοντηδόν, apparently coined by the author of 2 Macc., as well as the Polybian σπειρηδόν 'divided into σπεῖραι', see Domazakis (2018, pp. 129–132 and 320–333 respectively).

68 Momigliano (1975, pp. 85–86) considers the isolation of Judas a sign of archaism recalling the Book of Judges.

It might be surprising to note some similarities with Dionysius of Halicarnassus in these contradictory data since he strove for grammatical Atticism (e.g., reviving the classical ὁράω or particles such as γοῦν and νυνί) while preserving certain Hellenistic traits (e.g., compounds like κατάκοπος). As is well known, the gradual process of Atticist refinement has already been clarified in a classic study by Wilamowitz (1900).⁶⁹ Thus, what marks the difference between pioneering grammatical Atticism in 2 Macc. and Dionysius' programmatic Atticism is the very different level of awareness. If there is grammatical Atticism in 2 Macc., it is merely from erudite choices due to a Jewish author's quest for grammatical correctness, eager not to lose face at a time when the first attempts were being made to create a literary Koine.

Moreover, and most importantly, partly because it depends on the date to which we wish to assign the book, the epitomist would not have known that his way of writing was 'Asian'; as we have seen, this category was a later invention. Did he have any knowledge of Atticism? If we accept the theory of a grammatical Atticism that preceded that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,⁷⁰ the answer could be affirmative. Nevertheless, in the case of a later date than the first century BCE or even as late as the 40s CE, as suggested by Domazakis (2018), the author of 2 Macc. would have been far removed from the debate about Atticism that flourished at the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Indeed, this is the most likely case; coming from Cyrene, Jason must have lived in Jerusalem or the Diaspora (Alexandria or Antioch),⁷¹ as did his epitomist—or the unknown late redactor hypothesized by Habicht (1976, pp. 174–177).

69 "Mit einem Schlage ging das freilich nicht; es war den atticistisch Gesonnenen gar nicht sofort bewusst, wie vieles sie im Munde führten, was der sehr exclusive Geschmack der attischen Rede des 4. Jahrhunderts verschmäht oder nicht gekannt hatte. Man darf sich also nicht wundern, wenn Dionysios in seiner Geschichte uns oft dem Polybios näher zu stehen scheint als dem Cassius Dio, dessen Griechische ein Pelz von altattischem Allerleirauch ist" (Wilamowitz 1900, p. 39).

70 See the Introduction to this volume. The theory of a Greek origin of Atticism predating Roman Atticism and Dionysius of Halicarnassus has been defended, among others, by Norden (1898, pp. 149–151), who assumes that the Atticist reaction began around 200 BCE, and Dihle (1977, pp. 167–169). According to Preisshofen (1979), the classicist scheme applied to art history must have been derived from rhetoric in a period before 150 BCE. Lucarini (2015, p. 22) argues that a start date for the Atticist reaction after 150 BCE is unlikely.

71 For an overview of the different theories about the place of composition, see Doran (2012, pp. 15–17). According to Bévenot (1931, p. 9), Jason came from Cyrene and went to Jerusalem to gather information about the Maccabean insurrection; however, the epitome was probably written in Alexandria. According to Arenhoevel (1967, pp. 115–116), Jason was brought up in Alexandria. Schwartz (2008, pp. 45–55) also considers 2 Macc. a "diasporan book".

However, it is not in the Roman but in the Hellenistic period that we need to look for the literary models of the narrative and reconstruct the tastes of its reading public. A look at other works that flourished in the world of second-century BCE Hellenistic Judaism may be helpful.

The first author to write about Jewish history in Greek was Demetrius (perhaps of Alexandria), author of the work *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων*, whose period of activity can be assigned to the end of the third century BCE.⁷² Eupolemus dates to the mid-second century BCE and thus closer to the tumultuous Jerusalem of the Maccabean Wars, but his work is preserved in only a few fragments.⁷³ Based on their supposedly poor and clumsy style, the level of education of these early Jewish historians who wrote in Greek has often been disregarded.⁷⁴ It is now clear, however, that there are many indications of some degree of Greek education on the part of these authors and that their style is at home in a Post-classical environment.⁷⁵

Moreover, they were not the only Greek-writing Jewish authors of the time. The Greek-speaking Judaic elite of the Hasmonean age, so proud of the political independence of their kingdom, also read Philo's epic poem *Περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα*, Theodotus' *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων*,⁷⁶ the tragic poetry of Ezekiel, and also the historical work of Jason, written according to the dominant trends of contemporary prose. Unlike the previous authors, who are preserved only fragmentarily and whose level of education cannot be determined with certainty, 2 Macc. provides us with a significant amount of data. If Demetrius and Eupolemus wrote in a standard Greek register that was acceptable to their audience, it seems that the learned epitomist of 2 Macc. was addressing a more literate public, though rhetorically seeking to offer a pleasant mixture of wine and water with an affectation of modesty (15.39). The later date of his work, after the Maccabean revolt, probably accounts for his higher level of Greek education. Therefore, without knowing it, he became the first theorizer, at least on a lexical level, of the millennial clash between Ἰουδαϊσμός (2.21) and Ἑλληνισμός (4.13) on the wider stage of Greek culture, beyond the mere grammatical conflict surrounding

72 On Demetrius, see Fraser (1972, pp. 690–694), Bickermann (2007, pp. 618–630), and Holladay (1983, pp. 52–53).

73 On Eupolemus, see Wacholder (1974) and Collins (2000, pp. 46–50).

74 According to Wacholder (1974, p. 257), “Only the presumed existence of a distinct Judaeo-Greek dialect renders Eupolemus’ Greek tolerable.” Thorough evaluations of Eupolemus’ style are found in Freudenthal (1874, p. 109) and Holladay (1983, p. 95).

75 For a proper reassessment of Demetrius, Eupolemus, and the beginning of the Hellenistic Hebrew-Greek literary tradition, see Dhont (2020).

76 The extant texts of Philo and Theodotus (prob. second century BCE) have been edited, among others, by Kuhn (2012). On Philo, see also Faulkner (2014) and Magnelli (2015–2016).

correct Greek that is first attested by Theophrastus (fr. 684 Fortenbaugh) and became common among Hellenistic scholars.⁷⁷

Thus, despite ungenerous assessments, whether the author of 2 Macc. was stylistically inferior to Polybius and Diodorus is at least questionable.⁷⁸ What he really lacked was an original approach to historiography—as he himself admits in the preface (2.19–32)—his main aim being to write an embellished epitome, a rhetorical work rather than a historical one. Paradoxically, just like Hegesias, a confessed emulator of Lysias⁷⁹ and the first to be labeled an Asianic writer, the epitomist (or late redactor) of 2 Macc. pursued a style that would later be called Asianism at a time when it was gradually falling out of fashion in favor of early Atticist doctrine. His grammatical zeal, however, represents early steps in the rebirth of grammar and Attic correctness in Hellenistic Jewish literature.

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77 For instance, in Diogenes of Babylonia (Diog. Laert. 7.59.1–3 = *SVF* 3.24). The earliest known treatise devoted entirely to ἑλληνισμός is that of Philoxenus of Alexandria (first century BCE). On the concept of ἑλληνισμός in Hellenistic scholarship, see Sandri (2020, pp. 5–6); on Philoxenus, see Pagani (2014, pp. 248–249). For an overview of the history of the cultural concept of Hellenism in modern historiography (especially Droysen) with bibliography, see Sebastiani (2015).

78 “Thus while our author often produces a high level of language, a serious look at his shortcomings reveals that he was no aficionado of Greek. Whatever his level of education, in no way does it equal that of surviving contemporary historians, whether Jewish or Gentile. It is safe to place him on a level of style above that of other writers/translators of the Septuagint (save perhaps Fourth Maccabees), and possibly Ps.-Aristeas too, but clearly somewhere below Polybius, Diodorus, Philo, and Josephus” (Shaw 2016, p. 415). In contrast, Palm (1955, pp. 119–120) writes, “in 11 Macch. haben wir im grossen und ganzen ein Gegenstück zu der Prosa des Diodorus”.

79 Cic. *ad Att.* 12.6.

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PART 3

Socio-Political Aspects of Language



Eupolis fr. 99, 25 PCG: Imposing Standards on Stage?

Anna A. Novokhatko

1 Introduction

Awareness of the existence of linguistic varieties and of a suitable vocabulary to designate them was an important part of the development of a technical terminology in various fields as generally attested from the last third of the fifth century BCE on.¹ In this chapter, I suggest that Old Attic comedy plays a crucial role in anchoring Attic as standard Greek. On the one hand, Attic playwrights working in Athens and for an Athenian audience use the local dialect and thus behave ‘normally’. On the other hand, there are many examples from theatre where characters speak in non-Attic for different reasons and with different intentions, so that the audience experiences linguistic diversity in theatre.² Discourses on language varieties as well as on dialect speakers themselves were embodied on stage through the actors’ mockery of dialects, which the audience experienced in the moment of acoustic and phonetic contrast between the lines of the non-Attic characters and the ordinary Attic colloquial speech of the Attic-speaking characters and the majority of the audience.

Furthermore, this chapter focuses on the meaning of the verb ἀττικίζειν in a noteworthy combination with the verb αἰσχύνεσθαι in Eupolis fr. 99 PCG, and particularly on the connection of Attic/non-Attic with the concept of shame, dishonor and disgrace. I will, therefore, argue that the experience of speaking foreign languages, speaking with errors, speaking dialects while discussing linguistic divergence on comic stage, and an apparent evaluation of this experience, have played an essential role in the development of the notion of linguistic norm, standards, and divergence.

1 Willi (2003, pp. 70–95). See also Novokhatko (2020), and Novokhatko (2023, pp. 24–29 and in particular 135–147).

2 Colvin (2019).

2 ἀττικίζειν: Speak Attic or Behave Attic?

The damaged papyrus fragment 99 PCG of Eupolis' comedy *Demoi* (P.Cair. 43227 fr. 1 verso) reads:

...]ι κάξιοι δημηγορεῖν,
χθές δὲ καὶ πρόην παρ' ἡμῖν φρατέρων ἔρημος ὢν
κοῦδ' ἂν ἡττίκιζεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φίλους ἡίχυν[ετο. (fr. 99, 23–25 PCG)

And he thinks he has a right to participate in public debate, yesterday and the day before yesterday in our presence (being deprived?) of any members of a phratry, and he would not even speak Attic (behave himself as a pro-Athenian?), if he did not feel shame before his friends.

The verb ἀττικίζειν is attested in Greek approximately from the last decades of the fifth century BCE on. Eupolis' comedy was performed probably in 412 BCE.³ What exactly does the verb mean here and why should one feel shame not to engage in it?⁴

The verb ἀττικίζειν appears simultaneously in Thucydides (twice) and in Old Attic comedy (twice); it further occurs twice in Xenophon and once in Isocrates, never being attested in Plato or Aristotle before it reappears later with its well-known Hellenistic meaning (*attikismos*).⁵ In Thucydides' book 3 in the speech of the Thebans, ἀττικίζειν seems to be used as an analogy to the already existing μηδίζειν 'to side with the Persians', attested in Herodotus, and thus has a political connotation 'to side with the Athenians'.⁶ Thucydides further employed the noun ἀττικισμός for 'loyalty to Athens' (probably a coinage) never attested otherwise in Classical Greek:

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερόν τε ἀκούσιον μηδισμόν καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐκούσιον
ἀττικισμόν τοιαῦτα ἀποφαίνομεν. (Thuc. 3.64.5)⁷

3 On the date of the comedy, see the discussion in Olson (2017, pp. 304–310) with bibliography. See also Tuci (2014). On the verb ἀττικίζειν, see Novokhatko (2020).

4 Cf. recent translations of the verse 25 of Eupolis' fragment: 'and he wouldn't even have spoken Attic if he hadn't been afraid of embarrassing his friends' (Colvin), 'and wouldn't even be speaking Attic if he weren't ashamed before his friends' (Storey), 'and he wouldn't even speak Attic, if he weren't embarrassed in front of his friends' (Olson).

5 See Eleni Bozia's chapter in this volume, p. 288.

6 Thuc. 3.62.2–3. See Rhodes (1994, *ad loc.*) and Hornblower (1991, *ad loc.*) who emphasizes that the verb ἀττικίζειν was already in ordinary use for 'siding with the Athenians', even though there are not many parallels. See Macleod (1983 [1977], p. 240) and Taylor (2010, pp. 98–100).

7 Cf. Thuc. 4.133 and also 8.38. The verb ἀττικίζειν appears in a similar context in Xenophon's *Hellenica* and later in Isocrates' *On the peace* (written perhaps in 355 BCE), juxtaposed to

By all that we demonstrate that our medism is constrained whilst atticism was voluntary.

The concept of Attic Greek is documented elsewhere. The first documentation seems to be the well-known passage from Solon: γλώσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἰέντας (Sol. fr. 36, 11–12).⁸ The fifth-century BCE prose texts—Herodotus, Thucydides, and the Old Oligarch—further discuss Attic dialect. Herodotus describes the origin of the Attic tongue (Hdt. 1.57) and refers to the process of teaching Attic to the children of Pelasgian fathers through their Athenian mothers (Hdt. 6.138). In Thucydides, the Athenian politician Nicias exhorts his non-Athenian soldiers before battle, referring to the knowledge of Athenian language (ἡμῶν τῆς τε φωνῆς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ, Thuc. 7.63.3). In the anonymous treatise *The Constitution of the Athenians*, transmitted under Xenophon's name and contemporary to Thucydides (the so-called Old Oligarch), Athenian language and identity formation are the focus of the author's attention, the peculiarity of Athenian speech (φωνή) being explained in the following way:

ἔπειτα φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρώνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένη ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. (Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.7–8)

Further, hearing every language, they [the Athenians] have selected some from that and some from this; whilst the Greeks use more their own language, habits and appearance, the Athenians use one that is mixed out of all the Greeks and foreigners.⁹

The comic playwright Plato notably used the verb ἀττικίζειν in his comedy *Hyperbolos* (420 BCE?):¹⁰

ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἡττίκιζεν, ὦ Μοῖραι φίλοι,
ἀλλ' ὅποτε μὲν χρεῖη 'διητώμην' λέγειν,
ἔφασκε 'δητώμην', ὅποτε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι
'ὀλίγον', 'ὀλίον' ἔλεγεν. (Pl. fr. 183 PCG)

λακωνίζειν, both meaning 'to side with' Athens/Sparta: Xen. *Hel.* 6.3. 14 (cf. also 1.6.13) and Isocr. 8.108.

8 See Novokhatko (2020, p. 16).

9 See Cassio (1981) and the introduction in this volume p. 12, 22 above. On deliberate mingling of language and identity in the fifth-century Athenian discourse, see Willi (2002, pp. 25–149).

10 See the discussion in Pirrotta (2009, pp. 329–331).

For he was not pro-Athenian/he did not speak Attic, dear Moirai, but whenever he had to say διητώμην, he used to say δητώμην, and whenever he was supposed to say ὀλίγον he used to say ὀλίον.

Bearing in mind the political connotations (in all probability the politician Hyperbolus, whose name is the title of the comedy, is the subject of the verb ἡττικίζεν) and the recent coinage of the verb ἀττικίζειν, we should admit that the meaning ‘to speak Attic’ is attested here for the first time, and, as happened frequently with comic coinages, this is the meaning which became dominant in later Hellenistic times.¹¹ Attic comedy, written first for the Athenian stage, logically meant to present Attic behavior and language as a natural norm. The playwright uses the verb ‘to side with Athens’ and turns it into the language of Athens.

Over the course of the fifth century BCE, the morpheme –ίζειν with the stem suffix –ιζ—started signifying ‘speaking in the fashion of X’. Verbs such as ἀττικίζειν and ἑλληνίζειν played a crucial role in the scholarly discourse of the Second Sophistic. Most of these verbs are attested only in the second half of the fifth century BCE, but one example from Aeschylus deserves special attention, as it is an early instance of the –ιζω formation.

In particular, the verb βαρβαρίζω (Hdt. 2.57) is noteworthy. An unknown fragment by Aeschylus contains the word χελιδονίζειν (Aesch. fr. 450(?) TrGF), explained in the scholia thus, “and Aeschylus says, for ‘speaking barbarian’, ‘uttering like a swallow’” (καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὸ βαρβαρίζειν ‘χελιδονίζειν’ φησί).¹² The comparison of a stranger’s voice to the chirping of a swallow seems to have become a fixed simile in Greek since Aeschylus; Clytemnestra uses this verb to describe Cassandra’s strangeness (Aesch. Ag. 1050–1052). The phrase ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον (‘unknown barbarian language’) points to a cognitive link between speech and understanding, language and consciousness, thus recalling Herodotus’ Egyptian priestess who, after chirping like a bird, began to say ‘intelligible things’ (συνετὰ σφί ηὔδα).¹³ Aeschylus’ innovative word χελιδονίζειν, picking up Herodotus’ βαρβαρίζειν, initiates the formation of numerous other verbs denoting different types of speech.

11 Colvin (1999, p. 282 and 2000, pp. 289–290). See also Cassio (1981).

12 *Schol. Ar. ad Av.* 1680 Dübner. On the comparison with a swallow for speaking a wrong or awkward Greek, cf. also *Ar. Av.* 1677–1681 (εἰ μὴ βαβάζει γ’ ὥσπερ αἱ χελιδόνες) and *Ar. Ra.* 676–682 (ἐφ’ οὗ δὴ χεῖλεσιν ἀμφιτάλοις δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται Ὀρχηρία χελιδὼν ἐπὶ βάρβαρον ἔζομένη πέταλον). See Dover 1993, 277–278.

13 For further parallels, see Fraenkel (1950, *ad loc.*).

In assessing the question of newly formed verbs denoting ‘speaking in another language/dialect’, we may consider several comic fragments.¹⁴ In the early comedy *Babyloniōi* (426 BCE), Aristophanes uses the verb λακεδαίμονιάζω. The opposition of ‘Athenian’ to ‘foreign’ seems presupposed in the title of the play and must have been reflected to some extent in the plot as well (Ar. fr. 97 PCG = Steph. Byz. λ 19, 12–13).¹⁵ The verb λακεδαίμονιάζω can mean ‘to imitate a Lacedaemonian style’, with reference to manners, dress, and the like, but it can also mean ‘to imitate Lacedaemonian speech.’ Verbs ending -ιάζω derived from ethnic designations started to occur more and more frequently during the fifth century BCE, as opposed to only one instance in the sixth century BCE (δωριάζω).¹⁶ In the context of the Peloponnesian War, the contrast of ‘Attic’ versus ‘Lacedaemonian’ can refer to linguistic differentiation as well.

We find other verbs ending in -ίζω, such as λυδιζω, in other texts.¹⁷ The mid-sixth-century BCE iambic poet Hipponax thus describes an obscene scene where a woman speaks ‘in the Lydian fashion’ (Hippon. fr. 92.1). Aristophanes in his *Knights* also employs a participle of the verb λυδιζω to refer to the comic playwright Magnes, in all probability alluding to Magnes’ comedy *Lydoi* (Ar. Eq. 523–224). All three participles here (λυδιζων και ψηνιζων και βαπτόμενος βατραχείοις) allude to Magnes’ comedies, to his *Lydoi*, his *Psenes* and his *Batrachoi*. Other ways in which this passage can be understood include the possibility that the verb λυδιζω here signifies ‘speaking in Lydian fashion’.¹⁸

14 See also adverbs meaning ‘in such a such tongue/dialect’: βαρβαριστί (Ar. fr. 81 PCG), λυδιστί (Cratin. fr. 276.4 PCG), δωριστί (Ar. Eq. 989), always referring to musical modes and the manners of performance. Cf. σκυθιστί in Herodotus, used two times with a verb meaning ‘to call’: ὀνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθιστί Ἀριμασπούς (‘we call them in Scythian Arimaspians’, Hdt. 4.27), ὀνομάζονται δὲ σκυθιστί Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβιτί (‘Hestia is called Tabiti in Scythian’, Hdt. 4.59). On one occasion the adverb σκυθιστί is used together with a noun for ‘name’: οὐνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθιστί μὲν Ἐξαμπαίος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἰραὶ ὁδοί (‘the name of the spring and of the place where it flows from is in Scythian Exampaeus, in the Greek language Sacred roads’, Hdt. 4.52). On the representation of the Scythians in Herodotus, see Hartog (1988, pp. 3–33). On the Scythians in Aristophanes, see Sier (1992). On this form of adverb, see Harrison (1998, pp. 15–16). Cf. also μηιονιστί (‘in Maeonian’) in Hipponax (fr. 3a, 1 West).

15 Orth (2017, pp. 533–536).

16 See Anacr. fr. 399 PMG. For the fifth century BCE, cf. further αἰγυπτιάζω Crat. fr. 406 PCG, Ar. Thesm. 922; λεσβιάζω Ar. Ra. 1308; κορινθιάζω Ar. fr. 370 PCG; βοιωτιάζω Com. adesp. fr. 875 PCG; χιάζω and σιφνιάζω Ar. fr. 930 PCG, adesp. fr. 942 PCG. On the word formation see Schwyzler (1953, pp. 735–736).

17 For the Athenian perspective on the Lydians, both in written record and in vase painting, see DeVries (2000, pp. 356–363). For the verbs on -ίζω, see Rochette (2003, pp. 178–180) with further references.

18 Bagordo (2014, pp. 82–84).

The verb *μηδίζω*, frequently occurring in Herodotus, can usually be understood along similar lines.¹⁹

The verb *λακωνίζω*, similar to *λακεδαιμονιάζω* (discussed above), which also refers to Spartan habits, is attested twice in comedy. Thus, a character in a fragment from an unknown comedy by Eupolis says: *μισῶ λακωνίζειν* ('I hate doing it the Spartan way', fr. 385, 1 PCG).²⁰ The verb is attested once in Aristophanes as well (fr. 358 PCG, one-word fragment, context unclear). Eupolis perhaps adopted this pattern to coin the verb *θετταλίζω* ('to do in the Thessalian way') for his comedy *Marikas* (fr. 214 PCG).²¹

Plato in fragment 183 PCG recalls the Persian Pseudartabas in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (*ἰαρταμὸν ἐξάρξαν ἀπισσόνα σάτρα, Ar. Ach. 100*, and further vv. 101–107) and the barbarian Tribballos in Aristophanes' *Birds* (*νά, Βαίσατρεῦ, Ar. Av. 1615–1616, σαὺ νάκα βακτᾶρι κροῦσα 1628–1629, καλάνι κόραυνα καὶ μεγάλα βασιλινὰ ὄρνιτο παραδίδωμι 1678–1681*). These characters speak almost, but not entirely, incomprehensible gibberish.²² The Scythian archer scene in the *Thesmophoriazusae* is noteworthy as well. The Scythian's Greek is broken with poor phonological and morphological constructs such as a lack of aspirated vowels, a lack of aspirated consonants, and incorrect verb endings (*ἐνταῦτα νῦν οἰμῶξι πρὸς τὴν αἰτρίαν, μή μ' ἴκετεῦσι σύ, ἔτι μᾶλλο βοῦλιν; ἐγὼ ἔξινίγκι πορμός, ἵνα πυλάξι σοι 1001–1007*).²³ The audience would have perceived a 'foreigner' who tries to make some sense in Greek differently than a 'Greek' who speaks a dialect other than Attic.²⁴

Another verb of this kind, *ἐλληνίζειν*, is attested for the first time in Thucydides. It seems to mean 'to make somebody Greek', emphatically in the sense of 'to make somebody speak Greek': *ἡλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν* (Thuc. 2.68.5).²⁴ Thucydides offers no explanation for the fact that the inhabitants of a region founded by the Argive hero Amphilochus were barbarian, i.e. did not speak Greek. The natural conclusion from our point of view would be that the rest of Amphilochia was indeed barbarian, spoke non-Greek

19 It occurs thirty times in Herodotus and five times in Thucydides.

20 For the obscene connotations of the verb *λακωνίζειν*, appropriate to comedy, see Olson (2014, p. 126). On ethnic stereotypes mocked in comedy, see also Ornaghi (2020).

21 On a possible reconstruction of genuine Old Persian in *Ar. Ach. 100* and a hypothesis that Pseudartabas presented a letter, see Willi (2004).

22 On the analysis of the Scythian's language, see Willi (2003, pp. 198–225). See also Long (1986, pp. 194–207), Sier (1992), Colvin (1999, pp. 290–291) and Austin & Olson (2004, pp. 308–309).

23 Dunbar (1995, pp. 725–725, 727–728, 735–736); Morpurgo Davies (2002 [1987], p. 166); Olson (2002, pp. 104–105). See Colvin (1999, pp. 288–290) on Pseudartabas and Tribballos.

24 Contrast this with Arist. *Rhet.* 1407a: *ἔστι δ' ἀρχὴ τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἐλληνίζειν* ('it is the foundation of style to use correct Greek'). Morpurgo Davies (2002 [1987], p. 167); Rochette (2003, pp. 184–187).

languages, and was only associated with the story of Amphilochus because it bore the same name. It is likely that the region became Greek under the influence of Ambracia, for Ambracia was a colony of Doric Corinth. Thucydides, of course, could hardly believe the somewhat absurd view that “Amphilochus and with him Agamemnon, Achilles or Odysseus spoke ‘Pelasgian’, and that Homer spoke Greek only through contact with Dorians”.²⁵

In view of these parallels, let us look again at the fragments of Plato and Eupolis and in particular at the use of the verb ἀττικίζειν. We do not know who the speaker explaining the argument (thus the particle γάρ in Plato) about a character who cannot behave as a proper Athenian might have been. The verb refers purely to prosodic and phonetic ‘mistakes’ with the omission of consonants: δητώμην instead of διητώμην (imperfect medio-passive, 1st person singular of δισσώσθαι ‘live’), ὀλίγον instead of ὀλίγον (adverb ‘something, slightly’). In the case of διητώμην, the ι is compressed into a palatal glide, while for ὀλίγον, there is further Attic evidence from inscriptions for the omission of the γ.²⁶

Here the probable candidate cannot speak properly, he speaks a ‘low urban’ rather than a rural variety of Attic: perhaps the nascent ‘international’ Attic [...]. If this is true, it is worth remarking that a type of Greek which is likely to have been heard quite commonly on the streets of Athens and Piraeus is characterized by the playwrights (at least implicitly, and perhaps explicitly) as barbarous—a character with a Thracian mother reveals his low background by his low morals, his deficient *paideia* and his substandard Greek.²⁷

Plato’s fragment constitutes an example of political attack, a particular pronunciation being ridiculed. We don’t know the identity of the speaker, but whoever he or she was, it’s all the funnier that a character in a distorted comic costume behaves on stage like a purist grammarian who flew in a time machine from a later Alexandrian era: as a point of fact, the earliest attestations for linguistic studies belong to the fifth century BCE and reveal prosodic exercises.²⁸ The verb ἀττικίζειν itself playfully refers to the mode of speech and

25 Gomme (1956, p. 202).

26 Colvin (2020, pp. 76–77) in detail. See also Cassio (1981, pp. 86–87).

27 Colvin (2000, p. 290) and his discussion there of Ar. fr. 706 PCG as well. Cf. also Colvin (1999, p. 282).

28 Two fifth-century BCE ‘scholars’ from Thasus are credited with having interest in prosody. Hippias of Thasus perhaps emended two verses, *Il.* 2.15 (the form 1. pers. plur. ‘we grant’ (δίδομεν) is substituted by a change of accent through the (Aeolic) imperative infinitive ‘grant!’ (διδόμεν)) and *Il.* 23.328 (the οὐ against the common reading οὐ) in the Homeric text (see Arist. *Poet.* 25, 1461a 21–22 and Arist. *Soph. el.* 4, 166b1–9). Stesimbrotus of Thasus was referred to in the scholia as having solved πάντ’ ἄ ‘all things which’ against the common πάντα ‘everything’, the psilotic Homeric ἄ being noteworthy here (Arist. *Soph. El.* 177b–178a; *Sch. vet. T Il.* 15.189). As Philomen Probert points out, such text passages could be regarded as ambiguous during the course of the fifth century BCE, when the transmission of the

thus presupposes an awareness of the language of Athens itself. As the examples with other ethnically related groupings show, the question of language is closely linked to a more general question of identity construction, and this is also a clue to understanding the meaning of Eupolis' ἀττικίζειν.

3 Shaping Attic Identity: Wasps and Grasshoppers

In Plato's fragment, the verb ἀττικίζειν thus seems to have a double meaning: the political connotations of the verb used for 'siding with X' and the comic connotations of an -ίζω verb of 'speaking in the fashion of X'. To give another example, a good parallel between the assertion of Attic identity and the conscious rejection of non-Attic identity is the chorus of wasps in Aristophanes' comedy (422 BCE).

Ar. *Vesp.* 1071–1090

εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ᾧ θεαταί, τὴν ἐμὴν ἰδὼν φύσιν
 εἶτα θαυμάζει μ' ὁρῶν μέσον διεσφηκωμένον,
 ἥ τις ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἢ πίνοια τῆς ἐγκεντρίδος,
 ῥαδίως ἐγὼ διδάξω, καὶ ἄμουσος ἦ τὸ πρίν.
 ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς, οἷς πρόσσεστι τοῦτο τοῦρροπύγιον, (1075)
 Ἀττικοὶ μόνοι δικαίως ἐγγενεῖς αὐτόχθονες,
 ἀνδρικώτατον γένος καὶ πλεῖστα τήνδε τὴν πόλιν
 ὠφελήσαν ἐν μάχαισιν, ἡνίκ' ἦλθ' ὁ βάρβαρος,
 τῷ καπνῷ τύφων ἄπασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πυρπολῶν,
 ἐξελεῖν ἡμῶν μενοιῶν πρὸς βίαν τάνθρηνια. (1080)
 εὐθέως γὰρ ἐκδραμόντες “ξὺν δορὶ ξὺν ἀσπίδι”
 ἐμαχόμεσθ' αὐτοῖσι, θυμὸν ὀξίνην πεπωκότες,
 στὰς ἀνὴρ παρ' ἄνδρ', ὑπ' ὀργῆς τὴν χελύνην ἐσθίων·
 ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοξευμάτων οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν οὐρανόν.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐωσάμεσθα ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν. (1085)
 γλαυξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν διέπτατο.
 εἶτα δ' εἰπόμεσθα θυννάζοντες εἰς τοὺς θυλάκους,
 οἱ δ' ἔφευγον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τὰς ὀφρυς κεντούμενοι·
 ὥστε παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροισι πανταχοῦ καὶ νῦν ἔτι
 μηδὲν Ἀττικοῦ καλεῖσθαι σφηκὸς ἀνδρικώτερον. (1090)

Homeric poems was essentially oral although they also existed in writing. Aristotle understood and commented upon this ambiguity precisely because he understood the Homeric work as a written text. See Probert (2006, p. 17). On prosodic jokes in comedy, cf. Epich. fr. 76 PCG, Sophron fr. 38 PCG, Strat. fr. 63 PCG, Sannyr. fr. 8 PCG.

If any of you spectators, seeing my appearance and seeing me in the middle with a wasp's waist, wonder what the purpose of our sting is, I can easily explain it, even if one is unlearned beforehand. We who have such a sting are the only true native Athenians, a very masculine race, who helped this city greatly in battle when the barbarians came, covered the city with smoke, set it on fire, and tried to destroy our nests by force. Immediately we attacked 'with spear and shield' and fought them after we had drunk a draught of sharp, bitter liquor; one man stood next to another and bit his lip in anger. Because of their arrows the sky could not be seen, but nevertheless, with the help of the gods, we drove them back towards evening; for an owl had flown over our ranks before the battle. Then we pursued them and harpooned them through their baggy trousers, and they fled, stung in the jaws and eyebrows, and so to this day it is said everywhere among the barbarians that there is nothing more manly than an Attic wasp.

The wasp identity of the chorus is justified by Athens' glorious martial past, while their presence as jurors in the contemporary city is further described by the wasps' persistent behaviour during their service.²⁹ The history of the Persian Wars in vv. 1078–1088, 1092–1093 and 1098–1101 which partly echoes Herodotus' account *Hist.* 8.50–53 can be read as a disjointed hodgepodge of elements borrowed from the battle at Thermopylae (1084: ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοξευμάτων οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν οὐρανόν, 'because of their arrows the sky could not be seen') and the battle at Salamis (1085: ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐωσάμεσθα ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν, 'with the help of the gods, we pushed them back towards evening'), the invasion of Attica in 480 BCE (1079: τῷ καπνῷ τύφων ἄπασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πυρπολῶν, 'covering the entire city in a cloud of smoke and setting it on fire'), the liberation of various Greek cities in Asia Minor in the early 470s BCE and particularly the Battle of Mycale (479 BCE) that ended the second Persian invasion of Greece during the Persian Wars (1092–1093: καὶ κατεστρεψάμην τοὺς ἐναντίους, 'I subdued my adversaries') and the eventual integration of the cities into the Empire (1098–1101: τοιγαρὺν πολλὰς πόλεις Μήδων ἐλόντες αἰτιώτατοι φέρεσθαι τὸν φόρον δεῦρ' ἐσμέν, ὃν κλέπτουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι, 'therefore, we have taken many cities from the Medes and are mainly responsible for bringing tribute to Athens, for the young to steal'), and above all else the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE (1081–1083: εὐθέως γὰρ ἐκδραμόντες "ξὺν δορὶ ξὺν ἀσπίδι" ἐμαχόμεσθ' αὐτοῖσι, θυμὸν ὀξίνην πεπωκότες, στάς ἀνὴρ παρ' ἀνδρ', ὑπ' ὀργῆς τὴν χελύνην

29 Sommerstein (1983, pp. 219–220), Biles & Olson (2015, pp. 400–414). On intertextual and transtextual parallels in this passage, see Michel (2023, pp. 231–232).

ἐσθίων, 'straight away we attacked 'with spear and shield' and fought them after having drunk a sip of sharp, bitter liquor; one man stood next to another and bit his lip in anger'; 1087–1088: εἶτα δ' εἰπόμεσθα θυννάζοντες εἰς τοὺς θυλάκους, οἱ δ' ἔφευγον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς κεντούμενοι, 'then we pursued them and harpooned them through their baggy trousers, and they fled, stung in the jaws and eyebrows').

Now when the wasps, the 'only true Attic natives' (Ἀττικοὶ μόνοι δικαίως ἐγγενεῖς αὐτόχθονες), want to reveal their identity, they report that there was a single incursion of Persian troops, directed exclusively and maliciously against Athens. This invasion was repulsed in a decisive confrontation with the city's hoplites. The same Athenians, now on ships, took control of various Persian cities after the victory and forced them to pay tribute, thus creating the empire. The Spartans are remarkably never mentioned explicitly in this narrative, although the battle of Thermopylae is referred to prominently enough (1084: ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοξευμάτων οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν οὐρανόν, 'because of their arrows the sky could not be seen') and the allusions to the Battle of Mycale are legible as well (1092–1093: καὶ κατεστρεψάμην τοὺς ἐναντίους, 'I subdued my adversaries'). The Athenians alone successfully withstood barbarian violence with their Athenian symbol (1085–1086: ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐσάμεσθα ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν. γλαυῆξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν διέπτατο, 'but nevertheless, with the help of the gods, we pushed them back towards evening; for an owl had flown over our ranks before the battle') and were awarded a good virile reputation that spread throughout the world 'among the barbarians' (1089–1090: ὥστε παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροισι πανταχοῦ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μηδὲν Ἀττικοῦ καλεῖσθαι σφηκὸς ἀνδρικώτερον, 'so it is said to this day everywhere among the barbarians that nothing is said to be more manly than an Attic wasp'). The male Attic wasps, juxtaposed with some uncertain enemy barbarians (ἡνίκ' ἦλθ' ὁ βάρβαρος, παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροισι πανταχοῦ), transform the entire complicated panhellenic history of the Persian Wars into a narrative of swift, tenacious, and successful Athenian victory.³⁰ Is Aristophanes serious in enacting this Attic glorification through the voices and movements of elderly jurors dressed as wasps with stingers?

The meticulous, colorful details of the battles serve to remind the audience of the victories in the Persian Wars, but the framing of the narrative, as well as the mockery of the Athenians' boastful autochthonous origins, distracts from the sublime story of the glorious past and teases the popular misuse

30 On the continued emphasis in fifth-century BCE Greek literature on Attic 'masculinity' in contrast to, for example, Ionian softness and 'femininity', see also Thuc. 2.35–41 and Cassio (1981).

of historical memory.³¹ For our purposes here, and especially for the use of ἀττικίζειν in Aristophanes' contemporaries Eupolis and Plato, the emphasized "atticism" of the male wasps is essential.

Similarly, in Aristophanes' *Knights* (424 BCE), Demos (the Athenian people of the Pnyx) is the symbol of the glorious 'violet-crowned' Athens, as once sung about by Pindar.³²

Ar. *Eq.* 1327–1334:

Αλ. ... ἀλλ' ὀλολύξατε φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις
ταῖς θαυμασταῖς καὶ πολυύμνοις, ἵν' ὁ κλεινὸς Δῆμος ἐνοικεῖ.
Χο. ὦ ται λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀριζήλωτοι Ἀθήναι,
δείξατε τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε μόναρχον.
Αλ. ὅδ' ἐκεῖνος ὁρᾶν τεττιγοφόρας, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός,
οὐ χοιρινῶν ὄζων ἀλλὰ σπονδῶν, σμύρνη κατάλειπτος.
Χο. χαῖρ', ὦ βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ σοι ξυγχαίρομεν ἡμεῖς.
τῆς γὰρ πόλεως ἄξια πράττεις καὶ τοῦ ἵν' Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου.

Sausage-seller: ... Shout for joy at the appearance of the old Athens, the wonderful and much-praised one where the famous Demos dwells.

Chorus leader: Athens, the radiant, the violet-crowned, the universally envied, show us the monarch of Greece and of this land.

Sausage-seller: Behold this man wearing a golden grasshopper, resplendent in ancient garb, smelling not of conch shells but of peace libations, and anointed with myrrh.

Chorus leader: Hail, King of the Greeks, we rejoice with you, for your deeds are worthy of the city and trophy of Marathon.

The city of Athens of the period of the Persian Wars is recalled, and Athenian Demos is glorified as a monarch—an obvious parallel to the Persian Great King!—of Greece and of 'this land'. He is a true autochthon, just like the chorus-wasps in the parabasis discussed above, as he wears a golden cicada in his hair (ὅδ' ἐκεῖνος ὁρᾶν τεττιγοφόρας).³³ The golden cicada brooches were symbols of autochthony, of 'earth birth', as the cicada larvae are buried under the earth from which they hatch. The custom of wearing this golden brooch seems to have

31 Cf. the *Epitaphios* of Pericles in Thucydides, where the myth of the Athenian autochthonism plays an instrumental role. (Thuc. 2.35–26).

32 Sommerstein (1981, pp. 215–216).

33 Cf. Eust. 395.34, and τεττιγοφορία Tz. H. 1.233. See also Thuc. 1.6.3, and Gomme (1945, pp. 101–103) and Hornblower (1991, *ad loc.*).

become obsolete shortly after the Persian Wars, and so the Athenian Demos' triumphal transfer to the glorious days of his ancestors is all the more emphatic.

Athens' prominent position is seen as a consequence of its almost single-handed victory over the Persians, which in turn justifies the empire and the resulting revenues as compensation for saving Greece.³⁴ At the same time, the cruel power of laughter is at work: the statement should not be perceived literally, the audience is trained in perceiving irony and distortion. Attic identity—"the appearance of the old Athens" (φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις); "Athens, the radiant, the violet-crowned, the universally envied" (ὦ ται λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀριζήλωτοι Ἀθήναι)—is shaped and at the same time mocked in the sensorimotor perception of Demos, who is described in eminent visual, tactile and olfactory terms: 'Behold (ὄραν) this man, this sausage-seller, he is wearing a golden grasshopper (τεττιγοφόρας), resplendent in ancient costume (ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός), smelling not of sea-mussels but of drink-offerings (οὐ χοιρινῶν ὄζων ἀλλὰ σπονδῶν), anointed with myrrh (σμύρνη κατὰλειπτος)'.

The implications of the verb ἀττικίζειν are as far-reaching as they seem. To be Attic, to speak Attic, meant much more to the Athenian audience than just the prosodic norms of a standard dialect but also more than certain peculiarities of behaviour. Identity is shaped and immediately mocked by the merciless weapons of Attic comedy. The target in Eupolis fr. 99 PCG is a politician who thought he had the right to be active in politics (κάξιτοι δημηγορεῖν v. 23), although he had not been admitted to a phratry until very recently (χθές δὲ καὶ πρώην παρ' ἡμῖν φρατέρων v. 24).³⁵ If the verb refers to his manner of speaking, as a part of the broader concept of acting as an Athenian, then an element that was alien in the manners of some demagogue (various candidates have been proposed such as Syrakosios, Hyperbolos, Cleophon, Androcles, Archedemos, Demostratos, Dietrephes³⁶), a man who cannot speak Attic properly, is being mocked. Whilst the character in Plato did not speak Attic, here the contemporary non-Athenian politician can Atticize, albeit half-heartedly, according to the chorus' judgement.³⁷

4 Hearing and Evaluating Non-Attic on Stage

A number of passages from Old Attic comedy attest to a certain awareness of dialects spoken in Greek, such as Megarian (Ar. *Ach.* 729–835), Boeotian

34 Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 684–685 and 1078–1090, *Ach.* 694–697, *Eq.* 781–782, Hdt. 9.27.5, Thuc. 1.73.4.

35 On this 'vilified demagogue', see Storey (2003, pp. 149–160); on phratry membership and the link to Athenian identity, see Lambert (1993, pp. 25–57).

36 See the discussion with all necessary bibliography in Olson (2017, *ad loc.*).

37 See Telò (2007, pp. 358–377) and Olson (2017, *ad loc.*).

(Ar. *Ach.* 860–954), Ionian (Ar. *Pax* 45–48), and Laconian (Ar. *Lys.* 1242–1315).³⁸ Some dramatic titles also suggest that the opposition between Attic and non-Attic, as well as regional differentiation, were perhaps a central and important part of the plot of these plays, although no such tragedy or comedy has survived.³⁹

Furthermore, the discourse on dialectal variety is reflected in a fragmentary dialogue from Strattis' comedy *Makedones e Pausanias* (around 400 BCE?):

A. ἡ σφύραινα δ' ἐστὶ τίς;
B. κέστραν μὲν ὑμεῖς ὠττικοὶ κικλήσκετε. (Strat. fr. 29 PCG)

A. What is a sphyraina? B. You Attic people call it kestra [a type of fish].

Here too, it remains an open question who speaker B might have been (ὑμεῖς is an Aeolic form attested in Lesbian, and the form ὠττικοὶ is also non-Attic, the Attic contraction being ἄττικοι). Strattis renders an emphasized Attic with the deictic second-person pronoun ('you Attic people'), contrasted with a non-Attic (Macedonian?) speaker, both of them discussing and commenting on variations in designations of sorts of fish.⁴⁰

In a fragment from another comedy by Strattis, his *Phoenissai*, a character mocks the Boeotian dialect:

Ευνίετ' οὐδὲν πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις.
οὐδὲν ποτ' ἄλλ'· οἱ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σηπίαν
ὀπισθοτίλαν, ὡς λέγουσ', ὀνομάζετε,
τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα δ' ὀρτάλιχον, τὸν ἱατρὸν δὲ
σάκταν, βέφυραν τὴν γέφυραν, τῦκα δὲ
τὰ σῦκα, κωτιλάδας δὲ τὰς χελιδόνας,
τὴν ἔνθεσιν δ' ἄκολον, τὸ γελᾶν δὲ κριδδέμεν,
νεασπάτωτον δ' ἦν τι νεοκάττυτον ᾗ. (Stratt. fr. 49 PCG)

38 Willi (2014, pp. 171–172, 175–179).

39 Cf. titles in comedy such as Chionides' *Persai e Assyrioi*, Magnes' *Lydoi*, Crates' *Samioi*, Pherecrates' *Persai*, Cratinus' *Thrattai*, Cratinus' *Eupolis*, Plato's and Nicochares' *Lakones*, Cratinus' *Seriphioi*, Metagenes' *Thouriopersai*, Strattis' *Makedonioi*, Strattis' *Phoinissai*, Apollonphanes' and Nicochares' *Kretes*. On ethnic stereotypes in Attic comedy, see Ornaghi (2020). Cf. also Aeschylus' and Euripides' *Kressai*, Sophocles' *Lakainai*, and Euripides' *Kretes* for tragedy.

40 On the debates concerning what kind of Greek was spoken by the Macedonians, see Hall (1989, p. 179, n. 65). See also Brixe (1997) and Crespo (2012). On Strattis' fragment, see also Orth (2009, pp. 156–157).

You understand nothing, all of you, the whole city of Thebes, nothing whatsoever. First of all, they say that you call a cuttlefish *opisthotila*. A rooster [you call] an *ortalikhos*, a doctor [you call] *saktas*, a bridge [you call] *bephyra*; figs [you call] *tuka*, swallows [you call] *kotilades*, a morsel of food [you call] *akolos*, laughter [you call] *kriddemen*, and if something is newly-patched, it is *neospatotos*.

The differences between Boeotian and Attic (two dialect regions that bordered each other) were surely recognizable for Strattis' audience, hence the power of this humor.⁴¹

The character of the doctor seems to have served as a stereotype for the non-Attic speaker, as the early comic playwright Crates (*fl.* 440s BCE) staged a doctor speaking the Doric dialect, perhaps because authoritative medical schools were to be found in Cos and Cnidus, where Doric was spoken (Crates incert. fr. 46 PCG).⁴² In Ameipsias' comedy *Sphendone* (after 427 BCE, fr. 17 PCG), there is a character—perhaps again a doctor—recommending a recipe in Ionian Greek (Ameips. fr. 17 PCG).⁴³ Furthermore, Eupolis' comedy *Heilotes* (429–425 BCE?) included a (Spartan?) character speaking a Doric dialect (fr. 147 and 149 PCG include one verse in Doric each, whilst the corrupt fr. 151 PCG perhaps contains a Doric word).⁴⁴

The audience was obviously aware of dialectal differentiation, Attic increasingly becoming dominant, and this could be employed for comic aims, while a dialect could also be used as a marker to identify a stock character on stage. The function of marked language, when a character speaks a dialect, is difficult to determine even in surviving comedy because the immediate contemporary context and the extent of comic effect are unknown.⁴⁵ This is even less possible in comic fragments. The passages gathered here sufficiently demonstrate that whilst emphasizing Greek linguistic varieties which became increasingly the focus of Athenian audiences and readers towards the end of the fifth century BCE, Attic comic playwrights were engaged in a gradual process of both implicitly and explicitly establishing Attic as the main and standard variety being performed and listened to or read.

41 Colvin (1999, p. 278). See also Orth (2009, pp. 217–222). See Ornaghi (2020) for more parallels.

42 Colvin (2000, pp. 293–294).

43 Orth (2013, *ad loc.*).

44 See Olson (2016, *ad loc.*).

45 Willi (2003, pp. 198–225 and 2014).

5 Being Ashamed because You Don't Speak Attic?

In the context of the whole cultural-historical range of Attic identity construction, the use of the verb αἰσχύνεσθαι in Eupolis fr. 99 PCG is particularly noteworthy as a possible response to the feeling of shame or embarrassment for the deeds committed, expressed in the form of αἰσχύνῃ.⁴⁶ What does it mean exactly that a politician would not even speak Attic, if he did not feel shame before his friends (κοῦδ' ἄν ἡττίκιζεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φίλους ἡσχύν[ετο])?

As is well known, the ancient Greek vocabulary of emotions does not correspond to modern concepts, and it is not easy to translate αἰσχύνῃ exactly into a modern language.⁴⁷ It refers in some way to shame and dishonor, denotes ugliness as well as a certain public disapproval. The strength and depth of the moral connotations of the verb αἰσχύνεσθαι is clear for example from its treatment in book 2 of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, where Aristotle lists all the possible immoral deeds for which people might feel ashamed beginning with "What it is that people are ashamed of, or the opposite, and of whom and in what state of mind, will become clear from the following considerations" (Ποῖα δ' αἰσχύνονται καὶ ἀναισχυντοῦσιν, καὶ πρὸς τίνας καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες, ἐκ τῶνδε δῆλον).⁴⁸ On the one hand, behaving in a non-Athenian way or speaking with an unusual pronunciation does not and cannot belong to this list, and obviously represents in Eupolis an example of a deliberate exaggeration. On the other hand, if one remembers one of the connotations of αἰσχύνῃ, which in Zeno's definition is 'fear of disgrace' (αἰσχύνῃ δὲ φόβος ἀδοξίας), the fear of losing reputation and becoming the target of public ridicule for making 'provincial', savage mistakes and thus ridiculing oneself on the Athenian stage is eminent.⁴⁹ It is then the social origin of a Hyperbolus and not his foreign origin that worries the speaker.

*Philo*i in Eupolis' verse (τοὺς φίλους) alludes to *philia*, a complex and much discussed Indo-European institution and a concept for a finite relationship between people in a socio-political context.⁵⁰ Within the Athenian territory, friends who

46 Cairns (1993, *passim* and especially pp. 138–139), though no reference to be ashamed of speaking a 'wrong' language is found in his study. On feeling αἰσχύνῃ, see also Konstan (2003, pp. 1034–1049, especially 1040–1049). On shame in Ancient Greek more generally, see also Williams (1993, especially ch. 1), Steger (1997), Rappe (2009).

47 Konstan (2003, p. 1033).

48 Arist. *Rhet.* 2, 6 1383b–1385a.

49 Diog. Laert. 7, 112. On the link between αἰσχύνῃ and ἀδοξία, see also Dem. 19, 41, 83, 146, and Arist. *Rhet.* 2, 6 1383b12–14. See Konstan (2003, pp. 1040–1047).

50 Benveniste (1969, pp. 335–353), Konstan (1999), Herman (2002).

came from different areas or tribes called each other *philoī*.⁵¹ Aristotle mentions *philoī* among many others, before whom one feels shame, though here in Eupolis *philoī* might have broader political connotations.⁵² “Every political leader needed to bind people to himself by ties of obligation and loyalty. This was a new strategy for achieving such support on a large scale.”⁵³

The verb ἀττικίζειν incorporates political connotations of loyalty, as has been argued above, as supported by *philoī* in the following verse. Not behaving like an Athenian and thus not using the proper Attic dialect is presented as disturbing one of the rudimentary Archaic standards of honor and shame and challenging the norm and standards of the internal society, among ‘friends’. Furthermore, when Athenian behaviour is considered in the context of the construction of Athenian identity described above, which is based on Athens’ victory in the Persian Wars and its dominance in the Aegean since the foundation of the Delian League, the concept of shame in front of friends takes on an additional coloring. *Philoī* can refer to demesmen as well as political allies, and speaking Attic can refer to the commemoration of rule. Thus, one might view this passage from Eupolis as part of a process leading to the normalization and standardization of Attic. The role of Attic drama is also significant here: emphasizing the importance of Atticism on the Athenian stage, but by no means only for the Athenian citizens, Attic comedy helps to promote the natural and necessary standardization of Attic Greek.

As a result, the politically important maritime center of Athens, a leading city in the defense of Greece against the Persians, became a kind of ‘linguistic empire’, occupying a superior position both inside and outside the Aegean.⁵⁴ When Eupolis’ character comments on stage about a politician that he feels shame/disgrace/embarrassment/disdain/dishonor/humiliation before his *philoī* in not acting like an Athenian and speaking any other dialect but pure Attic, however provocative and disturbing this might sound, the linguistic norms and standards had already been imposed and accepted by his Athenian audience.

6 Conclusion

In the course of the fourth century BCE, Athenian hegemony weakens and Attic comedy production becomes increasingly international, so that the discourse

51 Thuc. 2.17.1: ἐπειδὴ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μὲν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή.

52 Arist. *Rhet.* 2, 6, 22 1384b 26–27. Cf. also Eupolis’ comedy *Philoī* and Olson (2016, pp. 438–439).

53 Mitchell (1997, p. 45). On the pattern of the *philia* network, see Mitchell (1997, pp. 41–72).

54 On the rise of Attic during the fifth and fourth century BCE, see Horrocks (2010, pp. 67–78).

of ‘barbarian’ versus Athenian will also change.⁵⁵ The Greeks, whose language was fragmented into several dialects and lacked a standard variety before the fourth century BCE, notoriously did not develop dialectological studies until the Hellenistic period.⁵⁶ Yet, as we have seen, the discourse about ‘the Greek language’, as such, and about ‘the dialects of Greek’ (although ethnic in character), strongly existed, with its roots in pre-Classical thought.⁵⁷ Comments on an alien language or dialect onstage reflect fifth-century BCE proto-linguistic discussions and thus take part in the process of the further development of dialect studies and their vocabulary. Discourses on Greek language dialects must have been prominent towards the end of the fifth century BCE, as these are reflected in various genres.⁵⁸ Furthermore, a clear distinction (in terms of both markers and function) is maintained between social and regional varieties, as also between dialect Greek and barbarized Greek.

There are many examples from drama where the characters speak in a non-standard Attic or non-Attic language, for various reasons and with various functions.⁵⁹ Dialect speakers are brought onto the stage, dialects are marked and recognized by the audience through the acoustic and phonetic juxtaposition of the lines of non-Attic characters with the familiar vernacular Attic. The moment this fact becomes the object of (self-)reflection, the effect is achieved: through the vivid incorporation and distorted embodiment of this ongoing process on stage, through the ethical and moral evaluation of the phenomenon, through the anchoring of the juxtaposition of Attic and non-Attic, mockery and derisive comedy have shaped a significant part of this linguistic diversity.

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55 On the internationalization of theater production, see Konstantakos (2011).

56 Tribulato (2014, p. 458). See also Novokhatko (2020, pp. 16–22).

57 Hall (1997, pp. 170–177); Van Rooy (2020).

58 Colvin (1999, p. 295).

59 Colvin (2000), Willi (2003, pp. 198–225).

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The Dual in Aristophanes and Late Fifth-, Early Fourth-Century Attic

Robert Machado

1 Introduction¹

The use of the dual is a feature of the Ancient Greek language which has aroused much discussion but little linguistic explanation. Despite attracting the interest of many of the great linguistic scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,² more recent linguists have been content to leave the dual's place in the language as settled. This is despite the fact that it remains one of the least well understood aspects of Greek morphosyntax; in very few texts or corpora is consistent usage of it found. The most thorough synchronic treatment of the dual in Attic is Melazzo (2012) who focuses, however, on tragedy and its usage of the dual in relation to that found in Homer. Since tragedy is a particularly stylized genre, this will not necessarily reveal much about the use of the dual in comedy and what this might mean about the situation in Attic more generally, especially as it was spoken.

There has been, moreover, little discussion as to the manner of the demise of the dual, its synchronic usage in the late fifth and fourth centuries and how this occurs in the texts which have been transmitted to us. In this chapter, I shall discuss the usage of the dual as it occurs in Aristophanes and contrast it with other texts from the period in order to ascertain the patterns of usage both syntactic and social which governed its deployment and the status of this feature in the spoken language of the period.

López-Eire (1991, pp. 21–26) briefly mentioned the dual and thought he saw within the comedies of Aristophanes the beginning of its demise. Willi (2002, pp. 123–124) noted how, in maintaining a high level of dual usage, “comedy is again on the losing side” as almost all other genres of text contemporary with Aristophanes and his comedies show a much lower rate of usage. Yet other than fifth century inscriptions, no other Attic text shows such a healthy usage

1 The edition of the plays chiefly used in this chapter is that of Wilson (2007b). Further use of various other editions is made in the body of the chapter.

2 Humboldt (1830 [1907]), Meillet (1922) and Cuny (1906) *inter alios*.

of the dual and we should be wary of such a teleological mindset. Yes, the dual is weaker in Aristophanes than it likely was earlier in the Attic dialect's history, but it was still used, was clearly still controlled by the bulk of the population, and presents an interesting artefact of a synchronic situation in which the dual and plural were competing.

Since it is such a diagnostic feature of a particularly conservative (perhaps rural, perhaps associated with lower-class sociolects) variety of Attic, an understanding of its mechanics and connotations within the sociolinguistic landscape of Attica is key to understanding the development of Attic and the Koine and also the reappearance of the dual during the rise of the Atticist movement in the Imperial period.

This chapter, then, will seek to clarify in what period we should 'anchor' the frequency and distribution of the duals in Aristophanes before using these texts to examine how speakers of Attic anchored the innovation of an eroding dual in their own lect.

2 Number Systems

The world's languages³ present multiple paradigms of grammatical number. In addition to the singular/plural dichotomy which most European languages present, languages may present:

- No grammatical marking for number
- Singular/dual (for two items)/plural
- Singular/dual/trial (for three items)/plural
- Singular/paucal (for a small number)/plural

However, as is the case with the dual in many varieties of Greek, certain grammatical numbers exist whose usage is not compulsorily mandated by a speaker's grammar. Further, apparent breaches in the agreement pattern are tolerated, as we find in very many Greek texts, and this is not cross-linguistically unusual.

It has been observed that in singular-dual-plural systems, the use of the dual may be either obligatory or facultative. Sanskrit, for instance, seems to use the dual compulsorily: "The dual number is in regular use and of strict application, the plural practically never referring to two objects."⁴ A facultative system of dual usage may be found in Slovene, where the usage differs between pronouns and verbs on the one hand and nouns on the other. Whereas dual usage for pronouns and verbs is regular, for nouns it is linked to the presence of the word

³ The following data are from Corbett (2000).

⁴ MacDonell (1916, p. 180).

for ‘two’ or ‘both’ in the noun phrase.⁵ The transition from an obligatory status to a facultative one (as happened in Attic) has not been described in depth but is paralleled in languages such as Arabic, where Classical Arabic used it obligatorily but it is in most Modern Arabic dialects a facultative number.⁶ Classical Attic represents a stage of movement from the obligatory usage of the dual to a facultative usage. Aristophanes is one of the few textual documents which we have to chart this change.

A strong relationship has also been observed in many languages and number systems between the categories of case and number. In Greek, there is a distinction between nominative-accusative and genitive-dative, a pairing of cases not otherwise found in the case system. The genitive-dative is, in particular, strongly and clearly characterized by *-οι*. The difference in usages between those two case groupings will also be analyzed.

2.1 *The Animacy Hierarchy and Number*

The animacy of the referent of a noun or pronoun has been shown to be significant in very many fields of linguistics and across almost all languages. In English, for instance, masculine and feminine genders are assigned almost exclusively to animate nouns; all inanimates are neuter.

The cross-linguistically important role of animacy in number systems was established by Smith-Stark (1974) and is clarified further by Corbett (2000), who combines all the relevant linguistic data to produce a hierarchy which seems to govern almost all the world’s language systems:

First person > second person > third person > kin (namely proper names and family terms) >
human > animate > inanimate.

FIGURE 8.1 The animacy hierarchy (after Corbett 2000, p. 56)

Note: Animate is here defined as anything human or animal.

The application of this hierarchy to the study of number systems states that where a number system is facultative or optional, it cannot occur with inanimate nouns where it does not also occur with animate nouns, and so on.

It is this hierarchy which will be used in our analysis of the dual within the Aristophanic corpus and its implications for our understanding of the dual in Attic at this period.

⁵ Priestly (1993, pp. 440–441).

⁶ Blanc (1970, pp. 42–43).

3 The Dual in Attic

It is likely that Greek inherited from Proto-Indo-European a dual number and probably the endings which make up the paradigm.⁷ The dual, then, was a proto-Greek category which survives only into a certain number of dialects. Ionic had already lost the category,⁸ as had the Aeolic dialects spoken in Asia Minor⁹ and it survives sporadically in other dialect groups.¹⁰

Horrocks (2010, p. 73) associated the retention of the dual category as an indicator of the conservatism and relative isolation of the Attic dialect in the fourth century: “[Attic] was still the local dialect of a rather backward and isolated region, archaic and conservative in its grammatical structure, with its literary potential undeveloped”. He contrasted this with Ionic, a dialect which had lost the dual (possibly from the pressure of extensive language-contact phenomena).

In Attic, the inscriptional evidence points to an obligatory usage of the dual through the first half of the fifth century.¹¹ The plural begins to intrude in the latter half of the fourth century. Given the time lag of a generation or two, we can normally expect before linguistic developments appear in the inscriptional record, which due to its institutional nature tends to be conservative in terms of language, the inscriptional record seems to suggest that the change had begun to occur in the latter half of the fifth century.

Cuny (1906, pp. 79–82) and Meisterhans and Schwyzer (1900, pp. 199–201) believed the earliest instance in Attic epigraphy of a plural used where previously a dual could be used is in an inscription of 409 BCE. This is broadly true, although my own research has revealed that this can be antedated by around two years by a reading of an inscription from 411.

IG I³ 313, I now posit, appears to be the earliest attestation of a plural used for two items in an Attic inscription, predating what was previously believed (and stated in Cuny) to be the earliest by two years. It is dated to 411 and is a *tabula quaestorum Minervae*. It is written in the Old Attic alphabet and therefore does not distinguish omega or eta. At line 77 can be read:

φιάλα	ἀργυρᾶ	δύο, σταθμὸν
bowl.du.nom/acc.	silver.du.nom/acc.	two.weight.nom.
τούτων	ΗΗ	
these.pl.gen.	numeral	

7 This remains controversial, and the dual endings are notoriously difficult to reconstruct. See Sihler (1995, pp. 252, 470).

8 Smyth (1894, pp. 334, 461); Cuny (1906, pp. 454–457).

9 Cuny (1906, p. 457).

10 Cuny (1906, pp. 454–484).

11 For the forms found in Attic inscriptions, see Threaght (1996, pp. 18–20, 54, 91–95).

which I interpret as meaning ‘two silver bowls; the weight of these (being) two hundred (measures)’. Elsewhere in this series of inscriptions, the demonstrative is in the dual or the plural depending on which items are mentioned, with the dual *τούτων* used for all instances with two items. The author of this inscription could control the dual as is evident from the first NP. In the anaphoric pronoun, however, the plural appears to be used instead. With the Old Attic alphabet, it is of course possible that this is a spelling mistake, where the <I> has been missed out. However, the rest of the inscription is written (so far as it can be seen) without such mistakes. It seems likely, therefore, that this is explained as the writer’s spoken norms interfering with his written language and that what one finds here is a genuine plural.

Tragedy presents a similarly restrained picture in usage of the dual. Overall, the rate of dual usage is around 37%¹² in complete contrast to the compulsory usage found in the inscriptions. Aeschylus and Sophocles are more frugal in their deployment of the dual, while Euripides, apparently as part of a broader linguistic policy of moving his tragic language closer to the Attic vernacular, uses the dual a little more.¹³ Given the precedent of Homer, it is clear that while they avoided dual usage more than the evidence would suggest was current vernacular practice, it clearly lacked in this setting the parochialism that might have arisen from a morphological form which was avoided in other authors (see below). As Meillet (1965, p. 218) describes “en évitant partiellement le duel, usuel dans le parler courant de leurs concitoyens, les poètes donnaient à leurs écrits un aspect littéraire, ils évitaient le ton local qui nuit aussi bien à la dignité”.

The prose authors Thucydides and Xenophon¹⁴ are also spare in their use of the dual¹⁵ and Plato only uses it around 25% of the time.¹⁶ The implication of their reluctance seems to be that it was felt as too parochial a feature for high literature. The situation in the orators is one of a similar aversion, though much of their work is written for an audience similar to that of Aristophanes. Lysias uses the dual around 15% of the time, where for Antiphon and Andocides it is even rarer. It seems, then, that the dual was a feature not excluded, but at the least mostly avoided in more formal or literary settings.

Overall from the epigraphic and literary texts, it is clear that, in linguistic terms, the dual in Attic moved from being an obligatory number by the beginning of the fifth century to a facultative one by the end of the fifth, before

12 Bers (1984, p. 59).

13 Willi (2002, pp. 123–124).

14 Herodotus is excluded from this discussion as a writer in the Ionic dialect. It is worth noting only that he does not use the dual, in common with other Ionic prose (both literary and epigraphic).

15 Willi (2002, p. 123; 2010, p. 110).

16 Willi (2003a, p. 253).

gradually disappearing as a category over the fourth, such that the language of Menander and other fragmentary comics of the Middle and New Comedy periods are almost entirely without the dual¹⁷ and the overwhelming majority of inscriptions in the second half of the fourth century use the plural where previously a dual would have been expected.¹⁸

4 On Using Aristophanes as a Source of Attic

Just as light is refracted as it passes through water, thus distorting the image the eye can see, so literature, even that which purports to reflect the speech of its audience, distorts somewhat the language as it must have been spoken. As Willi (2003a, p. 5) says, “we are on dangerous ground” in using literary texts, particularly comedy, as any sort of guide to spoken language, but one must also be cautious in ignoring the potential of such a resource. In particular, patterns or tendencies in usage rather than specific morphemes or lexemes are more likely to be revealed, since if they are part of the author’s internal grammar, or indeed the grammar of the dialect spoken by the bulk of his audience, they will be harder to hide. In acknowledging the fact that there will not be a precise match between spoken norms and comedy, it is also worth reflecting on the particular value comedy can have for linguists. Often characterization in comedy relies on caricature and the exaggeration of a particular feature. At a linguistic level, this may show up patterns of markedness and how different aspects of language or features may be associated with particular groups and hence with particular sociolects. In the matter of the dual, a grammatical category, comedy’s refraction of spoken norms may enable one to find patterns at this crucial stage in the development of the dual; when was it used, by whom, and when was it replaced by the plural? Few other resources enable the linguist to see the dual ‘in action’, as it were, as a feature of everyday life, rather than a literary device.

Historians have often used Aristophanes as a source for everyday life. Ehrenberg’s (1943, p. 13) ‘sociology of Old Attic Comedy’ demonstrated that Aristophanes’ comedies preserved the ‘atmosphere’ of Athens in the late fifth and fourth centuries, saying “We shall best grasp and comprehend the ‘atmosphere’ ... when a source answers our questions without intending to do so”. This methodology was explicitly transplanted into the field of linguistic variation by Willi (2003a) on the basis that while Aristophanes was obviously

17 Humpers (1922); Cartlidge (2014, pp. 213–215).

18 Cuny (1906, pp. 85–87).

parodying certain linguistic genres, he wasn't attempting to answer fundamental sociolinguistic questions, but rather trying to tell a story and make his audience laugh. This enables us to credit his comedies with some explicatory value for contemporary spoken Attic.

In principle, then, comedy has been shown to be a useful source of, at the least, popular attitudes to particular sorts of linguistic variation. The contention of this chapter goes further, however. Working on the assumption that Aristophanes was trying to represent the Attic dialect approximately as it was spoken (an unproblematic assumption given his attempts to show, in Ehrenberg's words, the 'atmosphere' of classical Athens), then it follows, provided he did not have an idiosyncratic attitude or use of morphosyntactic phenomena in his idiolect, that his usage of a particular feature will bear some resemblance to Attic as it was spoken on the streets at the same time. As ever, the key here is "to determine where reality is and caricature or fantasy begins".¹⁹

5 Results from the Aristophanes Study

5.1 *Duals in the Text of Aristophanes*

The manuscripts of Aristophanes²⁰ uniformly present high dual usage, though there has been some question as to when they arrived in the tradition of the text, not least because the frequency of usage is unique in the manuscript text tradition.²¹ Wilson (2007a) argues that many of the more controversial duals may be the result of Atticist and/or Byzantine editors putting in such forms since "they were taught that the dual was a feature of classical Attic which they should use in their own compositions, and they may sometimes have yielded to the temptation of restoring it in a classical text in a passage where it might be expected".²² What is the evidence for such an ideological drive? Let us deal with the Byzantine theory first.

Our clearest evidence for the text before the medieval period is in the surviving papyri fragments, several of which contain relevant tracts of text with alleged duals. In only one of these do we find a plural where our manuscript texts instead offer a dual form. P.Oxy. 4517 contains fragments of *Ran.* 630–647

19 Ehrenberg (1943, p. 39).

20 For a summary of the key manuscripts for the text of Aristophanes, see Wilson (2007b, pp. v–viii) and for a longer discussion, Wilson (2007a).

21 As seen above, only fifth century Attic inscriptions have a more frequent and consistent use of the dual.

22 Wilson (2007a, pp. 27, 31, 73, 172, 179).

and at 642 gives ἡμᾶς where the manuscripts offer νῶ; the rest of the line as it survives on the papyrus is given as it appears elsewhere.

πῶς οὖν βακανιεῖς νῶ δικάϊως (*Ran.* 642) ‘And so how will you test us fairly?’

As the reader will see, the dual form appears as the second syllable in the third foot and therefore could not possibly be replaced by the form ἡμᾶς, scanning as two heavy syllables. In all other relevant examples preserved in papyri, the dual forms are preserved identically to the manuscript tradition.²³ There is no positive evidence, therefore, for the notion that Byzantine scribes and copyists added duals to the tradition. Quite the opposite, in fact. P.Berol., a papyrus of the fifth or sixth centuries CE, preserves sections of *Nub.* and at 980 presents a dual τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν ‘two eyes’ which is absent from the manuscript tradition. Whether the dual was added by or after Aristophanes, this example may provide, if anything, evidence of the replacement of duals with plurals by the Byzantines. The instances where we can compare suggest only that duals may actually have been replaced with plurals in the manuscript tradition, rather than *vice versa*. This, in turn, suggests that duals may represent the *lectio difficilior* in relation to the Byzantine scribes and copyists. So, what, then, of the Atticists?

Writers of the Atticist movement—defined broadly as the imitation in language and style of Classical Attic writers by writers of Greek in the Second Sophistic—²⁴ began to deploy the dual alongside other moribund features as a marker of ‘correct’ Attic and their education and erudition. Nevertheless, a glance at the dual usage figures of two major practitioners of Atticism, Lucian and Aelius Aristides, shows that dual number usage is rather limited: for Lucian, c.19%; for Aristides, c.22%.²⁵ This is no evidence for a clamor to add

23 P.Berol. 21201 (V–VI CE), *Ach.* 811 βοσκήματε. Only the final <ε> is given, but no following sigma is recorded. P.Berol. 13219 (V–VI CE), *Nub.* 946 τ]ῶφθαλμῶ and 980 τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν. MS. Oxon. Bodl. gr. class. f. 72 (350–450 CE), *Eq.* 40 νων (Grenfell & Hunt 1905, p. 213). P.Colon. 14 (IV CE), *Lys.* 148 τῶ. P.Bodl. (gr. class. e. 87) (IV–V CE) *Lys.* 438 κατανυσαντε δησετον. PSI 720 (III CE) *Pax* 820 and 826 τω σκελη. P.Oxy. 1374 (V vel VI CE) *Vesp.* 867 ξυ]νεβητο[v].

24 For a broad outline, see Horrocks (2010, pp. 133–141).

25 A sample of the works of each author was taken. For Lucian, the editions used were those of Harmon (1913–1936) and Macleod (1972) and the works selected were: *Hippias*, *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Electrum*, *The Dream/Lucian's career*, *The Fly*, *My Native Land*, *Nigrinus*, *Demonax*, *The Fisherman*, *Lexiphanes*; for Aristides, the edition used was that of Dindorf (1964) and the works selected were: *The Panathenaic oration*; *The first and second Leuctran orations*; *The Sicilian oration*; *The Opposite Argument (to the Sicilian oration)*; *Sacred tales I and V*; *Prose hymns to Heracles and Dionysus*.

duals anywhere and everywhere possible. The Atticist period is, therefore, an unlikely candidate to be responsible for the frequency of dual usage found in the Aristophanic tradition.

This, coupled with the typological evidence discussed below, makes the most probable solution that the relatively high frequency of dual attestations in Aristophanes is original to the playwright himself and, therefore, also a reasonably accurate depiction of the state of Attic in the fifth and early fourth centuries.

Nevertheless, there are occasional disagreements as to whether to print a dual or a plural in individual circumstances. In most instances, I follow the conclusions reached by Wilson (2007b). For a relatively small number of instances, however, it is worth analyzing the most controversial examples to determine which should be included in the count and to remove the examples which are most likely not to represent Aristophanes' original Greek.

- 1) *Ach.* 527: πόρνα(ς) 'sex worker'—manuscripts A, Γ and E all show the dual, though the usually high-quality R shows a plural. A scholion in P.Oxy. 896 also preserves the quote in the dual as well as many of the manuscripts of Plutarch's *Pericles* in which the relevant line is quoted. There is little to tip the balance either in favor of the dual or the plural, but based on the notion established above that the *lectio difficilior* for a post-classical scribe is the dual, and with good manuscript support, there is no reason not to print the dual form. The certainty level is not high enough, however, to include the example in the count.
- 2) *Ach.* 804: κεκράγατε/κεκράγατον 'shriek'—Brunck (1783, *ad loc.*) conjectured a dual form of the verb stating *male vulgo, tamquam si puellas alloqueretur, κεκράγατε*. However, without any support from the manuscript tradition, there is no reason not to both print and count this as a plural.
- 3) *An.* 324: ἐραστά(ς) 'lover'—manuscript M and Triclinius' recension L print the dual form, while the other manuscripts prefer the plural. This issue here is finely balanced; in a sense the dual form may constitute the *lectio difficilior*, thereby tipping the balance in its favor, but the relative lack of support for the dual in the other manuscripts and the ease with which a single sigma may have been forgotten make this case very uncertain indeed. It will not be counted in the study below.
- 4) *An.* 387: τῷ τε τρυβλίῳ/τῷ γε τρυβλίῳ 'bowl'—the older manuscript tradition transmits the dual while those from the fifteenth century, including Triclinius' L, present a dative which is somewhat syntactically awkward. The good manuscript evidence for a dual and the clearer reading it creates mean it should be counted as such for the purpose of the study.

- 5) *Av.* 405: ἔμολον/ἐμόλ' εἶ ον 'come'—the manuscripts offer a plural verb ἔμολον, but editors have long thought the passage corrupt.²⁶ Whether a dual should be emended into the text, or the verb left as plural differs depending on the critic. Since all duals are therefore conjectures, and there is no consensus that the verb should be plural, this example is best not counted as either dual or plural.
- 6) *Av.* 657: λαμβάνετε/ λαμβάνετον 'take'—manuscripts R and V (*ante correctionem*) both offer an ungrammatical singular form of the imperative, the remaining manuscripts the plural, while B gives the dual. The positive evidence of B and the argument made above that the dual should represent the *lectio difficilior* make the dual more likely, but the uncertainty is too high for either form to be counted in the study.
- 7) *Nub.* 953–954: αὐτοῖν—much ink has been spilt on this particular manuscript problem.²⁷ The consensus of the major manuscripts presents ὁπότερος αὐτοῖν λέγων ἀμείνων 'which of the two [will reveal themselves] as the best by speaking'. Wilamowitz (1921, p. 325) deemed the dual pronoun "unerträglich" without reason. Dover (1968, *ad loc.*) rejected this but swapped the last two words. Wilson (2007a, p. 73) found nothing *a priori* unsatisfactory about the manuscript transmission but conceded that it might be a Byzantine gloss (though his contention that it was down to their being 'alert' to this feature of the language is countered above). Bergk's (1877) more radical emendation λέγων ἀμείνων πότερος has been accepted in some quarters, including by Wilson (2007b), but not by others, rejected by Dover (1968). With no clear consensus as to whether the dual was written by Aristophanes, it must be excluded from our study.
- 8) *Nub.* 981: τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν/τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς 'eyes'—P.Berol. 13219 gives the dual form while the manuscript tradition preserves a dative plural. While the papyrus may have slight precedence as the earlier text, there is not enough information to settle decisively which should be taken as the original. This example will not be counted.
- 9) *Nub.* 1182: ἡμέραι/ ἡμέρα 'days'—R gives the dual while other manuscripts give a plural. Given the very fine orthographic difference between the two variants, it is impossible to tell which is correct and so the example will not be counted.
- 10) *Ran.* 786: αὐτοῖν/ αὐτῶν 'them'—manuscript V gives the dual, but all others show a genitive plural. There is not much else to mark out one of

26 Dunbar (1997, pp. 291–294).

27 Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (1921, p. 325), Parker (1997, p. 203), Dover (1968, *ad loc.*).

- the alternatives as more likely than the other. The comments of Wilson (2007a, p. 172) that Byzantines could be responsible are countered by the arguments made above. Neither a dual nor a plural will be counted here.
- 11) *Ran.* 1112: ὀρρωδεῖτε / ὀρρωδεῖτον ‘worry’—Blaydes conjectured that a dual should be printed here to align with the several other dual forms found in this part of the play. However, since there are regular other occurrences in Aristophanes with a mixture of dual and plural morphology, there is no reason *a priori* to doubt the plausibility of the transmission. Moreover, since no manuscript shows a deviation from the plural form, it will be counted as plural.
 - 12) *Pax* 407: ἐπιβουλεύοντε / ἐπιβουλεύονται ‘plotting’—R presents the dual participle while all other manuscripts present a third person plural verb form. Olson (1998, *ad loc.*) believes that the reading in R represents the *lectio difficilior*, with the rarity of the participial form accounting for its corruption to ἐπιβουλεύονται. The dual is usually accepted, therefore, though to avoid circularity, it will be excluded from the count.
 - 13) *Pax* 469: ἄγετε ξυνανέλκετε / ἄγετον ξυνανέλκετον ‘come on and pull with us’—whether these verbs are dual or plural is a vexed question made harder by the lack of consensus on what the meter of the lyric should be.²⁸ Although the manuscripts are unanimous in presenting dual morphology, editors have usually emended both of these verbs into plurals. This seems somewhat presumptuous. It seems safe to assume that whatever the correct reading, it involves a dual and therefore a dual will be counted in this instance.
 - 14) *Pax* 847: ταῦτα(ς) ‘these women’—R and V offer a plural reading, while the remaining manuscripts present the dual. With little to divide these two choices and such a slender difference in orthography, it is best to count neither a dual nor a plural for this study.
 - 15) *Pax* 1217: αὐτοῖν / αὐτόν/αὐτῶν ‘them’—the dual is offered by B; the singular accusative by Γ, P, H and C; R and V give the genitive plural. There is little to separate these options and so neither the dual nor the plural options can be counted.
 - 16) *Thesm.* 101: χθονίαιν / χθονίαις ‘Demeter and Persephone’—Meineke (1860) conjectured a dual here, though manuscript R, the only independent witness to the play, gives a dative plural. Although the dual form has been widely accepted, it will not be counted due to lack of positive manuscript evidence.

28 For various approaches, see Olson (1998).

- 17) *Thesm.* 1157: ἤλθετε / ἤλθετον ‘come’—R gives the dual, but this seems not to scan in this part of the lyric meter. Austin and Olson (2004, *ad loc.*) argued the confusion arose through influence by earlier dual verb forms. This is a satisfactory enough explanation that it may be counted as a plural.
- 18) *Thesm.* 1158: ἀφίκεσθ’ (ε/ον) ‘arrive’—R gives a dual verb but in its present state the line does not scan; elsewhere a plural is offered. Although based on the arguments made above, the dual could be considered as the *lectio difficilior*, the level of uncertainty remains too high to count either.
- 19) *Vesp.* 59: διαρριπτοῦντε (ς) ‘hurling’—V and J both give a dual form while R gives a plural. Given the very slight difference between the two, and lacking a consensus in the manuscripts, this example will not be counted at all.
- 20) *Vesp.* 378: ταῖν θεαῖν / τῶν θεῶν ‘goddesses’—V and J, a later manuscript from a different tradition (Biles & Olson 2015, p. lxix) offer the dual, while R offers the plural. On the basis of both a majority reading and the case made above that the dual may represent the *lectio difficilior*, it will be counted as a dual in the study.
- 21) *Pl.* 75: μέθετον/μέθεθε ‘let go’—V offers a dual form of the verb, while the remaining manuscripts present a plural. Again, the arguments listed above make a dual more likely to be the *lectio difficilior*, but given the discrepancy between manuscripts, the uncertainty is too high to include either form in our count.
- 22) *Pl.* 464: νομίζετε /-ετον ‘think’—R offers the plural reading, while all other manuscripts offer a dual. In this instance, the dual is both the majority reading and perhaps also the *lectio difficilior*. In this instance, it seems acceptable to count this as a very likely dual example.
- 23) *Pl.* 621: ἐγκατακλινούντ’ (ες) ‘put into bed’—V gives the dual while the remaining manuscripts offer a plural reading. Again, with a slender difference between the two and no consensus among the manuscripts, neither a dual nor a plural will be counted here.
- 24) *Ecc.* 848: κονίποδε /- ποδα /-ποδας ‘shoes’—the manuscripts seem all to present the accusative singular form which seems unlikely for a pair of shoes. Brunck (1783) conjectured a plural, while Dindorf (1835–1838, *ad loc.*) suggested a dual. However, other than at *Lys.* 229, which is stylistically somewhat marked being an oath, words for shoes in Aristophanes are always put in the plural. Given what is in the manuscripts is closer to the plural and the plural is what we would expect from other semantically similar lexemes, this will be counted as a plural.

5.2 *Methodology*

This methodology owes much to a paper by Nicholas Hillyard (2006) who first linked the use of the dual in Homer to the cross-linguistic tendency for number systems to be linked in usage to the animacy of their referents.

The instances where two items are referred to in Aristophanes are collected and counted. These are then analyzed by a series of criteria to search for the influencing factors on whether to use the dual or not. The figures are subject to a χ^2 statistical significance test.²⁹

Certain precautions with the methodology have been taken. Any instance where the referent may be either dual or plural has been excluded. For instance, in *Lys.* 45, Calonice talks of women's περιβαρίδας 'women's shoes'; it is possible that the referent may either be an individual's pair of slippers or the many slippers that women across the city wear. This uncertainty prevents its inclusion in the analysis.

NPs and VPs have been counted separately; whereas an adjective modifying its head noun will always agree, there are instances where the agreement between subject and predicate does not take place in the category of number. Non-Attic dialogue is not included in the count.

5.3 *Overall Dual Usage*

It is time, then, to move to a discussion of the data themselves. The chief relationship measured is the usage of the dual with items depending on their position in the animacy hierarchy. In particular, we may compare the usage of the dual with items which are securely inanimate in comparison with all other levels of the animacy hierarchy. The study of Homer and cross-linguistic typology should lead us to believe that in Aristophanes we shall find a greater usage of the dual with animate items.

In this study, 665 instances were observed of two items in which a dual could be used; dual morphology was found in 388 of these cases, and a plural was used 277 times. This leads to an overall dual-usage percentage of 58.3%.

Table 8.1 shows a breakdown of dual usage in Aristophanes by play.

Cuny (1906, p. 508) and Willi (2003b, pp. 46–47) have suggested that dual usage is significantly lower in *Plutus* than in other plays; while it is perhaps of interest that both fourth century plays show somewhat lower percentages of

29 Statistical significance is tested using χ^2 . For a 2×2 table, if the value of χ^2 exceeds the threshold value of 3.84 there is a less than .05 probability that the two variables are independent. My thanks to Rupert Thompson for assistance with this.

TABLE 8.1 Overall dual usage in Aristophanes' plays

Play (year of production BCE)	Duals	Plurals	Total	Dual %
<i>Acharnians</i> (425)	15	40	55	27%
<i>Knights</i> (424)	31	23	54	57%
<i>Clouds</i> (423)	26	4	25	84%
<i>Wasps</i> (422)	31	24	55	56%
<i>Peace</i> (421)	29	16	45	64%
<i>Birds</i> (414)	86	36	122	70%
<i>Lysistrata</i> (411)	17	15	32	53%
<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i> (411)	27	17	44	61%
<i>Frogs</i> (405)	60	20	80	75%
<i>Ecclesiazusae</i> (392)	20	24	44	45%
<i>Plutus</i> (388)	46	51	97	47%

TABLE 8.2 Dual/plural morphology in Aristophanes by animacy

	Dual inflection	Plural inflection	% Dual usage
Animate	271	158	63.1%
Inanimate	117	119	49.5%

dual usage, an examination of table 8.2 demonstrates that these figures do not drastically differ from some other plays.

5.4 Animacy

In section 2.1, we met the animacy hierarchy, which stated that number systems which are facultative or optional follow a hierarchy which states that any number which can be used for inanimates may also be used for animates.

The situation in Aristophanes is that both animate and inanimate pairs can take either duals or plurals. The situation in the corpus as a whole is summarized in table 8.2.

The χ^2 figure for these data is 11.6, giving a probability that our observed numbers come from a population where there was no relationship between animacy and number of only 0.07%.

However, within this rather binary distinction between animate and inanimate, there are more complicated issues at work. Many of these agreement patterns can differ by lexeme as has been shown in Persian,³⁰ and within the inanimate category speakers show variety in their agreement patterns by semantic category.³¹ In particular, the evidence of Turkish is that body parts pattern with animates, likely by obtaining an animate quality in speakers' minds from the part-whole relationship.³²

Within the count of the inanimate category in Table 8.2, body parts have been included, several of which pattern similarly to animate nouns in Aristophanes and, most significantly, prefer dual morphology. ὀφθαλμός 'eye',³³ πούς 'foot', σκέλος 'leg' and χεῖρ 'hand' all show a strong preference for dual morphology when referring to two of the items in question. Each of these lexemes denote body parts which are key to human perceptions of animacy, and this may explain why dual morphology is still found so often for them. Several psychological studies³⁴ have demonstrated how eyes are associated with other features of animacy among babies and toddlers, while others have shown that self-propelled movement with apparent goal-direction is also key to a child's understanding of an object as animate.³⁵ As the loci both of human motion itself and indicators of direction of movement, feet and legs would be prime candidates to be so closely associated with animacy that they are treated as animates for the purpose of number morphology. The same may also be true of χεῖρ, whose numbers are not quite statistically significant; it may also be that this lexeme and the others may be attracted to dual morphology by the part-whole relationship they hold with animate referents. The suggestion that the dual may be triggered simply by so-called 'natural pair' body parts falls foul of the fact that other body parts which are not associated so strongly with perceptions of animacy, and which appear in pairs are exclusively found with plural morphology. οὖς 'ear', ὤμος 'shoulder', μασχάλη 'arm-pit', ὠλένη 'elbow', τιτθός 'breast', ὀφρύς 'eyebrow', ὄρχις 'testicle', μυκτήρ 'nostril', γόνυ 'knee', ἀντικνήμιον 'lower leg', σφυρόν 'ankle' are all only found in the plural, while γνάθος 'jaw' appears twice in the dual but six times in the plural, patterning more as an inanimate noun at 25%. The only apparent exception to this may

30 Trompenaars *et al.* (2021).

31 Ji & Liang (2018).

32 Özsoy (2009); Bamyacı, Häussler & Kabak (2014, pp. 258, 263).

33 ὄμμα is found in lyric sections of the plays four times in the extant corpus, always in the plural as it usually is in tragedy.

34 For example Goren, Sarty & Wu (1975); Johnson *et al.* (1991); Jones, Smith & Landau (1991).

35 Gelman, Durgin & Kaufman (1995); Tremoulet & Feldman (2000); Moore *et al.* (2007).

be μηρός ‘thigh’ which appears twice in the dual and never in the plural where it certainly refers to two thighs. The numbers are too small to draw inferences, though these results would support the animacy theory in that thighs form the largest part of the legs. The contrast between real inanimates and these more ‘animate’ body parts is most clearly shown in the frequency with which πούς takes dual morphology while the various words for shoes (ἐμβάς ‘slipper’, κόθορνος ‘high boot’, Λακωνικά ‘Laconian shoes’, περιβαρίδες ‘women’s shoes’, Περσικά ‘Persian slippers’) use the plural 20 out of 22 instances, a dual percentage of just 9%. This cannot, therefore, be a question of simply ‘natural pairs’ triggering the dual.

We, therefore, see a more accurate distribution of dual/plural morphology by animacy by removing these lexemes from the inanimates category and counting them separately:

TABLE 8.3 Dual/plural morphology in Aristophanes by animacy with some body parts lexemes counted separately

	Dual inflection	Plural inflection	% Dual usage
Animate	271	158	63.1%
ὀφθαλμός ^a	10	4	71%
πούς ^b	19	6	76%
σκέλος ^c	10	1	91%
χείρ ^d	10	5	67%
Inanimate	68	103	37%

a For the body parts in this table, the numbers are too small for a χ^2 test; a Fisher’s exact test is instead conducted. For ὀφθαλμός, when compared with the distribution of number inflection among the other inanimates, the value received is 0.05 which is significant at $p < 0.05$.

b A Fisher’s exact test is conducted; the value received is 0.0009 which is significant at $p < 0.05$.

c A Fisher’s exact test is conducted; the value received is 0.001 which is significant at $p < 0.05$.

d A Fisher’s exact test is conducted; the value received is 0.0563 which is not significant at $p < 0.05$.

The situation can be summed up as follows: with animate referents, dual morphology is strongly favored, by a ratio of almost 2:1. With inanimate referents, either plural or dual may be used, but plurals are more favored. How should we interpret this as a refraction of the situation in the spoken Attic of the bulk of the population?

Given Willi’s assertion that Aristophanes mostly, and somewhat conservatively, represented Attic speech norms of the period, it seems that the dual

had become a facultative number in spoken Attic, whose selection was partly determined by the perception of animacy of the referent by the speaker.

5.5 *Nouns and Verbs*

When broken down into word category, there is no statistically significant distinction between use of the dual and plural suggesting that the dual was alive and well in all categories in the spoken language. The differentiation in usage by animacy certainly applies in the category of nouns, while the numbers are too small to be statistically significant in the category of verbs and pronouns.

These figures reflect that the usage of the dual morphology on both nouns and verbs is broadly in line with overall usage.

5.6 *Nouns: the Question of Case*

Dual morphology on Greek nouns follows different patterns in the nominative-accusative, but the genitive-dative of all three nominal declensions sees endings in the very distinctive –οιϛ.

There is strong evidence that the genitive-dative inflections survived the longest in Attic,³⁶ likely due to the inflection of the numeral itself. There is no evidence of any significant relationship between the use of the dual and case, suggesting the erosion of dual usage in the nominative-accusative in the bulk of the spoken language happened well into the fourth century.

TABLE 8.4 Use of dual/plural morphology in Aristophanes by word category and animacy

	Dual inflection	Plural inflection	% Dual usage
Nouns	168	137	55%
Animate nouns	65	23	74%
ὀφθαλμός, πούς, σκέλος, χεῖρ	49	16	75%
Inanimate nouns	54	98	36%
Verbs	97	61	61%
Verbs with animate subjects	90	57	61%
Verbs with inanimate subjects	7	4	64%
Pronouns	81	58	58%
Animate pronouns	79	57	58%
Inanimate pronouns	2	1	66%

36 Meisterhans & Schwyzler (1900, p. 200); Cuny (1906, pp. 85–87).

TABLE 8.5 Dual/plural morphology in nouns in Aristophanes by case

	Dual inflection	Plural inflection	% Dual usage
Nom-acc nouns	124	95	57%
Gen-dat nouns	44	42	51%

5.7 Sociolinguistic Status: the Case of Derketes (Ach. 1018–1036)

Towards the end of Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, we meet a character named Derketes, who is searching for his ill-fated cattle. The passage is peppered with duals in a play which is otherwise lacking in them.³⁷ This was first noted in his commentary by Rogers (1920, p. 158), who noted that "There seems to have been something quaint about the dual τῷ βόε". Whitehorne (2002) has explored the section and suggests that cows may be a comic reference to testicles. The whole passage may be a mocking vignette, rather than something to be taken literally.

Of interest is the fact that the name Derketes, itself apparently an ironic name meaning 'bright-eyes' formed from the verb δέρχομαι,³⁸ is rather rare. It appears a handful of times in the epigraphic record.³⁹ MacDowell (1983, pp. 158–160), based on the appearance of a man with the same name and deme in an inscription⁴⁰ argued that this Derketes of Phyle was a real and well-known person who was being mocked, perhaps as a pro-war politician who changes his mind when confronted with his own losses.

Derketes appears on stage at line 1018, a refugee from Phyle whose cattle have been stolen by Boeotian raiders (1023). Phyle is described by Olson (2002, p. 324) as "located beyond Acharnai [...] in extreme north-west Attika and commanded a pass over Mt. Parnes on the most direct road from Athens to Thebes [...] its territory was therefore particularly accessible to Boiotian raiders."

ΔΕΡΚΕΤΗΣ οἶμοι τάλας. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ ὦ Ἡράκλεις, τίς οὐτοσί;
ΔΕ. ἀνὴρ κακοδαίμων. ΔΙ. κατὰ σεαυτὸν νυν τρέπου.
ΔΕ. ὦ φίλτατε, σπονδαὶ γάρ εἰσι σοὶ μόνῳ,
μέτρησον εἰρήνης τί μοι, κἄν πέντ' ἔτη.

1020

37 *Acharnians* posts the lowest dual-usage figure of just 27%.

38 First suggested by Starkie (1909, n. ad 1028).

39 PA 3425; Osborne & Byrne (1994, s.v. Δερκέτης).

40 IG II² 75.7, 1698, ll. 5–6.

ΔΙ. τί δ' ἔπαθες; ΔΕ. ἐπετρίβην ἀπολέσας τῷ βόε.
 ΔΙ. πόθεν; ΔΕ. ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔλαβον οἱ Βοιωῖταιοι.
 ΔΙ. ὦ τρισκακόδαιμον, εἴτα λευκὸν ἀμπέχει;
 ΔΕ. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι νῆ Δί' ὥπερ μ' ἔτρεφέτην 1025
 ἐν πάσι βολίτοις. ΔΙ. εἴτα νυνὶ τοῦ δέει;
 ΔΕ. ἀπόλωλα τῷ φθαλμῷ δακρύων τῷ βόε.
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι κήδει Δερκέτου Φυλασίου,
 ὑπάλειψον εἰρήνη με τῷ φθαλμῷ ταχύ.
 ΔΙ. ἀλλ', ὦ πόνηρ', οὐ δημοσιεύων τυγχάνω. 1030
 ΔΕ. ἴθ' ἀντιβολῶ σ', ἣν πως κομίσωμαι τῷ βόε.
 ΔΙ. οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κλᾶε πρὸς τοὺς Πιττάλου.
 ΔΕ. σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ μοι σταλαγμὸν εἰρήνης ἔνα
 εἰς τὸν καλαμίσκον ἐνστάλαξον τουτονί.
 ΔΙ. οὐδ' ἂν στριβιλικίγξ· ἀλλ' ἀπιὼν οἴμωζέ ποι. 1035
 ΔΕ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων τοῖν γεωργοῖν βοιδίοιν.

Derketes: Woe is me! Dikaeopolis: Heracles, who's this?
 De.: An ill-starred man. Di.: Well, keep it to yourself.
 De.: My dear friend, you have a truce for you alone. Measure out some
 peace for me, even if it's only for five years.
 Di.: What's up with you? De.: I'm not in a good way: I've lost my two
 oxen!
 Di.: Where? De.: The Boeotians took them from Phyle.
 Di.: You poor man who has suffered thrice; you're still wearing white
 clothes?
 De.: Ah, those two, by Zeus, who looked after me with all their dung!
 Di.: Well, what do you need now?
 De.: I've ruined my eyes crying for my two oxen. But if you care about
 Derketes of Phyle, anoint my eyes with some peace, quickly!
 Di.: You knave! I'm not a public service!
 De.: Come on, I'm begging you if there's a way of getting back my two oxen.
 Di.: Well, there isn't. So go and cry to Pittalus' lot.
 De.: No, drip me just one drop of peace into this tube.
 Di.: I wouldn't give you even a teeny bit. So go away and cry somewhere
 else.
 De.: Woe is me, doomed me, my poor little farm cattle!

Derketes' name is not the only unusual feature of this passage. This passage contains 7 of the 15 duals in the entire play. What could cause such a cluster?

Olson (2002, p. 325) comments that a transitive usage of the verb *δακρύω* 'weep' is found "only in tragedy", yet tragedy is thought broadly to have avoided dual usage making it an unlikely source for a dual-based parody.⁴¹

Putting aside the comedic *doubles entendres* for which Whitehorne has argued,⁴² the rural nature of the discussion, together with the apparent celebrity of Derketes and the far-flung nature of his deme makes it difficult to resist the conclusion that the dual is used here to characterize the real Derketes and to mock him for his rustic concerns and origins. The duals spoken by Derketes can be especially contrasted with the total use of plural morphology in reference to the two pompous ambassadors at the beginning of the play (*Ach.* 65–108). Phyle, lying as Olson says on the road to Thebes, sits at the border of Attica and Boeotia, and therefore at a crucial point linguistically between Attic and Boeotian Greek. Since the dual was still active in Boeotian at this period,⁴³ it might be that what we have here refers to a more active dual usage in the Attic countryside forming a common isogloss between the two, in contrast to the diminishing usage of dual morphology in the city of Athens as demonstrated by Aristophanes and other documents (see below).

Moreover, this provides some evidence of how Aristophanes' audience might have negatively anchored⁴⁴ their own dual usage: if it was considered rustic to use the dual in every possible circumstance, Attic speakers then gradually reduced their usage of the dual and anchored that usage instead in an optionality that, as we have seen, was driven (probably subconsciously) by factors such as animacy and the lexical item. This negative anchoring is also likely responsible for the general reticence in using the dual across most Attic texts.

5.8 Sociolinguistic Status: Comparison with Contemporaries

As was discussed in section 3, the dual in Attic presents varying levels of usage based on register. It is important to remember, however, that while register was a driver of linguistic usage in Classical Athens, this phenomenon did not emerge from a vacuum; the usage or absence of features in different registers was a reflection of sociolinguistic realities in Athens itself.

Tragedy and most literary and formal prose of this period present strongly reduced figures for the dual, while in Aristophanes it remains strong. The simplest explanation for such a pattern of usage is that the dual had fallen out

41 Bers (1984, pp. 57–59); Hasse (1891).

42 It is worth noting that the word for testicles, *ᾠρχεῖς*, is always plural in Aristophanes, never dual: *Nub.* 713, *Vesp.* 1035, *Pax* 758, *Lys.* 363, 963, *Pl.* 312. See above.

43 Cuny (1906, pp. 462–466); Méndez-Dosuna (2017).

44 Cf. Sluiter (2017, p. 33). See also 'Introduction', this volume.

of fashion in writing but remained active in colloquial forms of the dialect and in the broader sociolects represented by Aristophanes. The pattern in the Derketes passage adds further texture: use of the dual in all available syntagmata was likely a feature of rustic Attic and deemed by Athenians as insufficiently urbane. One is reminded of the famous Aristophanes fragment which testifies to someone who

διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσῃν πόλειω,
οὔτ' ἀστέϊαν ὑποθηλυτέραν
οὔτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροϊκοτέραν.⁴⁵

having a middle-of-the-road accent from the city,
neither feminine and posh
nor slavish and rustic.

It seems from Aristophanes that overuse of the dual would have been considered servile and rustic, while occasional use was likely characteristic of what was perceived as an effeminate and 'highfalutin' sociolect of Attic.

5.9 Δισσός

It has been argued by Willi (2010, p. 110) that the form δισσός 'double' could have been used as a way of avoiding dual terminations, since from its earliest attestations it is found almost exclusively with the plural. Unlike prose contemporary to Aristophanes, neither δισσός nor the more expected διττός are found anywhere in his comedies. It seems that this was not a method of avoiding the dual that had taken hold in colloquial Attic at this stage.

5.10 *Conclusions from the Results*

As has been argued, Aristophanes is taken as a refracting proxy for the reality of Attic speech at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries. This was the period when inscriptions of Attic begin to show interference from speech and use plurals where previously duals had been used compulsorily (see section 3). Assuming that, given the conservatism of inscriptions, the change had already begun a generation or so before, Aristophanes' earlier plays may have been performed at the first stages of this change.

Acharnians, produced in 425,⁴⁶ shows the lowest dual usage. This may simply be statistical noise, but it does certainly attest to the fact that already it

45 Sextus Empiricus *adv. math.* 1.228.

46 OCD s.v. Aristophanes.

was acceptable in Greek comedy of the mid 420s not to use the dual compulsorily. Whether this was the result of literary influences from the dual-less Ionic poetic tradition is currently impossible to know. However, the findings in section 5.7 on the Derketes passage give us something of a *terminus ante quem* by which point these changes had already occurred. If someone is being mocked for an obligatory dual usage, the changes must already have been well underway in the city of Athens itself.

These changes were likely the result of Ionic influence both in literary circles (which would explain the drastic aversion to its use in all genres of prose) and more organically of greater contact in the city of Athens with Ionic speakers, often identified as a key catalyst in the crucial decades of evolution which followed. This pressure from both ends of society made the previously high levels of Attic dual usage unsustainable.

As for the state of the dual within Aristophanes and Attic, it is clear that the key driver of dual usage was the animacy of the referent, as predicted by the animacy hierarchy and cross-linguistic typology. If anything, the overall figures may be slightly underestimated, especially in the pronoun category. However, what the cross-linguistic evidence has not predicted is that the dual remains alive in both animate *and* inanimate nouns; that is to say it is not that the dual cannot be used with inanimates, it is just somewhat less likely to.

Looking to the eventual situation at the end of the dual's decline, one sees from Menander, of the small number of duals almost all are found with animate referents;⁴⁷ it is possible, therefore, that we are witnessing here the beginning of the dual's demise in its relative weakness in the inanimates, but we should not seek to install the later narrative on the synchronic data. The dual had weakened in both animate and inanimates. What these data likely point to is that some time after Aristophanes, the dual continued to weaken on the inanimates faster in line with the animacy hierarchy, until it became only an occasional option for animates and rarely used for inanimates. At the end of the fifth century, however, the dual could flexibly be used for both, with usage guided by perceptions of speakers on the animacy of the referent.

A further sign of a slight weakening of the dual is provided by the Derketes passage. If use of the dual was judged to be rustic, then we can assume that the middle approach used by Aristophanes' characters was characterized by use of the plural alongside the dual.

47 Cartlidge (2014, pp. 213–215).

6 Conclusion

Normally, we might be suspicious of drawing too great a conclusion from the data of comedy alone, although in this instance, given the patchy attestation of inscriptions and the lack of other Attic corpora which are capable of testing the conclusions gained from the Aristophanic data, comedy provides the only synchronic representation of spoken Attic, however flawed. Where we have a form of the language which we know to approximate spoken norms, and where the patterns observed fit well into well-established cross-linguistic typology and are statistically significant, we can be more secure that the observed phenomena bear some relation to the real situation of spoken Attic in the fifth century.

Given Willi's (2003a, p. 269) assessment that the two outstanding features of Aristophanes' language were its "linguistic conservatism and dialectal purism", we can speculate that perhaps, among certain groups or sociolects, the dismantling of the category of the dual and the usage of its endings had progressed further. We have direct evidence in the form of a contemporary orator (Lysias, whose dual usage is only at around 15%) of one particular setting (oratory) in which the dual was judged to be (probably) too informal, or perhaps colloquial for use in a formal setting such as a court or the assembly.

The consequences of these findings weigh on some of the textual problems seen in section 5.1. Especially where two readings between a dual and a plural are both possible, the issue of animacy should influence the decision. Where the referent is animate, or one of the lexemes in 5.4 which pattern in a similar way, we know that Aristophanes is far likelier to have used dual morphology than plural; where it is inanimate, the decision is more finely balanced, but a plural was more often used than the dual.

What Aristophanes' picture presents is a middle way between absence and ubiquity, as speakers tried to navigate competing stigmas and prestige attached to the use of the dual. It seems that, as typologically predicted, they applied this changing category more to animate than inanimate nouns, but the category itself remained strong, controlled by most speakers and understood.

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Negotiating Jewish Identity through the (Non-)inflection of Personal Names: Evidence from the Greek of the New Testament

Robert Crellin

1 Introduction

1.1 *Morphology of Non-Greek Personal Names*

In Greek, proper names, just as all other nominals, are inflected according to case and number. Furthermore, the patterns according to which proper names are inflected are the same as those according to which other nominals are inflected. Thus, the genitive of θουκυδίδης¹ ‘Thucydides’ is θουκυδίδου (e.g. Thu. 1.117.2²), cf. κριτής, κριτοῦ, ‘judge’ (for paradigm see Smyth 1920, § 227). When names of non-Greek origin are brought into Greek, the same situation obtains. Thus, the name αμασις, a name of Egyptian origin, is inflected in the same way as other i-stem nouns, e.g. πόλις. Accordingly, the genitive of αμασις in Herodotus is αμασιος (e.g. Hdt. 3.4³), just as the genitive of πόλις in Herodotus is πόλιος. In other writers the name is adapted as a dental stem, with genitive αμασιδος (Diod. Sic. 1.42.2;⁴ see also Crellin 2020, p. 249).

This is no less true in the case of proper names of Semitic origin. The Punic name ḥn[?] ‘Hanno’ is adapted into Greek in the nominative as αννων (e.g. App.

1 Greek texts follow the cited editions. However, the following orthographic conventions are adopted regardless of the editions: a) capital letters are not used, because the majuscule/minuscule distinction is anachronistic with respect to the texts discussed here; b) the accents of personal names of Semitic (or Egyptian, in the case of αμασις) origin are not represented, because, in the view of the present author, the accentuation of non-Greek words in the manuscript tradition is not to be taken at face value; c) breathings on Semitic (or Egyptian) personal names are not used because of fluctuations in the manuscript tradition. For a similar approach in regard to accents and breathings on Semitic names, see the text of Rahlfs (1979 [1935]).

2 Text according to Smith (1928).

3 Text according to Godley (1921); Wilson (2015) reports the same text and does not report any manuscript variants for this reading.

4 Text according to Vogel (1888); MSS DF have αμασιος.

Pun. 3.14⁵). The name then declines as one would expect any other n-stem noun to do, with a genitive *ἀννωνος* (*App. Hisp.* 1.4⁶), a dative *ἀννωνι* (*Plb.* 3.35.5,⁷ *App. Pun.* 3.14⁸), and an accusative *ἀννωνα* (*App. Pun.* 3.14;⁹ for further details and other references, see Jongeling 1984, p. 234).

In an important corpus of Greek texts, however, namely, those written in a Jewish environment, authors felt themselves at liberty not to inflect proper names. The first evidence of this emerges in the first Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, henceforth referred to here as the ‘Old Greek’ (OG) translation. This stands as a monument of ancient scholarship. It is the embodiment of a centuries-long project to bring the Hebrew Bible within the orbit of the Greco-Roman world. Begun in the third century BCE, and not completed until the first century CE, it is the product of the work of generations of scholars to provide Jews in the diaspora, who no longer spoke Hebrew, with the Scriptures in their vernacular (for further details see for example Tcherikover & Fuks 1957, pp. 30–31, Schwartz 2009, p. 18, Williams 2000, p. 316, Horrocks 2010, p. 106, Krašovec 2010, p. 87 and Jobes & Silva 2015, p. 13).

The treatment of Semitic (in our case Hebrew/Aramaic) personal names in the OG is remarkably different from that in Greek outside the Jewish sphere, in that names ending in a consonant are in most cases not inflected at all (Ilan 2002, pp. 17–18). Thus, the name אַבְרָהָם *ʾabrahām*, instead of the expected *ἄβρααμος or *ἄβραμος, is brought into Greek as ἄβρααμ. Semitic names terminating in a vowel or guttural are often inflected, although even here not universally, but the pattern according to which they are declined is not that of any pre-existing Greek nominal. The divergence is primarily found in the genitive. For example, מֹשֶׁה *mōšē* ‘Moses’ is brought into Greek in the Septuagint as μωσσης in the nominative (e.g. *Exod* 2:11), μωσσει in the dative (e.g. *Exod* 3:12), and μωσσην (e.g. *Exod* 2:10) in the accusative. These forms are paralleled in κριτῆς, viz. κριτῇ and κριτῇν. On this basis, one might expect a genitive in -ου, perhaps *μωσσου. Such is not, however, what we find. Instead, we have genitives μωσση (e.g. *Exod* 18:5) and μωσσεως (e.g. *1Ki* 2:3).

The divergence between the Old Greek and what might be regarded as ‘standard’ Greek practice has in the past been accounted for by reference to the notion of ‘literariness’. According to this view, the non-inflection of personal names is

5 Text according to Mendelssohn (1879) <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0551.tlg009.perseus-grc1:3.14>>, last accessed 26 July 2023. Abbreviations for Appian's works relate to those used by the Perseus Digital Library.

6 Text according to Mendelssohn (1879) provided by the Perseus Digital Library <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0551.tlg007.perseus-grc1:1.4>>, last accessed 26 July 2023.

7 Text according to Büttner-Wobst (1922).

8 Text according to Mendelssohn (1879) (see n. 5).

9 Text according to Mendelssohn (1879) (see n. 5).

a feature of non-literary Jewish Greek (Thackeray 1909, pp. 160–161; cf. Perkins 2010), while inflection is a mark of works with literary pretensions. However, as I have shown elsewhere (Crellin 2020), an appeal to literariness is not in fact able to account for the distribution of non-inflected names in Jewish Greek literature that we find. Indeed, the treatment of proper names in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible stands against the treatment of Semitic proper names in much of the rest of Jewish Greek literature, literary and non-literary alike. Thus, epigraphic and documentary sources are inclined towards morphological adaptation (Crellin 2020; see also Williams 2007, n. 66), while, at the other end of the spectrum, Josephus inflects personal names (Ilan 2002, p. 18), although there are a small number of exceptions (see Crellin 2020 and below). Philo and Ezekiel the Tragedian, both Jewish writers of undoubtedly literary pedigree, do not generally morphologically adapt Semitic names (Crellin 2020, pp. 259–262).

In Crellin (2020), I have argued that a better explanation for the decision of a given writer to inflect Semitic personal names can be found in the nature of that writer's intended audience. In fact, we are fortunate enough to have an explanation in exactly these terms from Josephus (see also Crellin 2020, p. 273):

(1) Jos. *A.J.* 1.129

τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα διὰ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς εὐπρεπὲς ἡλλήνισται πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἐντευξομένων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριος ἡμῖν ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν τύπος, ἀλλ' ἐν τε αὐτῶν σχῆμα καὶ τελευτὴ μία, νωχος τέ τοι νωε καλεῖται καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τύπον ἐπὶ παντὸς τηρεῖ σχήματος. (text Niese 1887)

With a view to euphony and my readers' pleasure these names have been Hellenized. The form in which they here appear is not that used in our country, where their structure and termination remain always the same; thus Nochos (Noah) in Hebrew is Noe, and the name retains this form in all the cases. (transl. Thackeray 1930)

This is to say that Josephus employs morphologically adapted Semitic names for the sake of his readership, who, as he has explained at the start of the *Antiquities*, are of Greco-Roman background:

(2) Jos. *A.J.* 1.5

ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἐγκεχεῖρισμαι πραγματείαν νομίζων ἅπασι φανεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀξίαν σπουδῆς· μέλλει γὰρ περιέξειν ἅπασαν τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ διάταξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐκ τῶν ἑβραϊκῶν μεθρμηνευμένην γραμμάτων. (text Niese 1887)

And now I have undertaken this present work in the belief that the whole Greek-speaking world will find it worthy of attention; for it will embrace our entire ancient history and political constitution, translated from the Hebrew records. (transl. Thackeray 1930)

It is the goal of the present chapter to investigate the treatment of the morphology of personal names in another important corpus of Jewish Greek, the New Testament. This has been regarded as following standard Greek practice. Thus, Ilan (2002, p. 18) states that the New Testament “usually declines the names it transliterates”. However, the situation turns out to be more complex. There are, as we will see, many examples of non-inflected names as well as the several inflected examples. Indeed, instances of morphological adaptation and non-adaptation may sit alongside one another in the same context. This is the case with the name ‘Saul’, where the non-inflected form σαουλ is attested alongside the declined form σαυλος in the same book, Acts, at 13:21 and in chapters 7–13 respectively.

The present study sets out to survey the morphological treatment of the personal names of Semitic origin found in the New Testament (NT) text and probe possible reasons for the distribution that we find. The factors affecting the distribution of morphologically adapted versus non-adapted names will be identified and discussed in turn.

1.2 *Aims and Objectives*

It will be seen that the use of inflecting and non-inflecting name variants in the NT is a complex phenomenon involving factors ranging from phonology to literary artistry. In seeking to explain the range of phenomena observed, four factors will be considered:

1. Phonological shape of the name: as was the case with the Old Greek translation, if the final phoneme in Hebrew is a vowel or a guttural consonant, the name is morphologically adapted into Greek, although not necessarily according to a pre-existing paradigm in Greek, e.g. מֹשֶׁה *mōšē* becomes μωσης.
2. The historical/Biblical status of the individual named, that is, whether s/he is broadly contemporary with the events being described or is an established historical/Biblical figure: in the former case, the individual's name is likely to be morphologically adapted, whereas in the latter case the reverse is true.
3. Personal or societal choice: some individuals seem to have styled themselves or been styled by others with non-inflecting names. This name is then used to refer to them even in contexts where other individuals are given inflecting names, e.g. μαναην.

- 4. Literary artistry: evidence will be provided that, at least in the case of the author of Luke-Acts, inflecting and non-inflecting names are deployed in pursuit of the aims of his discourse to delineate sectarian relationships and boundaries.

The fact that no one factor captures the treatment of Semitic names in the Greek of the New Testament contrasts with the situation seen in the Old Greek, where the first two factors are able to capture the observed behavior. I conclude that at least two sets of standards are in competition with one another, namely, the standard Greek practice of inflecting non-Greek names, on the one hand, and the Old Greek Biblical standard of not inflecting, on the other.

2 Phonological Shape

2.1 *Names Terminating in a Vowel or Guttural Consonant*

The factor affecting the morphological adaptation of a Semitic name into Greek which is most straightforward to identify is its phonological shape. Semitic names terminating in a vowel or a guttural consonant, are often, but not always, inflected in the NT and the OG. In some instances, e.g. *ἡσαίας* ‘Isaiah’, the pattern of inflection is exactly the same in both the NT and the OG, as may be seen in Table 9.1.¹⁰

TABLE 9.1 Inflection of *ἡσαίας* in the NT and OG

	NT	Example	OG	Example
Nom.	<i>ἡσαίας</i>	Jn 12:39	<i>ἡσαίας</i>	2Ki 20:9
Voc.	—		—	
Acc.	<i>ἡσαίαν</i>	Ac 8:28	<i>ἡσαίαν</i>	2Ki 20:8
Gen.	<i>ἡσαίου</i>	Lk 4:17	<i>ἡσαίου</i>	2Ch 32:32
Dat.	<i>ἡσαίαι</i>	Mk 1:2	—	

10 All OG readings were checked against both Rahlfs (1979 [1935]) and Rahlfs & Hanhart (2006). NT readings are those of the SBLGNT (Holmes 2010) provided by the STEP Bible project, Tyndale House, Cambridge <<https://www.stepbible.org/>>; numbered examples are quoted from the SBLGNT <<https://sblgnt.com/>> (Holmes 2010). Variants are reported from the NT Manuscript Variant Apparatus <<https://www.stepbible.org/version.jsp?version=VarApp>>. Examples were found using BibleWorks v.9, by using XQuery <<https://www.w3.org/TR/xquery/>> scripts written by the author, and by manual search.

TABLE 9.2 Inflection of μωυσης in the NT and OG

	NT	Example	OG	Example
Nom.	μωυσης	Jn 3:14	μωυσης	Exod 2:11
Voc.	–		μωυση	Exod 5:4
Acc.	μωυσην μωυσεα	Ac 6:11 Lk 16:29	μωυσην	Exod 2:10
Gen.	μωυσεως	Mk 12:26	μωυσεως μωυση	1Ki 2:3 2Ch 35:19b
Dat.	μωυσι μωυσει	Ac 7:44 Mk 9:4	μωυσει	Exod 3:12

TABLE 9.3 Inflection of ηλιας in the NT

	NT	Example
Nom.	ηλιας	Mt 11:14
Voc.	–	
Acc.	ηλιαν	Mt 16:14
Gen.	ηλιου	Lk 1:17
Dat.	ηλιαι	Lk 9:33

In other cases, e.g. מֹשֶׁה *mōšē* ‘Moses’, as Table 9.2 shows, the forms attested in the NT and the OG vary: while most of the forms attested in each of the NT and OG are attested in the other, there are exceptions on both sides. The accusative in μωυσεα is attested in the NT, but is not seen in the OG, while on the other hand, the genitive μωυση is attested in the OG, but not in the NT. Nevertheless, while the exact morphology may differ, it is still the case that μωυσης is systematically inflected in both the NT and the OG.

The treatment of such names in the NT does not necessarily line up with that seen in the OG. Thus, אֵלִיָּא *’ēliyyā(hū)* ‘Elijah’ becomes the indeclinable ηλιου (e.g. 1Ki 17:1, 2Ki 9:36), ηλια (Ezr 10:26, 1Ch 8:27) or ελια (1Ch 12:8, Ezr 10:21) in the OG, although declined forms are also attested, e.g. accusative ηλιαν at Mal 3:22. In the NT, however, this name is inflected, per Table 9.3.

There are other names terminating in vowels, however, that are not inflected in the NT. These are generally of lesser-known figures from Biblical history.

Thus, אֲבִיָּה *ʾabīyā* ‘Abijah’ is rendered indeclinable ἀβια, as may be seen from both accusative and nominative instances in (3).¹¹

(3) Mt 1:7

ροβοαμ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν ἀβια, ἀβια δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν ᾿ασαφ

Names terminating in /-i/ often resist inflection both in the NT and the OG. Thus לֵוִי ‘Levi’, referring to the son of Jacob the patriarch,¹² is not declined in either the NT or the OG.¹³

It is not only Semitic names terminating in a vowel that may be inflected in the NT and OG. Names terminating in a guttural consonant may also be so treated. Thus, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ *yehōšua*¹⁴ is rendered ἰησοῦς and inflected per Table 9.4.¹⁴

As was the case with names terminating in vowels, however, not all names terminating in guttural consonants are declinable. Thus, נֹחַ ‘Noah’ is not inflected, and is always given as νωε.¹⁵

TABLE 9.4 Inflection of ἰησοῦς in the NT and OG

	NT	Example	OG	Example
Nom.	ἰησοῦς	Mt 3:13	ἰησοῦς	Exod 17:10
Voc.	ἰησοῦ	Mk 1:24	—	
Acc.	ἰησοῦν	Mt 1:25	ἰησοῦν	Num 13:16
Gen.	ἰησοῦ	Mt 1:18	ἰησοῦ	1Ki 16:34
Dat.	ἰησοῦ	Mt 1:15	ἰησοῖ	Josh 5:2, Deut 3:21

11 STEP Bible apparatus (NT Manuscript Variant Apparatus) reports no variants involving an accusative form *ἀβιαν, although א has the nominative ἀβιας <<https://www.stepbible.org/?q=version=VarApp|reference=Matt.1.7&options=NGVHU&pos=1>>, last accessed 25 September 2019.

12 For the disciple of Jesus, see n. 243 below. For exceptions, see n. 247 below.

13 For the OG, see Gen 34:14, 29:34, 46:11 and 34:30 respectively for nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative forms λευι. Similarly for the NT, see genitive λευι at e.g. Lk 3:24. For OG Exodus, see also Perkins (2010, p. 450).

14 At Deut 3:21 Rahlfs (1979 [1935]) and Rahlfs & Hanhart (2006) give dative ἰησοι, whereas Renberg & Kraft (1997), based on Wevers (1977), give ἰησου.

15 Mt 24:38, 2Pe 2:5 and Lk 3:36 provide instances of the nominative, accusative and genitive of νωε respectively.

TABLE 9.5 Type frequency of inflection versus
non-inflection in Semitic names
terminating in a consonant in the NT

Inflected	
Yes	10
No	94
Total	104

2.2 *Names Terminating in a Non-guttural Consonant*

So far, we have dealt with Semitic names terminating in a vowel or a guttural consonant. By contrast, Semitic names terminating in a consonant are in most cases not inflected in the NT, as indeed they are not in the OG (Crellin 2020; Perkins 2010). For example, אברהם *ʾabrāhām* always appears in Greek as αβρααμ, i.e., without inflection, regardless of its morphological case. Thus, all four syntactic case forms of this name (i.e., nominative, accusative, genitive and dative) occur in the first three chapters of Matthew. In each instance, the form is αβρααμ.

The morphological treatment of סהרבא *ʾabrāhām* is repeated with personal names terminating in non-guttural consonants throughout the NT. Table 9.5 gives the type frequency distribution.¹⁶ As the table shows, Semitic names terminating in consonants are much more likely not to be inflected in the NT than to be inflected.

However, despite the strong tendency for these names not to be inflected, the tables also show that a significant minority of these names *are* inflected. In this the NT data differ from that of the OG, where the inflection of Semitic names terminating in consonants is much less prevalent (see Crellin 2020). It is therefore important to establish why in a given instance a Semitic name of this type might be inflected in the Greek of the NT.

16 Frequencies for Table 9.5 and Table 9.6 were obtained using XQuery <<https://www.w3.org/TR/xquery/>> in BaseX <<http://basex.org/>> on the basis of the SBLGNT text provided by MorphGNT (Tauber 2017), as of 3 February 2018. Types are categorised by the form in the nominative singular. This means that the inflected and non-inflected versions of the same name, e.g. ιακωβ and ιακωβος, are listed as two different types. Several names were excluded owing to their uncertain etymology (βαρναβας, βαρσαββας, βοανηργες and θαδδαιος) or owing to their hybrid Greek-Semitic construction (βαρτιμαιος).

3 Historical/Biblical Status

A closer look at the distribution of inflected Semitic personal names in the NT reveals that the historical status of the person named plays an important role in determining whether or not the name in question is inflected in Greek. This becomes clear in the treatment of Semitic names terminating in a (non-guttural) consonant, such as אברהם *ʾabrāhām*, since Semitic personal names terminating in a vowel or a guttural, such as משה *mōšê*, are always morphologically adapted in the Greek of the NT.

Table 9.6 gives the distribution of the inflection of Semitic personal names terminating in a non-guttural consonant, counted by type, according to whether a given name is used to refer to an individual roughly contemporary with the events being described, or to a figure from the past, that is, in most cases, occurring in the OG. The results are noteworthy: not a single name terminating in a consonant and referring to a historical individual is inflected in the NT. By contrast, names used to refer to contemporary individuals are both inflected and uninflected.¹⁷

The Hebrew name יעקב *yaʿqob* ‘Jacob’ provides an example of a minimal pair, where the uninflected form, Ἰακωβ, is used only to refer to the patriarch Jacob, as in (4), while contemporary individuals bearing that name, such as James the disciple, are referred to using the inflected form, Ἰακωβος, per (5).

(4) Lk 20:37

ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ μωυσης ἐμήνυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς βράτου, ὡς λέγει κύριον τὸν θεὸν αβρααμ Ἦ καὶ θεὸν ἰσαακ Ἦ καὶ θεὸν Ἰακωβ·

TABLE 9.6 Type frequency of morphological adaptation of personal names ending in a consonant according to Biblical/historical status of the individual named in the NT

Inflected	Contemporary	Historical/Biblical	Total
Yes	10	0	10
No	8	89	97
Total	18	89	107

17 We noted above that names terminating in *-i*, e.g., λευι, are also not inflected in either the NT or the OG. Here too, however, there is evidence of a distinction along historical ~ contemporary lines, since the name of λευι Jesus’ disciple is inflected, with accusative λευιν at Mk 2:14 and Lk 5:27.

(5) Lk 9:54

ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ῥαββίμαχοι ἰακώβος καὶ ἰωάννης εἶπαν· κύριε, θέλεις εἰπώμεν πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι ῥαυτοὺς;

The distribution of inflected names seen in Table 9.6 shows that the NT writers had a strong aversion to inflecting the names of individuals occurring in the OG, while they were more comfortable with inflecting the names of contemporaries.¹⁸ This conservatism provides indirect evidence of the NT writers' awareness of the treatment of personal names in the OG, and a desire to continue this tradition, at least in referring to those named individuals.

The willingness to inflect the names of contemporaries in contrast to their lack of willingness to do the same for historical/Biblical figures is paralleled in other Jewish Greek literature, notably parts of the deuterocanonical OG, such as 1 and 3 Macc.¹⁹ The following passage from 1 Macc refers back to the Biblical figure Phinehas, son of Eleazar, whose zeal is recorded in Num 25:1–15, where none of the names φινεες, ζαμβρι or σαλωμ are inflected.²⁰

(6) 1 Macc 2:26

καὶ ἐζήλωσεν τῷ νόμῳ, καθὼς ἐποίησεν φινεες τῷ ζαμβρι υἱῷ σαλωμ.

The names of contemporary figures, by contrast, may be inflected, as in the following example from 3 Macc.

(7) 3 Macc 6:1

ἐλεαζαρος δὲ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπίσημος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἱερέων

Again, however, as in 1 Macc, the names of historical/Biblical figures are not inflected:

18 The discrepancy in the totals between Table 9.5 and Table 9.6, 104 and 107 respectively, is due to the fact that three names, σαουλ, συμεων and ἰωσηφ, refer to both contemporary and Biblical/historical figures.

19 This is contrary to Ilan (2002, p. 18), who states, "In comparison with the LXX, Josephus tends to be more Hellenized in his orthography, using, as a rule, the formal Greek case suffixes. Aristeeas and 1 Macc usually transliterate names in the same tradition as Josephus." Josephus inflects almost all the Semitic names (Crellin 2020), whereas the translator of 1 Macc does not. The basis on which Ilan makes his statement is not clear to me.

20 The text of 1 Macc and 3 Macc follows that of Rahlfs & Hanhart (2006).

(8) 3 Macc 6:2–3

βασιλεὺ μεγαλοκράτωρ [...] ἔπιθε ἐπὶ ἀβρααμ σπέρμα

It is worth reflecting on why it should be that the names of historical/Biblical figures are treated so differently from those of contemporary individuals. In Crellin (2020), I have argued that the non-inflection of Semitic names is a feature of Jewish Greek discourse: Greek-speaking Jews may have used the (non-)inflection of names as part of a broader strategy of constructing Jewish identities in the Greco-Roman world (Crellin 2020, pp. 269–276).

Seen in this light, the fact that NT writers universally use non-inflecting forms for the names of historical/Biblical individuals was not a neutral choice; the writers had to choose which way to go, whether to inflect or not to do so. The fact that they choose to align with Biblical Greek norms, rather than those of the (majority of the) Jewish community of the time, shows that they anchored their discourse self-consciously in the world of the Greek Bible (cf. Sluiter 2017, 2021).

This in turn has implications for the primary audience for the NT. While the early church was heterogeneous, emanating from both the highest and lowest in society, as well as people from both a Jewish and gentile background (see for example Jas 2:1–7, Ac 6), no NT writer took the step that Josephus did, namely, of morphologically adapting, and hence inflecting, personal names of all historical/Biblical figures. Although this fact does not seem to be highlighted in discussions of the NT's audience,²¹ it is nevertheless highly relevant for establishing the character of the first Christian communities: a) they spoke Greek, b) they were familiar with historical/Biblical figures from the OG, and c) they were expecting these figures to be referred to by their OG names. This is to say that the primary audience of the NT was rooted in the community of Greek-speaking Jews.

The treatment of historical/Biblical Semitic names ending in consonants is so regular in the NT as to be regarded a rule—that is, a standard followed by all NT writers, and, apparently, most Jewish writers writing in Greek. By contrast, the treatment of non-guttural consonant-terminating names of contemporary individuals is much less regular. This may be determined from Table 9.6, which

21 For example, Carroll (2012, pp. 3–4) makes no mention of it in his discussion of the likely audience of Luke's gospel. Neither 'personal names' nor 'morphology' are mentioned by Beavis (1989). Various audiences for the different NT books are suggested. Thus, Keener (2014, p. 126) states that Mark is written to "Roman Christians", while Matthew is written to "Jewish-Christian hearers" (2014, p. 45). Luke's readers are, by contrast, located "in the Greek-speaking northern Mediterranean, probably Aegean, world" (2014, p. 176).

TABLE 9.7 Semitic names terminating in non-guttural consonants referring to contemporary individuals in the NT

Hebrew/Aramaic	Gloss	Greek (inflected)	Ilan (2002) ref.	Greek (non-inflected)	Ilan (2002) ref.
אלעזר	'Eleazar'	λαζαρος	p. 65	—	
ברתולמי	'Bartholomew'	βαρθολομαιος		—	
גמליאל	'Gamaliel'	—		γαμαλιηλ	p. 85
חנן	'Chanan'	αννας	p. 99	—	
יאי	'Jair'	ιαiros	p. 111	—	
יוחנן	'Jochanan'	ιωαννης	p. 134	—	
יוסף	'Joseph'	ιωσης (ιωσητος)		ιωσηφ	p. 151
יעקב	'Jacob'	ιακωβος	p. 171	—	
מנחם	'Menahem'	—		μαναην	p. 185
מרים	'Marian'	Μαρια	p. 242	μαριαμ	p. 242
נתנאל	'Nathanael'	—		ναθαναηλ	p. 200
פנואל	'Penuel'	—		φανουηλ	p. 205
שאול	'Saul'	Σαυλος	p. 211	σαουλ	cf. p. 212
שמעון	'Simeon'	Σιμων	p. 219	συμεων	p. 219

shows that among these names used to refer to contemporary figures, approximately half are not inflected, while the other half are. The names in question are given in Table 9.7.²² In the following sections, I set out to identify some of the factors that determine the choice made.

4 Personal or Societal Choice

The primary agents to consider in the choice of whether to inflect a name are the bearer of the name and the community of people who knew them and referred to them. Individuals could choose to present themselves in Greek

²² Equations between Hebrew and Greek variants follow Ilan (2002). For ברתולמי 'Bartholomew' = βαρθολομαιος, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bartholomew_the_Apostle>, last accessed 29 June 2023. For יוסף 'Joseph' = ιωσης/ιωσητος, see <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joses>>, last accessed 29 June 2023.

using names either with or without inflection. In addition, the community of people around the individual could (at least in principle) choose one or other variant for referring to them. This seems the best explanation, for example, for explaining the distribution of inflection seen in Ac 13:1:

(9) Ac 13:1

ἦσαν Ἦ δὲ ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι ὃ τε
βαρναβας καὶ συμεων ὁ καλούμενος νιγερ, καὶ λουκιος ὁ κυρηναῖος, μαναην τε
ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραάρχου σύντροφος καὶ σαυλος.

In this passage, the reader is treated to a sequence of names of prophets and teachers belonging to the church in Antioch. The list is noteworthy because among names with underlying Semitic names terminating in a consonant two are inflected, and one is not. Thus, *συμεων* and *μαναην* are given in non-inflected form, while *σαυλος* is inflected. The most economical explanation is that *συμεων* ‘Simeon’ (= Hebrew *שמעון* *šim‘ôn*) and *μαναην* ‘Manaen’ (= Hebrew *מנחם* *mənaḥēm*, OG *μαναημ*, e.g., 2Ki 15:14; Jos. A.J. 15:373–379 *μαναημος*) were simply known in Greek by their non-inflected names, while Saul was known in Greek by his inflected name. This is especially likely to be the case for *συμεων*, since the accepted Greek version of this name, *σίμων*, is attested in Acts and used to refer to a different individual, namely the apostle Simon Peter (see discussion below).

We see evidence for the same situation regarding nomenclature for various Marys in Luke-Acts. Here, the non-inflected form *μαριαμ* is generally restricted to two individuals, namely, Mary the mother of Jesus,²³ and Mary the sister of Martha.²⁴ By contrast, Mary Magdalene²⁵ and Mary the wife of James²⁶ are known by the inflected form *μαρια*. It seems reasonable to suppose that these are the forms by which these Marys were known to the author.²⁷

A similar argument can be made in the case of the names for Mary the mother of Jesus in the gospel of Matthew. Here, however, there is an added level of complexity, in that Matthew appears to use the non-inflected form in

23 Lk 1:27, 30, 34, 38, 39, 46, 56; 2:5, 16, 34; Ac 1:14. There are, however, exceptions, with Mary the mother of Jesus called *μαρια* on two occasions, at Lk 1:41 and 2:19.

24 Lk 10:39, 42.

25 Lk 8:2, 24:10.

26 Lk 24:10.

27 On the distribution of the variants in John, see Förster (2014).

direct speech (10),²⁸ reporting what the crowd were saying about Jesus' parentage. By contrast, the inflected form is found in narrative (11).²⁹

(10) Mt 13:55

οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός; ὁὐχ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται **μαριαμ** καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ **ιακωβος** καὶ **ιωσηφ** καὶ **σίμων** καὶ **ιουδας**;

(11) Mt 1:16

ιακωβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν **ιωσηφ** τὸν ἄνδρα **μαριας**, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη **ιησους** ὁ λεγόμενος **χριστός**.

Despite the restriction of **μαριαμ** to direct speech, the distribution is name specific. Thus, in example (10) **μαριαμ**, the non-inflected name, appears in direct speech alongside inflected **ιακωβος** and **σίμων**. It seems, therefore, that the distinction is not necessarily principled, but simply reflects the fact, perhaps, that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was known to the author of this gospel, at least, in Greek as **μαριαμ**, rather than **μαρια**. By the same token, it seems that James and Simon were known by the inflected names.

It is interesting to consider why particular individuals, or their associates, may have chosen to make use of the inflecting or non-inflecting name variants. It is clear from Josephus' statements at (1) and (2) that contemporary figures were conscious of the potential import of the use of inflecting vs. non-inflecting

28 The STEP Bible apparatus criticus offers no variants for **μαριαμ**, see <<https://www.stepbible.org/?q=version=VarApp|reference=Matt.13.55&options=GNHVU>>, last accessed 23 September 2019. The other example of 'Mary' appearing in direct speech in Matthew, at Mt 1:20, appears at first glance to be a declinable form: **ιωσηφ υἱὸς δαυιδ, μὴ φοβηθῇς παραλαβεῖν μαριαν τὴν γυναῖκά σου, τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου**. However, as Förster (2014) points out, the nasal consonants /m/ and /n/ are often confused in papyri and manuscripts. Indeed, Tischendorf (1869) prints **μαριαν** at this point. I suggest that the variant **μαριαν** is likely to have come about through neutralization of the phoneme distinction /m/ ~ /n/ before the dental /t/ in **τὴν**. Under these circumstances, therefore, a putative original sequence of characters **μαριαμτηγυναικα**, could, by assimilation of the **μ** to the dental feature of the **τ**, become **μαριαντηγυναικα**. This would have then been confirmed by later scribes, who would have seen **μαριαν** as the correct accusative form of declinable **μαρια**. Note, that the reverse process, viz. /n/ > /m/ before /t/, at least on phonological grounds, is much less likely, suggesting that **μαριαμ** may well be the original form. The STEP Bible apparatus criticus gives the following manuscript support for **μαριαν**: P¹ B L fi 1241 pc cop. By contrast, the following support is given for **μαριαμ**: S C D E K W Z Θ fi3 28 33 565 892 Byz Eusebius ζ. See <<https://www.stepbible.org/?q=version=VarApp|reference=Matt.1.20&options=GNHVU>>, last accessed 23 September 2019.

29 The MS support for a reading **μαριαμ** here is very late. Other examples at Mt 1:18, 2:11.

names. Given that non-inflection is such a characteristic feature of Biblical Greek, and that from a Greek morphological standpoint, non-inflection is such a marked strategy, it is hard not to see this as part of a conscious attempt to align oneself and one's family, either with the prevailing Greco-Roman culture, in the case of the choice to inflect, or, conversely, with the historical roots of the Jewish people, in the case of the choice not to inflect.³⁰ This is to say, the individual/community could choose, in the kind of name used, to anchor their identity either in the Greco-Roman environment, or in the Biblical world of their ancestors (cf. Sluiter 2017, 2021).

5 Inflection as a Literary Device

Another important agent to consider in the choice of whether or not to inflect a name in Greek is the author of the text in which the name is used, who may use different forms of the names as a device for literary effect.

The suggestion that authorial intent lies behind the choice to use an inflecting or non-inflecting name is not new (for Luke-Acts, see Lee 2012, p. 379 and references there). This factor has been argued by Elliott (1977) to underlie the distribution of the two variants of the name for 'Jerusalem' in Luke-Acts, viz. the inflected form *ἱεροσόλυμα*, and the non-inflected form *ιεροσαλημ*, with the non-inflecting form occurring "in contexts where a Jewish speaker is addressing Jews, or where the context places the story in Palestine" (Elliott 1977, p. 463). Authorial intent has also been argued to be significant in explaining the distribution of inflecting and non-inflecting names in Josephus (Crellin 2020): while Josephus inflects Semitic names in the vast majority of cases, in two notable instances in direct speech he does not do (12 and 13). Josephus in these examples is depicted addressing fellow Jews regarding key figures from the nation's history. It seems, therefore, unlikely to be accidental that marked forms of these names, viz. without inflection, should be used at this point.³¹

(12) Jos. *B.J.* 5.380

Τί οὖν ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ ἀβρααμ, προπάτωρ δὲ ἡμέτερος;

(13) Jos. *B.J.* 5.387

βασιλεὺς ἀσσυρίων σενναχηρειμ [...] ἔπεσεν;

30 For further discussion, see Crellin (2020, § 3).

31 Text according to Niese (1894). For further discussion, see Crellin (2020, pp. 275–276).

Authorial intent is, therefore, an important factor to consider in the interpretation of the distribution of inflecting and non-inflecting variants in the NT.

The NT, especially the book of Acts, provides evidence that this phenomenon was not restricted to referring to historical/Biblical figures, as in the case of Josephus, but that writers could also choose to use non-inflected names in direct speech to refer to contemporary figures. In this section, therefore, attention is drawn to the clustering of non-inflected names in direct speech, on the one hand, and the preference for using the inflected form in narrative. Two names can be seen to follow this pattern in the book of Acts: *σαυλος* ~ *σαουλ*, and *σίμων* ~ *συμεων*.

5.1 *σίμων* ~ *συμεων* ~ *πέτρος*

The disciple and apostle Simon Peter is known by three names in Acts: *πέτρος*, *σίμων*, and *συμεων*.³² The first of these is an appellation given to the disciple by Jesus (Mt 16:18). The second was likely given at birth, and it was common practice for Jewish parents to give a Greek name of a similar sound to their Hebrew or Aramaic name (Fitzmyer 1998, p. 112; cf. Deissmann 1903, pp. 315–316).

In Acts, *πέτρος* is by far the most frequently used name for Peter, employed a total of 54 times to refer to him. It is therefore the author's default name for this disciple. The first such occasion on which the name is used in Acts is at Ac 1:13:

(14) Ac 1:13

καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον, εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον ἀνέβησαν ὃ ἦσαν καταμένοντες, ὃ τε πέτρος καὶ ἰωαννης καὶ ιακωβος καὶ ἀνδρεας, φιλιππος καὶ θωμας, βαρθολομαιος καὶ μαθθαιος, ιακωβος ἀλφαιου καὶ σίμων ὁ ζηλωτῆς καὶ ἰουδας ιακωβου.

The names *σίμων* and *συμεων* are used much less frequently. *σίμων* is used on four occasions, all in direct speech, and all in chapters 10 and 11 in the narrative concerning Simon Peter and Cornelius (Ac 10:5, 18, 32; 11:13). Ac 10:5 is given at (15): an angel from heaven addresses Cornelius, a non-Jew, telling him to seek out Simon Peter, and uses the Greek form of the name:

(15) Ac 10:5

καὶ νῦν πέμψον ἄνδρας εἰς ἰόππην καὶ μετάπεμψαι σίμωνά τινά ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται πέτρος.

32 For a survey of the names of this disciple in the New Testament as a whole, see Elliott (1972). Simon Peter is also known in the NT, albeit not in Acts, by the Aramaic translation of *πέτρος*, namely *κηφας* (Fitzmyer 1998; Elliott 1972, pp. 248–250).

The variant *συμεων* is used on just one occasion to refer to Simon Peter (Fitzmyer 1998, p. 112), on the lips of James the apostle, as he addresses the Council of Jerusalem (on the likelihood that *συμεων* is original here, see Elliott 1972, p. 248):

(16) Ac 15:13–14

¹³ μετὰ δὲ τὸ σιγήσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρίθη Ἰάκωβος λέγων· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου. ¹⁴ *συμεων* ἐξηγήσατο καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν Ἰλαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

The fact that *συμεων* is used on just this one occasion in Acts³³ makes its use very marked, and scholarly consensus is that it is deliberate. It is often pointed out in commentaries, although reasons are seldom proffered (cf. for example Bruce 1988, p. 292, n. 48 and Bock 2007, p. 502).

Both *σίμων* in Ac 10:5 and *συμεων* in Ac. 15:14 are used in direct speech. It is important to note, however, that the speaker-audience relationship is different in each case: *σίμων*, the Greek version of the name, is used when an angel addresses a non-Jew, Cornelius, while *συμεων*, the non-inflecting variant more closely reflecting the underlying Hebrew form, is used by a Jewish Christian before an audience of largely Jewish Christians. While this is likely to be significant, its import is not immediately clear. To provide further context, I turn now to the alternation of *σαουλ* ~ *σαυλος* ~ *παῦλος*.

5.2 *σαουλ* ~ *σαυλος* ~ *παῦλος* in Acts

Saul of Tarsus is known by three names in Acts, two based on Hebrew *שׁוּלַיִם*, viz. non-inflected *σαουλ* and inflected *σαυλος*, as well as the Greek version of his Latin name *paulus*, viz. *παῦλος*, names which are likely to have been given him at birth (see Lee 2012, p. 383, and references). It is generally agreed that the use of one of these names by the author of Luke-Acts is deliberate (Lee 2012, p. 383). It has been observed that the alternation *σαυλος*/*σαουλ* ~ *παῦλος* varies according to the setting of Saul of Tarsus' activity: where he is portrayed as operating in a Jewish/Palestinian environment, *σαυλος*/*σαουλ* is used, while in a Greco-Roman context he is referred to as *παῦλος* (Lee 2012, pp. 383–384; see also Deissmann 1903, p. 317). *σαυλος* is also used in narrative (17), while *σαουλ* is restricted to direct speech (18, 19).³⁴ The latter is the case both when Saul

33 Some witnesses to 2Pe 1:11 have *συμεων* (see <<https://www.stepbible.org/?q=version=SBLG|version=VarApp|reference=2Pet.1.1&options=NVGUH>>, last accessed 27 June 2023).

34 The non-inflected form *σαουλ* is also used to refer to king Saul, son of Kish, in Ac 13:21, but this is best explained with reference to his historical/Biblical status.

is addressed by a divine speaker—the risen Jesus—in (18), and by a human one—Ananias—in (19).³⁵

(17) Ac 8:3

σαυλος δὲ ἐλυμαίνετο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους εἰσπορευόμενος, σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας παρεδίδου εἰς φυλακὴν.

(18) Ac 9:4

καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἤκουσεν φωνὴν λέγουσαν αὐτῷ σαουλ σαουλ, τί με διώκεις;

(19) Ac 9:17

ἀπῆλθεν δὲ Ἀνανίας καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐπιθείς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας εἶπεν· σαουλ ἀδελφέ, ὁ κύριος ἀπέσταλκέν με, Ἰησοῦς ὁ ὀφθεῖς σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἥ ἤρχου, ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ πλησθῇς πνεύματος ἁγίου.

Again, however, while the distribution of σαῦλος and σαουλ must be deliberate, the precise purpose for which Luke chooses to use one form for narrative, and another for direct speech is not clear. We turn to this question in the next section.

5.3 *Authorial Purpose in Using Non-inflecting vs. Inflecting Names*

While there is consensus that the inflected and non-inflected variants of the names ‘Simeon’ and ‘Saul’ are used deliberately in Acts, agreement is lacking regarding the author’s purpose in doing so. Two suggestions stand out: a) to mark out a Jewish vs. a Greco-Roman speaker-audience relationship; and b) to mark that the interaction takes place in a Semitic language, as opposed to Greek or (in principle) Latin. Under a), Jewish speaker-audience interactions are marked by the use of non-inflecting names, thus σαουλ, συμεων (so Witherington 1998, p. 458, as quoted by Lee 2012, p. 380),³⁶ while (by

35 Parallels are found at Ac 22:7, Ac 22:13 and Ac 26:14 (24), where the speakers addressing Saul are both divine and human.

36 Deissmann (1903, p. 316, n. 1) attributes the distinction to the narrative contexts set up by the author, by stating that the use of σαουλ “may be explained by the historian’s sense of liturgical rhythm”. This I interpret to mean that the author of Luke-Acts uses the non-inflected forms as a device to set up the Jewish speaker-audience interaction by using “liturgical”, i.e. Greek Biblical, language.

implication) Greco-Roman speaker-audience interactions are marked by the use of inflecting names, viz. *σαυλος*, *σίμων*. Under b), non-inflecting forms are used to indicate that the interaction takes place in a Semitic language, specifically Aramaic (so Haenchen 1971, p. 447 in respect of *σίμων* ~ *συμεων*, as quoted by Lee 2012, p. 380; Lee 2012, p. 384 in respect of *σαυλος* ~ *σαουλ*), whereas (again by implication) the use of inflecting names indicates that the interaction takes place in Greek (or Latin).³⁷

These possibilities are not mutually exclusive: b) can be seen as a particular application of a), whereby the Jewish speaker-audience interaction is marked with respect to non-Jewish interactions, with the particular significance that that interaction (may have) taken place in Hebrew/Aramaic. I will argue that there is evidence for a correlation between the use of the non-inflecting form and use of Hebrew/Aramaic, but that it goes beyond the evidence to assert that this is always the significance of using non-inflecting names *per se*. I address the alternation *σίμων* ~ *συμεων* first. In general, the use of non-inflecting names in interactions between Jewish speakers can be seen as an authorial device, anchoring the Jewish identities of the speakers in the Biblical Greek onomastic world.

The distribution of the alternatives *σίμων* and *συμεων* in Acts—the former restricted to a non-Jewish speaker-audience interaction, the latter to a largely Jewish audience—can readily be interpreted as marking the intra-Jewish nature of the interaction. This becomes clearer when the fuller contexts of the relevant passages are brought into consideration. The book of Acts as a whole documents the gospel's movement from Jerusalem (chapter 1) to Rome (chapter 28, final chapter), that is, from the heart of the Jewish religion to the heart of the Roman state. As the message of the risen Jesus Christ moves along this arc, the interaction between believers who are born Jews and those who are born gentile is a key dynamic. Thus, as early as chapter 6 we read of a *γογγυσμός* that arose between the *ἐλλήνισται* and the *ἐβραῖοι*, both groups of believers, concerning the distribution of alms to widows (6:1).

An early matter of dispute concerned exactly what status gentile believers had, and whether it was permissible for Jewish believers to eat with their gentile brethren. Chapters 10 and 11 belong together. At the start of chapter 11 Simon Peter is confronted by Jewish believers who are scandalized that he has eaten with gentile believers:

37 Sitting between these positions is Hemer (1989), who states (p. 225) that *σαουλ* “is used for solemn address and Hebraic contexts”.

(20) Ac 11:2–3

² ὅτε δὲ ἡ ἀνέβη πέτρος εἰς ἱερουσαλημ, διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς
³ λέγοντες ὅτι εἰσῆλθες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας καὶ συνέφαγες ἡ αὐτοῖς.

Ac 10, where Simon Peter is first named σίμων, serves as a prelude to this interaction. Here the gentile proselyte Cornelius is told by an angel to send for σίμωνά (inflected form) τινὰ ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται πέτρος. Meanwhile, Simon Peter sees a vision in which he is told he can eat anything that God has declared clean. When Cornelius' servants arrive, he follows them. When Simon Peter subsequently arrives at Cornelius' house he is presented as saying the following.

(21) Ac 10:28

ὕμεις ἐπίστασθε ὡς ἀθέμιτόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ ἰουδαίῳ κολλαῖσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἄλλοφύλῳ· καὶ μοι ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξεν μηδένα κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν ἄνθρωπον·

The point is that Simon Peter, whom previously the strictures of cult would have held back from interacting with gentiles, even those who were supportive of the Jewish faith like Cornelius, has now been set free by God to interact with them. In such a context, the characterization of Cornelius as a gentile is an important rhetorical move. Using the inflecting form of 'Simon' when Cornelius is addressed by God can be seen as part of the construction of his identity as a non-Jewish believer.

The context in which the non-inflecting variant *συμεων* is used, Acts chapter 15, is also charged with issues of sectarian relations. The chapter concerns the Council of Jerusalem. This, the first recorded council of the church, was convened in order to assess the question of whether gentile, that is, non-Jewish, believers were to be circumcised:

(22) Ac 15:5

ἐξανέστησαν δὲ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες, λέγοντες ὅτι δεῖ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς παραγγέλλειν τε τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον μωυσεως.

It was in order to respond to this question that the Council of apostles and elders was convened (Ac 15:6). In the discussion, Peter argues that there is no difference in principle between Jewish and gentile believers (Ac 15:7–11): the implication is that if Jewish believers are no longer asked to circumcise, then neither should gentile believers. It is back to this speech that James then refers when he says:

(23) Ac 15:13–14 [= (16)]

ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου.¹⁴ συμεων ἐξηγήσατο καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπέσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἴλασιν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

On this occasion, James, himself a believer of Jewish background, addresses an audience composed in significant part of believers also of a Jewish background. The purpose of James' discourse is to provide support for Simon Peter's intervention in the presence of a likely somewhat sceptical audience. The deliberate use of the Jewish non-inflecting form *συμεων* in this context makes much sense: James identifies himself, and Simon Peter, with his audience as believers of Jewish background, using the non-inflection of Simon Peter's personal name to do this. The purpose behind this would be to bring the audience on side on a decision that may not have been universally popular, namely, to relax the restrictions on gentiles who also wanted to become believers. There is no evidence in the text itself, however, that the interaction took place in Greek or Hebrew/Aramaic (on the language in which the speech may have been given, see Bauckham 1996, p. 183).

Does the same situation pertain for the alternation between *σαυλος* and *σαουλ*? Here the situation is a bit different, since, as we have seen, it is generally agreed that Paul's Greco-Roman *παῦλος* is regularly used once Paul moves decisively out of Judea and towards Rome; the alternation *παῦλος* ~ *σαυλος*/*σαουλ* appears therefore to carry the weight of the gentile ~ Jewish distinction. However, is there evidence that the use of the inflecting ~ non-inflecting forms in Greek is used to mark direct speech between Jews in Hebrew/Aramaic?

The Damascus conversion is recounted three times in Acts. The first has already been quoted at (18) above; there is no specific mention of the language used. The second, at Ac 22:7 (given at 25, immediately below), is recounted by Saul/Paul before a crowd in Jerusalem itself (for the setting see Ac 21:27–40), that is, in front of a Jewish crowd. As in the first instance, there is no specific mention given of the language of the divine words.

(24) Ac 22:7

ἔπεσά τε εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι· *σαουλ σαουλ*, τί με διώκεις;

Paul's speech as a whole is, however, presented as taking place ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ:

(25) Ac 22:2

ἀκούσαντες δὲ ὅτι τῇ ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ προσεφώνει αὐτοῖς μάλλον παρέσχον ἡσυχίαν.

This incident is recounted a third time at Ac 26:14:

(26) Ac 26:14

πάντων Ἦτε καταπεσόντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἤκουσα φωνὴν Ἦλέγουσαν πρὸς Ἦμε τῇ ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ· σαουλ σαουλ, τί με διώκεις;

We are told that Saul heard the voice ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ, that is, ‘in the Hebrew dialect’, i.e. in either Hebrew or Aramaic: whatever ἐβραῖς διάλεκτος means, it seems very unlikely to refer to a variety of Greek (for in depth discussion, see Poirier 2003). Here Saul/Paul recounts the event in the presence of King Agrippa, Festus, and the court (for the setting, see Ac 25:23–24). It is reasonable to assume, given the presence of high-level Greco-Roman officials, that this interaction would have taken place in Greek or Latin. It is possible that the specific mention of the ἐβραῖς διάλεκτος serves to explain the use of non-inflecting forms of the name σαούλ.

However, it would be dangerous to conclude on the basis of the collocation of non-inflecting names with the term ἐβραῖς διάλεκτος that use of a non-inflecting name necessarily denotes that the interaction is taking place in that language. Short of an ancient writer actually stating that the intention behind the use of non-inflecting names is to indicate that the interaction reported took place in Aramaic or Hebrew, to state that this is its purpose would be to go beyond the evidence. The most that can be said, therefore, is that the use of non-inflecting names is correlated with direct speech reported as being in a language other than Greek.

5.4 *A Feature of Jewish Greek Speech*

Granted that the use of non-inflecting and inflecting names is deliberate, at least in the cases considered here, it is possible to ask whether this also has been a feature of Jewish Greek speech more generally. The fact that the use of these names existed as a literary device leaves open the distinct possibility that speakers without specifically literary pretensions could use it for the purpose of constructing and navigating their own identities in Greek.

The fact that examples (24) and (26) are presented as reporting speech not originally in Greek does not provide evidence against this: these examples are, after all, a translation into Greek of the interaction between Jews (albeit one speaking from heaven). The signalling of interactions between Jews,

whatever language, by the use of non-inflecting names, is entirely consistent with this.

6 Conclusion: beyond Standards in the Inflection of Names

I have argued that the inflection of personal names in the NT is the product of a complex interaction of several factors operating at various linguistic levels including phonology, socio-linguistics, and discourse. First, on the level of phonology, I showed that Hebrew and Aramaic names terminating in vowels or guttural consonants are generally inflected in the NT, although not always according to recognized patterns for Greek nouns. Second, on the socio-linguistic plane, names terminating in a non-guttural consonant with historical or Biblical (i.e. OG) status are not inflected in the NT. I took this as evidence: a) of allegiance to the OG naming tradition on the part of the writers of the NT, with the implication of anchoring the discourse in the Biblical Greek world; and b) as an indication of the identity of the primary audience of the NT books as a whole, viz. i) they spoke Greek, ii) they were familiar with historical/Biblical figures from the OG, and iii) they were expecting these figures to be referred to by their OG names. This is to say that the primary audience of the NT was rooted in the community of Greek-speaking Jews. Third, I observed that names of contemporaries ending in a non-guttural consonant may either be inflected or not. This too was taken to suggest cultural alignment on a more personal and individual basis, an anchoring of their identity either in the Greco-Roman world, or the Biblical world of their ancestors. Finally, I argued that variation in inflection for a given name could also be used as a literary device. I made the case for this in two instances in the book of Acts, where it can be seen to help delineate sectarian affiliation or highlight the interaction between Jews. In short, the variation in practice seen in the New Testament suggests that at least two sets of standards are in competition with one another, namely, the standard Greek practice of inflecting non-Greek names, on the one hand, and the Old Greek Biblical standard of not inflecting, on the other. Individuals and groups in the wider society proceeded to align themselves with one or other of these standards as they seek to negotiate their identities in the Hellenistic Jewish and Greco-Roman spheres, and to anchor their identities in one or other of these.

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Abbreviations

1Ch	1 Chronicles
2Ch	2 Chronicles
1Ki	1 Kings
2Ki	2 Kings
2Pe	2 Peter
Ac	Acts
<i>A.J.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
App.	Appian
<i>B.J.</i>	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>
Deut	Deuteronomy
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Exod	Exodus
Ezr	Ezra
Hdt.	Herodotus <i>Histories</i>
Jas	James
Jos.	Josephus
Jn	John
Josh	Joshua
Lk	Luke
LXX	Septuagint
Macc	Maccabees
Mal	Malachi
Mk	Mark
Mt	Matthew
NT	New Testament
Num	Numbers
OG	Old Greek
Plb.	Polybius
SBLGNT	Society of Biblical Literature Greek New Testament

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Politics of Atticism: Prefiguring New Imperial Citizenship

Eleni Bozia

And Toxaris was found buried there, recognizable by the inscription, even though its entirety was no longer legible, but especially because on the stele a Scythian man was engraved, having a bow ready strung in his left hand but in the right a book, as it seemed. (Luc. *Scyth.* 2)¹



1 Introduction

So far, the chapters in this volume have explored Attic, Koine, and Atticism as standards that were meant to anchor language and validate the ancient author's value, were reused creatively in different genres, influenced one another by transcending their own boundaries or were redefined to make an argument in favor of re-standardization. This chapter focuses on the use of these linguistic standards as anchors that were meant to define and redefine another standard, that of Greco-Roman identity at the time of the High Empire. There have been extensive scholarly discussions on identity and belonging in the Roman Empire. Studies have focused on geography,² citizenship,³ imperialism and annexation,⁴ culture, the ubiquitous Greek influence on the Romans,⁵ and

1 All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

2 This includes works that discuss the relationships of the Romans with foreign territories, such as Sherwin-White (1973), Balsdon (1979), Alcock (1993), Millar (1993), Revell (2010), Andrade (2013).

3 See Sherwin-White (1973), Balsdon (1979), Noy (2000), Dench (2005).

4 Alcock (1993) approaches the topics from the perspective of Greece. Woolf (1994) focuses on Romans and the East, Keay & Cunliffe (1995) focus on Spain, Woolf (1998) on Gaul, and Berry & Laurence (2002) study cultural identity in Italy, Roman Sardinia, Britain, and among the Celts.

5 Wallace-Hadrill (2008) argues that being Roman at that time meant one had to know Greek. On a similar note, Hinds (1998) examines the influence of the Greek literary tradition on Latin literature. See also Bowersock (1965, p. 72) and Brunt (1990, p. 269).

the degrees of transcultural and multidimensional identities among others.⁶ This chapter centralizes language, particularly the Imperial use of Attic as a means of mirroring identity and belonging but also as malleable and acquirable enough to enable interloper citizenships and transcultural personalities.⁷

Specifically, I discuss Atticism as a linguistic and cultural phenomenon and argue that Attic, Atticism, and attikizein anchored interloper citizens to traditional classical paradigms, which, at the same time, were innovatively reused and reinterpreted to accommodate more diverse models of identity.⁸ Within this context, I consider cultural *paideusis* in the first centuries of the Empire through the creative socio-cultural evolution of Atticism and Hellenism into a re-standardized socio-linguistic existence. Finally, I argue that this was a unique era that featured citizenry who actualized their identity through innovative *mimēsis* (imitation) of traditional linguistic and social anchors.⁹

2 (Re)defining Hellenism

Before we set to (re)define Imperial identities, we should briefly consider the idea of Hellenism as one of the first identity formative factors in the classical world in terms of language and culture.¹⁰ The dialectal variety of Archaic and Classical Greek, along with its geographical dispersal, gives the sense of an inhomogeneous unity, allowing for an open-minded appreciation of lexical

6 Jones (1971, 1978, 2014), Bowie (1991), Jacquemin (1991), Swain (1996) Gangloff (2007), and Pernot (2008), discuss identity against the backdrop of specific Imperial authors. Jacquemin focuses on Pausanias, Bowie on the ancient novel, Jones on Plutarch, Dio, and Lucian, and Pernot on Aelius Aristides. Swain gives the reader a comprehensive yet close look at several Imperial authors.

7 Noreña (2011) describes Roman culture as a “semantic system” within and under the umbrella of which local provincial cultures exist and evolve. Ando (2013, p. xii) summarizes the Imperial world as “a community based not on citizenship but on residence, not on legal status but on a shared relationship with the emperor of the world”. Revell (2010) also problematizes the very term ‘Roman’. Goldhill (2001) centralizes Greekness under the Romans. Whitmarsh (2010) in his edited volume collects papers that examine the concept and development of local identities.

8 Novokhatko, in this volume, also studies these terms in Greek Comedy and argues that speaking correct Attic also determines loyalty.

9 This chapter marks the beginning of a larger-scope study that appears in the book *Politics of Language. Foreign Nativeness and Identity in the Roman Empire* (Bozia, 2024).

10 See Saïd (1991, 2006), Konstan (2001), Malkin (2001), and Hall (2002), for discussions on Hellenism.

otherness always in the context of Greek language and culture, of course.¹¹ During the High Empire, the process of identity formation found its expressive avenue through language as the most fundamental yet also acquirable means of communication. Cultural identity was unified under the concept of Atticism that, in turn, transcended itself from being a dialect into an identity paradigm, thus allowing for the 'birth' of a new citizenry that transcended geographical boundaries.

Specifically, when it comes to defining identity, the situation is rather complex. Athenian persistence on autochthony puts the onus on one's provenance—a rather unalterable attribute. Erechtheus, for instance, first appears in the *Iliad* (2.547–48) as having sprung from the Earth. Consequently, Athenians pride themselves in their relationship with their χθών, being themselves Ἐρεχθεΐδαι (the ones sprung from the land itself, even though in Classical times, the meaning was 'natives' in contrast to ἑπὶ γλῶσσοι).¹² Euripides in *Ion* problematizes the concepts of birth, origin, and societal belonging.¹³ Pindar, in *Pythian* 9, discusses the same topic against the backdrop of Cyrene's foundation. And Aristotle, in the *Athenian Constitution* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26.3), references Pericles' law that required both parents to be Athenian citizens for their descendants to hold the status of the citizen as well. Conversely, going back to Homer and the Trojan War, there is no indication that this was the first instance of a Greek collective identity, Greeks fighting against the Other (*Il.* 1.152–160). Also, in Pericles' funeral oration, Thucydides constructs primarily a socio-cultural identity rather than one defined by birth.¹⁴ Similarly, in the *Panegyricus* 50, Isocrates insists on a shared past for the Greeks that is conceived more as a state of mind (διάνοια).

Under the Empire, the situation is even more malleable. Favorinus' argument for his pure Greekness, albeit a Roman Gaul who can write in both Greek and Latin,¹⁵ Lucian's manipulative accounts of the Syrian-Hellenized self who has also mastered Greek, Plutarch's contrapuntal accounts of Greek and Roman culture,¹⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* about a

11 For a history of the Greek language, see Palmer (1980), Horrocks (1997). For socio-cultural context, see Clackson (2015).

12 Rosivach (1987, p. 297).

13 E. *Ion* 29–30. For a discussion of the social parameters of the play, see Kasimis (2018, pp. 26–48).

14 For a discussion, see Cogan (1981, pp. 105–106); Konstan (1987, pp. 64–68); Dougherty (1996, p. 255).

15 For a discussion of Favorinus and his talents, see Gleason (1995, pp. 3–20) and Whitmarsh (2001, pp. 119–121).

16 On Plutarch's identity politics, see Jones (1971, *passim*); Swain (1990); Preston (2001); Titchener (2002). For a comprehensive analysis of Plutarch's political, philosophical, and religious perspectives, see also Barrow (1967); Swain (1996, pp. 135–186).

shared Greco-Roman past, Dio's diplomatic and politically correct orations¹⁷—amended based on the geographical location of the orator—and Aelius Aristides' dual perspective in the *Panathenaic Oration* and *Encomium on Rome*¹⁸ purvey a picture of a new more translingual and transcultural reality.

This study aims not only to problematize ethnic origins, cultural influences, and their reflections on identity formation but also to re-quantify those parameters during the Empire against the backdrop of Attic and Atticism. Language is the *prima facie* expression of one's personal views that also filters through their social and civic standing and can be a product of second-language acquisition. Thus, dissecting particularities and choices in language use against the backdrop of belongingness and foreignness gives us a different appreciation of the much-discussed revived Atticism and, thence, of the Imperial panache of Hellenic identity and its implications on Romanness.

3 Attic: Dialect, Language, or a Lexical and Cultural Purity Marker?

This section briefly presents the terms ἑλληνίζειν (hellenizein), ἀττικίζειν (attikizein), and βαρβαρισμός (barbarism) and their initial occurrences as well as their evolution from linguistic terms to parameters of Greek culture. Specifically, I study the usage of those terms in the technical writings of Greek grammarians and lexicographers to determine the initial point when these linguistic standards became synonymous with social and political agendas.¹⁹ The first section provides the definitions of ἑλληνίζειν in Greek literature, showcasing that initially, it was a term of linguistic propriety. The second section furnishes the meanings of ἑλληνισμός (Hellenism) and ἀττικισμός (Atticism) in Greek grammarians. It then discusses Greek lexicographers of the second century CE who provide examples of the evolution of a social agenda for Attic.

17 Swain (1996, p. 162) describes the work as “the most important single expression of Greek elite views of living with Rome in our period, certainly the most detailed”. See also Renoirte (1951); Jones (1971, pp. 110–121); Desideri (1986); Moles (1995); Sidebottom (1996); Duff (1999). Valgiglio (1976) offers a mostly linguistic analysis.

18 See Swain (1996, pp. 254–298) and compare with Pernot (2008).

19 The focus of the present study is not to define Atticism as a grammatical and syntactical system. For bibliography on Atticism, see Rohde (1886), Schmidt (1887–1897), Norden (1898), Radermacher (1899), and Wilamowitz (1900). Other comprehensive discussions include Wisse (1995) and Hidber (1996, pp. 25–44).

4 Ἑλληνίζω and ἀττικίζω

Initially, the term ἑλληνίζειν was used to denote linguistic correctness. Aristotle in *Rhetoric* states that using proper Greek is a prerequisite for eloquence: ‘Therefore, while spoken language, in general, is composed of those elements, hellenizein (τὸ ἑλληνίζειν) is a guiding principle of speaking with style’ (Arist. *Rhet.* 1407a.19–1407a.20). Plato, in *Meno*, when referring to a household slave, says that he is Greek and speaks Greek (‘Ἑλλήν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἑλληνίζει, 82b4). Therefore, ἑλληνίζειν encapsulates language and ethnic origin. However, in *Alcibiades*²⁰ and *Protagoras*,²¹ he makes some intriguing references to teaching Greek to Greeks. Considering that alongside the fact that ἑλληνίζειν bears the meaning of ‘speaking proper Greek’, as defined in the *Rhetoric*,²² we are faced with another aspect of Greek-speaking abilities, that they can be taught and that they need to be properly taught not only to foreigners.²³

Grammarians seem to take a stance, too, when they define ἑλληνισμός as the ultimate goal of grammar, one that contests solecism and barbarism. Therefore, ἑλληνίζειν appears to be construed as the proper usage of the language, an umbrella term to define propriety under which dialectical differences can be subcategorized. Reading more closely the *London Scholia on Hellenism, Solecism, and Barbarism*, *Hellenismos* is defined as the quintessential virtue in speech and writing, contesting defect. The point is that no particular dialect appropriates the right of correctness, and *Hellenismos* embodies transcendent linguistic propriety. Barbarism is also defined as the case in which someone would opt for Attic but will nonetheless insert other words without any analogy. So, up to a point, correctness does not necessarily assume the usage of Attic. Further study into the text shows that solecism’s provenance is Solon and other compatriots who went to Cilicia to found a colony. However, upon their repatriation to Athens, the group was unable to safeguard their native speech, with reference not only to grammar and syntax but, interestingly enough, to pronunciation as well.

20 Pl. *Alc.* 111a.

21 Pl. *Prot.* 328a.

22 Cf. *Rh.* 1413b.

23 Also, references to ἑλλην occur usually as examples in the usage of words, adjectives, compounds, and other grammatical occurrences. There are cases, though, when in a list of ethnic nomenclatures, the dialectal categories include Thessalian, Sicilian, Phrygian, Ionian, and Hellēn (*GG* 1.1/3.542.30–31).

It was named after Solon and those who came with him into Cilicia and founded Soloi, who later after their repatriation to Athens no longer kept their native conversational language. And, by solecism, they mean a distorted pronunciation, a shock to proper intact speech. (*GG* 1.1/3 446.36–447.2)

Other grammarians, such as Aelius Herodianus²⁴ and Apollonius of Alexandria, furnish detailed examples of dialectal specificities but without legitimizing or undermining any one dialect and certainly without any social commentary.²⁵

5 Greek and Attic in Lexicographers

At the time of the High Empire, though, there seems to be a paradigm shift when ἑλληνίζω and ἀττικίζω began to carry different attributes. Additionally, they evolved from being linguistic parameters to Atticizing morphing into the legitimate form of “being Greek”. Furthermore, a close study of the definitions of barbarism and solecism shows that, even though initially, these terms were clearly conceived as signifiers of linguistic improprieties, in the second century CE, they were also associated with attributes of particular dialects. Subsequently, an interdependency of language and a socio-political stance developed that consolidated the former’s power. Consequently, linguistic terms and determinations assumed the authority to legitimize people socially or marginalize them. This section traces these developments through the writings of grammarians and lexicographers.

Hellenism and Atticism are juxtaposed in the *Scholia on Aristophanes 1A on Comedy*. We should note that there is no evaluation of Hellenism and Attic or any remark regarding their validity. However, the differences mentioned, such as those pertaining to gender, resemble the characteristics of barbarism. Would that indicate then that the evolution from the Classical, typical Greek

24 Herodianus references Attic, barbarian, Hellen, in the Dorian dialect, of the Aeolian dialect (ἀττικός, βάρβαρος, Ἑλλήν, Δωρισιῖ, Αἰολίς), and every other derivative of the above words simply as examples in a minute examination of language. In *General Prosody*, Herodianus in a list of examples relating words over two-syllables uses βάρβαρος as an example. He then explains that he is not referencing nationality, but speech, similarly to Homer when he describes the Carians as speaking a foreign language (βαρβαροφώνους). However, he also points out that younger authors use it to describe nationality as well (*GG* 3.1.194.26).

25 In his book *On Syntax*, Apollonius of Alexandria mentions constructions as being more Attic (Ἀττικώτερος) or more Doric (Δωρικώτερος) but without any comment as to their respective correctness.

to Attic initially entailed alterations to the degree of language debasement or, in the case of Atticism, over-refinement?

Hellenism differs from Atticism in ten ways: in analogy, etymology, the figures of speech, the forming of nouns, figurative language, its numbers, its genders, the breathings, its verbal tenses, its accents. (*Scol.* 1A)

Also, in a fragment of Posidippus, there is a telling contradistinction between Attic and Hellenic in favor of the latter. The author strongly criticizes a user of Attic as pretentious and too ornate, indicating that Attic assumes a more independent and authoritative position that subsumes its initial status as one of the many Greek dialects.

There is one Hellas, but many cities:
 you speak Attic, whenever you utter a phrase,
 †some of you there†, but we Hellenes speak Hellenic.
 Why do you, occupying yourself with syllables
 and letters, drag your lively wit into unpleasantness? (Posidipp. 28)

The passage also signifies a shift that is particularly intensified at the time of the High Empire. Not only was Greek diversified from Attic, but Atticism became the paradigm of linguistic standards. Consequently, major literary works were written in Attic, and Atticism became the signifier and embodiment of Hellenism.²⁶

Setting the paradigm, lexicographers started compiling forms and examples of usages. The distinction, though, is not between Attic, Doric, Ionic, and Aeolic. Instead, it is between Attic, Hellenic, and Koine. More specifically, Moeris sets the tone from the title *Alphabetically arranged Attic and Greek glossary*. Moeris differentiates between linguistic choices and standards of the Hellenes, the Attics, and the ancients or between Attic, Hellenic, and common uses.²⁷ Another differentiation is between Hellenic versus common and common versus Attic.²⁸ However, it is the distinction between Greek and primary Attic and secondary Attic that centralizes the political and cultural backgrounds.²⁹

26 See Swain (1996, pp. 17–64) for a comprehensive survey of the subject of Atticism during the Empire. Cf. also Wisse's work (1995) on Greeks, Romans, and the rise of Atticism.

27 See Moer. 189.32, 193.35, 204.15, 204.17, 205.14, 196.4, 202.11, 205.3, 208.33, and 209.17. The references follow Bekker's edition (1833) of Moeris.

28 See 197.5, 198.2.

29 There is in fact a third occurrence in which Moeris references a middle Atticism (213.2).

Attics δεικνύσι with a contraction; Hellenes δεικνύουσιν. And the secondary Attics δεικνύασι. (194.29)³⁰

Within this framework, Phrynichus, in the *Eclogue*, states that his work is for anyone who wishes to speak correctly and according to the ancient custom. Throughout his lemmas, he occasionally associates Ἑλλήνες (Hellenes) and Ἀθηναῖοι (Athenians) with Attic—hence with what he considers as proper usage of the language. We read ‘Hellenes do not say τάχιον, but rather θάπτον’ (Phryn. 52). The first reference to a particular dialect as a model of correctness is when Phrynichus suggests that there has been a common form for the perfect tense of ἀλείφω and κατορύσσω. Still, the form of the Athenians, who double it, should be followed (23).

More importantly, Phrynichus creates yet another category of speakers, the fake Atticizers (ψευδαττικοί, οἱ νόθως ἀττικίζοντες, ἀνάττικος), a phrasing that confirms non-native Atticizers and their claims to linguistic correctness—which at the time was synonymous with Atticism.³¹ For instance, he notes that: ‘This is how speakers who use a bastardized form of Attic say the word, for Athenians say κακοδαμονᾶν with the alpha’ (Phryn. 54).³² He also gives examples of ancient Attics (Phryn. 177).³³ Similarly, he criticizes a form for being ‘not Greek’ (ἀνελλήνιστον, Phryn. 299) and suggests the old usage of the language: ‘Whoever wishes to speak in an old and distinguished way, he must watch out for these things.’³⁴

Interestingly enough, he concurrently considers forms that are in use in Sicilian Greek dialect: ‘Syracusans make a mistake when they say ἡ πηλός’ (Phryn. 34). However, references to other dialects, such as this, are usually corrective and not meant as models.³⁵ Similarly, he references Doric choices, such as γενεθῆναι (79), of which he disapproves.

Linguistic purity for Phrynichus can be achieved only through consistent usage of unadulterated Attic. Even though he acknowledges that all dialects are part of one Greek language, nonetheless, he states that when Atticism

30 Cf. also Moer. 197.28, 208.15.

31 See also Phryn. 45, 217, 224.

32 Cf. Phryn. 67, 164, 174, 198, 222, 235, 252, 261, 325, 370, 371, 373, 379, 383, 385, 401, 404, 405, 423.

33 See Phryn. 390, 391. It should be noted though that there are other cases when he opts for the contemporary form of the word.

34 Cf. Phryn. 98, 100, 109, 153, 170, 171, 200 (παλαιοί), 206, 208, 210, 229, 234, 238, 239, 242, 245, 247, 259, 267, 276, 278, 306, 320, 359, 369, 375, 377, 380, 384, 397.

35 Phryn. 62, 117, 189, 401, 423.

wishes to remain untainted, it does not approach foreign speech, listing the other dialects as foreign.³⁶

But Atticism, about which we are arguing, does not approach foreign speech: for, wherever it wishes to remain pure and undefiled from the rest of Greece, I mean, from the Aeolians, Dorians and Ionians, although those peoples are related to them, it would hardly approach a phrase that is disreputable and partly Greek, partly barbarian. (Phryn. 332)

What is more, Phrynichus' analysis of Atticism transcends the linguistic parameter when he eulogizes Cornelianus for bringing the entire field of oratory back to the ancient and notable form.

“Τὰ πρόσωπα ἀμφοτέρα παρήν”: the rhetors are making a mistake when they say it that way in their court speeches. But you being a pure and old-fashioned rhetor, you alone among those men, I mean those around Demosthenes, who brings rhetoric back to its ancient and notable form, you alone have never yet clumsily used the expression, but you also prevented the other writers from using it, at the time when you were turning the royal court into Greek and Attic and establishing yourself as an instructor not only of the words themselves (i.e., the sort that must be used) <but also> of appearance and look, and vocal expression, and posture. Therefore, having deemed you worthy of the greatest [things], the Roman rulers appointed you to manage all the affairs of the Greeks, having set you up as their advisor, declared you secretary for their public affairs, having chosen you as their colleague in the business of managing the empire. But we will return to those points later. τὰ πρόσωπα, as it is, we will not say, but just like the speakers of old, something like “καλὸν ἔχει πρόσωπον”. (Phryn. 357)

In sum, the points on which we need to focus are the politicization of the language and its socio-political identity, as the lexicographer points out that Cornelianus asserted the power of Hellenizing and Atticizing the Romans in the court, teaching them not only the proper way to express themselves verbally but also how to appear, glance, sound, and stand. Based on all the occurrences of the verb ἐλληνίζω and ἀττικίζω, one could state with a degree of certainty that Phrynichus preaches a combination of Attic dialect and a Greek

36 μιξοβάρβαρος indicating a half-barbarian, half-Greek. Cf. E. *Ph.* 138, x. *HG* 2.1.15, *Pl. Mx.* 245d.

social stance and behavior and sends a message that Atticizing and Hellenizing can and perhaps have already been taught to interloper Hellenes.³⁷

6 A New Cast of the Citizenry without Borders

This section considers the variegated nature of the citizens within the Empire through an exploration of actualizing and effectuating Attic. Vergil in the *Aeneid* gloriously describes the Romans as ‘masters of the world, the race who wears the toga’ (*A.* 1.282). And Herodian, in his Roman history, argues that Rome has received people from everywhere (1.12.1). Additionally, even though Greekness as a political status was very strictly safeguarded, as I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Isocrates was the earliest to point out that *Hellenismos* signifies edification and shared culture, thus demolishing restrictive ethnic requirements. In this section, I discuss two authors, namely Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Lucian, who present a newly fashioned native-ness that does not assume geography but introduces an inclusive identity enculturated in redefined Greekness and Romanness. The Roman Empire’s almost borderless geographical expansion alongside the relocation of individuals and the multi- and transculturalism that these conditions afforded them contributed to the redefinition of people’s ethnic roots. Additionally, Atticism was reestablished as a stylistic phenomenon that people, regardless of origin and native language, then ‘translated’ into a societal phenomenon and an expressive medium, both in its function as a means of communication and figuratively as a unique form of cultural landscaping.

6.1 *Roman Antiquities: a Work of Hellenized Romans or Romanized Greeks*

Dionysius’ work has been read mainly as a nod to Roman political supremacy, a subtle defensive note against said supremacy, or another commentary on the importance of being Greek.³⁸ In this section, I discuss the *Roman Antiquities* through the lens of bidirectional cultural syncretism. More specifically, I consider *Hellenismos* as the anchoring element that frames Dionysius’ Imperial world,

37 On Greekness as cultural phenomenon, see Dubuisson (1982, p. 10); Hall (2002, p. 224); Saïd (2006, p. 290).

38 On Greek literature as a sign of resistance against Romans, Whitmarsh (2013) discusses fictional works and their fascination with geographical beyondness. Cf. Follet (1991); König & Whitmarsh (2007); Whitmarsh (2012).

which is then recreated through Romanness and even through an innovative approach to Greekness and identity overall at a time of cultural eclecticism.

The significance of Dionysius' approach lies not only in that he suggests ethnic polyvalence for the Greeks as well, in addition to claiming a Greek past for the Romans, but mostly in associating cultural malleability with the possibilities of many shared pasts for people.

By this means I engage to prove that they were Greeks and came together from nations not the smallest nor the least considerable.³⁹ (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1.5.1)

In these cities there survived for a very long time many of the ancient customs formerly in use among the Greeks, such as the fashion of their arms of war, like Argolic bucklers and spears [...] But the most conspicuous monument which shows that those people who drove out the Sicels once lived at Argos is the temple of Juno at Falerii, built in the same fashion as the one at Argos. (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1.21.1–2)

Beyond the propagandistic layer of the Hellenistic approbation of the Romans, Dionysius makes a case for a more instrumental role in the perception of ethnicity, arguing that there is a process towards bidirectional ethnic acculturation.⁴⁰ He does argue that Greek culture is to be aspired to, but for his contemporaries, it is a matter of choice and not ethnic provenance. The first example of the construction or, more precisely, in this case, the deconstruction of identity is that of the Eleans, who, according to Dionysius, lost their Hellenism.

For many others by living among barbarians have in a short time forgotten all their Greek heritage, so that they neither speak the Greek language nor observe the customs of the Greeks nor acknowledge the same gods nor have the same equitable laws (by which most of all the spirit of the Greek differs from that of the barbarians nor agree with them in anything else whatever that relates to the ordinary intercourse of life. Those Achaeans who are settled near the Euxine sea are sufficient proof of my contention;

39 All translations of Dionysius are by Cary (1937).

40 For an extended discussion on Dionysius' perception of race and racial hybridity, see Dench (2005, pp. 234–264). Also, Gabba (1991) and Hartog (1991) discuss Dionysius of Halicarnassus' attitude towards the Romans.

for, though originally Eleans, of a nation the most Greek of any, they are now the most savage of all barbarians. (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1.89.4)⁴¹

Conversely, he advises the Romans to visit Greek cities and inquire about their laws, particularly those pertaining to lifestyle. So, Dionysius supports an inclusive, selective process of imitation and acculturation, a method that can guarantee syncretism rather than cultural and identity annihilation.

The substance of my advice is that you choose ambassadors and send some of them to the Greek cities in Italy and others to Athens, to ask the Greeks for their best laws and such as are most suited to our ways of life, and then to bring these laws here. (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 10.51.5)

On the other hand, he praises the Romans for granting citizenship rights to their subjects and castigates the Greeks for cruelty in similar cases (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 14.6). Throughout Dionysius' writings, his considerations of ethnicity transcend geographical barriers. He presents Romans as Romanized Greeks, and his attitude has been interpreted in modern scholarship as an attempt to alleviate the pain of subjugation. However, should one view it from the opposite perspective, Dionysius also argues that the Greeks, as colonizers, also altered their lifestyle and were gradually Romanized. So, Dionysius argues for a more accommodating global world where people, regardless of provenance, can mold their selves by eclectically selecting from a variety of socio-cultural paradigms.

Throughout his writings, Dionysius' considerations of ethnicity are polyvalent. In his *cosmos*, no one can pursue an ethnocentric view of the world. His literary product mirrors the conception of a world that houses individuality without it being confined or restrictive, syncretism, but not annexation. Overall, his world suggests inclusiveness and ethnic hybridity that better elucidate the dynamics of the era.

6.2 *Lucian's Linguo-Cultural Atticism*

Lucian, the second-century CE sophist-orator, is the personification of mimetic linguo-cultural *kainotēs* (newness). He advocates Atticism and Atticizing through his writings, and modern scholarship has pursued long discussions of his embrace of Classical Attic.⁴² However, in his case, the point of interest lies in

41 Cf. D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 4.26; 4.72; 7.72; 10.51; 14.6.

42 On Lucian and his politicized relationship with Atticism, see Swain (1996, pp. 308–312), Whitmarsh (2001, pp. 249–294), Goldhill (2002, pp. 60–107), Darbo-Peschanski (2010),

his conscious refashioning of both language and personality. This initially literary act envisions and encapsulates cultural manipulation and a reinvention of the self. The authors of the first centuries of the Empire used their erudition and verbal fluency to express political views. Lucian is unique in that he also purveys a metalinguistic narrative for himself through his work. This section studies him as an author who anchors both his work and his identity to Classical Attic that he, in turn, reinterprets as a means to reimagine himself, what it means to Atticize in language, be Greek, and ultimately belong in this versatile Imperial world.

Lucian dedicates several treatises to credit literary pursuits and edification for his social advancement.⁴³ *The Dream* is a public introspection of personal choices and the transformative power of language and education at the time.⁴⁴ He acknowledges his indebtedness to Greek and Greekness in the *Apology* as well, as he also reveals the struggles of a non-native to achieve linguistic and cultural fluency in the *Slip of the tongue* and *Zeuxis*, among others. *A Slip of the tongue in greeting* is a comprehensive analysis of linguistic and cultural adaptability, in which the speaker inadvertently used 'Be Healthy' instead of 'Rejoice'. It is also revealing of the anxiety of a new caste of citizens who strive for verbal perfection to stabilize their social positioning in the new world order. Regardless of whether this is an autobiographical work, Lucian effectively summarizes the politics of language and the impact of imitation yet adaptability.

Coming to make you my morning salutation, which should have taken the orthodox form of Rejoice, I bade you, in a very choice fit of absent-mindedness, Be healthy—a good enough wish in its way, but a little untimely and unconnected with that early hour.⁴⁵ (Luc. *Laps*. 1)

The author does not shy away from his non-nativeness. On the contrary, he attributes his fluency in Greek to learning a foreign language while also noting his familiarity with the Latin language and Roman culture ('Indeed you yourselves, if I know any Latin, also often return the word "Health" when you shake hands', *Laps*. 13). His blunder paints the picture of an epoch of linguistic and cultural permeability and professes social interactions in a multicultural community. Moreover, when Lucian addresses the Roman as 'you', he stresses

Mestre & Vintró (2010), Rochette (2010). See Deferrari (1916) on Lucian's use of Attic structures.

43 On *paideia* and Hellenism, see Swain (1996, pp. 17–20, 116–130), Goldhill (2001, 2002), and Whitmarsh (2001).

44 For an analysis of *The Dream*, see Raina (2001).

45 Translations of this work are by Kilburn (1959).

ethnic relativism even more. So, in just a few sentences, he proclaims linguistic and ethnic acculturation, enculturation, and eclecticism.

The statement that further obscures or opens up Lucian's identity, historical and authorial, is emphasized in the very next section, where he says that he had absolutely no intention to ξενίζειν. The meaning of the word itself encapsulates the hybridity of this era as it encompasses the usage of strange words, which might indicate a secondary speaker at the time. It could also bear the meaning of being a stranger and/or speaking in a foreign accent.⁴⁶ Diodorus Siculus invokes that particular nuance of the word when talking about Gorgias in Athens. The sophist was speaking Greek, so the notion of foreignness would describe the schemata of the language and the multiple grammatical and syntactical variations, which is the characteristic of Attic that Lucian refers to and the idea of foreignness within one (re-invented) language that is predominant in the Imperial era.

Now when Gorgias had arrived in Athens and been introduced to the people in assembly, he discoursed to them upon the subject of the alliance, and by the novelty (τῷ ξενίζοντι) of his speech, he filled the Athenians, who are by nature clever and fond of dialectic, with wonder. For he was the first to use the rather unusual and carefully devised structures of space, such as antithesis, sentences with equal members or balanced clauses or similar endings, and the like, all of which at that time was enthusiastically received because the advice was exotic, but is now looked upon as laboured and to be ridiculed when employed too frequently and tediously. In the end he won the Athenians over to an alliance with the Leontines, and after having been admired in Athens for his rhetorical skill he made his return to Leontini.⁴⁷ (D.S. 12.53)

Going back to the discussion of proper greetings, culture and language are intertwined, and the author employs the adaptability of the language and its inherent cultural sense to showcase a person's ability to recreate oneself, joke about his foreignness and nativeness, and consequently about what it means to be foreign and native. Additionally, in this case, we are also dealing with an even more complex experience of ethnic relativism, as Lucian apologizes for improper usage of Greek to a Roman and then uses a Latin *exemplum* to explain his mistake (Luc. *Laps.* 16–19).

46 Cf. Hld. 6.14. It is interesting to note that Demosthenes in *Against Eubulides* suggests that someone was criticized for his foreignness (D. 57.18).

47 Translation by Oldfather (1935).

Now, the question should be: which form of Greek? *Zeuxis*, another culturally descriptive procedural work, centralizes the non-native use of Attic dialect. Lucian references Attic, the imitation game of his times, and the result of a slightly reformed Atticism. Even though he seemingly chastises his naivety to believe that he was a Classical Atticist, he nonetheless suggests a resurgence of Attic Greek, not as a replica of the original fifth- and fourth-century Attic, but as a newly fashioned form that mirrors his linguo-cultural eclecticism, one that is undoubtedly anchored in the past but with nuances of newness.

To be honest, however, their praise caused me considerable annoyance, and when they had gone and I was left alone, I reflected as follows: "So this is the only attraction in my writings, that they are unconventional and keep off the beaten track. While good vocabulary, conformity to the ancient canon, penetration of intellect, power of perception, Attic grace (χάριτος Ἀττικῆς), good construction, general competence, perhaps have no place in my work. Otherwise they would not have ignored these qualities and praised only the novel and strange element in my style."⁴⁸ (Luc. *Zeux.* 2)

The phenomenon of imitation is predominant in the literature of the era. Attic dialect was revived, prompting a twofold reaction. First, the *literati* wished to distinguish themselves in Greek, thus establishing themselves as the Imperial intelligentsia descended from the Greek men of letters. On the other hand, *mimēsis* is an issue that may occasion two diametrically different approaches, one positive as it invokes the glorious Classical Attics and one negative as a poor imitation which proves that innovators and non-native speakers simply cannot replicate authentic Attic or be authentic citizens for that matter.

In *The Solecist or the Sham Sophist*, Lucian ridicules the minutia of Classical Attic one by one, thus proving the evolution of the language and its conscious reformation by newly initiated speakers while revisiting Phrynichus' and Moeris' accusations against the fake Atticizers. Imperial Atticism is not the product of a non-native inability to be educated, Atticized, and Hellenized. On the contrary, it is an indication of a modulated past that can now accommodate a cosmopolitan citizenry, verbally and culturally fluent, who can intentionally refashion Atticism, Atticizing, and Hellenizing. Throughout the work, Lucian brings bilingualism and foreign language acquisition to the foreground. The barbarisms and solecisms he lists include a range of infelicities, such as grammatical improprieties. However, some of those so-called mistakes are actually used by Lucian in other works, which proves that he is aware of all the lexical

48 Translation by Kilburn (1959).

and grammatical intricacies of Greek, though he is a non-native speaker. So, the main points are that linguistic erudition requires training, regardless of whether the speaker is a native of the language or not, and perfection assumes *paideia*—hence it is acquirable.

His literary analysis showcases itself and evolves throughout his corpus. In *Demonax*, the titular famed and beloved philosopher is described as holding engagements full of Attic grace (Luc. *Dem.* 26), mastery of Atticism undeniably being the *sine qua non* of *gravitas*, literacy, and social status. Lucian, though, points out that the philosopher was critical of not only strange words but also of archaisms and hyperatticizing.

He also liked to poke fun at those who use obsolete (ἀρχαίοις) and unusual words (ξένοις ὀνόμασι) in conversation. For instance, to a man who had been asked a certain question by him and had answered in far-fetched book-language (ὑπεραττικῶς), he said: “I asked you now, but you answer me as if I had asked in Agamemnon’s day”.⁴⁹ (Luc. *Dem.* 26)

This type of description encourages novelties and indicates that contemporary speakers should not feel beholden to any previous form of the language but instead contemporize and evolve it. Finally, towards the end of the diatribe, Lucian relates the story of Polybius.

A man named Polybius, quite uneducated and ungrammatical, said: “The emperor has honored me with the Roman citizenship”. “Oh, why didn’t he make you a Greek instead of a Roman?” said he. (Luc. *Dem.* 40)

We can ascertain that this Polybius is neither Greek nor Roman, is being naturalized as a Roman, and has learned both Latin and Greek, being more fluent in the latter. With language and culture-switching being prevalent in this passage, it seems that the cases of bi(tri)lingual individuals are not rare. However, it should not escape our notice that language is also heavily politicized. Lucian does not address anyone in derogatory terms simply due to their ethnic provenance and naturalization but does bestow upon language prominence and socio-political legitimacy.

In *Lexiphanes*, the discussion of archaisms and neologisms proceeds even further. Lycinus urges Lexiphanes to cease this archaistic tribute to Attic and try to unload his stomach from the food and drink as well as the archaisms. However, Lucian implies that these archaisms do not belong in Attic, or

49 Translation by Harmon (1913).

perhaps he means in contemporary Attic. So, there are two possibilities; either Lexiphanes is a non-native speaker of Greek and attempts to sound proficient by resorting to linguistic archaisms, or Lucian makes a defensive case against those who oppose interloper speakers of Greek, arguing that there is a currently spoken language that does not necessarily resemble the ancestral one. That would explain his proclamation that Lexiphanes should abandon the strange use of the language in favor of the currently established forms.

Sopolis: What ails him, Lycinus?

Lycinus: Just that, Sopolis! Can't you hear how he talks? Abandoning us, who converse with him now, he talks to us from a thousand years ago, distorting his language, making these preposterous combinations, and taking himself very seriously in the matter, as if it were a great thing for him to use an alien idiom and debase the established currency of speech.

Sopolis: By Zeus, it is no trivial disorder you tell of, Lycinus. The man must be helped by all means. As good luck would have it, I came away with this medicine, made up for an insane person, so that by taking it he might throw off his bile. Come, you be the first to take it, Lexiphanes, that we may have you cured and cleansed, once you have rid yourself of such impossible language. Do obey me and take it, and you will feel better.⁵⁰ (Luc. *Lex.* 20)

Finally, although it is beyond the scope of this chapter, it should be noted that Lucian reappreciates culture and ethnic integration as well throughout several of his works that do not necessarily pertain to language. In his *prolaliae*, as well as several other works, such as the trilogy of *Toxaris*, *Anacharsis*, and *The Scythian*, he examines Greek culture against other cultures, promotes foreignness as an acceptable alternative, questions Greek appropriation of cultural validity, and finally suggests cultural and linguistic hybridity and syncretism as the era's paradigm.⁵¹ Saïd comments that "dans le monde de Lucien, il n'existe plus de frontière étanche entre les cultures et il devient possible de passer la ligne".⁵² In his discussion about cultural *personae* and identity, Whitmarsh also argues about *Toxaris* that "this dialogue dramatizes the cultural bifocality

50 Translation by Harmon (1913).

51 For an extensive analysis of the *prolaliae*, see Nesselrath (1990), Villani (2000), and Bozia (2015, pp. 67–78). On his promotion of cultural syncretism, see the following: on *Anacharsis*, see Konstan (2010); on *Anacharsis* and *Toxaris*, see Whitmarsh (2001, pp. 124–125); on *Anacharsis*, *Toxaris*, and *The Scythian*, see Bozia (2015, pp. 67–78).

52 Saïd (1991, p. 165).

of Lucian's persona".⁵³ The most crucial point is that our theoretical elaboration on what it means to be *Hellen* is being furnished in the works mentioned above. Modern scholarly studies, including the present chapter, attempt to distinguish those characteristics that constitute *hellenizein*. Actually, Lucian already gives a palette of such elements, among which language and culture feature most prominently.

7 Mimēsis and Kainotēs as a Means of Re-standardizing Traditional Anchors

Thus far, we have discussed how linguistic standards were redefined or reinvented by users to usher in a new era in cultural terms as well. However, the constant has always been that this process was the result of the imitation of traditional standards with their simultaneous creative restructuring. This process of imitation has had a long history.⁵⁴ Even before this Imperial practice, Plato severely criticizes imitation as indicating lower status.⁵⁵ Aristotle is more benevolent, as he understands it as an educational method.⁵⁶ Similarly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Imitation* and Longinus' *On the Sublime* suggest sublimity through imitation and emulation.⁵⁷ Dionysius produces an extensive treatise on the orators, suggesting stylistic features worthy of imitation or, conversely, points that should be avoided. His advice for his contemporaries is to selectively choose, combine, and with a critical eye, create their style that will be an artistic amalgamation of the best features of Classical authors. Longinus features a similar analysis of ancient literary production and argues for imitation and emulation. It seems that the issue of imitation acquires a nuanced tone in Imperial literature, as the paragon of writing rests comfortably with the so-called ancient authors. On the other hand, the fact that the very concept of *Hellenismos* is reshaped and Atticizing actualizes language and culture indicates that Imperial literature has high stakes in the issue of imitation, selection, and reuse. Consequently, this process of *mimēsis*

53 Whitmarsh (2001, p. 126). On language and its relation to cultural identity in Lucian, see Whitmarsh (2001, pp. 122–128), Visa-Ondarçuhu (2008), Bozia (2015, pp. 67–78).

54 On *mimēsis*, see Bompaigne (1958), Hidber (1996, pp. 56–75), Reardon (1971), Russell (1979), and Whitmarsh (2001).

55 Pl. *R.* 602d–603e; 605a–c. See Ferrari (1989).

56 See Halliwell (1989).

57 Cf. Dio 37.25 where Favorinus argues in favor of not only seeming Greek but also being Greek through emulation. For a comprehensive discussion of imitation at the time, see Whitmarsh (2001, pp. 47–89).

showcases itself in the identity of the citizenry, as the elite selectively imitates Romanness and Greekness.⁵⁸

It is also a well-known fact that initially, the scholarship was inimical towards the literature of the times and the Second Sophistic. Van Groningen's devaluation of the period firmly encapsulates the spirit of the twentieth-century bibliography.⁵⁹ Since then, modern scholarship has reconsidered and reappraised imitation. Whitmarsh explores the politics of imitation (per his title) and examines this selective repetition as a performance of cultural identity through literature.⁶⁰ De Jonge also purveys a thorough analysis of Dionysius' treatise *On Imitation*, where he delves into the issue of continuity of language and how it relates to the continuity of time—an issue that, of course, features not only in the linguistic works of Dionysius but also in his *Roman Antiquities*.⁶¹ Finally, when discussing the esthetics of the body alongside those of rhetoric, he argues that Dionysius “illustrates the power of language as a means of self-fashioning”.⁶²

Within this context, looking closely at Dionysius' *On Imitation*, the two points I would like to stress are the idea of creative *mimēsis* and the idea of selective *mimēsis*. Dionysius says that the peasant accustomed his wife to looking at various handsome likenesses. Similarly, Lucian's Zeuxis draws inspiration from various beautiful maidens. Therefore, the theoretician suggests the selection of each author's best features. The same idea presents itself in Lucian's *Lexiphanes*, where Lycinus encourages Lexiphanes to make selections (ἀπανθισάμενος, *Lex.* 22) of the best that each writer has to offer. Lucian also emphasizes avoiding archaisms while retaining a clear connection with the models of the past. This process of fashioning oneself as a writer closely resembles fashioning oneself as an individual. Among other newcomers to the Western side of the Empire, Lucian never entirely abolished his roots. Instead, Lucian, similarly to Dio, visited his hometown and acknowledged his roots. Therefore, the idea of retaining one's origins, whether as national ancestry or literary antecedent, is predominant in these writings. In these cases, then, we are faced with two types of anchoring—one in *Hellenismos* and another in each one's individual provenance. However, both the above are reinvented innovatively to accommodate multiple shared pasts and an eclectically polyvalent present.

58 See Hidber (1996, pp. 67–72).

59 Van Groningen (1965). Perry (1955) and Bowersock (1969, p. 1) also share the same devaluation of second-sophistic literature.

60 Whitmarsh (2001).

61 De Jonge (2008). For other evaluations of the period, see Bowersock (1974), Bowie (1982), Nesselrath (1990), and Whitmarsh (2005).

62 De Jonge (2008, p. 80).

Then how do you modulate this self-(re)defining process? Lucian approaches the issue literally and figuratively, promoting the comparison with the arts. In *Prometheus*, he correlates himself with the creative power of the mythical persona. He proceeds with an analogy between the creation of a piece of art and a piece of literature. Prometheus was the first one to create something from nothing. Lucian is also to be acknowledged similarly as an architect of words. He admits to his novelty throughout the work; he insists, though, on the continuity of traditional standards in his art. He stresses the ancient roots that give art context, stature, and *gravitas*, while he, as a literary connoisseur, against this backdrop, embellishes his work with new stylistic artistry.

Similarly, Dio Chrysostom discusses poetic art and sculpting in the *Olympian Oration*. Dio, through Pheidias, suggests that the power of words is more substantial than actual crafting, as the variations and wealth of the language provide for a treasure trove of expressions. Without analyzing the statement's veracity, it is evident that verbal and manual artistry is considered on par with one another. One draws inspiration from the other, each (re)creates itself and the other, and ultimately the artists (re)define themselves through the visual and verbal finesse and maneuvering of both types of those creative works (D. Or. 12.65). The overarching concept for the literary activity of the period is creative *mimēsis*. Art materializes concepts, verbal descriptions, and entities. In this process of materializing, it recreates and redefines the original, sets it in a different context, and (re)presents it in an alternative way without necessarily corrupting its essence. Similarly, Imperial literary works (re)use Atticism, (re)define the literary style, and (re)create concepts, ideas, and the cultural *milieu*, anchoring their innovative identities to the established ideas of Atticism and Hellenism.

8 Conclusion

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his treatise on Lysias, said:

Therefore anyone who demands to learn what this quality is should start straight away by seeking definitions of many other fine qualities that are difficult to express in words. In regard to physical beauty, what in the world is that quality which we call 'youth'? In the movement of any song and the texture of vocal sounds, what constitutes good melody? In verse composition, what constitutes good arrangement and good rhythm? In short, in every field of activity, how are we to define what is called 'timeliness'? And where do we find the mean? (D.H. *Lys.* 11).⁶³

In our case, Atticism has moved beyond the standards of dialectical prominence and transformed into an expressive phenomenon of identity and cultural construction. My readings indicate that multilingualism and linguistic and cultural *mimēsis* reconfigure Atticism and Hellenism. Moeris and Phrynichus do acknowledge a revived and teachable Atticism but do not necessarily sanction all newcomers, thus producing yet another societal stratum. Conversely, Dionysius and Lucian argue against bowdlerizing ethnicity and are in favor of cultural inclusivity. This study argues that it is not a matter of Atticism any longer but of Atticizing, the socio-political enactment of the language. Retrospectively invoking Pierre Nora, Jacquemin described Pausanias' foregoing of the Imperial present as the creation of a *lieu de mémoire* (Jacquemin 1991, p. 231). I suggest a different appreciation and argue that bilingualism and a revived Hellenism created a *lieu littéraire* that infiltrated the Empire culturally and temporally, thus effecting a re-anchored sense of a transcultural present through the innovative consideration of language, expression, and the self.

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Teaching New Testament Greek: What, and How?

Cressida Ryan

1 Introduction

Millions of people read the New Testament daily, whether in translation, or in Greek; for those either reading in Greek, or translating from Greek, the process of learning Greek which informed this skill is not a neutral one. This chapter explores some of the ramifications of decisions made about the status and nature of the Greek being taught, and some of the pedagogical processes involved. Reflecting on my teaching practice as both Classical and New Testament Greek teacher, I consider the substantial impact of these decisions on a reader's interpretation of the New Testament. The issue of a standard language is more than theoretical; it draws us into the dialogue between Classical Philology and Theology, forcing a revision of disciplinary boundaries with a very practical question at its heart: what do we teach, how, and indeed why?

In creating the History of Language Learning and Teaching Network (HoLLT.net), Nicola McLelland and Richard Smith started to consolidate a process of reflection on language pedagogy as a valuable source of insight into the nature of language learning cultures, as well as into education.¹ If Applied Linguistics turns what we know about languages into textbooks, then Applied Linguistic Historiography considers how these develop and reflects different cultural processes and constraints. In this chapter, I draw on their principles to consider the relationship between the study of linguistics with reference to a standard language of New Testament Greek and its pedagogical manifestations.² I first explore the concept of New Testament Greek as a standard language. I then examine textbooks not as a literature review, but as an opportunity to interrogate the nature of Greek as it is presented, and the pedagogical impact of the way this is construed. I conclude with an exploration of some of the intellectual challenges, decisions, or even sleights of hand which teaching the Greek of the New Testament entails, or perhaps necessitates.

1 McLelland & Smith (2014). See <<https://www.hollt.net/>> for more on the network, last accessed 20 September 2023.

2 Smith (2016).

In so doing, I bring together a number of strands in contemporary scholarship. Conybeare and Goldhill have written compellingly about the relationship between Classical Philology and Theology;³ in Goldhill's case, this is with particular reference to the relationship between philology and the development of textual authority in nineteenth-century England. When we have no autograph of the New Testament, how can we be sure that the *ad fontes* and *sola scriptura* cries of the Reformation can be implemented with any intellectual or spiritual integrity?⁴ Such questions bridge fields of enquiry including philosophy and religion, the reception of antiquity, and discourse and rhetoric. They provide new approaches to interrogating and implementing existing methods; they also enable a fresh look at the kind of Hellenism seen on the fringes of the Roman empire, where the New Testament was formed. In blending so many disciplinary approaches and asking practical, pragmatic questions of them, I hope to demonstrate the nature and impact of the contested status of the Greek of the New Testament as a language and some pedagogical and spiritual ramifications of how this is framed.

2 The Changing Status of the Greek of the Bible

Reading, or indeed teaching, the New Testament in Greek poses at least two major challenges. The first concerns ongoing tensions over whether languages are taught for their own sake, or for specific purposes. These arguments are well-rehearsed, but their impact here is pragmatic.⁵ Theology students have limited time and are often not admitted on grounds of linguistic aptitude. Within the time available, therefore, teachers have a specific goal of teaching them to read the New Testament in Greek, which may have significant personal, spiritual, and vocational implications. It is unlikely, however, that students will get a grounding in Greek more generally, unlike the average Classics student, which then begs the question of what Greek we are teaching them.

New Testament Greek is a misnomer. The New Testament is not written in a specific form of Greek and is not made up of linguistically comparable and coherent texts; each writer reads very differently. In addition, the New Testament is largely written by non-native Greek speakers and displays the

³ Conybeare & Goldhill (2021).

⁴ Goldhill (2021).

⁵ See the talk given by Shona Whyte and references therein for a useful summary: <<https://shonawhyte.wordpress.com/2023/03/24/converging-trends-cultures-of-teaching-and-learning-in-english-for-specific-purposes-in-the-uk-and-france/>>, last accessed 20 September 2023.

idiosyncrasies typical of non-native composition. It was written at the edge of the Roman empire, where Greek and Latin competed as the languages of culture and administration, and local languages abounded.⁶ For Horrocks, the Koine Greek of the New Testament is one of his four branches, which suffices for the purposes of his general linguistic history, but this does a disservice to the inherent instability of the language in the New Testament.⁷ It is not a standard language but by becoming a standard literary canon, has allowed for the back formation of a language derived from it, in order for the canon to be taught. I examine this situation in more detail below.

It makes pedagogical sense, therefore, for Theologians, at least in the early days, to learn a form of Greek which will give them the quickest access to the core texts they want to read, that is, the New Testament and possibly the Septuagint. This approach, however, excludes them from easily accessing classical sources, or the more Hellenizing writing of the Church Fathers, further reinforcing the disciplinary boundary which has grown between Classics and Theology.⁸ Until the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri in the early twentieth century, the Koine of the New Testament had been described as “mysteriously different from the Classical style of Homer”, with explanations ranging from the interlinguistic influences one might still want to examine to theories about unique linguistic forms as “Holy Spirit Greek”, divinely inspired for the sake of the New Testament.⁹ The Oxyrhynchus papyri demonstrated that the Greek used in the New Testament was the same as that used for everyday business.¹⁰ People subsequently argued that the New Testament was written in a vernacular in order to be accessible to people and convert them; it was deliberately non-literary and so looked different from contemporary literature.

Between these two extremes of viewing the language of the New Testament as a sacred language in its own right, “the glory of the Greek tongue”,¹¹ or a vernacular, lie other problematic issues in terms of codifying and teaching it. Over the twentieth century, we have moved from a position of thinking about the Greek of the New Testament as somehow unique to accepting that it may not be unique, but it is unusual, without knowing how to understand

6 See Georgakopoulou & Silk (2009, p. xiv), and Silk (2009, p. 8) on this issue in particular.

7 Horrocks (2014, pp. 147–152).

8 There are increasing resources to try to help with this, notably Whiteacre (2012) and Bandy (2018), although it is still a process which requires sustained effort and further development.

9 Stevens (2009b, p. 5).

10 See Robertson in Robertson & Davis (1931, pp. ix–x), Hudson (1960, p. x), Stevens (2009b, pp. 5–6).

11 Robertson & Davis (1931, p. viii).

that lack of standardization. As Goldhill describes with reference to the nineteenth century, philology can help theology fix and codify a text, but in accepting the problems with the text, can also increase confusion and plurality of interpretation.¹² The textbooks of the past century reflect the ways in which people have tried to grapple with this issue, and some of the problems which have arisen as a result. New Testament pedagogy has been declared not fit for purpose, when that purpose is training people for exegesis, in a study by David Miller.¹³ As I explore, however, this specific purpose is itself an expression of theological and philological bias, which informs the kind of standardizing of language and consequential pedagogical methods that he describes.¹⁴

A number of key themes therefore emerge from attempts to understand what kind of language the Greek of the New Testament is. The concept of the New Testament as linguistically coherent, because it is a canon, despite that canon being a later construct by fourth-century councils not selected on grounds of linguistic coherence, makes for a very awkward idea of any kind of language standard. Similarly, learning a language for its own sake, as opposed to for the sake of accessing a specific content or task, leads to a very different concept of what the language itself is, what its standards look like, and how best to communicate these. It is this dynamic which is so important for my chapter. In order to explore it within a coherent methodological framework, I turn now to the background of Applied Linguistic Historiography which underpins my approach.

3 Applied Linguistic Historiography and the New Testament Greek Textbook

Richard Smith sets out a range of precepts available to those wanting to research Applied Linguistic Historiography: to be critical of existing secondary accounts, to attempt to make only evidence-based assertions, to state explicitly one's sources of evidence, and to refer to primary sources.¹⁵ For this chapter, those primary sources are the teaching materials, that is, the textbooks, available for teaching New Testament Greek; his other precepts all inform this chapter's method.

¹² Goldhill (2021).

¹³ Miller (2019).

¹⁴ Ryan (2023).

¹⁵ Smith (2016, p. 80).

Secondary literature concerning Greek pedagogy is limited, but growing. The majority of New Testament Greek textbooks follow a grammar-translation method. This is not necessarily the most effective way to teach the Greek needed to the relevant students, but it is a method grounded in history, including Reformation attempts to mirror the teaching of antiquity.¹⁶ Discussion of this method has been much debated in Classical pedagogy, most notably through the *Journal of Classics Teaching*, but the disciplinary schism between Theology and Classics has limited discussion within Theology.¹⁷ Individual initiatives and methods have begun to grow, but little systematic analysis is present, and little consensus on effective pedagogy has been reached.¹⁸ The major alternative harnesses the Communicative Language approaches of Second Language Acquisition, but without native speakers of the language, or a dynamic language which can respond to context, drawing on a limited corpus for all examples, these methods are not a straightforward alternative. Teachers are left needing to make a choice between two main systems, neither of which is fully fit for purpose, partly because of the challenges in standardizing the language in order to make it teachable through any method.

The language of the New Testament is not standardized in its grammar, style, or vocabulary; the canon was formed on theological grounds, not linguistic ones. Those seeking to learn New Testament Greek have a particular interest in understanding it, for exegetical and doctrinal purposes.¹⁹ The burden of mistranslation is far more significant than it might be when reading Sophocles,

16 On the modern use of the grammar-translation method for New Testament Greek, see Miller (2019). On its grounding in nineteenth-century philology and the Reformation, see Goldhill (2021), and on the links with teaching methods in antiquity, see Coffey (2021).

17 Goldhill (2021) locates this schism in the nineteenth century, while McKeon (1994) argues for an eighteenth-century background. Irrespective of precise date, the schism has had a range of impacts beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss. In the United States, the split is at least partly due to the need to maintain the appearance of secularity in public institutions, leaving some more theological focuses to private colleges. In other countries, notable Germany, there is far more continuity between the two groups of Greek learners.

18 Key examples include the Polis method (Rico 2015), and other living language approaches, notably Biblingo <<https://biblingo.org/>> and Greek Mastery <<https://www.biblicalmastery.academy/>>, last accessed 20 September 2023.

19 Note Ellis (2020) on the challenges of integrating Biblical studies with Biblical translation and linguistics for exegetical purposes. This relationship between classical and Biblical linguistics more generally is beyond the scope of the chapter; in general, Conybeare & Goldhill (2021) offer a useful historical overview; I examine a specific case study, support verb constructions, in a forthcoming article (Ryan 2024a).

for example.²⁰ Language teaching as a form of classical reception with theological impact ties this work to the broader context of this volume, but also has real-world consequences; the responsibility placed on both the teacher and teaching materials is both different and significant.²¹

Bespoke textbooks need to standardize a language, unifying the disparate dialectical variants and linguistic styles found in the New Testament. There is an inherent inconsistency in such a project. We also encounter further problems over what linguistic features to include, in what order, with what examples, and how to cope with exceptions. In this chapter, I draw on secondary literature about language pedagogy, but also on around 50 grammar books and texts books, which are representative of the resources available to the English-speaking market. The list is not exhaustive but covers those resources to which students in UK higher education institutions (HEIs) might be expected to be able to gain access.

The 27 constituent books of the New Testament were written from around the end of the first century CE, that is, over 500 years after the rough standard version of Greek taught by most Classics textbooks. Textbooks such as *Athenaze* or *Reading Greek* teach a form of Greek that is broadly Attic/Attic-Ionic, with dialectical oddities such as ττ for σσ often removed.²² Grammars, such as James Morwood's *Oxford Grammar of Classical Greek*, attest their content in their title, with only short appendices describing features of Homer and New Testament Greek as departures from this core.²³ The *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* does not include such material and stays within its proclaimed classical constraints.²⁴ The new *Cambridge Greek Lexicon*²⁵ includes only the gospels, with no further Christian materials. Montanari's lexicon bridges the gap between LSJ and BDAG more successfully but is still limited in its scope.²⁶ Movements to decolonize and broaden the classical curriculum may be deconstructing standard canons on the Classics syllabus, but the language forms taught remain limited in scope, standardized, and applied to other contexts rather than studied in those contexts.²⁷

20 See Goldhill (2021, p. 47) on Sophocles as a paradigm for Christian Greek philology, and my forthcoming monograph for a more extensive discussion of the relationship between the language of tragedy and the development of New Testament Greek pedagogy and translation in the Reformation (Ryan 2024b).

21 See Ellis (2020, p. 230) on this accountability and pedagogical responsibility.

22 Balme *et al.* (2016); Joint Association of Classical Teachers (2007a, 2007b).

23 Morwood (2001).

24 Emde Boas *et al.* (2019). The dialect chapter covers only Ionic and Doric Greek features.

25 Diggle (2021).

26 Liddell, Scott & Jones (1996); Arndt, Danker & Bauer (2000); Montanari *et al.* (2015).

27 For a summary and discussion of some of the issues for Classics, see Salminen (2018).

Those learning to read the New Testament could learn to read Classical Greek first and then adapt it. In so doing, they would be simultaneously imbibing the thought worlds of Herodotus, Sophocles, and Plato, which would give them a very particular reading of the New Testament. They may be more sensitive to the political weight of verses such as Hebrews 11:10, with its reference to a demiurge and a polis. Hebrews is imbued with a potentially Platonic cosmology but is also written in a register of Greek very different to that of the rest of the New Testament; it is unclear to what extent the kind of language used is driven by the content.²⁸ Understanding both the linguistic and cultural baggage the New Testament carries at this point may enhance one's reading of the text, as much as reading Homer or Sophocles as somehow proto-Christian.²⁹ Not having studied Hebrew first, however (as is likely in a Classics department), will conversely mean that many of the uncharacteristic words and phrases (even the frequency of καὶ ἐγένετο) are misread as awkward, rather than as displaying a Semitic influence. Constructing a standardized language entails, to some extent, understanding the factors underlying its idiosyncrasies, and in the multilingual, multicultural landscape of New Testament authors, this is impossible.

Coming to the New Testament as a Classicist first undeniably has some advantages in terms of a certain kind of dialectical and cultural awareness, but it also brings problems. Where one reader might automatically read ἡ ἐκκλησία as a political body or space, and another as a religious one, for example, some communication about lexical priorities and shifting lexical fields is needed. Prioritizing the norms of Classical Greek perpetuates the Classicist's viewpoint as canonical, with New Testament Koine as some kind of deviant fringe language, despite its centrality in one of the world's major religions.

The concept of the New Testament Greek textbook is therefore problematic even in its very conception. It presupposes a standardized and standardizable language of the New Testament which could and should be independently taught. Textbooks do, however, continue to proliferate, and in the next section of this chapter, I consider the nature of the books which set out to teach students to access the Greek relevant to Christian texts.

28 See e.g. Harrington (2005) for a clear summary of key topics in the study of Hebrews.

29 On Homer and Sophocles as linguistic and conceptual Christian forerunners, see Goldhill (2021); Ryan (2024b).

4 How Has Greek Been Taught to Those Specifically Wanting to Read the Bible?

I have surveyed around 55 textbooks and grammar manuals from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, written in English, and aiming at supporting students in reading the New Testament in Greek. 38 claim to teach New Testament Greek, 11 Biblical Greek, 5 some other designation, 2 Koine, 1 Hellenistic Greek. The majority of books, therefore, clearly state that their aim is to teach the language of the New Testament. There may be good reasons for this, not least marketability, but it raises two challenges worth exploring further at this point. First, do they, in fact, teach one to read or translate the New Testament? Second, what problems does one encounter when trying to construct or extract a language from a linguistically limited and disparate textual corpus?

The textbooks mainly announce their Greek as that of the New Testament. Even if this were a consistent and standardized form of Greek, it is not the case that the textbooks all deliver on their promise. Some bring in other authors but provide insufficient support for ensuring Greek skills are adequate to the task of reading them. Where many books are targeted primarily at seminarians and ordinands, and so a Biblical title is contextually attractive, regardless of contents, this is not always the case. The Polis Institute call their book *Ancient Greek*, although it has a stated goal of enabling a student to read John's gospel.³⁰ This is in part a reflection of their teaching method, but, as they admit, it is partly because the course was not deemed sufficiently attractive when initially branded as Koine or New Testament.³¹ The kind of Greek that is taught, and the way in which it is presented to students, is part of the framework of pedagogical politics which intersects with other social and geopolitical issues. Even if the nomenclature and aims were standardized, however, the language resists such a process.

We do not have much information about how John or Paul learned their Greek, and in the case of Hebrews, for example, we do not even know who the author was.³² Textbooks are necessarily representative, codifying a standardized language as it was observed and categorized in the book-writing

30 Rico (2015).

31 See also Kubo (1983, p. iii) on appealing to more than seminary students.

32 Eleanor Dickey's work on learning Latin across the Roman empire may give some hope that we may yet understand a little of how e.g. Paul learned Greek (Dickey 2016). Coffey (2021) gives an account of the grounding of grammatical categories and pedagogical methods in the ancient world, but it lacks the kind of detail needed to examine such a specific dialectical context.

process, not at the point of learning. What concerns me, however, is the extent to which textbook writers need to retrofit a linguistic description in order to present a coherent language for students to learn. This is true of any language but becomes particularly true for Theology students. They are sometimes (depending on context) aware of learning something different to their Classics colleagues but are not sure of the ramifications of this difference. In their edited volume on bilingualism in the ancient world, Georgakopoulou and Silk describe Colvin's view that our understanding of Koine involves an imaginative reconstruction of the past.³³ To this extent, the search for a teachable Biblical Koine is also a process akin to a reinvention, or revitalization of a language, for which there is a Biblical parallel, that is, the development of Modern Hebrew. With New Testament Koine, I suggest, we see a movement in textbooks in creating a language in which exegetes can become specialists, in order for their exegesis to become less hypothetical. The language as taught needs to exist as a thing, reified, ossified, in order for exegesis to be unshakeable, with language corralled to suit theological purpose. Miller makes Erasmus responsible for the split which cast 'Ancient' Greek into this role,³⁴ while Goldhill examines how Tischendorf's publication of the Codex Sinaiticus destabilized the concept of knowing what was actually written in the New Testament in order to provide that exegesis.³⁵ Linguistics and textual criticism have a real-world application.

This brings a burden of responsibility, and the need to understand how far linguistics can take us in understanding any given form of a language like Greek and through that, the culture of those who thought and wrote in that Greek. Merkle and Plummer's 2017 *Greek for Life* is undoubtedly one of the most joyful books about learning Greek that I have encountered; it inspires a reader to keep going for the benefits it will confer. These benefits are more clearly enunciated in books such as Merkle's 2019 *Exegetical Gems from Biblical Greek*, which leads a reader through how grammar may enlighten one's reading of the New Testament.³⁶ Learning Greek has a function which goes far beyond what a Classicist might expect; in the terms of Weick, the systems of university teaching and religious training may be loosely coupled, at least in UK public HEIs, but when teaching students with faith, particularly ordinands, to read the New Testament in Greek, this coupling takes on a new configuration.³⁷ This room for tension between the potential for clarity and fluency in reading, and

33 Georgakopoulou & Silk (2009, p. xiv).

34 Miller (2019, p. 7).

35 Goldhill (2021, p. 46).

36 Merkle & Plummer (2017); Merkle (2019).

37 Weick (1976), and this point is also a major theme of Miller (2019).

the danger of over-interpretation is clear in many New Testament Greek grammatical writings.

This leads to a pressure on those creating textbooks for learning to read the New Testament which is not present to the same extent for Classicists. The pressure shows in the relatively narrow focus applied and the lack of clarity about linguistic goals and content as opposed to canonical focus. In teaching students to read the New Testament, and only the New Testament, however, many books may also miss the broader cultural context of the language and the impact of this on potential interpretations of the text. One moderately absurd example will suffice.

ττ replaces σσ in the Attic dialect. In Hebrews 1:4, we read κρείττων for κρείσσων, which is already a rare use of a comparative adjective in the New Testament.³⁸ Orthography is a matter fraught with textual difficulties, but this Attic spelling does not seem to be a systematic point of textual corruption. In this case, contextualizing the New Testament, we can look as far as Lucian. His dialogue *The Consonants at Law* gives an ironic representation of one of the issues this raises, pitting sigma versus tau.³⁹ Hypercorrections are exposed, the language of Athenian oratory is used to ridicule the pretentiousness of writing in an Athenian style. The very status of the alphabet is made problematic, with a reification of the letters themselves demonstrating the linguistic, philosophical, and sociopolitical tensions that literacy can bring. If one reason why there are so many Atticisms in Acts and Hebrews, including the unusual use of ττ, is even hinted at by such parodic language, then our reading of the text is compromised, and our over-interpretation of it becomes a joke on us. Allowing people to appreciate the text as both profoundly important, but also potentially subversive, is a very tricky line to tread.

The language of Hebrews remains some of the hardest to understand in the New Testament. Hebrews is regularly described as being written in the highest register of Greek, in the most archaizing, most literary Greek in the Bible. Herein lies another issue in teaching the Greek of the Bible. The Greek of the Septuagint is older than that of the New Testament, and as most of it is a translation of the Hebrew text, it is highly Semiticized.⁴⁰ The New Testament in turn

38 There are 15 examples of κρείττ-, 12 of which are in Hebrews (the others are 1 Corinthians, 1 Peter, 2 Peter; the other four examples of κρείσσ- are 1 Corinthians, Philippians, and Hebrews).

39 Lucian *et al.* (1913, pp. 395–409).

40 See Law (2013) in particular on this. For the most recent treatment of the language of the Pentateuch, see Lee (2018).

borrowed heavily from both the language and thought of the Septuagint, rendering it both archaizing and Semiticizing.⁴¹

This Semitic background is acknowledged in most, but not all, books teaching the relevant form of Greek.⁴² John Dobson assigns a whole chapter to discussing the influence of Aramaic and Hebrew on Greek.⁴³ Conversely, Geoffrey Horrocks claims that it is overblown.⁴⁴ Stanley Porter credits James Moulton with helping linguists move away from an assumption that Greek oddities reflect it, a position reversed by Moulton's successor Nigel Turner, who included 70 pages of Semiticisms in his *accidence* volume.⁴⁵ Whatever one's view of the general principle, the linguistic *mélange* that was characteristic of the Roman empire is bound to show through in some ways. How you choose to interpret that, or even to teach it, however, is more interesting. One example of the kinds of interpretative challenges found in thinking about linguistic influences on the New Testament comes with prepositions.

Prepositions in the New Testament are notoriously difficult to get to grips with and make a good case study.⁴⁶ Trying to understand the relationship expressed by prepositions is a challenge; I focus here on one overlapping trio. *ἐν* plus the dative to give an agent is potentially Semitically influenced, reflecting uses of *עִם*.⁴⁷ *ἐν*, however, is used in other awkward places. At Luke 16.23, for example, we read *ἐν τοῖς κόλποις*. *κόλπος* is an unusual word, found in only five other places in the New Testament;⁴⁸ five of the six uses are with either *εἰς* or *ἐν*. While we can discuss differences in meaning between the two prepositions, there is some sense in which they are interchangeable, and this is the point. The Latin preposition *in* governs both the accusative and ablative cases. New Testament Greek seems, in some sense, to be trying to echo this flexibility, using *εἰς* and *ἐν* in what sometimes feel like interchangeable ways. In the end, we instead often find *ἐπί* with the accusative or dative where we might expect *εἰς* or *ἐν*. As a preposition which can govern more than one case, with very fluid meanings, *ἐπί* perhaps replaces *εἰς* and / or / versus *ἐν* as a versatile preposition

41 Hudson (1960, pp. xii–xiii).

42 See Jay (1975, ch. 1, pp. 266–269) on Hebrew names, Semiticisms, and Aramaic documentary influence, and Moulton & Howard (1919) for 70 pages of Semiticisms.

43 Dobson (2012, ch. 48).

44 Horrocks (2014, p. 147).

45 Porter (2015, pp. 81–82).

46 See Atkinson (1944).

47 See Duff & Wenham (2008, p. 49, n. 7) or Dobson (2012, pp. 302–303), for example.

48 Note also its etymological relationship with *culpa*, and the relationship between sin, and breast-beating.

reflecting Latin *in*.⁴⁹ Both Semitic and Latin influences are important in learning to understand Greek.

The Latin influence on the language of the New Testament is only occasionally recognized.⁵⁰ Those teaching New Testament Greek rarely have a good knowledge of both Hebrew and Latin, largely due to the differences of disciplinary training already discussed, unlike the trilingual learning characteristic of early modern education.⁵¹ Colleagues with more experience of Hebrew assume that problems interpreting prepositions are because of the influence of the Septuagint. A Classicist, by comparison, may look to other influences, such as Latin. There may be no clear train of linguistic influence or standardization, and this may be disconcerting for the exegete. For my final section, I move on to consider what Greek emerges from the textbooks that are trying to grapple with these issues.

4.1 *Use of a Canon to Create a Language*

By teaching people Greek in order to read the New Testament, we risk teaching a Greek of the New Testament. As suggested, this presupposes a consistent language across the 27 books, and one which defies linguistic standardization whilst establishing a theological canon. What issues, therefore, do we encounter when trying to construct a language from a limited corpus? Issues of the frequency of words and grammatical features, and their consequent importance for teaching purposes, rapidly come to the fore.

This is most clearly evident in the case of vocabulary, as already hinted at with ἡ ἐκκλησία. While the standard lexicon, BDAG, bases its entries on Christian literature more broadly, the majority of textbooks do not. Plummer and Merkle rank New Testament books in order of difficulty by vocabulary alone and by vocabulary and syntax.⁵² They do not explain their methodology but do raise questions over how a teacher chooses which text to teach, based on what help students will get with their work, and what they are expected to learn from it. In terms of vocabulary alone, one might expect a student to gain a basic understanding of the vocabulary used in the New Testament in general, rather than by any specific author in the first instance, and it is noticeable, for example, that τηρέω appears in chapter 2 of *Elements of New Testament Greek*⁵³

49 These issues are occasionally talked about in textbooks. See, for example, Atkinson (1944), Stott (1985) and Harris (2012). Atkinson in particular (pp. 14–15) talks about the versatility of ἐπί and its ability to subsume functions previously provided by other prepositions.

50 See Young (1982, p. 112), or Adams, Janse & Swain (2002).

51 See Van Rooy, Van Hecke & Van Hal (2022) for a discussion of various aspects of this.

52 Merkle & Plummer (2017, p. 67).

53 Duff & Wenham (2008).

but not at all in *Reading Greek*, given the relative importance of specific phrases such as ‘keeping the law’ in the New Testament; students’ understanding of the nature of the culture using the language is very much colored by the initial vocabulary they encounter. Further statistical approaches may be applied here to help build vocabulary lists which are targeted to course outcomes.

Research on reading suggests that students need to know 90% of words in a text for effortful reading.⁵⁴ Given the number of *hapax legomena* in the New Testament (3465), the thresholds may be lower. In his series of blogposts on Greek vocabulary, James Tauber discusses the 50% and 80% thresholds for Greek.⁵⁵ He summarizes Wilfred Major’s 2008 paper which calls for a revised pedagogy based on learning core vocabularies. Major lists 65 lemmata accounting for a 50% threshold, and about 1,100 for 80%. In contrast, 50% of the NT is made up of just 27 lemmata, while 80% is accounted for by just 317. Learning those 317, however, will only give you complete access to 26% of verses, given the distribution of the remaining words. There are, however, only just over 400 distinct lemmata in NT vocabulary. So, teaching those and some principles of how word building works in Greek would immediately open up more of the vocabulary and help readers have some access to unfamiliar vocabulary.⁵⁶ This is the approach taken by John Dobson, for example.⁵⁷ There are, however, significant drawbacks to this approach. Frequency does not necessarily correlate with importance, especially once similar terms are taken into account (there are only 22 occurrences of ἰχθύς in the New Testament, but nobody would want to say that the themes of fish and fishing were unimportant). Verbs such as σκαυρίσκω occur only in the Gospel of Peter. Teaching students about the force of the -σκ- infix would mean that they had no problems understanding that verb in context. Not everyone, however, learns in this way. The raw list of around 5,500 words would be daunting for any student, especially when so many are New Testament *hapax legomena*, the learning of which is a thankless and unproductive task.⁵⁸ Students, therefore, need a starting point, which the 80% list offers as a useful and manageable compromise.

54 Carlon (2018); Sears & Ballestrini (2019).

55 See <<https://jktauber.com/2019/04/20/consolidating-vocabulary-coverage-and-ordering-too/>>, last accessed 4 October 2019, for a useful summary of his work.

56 See discussions in Black (1988).

57 See in particular Dobson (2012, ch. 44).

58 Most introductory courses, such as those on www.memrise.com, start students with 1000 words in any given language. 5,500 words would be considered advanced by most language-learning standards, so students wishing to read the New Testament in Greek may find they are better placed learning how to use a dictionary well, or a readers’ edition such as Aland *et al.* (2017), and building up fluency and familiarity with the language in action. Further research into the most effective balance of learning and practice for

This concept of frequency also determines the morphological and syntactical material included in textbooks, a point Miller discusses at length.⁵⁹ Textbooks regularly introduce their material in roughly the order of New Testament frequency, rather than with respect to the structure of the language.⁶⁰ The result of this principle is that books omit the future infinitive or participle, as rare things which do not need worrying about.⁶¹ There are only five future infinitives and twelve future participles in the New Testament, which potentially leads to a concept of a language in which the future is irrelevant or hard to speak about. With reference to the New Testament, however, this makes no sense; it is a thoroughly eschatological text. It is not that the New Testament does not express future concepts, but that it does not use the future tense to do so, instead using a range of other strategies, including periphrastic constructions. The shape of the language as a system is not as important as its usage in a restricted corpus.

Wenham and Duff's *Elements of New Testament Greek* introduces the optative mood on the final page of its grammatical explanations, with little more than a cursory explanation.⁶² While the optative may not be a common feature of the New Testament, it is used approximately once per five chapters. Almost all textbooks, however, postpone its explanation, or ignore it entirely.⁶³ It is part of the conceptual map of the Greek language, a point of potential correspondence with the Septuagint, and a potential sign of Atticism, important for reasons other than just frequency.⁶⁴ The Koine of the New Testament may not have employed the optative as much as Classical Greek did, but to miss it

improving understanding of the New Testament in Greek is required, but is beyond the scope of this chapter.

- 59 E.g. Miller (2019, pp. 43ff.) on Krashen's theories of natural order in language teaching.
- 60 At its most severe, this principle means that only forms extant in the New Testament are included, see e.g. Robertson & Davis (1931, p. xi).
- 61 In Wallace (1996), future participles, infinitives, and subjunctives are all confined to a short discussion at p. 567, n. 3. The index only notes the page number, which is a further example of some of the ways in which the layout of a book helps or hinders a reader in finding the information they seek, curating their access to knowledge.
- 62 Duff & Wenham (2008, p. 234). On the development of the optative in New Testament Greek, see also Horrocks (2014, pp. 53–54).
- 63 Robertson and Davis (1931) describe it as a weaker subjunctive but do at least spend two pages outlining various uses. (Robertson & Davis 1931, pp. 212–214). Young (1982, p. 58) notes it as a Classical secondary subjunctive, limiting its main New Testament function for wishes and oaths. Beetham (1992, p. 145) gives it as an appendix to Section 20 but does, at least, give full paradigms for πέμπω and εἶμι. Hudson (1960, p. 134) gives uses, with New Testament references. Stevens (2009a) assigns it the penultimate chapter, while Kubo (1983) misses it out entirely.
- 64 For its Septuagint importance, see Evans (1999, numbers given at p. 492).

out because it happens not to appear frequently in one textual corpus feels misguided and gives a concept of a language whose supposed standardization as not using the optative leads to specific interpretations of the text, including Bart Ehrman's removal of the optative from the Gospel of Peter, despite its clear appearance in the one surviving papyrus.⁶⁵ To use the optative would locate the text in an era and culture that conflicts with Ehrman's interpretation of it; assuming an understanding of a standardized language leads to specific philological methods which betray a scholar's ideological background.

Such a perception of the language as a product of the corpus and not the world in which the corpus was produced is particularly important when discussing the New Testament and its exegesis; it has the potential to lead to an excessively anachronistic understanding of canon and orthodoxy and the use of language to serve Theology.⁶⁶ As Campbell argues, given that continuing to learn about Greek is important for the continued study of the Bible, linguistics can have a profound real-world effect; such a view underpins Miller's book arguing that Greek pedagogy is in crisis because it does not equip students to carry out exegesis with philological integrity.⁶⁷ Pedagogy as a form of classical reception has profound consequences when considering the relationship between language and faith.

This balance is particularly clear in the work of Daniel Wallace. Wallace opens his monumental *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* by making two major points clear.⁶⁸ His work is explicitly there to provide a philological tool for exegetes to pin down meaning in the Bible, and any grammar book needs a sufficient base of data in order to make valid points.⁶⁹ He notes that "language is essentially a portrayal of reality" but spends little time exploring how that relationship might be conceptually intrinsically problematic.⁷⁰ One main example drawing on his work demonstrates some of the problems one encounters when constructing a language from a disparate textual corpus written with a variety of linguistic influences.

65 For Ehrman's text, see Ehrman & Pleše (2014); the papyrus is held in the Cairo Museum but can be viewed through <<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/GP/GP.html>>, last accessed 20 September 2023.

66 See Campbell (2015, p. 33) for a historical discussion of ways of viewing the Koine of the New Testament as integrated with its time.

67 Campbell (2015, p. 23) and Miller (2019).

68 Wallace (1996). A good discussion of the problems encountered here can also be found in the introduction to Hart (2017).

69 Wallace (1996, p. 1).

70 Wallace (1996, p. 685).

Genitives in Greek can feel tricky, and most grammar books enumerate a significant number of categories. The need to categorize, however, demonstrates a need to break the naturally diverse and individual nature of human language into a coherent overall pattern, attempting to enable a grammar book to provide an inventory of ways of thinking. The language needs to be standardized for exegesis to be as robust as possible. The more carefully we categorize, however, the more we will find exceptions to the categories. This seems particularly clear in the case of the plenary genitive. Wallace uses this to explain the places where it is impossible to determine whether the genitive relationship between two nouns is subjective or objective.

Referring to Zerwick,⁷¹ Wallace writes:

Though most grammarians would not like to see a case functioning in a double-duty sense, Zerwick astutely points out that “in interpreting the sacred text, however, we must beware lest we sacrifice to clarity of meaning part of the fullness of the meaning.” Only if we treat the language of the Bible as in a class by itself (in that it cannot employ puns, double entendres, and the like) can we deny the possibility of a category such as this.⁷²

Wallace accepts that the language of the Bible should not be treated as a class in itself but by creating a grammatical category seeks to contain the ambiguity so that it does not interfere with a quest for a precise philology. He needs to make it clear whether ‘faith of Christ’ could mean that Christ has faith because it matters to his Christology. He argues that examples like this are obvious because the theology demands one particular reading. He dislikes ambiguity because it leaves theology unclear. Language risks being at the service of theology.

No other grammar book I have looked at includes the term plenary genitive, Classical or New Testament.⁷³ Indeed, Robertson, the father of many of the Biblical Greek grammar books, writes under his note on the subjective genitive:

It can be distinguished from the objective use only by the context. Sometimes the matter is not clear.

⁷¹ Zerwick (1963, p. 13, section 39).

⁷² Wallace (1996, pp. 119–120).

⁷³ This includes Smyth & Messing (2013). See also Carlier & Verstraete (2013). Most recently, Siebenthal (2019, p. 239) describes ambiguous instances, without using the term plenary.

and (on objective):

Enough has been said to show how carefully the genitive must be interpreted and what great latitude was used in connection with it. Deissmann (*St. Paul*, pp. 140f.) thinks that Paul's use of the genitive is "very peculiar" and transcends all rules about subjective and objective. He even suggests "mystical genitive" for Paul.⁷⁴

Nobody knows quite what to do with the genitive, beyond giving it a general scope. Wallace gives copious examples of exceptions to his rules, to the point where the rules sometimes seem pointless, the explanations unsatisfactory. The term only occurs in the context of the religious framework inhabited by Wallace, and thus the understanding of the language standards is driven by a theological background which is itself supposedly grounded in the understanding of that language. Philology serving theology remains an awkward tension.

Herein lies one challenge of teaching people to read the Bible (New Testament or Septuagint) in Greek. Biblical Greek (or whatever we call it) is not a language, but a blend of authorial voices with different linguistic influences. Any language textbook displays a certain degree of false certainty and clarity over linguistic forms, but this is particularly stark when it comes to the Greek of the New Testament, where we face the problems of understanding what the linguistic influences are, how we can teach them, and the danger of constructing or extracting a potentially theologically destabilizing language from a limited and diverse corpus.

5 Conclusion

I return to consider the relationship between language and thought, linguistics and theology. As Atkinson discusses in his lecture on the theology of prepositions, using language to interpret doctrine is as problematic as using doctrine to interpret language.⁷⁵ There are signs of increased dialogue between Classics and Theology which may change this dynamic in terms of breaking the silo around New Testament Greek as an artificially constructed standardized language. Books such as *The Greek Verb Revisited* carry the subtitle 'A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis';⁷⁶ although the exegetical thrust is still evident,

74 Robertson (1914, paragraphs 499, 501).

75 Atkinson (1944, p. 3).

76 Runge & Fresch (2016).

the book includes chapters by non-theologians, broadening the experience and perspective offered. Goldhill charted a development from considering philology as a threat to the stability of the New Testament to being able to clarify its text and so enhance understanding, and this more recent move to use forms of linguistics to inform a grammatically-based understanding of theological concepts is a new, but problematic, chapter in that story of philology as classical reception.⁷⁷ In this chapter, I have begun to explore the relationship between the status and nature of New Testament Greek and some pedagogical ramifications of this relationship. Teaching Greek for exegetical purposes reveals a tension at the heart of all Greek study. There are limitations in what linguistics can achieve in providing an understanding of a language that is not standardized, but corpus-defined. There are further limitations to the practical nature of what a textbook or grammar book can present and how, which will be driven by some of the ideological positions of their authors and editors. Awareness of these limitations is vital if one is to teach with intellectual and moral integrity, enabling one's students to begin to manage the tensions produced for themselves.

These issues also drive the direction of further research within the discipline. Other areas which are subject to intense research among theological Greek scholars include deponency, concepts of mood, tense and aspect (or *Aktionsart*), and discourse analysis.⁷⁸ The tools available are huge, given what Accordance Bible Software and Logos Bible Software can offer in terms of access to the text of the New Testament.⁷⁹ The relationship of theoretical discussions to technological tools, however, is fraught. Data may be available, but its usefulness, and indeed reliability, with something as difficult to codify as the language of the New Testament, means that researchers need to be clear about what they can achieve and what is driving their research questions.⁸⁰

I argue for a different way of considering both the status of Biblical languages and the pedagogical engagement with them, a different way of integrating classical and theological study. Classical and Biblical philologists are

77 Goldhill (2021).

78 See Campbell (2015) for a summary of some key areas, also Runge (2010) on discourse analysis, or Köstenberger, Merkle & Plummer (2016) at the start of sections on issues such as tense and aspect, or deponency, as they situate themselves in contemporary research questions.

79 See <<https://www.accordancebible.com>> and <<https://www.logos.com>>, last accessed 4 October 2019.

80 In Classics, this is also an area undergoing research, but far less at the HE or linguistic level, and without quite such powerful textual tools. See Natoli & Hunt (2019) for a recent set of articles summarising different approaches and projects.

collaborating again, but there is much more work to do. The practical profession of language teaching demonstrates the impact of linguistic research on our understanding of the world, indeed on our understanding of a world faith. The dialogue between classicists and theologians is reawakening but needs to be practical and pedagogical, as well as intellectual and abstract. I have suggested some ways in which the relationship between linguistic research, published teaching resources, and the decision-making which bridges these two is an important part of establishing and perpetuating concepts of language standards in the field of New Testament Greek. The culturally contingent nature of methods and books discussed demonstrates clearly why there will continue to be room for further research and further textbooks, potentially providing some further relevant enlightenment over the way this important canon is read. Language teaching as classical reception and as the bridge enabling discussion of philosophy and religion, at a potential forefront in exploiting new research tools, particularly in technological terms, offers an exciting prospect for those ready to tackle the detailed, sensitive, interdisciplinary work needed to make progress here.

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Scholarship surrounding the standard varieties of Ancient Greek (Attic, the Koine, and Atticistic Greek) focused from its beginnings until relatively recently on determining fixed uniformities or differences between them. This collection of essays advocates for understanding them as interconnected and continuously evolving and suggests viewing them as living organisms shaped by their speakers and texts. The authors propose approaches that integrate linguistics, sociolinguistics, and literary studies to explore how speakers navigate linguistic norms and social dynamics, leading to innovations and reshaping of standards. Each contribution challenges the dichotomy between standards and deviations, suggesting that studying linguistic diversity through socio-literary interconnectedness can enrich our understanding of language history and cultural wealth.

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