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Some Addenda and Corrigenda to the Revised Supplement to Liddell and Scott

By DAVID BAIN, Manchester

I have recently had occasion to review the reissued ninth edition of Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* (LS⁹) along with the revised supplement (*A Greek-English Lexicon* compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, ninth edition with a revised supplement, Oxford, 1996 and *Greek-English Lexicon Revised Supplement*, H. G. Liddell and R. Scott Supplement edited by P. G. W. Glare, Oxford, 1996) in a non-specialist journal (*Times Higher Education Supplement* no. 1298 [September 12, 1997], 25). This has led me to collect some detailed criticisms of the supplement which might be of use if Liddell and Scott undergoes any further revision. I deal for the most part with errors of omission and commission. Many of my points relate to the supplement's failure to correct LS⁹. The anonymous preface to the revised supplement admits that many articles require wholesale revision. I am not so much concerned with these large scale defects as with immediately correctable error. In each case, I am reasonably sure that the information I am imparting has appeared in print before, some of the more recent items no doubt too late for the revision to take account of them.

The reader should note that I use the following symbols: ¹, after a lemma, indicates that I am dealing, initially at any rate, with the first supplement to LS⁹ (H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon. A Supplement*, ed. E. A. Barber with the assistance of P. Maas, M. Scheller and M. L. West, Oxford, 1968), ² that I am referring to the revised supplement; *, preceding a lemma, indicates an *addendum lexicis* and † a word that should be deleted from the lexicon and/or supplements. Adams = J. N. Adams, *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire*, Leiden, 1995, Bain (1) = D. Bain, "Treading Birds' an unnoticed use of πατέω (*Cyranides* 1. 10. 27, 1. 19. 9)" in *Owls to Athens. Essays presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* edited by E. M. Craik, Oxford, 1990, 295-304, Bain (2) = D. Bain, "Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress (βινῶ, κινῶ, πυγίζω, ληκῶ, οἴρω, λαυιάζω)", CQ n. s. 41 (1991), 51-77, Bain (3) = D. Bain, "περιγίνεσθαι as a medical term and a conjecture in the *Cyranides*", *Ethics and Rhetoric. Classical Essays for Donald Russell on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* edited by D. Innes, H. Hine, C. Pelling, Oxford, 1995, 281-86, Berthelot-Ruelle = M. Berthelot-C.-E. Ruelle, *Collections des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1888 (reprinted Osnabrück, 1967), Bonner = C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets chiefly Greco-Egyptian*, Ann Arbor, 1950, Déonna = W. Déonna, *Vie privée des Déliens (Ecole Française*

d'Athènes, Travaux et Mémoires Fasc. VII) Paris, 1948, *DGE* = *Diccionario Griego-Español* (Madrid, 1980-), Drew-Bear = T. Drew-Bear, "Some Greek Words, part 1", *Glotta* 50 (1972), 61-96, Durling = R. J. Durling, *A Dictionary of Medical Terms in Galen*, Leiden, 1993, *IH* = *Index Hippocraticus*, Mertens = M. Mertens, *Les Alchimistes grecs*. Tome IV. i: Zosime de Panopolis, *Mémoires authentiques*, Paris, 1995, Nikitas = A. A. Nikitas, "Bemerkungen zum Lexikon von Liddell-Scott-Jones", *WJb* n. f. 4 (1978), 75-89, Panayiotou = G. Panayiotou, "Paralipomena Lexicographica Cyranidea", *ICS* 15 (1990), 295-339, Robert = L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, *BEFAR* 239 (Paris, 1963), Shipp = G. P. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary* (Sydney, 1979), Thompson = D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*², London, 1936. In order to include as much material as possible in the smallest possible compass I have tended to refer the reader to accessible earlier discussions and in some cases have not thought it necessary to record the source or meaning of a given word.

†άβιατος²: see F. Montanari, *Proceedings 20th International Congress of Papyrologists Copenhagen 23-29 August, 1992* (Copenhagen, 1994), 82f.

ἀγγορεία, ἀγγορεύω etc.: despite the evidence of *Men. fr.* 164. 2 and 312. 2 Kassel-Austin, the revised supplement continues to mark the second vowel of this group of words short (see E. Harrison, *CR* 52 (1938), 165.) On these words see most recently P. Huysse, *HSF* 106 (1993), 272ff.

***ἀγγελτή**: this noun is the first of 250 lexical items taken from the *Oracula Sibyllina* which G. Panayiotou lists as being absent from *LSJ*⁹ and its supplement (G. Panayiotou, "Addenda to the *LSJ* Greek-English Lexicon: Lexicographical Notes on the Vocabulary of the *Oracula Sibyllina*", *Hellenika* 38 (1987), 46-66, 296-317). This article appears to have escaped the notice of the revised supplement. Four items mentioned by Panayiotou have been incorporated in the supplement (ἄμυρος, ἀνηροσίη, ἀργυρόκρανος, Ἰταλίδης), presumably from another source of information.

ἀλέκτωρ: it is misleading to describe a word so widespread in its distribution outside Attica as "poet." (an indication of the Athenocentrism of the lexicon): see Shipp, 55 and E. Risch, "Zu Wackernagels Einleitung in die Lehre vom Genus (Syntax 2. 1ff.): Die Bezeichnungen des Haushahns", *Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie: Jakob Wackernagel und die Indogermanistik heute*, Wiesbaden, 1990, 234-49. Ἀλεκτρυών was as far as we know virtually confined to Attica. The rest of the Greek world formally distinguished the genders of the species: ἀλεκτορ- remains a productive stem in later Greek,

†άλύζω: see Nikitas, 88f.

ἀμφί C 3: S. Radt, *ZPE* 38 (1980), 476 points out that in οἱ ἀμφί / περί phrases, where a pronoun rather than a proper name is governed by the preposition, the meaning of the phrase is exclusive. This should be noted in the lexicon.

ἀνακάρδιον¹: this entry is left unchanged (apart from an updated reference to the source, the *Cyranides*) in the revised supplement despite the convincing argument of A. W. Argyle, *CR* n. s. 24 (1974), 9f. demonstrating that the word means “heart-shaped” and not “up-turned twig of the mullberry tree”.

ἀνανέμω²: the revised supplement is over generous with its use of “perh.”: there is no doubt whatsoever about the meaning of ἀνανέμω in the Sicilian graffito in question (L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile*, Rome, 1989, no. 167): ἡ δὲ γράψας τὸν ἀννέμο <ν> τα πυγίξει (see Bain (2), 68, 68 n. 126).

ἀνέντατος: this is one of several instances of entries in which neither LS⁹ nor its supplements reports a sexual meaning (compare below on βαυβάω, ἐμβασικοίτας, ἐπάγω, ἑτερόζηλος, ῥαθυμέω, σφῦρα, φλάω, ψυχή). In Theopompus comicus, fr. 72 Kassel-Austin which LS⁹ render (coily?) “without tension or force” the meaning must be “incapable of achieving an erection”. This sense is found twice in the *Cyranides* (*Cyr.* 1. 18. 51, 2. 25. 16: cf. Panayiotou, 302).

ἀνταυδάω: at S. *El.* 1478 ἀνταυδαῖς, whatever it means, does not mean merely ‘address face to face’: for a discussion of this passage see H. Lloyd-Jones-N. G. Wilson, *Sophoclea*, 76.

ἀπαυδάω: see Nikitas, 86–87 on the medical section III: *Hipp. Mul.* 1. 74 should not be cited as an instance of the meaning “become speechless”.

ἀραιάκις: LS⁹ cite this word only from Hesychius: a “real” example is to be found in *Cyr.* 1. 7. 93 (see Panayiotou, 303). Compare MG ἀριά.

*?ἄργεθμον: this word is found in a long list of names for complaints of the eye offered in the first book of the *Cyranides* (*Cyr.* 1. 16. 15ff.: cf. below on κνίφη). This is the reading of a single manuscript, R (supported by A’s ἄργεθμος, which is corrupted in the Latin version to *argethinos*, 74. 4 Delatte). The manuscripts D and N have ἄργεμον, for which see Durling, 70. *DGE* accepts ἄργεθμον, noting the resemblance to ἄργεμον. If the word is genuine, the theta requires an explanation.

ἀρικύμων²: despite Nikitas, 88, the quantity of the first vowel is still wrongly marked short.

Ἄσσύριος²: against attempts at precision regarding what the Greeks

called Ἀσσύρια γράμματα see R. Schmitt in C. W. Müller, K. Sier, J. Werner edd., *Zum Umgang mit fremden Sprachen in der griechisch-römischen Antike (Palingenesia 36)*, Stuttgart, 1992, 21 ff.

†**ἄσθίξας**: K. J. Mackay, *CR* n. s. 24 (1974), 9 suggests that this may be a corruption of a form of αἰθύσσω and that behind the Hesychian entry lies a corrupt citation of Call. Hec. fr. 30 Hollis = 241 Pfeiffer.

αὐτίτης: this is not a substantive in the Hippocratic passage cited (see Nikitas, 87).

***αὐτορρέκτας**: one of two new words found in the recently published *Lex Sacra* from Selinous (M. H. Jameson, D. R. Jordan, R. Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous*, Durham, N. C., 1993, p. 81). See now L. Dubois, *RPh* 69 (1995), 139.

βάλλω: following Drew-Bear, 65, the revised supplement now has an entry (II. 8) acknowledging the meaning “bury”. The entry is marred by the addition of “illicitly”. This may be the implication in some of the epigraphical examples, but *CIG* 3270 (cited by Drew-Bear) completely refutes this definition: εἰς τὴν σορὸν δέ μου μηδένα ἕτερον βληθῆναι εἰς ἣν ἔνεστι ὁ σύνβιός μου πλὴν ἐμοῦ. This is a bad piece of lexicography, over-influenced by the contexts in which the word occurs and neglecting properly to consider the word itself. What we have here is a characteristic example of semantic convergence of verbs meaning “throw” and “put” (cf. Shipp, 129). βάλλω is taking over one of the functions of τιθέναι (for τιθέναι “bury” see *LS*⁹ s. v. 1. A. 11).

βαυβάω: also “sleep with”: see A. Dieterich, *Philologus* 52 (1894), 4 n. 9.

***βεῖνημα**: the first and only occurrence of this *nomen actionis* is missed by the revised supplement. It first came to light in 1968: for references see Bain (2), 59 n. 62, to which add now D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 124.

βιβάζω: *LS*⁹ signals the meaning “put the female to the male” and then, with reference to Horapollon 1. 48, adds “also of the male”. This passage should have a separate entry. Here βιβάζει means “covers (the female)” and is used as an alternative for the usual generic term for animal intercourse, ὀχεύω. For this meaning six instances in the *Cyranides* may be added (2. 14. 11–12 [the only instance noticed by Panayiotou], 2. 40. 4f. (bis), 3. 42. 3ff. [ter]). Panayiotou, 306 is wrong to state that this meaning is new and to restrict the verb to intransitivity. In the second of the passages cited it is quite clear that βιβάζεται is a passive standing in contrast to the preceding active: ὅτε

μὲν βιβάζει, ὅτε δὲ βιβάζεται (the subject is the hyena, about whom a traditional piece of lore is retailed). Note also the Hesychian entry (ι 828): ἵπποθόρος: ὄνος ἵππου βιβάζων.

*βῆνος: this nomen actionis from βινῶ is a certain restoration at Plato comicus, fr. 43 Kassel-Austin.

βόλος = ὄρχις: this word ought to find a place in the lexicon on the basis of the existence of the name Βολέας in a Lydian inscription of the time of Commodus: see Robert, 266f. LS⁹ and its supplements make disappointingly little use of onomastics, which as scholars such as Masson and Robert (see, especially, O. Masson, *Verbum* 10 [1987], 253–64 = *Onomastica Graeca Selecta*, 593–604 and *eundem* in *Les langues et les textes en grec ancien [Actes du colloque Pierre Chantraine]*, Amsterdam, 1993, 257–65) have often pointed out, as well as enriching the vocabulary, often preserve early strata of the language and can attest to the frequency of words which might, judging by their literary or epigraphic occurrences give the appearance of being rarities. Onomastic evidence would have improved LS⁹'s entries under the lemmata βάμβαλα, βιλίν, βούβαλις, βωβός, δριλος, δρώψ, ἰθαρός, κυσός, κόκκαλος, λαγών, μύσχον, πέος, πύννος, φιτύω, φρήν, (q. v. below), and χρέμης (for all but five of these words the evidence is provided by Robert: for δριλος see O. Masson, *MH* 43 [1986], 252 ff. and D. Bain, *ZPE* 125 [1999], 92, for δρώψ and μύσχον, Masson, *Les langues*, 262 [referring in each case to Bechtel], for πέος, Bain [2], 52 n. 6, and for φρήν, Masson in *Verbum*, cited above).

†βουκλος²: this word is cited from two alchemical writers, Zosimus (Berthelot-Ruelle, 140, 15) and anon. (Berthelot-Ruelle, 267. 14). On both occasions the noun is in the genitive plural, but the accentuation differs. In the first instance we have βουκλῶν, in the second, βούκλων. The first text has been re-edited by M. Mertens who correctly indexes this occurrence (her p. 25. 50) under βούκλα. The word is found elsewhere in the text edited by Mertens in an accusative plural form (βούκλας p. 13. 31). Mertens also draws attention to Berthelot-Ruelle 165. 16 where again the accusative plural form βούκλας is attested. In addition there is also Berthelot-Ruelle, 397. 6, a commentary quoting Zosimus where the word is found as a dative plural, ταῖς βούκλαις. It looks as if the accentuation βούκλων in Berthelot-Ruelle 267. 14 is a slip and that the lemma βουκλος should be replaced by βούκλα. For a discussion of the word see Mertens, p. 129 who suggests that it is a Latin borrowing. To judge by their treatment of the rare words in Zosimus indexed by Mertens (pp. 271 ff.), the editors of LS⁹ were well advised by E. T. Withington (see the preface vii n. 1). They have

missed only 11 of the 55 words Mertens lists (for some of these see below).

βράγχος: as well as meaning the disease, βράγχος can mean the body part affected by the disease: Apsyrtus, *Hipp.* Berl. 19. 1 (*CHG* 1. p.94. 3). See Adams, 370

βραχίων: the lexicon does not give the meaning “section of the fore-leg”, which is found several times in the *Hippiatrica*: see Adams, 546 ff.

βρότειος²: the revised supplement correctly states that this word must be corrupt at Eur. *Held.* 822. There is nothing to choose between the conjectures βοείων and βοτείων, but they only mention the latter.

* (in this sense) **βρύσις:** this is the alternative name of the κόραξ in the *Cyranides* (1. 2. 1, 1. 2. 5). See Panayiotou, 307 who points out that it figures in Thompson. It is clear that no systematic attempt has been made to examine the vocabulary of the *Cyranides* for the revised supplement and the only changes regarding this work, which was surprisingly well covered in LS⁹, are in the updating of the references. Even here there is a lack of consistency. There is no updating in the entries on κελεφία, νευρότροπος and σπεκλάριον.

γλουθίον¹: this is not a “probable reading”: it is an emendation. The revised supplement retains this entry and follows with a new entry “γλουθροῦς = γλουτός”, but the alleged instance of γλουθίον is almost certainly another occurrence of the same form. Indeed the supplement’s source specifically states this (H. W. Pleket, *Talanta* 10–11 [1978–79], 89). See G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (EA 22), Bonn, 1994, no.75. 6–7, no.122. 6–7, where reference is made to linguistic discussion of the form of the word.

***διαζηλόομαι** (“be jealous of”): this word is found twice in the same passage of Zosimus (p.7. 130–21, 134 Mertens).

διάθεσις: C. Fabricius (*Galens Exzerpte aus älteren Pharmakologen*, Berlin, 1972, 214) complained that neither LS² nor the supplement contained an entry covering the non-neutral use of this word, where it more or less means “illness”. The same holds good for the revised supplement, which, as far as I can see, has taken no direct account whatsoever of Fabricius’s work. This means that there remain hundreds of entries ascribed to Galen which are in fact instances of Galen citing earlier pharmacological writers such as Heras and Asclepiades of Prusa (see Fabricius, 214 ff.). On the other hand, the revised supplement does take extensive account of the article by R. J. Durling in which the author, referring to Fabricius, reiterates his complaint

(R.J. Durling, "Lexicographical Notes on Galen's Pharmacological Writings", *Glotta* 57 [1979], 218–24, 219).

διατάσσω: the use with ἐπι and the genitive should be noted (Men. *Mis.* A 34).

δυσάθλιος: this word sometimes has three terminations: see *Soph.* OC 330, which is actually cited in LS⁹.

εἰλεός: the entry should be revised in the light of Adams, 281.

ἐκλιστράω: "slap": read "slip": see Shipp, s. v. λίστρον.

***ἐκτροχίζω**: another word from Zosimus the alchemical writer (p. 38. 85 Mertens).

ἐλάστερος: see Jameson et al. cited on αὐτορρέκτας, 81. Previously this word was known only as a cult-title and not as a substantive. For further discussion of the word see K. Clinton, *CPh* 91 (1996), 174 ff. and L. Dubois (see on αὐτορρέκτας), 138 f.

ἐμβασικοίτας: the sexual meaning of this word, made explicit in Petr. *Sat.* 24. 4 is ignored.

ἐμπνέω: the entry II 2 should be deleted. See M. W. Haslam, *ICS* 3 (1978), 56.

ἐπάγω: a new section should be added. The passive ἐπάγεσθαι is used as an equivalent of βιάζεσθαι in its usual sense. ἐπάγω is found twice in Aelian with reference to bringing animals to mate, on both occasions with a male subject, once of asses being brought to mares, once with a male camel being brought to the female (Ael. *NA* 2. 10, 3. 47). Pollux attests a sexual meaning for the passive ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλόγων (5. 92).

ἐτεροζήλος: has the implication "sexual pervert" at *AP* 11. 216. 4 (Lucillius).

ἐχινῆ II: the meaning is "bit": see Déonna, 207

***ἡμιμερής**: this word is found in the dictionaries of Sophocles and Lampe cited from Anastasius of Sinai (*ob. post* 700). It has now turned up in the Venetian extracts (see on πέτασος) of the *Cyranides* (see Bain [3], 283 n. 13).

***θαλασσόχρους**: this word appears in the so-called sixth book of the *Cyranides* (*Cyr.* 6. 7. 2) describing the colour of beryl (Panayiotou, 315). It is also to be found in the "Lapidaire nautique" (R. Halleux-J. Schamp, *Les lapidaires grecs: lapidaire orphique, kérygmes lapidaires d'Orphée, Socrate et Denys, lapidaire nautique, Damigéron-Evax*, Paris, 1985, p. 188) again used of beryl: βήρυλος ὁ διαυγής καὶ λαμπρὸς ὁ θαλασσόχρους. In Psellus' work on stones beryl is described as θαλάττη προσσεικῶς (see Michael Psellus, *Philosophica minora* I ed. J. M. Duffy, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1992, p. 117). θαλαττόχρους is

later used by Psellus of the hyacinth-stone (p. 118 Duffy) which he describes as θαλαττόχροος.

καλπάζω: this entry and the entry on κάλλη will have to be rewritten in the light of Adams, 598 ff.

κατακάρδιον¹: this entry should be corrected in the light of Argyle's remarks (see on ἀνακάρδιον).

***καταλίνω**: see Jameson et al. cited on αὐτορρέκτας, 54.

κατάπυγος: LSJ give no epigraphical examples of this word whose existence outside the ancient lexicographical tradition had been doubted (see E. Fraenkel, *Glotta* 34 [1955], 43 n. 2 = *Kleine Beiträge* 1. 148 n. 2 and M. Lombardo, *PP* 40 [1985], 300–301). We now have one secure and one likely example from the Greek West. See A. Johnston, *PP* 45 (1990), 45, G. Manganaro, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 135 f. and D. Bain, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 82 n. 16.

***καυκοειδῶς**: “in the shape of a cup” is found in the so-called fifth book of the *Cyranides* (*Cyr.* 5. 17. 10: see Panayiotou, 317). On καῦκος, καυκίον see Shipp, 308 f.

κελητιάω: a desiderative which clearly does not “= what follows”.

***κηρομελής**: “qui est comme un rayon de miel”, Zosimus (p. 41. 141 f. Mertens).

***κνίφη**: another of the eye-complaints found in the sixteenth section of the first book of the *Cyranides* (*Cyr.* 1. 16. 11). Panayiotou, 319 uses this word to explain the verbs κνίφω and κνιφῶ found in Hesychius.

κολακεύω: the favourable or neutral use at Men. *Dysc.* 37 deserves an entry.

*?**κορδύλωμα**: if κορδύλωματα is correct at Apsyrtus, *Hipp.* Berl. 53. 1, *CHG* 1. pp. 237. 22–238. 3, it is clear from the context that some sort of swelling is involved. Adams (p. 260), however, is probably correct in his suggestion that we should read κονδυλώματα, for which see Durling, 208.

***κουκουμοκανδάλη**: “bougie à coquemar”, Zosimus (p. 31. 14 Mertens).

κυσέλη: this is one of the articles in LS⁹ that urgently requires revision. The basis of such a revision should be the treatment by Barrett ap. Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles*, 178 n. 13. The addendum in the revised supplement perhaps indicates an awareness of this.

κωλή: a more secure instance of the transferred use than Ar. *Clouds* 989 and 1019 is to be found on a magical amulet (Bonner, 215): see D. Bain, *Eikasmos* 3 (1992), 149 ff.

λαικάς: all the alleged epigraphic instances of this word are in fact examples of λαικάστρια: see D. R. Jordan, *GRBS* 26 (1985), 151–97, no. 48.

λευκασία: the meaning “skin-disease”, noted by Panayiotou, 322, is new.

λευκομέτωπος: “as Subst., name of a bird”: this bird had already been identified by Thompson. The entry in the *Cyranides* (*Cyr.* 3. 48. 2) specifies that it is a coot (see Panayiotou, 322).

μάμαρον II: see Adams cited below on πῶρος.

***μελανίτης:** (compare λευκίτης, Theocr. 5. 147): “black” or “of the blackness”. There are five occurrences in the *Cyranides* (*Cyr.* 1. 14. 16ff. [bis], 1. 15. 16, 2. 37.2), one in a related work which exists only in a Latin version (the *Compendium aureum*, 216. 10ff. Delatte), and one in the alchemical writer Olympiodorus (102. 2 Berthelot-Ruelle) who is citing a lost work which originally formed the first part of a two volume work of which the *Cyranides* (or rather *Cyranis*), is the second part. In each instance the adjective is feminine and the collocation is with γῆ. I have shown elsewhere (contra Panayiotou, 323) that in all these passages the reference is to Egypt: see D. Bain, “Μελανίτιση, an unnoticed Greek Name for Egypt: New evidence for the origins and etymology of alchemy?” in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, E. Thomassen (edd.), *The world of ancient magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4–8 May 1997*, Bergen, 1999, 205–226.

***μύζος:** “suceur”, dispositif de tirage situé dans la voûte d’un four”, Zosimus quoting Maria the alchemist (p. 24. 34 Mertens).

νέμω: B 2c “[of ulcers] spread”: no Hippocratic instance is given: see *IH* s. v. II 2 a. This is all too characteristic of the lexicon (something in fact noted by the editor of the revised supplement: see P. G. W. Glare in R. Burchfield (Ed.), *Studies in Lexicography*, Oxford, 1987, 7). For other instances of the lexicon’s neglect of early medical terminology see Bain (3), 281, 281 n. 4. On νέμομαι see J. Jouanna, “La maladie comme agression dans la collection hippocratique et la tragédie grecque: la maladie sauvage et dévorante”, *La maladie et les maladies dans la collection hippocratique. Actes du vie colloque hippocratique* ed. P. Potter, G. Maloney, J. Desautels, Quebec, 1990, 39–60 who shows that the translation “spread” is not totally satisfactory.

†ξεστασία²: a *vox nihili*: see J. Shelton, *ZPE* 67 (1987), 82.

ὀ, ἦ, τό II. 2: the misinterpretation of Soph. *Tr.* 498 goes uncorrected: see Davies ad loc. and p. 139 n. 16.

***ὄνειριάζω**: this word cited from the *Cyranides* (*Cyr.* 1. 5. 13) is the equivalent of *ὄνειρώσσω* in its second sense (see Panayiotou, 325f.).

οὐ, οἶ, ἔ B. 1: “not in prose”: these pronouns are in fact often to be found in *post-classical* prose in authors such as Pausanias and Arrian.

***παθικός**: this word is well enough known in Latin as an alternative for *cinaedus*. It is now to be found in Greek in a graffito from Aphrodisias: see C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions including Texts from the Excavations of Aphrodisias* (Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Journal of Roman Studies Monographs no. 5), London, 1989, p. 245 and *eand. Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Journal of Roman Studies Monographs no. 6), London, 1993, p. 39. See now D. Bain, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 82f.

***παθικός**: is now found in the newly discovered epigrams of Nicarchus, P. Oxy. 4502. 31.

***παμποικιλία**: Zosimus (p. 35. 10 Mertens).

πάναγνος: a wrong reading for the Aeschines-scholion is still given: the word is *παναγής*- see R. Kassel, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 25.

*(for meaning) **πατῶ**: “tread” of avian intercourse. See Bain (1) and Panayiotou, 327.

πέρδομαι: it should be signalled that this verb also has an active form. R. W. Daniel may be correct to see an imperatival active form in one of the acclamations from Aphrodisias (*ZPE* 61 [1985], 127–30), and at *Cyranides* 2. 31. 25 Kaimakis is almost certainly wrong to regularise by introducing a middle form (see Bain, *ICS* 20 [1995], 176 n. 25).

†**περισιπλόω**: Panayiotou, 328f. shows that in its one alleged occurrence (*Cyr.* 2. 42. 10) the word is a corruption of a form of *περιπηλόω*. The revised supplement seems to have taken no account of Panayiotou’s article and has consequently omitted a host of new items that deserved inclusion as well as instances of words that appear only as glosses in the present lexicon. The corrected meaning, given in the entry on *σχυτίς* (with no reference to the *Cyranides*), I presume was arrived at independently of him (Panayiotou, 332).

***πέτασος**: “spider’s web” is found in the Venetian extracts of the *Cyranides* edited by A. Meschini (‘Le Ciranidi nel Marc. Gr. 512’, *Atti dell’ Accademia Pontaniana* n. s. xxxi, Naples, 1983, 145–77, p. 158).

***πότισις**: “imbibition”, Zosimus (p. 12. 22–23).

πυγιστής: the example given by LSJ is not secure. *SB* 6872 is a

graffito from Silsileh which reads as follows: ἔξω/Πετεχνοῦμις/Ἐρ-
ταῖσις/πυγ (for the most recent text see A. Bernard, *De Thèbes à Syène*, Paris, 1989, pp. 88–89). Πυγιστής may not be the best expansion of the letters πυγ. We now have a secure example in a graffito on a seat in the theatre of Aphrodisias: ἐγὼ πυγιστής/εἶμε (see Roueché, *Partisans and Performers* – cited above on παθικός, p. 113 – and D. Bain – also cited on παθικός – pp. 82ff.).

πῶρος: the entry s. v. πῶρος requires an extra section in order to take into account veterinary writers' use of the word to indicate a kind of swelling. See Adams, 259ff.

ῥαθυμέω: a sexual meaning is to be found in Babrius, 116.14.

***σαρακοίτιον**: a word for the female organ found in a Coptic-Greek glossary (see W. Croenert, *Gnomon* 2 (1926), 655f.) which has yet to find its way into the lexicon.

σατυρίασις: this entry should be revised in the light of J. Jouanna-J. Taillardat, *REG* 93 (1980), 135 n. 23.

†σιτενωόριος: this word is cited from Hierocl. *Fac.* 59 “s. v. l.” Hierocl. *Fac.* is the well known joke-book, the *Philogelos*, of which there exists an excellent modern edition with commentary, the work of A. Thierfelder (Munich, 1968, not cited in the revised supplement). Thierfelder demonstrates that σιτενωόριος is a corruption. The correct reading (ms. A) is σιτενταρίωι, a word LS⁹ cites only from a glossary. Without knowledge of Thierfelder's edition, Louis Robert independently made the correction (L. Robert, *JS* 1971, 103 = *OMS* VII, 181).

σπερμολογέω: account has still not been taken of Robert's criticism of this entry (L. Robert, *CRAI* 1981, 524 n. 30 = *OMS* V. 758 n. 30). The word (as used at Phil. *Vit. Ap.* 5. 20) does not mean “gossip” and the second section of this entry should be rewritten in the light of Robert's remarks.

στρουθίον: the generic sense “small bird” is not given. It is extremely common in book three of the *Cyranides*: 3. 2. 2 (3. 2. 20), 3. 4. 2, 3. 12. 2, 3. 14. 2, 3. 20. 2, 3. 23. 2., 3. 24. 2, 3. 27. 2, 3. 30. 2, 3. 32. 3, 3. 40. 2, 3. 41. 2, 3. 43. 2, 3. 50. 2, 3. 53. 2 (στρουθίον is used in its specific sense in book one, 1. 21. 7: it is found in the generic use at 1. 10. 7 and 1. 21. 33 [where it may be a gloss]). Note especially 3. 32. 2f. οἱ δὲ στρουθιον . . . στρουθιον ἐστὶ πᾶσιν γνωστόν. D. Fehling demonstrates (*Philologus* 113 [1969], 217ff), that this use is to be found at least as early as the *Septuagint*. Ὅρνις does not figure in this sense in the *Cyranides*, since in later Greek (cf. Athenaeus, *Deip.* 373a) the word was rarely used as a generic term and, as is well

known, was specifically associated with the domestic fowl – the section on the ὄρνις κατοικίδιος (3. 34) is headed περὶ ὄρνιθος and the fox is described in 2. 2. 3 as ὄρνιθοβόρον which the Latin version (139. 1 Delatte) correctly renders as *gallinas comedens* (cf. also 1. 13. 9 and 2. 7. 18).

σφῦρα: no account is taken of the metaphorical sense, “penis”. See Cratinus, fr. 94 Kassel-Austin ἔστιν ἄκμων καὶ σφῦρα νεανία εὐτριχὶ πώλῳ and D. Müller, *Handwerk und Sprache* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1974), 141f., whose interpretation is probably too specific: this is riddling language.

τέτραχα: the entry b retained from the first supplement should be deleted: see A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford, 1976), 49.

τεῖβαξ: the revised supplement does not signal the meaning “masseur” elicited from Oribasius (Orib. *Syn.* 1 praef. 4–5, p. 5, 24–29 Raedner) by K.-D. Fischer, *Glotta* 57 (1979), 224f.

φίσις²: is the “perh.” necessary? It is hard to see what else φίσις [in P. Heid. 190] could be other than the beginning of this word. The first editor’s assumption that a υ had been corrupted to an ι (accepted in the completion of Chantraine’s *Dictionnaire*, but see now the retraction in *CEG* 1 s. v. φικιδίσειν [= *RPh* 70 (1996), 134f.]) is unlikely since the papyrus in question is of the Ptolemaic period. The “app.” which is attached to the other occurrence of φίσις (P. Oxy. 3070) is curious, since the papyrus in question contains a graphic illustration. [Two probable examples of the diminutive, φίκιον, are to be found now in the epigrammatist Nicarchus (P.Oxy. 4502. 31.34.)]

φιλόκαλος: account ought to be taken of the use in the jargon of veterinary and agricultural writers of this word (and of its cognate φιλοκαλῶ meaning “being attentive”) with the meaning “attentive”, “*diligens*”. See J. N. Adams, “*Filocalus* as an Epithet of Horse Owners in Pelagonius: its Origin and Meaning”, *CPh* 85 (1990), 305–10.

φλάω: the sexual meaning is not signalled. See G. P. Shipp, *Antichthon* 1 (1967), 3 who questions whether LS⁹ are correct to interpret ἀναφλᾶν as “masturbate”.

φλιά: the meaning “lintel” given under 2 in LS⁹ on the basis of A. R. 3. 278 and Theocr. 2. 60 is questionable. See M. Campbell on the Apollonian passage and in general M.-C. Hellmann, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l’architecture après les inscriptions de Délos* (BEFAR) 278), Athens-Paris, 1992, 432ff.

φοινικίδιον II: “scarlet cloth”: see Déonna, 159, 159 n. 11.

φρήν: the names beginning φρασι- (e. g., Φρασικλεία: Hansen, *Carm. epigr.* 24) attest the survival in ordinary speech of the more

ancient form of the dative plural (Masson (cited above in the discussion of βόλος), 254–55 = 594–95)

φύσις: there is no justification for the assertion that, when used of the sex organs (VI 2), it is used “predominantly” of the woman’s. Incidentally Shipp, 560 notes that φύσις survives in MG solely as an anatomical term.

χερνής: LS⁹ state that the Doric form is χερνάς: it may well have been, but, as O. Masson, *REG* (1978), 577 points out, χερνάς only exists in literature as an unnecessary conjecture at Alexander, *AP* 7. 709. 2, where the correct reading is κερνάς.

χοῖρος: this article and the article on ὕς need to be rewritten in the light of Shipp, 209f. which, as can be seen from the article δέλφαξ, has clearly been consulted by the revisers of LS⁹. See now also D. Schaps, *JHS* 116 (1996), 169–71.

***χορογράφος**: following the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* LS⁹ s. v. χρονογράφος rejects this word at Luc. *Alex.* 6. Χορογράφοι, however, is printed at this place by both Jacobitz and Macleod, the Teubner and Oxford editors, without any mention of a variant χρονογράφοι and in the context it appears more likely that Alexander’s associate, τινι ... τῶν καθιέντων ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, should have been a writer of/for choruses than an annalist.

***ψυλοδέφον**: this mysterious word found in *Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* Bd. 12. *Die Inscripten von Ephesus* 2. 539 is omitted: see Bain (2), 53 n. 21 for a suggested emendation which is based on the assumption that the writer’s grasp of Greek morphology was tenuous.

*(in this sense) **ψυχή**: a separate section is needed to indicate the use of this word, especially in magical texts, of the male and female sexual organs. Note, for example, *Cyr.* 1. 18. 47. See R. Ganszyniec, *Byz.-neogr. Jahrb.* 1 (1920), 170f., Bonner, 118f. (sceptical), W. Brashear, *ZPE* 33 (1979), 272, and H. D. Betz (Ed.) *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago, 1986), I 317 n. 7. D. G. Martinez, *P. Mich.* xvi. *A Greek Love Charm from Egypt* (*P. Mich.* 757), *American Studies in Papyrology* no. 30, Atlanta, 1991, 11 n. 49 for reasons not expressed rejects all but one of the examples adduced by Ganszyniec.

The Vocabulary of Exile in Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistolae ex Ponto*

By JO-MARIE CLAASSEN, Stellenbosch

Introduction

Ovid's artistry with words has been called "logodaedaly", creative word magic¹. His "painting with words" lies partly in a controlled use of synonyms². The poet's originality in creating new words has also been much commented upon³. His artistry with words when in exile offers continued pleasure. Words were of paramount importance for an exiled poet who was reaching out to his friends and to the enemy who exiled him. In the process he created a word-portrait of himself as suppliant; as Downing (1993) puts it: "The author makes a self, while the self makes a book of the self." Ovid's readership in Rome would have been familiar with the whole of his earlier oeuvre as context for a particular diction. In the context of his exile, the poet's choice of words and the uses to which he put his vocabulary were a powerful means of influencing public thought. Augustus, as very particular member of the more general readership, had to be persuaded of the innocuity of his previous works, if ever the exile were to be allowed to return. At the same time the poet seems to have sought a means of criticizing his antagonist without further eliciting his ire.

Nagle (1980,61-68) argues that a large part of the "specialized vocabulary" of Ovid's exilic works is really an erotic elegiac vocabulary which the exiled poet has adapted to his circumstances, in other words, she postulates a (perhaps unsurprising) intertextual relationship between the poet's early and late works. The reason for this she ascribes (p.70) to his search for an appropriate medium to express exile as poetic death, and when "he realized the similarity of the *poeta relegatus* and the *exclusus amator*, ... he hit upon *erotic elegy* as providing the closest

¹ Cf. e. g., Lateiner (1990) on Ovid's verbal mimesis.

² The exilic poetry has about ten different terms for the sea: *mare, fluctus, fretum, aquae, undae, aequora, montes aquarum, Oceanus, pontus, pelagus*, so Micu (1981).

³ Cf. Seneca's famous story about the "potmanteau words". See Kenney (1973) on unusual compounds.

approximation to his new situation" (my emphasis). Hence, for Nagle, his adaption of erotic elegiac themes and vocabulary. Her unnuanced statement has prompted me to verify the degree to which this may be so, and to conjecture on possible other reasons for the phenomenon, if proven such. Of possible importance is the original provenance of the traditional "erotic" vocabulary. Many of these words are not essentially related to aspect of love, but come from different spheres, notably politics, friendship and the law. In the hands of both Ovid and his predecessors, these had been moved into the erotic sphere. Perhaps the exilic context offered our poet a chance to realign the semantic implications of these words, thereby perhaps also influencing his reader's perception of their previous "erotic" use.

Conte (1994, 41–65) has shown that Ovidian love poetry deconstructs the premises of elegy; this paper will examine how the exilic works reconstruct common elegiac vocabulary. The process of intertextuality, in the words of Vincent (1994) "relates a work of art with other works ... [it is] a form of reference when ... a text presupposes another ... and ... the latter provides the former with the means of interpreting it." Ovid's re-use of vocabulary from the erotic sphere redirects the reader's interpretation of its earlier usage⁴. With full awareness that "auctorial intention" is difficult to establish, I shall nevertheless allow myself to speculate about possible deliberate reinterpretation of words by the author in order retrospectively to influence his reader's reception of his earlier works.

Obviously, attention to the functioning of a poet's words in context is the only way to deal with his poetry; that is, *what* the poet says can only be read from *how* he says it. Equally so, while only attentive reading of the poems, in order, will serve to illustrate progression of thought, quantification can help to delineate patterns in selection of topics and the tools the poet employs when dealing with them.

So, context is needed to illuminate usage, but awareness of a general trend in the usage of a particular word will sometimes guide the reader towards a particular reading within a particular context. This is of specific use in judging of possible irony or slippage between what is said and what is implied. In an important article, Ahl (1984) stresses that covert criticism of a powerful political figure was deemed safe by the ancients, as long as an innocent meaning could also be read into

⁴ Kenney's *Introduction* in Melville (1992) spells out Ovidian imaginative interaction with his own earlier works. Sharrock (1995) finds the opposite process in *Amores* 3.7, where euphemism acts as a "loaded form of polysemy".

the words. Where Ovid's poetic transgression had been given a political colour by Augustus, he may have felt the need to give new stress to the innocence of the vocabulary he had formerly employed in erotic contexts, but perhaps also a need to continue with his heady fun.

The paper will therefore examine sets of semantically related words employed by the poet in the *Tristia* and *Epistolae ex Ponto*, including reuse in a different setting of words made familiar in a previously erotic context, by both the poet and other authors. Predominant semantic sets in Ovid's exilic works will be identified, and the chronological occurrence of the most prominent words from each set will be briefly explored in order to map the exile's shifts in his use of vocabulary within the eight years of exile. This will have three functions: first, it can be employed as a reference tool to aid any reader's critical judgement of particular occurrences by awareness of the trend of the exile's thought, and second, it can be used to judge either change or consistency in importance of particular topics or themes (as represented by these words) over time. Finally, frequency of use of certain words from earlier works in a changed context may further indicate a degree of revision of the value readers should place on the poet's earlier use of the words. That means that within this patterning a conscious reworking or redirection of these tools may become discernible.

Overview of premises and method

1 Choice of vocabulary: Nagle's assertion that most of the "specialized" vocabulary of the exilic works was adapted from erotic elegy is only partly true. Many words common to the exilic works and the erotic elegiac genre originally derive from other semantic spheres⁵ and were adapted to specialized elegiac use by Ovid's predecessors. Ovid is adept at using familiar words in new settings, particularly in an erotic context, where double entendre and various levels of meaning are often discernible⁶. In the exilic works a seemingly conscious system of "de-punning" both evokes earlier elegiac use and restores words to their original semantic sets (Conte 1994, 143), thereby inverting the elegiac tradition (which is itself an inversion of "real life").

⁵ Conte (1994:41) refers to a discomfort aroused by the tension between "irreconcilable rhetorics".

⁶ Pichon (1902) stresses that Ovid never uses obscene words. Green (1981) lists as the most common "doublets": *membrum, testis, nervus, latus, coire, miscere, surgere, cadere, iacere*. Cf. Adams (1982:224-5).

2 Chronology: The chronological structure of the exilic *corpus* is important. Critics sometimes fail to distinguish between the tone of poems from the first year of Ovid's wanderings and those from the nebulous last years of his exile.

Chronological examination of the exilic works shows changes in style, attitude and tonality (Claassen 1992). The exilic poems can be dated fairly certainly from internal evidence (the poet's references to his own age, to Augustus' death and to historically verifiable events) and the limit imposed by the poet's death⁷. The poetry traditionally was received in an order presumably arranged by the poet himself (with the possible exception of P4, perhaps collected posthumously). Ovid was always a prodigious worker, and his output increased at about the turn of our era but declined after about AD 14. During the time of exile Ovid's poetic output fluctuated. In the first few months he produced T1 and T2, over a thousand verses, some apparently produced while still on this journey to Tomis. *Ex Ponto* 4, with a smaller output of only 930 verses, appears to represent four years' output. For the purpose of analyzing possible changing usage of vocabulary, the exilic oeuvre may conveniently be divided into five chronological (rather than thematic) phases⁸:

- **One:** December AD 9 to about March AD 10: T1 and T2, 1280 verses;
- **Two:** March AD 10 to about February AD 12: T3 and T4, 1466 verses;
- **Three:** March AD 12 to about January AD 13: T5 (possibly also parts of P1 and the *Ibis*), 800 verses⁹;
- **Four:** October AD 12 to about December AD 13: P1-P3, 2264 verses;
- **Five:** From about January AD 14 to the death of the exile: P4, totalling 930 verses¹⁰.

⁷ My datings are based on Pippidi (1972), correlated with Kenney in Melville (1992:xi).

⁸ For detailed arguments grounding this division, see Claassen 1986, Section 4.1.

⁹ The *Ibis* is a poem of invective and although it is exilic, I have chosen to omit it for consideration here, as its generic nature differs so widely from the most of the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*. Both the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* received at least their final reworking during the poet's exile, but have for similar reasons been discounted here, except as an occasional basis for comparison.

¹⁰ Order of composition within each phase is not fixed, and the "collec-

3 Method: The distribution over these five phases of key terms will be discussed, and relative frequency will be established by statistical means, that is, number of occurrences per hundred lines of verse will be used as a comparative tool. The table (*Addendum* at the end of this paper) gives a summary of frequencies of key words in the *Tristia* and *Epistolea ex Ponto*, and a statistical interpretation of relative increase or decrease of occurrences within the course of the poet's years of exile¹¹.

4 Semantics: What moderns would consider as "false etymology" represented for the ancients a valid connection between disparate words. For the Epicureans, there was an inherent relationship between a thing and the word for it. Dissimilar objects with similar-sounding names therefore had some intrinsic relationship. This similarity need not only be that of homophones or homonyms. Communality of the elements of two words could imply a relationship, as with what Snyder (1980) terms Lucretius' "verbal atomism" in word groups like: *lignis - ignis; mater - materies; crescentesque - noscere - grandescere - certus - secreta* etc¹². The Epicurean assumption of an intrinsic relationship between words with common elements seems to have been widely influential. Ahl (1986) has shown the importance of such soundplay in the interpretation of wordplay with Ovid and other poets.

Where possible, therefore, attention will be paid to the often fanciful ancient etymologies of words (usefully collected by Maltby 1991) in order to ascertain what weight certain words would have carried for our author and his contemporary readers. With those etymologies that post-date Ovid, particular circumspection is needed, but it is not unjustified to postulate an etymological tradition, or to guess that

tions" (T1, P1-3) each have a prologue and epilogue probably composed after the body of a particular collection. See Helzle (1988a) *passim*. The *Ibis* was probably concurrently composed with the poems of Phase 3, which may explain an apparent "small" output of 800 verses in a year, after 1466 verses in the previous. Probable sequential overlap of parts of Phases 3 and 4 would partly account for an apparent leap in output to 2264 verses during Phase 4. Conjectures about the composition or revision of the *Fasti* and the double epistles should also be taken into account, despite Kenney's comments in *PLLS* 8 (1995:206 n. 84).

¹¹ Figures are reworked to give relative frequency per hundred verses in each phase. See Claassen (1986 Section 5.2) for detailed discussion.

¹² Thoroughly discussed in relation to Ovid by Ahl (1986), against whom Cameron (1995) argues that the modern distinction between upper and lower case influences interpretations.

Ovid would have subscribed to popular interpretations, even if these were recorded only much later.

The interpretative process

The following is an illustration of how awareness of frequency and trend of usage may influence the contextual reading of a particular word. *Turba* is a favourite Ovidian word, taking colour from its often ambiguous context. Its primary sense in Lewis and Short is negative: *turmoil, hubbub, uproar, disorder, tumult, commotion, disturbance of a crowd of people*, and only the secondary meaning is more neutral: *crowd, throng, multitude, mob*, etc. Eichert (1904) has as first meaning *ungeordneten Menge, Haufe, Schwarm, Schar*, as secondary meaning *Getümmel, Gewühl*. Hellegouarc'h (1963) calls it "political group, following"¹³. The word occurs in the exilic poems altogether 35 times. Of these 18 have an apparently positive or neutral connotation, "following", "large group", usually in a civic sense, 13 are negative with the connotation of unruly mob, and in three cases the value of the word is unclear¹⁴. There is no particular variation through time; the word is, however, always negative when applied to the inhabitants of the Euxine area, or, metaphorically, to the exile's ills, whereas allusions to civic activities in Rome are positive. Awareness of its use in negative context, then, influences interpretation of apparently positive instances.

In T2.88 the exile reproaches the emperor: *est vultus turba secuta tuos*. We know by now that the emperor was angry with the exiled poet. The meaning of this line may simply be "your followers watched your expression", but awareness that the majority of the occurrences of *turba* in the exilic works is negative, gives the reader pause. The line may also mean "that mob followed your (angry) expression (and reviled me too)". Even more uncertain is the emotional "feel" of *turba* in T3.1.77,78 *di precor atque adeo – neque enim mihi turba roganda est! / Caesar, ades voto, maxime dive, meo*¹⁵. The question is how much

¹³ Cf. Zumwalt (1977), Ferguson (1978).

¹⁴ Positive: T3.2.4 *vos Pierides ... / docta ... turba*; T5.3.47 *vos quoque, consortes studii pia turba, poetae*; P4.9.6 *et fiam turbae pars ego nulla tuae*; P4.9.17 *dumque latus sancti cingit tibi turba senatus*. Negative: T5.6.41 *quam multae ... / tam me circumstant densorum turba malorum*; T5.10.28 *mixta facit Graecis barbara turba metum*.

¹⁵ Perhaps an echo of Cicero *Nat. Deor.* 1.15.39 *turba ignotorum deorum*, which Ovid has echoed before: F2.668 *deorum / cuncta Iovi cessit turba*.

irony is to be read into this particula allusion. The exile prays directly to Augustus, and adds in an aside, "for I don't have to apply to a whole mob of gods". The observation may be read as a compliment: "you Augustus are paramount among your following of (minor) gods", while, however, at the same time it suggests the extent to which Augustus has superseded the gods in Roman civic and religious life. Similarly, occurrence of the word in T4.1.54 *namque deorum / cetera cum magno Caesare turba facit* invites a negative interpretation, if only in the sense that it again stresses the degree to which the emperor has arrogated deity.

Specialized vocabulary

Nagle (1980: 63–64, and n. 112) lists the following as examples of "erotic diction" employed in the exilic works: *miser, me miserum, tristis, infelix, maestus, sollicitus, curae, mala, labores, dolores, amarus, lacrimae, fletus, metus, luctus, taedia, desiderium, cupido, carere, spes, improbus, crudelis, durus, saevus, mitis, lenis, ira laesi dei, crimen, scelus, culpa, error, poena, deus, numen, supplex, preces, vota, auxilium, solacia, levare, fides, memor, immemor, utilitas*. Rather strangely, she does not list the obvious, *amor, amica* and *amicitia*¹⁶. A glance at Deferrari et al. (1969) or a search through the PHI CD ROM (1991) will confirm that these words appear frequently in both the erotic poems and in the exilic oeuvre. Nagle controlled her list against Pichon's (1902) very thorough listing of the vocabulary of erotic elegy. As Videau Delibes (1991, 13) shows, however, Nagle pays scant attention to nuancing or progression in the use of these words. Pichon lists his words in different categories, under their original semantic provenances, showing that military, political, medical, literary, legal, religious, nautical, hunting and fishing terms had been adapted to erotic use. Pichon lists words unique to Ovid, but also words which in Propertius had a negative meaning, which Ovid gives a positive connotation.

Pichon's erotically adapted words are far more specifically "erotic" than the words (many denoting *suffering*) listed by Nagle. His list compares well with the Roman political terminology collected by Helle-

¹⁶ Purnelle-Sinart and Purnelle (1987) list *amor* as 29th in absolute order of frequency in Ovid's elegiacs, *amo* as 40th. The two words are, with *puella* (19th) the only clearly elegiac words in a list predictably beginning with *sum, -que, et, qui, in*.

gouarc'h (1963). Words connected with the exile's misdeed have a legal provenance. Words from the political sphere relate particularly to the merging of the language of statesmanship with the language of friendship, and to specialized rhetorical and didactic uses. Some words from these various sets are used so consistently within the exilic context, that they may be called the "specialized vocabulary of exile", and of these, some (in particular words denoting misery and longing or expressing distance) may by their nature be termed "naturally exilic".

"Political" words

"Political" words the poet employs are *turba*¹⁷, *clementia*, *iustitia*, *moderatus*, *nobilitas*, *pater patriae*, *princeps*, *prohibere*, *vetare*, *imperium*, *salus*, *trumphus*, *pax*, *hostis infestus*, *eques*¹⁸. Cognates and derivatives can usually be considered with these key words.

Some of these words are clearly positive, and are frequent enough to warrant phase-by-phase comparison. Hellegouarc'h lists *clementia*, *iustitia* and *moderatio* as characteristics of the Roman political man, his *clipeus virtutis*, in Cicero's phrase. In *RG* 34.2 Augustus connects these terms, together with his *virtus* and *pietas*, when recounting the celebration of his assumption of his new name in 27 by the award of a civic crown and the setting of a golden shield in the Curia Julia. The exile dutifully applies the words to Augustus, but also to others, including his friends¹⁹.

Clementia, the characteristic Augustus particularly prided himself on exhibiting, may be termed "kindness", mercy beyond deserts. It (or its cognate *clemens* / *clementissimus*) occurs only once each elsewhere in Ovid's works, in both cases in the *Metamorphoses*, and only ten times in the exilic poetry: once in Phase 1, four times in Phase 2, once in Phase 3, three times in Phase 4, and once only in Phase 5. The relative infrequency of a term one might have expected the exile to use often in pleas for recall is perhaps significant. The last occurrence is applied to the exile's patron Sextus Pompeius, dedicatee of the last book. The implication of the accompanying perfect parti-

¹⁷ Discussed above, as an illustration of nuancing of meaning.

¹⁸ Cf. Benedum (1967), Doblhofer (1978) and Eichert (1904).

¹⁹ Allusion to the emperor's *clementia* (e.g., T4.4.53 *quanta in Augusto clementia . . .*) may indicate wishful induction by the poet, as with Seneca's *De Clementia*, aimed at the young Nero.

ciple *territa* is that demonstration of aid can be dangerous for the person exhibiting *clementia*:

*nunc quoque nil subitis clementia territa fatis
auxilium vitae fert ...* (P4.1.25)

Iustitia, another of Augustus' vaunted characteristics, is not frequent; its cognate *Iustus* very frequent in the Ovidian oeuvre as a whole (some 71 occurrences in all)²⁰. Often the word *iustus* has a neutral sense, as "justifiable", "good", but its context may relate to either a negative or a positive judgement by the exile. In the first phase *iustus* has a positive context at T1.3.62 *utraque iusta mora est* (a good reason to delay) and at T2.29 *illa quidem iusta est* it refers to the emperor's anger, conceding that there was some reason for this emotion. Of four occurrences in Phases 2 and 3, only one refers to the emperor. The others can be discounted. In Phase 4 five references out of eight acknowledge the "justness" of the emperor's attitude, and then the topic is dropped. In Phase 5 *iusta* refers to complaints, by the poet or his friends, as being "justified".

The next characteristic of a good ruler, *moderatio*, the setting of a measure, is precluded by its prosody from use in elegiacs. *Moderatus* is infrequent, occurring once in each of the first three phases, twice relating to the emperor. The fourth phase has *moderatus* twice and *moderor*, as applied to the emperor, once, as in P3.6.23,24: *principe nec nostro deus est moderatior ullus / Iustitia vires temperat ille suas*, where flattering appeal appears to acknowledge guilt.

Augustus' pride in the new title *pater patriae*, conferred in 2 BC (as noted in RG 35), is twice acknowledged in apostrophe during the course of T2 (181, *parce, pater patria ...* and again at v 574). A third reference acknowledges him as *patriae rector ... paterque* (T2.39). *Pater patriae* and the semantically related *parens* occur altogether eleven times throughout the exilic works. Significantly, Augustus is reminded at T4.4.13 that as *pater patriae* he had suffered himself "to be read" (*legi*) in Ovid's song. No virtues, other than "saving the state" or physical parenthood, are ascribed to Augustus as *pater*. In the fourth phase two occurrences allude in an elliptic phrase to Augustus' "double

²⁰ Maltby (1991) s.v. *ius* collects ancient etymologies relating the word to its cognates, without speculation about origins (Ulp. *dig.* 1,1,1, *Isid. orig.* 5,25,3); Lewis and Short give Sanscrit *yu-*, "to join", an indication of the development of the concept within primitive political thought.

parentage" – of both the state and of Tiberius²¹. *Parens* appears once as the equivalent of "father of the state" (T2.157 *per patriam, quae te tuta et secunda parente est*). Isidorus' (correct) etymology (*orig.* 9,5,4, *parentes quasi parientes*)²² if known to Ovid, would have enhanced the flattery here involved, as it stresses the emperor's having produced a reborn state. Yet generally Ovid stresses natural or adoptive relationships in the imperial family far more often than the political meaning with which Augustus had worked hard to imbue these terms.

Imperium, a word infrequent in elegy, is almost as frequent in the exilic poems (17) as in the rest of Ovid's oeuvre together (21, of which 11 are in the *Fasti*), but only in Phase 1 (6) and Phase 4 (4) does the word relate to Augustus. Varro *ling.* 5,87 derives *imperator* (notoriously a metrical impossibility in dactylic verse) from *imperio populi qui eos, quid id attemptassent, oppressisset hostis* (my emphasis). Augustus appears by the time of Ovid's exile to have virtually annexed terminology deriving from the word *imperium* for the exclusive use of himself and his immediate family²³. Ovid seems often to be attempting to redirect the domain of this semantic set to a sphere wider than the Caesarian house, back to Varro's *populus*. Some occurrences, in the fifth phase, are either religious or connected with the various consulships of some of his addressees, with only two exceptions, both in P4.13 (28 and 33), referring to Tiberius' rule. The first of these offers interesting support to Tacitus' depiction of Tiberius' reluctant accession: *qui frena rogatus / saepe recusati ceperit imperii* (P4.13.28).

The table shows an increase through the first four stages and then a decline in the relative frequency of other words from the semantic set that relates to imperial rule, *pax* and *hostis*. *Pax* is most common in a negative context, as something the exile has lost, whose non-existence in the Pontic region, a major argument for Ovid's request for recall, implies negation of the *pax Augusta*²⁴. Its marked decrease in

²¹ Irony may be read here. Tiberius was clearly Augustus' last resort, when all other candidates for adoption had fallen away. P2.8.31 and P4.13.27, with the poet's bland acceptance of the resemblance between "father" and "son", accentuated by omission of the fact of his adoption. Cf. Ahl (1984).

²² Maltby 1991, *q.v.* Hereafter, unless otherwise specified, ancient etymological references will be taken from this source.

²³ See Syme (1979) on Augustus' appropriation of the title as *cognomen*, and discussion by Brunt of Augustus' *maius imperium* (*Introduction* to his edition of Augustus' *Res Gestae*, 1975, 12–14).

²⁴ Some occurrences have a different context, or pun on the expression *pace tua*.

frequency by the last phase indicates rather the inefficacy of this appeal than newly discovered virtue in the local populace. This is borne out by the changing usage of *hostis*. In Phase 1, five of the first six occurrences are in *sententiae*, gnomic statements about human behaviour, three refer to the exile's location among "enemies". Only one refers to a personal enemy. The exile appears largely oblivious to personal hostility evinced by any individuals other than the emperor. In Phase 2, nine allusions are to the exile's situation, one a gnomic expression. Phase 3 has three gnomic statements, four allusions to the situation. Phase 4 heightens its appeal with eighteen references to danger from local enemies, four gnomic sayings, and one allusion to the personal enemy of a correspondent (P3.8.20 *hoste, precor, fiant illa cruenta tuo*).

Hostis as the poet's private "enemy" in Rome occurs only thrice. In T2.77 the word refers to the person who first brought his erotic works to the emperor's attention. The use of the word here casts a dubious light on Augustus, who, by association, is also an "enemy". In T5.1.56 whoever tries to prevent the exile's tears is "*durior hoste*". In P3.1.152 he attempts to disarm an enemy by awarding the role of *hostis* to *Fortuna* alone. The poet's own (unnamed) enemy is never "*inimicus*". Of four occurrences of this word, three are linked with *non* in the context of a double negative, the fourth in a "triple negative": *vix tunc ipse mihi non inimicus eram* (T2.82), all therefore creating strong positives. The word seems to lend itself here to circumlocution.

Politics shading off into friendship

Words prominent within the overlapping semantic fields of politics and private friendship in the exilic oeuvre are: *amicitia* / *amicus*, *officium*, *meritum*, *studium*, *favere*, *foedus*, / *fides* / *fidus* / *fidelis*, *velle*, *cupere*, *amare*, *deligere*.

Hellegouarc'h (1963) lists *amicitia* as a political concept. In the Roman context it often was²⁵. Catullus exploited this concept by transferring the idea of Lesbia as his *amica* ("girl friend") to the sphere of *amicitia* and relating to it concepts such as *foedus*, *fides* and *obligatio*. Although *amicitia* should have been durable between Roman

²⁵ Leach (1993) shows that whether Cicero as articulating an ideal or codifying a system, his *De Amicitia* indicates gradations in quality of an acknowledged reciprocity.

politicians, as theoretically they shared the same moral and political principles, in practice *amicitia* sometimes was a mere matter of courtesy, "a way of overstepping covert enmity" (Brunt 1965). Augustus used the concept freely. *Amicus principis* became an almost political title. Of Ovid's correspondents, the most famous *amicus principis* is Fabius Maximus. Loss of Augustan *amicitia* probably led Fabius, like Cornelius Gallus long before him, to commit suicide²⁶.

Amicitia and *amicus* are very frequent, occurring about ten times as often in the exilic poems as in the rest of the Ovidian oeuvre. Not unsurprisingly, the set triples in frequency in the fourth phase (where friends are personally named, and appeals often are cast in the guise of advice on the duties of friendship), dwindling again in the last.

The poet proposes to his friend Brutus in the prologue to *Ex Ponto* 1 – 3 that he should replace the offending three books of the *Ars Amatoria* with this new collection (P1.1.12). So P1 – P3 becomes an "*Ars Amicitiae*". Ovidian *amicitia* is, however, seldom political. It is predominantly private and personal, with *amicus* frequently in the vocative case. Political undertones are discernible in T2.81 *esse sed irato quis te mihi posset amicus?* and T5.9.21 *di tibi se tribuant cum Caesare semper amicos*. Yet *amor* as the relationship between friends is still less frequent than the erotic sense of the word, even in the exilic poems (nine out of 32 in the *Tristia* and five out of 20 in *Ex Ponto*)²⁷.

Ancient sources from Cicero *Laelius* 26 onwards adequately derived *amicitia* from *amor*, but *amicus* was later fancifully connected with *animi aequus* (Cassiodorus in *psalm.* 37,121,238 A.), *animi custos* (Gregorius M in *evang* 27,4) and even *hamus . . . catena caritatis* (Isidorus *Orig.* 10,4). Such derivations would not have displeased Ovid, but there is another factor: underlying every solemn reference to *Roma* there may be lurking reminiscences of the poet's earlier works, where the punning potential of its palinode *amor* was often exploited, as in *AA* 1.55 *tot tibi tamque dabit formosas Roma puellas*. In the didactic

²⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 1.4. See Rogers (1959 and 1966) on the "emperor's displeasure", also listing the voluntary exile of Silanus, the lover of Julia Minor, who was allowed to return to Rome under Tiberius.

²⁷ The occurrences listed in the Table relate only to the non-erotic use of the word, as referring to the relationship between friends, and which occurs also in connection with Rome (T1.3.49, T2.160; P1.3.29), death (T1.5.6; T3.8.39), praise (T5.7.21; P4.7.40) and in other equally neutral contexts. In Ovid's other elegies, (mainly erotic) *amor* is the third most frequent noun, after *puella* and *ars* (Purnelle-Sinart and Purnelle 1987, *q.v.* and n. 16 above).

poem it was not *amor*, but *Roma*, that supplied the apprentice lover with girls. In the exilic works Ovid appears consciously to reverse any such punning allusions by the straightforward use of both *amor* and *Roma*, but, in the context of his earlier works, an echo reverberates in T2.321 *nec mihi materiam bellatrix Roma negabat*. His readers in Rome would know that, far from his having sung of warlike Rome, it was "*bellator Amor*" that had formerly been the poet's main theme.

Pietas and its cognate *pious* with all their Virgilian undertones are frequent in Ovid, particularly in the *Fasti*²⁸. The words may sometimes require an ironical interpretation as in T1.3.86, where the exile's wife pleads to be allowed to accompany him as Caesar has driven him, ... *pietas haec mihi Caesar erit!* The word gains in resonance when it is remembered that *pietas* is another of the salient characteristics Augustus names in *RG* 34. Allusions to the imperial family invite an ironical interpretation, as in P2.2.75, where *nurum neptesque pias natosque nepotum* highlight by omission Livia's (step-)daughter-in-law and granddaughter that had been judged "*impiae*". The poem is addressed to Messalinus, younger son of that Messala Corvinus who brought the *pater patriae* proposal before the senate in 2 B. C., and its whole lends itself to second and less favourable interpretations, in the spirit of what Ahl (1984) terms "the art of safe criticism", e. g., vv. 29–31 and 99–100 on the dangers of evoking the emperor-god's wrath by seeking sanctuary with him, or even by helping the exile, reference in 42 to Augustus as the "Tarpeian thunderer", which evokes both an implication of arrogation of deity and of primitive, peremptory justice, and, most damningly, 115–119, depiction of Augustus as a kind *parens*, whose dire punishment of others (by implication his children) hurts himself in equal measure. It is not difficult in the last case to read another allusion to Augustus' harsh treatment of his daughter and granddaughter, which, whether justified or not, caused him much grief.

Fides was considered by the ancients to derive from *fit quod dicitur* (cf. *Cic Fam.* 16,10,2). From Catullus (*carm.* 76.3) onwards, readers would be accustomed to the adaptation of the words *fides* (*fidelis*) and *foedus* to an erotic context. This set in Ovid occupies six columns in the Concordance of Deferrari et al (1968), 240 occurrences in all. Their relative distribution in the exilic works somewhat surprisingly contrasts with the distribution of the "friendship" words, being most

²⁸ Absolute figures: *Am.* 10 *AA* 9 *Met.* 53, *Her.* 23, *F.* 35.

frequent in the first and last phases, lowest in the second. Ovid most commonly implies a sense of "faithfulness, faithful obligation" in relation to a friend, sometimes in gnomic statement, e. g., T1.5.39 *saepe fidem adversis etiam laudant in armis*. *Foedus* (also from root **fid-*, recognized as such by Cicero, so Servius on *Aen.* 8.641) occurs only seven times, once in connection with the exile's relationship to his wife. The Catullan echo is clear: P3.1.73 *exigit hoc socialis amor foedusque maritum*. The novelty lies in the address of a real wife. Here, as elsewhere (e. g., T1.3 *passim*, T3.3.15–24) in the way the exiled poet spells out his love for his wife there seems to be an attempt at rewriting his reputation as a *lusor amorum*²⁹.

Frequency figures for the complete set, **amic-*, non-erotic *amor*, *pias* and *pietas* and the **fid-* words, fluctuate between a low in Stage Two (fewer than 24 per 1000 verses), to almost 38 per thousand in the fourth phase, thanks there to the high frequency of *amicus* and *amicitia*.

Political *amicitia* involved obligatory duties. An *officiosus* friend would perform an *officium*, a service. The words derive from *opus facere*, to do a job (so Lewis and Short) but for the ancients, with scant distortion, from *efficere*, to achieve, carry out (Maltby 1991 q.v.). The terms are frequent in Ovid's other works (59 instances, of which 27 in the erotic elegies, 16 each in *Met.* and *Fasti*) and in the exilic works they recur with increasing frequency, culminating in what we have called Ovid's "*Ars Amicitiae*" (Phase 4 – 16 instances). Eleven occurrences in the last phase indicate a continued trust in friendship. In exile the words often relate to the writing of poetry, as in T4.7.4 *cur non tua dextera versus / quamlibet in paucos officiosa fuit?* and P1.1.20 *Musaque ad invitos officiosa venit*. Nagle (1980) stresses the semantically related *utilitas*, (which implies efficacy), especially of poetry. *Utilitas* occurs nine times in the exilic corpus, often in a negative context, as T4.1.38 *sed quiddam furor hic utilitatis habet*, or P2.3.8 *vulgas amicitias utilitate probat*, P4.12.46 *nec satis utilitas est mea nota mihi*.

Studium in Lewis and Short has a basic meaning "a busying one's self about or application to a thing". In the context of political *amicitia* it is used for "interest in", as in P2.5.60 *et servat studii foedera quisque sui*. In the exilic works its political connotation is secondary and the

²⁹ *Fiducia* "trust" occurs only four times. At T5.2.71 it should be translated as "certainty": *pax tamen interdum est, pacis fiducia numquam*.

word refers predominantly to “studies”, “scholarship” as in T2.9. *deme mihi studium* ... or T5.12.51 *si demens studium fatale retemptem*³⁰. In either sense, it is most frequent in Phase 4 (15 occurrences). *Favere* and *favor* together display a similar distribution pattern, with 16 occurrences in the fourth phase. With Ovid the semantic field of the highly frequent root **fav-* in the context of *amicitia* usually involves condescension from a greater to a lesser personage. A possible exception is T1.2.101 *domui si favimus illi* where the active agent is the exile, pleading on the ground of past merit, “favour to the house of the emperor”³¹. The complete set (“g” in the table) is relatively far more frequent in the exilic works than in the rest of Ovid’s corpus (118 examples here, representing 43% of all occurrences of these words). *Colere* as a political act is relatively infrequent in the exilic poetry: of about 40 instances throughout, its political or social meaning predominates in phases two and five, but the word in general is restricted to its religious domain, including cultivation of his Muse by the poet as *vates*. Its cognate *cultor* is almost exclusively religious.

Legal vocabulary

The condemned exile predictably resorts to legal vocabulary in his appeals to his judge. The words under consideration that comprise a single semantic set, are: *arguere, fateor, poena, crimen, culpa, error, exsul, relegatus*³². Of these, some do not reflect the pains of exile. Although forming part of Nagle’s list (1982: 67–8), and attested to in Pichon (1902) these words do not spring to mind as essentially erotic. Where the poet has formerly employed them as such, here they are apparently consciously restored to their original provenance, thereby perhaps also

³⁰ This is the traditional intellectual refuge of an exile, featuring frequently in the consolatory tradition as a means of solace (cf. Claassen 1989, 1996).

³¹ The poet may be implying his own greater worth, but this should not be overstressed, as a similar usage in P4.14.56, *publicus* ... *favor* has no discernible ironic undertones.

³² Recourse was had for this part of the discussion to Tracey (1978–79) and Focardi (1975). Deratini’s (1916) list of rhetorical and didactic vocabulary in the erotic poems overlaps with Ovid’s exilic vocabulary, but the words do not merit special discussion, being the Latin equivalents of common Greek oratorical terminology: *turpe, pudet, decet, conveniens, utilis, tutum, nocens, meritis, tempus, nox, dies, caelum, aethera, adde quod, adice, finge, vidi, i nunc, quid referam / narrem, cura, mors*, etc.

offering the exile a way of "sanitising" their earlier erotic use. Some appear merely neutral.

Fateor, "I confess", is frequent, but often in parentheses, as a verse filler, seldom in a legal connotation. The exile confesses to "fearing", to having "lied", to having done "nothing more than make a mistake", to "not having feared", but *never* to a crime. Apparently the exile's sense of contrition, or the poet's need for verse fillers, fluctuated considerably. The word is relatively most frequent in the first and last phases, least frequent in the second. The nearest to a confession of guilt is P2.2.19: *esse quidem fateor meritam post Caesaris iram*. Again, as ever, the guilt is left unspecified³³.

Arguo, "I am accused", the semantic complement of *fateri*, first occurs in T2, Ovid's "speech for the defense" (212, *arguor obsceni doctor adulterii* and 327, *arguor inmerito!*). Other occurrences of the word are unrelated to accusations against the exile. The substantive common with *arguo*, *crimen*, has a wavering semantic field: from "accusation" to what in English is termed "crime". It is a common Ovidian word: its 55 occurrences in the exilic works represent only 26% of total occurrences. Both senses feature here, most often in denials of guilt: the word is most frequent in the first phase, which includes T2 (23 occurrences, or 1,8 per hundred verses). The second phase has 17 occurrences, and the other three phases together only 17. Paranomastic play on *carmen-crimen* is first coined at T2.207: *perdiderunt me duo crimina, carmen et error*, firmly connecting Ovid's poetry with his "crime". Once established, this relationship echoes throughout, and can be evoked at each of the subsequent 134 repetitions of the word *carmen* / *carmina*³⁴. At the last, P4.14.42, the relationship is firmly restated: *inque novum crimen carmina nostra vocat*³⁵. Here the first meaning suggested above is involved. The exile needs to defend himself against a new accusation: his poetic complaints about the harshness of his place of exile have incensed the local populace and he is now obliged to deflect their ire with praise

³³ Historicists are no nearer solving the "mystery" after the works of Thibault (1966) and Verdière (1992).

³⁴ Distribution of *carmen* is, 40, 24, 18, 34, 33. Relative frequency is highest in the first and last phases, lowest in second and fourth.

³⁵ Maltby's (1991) large collection of ancient sources on *carmen* and *crimen* indicate fanciful etymology that relates both words (with *Camenae*) to various roots containing the combinations **car-* / **cas-*. Common derivation from *carere* in a late source (Isid. *orig.*) acknowledges the traditional link: a crime lacks a "name" (5,26,1) and a singer-poet lacks a "mind" (1,39,4).

for their kindly amelioration of his outcast state (43–56). More of this below.

The word is part of a semantic set referring to “guilt”. With Ovid three degrees or shades of culpability are reflected (“crime” / *crimen* / *adikêma*, “fault” / *culpa* / *hamartia*, “mistake” / *error* / *atychêma*). Of these he admits to only the least serious, *error* (“a mistake”), and rejects all *culpa* (“blame, fault”). Lewis and Short relate *error* to the IE root **er-*, “to wander” (as did Varro *ling.* 6,96). *Culpa* is related to Skr. **skhal-* “to fall”. It may be virtually equated with *errare*, from which may be derived the further sense of “a state worthy of punishment arising from a wrong judgement”, which is all Ovid will ever admit to. Of importance is what we can deduce from Ovid’s use of the two words about his attitude to his punishable deed. Comparison of frequency indicates a significant shift of emphasis. The frequency of *culpa* reaches a climax in the fourth phase, with 14 occurrences in the series 8, 6, 7, 14, 2. Figures of relative frequency give a clearer picture: *error* is relatively most frequent in Phase 2, disappears in Phase 3, and is infrequent in Phase 4³⁶. *Culpa* is most frequent in the third phase, but drops to the same low frequency as *error* in Phase 4, with further diminution in the last phase. Only once *culpa* is tempered by the adjective *imprudens* (T2.104). The exile appears ready to admit to some blame in the first years of exile but by the fourth phase he only once admits to a “fault” (P1.1.64 *culpa perennis erit*). It is clear that the exile is changing his tack: no amount of self-inculpation will move his imperial reader, and he drops the ploy. In the last phase blamelessness is twice attested: at P4.6.15 in the context of the death of his patron Fabius Maximus, when Augustus “had begun to forgive his fault”, and, finally, *nulla est mea culpa* P4.14.23) – but this is in exculpation of the accusation of ingratitude brought against him by the Tomitans, referred to above³⁷. From first to last, the exile will not accept any serious culpability for his past or present.

While making the most of the pathos of exile, and stressing his longing for his native soil, if only to be buried in it (T3.3.70), the poet twice (in Phases 1 and 3) distinguishes between “exile” and “relegation”. Ovid was not exiled, merely relegated (“sent away”), which meant he retained his possessions. A Roman citizen would, however, lose his citizenship if he settled permanently in another locality, so, although

³⁶ Not all occurrences of *error* relate to the poet’s misdeed.

³⁷ “Guilt” implies an angry opponent, who may also forgive. The words *ira*, *mitis*, *lenis* are discussed below in the context of Augustus as god.

he was technically not exiled by imperial decree, Ovid's permanent relegation implied loss of civic rights, and he frequently stresses his diminished status. *Exul* was commonly written *exsul*, for, on the evidence of Quintilian, Caper and Scaurus³⁸ the word was considered to relate to *solum* (probably "ex solo")³⁹. This etymologizing appears to have been derived from the fact that in Roman law change of domicile was known as *solum vertere*. Loss of civic status was immediate only in cases of *solum vertere exilii causa*, involving escape from capital condemnation or if the sentence imposed was *interdictio aquae et igni*. Of ten occurrences of the word *solum* in the exilic oeuvre, eight appear to refer either positively to the poet's fatherland, or negatively to his place of relegation, of which the most specific is his prayer that the Sarmatian soil should not cover his bones, P1.2.60, and one, P2.2.68, specifically requests a "change of soil"⁴⁰.

Contrary to what might have been expected, the semantic set *exsul* and its cognate verb *exsulare* (with *exilium* and *relegare*)⁴¹ is relatively sparse. The words virtually disappear toward the end, after fairly consistent use (once in about every hundred verses) throughout the first four phases. In the last phase the strictly legal aspect of being a *relegatus* is touched on twice, but allusions to exile hardly feature. One may argue that the exile has resigned himself to his lot, but it may also be that he has realised the inefficacy of this particular pathetic ploy in appeals to the imperial family and to his friends.

Religious vocabulary

The languages of religion and politics frequently overlap in Roman poetry: *pietas* as discussed above has some religious undertones. For Ovid, writing poetry is a divine calling, and he sees himself as a member of a divinely-inspired fraternity. Hellegouarc'h (1963) ascribes *sodalis* (with *sodalitium*, *sodalitas*) to a politico-religious context. The word is cognate with Skr. *svadha*, "will, power" (so Lewis and Short), but its origin was ascribed by the ancients to the act of "sitting

³⁸ Quint. *decl.* 366 p. 400,13, Cap. *gramm.* VII 22,14; 95,16.

³⁹ Lewis and Short postulate a derivation of *exul* / *exsul* from the root **sal-*, "to go".

⁴⁰ The exception, P2.11.28, alludes to the birthplace of a correspondent.

⁴¹ The semantic set does not occur in the erotic poems; there are five occurrences in the *Heroides*, ten in the *Fasti*, and, perhaps surprisingly, only thirteen in the *Metamorphoses*.

down to a common meal" (from *sedere*, so Sex. Pomp. Festus 297 etc.). In Ovid it often appears as synonymous with *amicus*, but its religious undertones cannot be ignored, and the implications of its contemporary etymology are exploited in the poet's celebration of his *sodales* as his boon companions. But they are also his fellow-poets and fellow-worshippers of the Muse.

Consequently, the poet sees himself as *vates*, singer of divine truth, a designation that increases with time⁴². From a rather impersonal use once in the first phase, the poet progresses to five allusions to "poets as *vates*" in the second phase (T4.10.42 equates vatic poets with "gods"), to designating himself as *vates* four times in Phase 3. The word does not feature in the first book of Phase 4, but thereafter the poet increasingly ascribes the term to himself. Three of eight occurrences in Phase 4 refer directly to himself, as e. g., P2.9.65 *ad vatem vates orantia brachia tendo*. Here he is addressing the poet-king Cotys of Thrace, where some heavy-handed praise of the "barbarian bard's" poetic effusions (51–4) appear redolent of humourously-intended insults or ill-concealed irony⁴³. Whatever the poet's intention, he depicts himself and the king as "fellow-singers". In the last phase the word occurs in the gnomic context of the Muse-inspired vatic duty of poets to utter divine truth⁴⁴. In the context of worship of the Muse, *carmen* too takes on religious dress, and may be considered as part of this set⁴⁵.

Imperial deity

The greatest number of words from the religious semantic set centres around Augustus, his deeds and the exile's reaction to emotions exhibited by him: *Jupiter, deus, divus, numen, fata, fortuna, ira, mitis, lenis, tonans, sinister, cultor, preces, orans*⁴⁶.

⁴² *vates* occurs in all but the third phase. Newman (1967) denies any profound understanding of the concept of *vates* in Ovid, against whom see Claassen (1986 *passim*).

⁴³ Green (1994:328) considers the patronizing tone to reflect unconscious Roman arrogance rather than malicious intent, but I prefer to invoke Ahl (1984) and read at least some fun into the lines.

⁴⁴ Cf. Claassen (1989); also see Lieberg (1980) and Németh (1980) on *caelestia sacra*.

⁴⁵ See "I" in the table, which shows consistent increase of positive allusions to both *carmen* and *Musa*. See Claassen (1989 nn 7, 8).

⁴⁶ For this part of the discussion, recourse was had to Bailey (1921:15–22),

The frequency of occurrence of the words *Jupiter*, *deus*, *divus*, *numen* over the five chronological phases shows a declining arc. About one third of these occurrences refer to other, "real" deities, such as the weather gods, and the rest relate to the imperial family. A high frequency in Phase 1 (where the emperor is often approached or referred to as a god) is followed first by a decline, and then by a marked increase in the fourth phase (i.a. *deus* 57 and *numen* 28 times in absolute count), after which ascription of divinity to the imperial household lapses. Whether these allusions are adulatory or ironically meant, needs further examination. Here, too, reliance on Ahl's (1984) disquisition on the pervasive possibility of two levels of meaning in any praise of the Roman imperial family, and readers' awareness of the drift of allusions to the imperial family in the poet's other works elicit the suspicion that the exile's bland acceptance of imperial divinity is not all it seems. The Olympian gods receive little or no mention. Ovid's exilic oeuvre, whatever his original intention, has been considered by some as contributing to the process of deification of Roman emperors⁴⁷. From the first storm in *Tristia* 1.2. where minor gods underwrite the great god's ire, to his final address of the apotheosised emperor in P4.9.127-34, "Augustus as god" predominates, accentuating the emptiness of Augustus' much-vaunted religious reform.

The poet's employment of the name of Jupiter for Augustus is significant. *Jupiter* / *Jov-* is frequent throughout. Whereas in the *Metamorphoses* "Jupiter" is the Olympian Zeus, here most often the name is synonymous with "Augustus" or "Caesar". It seems not to have occurred to Ovid, although a master of words, to play on the (erroneous) derivation of the name from *iuuare* (as quoted from Ennius by Varro *ling.* 5.65 and in Cicero *nat. deor.* 2.64)⁴⁸, nor on the etymologically sound source for *deus* in a common root with *dies* (postulated by Varro *ling.* 5.66) meaning "light" or "gleam". To him "a god is a god", and nuancing reflects only the equation of the imperial

Scott (1930), Taylor (1931), Pippidi (1931), Kajanto (1957 on Livy and 1961 on Ovid), Benedum (1967), Fasciano and Leblanc (1973), Poznanski (1978) and Watson (1982).

⁴⁷ Scott (1930) sees in the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, *Met.* 15.44-49, and 818, *Fasti.* 3.157-160 an exact precedent for the final apotheosis of Augustus in P4.13.19-30

⁴⁸ *Jupiter* and *iuuare* occur in the same line only once in the poet's whole oeuvre, at *Her* 4.133, where Phaedra tries to persuade Hippolytus that Jupiter, having sanctified all liaisons through his alliance with his sister, approves "whatever pleases" humankind, *quodcumque iuuaret*.

family with the divine. *Deus* (172 instances) and *numen* (64) are frequent, both culminating in the fourth phase, with about one instance in every 25 verses⁴⁹. Ovid has, for his poetic purposes, unquestioningly equated Augustus with *deus* and its less frequent adjectival cognate, *divus* (five instances), as in T3.1.78 *Caesar, ades voto, maxime dive, meo*.⁵⁰

Numen (from the root **nu-*, “nod”, so understood also by Varro, *ling.* 7.85) has a wide semantic spread, apparently reflecting its adaptation within the early, animistic stage of Roman religion, from “authority” or “divine authority”, to “protective genius”, “vaguely divine power”, “impersonal god”, and a later reversal to “personal god”. With Ovid in exile the word ranges from “impersonal *deus*” to an indiscriminate substitute for the names of members of the imperial family⁵¹. Concentration in one poem of a particular word may virtually be taken as a single reference. There are ten direct references to Augustus as *numen* in the *Tristia*, about as many in *Ex Ponto*, seven of which are concentrated in P2.8, the poem that celebrates a gift of silver portraits of the imperial triad (perhaps coins, of the kind known to have been minted at Lyon in 12 A. D.). Here the exile claims to have erected a magnificent shrine in his humble hut, where he worships the “present deities” daily, while exhorting them to remove themselves and their pious adherent to safer shores. Toward the end his pleas appear to prevail and the *numina* soften towards the suppliant. Significantly they are seen to “nod” their acquiescence: *visaque sunt dictis adnuere ora meis* (v74). It is not difficult both to doubt the exile’s claim and to read a continued sense of fun from both the ramifications of his argument and his conscious etymological play.

⁴⁹ The less frequent plural *di* refers to “other gods”, usually unnamed, such as *di caeli et maris* in T1.2.1.

⁵⁰ Syme (1979b) shows that Augustus early discarded *Octavianus* as it would have perpetuated his real parentage, calling himself *C. Julius Caesar divi filius* by 42 BC, and subsequently *Imperator Caesar*, which then separated into *praenomen* and *gentilicum* with a new *cognomen* “*Augustus*”. A humble *C. Julius C. f. Caesar* was thus finally apotheosized as *Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus*.

⁵¹ Scholars differentiate between worship of Augustus (and Rome) in the East, and of Augustus’ *genius* in the West. Pippidi (1931) considers Ovid’s equation of emperor and *numen* as “mere flattery”, using archaeological evidence from Narbonne to show that the *genius* or *numen* was usually considered to be a separate entity, a “guiding power”. With Ovid, a tenuous semantic difference has been reduced to its logical conclusion.

Apart from this outrageous passage, where use of the word should be taken as a single occurrence, a triple designation of Germanicus as the plural *numina* in the course of P4.8 can also be taken as essentially a single reference. The word is decreasingly applied to the imperial family, its use in the imperial context dwindling noticeably from first to last, either a sign of final discouragement in the exile about the usefulness of such a ploy, or a further indication of a change in the poet's interests and choice of topics.

A more sinister equation is reflected in the substitution of the terms *fatum* and *fortuna* (roughly equivalent to the Greek "Moirai") for "Caesar", often with a strongly negative connotation. *Fatum* (from root *fa-, "to utter, appear", so recognized by Varro *ling.* 6.52) has many related shifts of meaning, from "fixed lot, what has been spoken or decreed" (even as an equivalent of *vita* "life"), to passive "what will happen" or "has happened", to "instrument of doom", to "death" (as an equivalent of *mors*). Its plural *fata*, "fates" or *Parcae* combined the ancient Greek idea of "the rulers over the thread of life" with "verbal prophecy", "what has been decreed"⁵². *Fatalis* as adjective takes on related meanings. Often *fata* as active agent virtually equals the emperor, as in T3.6.15 *sed mea me in poenam nimirum fata trahebant*; P4.9.36 *mitia ius urbis si modo fata darent*. In both cases the exile's lot and the person who decreed it appear interchangeable, and covert criticism of the powerful imperial personage may be read into these words. The poet was exiled because the emperor spoke the decree, not because he had in any way transgressed.

Fortuna, "chance" (from *fero*, "to bring", but related by the ancients merely to its cognate *forte*⁵³) is in Roman thought most often the incalculable factor bringing victory or defeat (the Greek *tychê*), but often is used, as in English today, as the equivalent of "possessions", "what has been brought by chance"⁵⁴. Kajanto (1961) sees *Fata* as a Homeric concept, *fortuna* as Hellenistic. In the exilic works the concepts merge, being both the "agents shaping events", and the "outcome

⁵² *Parcae* is related *plek-, "fold", so Lewis and Short, but to Ovid's predecessors from Varro, *ap. Gellius* 3,16,10, onwards, it derived from *parior*, "give birth", with probable reference to the belief that a child's fate was decreed at birth by the three dire sisters.

⁵³ *Aug. civ.* 4,18 p. 161,6D; *Isid. orig.* 8,9,94, etc, s.v. Maltby (1991).

⁵⁴ Deferrari et al. (1969 s.v.) differentiate between the two usages by use of lower and upper case letters. The word occurs 75 times in the exilic works, against only 40 occurrences in Ovid's other works.

of these events". Here too, Augustus as an agent "shaping events" appears as their shadowy equivalent⁵⁵. *Sors* (from *sero*, "sow", Lewis and Short, but so too Varro *ling.* 6.65) "a lot, throw of chance" usually implied the "impersonal decision of fate". For Ovid it most frequently implies "lot in life", the result of the decrees of fate (or of the emperor), as when he rebuts a suggestion that he should console himself with the usual occupations of an exile, namely study: he cannot, he says, for "*sorte nec ulla ulla mea tristior esse potest*"(T5.13.6)⁵⁶.

The combined semantic set *fortuna, fata, fatalis, Parcae, (dirae) sorores* and *sors* is typical of Ovid throughout his oeuvre (539 instances, of which 27% in the exilic works). The set has its highest frequency in the third phase where the exile often complains about the hardness and inevitability of his lot, as in the example cited above.

The synonyms *mitis* and *lenis* "kind", words elsewhere often associated with divinity⁵⁷, are here frequently applied to words denoting the emperor, with almost formulaic regularity. Thence *fata* can plausibly be equated with "Augustus" in *mitia ... fata* (P4.9.36) quoted above. *Mitis* occasionally applies to the exile's wife and friends, but more often to the emperor, in combination with requests for a better place of exile⁵⁸. *Mitis* and *lenis* sometimes combine paradoxically with *ira*, a typically divine attribute. Its root is cognate to the Greek *eris* "strife" (with the implication of the involvement of both protagonist and antagonist), but ancient etymologists associated it with "departing, taking leave (of oneself)", implying unilateral action by the antagonist, so Donatus, on Ter *Phorm* 794. With Ovid this subjective implication predominates, and the word means "wrath", but often the implication is that the poet's antagonist has exceeded just bounds, a concept that accords with the ancient etymology of the word. The

⁵⁵ See Kajanto (1961); I have not seen Birnbaum (1970) on the equation *Augustus = fortuna*.

⁵⁶ That the very rebuttal is an example of such an exercise shows the poet's old sense of fun still at work.

⁵⁷ Lewis and Short are dubious about the etymology of *mitis*, comparing it with Skt. **mith-*, "to associate". Only the late authority Isidorus (*orig.* 10,168) attempted derivation, associating it with *mutus*, "uncomplaining", and, by opposites, with *Manes*, as "*inmites*" (*id.* 1,37,24). Augustine *dialect.* 6,10 correctly identified a relationship between the root **li-* (Gk. *leiō*), "make smooth" and *lenis*, "soft, pliant".

⁵⁸ Of seven occurrences of *mitis* in Phase 5, four refer to the emperor (e.g., P4.5.32 *a miti Caesare*) and three to friends (e.g., P4.15.32 ... *mitis amice* ...).

exile felt the *ira* of the god, of Caesar, of the *princeps*, of the *numen* and of "that man". Use of *ira* (with its cognates *iratus* and *irascor*) decreases from Phases One to Three, again perhaps an indication that the exile was turning his attention elsewhere. Yet Phase Four shows a marked increase, deriving from the exile's increased outreach to potential mediators between him and the being he has angered. During the last phase significantly less concern about the emperor's anger may be ascribed to the death of Augustus in AD 14.

Prayers for remittance of sentence are expressed by means of the verbs *precor* and *oro* and the less frequent noun *preces*. *Oro* is predictably less frequent, deriving as it does from *os*, *oris*, "mouth". One of the exile's chief complaints was that exile offered him no chance for personal communication. He could write to Rome, but there was no-one to speak to. The words involving the Latin root **prec-* (cognate to Skr. **pracch-* / **prast-*, Ger. *fragen*, Eng. "pray"), "to ask" (but not necessarily of a divinity), predominate. The combined statistics for *precor* and *oro* show a strong appeal during the first two phases, which virtually ceases in the third phase, arising anew in the fourth phase when friends are addressed on the subject of *amicitia* and its obligations. The exile's appeals, beside supplication of the purportedly divine imperial family, predictably reach out into the sphere of private and political friendship. Again the words are not specifically "elegiac" or "erotic", but may be said to have reverted to their original provenance.

The specialized vocabulary of exile

Now to the specialized vocabulary of exile, comprising words for longing and desolation (largely pathological and psychological terms – these may be seen as continuing the "elegiac" mode), the language of poetics (embracing more than the "*carmen*" mentioned above) and a vocabulary of defiance and endurance⁵⁹. Ovid's vocabulary of pathos derives largely from precedents set in the *Heroides*⁶⁰. The most important are *queror*, *querulus*, *fleo*, *flebilis*, *lacrima*, *litura*, *miser*, *vereor*,

⁵⁹ Recourse was had for this part of the discussion to Lueneberg (1901), Deratini (1916), Buescu (1958–9), D'Elia (1958–9), Baca (1971), Viarre (1974), Dragulescu (1976), Hellegouarc'h (1976), Oton (1976), Doblhofer (1978 and 1980b), Soraci (1980) and Osmun (1983). Cf. Claassen (1989).

⁶⁰ The words are also extremely frequent in the *Metamorphoses*, where change often involves pain.

timor, metus, stupor, torpor, attonitus, solus, sollicitus, tristis, infelix, pudet, procul, longe, extremus, ultimus, abesse and deesse, desero, desiderium, diversus, peregrinus, profugus, vulnus, cura, morbo. Many of these, although not intrinsically “erotic”, also occur in amorous elegy, especially in the context of exclusion from the beloved, and are therefore reflected in Pichon’s list.

Ovid’s heroines were frequently “tearful”; the exile more often exhibits other signs of a growing unhappiness. In the *Heriodes*, the words *queror / querulus, fleo / flebilis / fletus, lacrima, litura, plango(r)* occur 170 times, of which *lacrima* (51) and **quer-* (39) are most frequent, as against 62 occurrences of the whole set in the exilic works, where *plangor* does not feature at all. The pattern of occurrence of *lacrima, fleo, flebilis* and *fletus* together, through the stages of exile, is erratic: 10, 18, 8, 23, 4. Some occurrences are retrospective in context: some poems from Phase Two recall the exile’s departure (which belongs in the first phase), and in Phase Four the exile weeps for lost friends. Other words in this set increase in frequency from first to last, indicating no remission of misery.

The semantic set *attonitus, infelix, miser, sollicitus, tristis, pudet* (all reflections of the subject’s inner life) is represented by 85 occurrences in the *Heroides*, by 158 in the exilic oeuvre. Their distribution here is suggestive. By Phase Four the exile has, perhaps not surprisingly, ceased to be *attonitus* (“lightning struck with unpleasant surprise”) or *sollicitus* (“worried”) but he continues unhappy – *miser* (69 occurrences in all). *Tristis* is most frequent in the second and fourth phases. The second century Festus (351) derived *sollicitus* from *solo citare* . . . “[i. e.,] *ex suo loco ac sententia* . . .” This zeugmatic derivation is most apposite to the circumstances of an exiled poet, as pointed out in the context of *exsul* (*solum vertere exili causa*) above. About *miser* Isidorus *orig.* 10,173 quotes Cicero *Tusc.* 1,9 on the dead as “*miseros . . . propter quod iam amiserunt vitam*”. Such a fanciful etymology could have represented reality for the exile, who frequently depicts removal from Rome as “living death”, loss of all life that he held dear (Claassen 1996).

Malus and *mala* (the latter as substantive for “ills”) are emotionally related to the above semantic set, in that the words reflect the exile’s inner perception of outer reality. Their relative frequency displays a decreasing arc⁶¹. The poet appears over time to be moving away from depiction of outer ills to concentrate more strongly on his inner life.

⁶¹ 1,25 ↔ 2,59 ↔ 2,12 ↔ 1,45 ↔ 0,96 – see Table.

The semantic set comprising words of destitution or desolation is represented by 72 occurrences in the *Heroides*, 143 in the *Tristia* and *Epistolae ex Ponto*. The words are: *desero*, *desiderium*, *diversus*, *extremus*, *ultimus*, *procul*, *longe*, *peregrinus*, *profugus*. Perhaps surprisingly, the fourth phase does not display a proportionate increase of expressions denoting "longing" as the exile attempts to gain sympathy from his friends. More prominent are words denoting "distance": *procul* (9), *ultimus* plus *extremus* (11), *profugus* (6), *longe* (5). With Ovid *ultimus* sometimes has a temporal connotation, "last in time" as in the "last deed of his life that brought about his downfall", T2.99 *ultima me perdunt*, and his "last (third) wife", T4.10.73 *ultima . . . sustinuit coniunx exulis esse viri*, but generally the focus is on vast spatial distance between the exile and home. Ten out of fourteen words of desolation in the last phase come from this subset; the others are all derived from *desero* (all but one applied to the exile). This word and its cognate *deserta* relate to *sero* "to join", implying disjunction, but were by the ancients derived as antonyms from its homonym, which means "to sow" (Isidorus *orig.* 14,8,31, etc.). Ovid makes much of the bareness of his place of exile and its lack of agriculture (e. g., T3.12.13). The paranomastic possibilities of like-sounding *desiderium* (of uncertain etymology, so Lewis and Short) could have prompted continued frequent use of the word in the exilic poems, as elsewhere in the Ovidian oeuvre, which often deals with loss and longing⁶². Ancient etymologists ascribed the origin of the word to "a change of stars" ("*de + sidera*," Paulus Diaconus *epit. Festi* 75), which, again, in the context of Ovid's exile, opens interesting possibilities. He consistently depicts himself as living "under a distant star", even "the Polar star" (T1.5.61, T3.4b.1, T4.4.62, P4.10.40).

An important part of Ovid's very specialized exilic vocabulary deals with his inner resilience. Here one word with a widely divergent semantic field and widely differing emotional appeal stands out: the *imago*, the surrogate vision, a unique exilic concept. It has a fluctuating semantic field, depending on the presence or absence of symbolism or degree of abstraction. In the Platonic view an idealized concept is more "real" than a transitory object. In that sense an *imago*, a mental vision, can be more "real" than the concrete object it represents. A reflection in a mirror is also an *imago*, transitory in a different way;

⁶² Figures for this set are exceeded throughout Ovid's works virtually only by the "divine set" ("I" in the table) and the other sets denoting grief, discussed above.

so too a picture on a wall, a concrete representation of either another concrete object, or of a concept, a creation of the imagination⁶³. Paulus Diaconus, following Festus, proposed the derivation of *imago* from *imitation*. This is semantically close to its origin as a cognate of *aemulatio*, from root **im-* (so Lewis and Short). This appears to have been the significance the word held for Ovid, for whom its basic import was “representation of reality”. Context helps the reader to distinguish between the meanings of *imago* in T1.3.1 *cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago*, the exile’s memory of his last night in Rome, and (about the son of Messallinus), T4.4.3 *cuius inest animo patrii candoris imago* . . . (Cf. Viarre 1974). To the poet his poems are, almost in the Platonic sense, a truer representation of himself (*maior imago*) than his own person can be (T1.7.11–12).

The frequency of occurrences of *imago* is of interest here: in Phases 1 to 4, the absolute frequency is 4, 3, 2, 8. In the last phase, *imago* does not occur, but its place has been taken by the semantically related *oculi mentis*, “the mind’s eye”. The concept first appears in the second phase, at T4.1.57, *haec ego summotus, qua possum, mente videbo*. The future *videbo* (with *absens / animo / mente*) gains a similar meaning in the context of the exile’s inner life. The impression is not so much of an increase in visionary activity, as of the poet’s development of a novel way expressing such activity⁶⁴.

Mens occurs more frequently in the context of expression of the exile’s emotional anguish. Such use of the word implies remembrance of a happier past. Isidorus *orig.* 11,1,12 offers (as second variant origin) for *mens* an etymological link to words for “memory”, and gives a list of 25 postulated cognates, some of which appear only faintly to adumbrate a reminiscence of the root **men-* (“thought”)⁶⁵. These together would serve very well to bolster Ahl’s (1986) arguments about the ancients’ serious approach to wide-ranging paranomastic play. For the study at hand, Ovid’s opposition of mental activity to corporeal suffering is significant. Frequent references to the exile’s anguish picture a sensitive thinker for whom Platonic reality is paramount, corporeal reality almost negligible (only eleven references in

⁶³ Cf. Wheeler (1995) on Ovidian ecphrasis in the context of the *imago mundi* as a *verbal portrayal* of the world as fixed backdrop or foil for descriptions of change. I have not seen Dant (1975).

⁶⁴ Only six instances are attested elsewhere, five in *Met.*, one in *Her.*

⁶⁵ Of the most fanciful are: *alimentum, argumentatio, carmen, commentarius, lacrima, maestus, vehementia*.

all to his own body)⁶⁶. This contrasts with the physically sensual approach of the erotic oeuvre and the central position of bodily change in the *Metamorphoses*. The poet's frequent use of *ingenium* ("inborn talent", so Varro, *ling.* 8,15, Cic. *fin.* 5,36 etc.) attests to this same attitude. Many of Ovid's references to *ingenium* are either negative (he has lost it) or unfavourable (it harmed him), but the combined relative frequency of *ingenium* and *mens* (on average once every fifty verses throughout) compared with *corpus* as applied to the exile himself (relatively scarce in the first phases, dwindling further toward the last) underscores the superiority in the mind of the poet of the exile's mental activities and woes over matters corporeal or physical. The exile's unhappiness has been depicted differently from phase to phase, with decreasing concern about "distance from home". The final impression is predominantly or resignation, fewer desires, and more pain. The exile relies increasingly upon the powers of his mind and his poet's imagination.

The poet's "Muse" features prominently throughout the exilic oeuvre, sometimes in the sense of "patron deity", but more often as a synonym for *carmen*, referring to his poetry⁶⁷. His Muse is twice designated *antistes*, *solacium* thrice. The *Pierides*, the daughters of *Pieros* (with variants *Pieridas* and *Pieriae deae*), feature in fourteen instances as synonyms for the Muses⁶⁸. The poet's attitude to his Muse fluctuates from strongly negative to wholly positive. It is important to weigh negative references against positive. The most negative allusion occurs at P4.2.45 *quid nisi Pierides, solacia frigida, restant*. Yet cold comfort is comfort still. After the second phase, where positive references (5) outweigh negative (3), negatives cease. Positive allusions continue, reaching a

⁶⁶ 53 further instances of **corp-* in the exilic works have a different context. In the rest of Ovid's oeuvre *corpus*, in all semantic contexts, is extremely frequent, 412 instances in all (as opposed to 220 for *mens* and *ingenium*).

⁶⁷ I have dealt elsewhere (Claassen 1989) more extensively with Ovid's ambivalent attitude to his poetry: he both blames it for his exile and relies on it in his defiance of or resistance to fate. The concepts *carmen*, *error*, *culpa*, *exsul* and *relegatus* form part of the particulars of Ovidian exile, as discussed, but fade out in first-person exilic works after Ovid (them poems ascribed to Seneca, the Stoic Dio Chrysostomus' narrative of his own exile, *Or.* 13, Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*).

⁶⁸ In *Met.* 5.302ff. the daughters of *Pieros* are rivals of the Muses, elsewhere (*Am.* 1.1.6, *AA* 3.548 *F* 2.269 etc) they are synonymous with "Muses", often no more than an ornamental poetic flourish. At T3.7.4 *Pieridas . . . suas* is a metaphor for "studies".

vindicatory climax in the very last poem: P4.16.45 *dicere si fas est, claro mea nomine Musa / ... erat*. The final judgement of the *vates* about his goddess is positive, underlining the exile's increasing reliance on his own poetic powers as a source of comfort and support. His confidence in his prowess as a poet is restored, and even overtures to a new imperial patron, Germanicus, are couched in terms of virtual equality; the poet's tone in P4.8.66f., an appeal to the prince through Suillius, although pessimistic, is one of "We poets, my dear Germanicus, ...".

The most well-known word of defiance in the whole of the Ovidian oeuvre is *livor*, which editors obligingly grace with an upper case L when they suspect personification. Of seventeen occurrences in the complete Ovidian corpus Deferrari et al (1968) print seven thus, presumably following the editions they consulted for the work. The other occurrences of *livor* are clearly impersonal. The most violent outburst against personified "Envy" occurs at *Rem* 389, *rumpere, Livor edax!* At T4.10.123 defiance is equally strong:

*nec, qui detractat praesentia, Livor iniquo
ullum de nostris dente momordit opus.*

Address of a personified Envy has its antecedents in the Callimachean tradition of *recusatio*, and is related by some to the (perhaps dubious) "Battle of the Books", an early literary enmity postulated between Callimachos and Appolonius Rhodios, now largely discounted. Stoessl (1970) argues that personified Envy here is a metrical or paranomastic euphemism for *Caesar* or *Livia*⁶⁹. Multiple levels of meaning are so often discernible with Ovid, that this possibility cannot be rejected out of hand as "potentially dangerous and therefore outrageous". Such an unnuanced interpretation is highlighted as essentially modern by Ahl (1984), quoting Quint. *Inst. or.* 9.2.67. The ancients would have delighted in delicately disguised criticism, and the "tyrant", although offended, could not react to it, as long as an innocent meaning could also be attached to the author's words.

The exile's final address to *Livor* smacks of pathetic desperation: P4.16.47 *ergo summotum patria proscindere, Livor, desine*⁷⁰. The poet

⁶⁹ The empress' name occurs altogether eight times in the whole of Ovid's oeuvre: twice each in the *Fasti* and *Tristia*, four time in *Ex Ponto*. By the end of his life Ovid was perhaps recklessly discarding the circumspection displayed by most of his contemporaries.

⁷⁰ As substantive: T2.455; P3.1.65; P3.3.101; P3.4.74; personification: T4.10.123 and P4.16.47.

goes on to depict himself as defunct, yet alive to the pain inflicted by his imperial persecutors, as depersonalized in the mysterious **Liv*-. The exile has suffered much at the hands of the imperial family. So the last poem of the oeuvre ends on a sombre note, but the exile's vindication of his place among living poets (vv 3-44) leaves the reader with an impression of the transcendence of mental achievement over matters corporeal, and the creative and visionary power of the mind to transcend time and space.

Conclusions about the exile's attitude to Augustus, and his appreciation of the emperor's *iustitia* and *clementia* cannot be drawn absolutely by reference to series of figures. The degree of irony versus surface credibility ("sincerity") needs to be gauged in connection with each reference. Yet from a tentative interpretation of the trend of the figures in the table we may conclude that at first the exile was more defiant, less prepared to concede that he was to blame, less concerned for clemency than for justice, but that this attitude changed in time. At the last a general movement away from both protestations of innocence and cries for mercy leads to an increasing claim on the emotional support of his friends, and insistence on the reciprocity of obligation, culminating in the prolific fourth phase, which offers a surrogate for the *Ars Amatoria*, an *Ars Amicitiae*. The drastic diminution of terms relating to imperial matters in the fifth phase points to a final renunciation of externals in favour of the inner life, fed by literary contact with distant friends. Admittedly the thrust of his appeal at this stage is directed, through this literary coterie, at a potential new imperial patron, Germanicus, but there are few signs of success. In the end only his Muse offers the exile any solace.

In sum: Ovid has done both more and less than Nagle claims in her designation of his exilic vocabulary as essentially "erotic". He has sent these words in new directions, yes, but these directions tend towards home; he has rewritten their context, thereby giving earlier use of the words a new innocence. He has further established a language of imperial criticism and of poetic vindication which could not be faulted by his antagonist, but which could be read at different levels by a readership sensitive to contemporary meanings attached to these words.⁷¹

⁷¹ A more popular version of this paper appeared in *Akroterion* 43 (1998) 67-98. Thanks to the editor for permission to reprint, and to Dr M Schneider, the research assistant who made this paper possible.

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Addendum: Absolute and Relative Frequency of Specialised Vocabulary

Note: "Relative" represents number of occurrences per 100 verses.

		Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
	Books	T1,T2	T3,T4	T5	P1 P2,P3	P4
	Total verses	1280	1466	800	2264	930
a	<i>clementia</i>	1	4	1	3	1
	<i>iustitia, iustus</i>	2	–	1	8	5
	<i>moderor</i>	1	1	1	3	–
	Total: Absolute	4	5	3	14	6
	Relative	0,31	0,34	0,37	0,62	0,64
b	<i>pater patriae</i>	2	1	–	2	–
	<i>parens</i>	2	1	–	1	2
	Total: Absolute	4	2	–	3	2
	Relative	0,31	0,14	0	0,13	0,21
c	<i>imperium</i>	6	–	1	5	5
	<i>triumphus</i>	–	5	–	13	–
	<i>pax</i>	1	2	2	13	1
	<i>hostis</i>	5	10	7	23	8
	Total: Absolute	12	17	10	54	14
	Relative	0,93	1,15	1,25	2,38	1,50
d*	<i>amicitia</i>	1	6	–	5	1
	<i>amicus</i>	13	12	11	40	7
	Total: Absolute	14	18	11	45	8
	Relative	1,09	1,22	1,30	1,89	0,86
e*	<i>amor</i> (non-erotic)	4	2	3	3	2
	<i>pius, pietas</i>	12	9	9	16	13
	Total: Absolute	16	11	12	19	15
	Relative	1,69	0,58	1,50	0,83	1,61

		Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
f*	<i>fides</i>	10	5	5	14	7
	<i>fidelis</i>	1	1	1	2	2
	<i>foedus</i>	2	1	–	3	1
	Total: Absolute Relative	13 1,01	7 0,40	6 0,70	19 0,80	10 1,07
* (d + e + f)						
Total: Absolute Relative	41 3,20	35 2,38	28 3,50	85 3,75	32 3,44	
g	<i>officium, officiosus</i>	3	4	6	16	11
	<i>studium</i>	6	10	10	15	6
	<i>favere, favor</i>	6	6	2	16	2
	Total: Absolute Relative	15 0,93	20 1,36	18 2,25	47 2,07	19 2,04
h	<i>fateor:</i> Absolute Relative	11 0,85	2 0,13	5 0,62	15 0,66	8 0,86
	i	<i>crimen:</i> Absolute Relative	23 1,79	17 1,15	3 0,37	7 0,31
<i>error:</i> Absolute Relative		4 0,31	8 0,54	– 0	5 0,22	3 0,32
<i>culpa:</i> Absolute Relative		8 0,63	6 0,40	7 0,87	5 0,22	2 0,21
j	<i>exsul, exsulare</i>	7	10	6	8	1
	<i>exsilium</i>	2	4	1	13	1
	<i>relegatus</i>	3	–	2	2	2
	Total: Absolute Relative:	12 0,93	14 0,95	9 1,12	23 1,01	4 0,43
k	<i>sodalis</i>	3	6	–	5	2
	<i>vates</i>	1	5	4	8	6
	Total: Absolute Relative	4 0,31	11 0,75	4 0,50	13 0,57	8 0,86

			Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
l	<i>carmen</i>	Absolute	40	24	18	34	33
Relative frequency relating to his earlier works							
Rel. negative			4,7	2,7	3,7	2,6	3,2
Rel. positive			3,9	2,7	2,7	1,3	1,1
Relative frequency relating to the present (exilic poetry)							
Rel. negative			2,3	2,0	2,5	1,6	3,2
Rel. positive			0	2,0	5,0	2,2	7,0
	<i>Musa</i>	Abs. negative: 4		3	0	0	0
		Abs. positive: 3		5	4	8	7
Total:	Absolute		47	32	22	42	40
	Relative		3,67	2,18	2,75	1,85	4,30
m	<i>deus:</i>	Absolute	33	25	21	57	19
		(Relative)	(2,57)	(1,70)	(82,62)	(2,51)	(2,04)
	<i>Jupiter(Jov-)</i>		12	10	2	9	2
	<i>divus</i>		1	3	-	1	-
	<i>numen</i>		15	5	6	28	9
Total:	Absolute		71	43	29	95	30
	Relative		5,54	2,93	3,62	4,19	3,22
n	<i>fortuna</i>		9	13	11	13	6
	<i>fatum/fata</i>		4	17	9	16	6
	<i>fatalis</i>		1	-	3	1	-
	<i>Parcae</i>		-	-	2	1	-
	<i>sorores</i>		-	-	2	-	1
	<i>sors</i>		3	4	2	1	1
Total:	Absolute		17	34	29	32	14
	Relative		1,32	2,31	3,62	1,41	1,50
o	<i>mitis</i>		7	5	5	14	7
	<i>lenis</i>		2	2	3	3	3
Total:	Absolute		9	7	8	17	10
	Relative		0,70	0,47	1,00	0,75	1,07
p	<i>ira</i>		18	18	8	28	6
	<i>iratus</i>		3	3	-	-	-
	<i>irascor</i>		1	-	2	1	-
Total:	Absolute		22	21	10	30	6
	Relative		1,72	1,43	1,25	1,32	0,64

		Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5	
q	<i>precor</i>	17	17	4	32	11	
	<i>oro</i>	3	–	–	2	2	
	<i>preces</i>	2	2	1	13	3	
	Total: Absolute Relative	22 1,71	19 1,29	5 0,62	47 2,12	16 1,72	
r	<i>queror, querula</i>	2	4	6	6	9	
	<i>fleo, flebilis, fletus</i>	3	7	7	7	–	
	<i>lacrima</i>	7	11	1	16	4	
	<i>litura</i>	1	1	–	1	2	
Total: Absolute Relative	13 1,01	23 1,56	13 1,62	30 1,32	16 1,72		
s	<i>miser</i>	16	14	10	17	12	
	<i>sollicitus, attonitus</i>	2	7	3	3	3	
	<i>tristis, infelix</i>	10	21	7	20	3	
	<i>pudet</i>	1	3	1	5	7	
Total: Absolute Relative	29 2,26	45 3,06	21 2,62	50 2,20	25 2,68		
t	<i>desero, desiderium</i>	5	4	5	7	4	
	<i>procul, longe</i>	11	19	5	14	6	
	<i>extremus, ultimus</i>	8	12	3	11	3	
	<i>diversus</i>	2	3	–	3	–	
<i>peregrinus, profugus</i>	6	4	3	7	1		
Total: Absolute Relative	32 2,50	42 2,86	16 2,00	42 1,85	14 1,50		
u	<i>imago</i>	4	3	2	8	–	
	<i>oculi mentis</i>	–	1	–	4	4	
Total: Absolute Relative	4 0,31	4 0,27	2 0,25	12 0,53	4 0,43		
v	<i>mens</i>	11	18	5	24	9	
	<i>ingenium</i>	14	13	7	19	9	
Total: Absolute Relative	25 1,95	31 2,10	12 1,50	43 1,89	18 1,93		
w	<i>corpus</i>	Absolute Relative	– 0,00	6 0,40	1 0,12	4 0,17	– 0,00

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Diphthongs in the Syllable Structure of Latin

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Abstract

The phonological status of Latin diphthongal sequences /aj oj aw/ is investigated within a framework of Latin syllable structure. The general structure of a syllable in Latin appears to be fairly conservative, with one obstruent and one sonorant in onset and the mirror image in coda but the introduction of an extrasyllabic /s/ is also necessary. Four structural arguments are given against the diphthongal interpretation of the sequences in question, which relate to the way they are treated by phonotactic and other phonological rules. As a consequence of the argumentation, a revision of the standard handbook-treatment of the Latin phonological system (and its history) is suggested.

0. Introduction

0.1. The structure of the paper

The purpose of this paper¹ is to present a comprehensive account of the structure of the syllable in Classical Latin and to incorporate in it an analysis of those sequences which have traditionally been analyzed as diphthongs (*ae*, *oe*, *au*) in order to determine their structural status, i. e., whether they are diphthongs in the phonological sense of the word or vowel + consonant sequences.

The paper is organised in the following way: in section 1 Latin syllable structure is discussed: the exposition begins with the description of the Latin phoneme-inventory, then an analysis of the syllable structure follows; the status of “diphthongs” is treated in section 2, where arguments are given against their interpretation as phonological diphthongs based primarily on considerations of their position in the

¹ This paper is a thoroughly revised and shortened version of my 1996 MA thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. My thanks must go to my consultants, Dr. Éva Jeremiás, Dr. Miklós Törkenczy and the referee of the paper, Dr. Ádám Nadasdy; Dr. Sándor Kiss, Péter Szigetvári, Dr. András Mohay and Prof. Tamás Szende have also given invaluable help and criticism on some of the problems. I am also greatly indebted to Prof. Robert Coleman, whose immense knowledge and helpfulness I had the chance to experience while doing research in Cambridge.

syllable; two additional phenomena that are informative on the status of diphthongs are vowel-alternations and the restrictions on word-final consonants. In section 3 an Old Latin sound change is analyzed in terms of the results of these investigations; though this paper is a strictly synchronic analysis of Classical Latin, I found it proper to discuss this question for two reasons: first, because it will be seen that the analysis given for Classical Latin also holds for Old Latin (it has long been known that it holds for Indo-European, so what will be argued here is that no change has taken place at this point in the phonological system), second, because I hope to be able to give an analysis which is considerably simpler (and hence much more didactic) than that found in many handbooks.

0.2. Preliminary notes

Roman script in Antiquity and the Middle Ages did not distinguish the sounds [u] and [w], [i] and [j]: they were rendered with the letters <u> (capital <V>) and <i>, respectively. The reason for this is that they only contrasted in morphologically complex forms: *uoluit* /wolw + it/ 'he rolls' but *uoluit* /wol + u + it/ 'he wanted'.

Spelling distinctions between the glides and the corresponding vowels only appeared in Renaissance times, when onset glides (which had, in the daughter languages, developed into obstruents) came to be spelled <v> and <j>, whereas the back vowel and glide in rhyme remained <u>: *uoluit* 'he rolls' but *uoluit* 'he wanted', *vado* 'I go' but *augeo* 'I grow', the front vowel remained <i> and <e> in spelling: *jugum* 'yoke' but *ignis* 'fire', *aes* 'bronze', *poena* 'punishment'. This is a practice followed by many publishers nowadays.

Since, however, these distinctions already presuppose an analysis of syllable structure, they will not be observed in this paper: everything will be spelled in accordance with the antique tradition, hence the above examples will be *uoluit*, *uoluit*, *uado*, *augeo*, *ignis* and *ingum* etc.

1. Syllable structure in Latin

1.1. The phoneme-inventory of Latin

The phoneme-inventory of Classical Latin² is given in figure (1).

Vowels

i	u	i:	u:	ĩ:	ũ:
e	o	e:	o:	ẽ:	
a		a:		ã:	

Consonants³

p	t	k	k ^w	
b	d	g		
f	s			h
m	n			
	l			
	r			
	j		w	

Figure 1: The Vowel and Consonant System of Latin

As can be seen, the vowel system consisted of five short, five long non-nasal and four long nasal vowels. In fact, nasal vowels are always derivable from underlying //VN// sequences but, since they contrast with non-nasal vowels on the surface, I have included them in this chart. An example of the three-way contrast: /puella/ 'girl', /puella:/ 'girl ABL', /puellā:/ 'girl Acc'.

Every consonant with the exception of /w/ and /h/ can occur as geminate (*lippus* 'bleary-eyed', *siccus* 'dry', *pellis* 'skin', *peius* [pejjus] 'worse' etc.), though some are only found at prefix-stem boundary (*afferre* 'to take there').

² The information given here can be found, in different arrangements, in the standard handbooks, eg. Allen (1978), Kühner (1912), Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr (1963-65), Niedermann (1953), Sommer & Pfister (1977), cf. also Kelly (1967).

³ Arguments for the monophonemic interpretation of /kw/ can be found in Allen (1978:16-18), arguments against it in Zirin (1970:33-38).

Textbooks add the sequences called diphthongs to the system (*ae* /aj/, *oe* /oj/, *au* /aw/)⁴. In this paper it will be shown that they are biphonemic sequences, hence they have no place in the system as autonomous units.

1.2. *The syllable*

1.2.1. Introductory notes

In this section, the general structure of syllables is investigated; this will prove to be pivotal in determining the phonological status of the sequences under discussion. Permitted onsets and codas will be defined through an analysis of existing consonant clusters, of which a taxonomy is given below. Certain questions which I considered to be irrelevant will not be addressed here (eg. the constraints obtaining between syllable nuclei and codas or the disproportionately wide distribution of /t/ as opposed to other stops).

1.2.2. Consonant clusters

I) Initial clusters

A) two-member

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| i) stop or /f/ + liquid: | <i>tremunt</i> 'they tremble'
<i>glaber</i> 'bald'
<i>frui</i> 'to use' |
| ii) /s/ + voiceless stop: | <i>spuere</i> 'to spit' |

⁴ And point out that the glide element in the former two was not a close [j] but a more open sound, a nonsyllabic realization of [e]. This, quite strangely, is what Safarewicz's (1974: 170ff.) analysis, referred to even in Leumann, Hofmann & Szantyr (1963-65), is based on: he claims that /aj/ and /oj/ became monophonemic when the glide became opener. This analysis is palpably false, it simply happens to be the case that /j/ has an open postvocalic and a close prevocalic allophone.

Studies on the later developments of the vowel system also take the existence of diphthongs in the system for granted, see Kiss (1972), Ferguson (1976), Klausenburger (1975), Coleman (1971), more understandably in the light of late Latin developments.

In this paper, the sequences *eu* as in *sen* 'or', variant of *seue*, and *ou*, found in the occasionally monosyllabic pronunciation of *prout* CONJ. will be disregarded as marginal throughout.

stare 'to stand'
squalor 'dirt'

iii) /s/ + /w/:
suadere 'to persuade'
suavis 'sweet'

B) three-member

/s/ + vl stop + liquid:
scribo 'I write'
stridor 'hissing'
splendere 'to shine'

II) Intervocalic clusters

A) two-member (geminate disregarded)

i) voiceless obstruents:
hospes 'master'
vixit '(he) lived'
dictus 'said'

ii) /g/ + /m/:
agmen 'march'
segmentum 'segment'

iii) sonorant + obstruent:
mentiri 'to lie'
celsus 'high'
turba 'crowd'

iv) stop + liquid:
patres 'fathers'
duplex 'double'
ebrius 'drunk'

v) liquid + nasal:
ulmus 'elm tree'
cernere 'to see'

vi) liquid + /w/:
voluit 'he rolls'
curuare 'to bend'

vii) /m/ (or [ŋ]) + /n/:
somnus 'dream'
dignus [-ŋn-] 'worthy'

B) three-member (never include geminates)

i) sonorant + vl stop + /t/: emptus 'bought'

ii) sonorant + stop + liquid: cultri 'knives'⁵

⁵ As has been pointed out by Tamás Szende (personal comm.), it is possible to treat the medial stop in certain instances of both the *emptus*- and the *cultri*-type (eg. *membrum*) clusters as phonologically redundant.

iii) sonorant + /s/ + /t/: *instar* 'as large as'⁶

iv) voiceless stop + /s/ + /t/: *sextus* 'sixth'
depstum 'kneaded'

C) four-member: *monstro* 'I show')

III) Final clusters (never include geminates)

A) two-member⁷

i) sonorant + voiceless obstruent: *pars* 'part'
sunt 'they are'
hunc 'this ACC'

ii) voiceless stop + /#s/: *mendax* 'liar'
daps 'banquet'

B) three-member (only monosyllables)

sonorant + voiceless stop + /#s/: *falx* 'scythe'
urbs [urps] 'city'

1.2.3. A provisional model for the syllable in Latin

It seems that the regularities governing the distribution and syllabification of consonant clusters in Latin can be adequately incorporated into a model of the syllable which permits at most one obstruent and one sonorant in any onset and one sonorant and one obstruent in any coda. This is shown in figure (2)⁸:

⁶ It is known that by classical times the nasal before a fricative and the preceding vowel coalesced into a long nasalized vowel, which may have even been denasalized; but in educated circles a (spelling) pronunciation with a long vowel *and* a nasal probably existed too (Allen 1978:29, 65). The question does not affect the conclusions of the paper.

⁷ I consider the words *est* 'is', *est* /e:st/ '(he) eats' and *ast* 'but' exceptional.

⁸ The constituents of the syllable are Onset, Nucleus and Coda, the latter two subsumed under the Rhyme node, in line with prevailing conceptions and terminology.

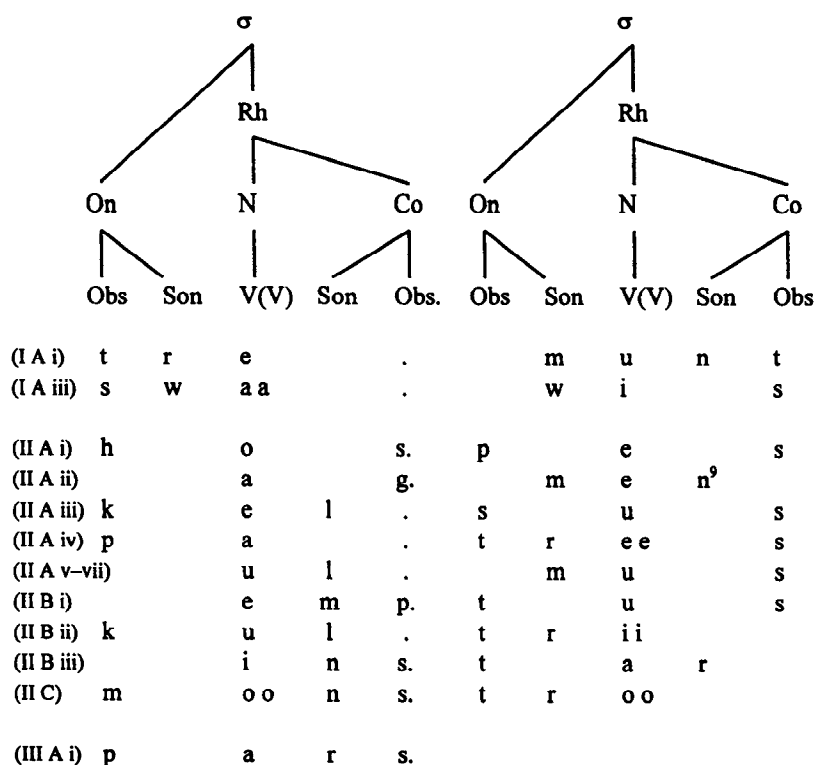


Figure 2: The syllable structure of the examples

1.2.4. Extrasyllabic /s/ and the structure of the syllable

Unfortunately, there appear to be certain clusters that do not fit into the template given above. These are:

- i) # $\{s\}$ stop: $\{s\}$ *tare*, $\{s\}$ *tridor* (I A ii, I B)
- ii) stop $\{s\}$ stop: *dep* $\{s\}$ *tum* (II B iv)
- iii) stop $\{s\}$ #: *dap* $\{s\}$, *urb* $\{s\}$ (III A ii, III B).

They all include an /s/ between a stop and a word boundary or between two stops. At first glance, these /s/-es could only be syllabified if we permitted two adjacent obstruents to be tautosyllabic. This, however, will soon turn out to be an incorrect solution.

First let us consider /s/ + stop sequences. Unequivocal evidence

⁹ /gm/ and word-final /d/ in neuter pronouns are, in fact, the only cases in which a voiced obstruent is found in coda.

shows that word-internal /s/ + stop sequences are not syllabified as complex onsets: *hospes* 'master', *hostis* 'enemy', *Fuscus* PROPER NAME all have a heavy first syllable despite the short vowel in it. What this shows is that /s/ + stop is not a possible onset in Latin. Consequently, neither word-initial nor internal /s/ followed by a stop can belong to the onset.

Another argument comes from verbal morphology. Many Latin verbs form their perfective forms with reduplication¹⁰:

- (1) *tondeo* → *to-tondi* 'cut'
cano → *ce-cini* 'sing'
do → *de-di* 'give'

Reduplication is conspicuously absent in the case of verbs that begin with a complex (O + S) onset:

- (2) *tremo* → *tremui* 'tremble'
suadeo → *suasi* 'persuade'
floro → *florui* 'blossom' etc.

However, two verbs that begin with /s/ + stop do show reduplication:

- (3) *sto* → *s-te-ti* 'stand'
spondeo → *s-po-pondi* 'promise'

Also note that the process of reduplication simply disregards the /s/ and copies only the stop.

These facts are enough to show that word-initial /s/, if followed by a stop, cannot belong to the onset. In theory, it could belong either to the word but not to any of its syllables, or to the first syllable as a kind of an appendix outside the onset, but there seems to be a strong argument against the latter view, which will also show the close relationship between the three problematic positions of /s/.

An apparently strange phonotactic rule of Latin is one that bans the occurrence of two unsyllabifiable /s/-es in a word (ie. word-initial before stop, word-final after stop, word-internal between two stops); that is, there are no words of the form */{s}pak{s}/, */{s}pak{s}ta/, */map{s}tik{s}/. This means that the distribution of these /s/-es is

¹⁰ Vowel change may also occur, but this is here immaterial. The forms given here are PRSIMP1SG and PRSPERF1SG.

regulated not at the level of the syllable, but at the level of the word, ie. (and as follows from the previous arguments), these /s/-es are extrasyllabic¹¹. As is to be expected, extrasyllabic /s/ freely combines with onset and coda /s/-es: {s}pes 'hope', {s}pissus 'dense' etc¹².

Figure (3) shows that, if we assume extrasyllabic /s/-es with the distribution described above, all the remaining clusters can be assigned a proper structure.

¹¹ On extrasyllabicity see Goldsmith (1990) and references there; see also Törkenczy (1994) on Hungarian syllable structure, where the notion of appendix is made use of.

¹² Apparent exceptions fall into two groups if we disregard Greek loans, eg. *strix* 'owl':

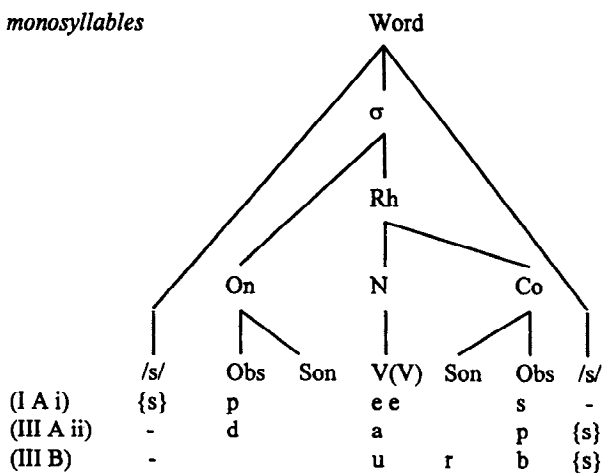
i) Derived 3rd decl. nouns and adjectives, where the suffix itself contains an extrasyllabic /s/: *sternax* '(a horse) liable to throw its rider down' (Vergilius, Silius Italicus); *spemax* 'disdainful' (Sil. It.); *scaturrex* 'gushing spring' occurs once in Varro, but others use it in the form *scaturrigo* (Livius, Plinius, Columella, Fronto, Apuleius); *struix* 'heap' occurs mainly in archaic texts (L. Andronicus, Plautus, S. Pomp. Festus, Naevius) all classic and other authors use the form *strues* (Varro, Cicero, Livius, Ovidius, Curtius R., Seneca, Plinius, Statius, Tacitus, Apuleius, P. Mela, Lucanus, Fronto, Cato, Festus (!)).

Words in *-trix* constitute a class of regular exceptions: *spectatrix*, *speculatrix*, *speratrix*, *spoliatrix*, *sponstrix*, *stimulatrix*, *stipatrix*, *strangulatrix*.

ii) Morphologically simple 3rd decl. nouns: *scrobs* 'hole' occurs in this form only in manuscripts of Priscian but occurs in the form *scrobis* in Columella; *stips* 'stump, stick' occurs in this form only in Petronius but is found in the form *stipes*, *-itis* (Catullus, Vergilius, Ovidius, Propertius and 15 other authors); *stips* 'small offering of money' occurs once in Varro's *On the Latin Language*, and is in fact L. Spengel's conjecture, the manuscripts with one exception read *stipa*; other cases of this word can be found in Livius, Cicero, Val. Maximus and 9 other authors, but from the dependent cases it is not possible to tell whether the nominative was the above form or *stipes* (and this latter is the usual form given in dictionaries); *strix* (?) 'small nugget' occurs only in Plinius' *Naturalis Historia* (33.62) in the sentence *Hispania striges vocat auri parvulas massas* 'Hispania calls small lumps of gold *striges*', where it is not certain what the singular form was, and it is also not certain if this was a (Classical) Latin word at all.

The only real exception is *stirps* 'root' used in this form by Cicero, C. Nepos, Ovidius, but in the form *stirpis* by Livius.

monosyllables



polysyllables

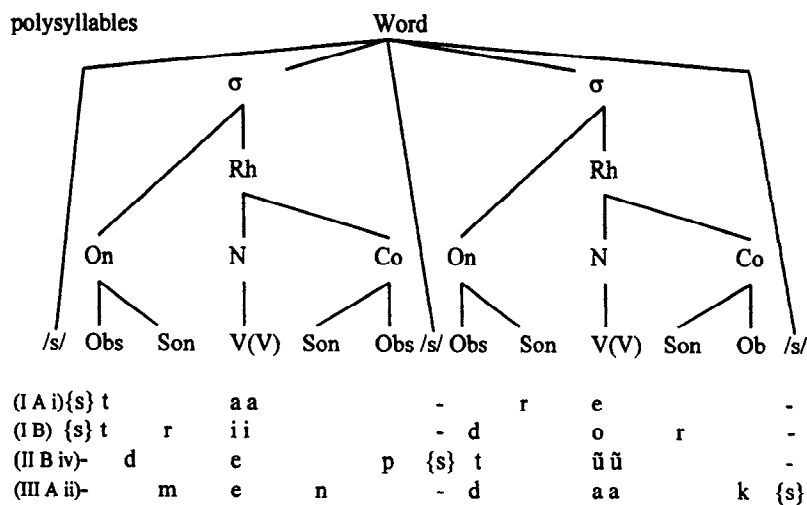


Figure 3: The structure of words with extrasyllabic /s/

A few points still remain problematic: the unexplained lack of complex codas before word-internal extrasyllabic /s/: **e(mp)_{Co}{s}tus*, but cf. *e(mp)_{Co}tus*, *de(p)_{Co}{s}tum* and *u(rb)_{Co}{s}*; complex onset after word-internal extrasyllabic /s/ is only found in *extra* /*ek*{s}(tr)_{On}a: / 'outside', but cf. {s}(tr)_{On}*idor* etc.

2. The question of diphthongs

2.1. Introduction

In order for a vocalic sequence to be a diphthong it has to fulfill two conditions: (i) both of its elements must belong to the syllable nucleus and (ii) the sequence has to be treated by the phonological rules of the language as a simple vowel. What this means is that the sequence must be functionally equivalent to a (long) vowel in terms of phonotactic as well as alternation rules. A vocalic sequence that does not fulfill these conditions is a phonetic, but not a phonological, diphthong.

To take an example, /aɪ/ is a diphthong in English for the above two reasons: (i) no English syllable ends in a coda that has two sonorants and an obstruent (eg. $^*/Vlnt/$), but there are such syllables (in this case monosyllabic words) as /faɪnd/, /maɪld/, and this shows that the glide in these words is in the nucleus; (ii) /aɪ/ alternates with /ɪ/ (*hide* ~ *hid*, *Bible* ~ *Biblical*) in the same way as long monophthongs alternate with short vowels (*historian* ~ *historical*), which shows that the sequence is functionally a vowel, not a vowel + consonant sequence.

A phonetically identical sequence displays the opposite behaviour in both respects in several other languages (eg. French, Hungarian); hence, whereas the structure of the English word *my* is CV, the structure of the phonetically identical Hungarian word *máj* 'liver' is CVC; the syllable structure of the two words is given in figure (4)¹³:

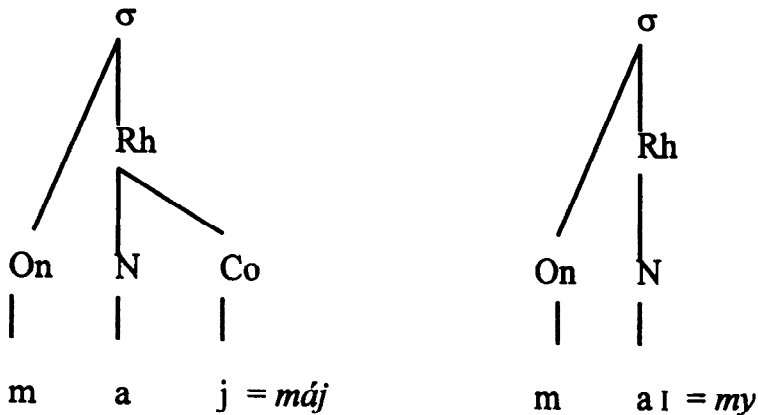


Figure 4: The syllable structure of Hu. *máj* and E. *my*

The other example is the sequence [we] (phonetically a rising, “cre-scendo” diphthong) in Latin and Spanish. This occurs initially in L. *uentus* [wentus] ‘wind’ and Sp. *huevo* [weβo] ‘egg’.

As regards its distribution, [we] patterns with consonant + vowel sequences in Latin, but with vowels in Spanish. In the latter, it can occur after word-initial consonants (even clusters): *fuenta* ‘source’, *ruego* ‘I implore’, *trueco* ‘I exchange’, *prueba* ‘test’. In Latin the only consonant after which [we] can occur is [s] (*suescere* ‘to get used to’). This corresponds to the general prohibition of word-initial consonant + glide sequences.

Alternations also involve [we] in Spanish, but not in Latin: *ruego* ‘I implore’ ~ *rogamos* ‘we implore’, *prueba* ‘test’ ~ *probar* ‘to test’, Latin *edo* ‘I eat’ ~ *edi* ‘I ate’, but no **edo* ~ *uedi*.

What this shows is that [we] is a diphthong in Spanish but not in Latin, similarly to [ai], which is a diphthong in English but not in Hungarian. The syllable structure of the words *uentus* and *huevo* is, consequently, as in figure (5)¹⁴:

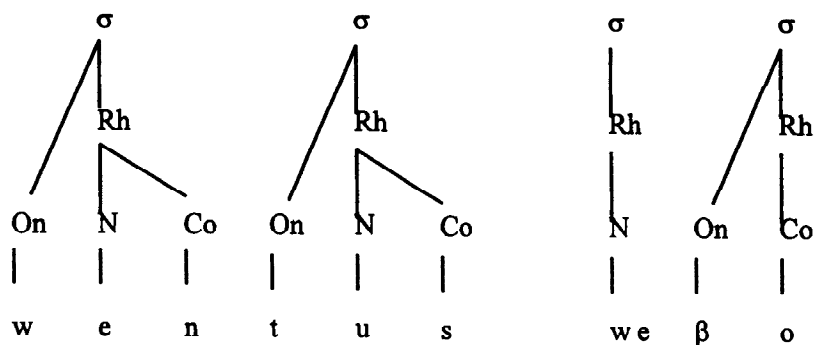


Figure 5: The syllable structure of L. *uentus* and Sp. *huevo*

¹³ Strictly speaking, the length of the /a/ element is part of the representation in Hungarian, but is left out here for the clarity of the comparison. For Hungarian, see Nádasdy & Siptár (1994), Siptár (1994) and Törkenczy (1994).

I use the sign [ɪ] in the English transcription by convention, but the two words are indeed pronounced identically.

¹⁴ It is to be borne in mind that the phonetic sign /w/ indicates nothing else but an /u/ that is not syllabic in itself, just as /j/ indicates an /i/ that is not syllabic in itself.

2.2. Diphthongs in the syllable

What remains now is to investigate the status of *ae*, *oe*, *au* in the light of the syllable template of Latin. This is, in fact, simple: these sequences never occur before tautosyllabic sonorants (there are no words of the form **poentor*, **caelsum*, **laur* etc.), hence it is evident that the glide is in the syllable coda and not in the nucleus, since it occupies

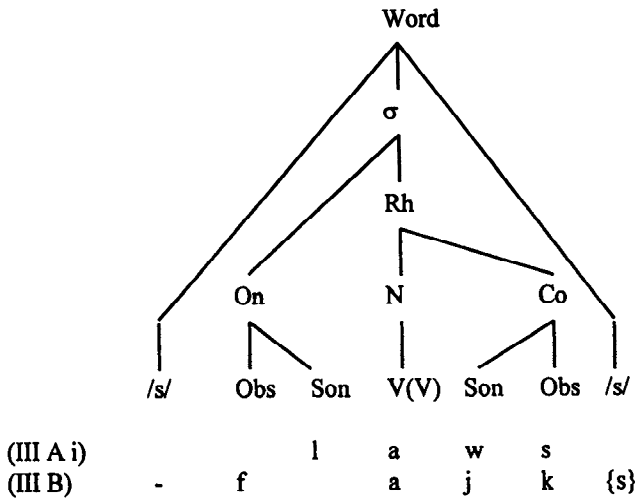
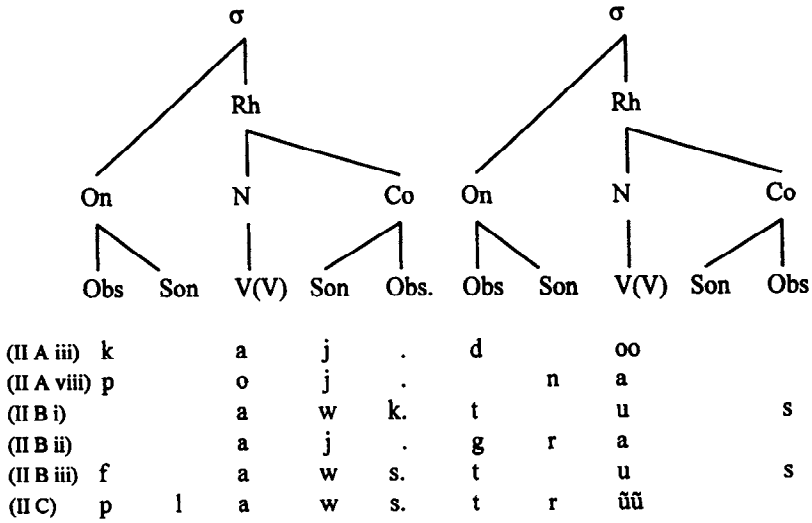


Figure 6: The syllable structure of words containing *ae*, *oe*, *au*

the only coda position that is preserved for postvocalic sonorants. This would be enough in itself to prove that these sequences are not diphthongs in Latin but, as will be seen, there is other evidence too¹⁵.

Words containing *ae*, *oe*, *au* can be syllabified with the help of the pattern given above as shown in figure (6) (see glosses below)¹⁶:

In terms of consonant clusters, the following pairs of words represent identical types (see the typology in 1.2.2):

II A iii (<i>turba</i> =)	<i>caedo</i> /kajdo:/ 'I cut'
II A viii – new class (glide + sonorant)	<i>poena</i> /pojna/ 'punishment' <i>aeui</i> /ajwi:/ 'age GEN'
II B i (<i>emptus</i> =)	<i>auctus</i> /awktus/ 'grown'
II B ii (<i>cultri</i> =)	<i>aegra</i> /ajgra/ 'ill FEM'
II B iii (<i>instar</i> =)	<i>faustus</i> /fawstus/ 'favourable'
II C (<i>monstro</i> =)	<i>plaustrum</i> /plawstrū:/ 'cart'
III A i (<i>pars</i> =)	<i>laus</i> /laws/ 'glory'
IIIB (<i>faex</i> =)	<i>faex</i> /fajks/ 'dregs'

2.3. The (re)syllabification of postvocalic glides

The syllabification and resyllabification of postvocalic glides is also informative on the position of these elements in Latin. The case of *au* presents no problem: the glide is always resyllabified to onset if this is made possible by a following vowel, eg. *lauare* /la.wa:.re/ ~ *lautus* /law.tus/ or *cauere* /ka.we:.re/ 'to be careful' ~ *cautus* /kaw.tus/ 'careful', where the syllabification of the glide is identical to that of the /k/ in *facere* /fa.ke.re/ 'to make' ~ *factus* /fak.tus/ 'made'. This also shows that the /w/ element is in the coda, since resyllabification from nucleus to onset does not exist in (at least Classical) Latin. The full structure of the words above is given in figure (7):

¹⁵ Zirin (1970:72–73) analyses diphthongs as VC sequences, but he analyses long vowels in the same way, so the difference between them is not borne out.

¹⁶ Here I do not give polysyllabic examples which contain extrasyllabic /s/.

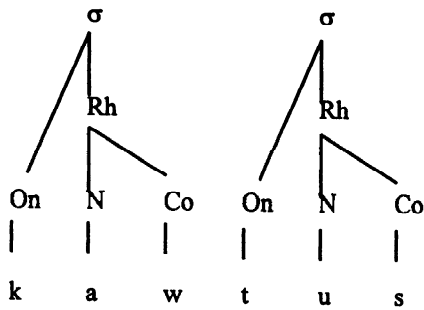
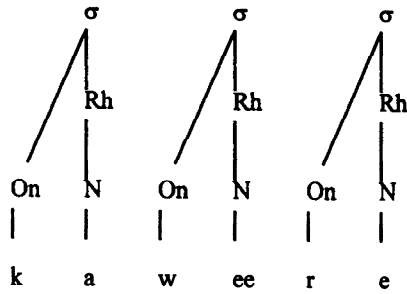
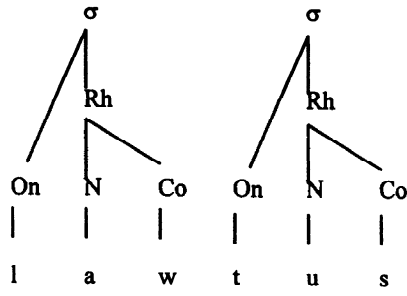
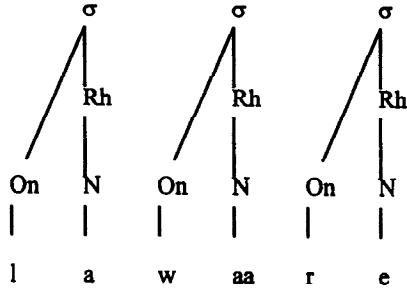


Figure 7: The structure of *lanare*, *lautus*, *cauere*, *cantus*

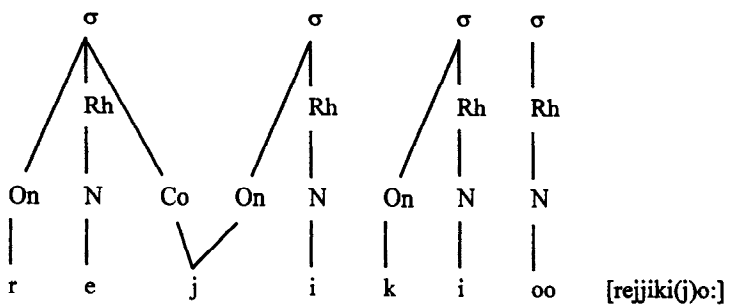
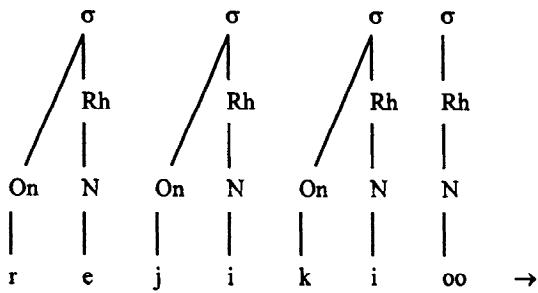
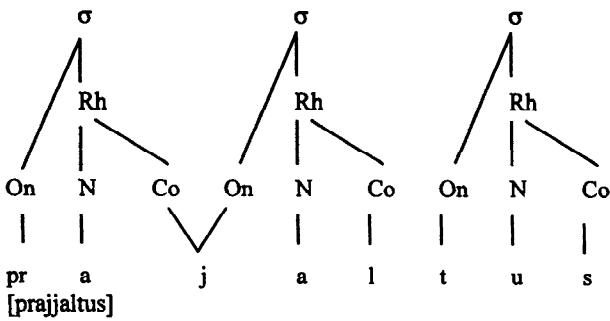
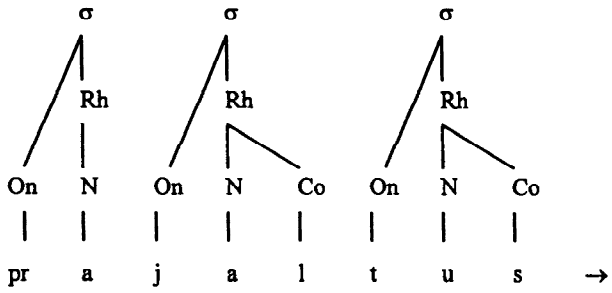


Figure 8: The gemination of intervocalic /j/

The case of *ae* is, unfortunately, not so straightforward. Prevocally *ae* is only found in words with the prefix *prae-*, as in *praealtus* 'very high'¹⁷. In these words, the /j/ was resyllabified to onset in the early centuries of Latin literacy (Safarewicz 1974:171); in Plautus, for instance, the first syllable of these forms scans as light in ten out of eleven cases. In the Golden Age of Roman literature, however, these syllables scan as heavy, which can theoretically point to a syllabification /praj.al.tus/ – and this could be an argument in favour of interpreting /aj/ as a phonological diphthong.

Fortunately there seems to be a more plausible and coherent solution to this problem. It can be safely assumed that intervocalic /j/ was geminated towards the end of the archaic period, so /pra.jal.tus/ became /praj.jal.tus/. Unambiguous proof of this gemination comes from words of the type *reicio* 'I throw back', whose first syllable always scans as heavy, hence the only possible syllabification is /rej.ji.ki(j)o:/. The change is expressed with the help of the template in figure (8).

In sum, if intervocalic /j/ was redundantly geminated, it is unnecessary to assume that /aj/ was a phonological diphthong in Latin¹⁸.

2.4. Alternations

There were several types of vowel-alternations in Latin, which were sensitive to morphological information in the first place. The exact details of these alternations need not concern us here; the interested reader is again referred to the well-known handbooks/textbooks. Below only the four major types will be discussed.

(i) In several verbs we find an alternation between long and short vowels sometimes accompanied by qualitative change between the perfective and the imperfective stem. The forms given here are all PRSIMP1SG and PRSPERF1SG, respectively:

- (4) edo ~ ēdi 'eat'
 rego ~ rēxi 'rule'
 ago ~ ēgi 'do'
 facio ~ fēci 'make'
 fodio ~ fōdi 'dig'.

¹⁷ And the praenomen *Gnaeus*.

¹⁸ The sequence *oe* does not occur prevocally.

(ii) In several nouns, especially those ending in /or/ we find /o/ and /o: / alternating in the last syllable of the stem. The forms given here are all SGNOM and SGEN, respectively:

- (5) amor ~ amōris 'love'
 squalor ~ squalōris 'dirt'
 honor (or honōs) ~ honōris 'respect'

but

arbōs ~ arboris (!) 'tree'.

(iii) Alternation between short and long vowels is exceptionless before /nt/ and /ns/, which alternate for different reasons. The forms given here are all SGNOM and SGEN, respectively:

- (6) dēns ~ dentis 'tooth'
 fōns ~ fontis 'spring'
 amāns ~ amantis 'loving'.

(iv) Short vowels frequently alternate with /i/ in open syllables and /e/ in closed syllables especially in initial syllables of prefixed stems, but occasionally elsewhere too:

- (7) facio 'I make' ~ con + ficio 'I finish'
 factus 'made' ~ con + fectus 'finished'
 aptus 'capable' ~ in + eptus 'incapable'
 sedeo 'I sit' ~ ob + sideo 'I sit before, siege'
 caput 'head' ~ capitis 'head GEN'.

It is important that the sequences *ae*, *au*, *oe* do not take part in the alternations (i-iii) above at all, in type (iv) they alternate with long vowels: *caedo* /kajdo: / 'cut' ~ *occido* (< *ob* + *caedo*) /okki:do:/ 'cut off, kill', *claudo* /klawdo: / 'close' ~ *includo* /inklu:do:/ 'close'. For a historical explanation, see section 3.

2.5. Word-final consonants

In Latin, only coronal consonants (/s t d r l n/) are allowed to occur word-finally. Examples are: *hostis* 'enemy', *splendet* 'it shines', *illud* 'that (one)', *cor* 'heart', *sol* 'sun', *pecten* 'comb'. Labial and velar consonants do not occur in this position; the apparent exceptions are

mainly proclitics (*ab, ob, sub*) whose final sound is not in word-final position. Final *m* in spelling only indicates the nasality of the preceding vowel. The only real exceptions are deictics ending in /k/: *hoc* 'that', *istic* 'that', *illinc* 'from there' etc.

The fact that words can end in *ae* but not in *au* can be explained very easily if we regard the glide as a word-final consonant: a word can end in /aj/ because /j/ is a coronal consonant, but not in /aw/, because /w/ is labiovelar. This, however, does not account for the apparent lack of word-final *oe* in Latin, though this fact also does not invalidate the generalization, since the distribution of *oe* is extremely limited, eg. it never occurs word-initially either.

3. The Old Latin Weakening

In an early phase of the Latin language, before literacy became widespread, a change called Weakening affected the short vowels and turned them into /i/ or /e/ in any position except in the first syllable of a word¹⁹. Short vowels generally changed into /i/ in open syllables and /e/ in closed syllables. This left a large amount of alternations in Classical Latin, especially in prefixed verbs and adjectives (see also 2.4.iv.):

(8) open syllable

*f*acere 'to make' → con + *f*icere 'to finish'
*l*egere 'to read' → intel + *l*igere 'to understand'
*l*ocus 'place' → il + *l*ico 'in this place, at once'

(9) closed syllable

*f*actus 'made' → con + *f*ectus 'finished'
*a*ptus 'capable' → in + *e*ptus 'incapable, inept'
*a*rma 'arms' → in + *e*rmis 'unarmed'

The behaviour of *ae* and *au* is the following: /aj/ in Classical Latin alternates with /i:/ (*caedere* 'to cut' → in + *cidere* 'to carve'), which is represented by <ei> in Pre-Classical Latin (*inceiderent* 'that they should carve' in *Sen. Cons. de Bacch.*); since we know that original (IE) /ej/ turned into /i:/ in Latin, there is no reason to doubt that

¹⁹ The exact details of the change are irrelevant here; they can be found in any of the textbooks of the history of Latin.

original /aj/ weakened into /ej/, which fell in with original /ej/ and thus ended up as /i:/.

Classical Latin /aw/ alternates with /u:/ (*claudere* 'to close' → *includere* 'to close'). Historically, Latin /u:/ has four sources: IE /u:, ow, ew, oj/. Thus it seems plausible that original /aw/ weakened into /ew/ and fell in with original /ew/; /ew/ turned into /ow/ and fell in with original /ow/; /ow/ finally emerges as CL /u:/. It is evident that in the case of both /aj/ and /aw/ what we see is nothing else but the regular closed-syllable weakening of short /a/: */inkajdere/ > /inkejdere/ /inkidere/ and */inklawdere/ > /inklewde/ > /inklowde/ > /inkludere/.

This conception of the changes can be found in several handbooks and studies, but the analysis never seems to be founded on the author's previous analysis. A typical explanation is confused and misleading: "of the two constituents of the diphthong *au* in *claudo* the first was the more intensive. It followed that the place of articulation of the second, *u*, instead of being maintained, was given up, in other words this *u* turned into a consonant. The *a* in *claudo* thus placed before two consonants (*vd*) [sic!], the compound forms of this verb regularly ended up in the form *claudo*" [Niedermann (1953:30), translation mine]. The reason why this comment is wrong is that it fails to make a distinction between the phonetic conditions and the prosodic conditions of the change; it seems to imply that a *phonetic* change of the glide is necessary in order for the *syllable* to be closed, whereas, in fact, a syllable is closed by virtue of its coda being filled, no matter whether by a phonetically consonantal or a vocalic segment. Needless to say, there is also no phonetic sign of such a change as this eminent scholar suggests²⁰.

²⁰ Other analyses are similarly correct in a way but inconsistent: they include Maniet (1975) and Monteil (1970): Maniet (1975:25, 120) makes it explicit that *ae* is one phoneme, but in the chapter on weakening he says that the *a* in *incaedere* "behaves as if it was in a closed syllable"; Monteil (1970:68-72, 110) characterizes the distribution of glides as confined to onset positions with the exception of geminates (fully in line with classical tradition, in which postvocalic glides practically do not exist), but claims, in the chapter on weakening, that diphthongs are equivalent to a vowel + consonant sequence, so it is "very easy" to explain why and how they were affected by weakening.

4. Conclusion

As for the general structure of syllables, it has been shown that Latin is a fairly conservative language in this respect, it has preserved the one obstruent + one sonorant onset and one sonorant + one obstruent coda types of Indo-European; it has further been argued that a word in Latin can contain one /s/ element which remains unsyllabified. As for diphthongs, four arguments have been given for their interpretation as biphonemic vowel + consonant sequences: (i) they never occur before tautosyllabic sonorants, (ii) the second element is resyllabified as onset if it is /w/, geminated if it is /j/; (iii) the rule of permitted word-final consonants applies to the second element of the sequences, and (iv) they never alternate with short vowels. Thus a revision is suggested of our conception of the sound system as well as certain phonotactic properties of Latin²¹.

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²¹ As comprehensively described eg. in Panfilov (1973) and Hermann (1923), two works specifically dedicated to phonotactics.

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Another Ghost: The Greek Epistolary Perfect

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1. Preamble

The epistolary perfect indicative is generally recognised by grammarians as a functional type of the Ancient Greek perfect tense. The purpose of this paper is to question its validity¹. I shall argue that the epistolary perfect should be seen as another ghost function² like the *parfait résultatif* and the *perfectum intensivum*. False identification of such types is to be attributed to our continuing difficulties in defining the criterial meaning and functional development of the perfect tense form. These have involved excessive influence from the usage of other Indo-European languages and approaches to analysis based on a mixture of intuition and limited data.

Much in Greek verbal studies is currently being reassessed. In order to address the particular problem of the epistolary perfect some broader issues require discussion. The general phenomenon of epistolary tense usage needs to be defined, and also the role of the perfect tense itself within the Greek verbal system. This will lay the foundations for an examination of perfect indicative usage in Ptolemaic papyri, which allegedly provide the strongest evidence for the epistolary

¹ It is a pleasure to thank Dr. J. A. L. Lee and Dr A. Treloar for their helpful comments on a draft of this paper and K. L. McKay, D. G. Pridmore, Professor S. R. Slings, A. D. Stevens and A. C. Wilson for discussion of specific issues and bibliographical assistance. It should not be inferred that they necessarily agree with my conclusions.

Works are cited here in full at their first occurrence and in subsequent references are abbreviated by author and the first key word(s) of the title. An exception is K. L. McKay's 1980 article first cited in n. 35 below, which is afterwards mentioned as "McKay, 'On the Perfect' 1980" to distinguish it from his similarly titled article of 1981 (also cited in n. 35).

² This expression is adapted from the lexicographical term *ghost word*, of 'words which appear in dictionaries, being often copied from one to another, but have never had any real currency in the language[; t]he original entry is usually the result of a mistake of some kind, but once accepted it continues to appear in lexica until someone has the patience to re-examine the evidence' (J. Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca: Contributions to the Lexicography of Ancient Greek* (Oxford, 1996), 13).

perfect function. Its standard description in grammatical scholarship will be tested here through analysis of a large sample of third century B. C. documents from the Zenon archive.

2. Epistolary Tense Usage

Special epistolary uses of tense forms are well known in Greek and probably even more familiar in Latin. The writer uses a historic tense form for a verbal occurrence which from his or her own point of view is primary. As Mandilaras observes, it 'is a matter of perspective, since the writer looks at his letter as the recipient will'³. The verbal occurrences described are past from the point of view of the reader⁴.

In more sophisticated terms epistolary tense usage represents a departure from the usual situation of *deictic simultaneity* in utterance⁵. Normally, the time of utterance or inscription of a verbal occurrence – termed the *coding time* – can be assumed to be identical to the time

³ B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens, 1973), § 295; cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, 2 parts in 6 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1906–38; repr. Berlin 1970; 2nd ed. of Vol. 1 by H. Schmoll, Berlin, 1970), 2.1.177, 183.

⁴ It will be clear at once that Porter's recently advanced theory on time values in the Greek verb – he denies that they are encoded even in the indicative mood – is not accepted in my discussion. Here epistolary tense usage is understood, as is usual, in terms of temporal reference. The problems of Porter's approach deserve a full treatment, but this lies beyond the scope of the present paper. For his argument see especially S. E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (New York, 1989), and id. 'In Defence of Verbal Aspect', in S. E. Porter and D. A. Carson, *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research* (Sheffield, 1993), 26–45 (repr. with minor changes in S. E. Porter, *Studies in the Greek New Testament* (New York, 1996), 21–38). Similar ideas are to be found in K. L. McKay, *A New Syntax of the Verb in New Testament Greek: An Aspectual Approach* (New York, 1994). Measured responses to Porter are contained in D. D. Schmidt, 'Verbal Aspect in Greek: Two Approaches', in Porter and Carson, *Biblical*, 63–73; and M. Silva, 'A Response to Porter and Fanning on Verbal Aspect', in Porter and Carson, *Biblical*, 74–82.

For Porter's attempt at a purely aspectual explanation of the epistolary aorist indicative in accordance with his theory see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 228–30; also id., 'In Defence', 40 (id., *Studies*, 34), criticising the approach of B. M. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* (Oxford, 1990), 281–2.

⁵ For this term see J. Lyons, *Semantics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1977), 2.685.

of reception – the *receiving time*⁶. So at the same time as I say or write something, we assume that you hear or read it. Epistolary tense forms in Latin and Greek are used as a linguistic convention to specify shift of the deictic centre from the speaker or writer and the coding time, and its projection on the addressee and the receiving time⁷. The convention is closely associated with the language of the epistolary environment – hence its name – and in the Greek sphere especially with the non-literary papyri of Egypt dating from the post-Classical period, though some authorities draw attention to possible origins in earlier literary letters⁸.

Some examples will illustrate the phenomenon. Consider first a Latin sentence containing both an epistolary imperfect and an epistolary aoristic perfect:

- (1) *Ad eum postridie mane uadebam, cum haec scripsi* Cic. *Att.* 4.10.18–19, ‘When I wrote this I was on my way to see him early the following day’.

A more idiomatic English rendering of Cicero’s meaning would be: ‘As I write this I am on my way ...’. Latin has a well developed range of epistolary tense forms: imperfect and aoristic perfect for the present; pluperfect for pure perfect; future participle with *eram* for the future⁹.

Turning to Greek, epistolary imperfects and aorists are well represented in the non-literary letters. In my item (2) below the three imperfects ἔγραφον, παρεγινόμεθα and ὑπελαμβάνομεν all illustrate the usage, as do the aorists ἔγραψα in item (3) – to which we shall return later – and ἐπέστειλε (i. e., ἐπέστειλε) in item (4). Item (5) demonstrates the common use of the epistolary imperfect ὑγίαινον in formulaic greetings in the non-literary letters. It should be noted,

⁶ See S. C. Levinson, *Pragmatics* (Cambridge, 1983), 73–4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 74; also R. Lakoff, ‘Tense and its relation to participants’, *Language*, 46 (1970), 847, on Latin epistolary tense usage, and cf. R. I. Binnick, *Time and the Verb: A Guide to Tense and Aspect* (New York and Oxford, 1991), 21, 250, 316–7.

⁸ Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 475 states that the ‘idiom [is] found exclusively in the papyri’, but *ibid.*, § 475, n. 1 recognises ‘[s]ome weak traces of the epistolary perfect ... in Attic’. Others (W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (London, 1889; repr. 1998), § 50; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 304, n. 241) are more positive about Classical evidence for the feature.

⁹ R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 3rd ed. revised by A. Thierfelder (Leverkusen, 1955), § 39.

however, that the epistolary usage is by no means always employed where it might be. In item (6) we have the present ὑγιαίνω within the same formula¹⁰. Certain verbs have a particular affinity with epistolary usage. Mandilaras associates the epistolary imperfect especially with the verbs ἀναγγέλλω, γράφω, εἰμί and ὑγιαίνω and the epistolary aorist with ἀποστέλλω, γράφω, κομίζομαι and πέμπω¹¹.

- (2) ὅτε δέ σοι ἔγραφον, παρεγινόμεθα εἰς Σιδῶνα, συμπεπορευμένοι τῆι βασιλίσσηι | ἕως τῶν ὁρίων, καὶ ὑπελαμβάνομεν ταχέως παρέσεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59251.2–3, ‘And when I was writing to you, we were on our way into Sidon¹², accompanying the princess¹³ as far as the border, and we were expecting that we would be with you soon’.
- (3) γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον παρληφότα τὰ κατὰ πόλιν πάντα | καὶ ἐγλογιστεύοντα Διονυσόδωρον. ἔγραψα οὖν σοι εἰν’ ἰδεῖς *P. Cairo Zen.* 59263.4–5, ‘And know also that Apollonius is in charge of everything in the city and that Dionysodorus is acting as accountant. Therefore, I wrote to you that you should know’.
- (4) Μνησίεργος | ἐπέστειλε τοῖς οἴκοι | χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν, ‘Mnesiergus sent greetings to those at home and wished them well’¹⁴.
- (5) εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι· ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ ἐγώ *P. Cairo Zen.* 59029.1, ‘If you are well, it would be good; I too was in health’.
- (6) εἰ ἔρρωσαι, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι· ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ | αὐτός *P. Cairo Zen.* 59019.1–2, ‘If you are well it would be good; I myself am also in health’.

¹⁰ Note incidentally that the plural form ὑγαινομεν, which sometimes occurs in this formula (e. g. in *P. Cairo Zen.* 59015.1, 59032.2, 59309.1–2), is orthographically ambiguous and could be read either as present or imperfect.

¹¹ Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§ 295, 344–5.

¹² On the ambiguous lexical semantics of παρεγινόμεθα here see C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, 5 vols.; Vol. 5 ed. O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet (Cairo, 1925–40; repr. Hildesheim and New York, 1971), 2.102, note to line 2.

¹³ This βασίλισσα is almost certainly Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II, making her wedding journey to Syria and the Seleucid king Antiochus II. So *ibid.*, 2.102.

¹⁴ This example is drawn from the oldest known Greek non-literary letter, inscribed in the pre-Eucleidean alphabet on a lead tablet from Attica of the early fourth century B.C. My text is that of S. Witkowski (Ed.), *Epistulae Privatae Graecae, quae in papyris aetatis lagidarum servantur*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1911), Appendix A.1, pp. 135–6.

The Greek perfect tense is also said to be found in this usage. Our major authorities on verbal syntax in the papyri, Mayser and Mandilaras, both recognise an epistolary function of the perfect indicative coordinate with that of the imperfect and aorist. They produce lists of examples, though they are not consistently in agreement on specific instances or on the bounds of the category¹⁵. Mandilaras regards the Ptolemaic period as its heyday¹⁶, and even observes ‘an excessive use of the epistolary perfect’ in item (7), which I shall leave untranslated for the moment¹⁷. On the other hand, he notes ‘[s]ome examples’ from documents even of the Byzantine era¹⁸, but finds the feature comparatively rare in later times, linking this decline to ‘the general decay of the perfect’¹⁹ (on which see § 4 below). Item (8), together with Mandilaras’ translation, gives an idea of the meaning he attributes to the epistolary perfect.

(7) ὄν γεγράφαμέν σοι ἐν τῇ ἐτέ[ρ]αι | ἐπιστολῇ *P. Cairo Zen.* 59036.19–20 (cited by Mandilaras as 59036.20–1).

(8) καθάπερ | [ἔγρα]ψας ἀπέσταλλά σοι *P. Petr.* 3.42.G 9.2–3, ‘I sent it to you – and now you have got it – according to your request’²⁰.

An immediate problem arises here according to the standard definition of epistolary tense usage given above. The Greek perfect is a primary tense. How, then, is it to be included among the tenses of epistolary function, which must be historic? Neither Mayser nor Mandilaras addresses this question directly, though Mandilaras seems to approach it via his definition of the epistolary perfect’s meaning, into which he incorporates aoristic sense. He tells us that the epistolary perfect expresses ‘the sense of the aoristic perfect combined with the meaning of the resultative perfect’²¹. This statement might serve as a partial answer to the initial question posed – if the epistolary perfect is partly aoristic, it is presumably partly historic – but it introduces new complications. Both elements of Mandilaras’ definition reflect an understanding of the Greek perfect’s criterial meaning and

¹⁵ Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.1.183–5; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§ 475–9. Mandilaras’ tendency is to narrow the category, excluding some of Mayser’s examples.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, § 478.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, § 477.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, § 479.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, § 478.

²⁰ *ibid.*, § 475.

²¹ *ibid.*

functional development which requires reassessment in the light of recent research.

3. *The Criterial Value of the Greek Perfect*

By 'resultative perfect' Mandilaras is referring not to Chantraine's *parfait résultatif* function²², but to the perfect expressing 'an action which took place in the past, but whose consequences reach the present in some way, or are understood as present for the sake of emphasis'²³. He is highlighting one facet of the traditional definition of the Greek perfect tense, which has long been understood to express the continuing state resulting from a prior occurrence²⁴. This definition is based, however, on limited examples and embraces only certain contextual functions of the perfect²⁵. It may appear satisfactory for verbs whose lexical meaning describes some sort of action, such as ἀκηρόατε, ἐωράκατε and πεπόνθατε in item (9), but clearly is not for those whose lexical meaning describes a state, such as κεχόλωται in item (10)²⁶. It would be far-fetched to assert that κεχόλωται, 'is angry', encodes the idea of prior occurrence here.

²² As Fanning laments, '[t]here is no standard nomenclature' for the functional subcategories of the perfect (Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 291, n. 208). For the *parfait résultatif* see n. 35 below.

²³ Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 467.

²⁴ See e.g. the definitions listed at C. M. J. Sicking and P. Stork, *Two Studies in the Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek* (Leiden, 1996), 125, and cf. the general (temporally based) definition of B. Comrie, *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems* (Cambridge, 1976), 52.

²⁵ J. P. Louw, 'Die Semantiese Waarde van die Perfektum in Hellenistiese Grieks', *A Class* 10 (1967), 23; cf. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 252, n. 6; Sicking and Stork, *Two Studies*, 121–2.

²⁶ The lexical distinction between active verbs and stative verbs seems to me to be the crucial one for Greek and will serve for the present purpose. It does not attempt the refinement of the Vendlerian classifications used by some scholars, e.g. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 127–63; Sicking and Stork, *Two Studies*, 138–50. The latter approach has much potential for analysis of Greek verbs, but also involves difficult problems, tending not to distinguish the meanings of verbs from those of verbal situations. The one verb may shift between Vendlerian categories, which apply essentially to verbal situations (Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 127–8). For instance, Fanning regards ἀκούω and ὀρῶ (which I have labelled active above) and other verbs of 'passive perception' as stative, but admits that such verbs may manifest active force according to

- (9) Παύσομαι κατηγορῶν. ἀκηκόατε, ἑώρακατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε· δικάζετε Lys. 12.100, 'I shall conclude my accusation. You have heard, you have seen, you have suffered, you have the facts; decide'.
- (10) εἴ | τις ἂν ὤδε | οὐρήσι, ἢ Ἑκά | τη αὐτῷ κε|χῶλωται *I.Eph.* 567, 'If anyone urinates here, Hecate is angry with him'²⁷.

The old answer to this problem was to subcategorise, according to an idea of shifting focus of the perfect, on either the continuing state or the prior occurrence. As a result, we find in our grammars such types as the 'present' (*perfectum praesens*) and 'intensive' (*perfectum intensivum*) perfects, which cater for perceived semantic variation within the perfect category²⁸. Accordingly, it has to be supposed that the very grammatical category can mean now one thing, now another.

The trend in current theory is to seek a more viable unifying definition of the perfect's criterial meaning. To this end, recent writers have tended to focus on the form's stative value²⁹, with reference to prior occurrence considered a matter of lexical and contextual semantics. Such an approach seems more promising, though it would be wrong to pretend that a consensus view has yet emerged. The perfect tense remains one of the most difficult problems in Greek grammatical studies.

their contextual meaning (*ibid.*, 135 and n.23). Moreover, these abstract Vendlerian categories seem to be somewhat arbitrary (cf. the criticisms of Fanning's classification at Porter, 'In Defence', 37 and n.3 (*id.*, *Studies*, 31 and n.31); McKay, *New Syntax*, §§ 3.1.4, 3.6.4) and to depend ultimately on the problematic English glosses of H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. revised by Sir H. S. Jones, with the assistance of R. McKenzie, (Oxford, 1940), on which see in general J. Chadwick, 'The Case for Replacing Liddell and Scott', *BICS* 39 (1994), 1-11. There is considerable scope for further work on all these issues.

²⁷ Note the spellings οὐρήσι for οὐρήση and κεχῶλωται for κεχόλωται, which reflect post-Classical phonological developments.

²⁸ See e. g. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, revised by G. M. Messing (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956), §§ 1946-7.

²⁹ The development of this idea can be seen in Louw, 'Semantics', 27; McKay, *New Syntax*, §3.4; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 258-9; Sicking and Stork, *Two Studies*, 136-7, 168-70. Fanning at least recognises stativity as one element of the criterial value in his problematic definition involving a combination of anteriority (i. e. temporal reference), stativity (i. e. Aktionsart) and external viewpoint (i. e. perfective aspect). See Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 112-20; and Porter, 'In Defence', 38 (*id.*, *Studies*, 32) for just criticism.

Let us apply the stative approach to διέφθαρχα in item (11). This example can easily be described in traditional terms, yet we have already seen the weakness of the older interpretation.

(11) εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε τῶν νέων τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρω, τοὺς δὲ διέφθαρχα, χρῆν δήπου, εἴτε τινὲς αὐτῶν πρεσβύτεροι γενόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ὅτι νέοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ κακὸν πάποτέ τι συνεβούλευσα, νυνὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι Plato *Ap.* 33d, 'If, then, I am in the process of corrupting some of the young, but have (already) corrupted others, and if any of the latter, on growing older, perceived that I ever gave them bad advice when they were young, they surely ought just now to have come up and accused me and sought revenge'.

Socrates is describing his dealings with the youth of Athens. From the broader context it is clear that his alleged corruption of τοὺς δέ has preceded that of τοὺς μὲν (some of the τοὺς δέ are now πρεσβύτεροι). But does the perfect form διέφθαρχα itself tell us this? I would argue that it does not. The point of the perfect indicative contrasted with the present διαφθείρω, I suggest, is to shift focus from Socrates' current activity in relation to one group of persons to his current state in relation to a second group. The verbal contrast might be brought out by the hyperliteral translation: 'I am in the process of corrupting some, of others I am the corrupter'. This is not to reject the translation already offered above³⁰. There is indeed a reference to prior occurrence, but this is derived, according to the 'perfect as stative' approach, firstly from the lexical semantics of the action verb διέφθαρχα, secondly from contextual factors. It is not encoded in the grammatical category of the perfect. Tension between lexical/contextual and grammatical semantics in action verbs produces the traditionally observed dual focus of the perfect tense³¹. Similarly, the perfects of the sequence ἀκηρόατε, ἐωράκατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε in item (9) may be taken to focus on the dicasts' current state, contrasted with the activity of ἔχετε.

Thus, the argument of the present paper concerning the so-called epistolary function of the perfect indicative is based on an interpretation of the perfect form somewhat modified from the traditional

³⁰ The English perfect is very often a sensible translation of the Greek perfect. But idiomatic translation into another language does not equal explanation of the precise role of the tense form within its own verbal system.

³¹ Cf. Sicking and Stork, *Two Studies*, 127–8, 168, 170.

approach followed by Mandilaras. The perfect is taken as stative in meaning, encoding no reference to prior occurrence³². The standard view that temporal reference is encoded in the indicative mood is accepted here, and the perfect indicative is taken as a stative present in essence. In terms of aspect – a fundamental, but highly complex issue which cannot be pursued in this paper – the perfect is understood as a special type of imperfective, i. e. as manifesting the same aspect found in the present system³³.

4. *The Aoristic Perfect*

Whether or not the reader accepts all elements of the theoretical approach outlined in § 3 above, it will be clear from § 2 that to be a genuine functional type the Greek epistolary perfect must have some historic quality. This is the key ingredient of epistolary tense function. So the crucial element of Mandilaras' definition of the epistolary perfect is his assertion that it is partly aoristic (and therefore historic).

³² The interesting problem of interaction between lexical and grammatical stativity thus introduced may be noted here in passing. If the perfect tense form itself expresses stativity, where is the semantic difference between the lexically stative present *σιγῶ* and its perfect *σεσίγηκα*? For one attempt at an answer see Sicking and Stork, *Two Studies*, 139–43 (141–2 on the example of *σιγῶ*), 169–70.

³³ The Greek perfect seems undoubtedly to be an *aspectual* form and it is still standard to assert that the perfect system represents a third fundamental verbal aspect alongside the imperfective aspect of the present system and the perfective aspect of the aorist system. This is in fact the original interpretation applied to Greek by Curtius in the middle of the nineteenth century and based on the assumption that the distinct values of the three different stems, e. g. of *λύω*, *ἔλυσα* and *λέλυκα*, must be distinct *aspectual* values. To place the perfect on a parallel footing with the perfective and imperfective aspects is problematic, however, reflecting loose definition of aspect as a metalinguistic grammatical category. In general linguistic theory aspect is now usually defined as a binary opposition between perfective and imperfective viewpoints. These focus respectively on the whole verbal occurrence and on the internal temporal constituency of the occurrence. Accordingly, attempts have been made to explain the Greek verbal system in terms of a two aspect model. Within this binary framework the aspectual value of the perfect tense must be aligned with one or the other of the perfective and imperfective aspects. My own view is that the perfect's stative value is consistent with the focus on internal temporal constituency of imperfective aspectual force. See further T. V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford, 2001), 26–32.

But is the aoristic perfect, an undoubted feature of late Koine language, a valid category in early post-Classical Greek? It is certain that the Greek synthetic perfect is eventually desystematised, fusing in form and function with the aorist. The process appears to be complete by the early Mediaeval period³⁴. And Mandilaras is following the older orthodoxy, still reiterated by some authorities, that perfects with aoristic force occur already in Classical Greek and become increasingly common in the course of the Koine period³⁵.

Recent work has tended to contradict this view. McKay and more recently Porter have placed the date of merging very late, in the mid-first millennium A.D. or even later³⁶. While this is probably an overcorrection, conclusive examples of perfects with aoristic function are hard to find in earlier material. Interpretation is essentially subjective, depending on the modern reader's feeling for specific contexts and understanding of the perfect tense in general. Mandilaras has attempted to establish criteria for identifying instances of aoristic perfects³⁷, but these cannot be called objective and their unreliability has

³⁴ R. Browning, *Medieval & Modern Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1983), 30, 64; Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 460.

³⁵ The idea of early functional merging is linked to the now effectively refuted, but nevertheless still influential, *parfait résultatif* theory, which was developed in the studies of J. Wackernagel, 'Studien zum griechischen Perfectum', *Programm zur akademischen Preisverteilung* (1904), 3-24; repr. in id., *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen, 1953), 1000-21, and P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec* (Paris, 1927). This theory posits shift in focus from the state of the perfect's subject to that of its object, which is felt to draw the perfect toward aoristic function. For refutation see especially K. L. McKay, 'The Use of the Ancient Greek Perfect Down to the End of the Second Century AD', *BICS* 12 (1965), 1-21; also id., 'On the Perfect and Other Aspects in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri', *BICS* 27 (1980), 23-49 and id., 'On the Perfect and Other Aspects in New Testament Greek', *NT* 23 (1981), 289-329. McKay shows that the state described is probably always that of the subject. See also the valuable discussions of Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 273-81; Sicking and Stork, *Two Studies*, 128-9. For the *parfait résultatif* theory's ongoing influence see e.g. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 293-6. G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London and New York, 1997), 53, 118, states that the origins of the aoristic perfect can already be seen in writers like Menander, but contrast the conclusion of Goldberg's detailed treatment at D. F. Goldberg (Shalev), 'Studies in the Language of Menander', D.Phil. thesis (Oxford University, 1996), 223.

³⁶ McKay, 'On the Perfect' 1980, 23, suggests a date for the development, 'well beyond the middle of the first millennium A.D.'. Similarly, Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 273, suggests 'at least the 4th-5th cent[ury] A.D.'.

been demonstrated by McKay and Fanning³⁸. We must be wary of anticipating in Classical and early post-Classical Greek a recognised phenomenon of the later language. It is probably true that no aoristic perfects can be safely isolated before at least the first century A.D.

The equivocal nature of the evidence is well illustrated by *καταπέπλευκε* in item (12), drawn from the famous Zenon archive of the mid-third century B.C.

(12) ὑπόμνημα Ζήνωνι παρὰ Ἰ Πύρρου. γίνωσκε ἐξ οὗ ἰ Ἑρμών καταπέπλευκε ἰ μὴ εἰληφότα με [[μή]] τὸ τε ἰ ὀψώνιον καὶ σιτομετρίαν ἰ καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἕως τοῦ νῦν *P. Cairo Zen.* 59507.1–6, ‘Memorandum to Zenon from Pyrrhus. Know that since Hermon has sailed down the river I have not received my money, corn or oil allowance up until now’.

The comment ‘Pyrrhos complains that from the time when Hermon sailed down the river he has received ...’ suggests that the editor Edgar takes *καταπέπλευκε* to be aoristic³⁹. This would have been the consensus view when he was writing and no doubt many will still agree, influenced by the lexically marked temporal contrast of ἐξ οὗ and ἕως τοῦ νῦν. Yet it seems to me that a viable alternative explanation may be offered in line with treatment of the perfect indicative as a type of stative present. I take it here to focus on Hermon’s present situation and to show his journey is still in progress, i.e. ‘since Hermon has been on his current journey down river’. Thus understood, the perfect functions rather like the familiar use of the present in combination with a past time expression ‘to express an action begun in the past and continued in the present’⁴⁰ (though such descriptions really refer to the whole proposition rather than to the meaning of the indicative form itself).

Other alleged early examples may be adequately explained as historic perfects. The historic perfect, or ‘vivid dramatic colloquial historical perfect’, as Robertson colourfully describes the type⁴¹, has a

³⁷ B. G. Mandilaras, *Studies in the Greek Language* (Athens, 1972), 17–18; id., *Verb*, §§ 471–2.

³⁸ McKay, ‘On the Perfect’ 1980, 31–2; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 300–2. Fanning draws attention to additional unsatisfactory criteria employed by Chantraine (*ibid.*, 300, n. 230).

³⁹ Edgar, *Zenon*, 3.223 (my emphasis).

⁴⁰ Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, § 1885. Contrast Sicking and Stork, *Two Studies*, 158, on this ‘[p]erfect of persistent [s]ituation’.

⁴¹ A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light*

force analogous to that of the historic present. This is how I would interpret the Classical case of γεγένηται in item (13) and the much discussed New Testament example of εἴληφεν in (14)⁴².

- (13) ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ χρόνῳ, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, πασῶν ἦν βελτίστη ...
ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησε, πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἀποθανοῦσα
αἰτία μοι γεγένηται Lysias 1.7, 'So in the early stages, Athenians,
she was the best of all women ... but when my mother died, she
is become through her death the cause of all my ills'.
- (14) καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου.
καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον Rev 5:7, 'and he went and has taken it
from the right hand of the one sitting on the throne. And when
he took the book ...'.

Support for the view that functional merging of the perfect and aorist occurs early has been sought in various morphological developments. Blurring of formal distinctions between them, involving personal and other endings (e. g. aorist third person plural -αν replacing perfect -ασι), augment and reduplication, begins even in the Classical period. It is more or less widespread in the Koine and becomes increasingly common in the early centuries A.D.⁴³, leading ultimately to desystematisation and subsequent loss of the separate perfect forms⁴⁴. Functional merging of aorist and perfect is often assumed to precede and propel the formal blending⁴⁵.

These developments, however, are unlikely to be linked, at least initially, to changes in grammatical semantics. They are part of a broader process occurring in the Koine period, by which the verbal paradigms are simplified and regularised. Thus, substitution of -αν

of *Historical Research*, 4th ed. (Nashville, Tennessee, 1934), 899. Mandilaras seems to me to come very close to the historic perfect idea in his description of Plato's εἴωρακα at *Cri.* 44a as emphasising 'present vividness of the vision', even though he is arguing that the form is aoristic in opposition to Robertson's views (Mandilaras, *Studies*, 16; cf. id., *Verb*, §470).

⁴² On Rev 5:7 see e. g. Robertson, *Grammar*, 897, 899; Mandilaras, *Studies*, 48; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 264–5; McKay, *New Syntax*, §4.5.2. McKay's interpretation is similar to mine.

⁴³ For discussion and details of the changes see Browning, *Medieval*, 30, 64; Horrocks, *Greek*, 118–19; F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Vol. 2: Morphology (Milan, 1981), 225, 242–4, 346–8, 353–6.

⁴⁴ Browning, *Medieval*, 64.

⁴⁵ See e. g. Horrocks, *Greek*, 118.

for $-\alpha\sigma\iota$ completes identity of the perfect and aorist endings, and is adequately explained as analogical levelling⁴⁶. Loss of reduplication eliminates 'a morpheme unnecessary for a system already sufficiently characterized in most verbs by a distinct perfect stem'⁴⁷. On the other hand, the change of perfect second person singular $-\alpha\varsigma$ to $-\epsilon\varsigma$ of the strong aorist probably reflects no more than instability of the paradigm in its origins, but does become increasingly frequent in the early centuries A.D. In that period there may well be a syntactic element to its motivation.

The aoristic perfect, then, undoubtedly develops as a genuine category by the late Koine period⁴⁸. Its origins, however, are probably to be found no earlier than the first century A.D. The assumption that this type of perfect is a feature of the early papyri rests on no secure data. So its link with the semantic content of the alleged epistolary perfect function is at best highly problematic and in my view should no longer be accepted. This interpretation removes a vital strut supporting the epistolary perfect edifice. Without the component of historic value we have a tense form which cannot replace a primary tense so as to suspend deictic simultaneity. Thus we do not have a tense capable of epistolary function.

⁴⁶ McKay, 'On the Perfect' 1980, 24. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, 346, for discussion of primacy in substitutions involving perfect $-\alpha\sigma\iota$, first aorist $-\alpha\nu$ and second aorist $-\alpha\nu$. Analogical levelling seems a sufficient explanation. A similar case is provided by levelling, aided by increasing phonological identity, of indicative and subjunctive endings in the Koine period, which in my view is also unrelated to loss of semantic distinction. The resulting elimination of the subjunctive as a morphemic system (described by Gignac, *Grammar*, 359) does not extend to loss of semantic difference between these moods. Dr J. A. L. Lee has drawn to my attention the use of distinct aorist subjunctive stems where syntactically appropriate in Modern Greek.

⁴⁷ Gignac, *Grammar*, 244. But McKay's claim that replacement of reduplication by the augment is a matter purely of scribal error is unconvincing (McKay, 'On the Perfect' 1980, 24). It is probable that such 'errors' usually reflect the author's spoken Greek.

⁴⁸ This is not the place to attempt a lengthy exploration of the perfect's functional shift toward the aorist, but I would suggest the easy capacity of the language to express stativity lexically is probably an important factor promoting desystematisation of a grammatical category expressing the same idea. For a more conservative explanation see Horrocks, *Greek*, 118-19, who also suggests bilingual interference from the dual function perfect tense of Latin as a possible influence from the early centuries A.D. (*ibid.*, 77, 118).

5. Factors Motivating Identification of a Greek Epistolary Perfect

The preliminary conclusion of this paper will already be clear. According to standard definition of epistolary tense usage (§ 2), and to recent advances in interpretation of the perfect tense's criterial value (§ 3) and functional development (§ 4), the epistolary perfect should not be accepted as a genuine function in Greek. We next need to ask what specific factors have promoted identification of the feature in our standard grammars. Beyond the general difficulty of interpreting the perfect tense, the following issues are relevant.

At the outset, it was asserted that the ghost functions of the Greek perfect may be attributed in part to excessive influence from the usage of other old Indo-European languages. Latin in particular has made a powerful impact on the description of Greek linguistic phenomena (as well as those of many other languages). In the case in question the Latin epistolary perfect has undoubtedly influenced accounts of this alleged perfect function in Greek. An example is provided by Goodwin's brief discussion of the epistolary perfect and aorist in his *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*. Goodwin did not have the evidence of the papyri available to him and illustrates the usage with ἀπέσταλα from Isocrates 1.2 and ἔπεμψα from Thucydides 1.129. He then observes: '[s]o scripsi and misi in Latin'⁴⁹. This is fair enough, but the comparison is only apposite to ἔπεμψα. The Latin perfect has of course two essential functions, manifesting either pure perfect ('I have written/sent') or aoristic ('I wrote/sent') force. The Latin epistolary perfect is aoristic. It therefore provides a good analogy for the Greek epistolary aorist, but not for any function of the Greek perfect tense.

Goodwin's specific examples lead us to a second factor motivating identification. This involves the internal evidence of the papyri itself, emerging in the course of the last century. Certain verbs are remarkable for the high relative frequencies of their perfect indicative forms in these documents, especially in the non-literary letters. According to Mandilaras, these are ἀπέσταλα, γέγραφα and πέπομφα, i. e. the same verbs which are characteristically used in the epistolary aorist function⁵⁰. Mandilaras of course regards these perfects as epistolary. I would suggest they have been assumed through a combination of high frequency and a sort of guilt by association with their corre-

⁴⁹ Goodwin, *Syntax*, § 50.

⁵⁰ Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 476.

sponding aorists and (in the case of γέγραφα) imperfects to share the special epistolary function.

Such reasoning appears in turn to influence identification of individual cases. It is difficult to share Mandilaras' confidence in some of his examples of epistolary perfects, whatever we make of his overall conclusions. One of his exemplars for the function has already been cited as item (8) above, but ought to be reconsidered within the fuller context given in item (15). This turns out surely to be too lacunose for reliable conclusions about the function of the form ἀπέσταλκα to be possible. It certainly cannot be safely used in formulating a definition of the epistolary perfect category⁵¹. And what are we to make of the possible perfect indicative form γεγραμ- in the following line? Has Mandilaras decided that ἀπέσταλκα is epistolary simply because it is the perfect indicative of one of those verbs he regards as likely suspects? There can be little else to warrant the identification.

(15) *PPetr.* 3.42.G.9.1-7

Φίλων Κλέωνι
 χαίρειν καθάπερ
 ἔγραψας ἀπέσταλκά σοι
 ...]. ν γεγραμ-
 ...]. . . ὥσπερ σὺ ἠβούλ-
 λου] καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἐ]ὰν τινος χρεῖαν ἔχῃς

6. *The Question of Frequency: Evidence from the Zenon Papyri*

6.1 *Frequency and Function*

Let us now address more closely these intriguingly high frequencies of perfect indicatives from 'sending' and 'writing' verbs in the non-literary papyri. If they are not epistolary they certainly demand a new explanation. But do they really reflect an unusual function of the perfect tense?

⁵¹ Mandilaras is not, incidentally, alone in such overconfidence. Edgar states that 'ἐκόμιζεν is the epistolary imperfect' at *P. Cairo Zen.* 59505.2 (Edgar, *Zenon*, 3.222). But this example occurs in the merest scrap of a document, which preserves only the left edge of the text and a word or two on each line. He is simply offering a plausible guess.

The question is best illustrated by examples. The following instances are all drawn from the Zenon papyri. The perfect indicatives πεπόνηκεν, νενόσφισται and συντέταχεν in the first three items below seem to behave like ordinary Ancient Greek perfects. Do those of the next three items, exhibiting the key perfects ἀπέσταλα and γέγραφα, demand a different explanation? It appears to me, as my translations will indicate (on idiomatic English translations of Greek perfect indicative forms see again n.30 above), that they do not. They make unobjectionably good sense when taken to function in the characteristic manner of the Greek perfect tense. This would be true whether one applied the standard traditional explanation of the perfect indicative's meaning or the modification adopted here.

- (16) Ζωΐλος Πανακέστορι χαί[ρ]ειν. τῶν κατὰ Τάνιν χωμάτ[ων ἐν] | πεπόνηκέν τι. ἀπόστειλ[ο]ν οὖν Κομοᾶπιν ἵνα παραβο[ηθῆ]ι *P. Cairo Zen.* 59109.1-2, 'Zoilus sends greetings to Panakestor. One of the dykes at Tanis is damaged. So send Comoapis to help'.
- (17) ὑπόμνημα Ζήνωνι παρὰ Πάιτος | ταπιδοφάντου. περὶ ὧν ἔδωκά σοι περὶ | Νεχθεμβέως τοῦ ταπιδοφάντου, ὅς ἐστιν | στασιαστής, ἐφάνη ἐπ' ἀληθείας ὅτι νενόσφισται | ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμφιτάπων *P. Cairo Zen.* 59484.1-5, 'Memorandum to Zenon from Pais the carpet-weaver. Regarding the things I gave you regarding Nechthembes the carpet-weaver, who is a weigher, it has become clear in truth that he has put aside for himself part of the carpets'.
- (18) Θράσων Παραμόνωι. συντέταχεν | ἡμῖν Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπιστέλλειν | ὑμῖν ὧν ἂν χρειάν ἔχωμεν, | ἵνα συντελῆται τὰ ἔργα τὴν ταχίστην. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59449.1-4, 'Thrason to Paramonus. Apollonius has ordered me to send you whatever we need, to complete the work as fast as possible'.
- (19) Διότιμος [Ζήνωνι χαίρ]ειν. ἀπεστάλακαμεν πρὸς σέ | Εὐτυχίδην· ὧν γὰρ ἔνεκεν μετεπέμφθη | ἀπελογίσατο *P. Cairo Zen.* 59226.1-3, 'Diotimus sends greetings to Zenon. We have sent Eutyichides to you. For he has rendered an account of the things concerning which he was summoned'.
- (20) Πτολεμαῖος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. | γέγραφέ σοι ἵνα εἰδῆς τὴν | γενομένην ἐπὶ Φανίου οἴκο | νομίαν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι *P. Cairo Zen.* 59502.1-4, 'Ptolemaeus sends greetings to Zenon. I have written to you that you should know the arrangement made by Phanius for the cavalrymen'.
- (21) Ἀπολλόδοτος Ξανθίππωι χαίρειν. χωρὶς τῶν Β ἢ ὧν γεγράφαμέν σοι ἐν τῇ ἐτέ[ρ]αι | ἐπιστολῇ δεδώκαμεν ἄλλας Ἀντιπάτρωι *P. Cairo Zen.* 59036.19-20, 'Apollodotus sends greetings to Xan-

thippus. Except for the two thousand drachmas of which I have written to you in the other letter, the rest I have given to Antipater.

We have already noted the example of γεγράφαμεν in (21) as item (7) above. This is the instance taken by Mandilaras as an excessive use of the epistolary perfect. He does not offer a translation, but to judge from item (8) above would presumably suggest something like 'we wrote and now you have read'. The assertion that the use is excessive is probably influenced by the occurrence of the form in a subordinate clause and by the adverbial expression ἐν τῇ ἐτέ[ρ]ῃ | ἐπιστολῇ – we can tell from the broader context that 'the other letter' was written earlier – but more crucially, I would suggest, by the fact that γεγράφαμεν is a perfect Mandilaras would expect to be epistolary.

So the grammatical value of ἀπέσταλα and γέγραφα in these examples appears to be quite regular. The significant issue, then, becomes not the function of particular vocabulary items, but their frequency of occurrence. To test the question further I have analysed some 857 documents of heterogeneous authorship⁵² collected in C. C. Edgar's *Zenon Papyri*. These amount to roughly half the great third century B.C. Zenon archive. Since the epistolary perfect is allegedly most frequent in the Ptolemaic papyri, it seems most appropriate to sample perfect indicative usage from material of this period.

⁵² Numerous different authors are represented in these documents, ranging widely in level of education and so command of the language. Such variety probably has no significant bearing on the present question. Level of education does not seem to impact on choice of verbal tense forms. At any rate, less literate authors certainly employ the perfect. Pasis' letter to Zenon contains one probable and one definite instance of ἀπέσταλα (59490.1, 5). And this is 'one of the most ungrammatical pieces in our collection' (Edgar, *Zenon*, 3.205). It is just possible that quasi-formulaic tendencies may be a factor in this particular case, in line with a suggestion to be raised in § 6.3 below, but it will be seen that the point cannot be pressed.

6.2 *Relative Frequencies: Data from P. Cairo Zen.*

I count 488 examples of the perfect indicative in my 857 documents.⁵³ While they represent 134 different verbs, the relative frequencies of some verbs are indeed notable.

⁵³ All figures in the following treatment should be regarded as approximate. For instance, the real number of perfect indicatives will be somewhat higher, but precision is rendered impossible by practical difficulties. When counting items in the papyri we must often deal with fragmentary and lacunose texts, and so very difficult readings. I have taken a conservative approach to restored forms and have excluded some 40 more or less probable (and a further 14 possible) restorations suggested by Edgar and others, even though many of these are highly likely to be correct. Examples of probable cases are ἔρρωσαι in 59311.1 and ἀνηλώκαμεν in 59838.9. In the possible category is Edgar's [δε]- δώκαμεν in 59600.8-9, which cannot be included, because the scribe might well have written the aorist ἐδώκαμεν (for the -κ- form in the aorist plural see Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2.142-3; Gignac, *Grammar*, 386, n. 1). For the type of linguistic analysis undertaken here my preference is to accept only those restorations which in my judgement are absolutely certain. In addition, the particular vocabulary items employed are important for my purpose and there is sometimes a difference between ability to identify with reasonable confidence a perfect indicative form and ability to identify the actual verb occurring in that form. As a result examples like [κεκωλύκ]ασι in 59433.7 and πεπ[ολυώρηται] in 59543.5 are unusable in my analysis. No completely restored perfect indicative forms have been counted. For the bearing of excluded examples on frequencies of key vocabulary items see n. 55 below.

My count is based on Edgar's *P. Cairo Zen.* text, updated by modifications (of minor impact on perfect indicative figures) recommended in P. W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, Vol. 1: *Lists and Surveys*, with contributions by W. Clarysse et al. (Leiden, 1981), xix, 6-30, 73, 98-121. Checking of Vols. 7, 8 and 9 of the *Berichtigungsliste* - E. Boswinkel et al., *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, Vol. 7 (Leiden, 1986); P. W. Pestman and H. A. Rupprecht, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, Vol. 8, compiled by F. A. J. Hoogendijk (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1992); P. W. Pestman and H. A. Rupprecht, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, (Vol. 9, compiled by F. A. J. Hoogendijk in collaboration with N. Kruit and A. M. F. W. Verhoogt, (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1995) - has yielded no alteration to my figures. An initial manual count was checked electronically by means of the databank *PHI Greek Documentary Texts*, CD ROM 7 (Packard Humanities Institute, 1991-6).

Apart from textual difficulties, some other miscellaneous issues slightly affect the count. The form ἦκαμεν in 59495.5 is not included, because I classify it as a present. The verb ἦκω develops a hybrid conjugation in post-Classical Greek. Its present, which has 'perfect sense', adopts perfect endings in the indicative plural and also in the infinitive and participle

The data tally in broad terms with Mandilaras' findings (based on diachronic study of some 1,200 non-literary papyri from the end of the fourth century B.C. down to the early eighth century A.D.) regarding ἀπέσταλκα, γέγραφα and πέπομφο. I find 77 examples of ἀπέσταλκα (and one of the related compound ἐπέσταλκα) and 69 examples of γέγραφα (along with 17 from its compounds: 13 of ὑπογέγραφα, one each of ἐπιγέγραφα, καταγέγραφα, μεταγέγραφα and παρεπιγέγραφα)⁵⁴. On the other hand, I count only one instance from πέπομφο (59110.20-1; I have excluded the probably correct restoration πέπ[ομφο] at 59179.5). This statistic does not really contradict Mandilaras, however, since the verb πέμπω is a rather rare vocabulary item in the sample and its practical synonym ἀποστέλλω is the regular 'sending' verb of third century B.C. papyri. Yet a third verb does occur very frequently in the perfect indicative in the sample. There are 61 instances of ἔρρωμαι, perfect of ῥώννυμι⁵⁵.

(Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.2.148; H. St. J. Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, Vol. 1: *Introduction, Orthography and Accidence* (Cambridge, 1909), 269; F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 14th ed., revised by F. Rehkopf (Göttingen, 1975), § 101.28). This partial formal shift into the perfect seems to be motivated especially by the verb's lexical meaning 'am come', but is probably encouraged by the stem final κ , which might suggest a perfect form. It would certainly be reasonable on formal grounds to classify plural forms of ἦκω as perfects, as is done at B. A. Taylor, *The Analytical Lexicon to the Septuagint: A Complete Parsing Guide* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1994), 212, but this approach tends to obscure the unity of the paradigm.

Also excluded are periphrastic perfect indicatives, though I do note a few instances (ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰσίν in 59240.9, διασεσωμένοι εἰσίν in 59240.11, διαμεμαρτυρημένοι εἰσίν in 59367.30, ὑπεσταλμένοι εἰσίν in 59412.24-5). The periphrastic tense forms of Ancient Greek involve special problems of interpretation, which are discussed in Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 220-33.

On the other hand, ἀφείκεν in 59451.3 is taken here as a perfect and so counted, although it could conceivably represent the aorist ἀφῆκεν (see Mayser, *Grammatik*, 1.1. 49-50; 1.2.96). The context cannot decide the matter. The only other example of the perfect indicative of ἀφίημι in the sample is the Doric form ἀφέω | κεν in 59502.4-5 (ibid., 1.2.96), but this sheds no light on the problem since no. 59502 was written by one Ptolemaeus, while the authors of no. 59451 are two cat-feeders attached to the cult of Boubastis in the village of Sophthis. Ptolemaeus' Doric form is probably an idiolect feature.

⁵⁴ For the limited relevance of some of these compounds for the present enquiry see § 6.3 below.

⁵⁵ Excluded from these figures are another 14 restored instances of ἀπέσταλκα, four of γέγραφα and three of ἔρρωμαι. They thus account for 21

By contrast, the next most frequent perfect indicative is δέδωκα, which occurs only 20 times (along with nine examples from its compounds: seven of ἀποδέδωκα, one each of ἐπιδέδωκα and παραδέδωκα). Most common after that are πεποίηκα (13 instances), γέγονα (12 instances, along with four examples of παραγέγονα), κεκόμικα (10 instances), πέπρακα (nine instances) and εἴληφα (eight instances, along with four from λαμβάνω compounds)⁵⁶.

Thus we have three verbs, ἀπέσταλκα, γέγραφα and ἔρρωμαι, whose high frequencies demand attention. Together they represent 225 of the total of 488 perfect indicatives (46 percent). The case of ἔρρωμαι is particular. Its frequency is owed to obvious lexical factors and does not constitute a problem for interpretation. The verb means ‘strengthen’, but in the passive forms of the perfect system, in which it most often occurs in both Classical and Koine Greek, it has the sense ‘be well, be healthy’. Its perfect passive indicative happens to be very common in greeting formulae – see again items (5) and (6) above – and this accounts for its frequent occurrence in the papyri. According to standard approaches to interpretation none would categorise it as epistolary in function, but rather as a *perfectum praesens*, a perfect with present sense, in traditional terminology. In my view it merely evidences the category definition of the perfect outlined in § 3 and needs no special explanation.

6.3 ἀπέσταλκα and γέγραφα in *P. Cairo Zen*.

But why are ἀπέσταλκα and γέγραφα so common? A satisfactory explanation, I suggest, may be seen in the interaction of certain contextual and lexical features. The first point to make is that the perfect indicative has a special connection with one type of linguistic environment, namely that of letters and similar documents, which is very common in non-literary papyri. And of the 857 documents in my

(nearly 39 percent) of Edgar’s 54 restored perfect indicatives left out of consideration here; cf. n. 53 above.

⁵⁶ For a full overview the complete list may be useful (see Appendix). The perfect indicatives of all 134 verbs and their frequencies are given there alphabetically and in the 1st person singular (whether or not that form is actually citable). Idiosyncrasies of form and orthography have not been altered, though for each item I give the most regular spelling found in the sample. Each perfect is entered in the active form if that occurs in *P. Cairo Zen*.

sample approximately 497 are letters. Another 49 are memoranda and 29 petitions, and a further group of 15 documents are either letters or memoranda, but cannot be more precisely defined because of their fragmentary nature. All these form a large group of approximately 590 documents (nearly 70 percent of the total) which are more or less homogeneous in linguistic context. They may be termed collectively the *letter type*. Letter type documents are to be distinguished from the remainder, a smaller and more loosely linked group of somewhat different character. This includes some 168 accounts, 29 receipts, 27 lists and a miscellaneous group mainly pertaining to business transactions (but including three scraps of verse)⁵⁷.

The letter type characteristically involves linguistic environments analogous to direct speech. And it was long ago observed that there is a natural affinity in early Greek between direct speech – as in the drama, the orators and the dialogues of Plato – and the perfect indicative⁵⁸. By contrast, past narrative contexts are not conducive to use of this tense. As a result, it comes as no surprise to find over 91 percent of the perfect indicatives in my sample located in letter type documents.

⁵⁷ The five volumes of Edgar's edition actually contain 853 numbered papyri, but this does not equate precisely with the actual number of documents. Some papyri contain more than one document. Where these are of the same type my practice is to count the particular papyrus once in my statistics (e. g. no. 59367 contains four letter drafts and is counted once, as a letter). In a few cases more than one document type is represented, and I count the papyrus once for each (so no. 59362 has a letter on the recto and a receipt on the verso and is therefore counted twice, once as a letter, once as a receipt). On the other hand, in Volume 5 of *Zenon Papyri* separate numbers are given to four documents which are improved readings (through discovery of new fragments) of pieces already numbered in previous volumes. I do not count the new numbers (so no. 59808, which adds to no. 59461, is not counted separately here). Such additions and subtractions give a total of 857 items. There are one or two papyri in Edgar's collection which may not belong properly to the Zenon archive and in at least one case may even date to a later period (no. 59424, on which see Edgar, *Zenon*, 3.155). These make no real impact on my results and I have not separated them from the sample.

⁵⁸ B. L. Gildersleeve, 'Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb. Second Article: Tenses', *AJPh* 29 (1908), 396; cf. 390; id., 'Problems in Greek Syntax III', *AJPh* 23 (1902), 248–9; and cf. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 246; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 296–7. Inscriptions also tend to provide a context similar to direct speech and it is worth noting incidentally that I have found the perfect indicative a common form in over a hundred volumes and journal articles of Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor, read recently for another purpose.

The 488 perfect indicative forms are distributed among the 857 documents at an average of 0.57 per document. Of these forms 376 occur in letters, 28 in memoranda, 25 in petitions and 17 in the documents which might be classifiable as either letters or memoranda. Taken together they amount to 446 examples in the 590 letter type documents, at an average of 0.76 per document. The remaining 42 perfect indicatives are spread among the other 267 accounts, receipts, lists and miscellaneous documents, at an average of just 0.16 per document. We can judge intuitively that this difference is highly significant. A statistical test of significance would probably merely confirm the implications of my raw figures. Such a test has not been applied, however, since the data, which cannot be objectively refined further, are insufficiently sensitive to variations in linguistic context within documents.

The environment of accounts, lists and receipts is not so conducive as the letter type to display of finite verbal forms in general and of perfect indicatives in particular. For example, no. 59092 begins Ζήνωνος ῥίσκος ἐν ᾧ ἔνεστι, 'Zenon's portmanteau, which contains ...' and then proceeds simply to itemise the clothes the portmanteau held. The ἔνεστι in the first line is the only finite verbal form in the document. On the other hand, linguistic environment can change subtly even within a single document and these pieces sometimes display passages similar to those of the letter type. So 59069.1-4, the heading of a list of various articles, contains brief instructions formulated as a sentence, which happens to contain two perfect indicatives. This fact, which is not revealed by my broadbrush classification of document types, explains some (arguably all) of the non-letter type examples of perfect indicatives. So the difference in frequency of perfect indicatives between the letter type environment and other linguistic environments will really be more extreme than my figures suggest.

So the letter type documents provide exactly the sort of environment in which we might expect to find perfect indicatives well represented. And of the 77 examples of ἀπέσταλκα, all but two occur in such documents, as does the solitary example of ἐπέσταλκα. Of the 69 examples of γέγραφα, all but one appear in letter type documents, as do all the 17 examples from its compounds. All 61 occurrences of ἔρρωμαι are in letter type documents (as one might expect, given its link to greeting formulae). Thus, these verbs, which as we saw represent 46 percent of all 488 perfect indicatives in the sample, account for 222 (almost 50 percent) of the 446 instances in letter type documents.

Turning to the lexical issue we find the real key to the matter. These 'sending' and 'writing' verbs, ἀποστέλλω and γράφω, are extremely frequent vocabulary items in letter type documents. The language of such documents is highly repetitive and replete with formulaic expressions (e.g. καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις plus participle, the stock formula of request). The two verbs in question occur very often, especially at the beginnings and ends of letters, and are by no means restricted to the perfect tense. Bearing in mind that it is not absolutely clear what primary tense – presumably the present (?) – the alleged epistolary perfect indicative has been felt to replace, it is interesting to compare the frequencies of the present, imperfect and aorist indicatives of ἀποστέλλω and γράφω in the sample⁵⁹.

There are no examples of the present indicative of ἀποστέλλω, but 20 instances of that of γράφω (three of them rather doubtful, 11 in letter type contexts). There is a single example of the imperfect ἀπέστελλον (59596.20) and two of ἔγραφον (59251.2, which is in fact epistolary in function and has already been noted as item (2) above, and 59331.3). All of these are in letter type documents. The aorist indicative of both verbs is well represented and seems to be used in genuine distinction from the perfect according to the focus of the writer (i.e. the sample does not in my view provide any evidence for functional merging between these tenses). There are 21 examples of ἀπέστειλα, of which 18 are in letter type contexts, as are the two of ἐπέστειλα. There are 85 instances of ἔγραψα, all but two in letter type documents⁶⁰. We may also note a few examples from γράφω compounds. There is one example of the present indicative ἀναγράφω, one of the imperfect ἐπέγραφον and a few aorists: three of διέγραψα, two of ἀντέγραψα, and one each of παρέγραψα, συνέγραψα and ὑπέγραψα. Some of these, however, are of little relevance to the discussion now that lexical semantics have become significant, e.g. διέγραψα here means 'pay', ἐπέγραφον 'assess'.

These figures allow us a useful contrast with the frequencies of ἀπέσταλκα and γέγραφα. They clearly demonstrate the importance of the two verbs in the letter type environment and also reveal some new

⁵⁹ For the present purpose these three indicative forms are most relevant, but it must be borne in mind that my figures do not tell the full story on the frequency of these verbs, which naturally enough occur also in other indicative forms and in the oblique moods, infinitives and participles in the sample.

⁶⁰ I have excluded from this count another 22 restored instances of ἔγραψα and two of ἀπέστειλα.

oddities. We shall return to the interesting data on their present indicatives. The extreme rarity of their imperfects is less relevant to the present study. It essentially reflects the general diachronic decline in the frequency of the imperfect relative to that of the aorist indicative in post-Classical Greek⁶¹.

So we have here two extremely common vocabulary items occurring characteristically in contexts which suit use of the perfect indicative. Viewed in the light of these data, the high frequencies of ἀπέσταλκα and γέγραφα are readily understandable. They occur much more often than the perfect indicatives of most other verbs simply because ἀποστέλλω and γράφω are so frequent in letter type documents. This seems to me sufficiently to explain the phenomenon, at least in broad terms. The real situation, though, is likely to be more complex and some further issues deserve mention.

The rarity of the present indicative of γράφω and the complete absence from the sample of that of ἀποστέλλω is very striking, especially when we compare the figures for their perfect indicatives. It may well be an accident. The possibility, however, of some quasi-formulaic motivation for the discrepancy seems worth considering. The choice of the perfects of these two verbs over their corresponding presents, i. e. of one primary (and I would say *present*) indicative form over the other, is perhaps caused not only by the suitability of the stative form to the context, but also by the fact that these perfects become so much part of the fabric of the letter type environment. Do they develop a quasi-formulaic quality through frequent repetition, so as to encourage further their selection by our various authors? This can only be advanced as a suggestion and is probably beyond proof. Whatever its validity, the present indicative is occasionally used in environments where the perfect indicative would be the expected choice. An interesting example is γράφομεν rather than γεγράφαμεν at 59384.3, in item (22).

(22) ὑπόμνημα Ζήνωνι | παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρ[ο]υ. | γράφομέν σοι ἐν τῇ
ἐπι | στολῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀργυ | ρίου φάμενοι ἀπολωλέ | ναι ἔξ, ἐπὶ
δὲ | τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστὶν | τὸ ἀπολωλὸς | ἀργυρίου ἔ | η | χαλκοῦ
ἔ | γ | τὰ δὲ λοιπά, καθὰ ἐν | τῇ ἐπιστολῇ σοι | γέγραπται,
ἀπόλωλεν | πάντα. Τιμοθέωι | μέντον δεδώκαμεν | ἐν τῷ προ-

⁶¹ On this development see B. L. Gildersleeve, 'Brief Mention', *AJPh* 29 (1908), 242–6; C. W. E. Miller, 'The Imperfect and the Aorist in Greek', *AJPh* 16 (1895), 139–85; Robertson, *Grammar*, 837–40; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§ 49–50, 284; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 253–5; Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 198–219.

σανγέλαματι | ὅσον καὶ σοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστο | λῆι γεγράφαμεν *P. Cairo Zen.* 59384.1–18, ‘Memorandum to Zenon from Antipater. We write to you in the letter about the 60 drachmas we reckon we have lost, but in reality the loss is eight drachmas in silver and three drachmas in bronze, while the remaining items, as is written in the letter to you, have all been lost. In the report to Timotheus, however, we have given the amount of which we have also written to you in the letter’.

Whatever we might make of Antipater’s accounting practices, the use of the present γράφομεν is unremarkable in itself, but must be seen as the marked form in the letter type context in relation to the perfect. There is then a change to the more typical perfects γέγραπται in line 13 and γεγράφαμεν in the concluding remark, the latter in an expression otherwise identical with that containing γράφομεν. One might well wonder whether the shift to the perfects here is influenced by the very frequency of that tense of γράφω in such a context, in addition to any (unconscious) choice by Antipater to focus on stative value in the last two instances of the verb.

Less speculative is my final point. The frequency of γέγραφα receives a further boost, beyond the causes already described, by its use within the common formula γέγραφα (οὖν) σοὶ ἵνα εἰδῆις, e. g. in item (20) above. I find it 22 times in examples of this expression (a handful of them manifesting slight variations) in *P. Cairo Zen.* In three further instances of the formula Edgar has confidently restored the perfect tense in lacunae. Indeed, the perfect tense of γράφω is so characteristic in this environment that Edgar states ‘ἔγραψα: for γέγραφα’ of the aorist in the formula at 59270.5.⁶²

This particular instance repays closer attention and leads us back to the problem of the epistolary perfect. Verbal (and other) elements in formulae are certainly liable to occasional variation (so we find καλῶς δ’ ἂν ποιοῖς at 59093.19, to be contrasted with the usual καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις, e. g. at 59096.2–3). Unfortunately it is not clear how Edgar would define the character of the ἔγραψα for γέγραφα substitution, but we should note again another example of ἔγραψα within the same formula in item (3) above. There the aorist indicative was taken as epistolary, and this is surely the obvious explanation of both cases (and a third at 59073.15)⁶³. So these examples turn out to be

⁶² Edgar, *Zenon*, 2.118.

⁶³ Cf. Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 346.

crucial. We have the epistolary aorist replacing the *perfect tense*. The notion of the perfect indicative itself as capable of epistolary function thus becomes yet more unlikely.

7. Conclusion

Postulation of an epistolary function of the Ancient Greek perfect indicative has been generally accepted and does not seem to have been seriously questioned before. The argument of this paper, however, is that the epistolary perfect is another of the ghost functions of that problematic tense and has no proper place in our grammars. False identification of the function is based on unreliable theoretical foundations regarding the criterial value and diachronic functional development of the perfect tense. Anachronistic assumption that the aoristic perfect is a feature of early post-Classical Greek has been a particularly unfortunate influence. The Ancient Greek perfect is a primary tense, while epistolary tense usage is a matter of historic tenses replacing primary tenses, so as to suspend deictic simultaneity. The alleged epistolary perfect could only be a valid function if it contained some aoristic (and so historic) force. I hope to have shown that, while the aoristic perfect is a genuine category by early Mediaeval times, we have no secure evidence for it in Classical and early Koine documents.

In describing the epistolary perfect scholars have drawn on a combination of internal and external evidence, none of which withstands close analysis. Greek like Latin clearly manifests epistolary function of the imperfect and aorist indicatives. The undoubted existence of an epistolary perfect indicative in Latin has strongly encouraged identification of the category in that tense in Greek as well. Yet the Latin epistolary perfect manifests aoristic, rather than pure, perfect function and is not relevant to the usage of the Greek perfect tense.

The high frequency of the perfect indicative of certain verbs which characteristically appear in the epistolary imperfect and aorist has further motivated scholars to assume their perfects are also capable of epistolary function. And the ubiquity of the key perfect indicatives ἀπέσταλλα and γέγραφα in letter type contexts in the papyri is certainly remarkable. Analysis of examples from a large sample of Ptolemaic papyri (thus from documents of the period when the epistolary perfect is allegedly best attested) demonstrates, however, that a special explanation of their function is unnecessary. They can readily be in-

terpreted to function with the usual meaning of the perfect tense. This is true whether one applies the traditional definition of the perfect tense or the modification adopted in the present study.

It is specifically the frequency, not the function, of ἀπέσταλκα and γέγραφα which demands attention. And the natural affinity of the perfect indicative with letter type contexts in the non-literary papyri combines with the great frequency of these 'sending' and 'writing' verbs in general within such settings to provide a satisfactory explanation. The forms ἀπέσταλκα and γέγραφα occur much more often than the perfect indicatives of most other verbs simply because ἀποστέλλω and γράφω are such frequent vocabulary items in the highly repetitive language of letter type documents.

Appendix: Perfect Indicatives in P. Cairo Zen.

1. ἀγήροχα (one instance), 2. ἀνακεχώρηκα (six instances), 3. ἀναπέπλευκα (one instance), 4. ἀνελήλυθα (one instance), 5. ἀνενήνοχα (one instance), 6. ἀνήγγελκα (two instances), 7. ἀνήλωκα (four instances), 8. ἀπαγήροχα (five instances), 9. ἀπείργασμαι (one instance), 10. ἀπείρεκα (one instance), 11. ἀπελήλυθα (one instance), 12. ἀπενήνεγμα (one instance), 13. ἀπεξίλεφα (one instance), 14. ἀπέσταλκα (77 instances), 15. ἀποδεδήμηκα (two instances), 16. ἀποδέδωκα (seven instances), 17. ἀποκέχρημαι (one instance), 18. ἀπολέλοιπα (one instance), 19. ἀπόλωλα (three instances), 20. ἀποτέτεικα (one instance), 21. ἀφεῖκα (two instances), 22. γέγονα (12 instances), 23. γέγραφα (69 instances), 24. δεδύνημαι (one instance), 25. δέδωκα (20 instances), 26. διακέκοφα (one instance), 27. διαλέλυμαι (one instance), 28. διέγνωκα (four instances), 29. ἐγλέλοιπα (one instance), 30. ἐζήτακα (one instance), 31. εἶληφα (eight instances), 32. εἴργασμαι (three instances), 33. εἴρηκα (two instances), 34. εἰσανήλωκα (one instance), 35. εἴσχεκα (one instance), 36. εἴωθα (one instance), 37. ἐκτεταμίευμαι (one instance), 38. ἐμβέβλημαι (one instance), 39. ἐμπεπόληκα (one instance), 40. ἐμπεφάνικα (one instance), 41. ἐνέστηκα (two instances), 42. ἐνήνοχα (one instance), 43. ἐξείληφα (one instance), 44. ἐξόβρηκα (one instance), 45. ἐπείληφα (one instance), 46. ἐπελήλυθα (one instance), 47. ἐπέσταλκα (one instance), 48. ἐπιγέγραφα (one instance), 49. ἐπιδέδειγμα (one instance), 50. ἐπιδέδωκα (one instance), 51. ἐπικεχώρηκα (four instances), 52. ἐπιμεμέλημαι (one instance), 53. ἔριμμαι (one instance), 54. ἔρρωμαι (61 instances), 55. ἔσπαρκα (two instances), 56. εὔρηκα (three instances),

57. εὐτάκτηκα (two instances), 58. ἡγγύημαι (one instance), 59. ἡγόρακα (six instances), 60. ἡνάγκασμαι (one instance), 61. ἡξίωκα (two instances), 62. καταγέγραφα (one instance), 63. καταγήοχα (one instance), 64. κατακεχώρικα (three instances), 65. καταλέλοιπα (one instance), 66. καταπέπλευκα (two instances), 67. κατέβλαφα (one instance), 68. κατείσχηκα (one instance), 69. κατέσπαρκα (one instance), 70. κατέφθαρμαι (one instance), 71. κεκάθαρκα (two instances), 72. κεκόμικα (10 instances), 73. κεύρωμαι (one instance), 74. κεκόλυκα (one instance), 75. χειρογράφηκα (one instance), 76. κέχημαι (one instance), 77. λελόγευκα (three instances), 78. μεμέτηκα (six instances), 79. μεμίσθωκα (one instance), 80. μεταγέγραφα (one instance), 81. μεταπεπόρευμαι (one instance), 82. νενόσφισμαι (one instance), 83. οἶδα (one instance), 84. οἰκονόμηκα (one instance), 85. οἰνοποίηκα (one instance), 86. παραγέγονα (four instances), 87. παραδέδωκα (one instance), 88. παράστηκα (one instance), 89. παρατέθεικα (one instance), 90. παρείληφα (one instance), 91. παρεπιγέγραμμαι (one instance), 92. παρήγγεμαι (one instance), 93. παρήλυκα (one instance), 94. πέπαυμαι (one instance), 95. πέπεισμαι (two instances), 96. πεπίστευκα (one instance), 97. πεποίηκα (13 instances), 98. πεπολυώρηκα (one instance), 99. πέπομφο (one instance), 100. πεπόνηκα (two instances), 101. πεπόρευμαι (one instance), 102. πεπόρικα (one instance), 103. πέποσχα (one instance), 104. πεπραγμάτευμαι (one instance), 105. πέπρακα (nine instances), 106. πέπραχα (one instance), 107. πέφεισμαι (one instance), 108. πέφηνα (one instance), 109. πεφύτευκα (two instances), 110. προείληφα (one instance), 111. προσαγήγοχα (one instance), 112. προσδέδεγμαι (two instances), 113. προσελήλυθα (one instance), 114. προσμεμαστειγώμαι (one instance), 115. προσοικοδόμηκα (one instance), 116. προσπέπτωκα (one instance), 117. προστέθειμαι (one instance), 118. προσώπημαι (one instance), 119. προσωφείληκα (two instances), 120. συμβέβηκα (two instances), 121. συνήγμαι (one instance), 122. συντέθεικα (two instances), 123. συντέταχα (four instances), 124. τέθεικα (one instance), 125. τέθνηκα (one instance), 126. τέτευχα (one instance), 127. τέτιλα (one instance), 128. τετιμώρημαι (three instances), 129. τέτηκα (three instances), 130. ὑπακίχοα (one instance), 131. ὑπογέγραφα (13 instances), 132. ὑπολέλειμμαι (one instance), 133. ὑφείρημαι (one instance), 134. ὠμολόγηκα (two instances).

Homeric κασσίτερος

By PHILIP FREEMAN, St. Louis

Summary: The Greek term for 'tin', κασσίτερος, has no satisfactory etymology, but efforts over the past century to find its origin in Greek itself or in the Celtic languages are misplaced in light of internal analysis and recent archaeological discoveries.

The origin of κασσίτερος has for decades troubled scholars from diverse fields, with the genesis of the word, as Chantraine so aptly puts it, being *très obscure*¹. This word has provoked great interest because its origin may shed light on such problems as the source of Mycenaean tin and the possibility of commercial contact between Bronze-Age Greece and the British Isles. Though previous discussions have placed the origin of κασσίτερος in Greece itself, in the Celtic lands of the west, or in Mesopotamia, close analysis and recent archaeological discoveries clearly point to a Near Eastern origin².

It is unlikely that κασσίτερος is a word of Greek and ultimately Indo-European origin. The roots of words for various metals in the Indo-European languages are often quite diverse and obscure, with 'tin' being no exception (Gk. κασσίτερος, Hit. *dankui-*, Oir. *stán*, Lith. *alvas* or *cinas*, ON *tin*, Skt *trapu-* or *kastira-*). Indo-European does have at least one root which might yield Greek κασσίτερος. Since tin can be a gray or yellowish-gray metal, as confirmed by a recent examination of cassiterite ore at Harvard's Mineralogical and Geological

¹ Chantraine 1970. 2.503-4.

² κασσίτερος and its derivatives occur in a number of forms in Greek and Latin. κασσίτερος (Att. καττίτερος) is the most common as the standard term for tin in Greek from Homer till modern times. Homer uses κασσίτερος ten times in the *Iliad*, but never in the *Odyssey*, and always in reference to instruments of war (*Il* 11.23-25, 34; 18.474, 565, 574, 612; 20.271; 21.590; 23.503, 561). Another early literary attestation of κασσίτερος is by Hesiod, who describes the smelting of tin (*Theog.* 862). The adjective κασσιτέρινος ('made of tin') and the various forms for 'tinker', κασσίτεράς, κασσιτερουργός, and κασσιτεροποιός, are all later derivatives. Latin borrows κασσίτερος as *cassiterum*, with the ending on analogy of *ferrum*, *aurum*, etc., but more commonly uses *plumbum album* ('white lead') or *stannum*. The Tin Isles, known as the Κασσιτερίδες in Greek and *Cassiterides* in Latin, are often associated with sources of tin off Cornwall (cf. Her. 3.115; Plin. *HN* 7.197; Strabo 3.5.11).

Museum, the Indo-European root **kas-*, 'gray', found for example in Latin *canus*, (< **cas-no-s*), 'gray, whitish-gray' is a possibility. However, the gemination of -σ- along with the addition of the -τερο- suffix, normally used in Indo-European for contrastive and comparative formations, raises difficulties. Greek words with -σσ- usually result from a voiceless velar or dental in combination with a consonantal *j* (e. g., *φυλακῖω > φυλάσσω, *μελιτῖα > μέλισσα). Since Indo-European **kas-* lacks a velar or dental element as the termination of the root, a development into Greek κασσ- would be unusual. The -τερος suffix of κασσίτερος also creates difficulties for an Indo-European origin. Though -τερος in itself can certainly be an Indo-European formation (cf. Skt. *án-taras*, Hit. *nun-taras*, Lat. *al-ter*), its normal contrastive and comparative use seems unlikely here³.

An additional difficulty with a Greek origin of κασσίτερος is the absence of the word in the Linear B records. The very term *Bronze Age*, as well as numerous bronze archaeological finds, shows that tin was known in Mycenaean Greece, as bronze is of course an alloy of copper and tin. Since Linear B is a syllabic system which can only imperfectly render Greek words, κασσίτερος would be written as **ka-si-te-ro*, but no such lexical item occurs in the Mycenaean tablets. There is a similar term which occurs on the tablets concerning bronze sword manufacture from both Knossos and Pylos, *ka-si-ko-no*⁴. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but the syntax of these series of tablets suggests that it is an occupational descriptive following a proper name in the nominative singular, perhaps a metal or sword-worker. This might be a Mycenaean term for 'tin-worker' if a hypothetical root **kassi-* could be combined with an agent suffix -κονος (IE **ken-*)

³ Rix 1976, 169-70; Hooker 1980: 65, 96-7, 179. Examples of the contrastive use are pairs such as δεξιτερός : ἀριστερος or Lat. *dexter* : *sinister*. This could apply to κασσίτερος only if the Greeks viewed it as having more of a certain quality than other substances, or saw it as naturally paired with another lexical item. The contrastive/comparative use in Greek is attested as early as the Bronze Age Linear B tablets. -τερος- used as an adjectival suffix in *wa-na-ka-te-ro* is found, for example, on a land tablet from Pylos (Er 312) and an inscribed jar from Thebes (Z 839). In both cases the -τερος- suffix is added to the stem *ἑνακ-* (later Gk ἄναξ) to form an adjective which must mean 'special, of the master' or even 'royal'. This would contrast with items which were for ordinary or common use. The -τερος- suffix of κασσίτερος could conceivably have originated in this way, i. e., to mark tin as unique or as a metal of royal prerogative.

⁴ Knossos Ra 1541,1551,1546,1555,1556,1557,1559; Pylos An 128.

found in the suffix of words like διάκονος, 'servant, attendant'. However, Lejeune more reasonably sees *ka-si-ko-no* as composed of a prefix *κασι-* ('with') and an agent suffix *-κονος*, meaning 'companion, fellow-worker'⁵.

A Celtic origin of *κασσίτερος* has been popular with some scholars and put forward as the earliest evidence of contact between the Celts and Mediterranean world. Dinan, for example, following the earlier work of D'Arbois de Jubainville, speaks with conviction when he says the *κασσίτερος* is 'undoubtedly a word of Celtic origin'⁶. However, alleged evidence such as Gaulish personal and tribal names (*Cassi*, *Cassi-gnatos*, *Bodio-casses*, etc.) which have been identified with a supposed Common Celtic root **kass-* meaning 'tin', are better derived from an Indo-European **kad-s-* ('harmful, terrible'), with development to Celtic **kass-i-* (Oir. *caiss*, W. *cas*). This would fit the common pattern among other Gaulish and British names emphasizing martial ability⁷.

Many linguists favor an origin for *κασσίτερος* in the Near East, but few express this view with great certainty⁸. I believe that the Mesopotamian argument, although certainly not unassailable, is the best given the current evidence. The Elamite root *qa-si-*, along with other similar words in the Mesopotamian lexicon, is frequently associated with metal-work⁹. Moreover, tin was used in the Near East long before it became common in Greece or the rest of Europe. Sanskrit *kastira-* supports this Near-Eastern origin, as it is more likely that a Mesopotamian term spread both west to Europe and east to India than a Celtic word reached southern Asia. Even the Greeks themselves had a muddled idea eastern origins for *κασσίτερος*. The lexicographer Stephanus of Byzantium (6th cent. AD), drawing on an earlier Dionysius, identifies *Κασσίτερα* as an insular source of tin in the Indian Ocean and claims the term *κασσίτερος* derived from this island¹⁰. The persistent motivation to see a Celtic origin for early Greek tin ore is quite finally put to rest with recent discoveries of an

⁵ Lejeune 1960: 20–26. Myc. **kasi-* from **kati-*, cognate with Hit. *katti-/katte-*, with regular development of *-τ-* to Myc. *-σ-*. A Pre-Greek 'Pelagian' origin of *κασσίτερος* is proposed in Hester 1965.

⁶ D'Arbois de Jubainville 1902: 4–11; Dinan 1911:2–7.

⁷ After all, it is better to face your enemies on the battlefield as 'the Terrible Ones' than 'the Tin Men'.

⁸ Hüsing 1970; Pokorny 1913; Pokorny 1918; Forbes 1967: 19, 26–9.

⁹ Hinz and Koch 1987: 447.

¹⁰ Steph. Byz. (s.v. *Κασσίτερα*).

active Bronze-Age tin mine and smelting operation at Göltepe/Kestel in southeastern Asia Minor, only a few days sail from Greece as opposed to the distant journey to Cornwall¹¹.

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¹¹ Yener 1994.

Beobachtungen zu der *accusat lacescit*-Redaktion der ‚Synonyma Ciceronis‘

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Nachdem die bisher nur in geringen Auszügen bekannte Redaktion von P. Gatti unlängst aus dem codex unicus, Leiden BPL 67 E (s. IX), komplett vorgelegt worden ist, kann die Eigenart dieses Synonyma-Traktats näher beschrieben werden¹: Sein Verhältnis zu den von Barwick irrtümlich als Teil des Charisius gedruckten ‚Synonyma Ciceronis‘ ist das einer Quellengemeinschaft: So läßt sich aus Nr. 66 Gatti *excessit, evasit, erupit, effugit, elapsus est, extulit se, eripuit se* und der von Gatti an die Seite gestellten Reihe p. 414,13 Barwick *abiit excessit evasit erupit aufugit effugit* eine gemeinsame spätantike Vorlage rekonstruieren, deren ursprünglicher Wortlaut oder Auftakt *abiit excessit evasit erupit* gelautet haben muß: Zugrunde liegt eine wörtliche Aufnahme aus dem ersten Kapitel der zweiten Catilinarischen Rede Ciceros, der in der *exaggeratio abiit excessit evasit erupit* Catilinas Flucht aus Rom ausgemalt hat. Bereits Quintilian (inst. 9,3,46) und Serv. Aen. 2,128 führen gerade diese Catilinaria-Partie als Musterbeispiel für Synonymik an.

Die ursprüngliche spätantike Sylloge war vermutlich, wie v. a. die Barwick'sche Redaktion nahelegt, eine aus Klassikertexten schöpfende Sammlung. In der *accusat lacescit*-Redaktion ist das pagane Gut anders als in der Barwick'schen-Redaktion aus christlichen Texten, und zwar v. a. um aus Prooemien von Briefen gezogene Glossen erweitert worden: So geht Nr. 26 Gatti *beatitudo, apostulatus, sinceritas, sanctitas, paternitas, venerabilitas, reverentia, bonitas, relegio* auf eine Bischofstitulatur zurück, wie sie in Briefanreden üblich war: *Beatitudo* ist, wie ThLL II 1796, 16 ff. lehrt, eine gebräuchliche Anrede für einen höheren Kleriker, deren Bedeutungsvielfalt durch die ab *sinceritas* fol-

¹ P. Gatti, *Synonyma Ciceronis: La raccolta accusat, lacescit* (Labirinti 9), Trento 1994. – Überschriften ist die Sammlung *INCIPIVNT GLOSE NONI CUM CICERONIS*, was Gatti nach Lindsay als Verschreibung von *incipiunt glose <se> nomina Ciceronis* gedeutet hat. Etwas näher an der Überlieferung dürfte *incipiunt glose <se/i> noni <mo>rum Ciceronis* liegen.

genden Begriffe nuanciert wird. *Apostulatus* aber sollte demnach nicht als Synonym, sondern vielleicht eher als Genitiv zu *beatitudo* aufgefaßt werden.

Den Bemerkungen zu Quellen und Komposition sollen nun einige textkritische Noten folgen, bleiben doch, auch wenn der Ersteditor die schlimmsten Fehler beseitigt hat, noch einige Probleme zu lösen (ich zitiere nach der Nummer bei Gatti):

- 43 *dirus, rigidus, saxeus, lapideus, inflexibilis, certus, sic<ur>us, austereus, verticosus, durus, tumidus*
certus, sicurus Gatti: *'tus sicus* cod.

Die zugunsten der Konjekture angeführte Parallele Gloss. IV 407,46 *certus: securus* beweist lediglich, daß *certus* und *securus* als Synonyme verstanden wurden, aber nicht, daß diese Adjektive ein *dirus* paraphrasieren können. Aus *'tus sicus* ist *rusticus* oder *tetricus* zu gewinnen².

- 46 *Dii inferi, manes Acherontides, ferruginei ministri, caeli cohors*

Daß man sich mit Loewes *caeca* nicht anfreunden kann, scheint verständlich; aber die Überlieferung bietet eine Monstrosität. Ich gebe zu erwägen, *Cocytus cohors* zu lesen.

- 120 *Insta, immine, inhia, coge, adgredere, inpelle, conpelle*
Minita?

- 140 *Liber pater, Dionisius (!), Baccus, repertor vineae, vitis rector*
rector Gatti: *sector* cod.

Gatti verweist für seinen Vorschlag auf 169 *Neptunus rector equoris*, was aber kaum vergleichbar erscheint. Hinter *vitis sector* verbirgt sich ein schon bei Accius begegnender Kultname des Bacchus: *vitisator* (die Buchstaben *ec* und *a* sind in der Hs. kaum zu unterscheiden, sodaß *sator* vielleicht sogar Überlieferung darstellt). Den Beleg Ov. fast. 3,726 (*vitisator* N [ausgewertet 1929]: *vilis anus* rell.) hat bekanntlich P. Maas (Textkritik ⁴1960,32) als Musterfall für eine schläfrige *examinatio* behandelt.

- 206 *res divina[s], sancta munitio, lex evangelica, bona nunciatio, mandatum in † speco †*

² Vgl. Syn. Cic. 48 Mahne² (Lugd. Batav. 1851) *austerus ... tetricus ... tristis severus rigidus atrox durus gravis ferox crudelis agrestis*. Neben *dirus* und *difficilis* begegnet *rusticus* s.v. *sordidus* bei Syn. Cic. 442 Mahne¹ (Lugd. Batav. 1850).

Doch wohl *in seculo*.

223 *sic <h>abetur, sic fertur, putatur*
putatur Gatti: hictatur cod.

Die Überlieferung legt eher ein *sic <pu>tatur* nahe³.

³ Ich nehme die Gelegenheit wahr, eine kleine Verbesserung zur *arba humus*-Rezension der Synonyma Ciceronis (ed. P. Gatti, Lexicographica II. Synonyma Ciceronis [*Arba, humus*], Genova 1993) vorzunehmen: Deren Kette Nr. 47 G. lautet *pallidus, viridus, olfectus, semianimus, exsanguis, semivivus*. Goetz hatte *luridus* vorgeschlagen, welche Konjektur von Gatti als überflüssig abgetan wird, weil ein *viridus* bei Cypr. Gall. gen. 250 *viridis . . . ripis* und auch sonst belegt sei. Der Einwand zielt am eigentlichen Problem vorbei: Das Adjektiv *viridus* ist gut belegt, aber nicht im Sinne von *pallidus* und *exsanguis*. Aus der von Gatti zitierten Parallel-Redaktion p. 439,32 B. *pallidus, lividus, exsanguis, adflictus morbo, semianimis, semivivus, seminecatus* (vgl. auch ebd. 443,17 *pallidus lividus*) geht hervor, daß gewiß *lividus* herzustellen ist.

Le dialecte d'Héraclite¹

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Résumé: Le dialecte d'Héraclite est décrit de la façon la plus complète possible, compte tenu de la forme orthographique transmise, dans la mesure où le permettent les près de cent cinquante citations textuelles qui nous sont parvenues. L'analyse révèle notamment que le recours à des formes «ioniennes» (non contractées ou à contraction différente de l'attique) ou «attiennes» (contractées) présente des régularités qui suggèrent que l'original héraclitéen était bien moins «ionien» que, disons, l'hyperionien de la tradition manuscrite d'un Hérodote (sans parler du *Corpus hippocratique*) et beaucoup plus proche de l'ionien des inscriptions du V^e siècle.

Ce qu'on trouvera ci-dessous n'est pas, à proprement parler, une description du dialecte² ionien d'Héraclite. Ce n'est qu'une présentation synthétique de tous les dialectismes que nos sources semblent afficher, positivement ou négativement, dans leurs citations héraclitéennes. (Par affichage positif nous entendons le recours à une forme clairement non-attique, par affichage négatif le recours à une forme attique là où l'on s'attendrait à une forme non-attique.) Ces dialectismes peuvent aussi bien remonter à Héraclite lui-même qu'être des ionismes ou des hyperionismes introduits postérieurement dans son texte pour remplacer des atticismes supposément erronés. De même

¹ Cet article reproduit les pages 172-181 de notre thèse inédite, soutenue en Sorbonne sous la direction de Gilbert Romeyer-Dherbey et sous la présidence de Pierre Aubenque, *Poétique et philosophie chez Héraclite. Introduction à la problématique* (1996), où nous analysons le dialecte d'Héraclite en tant que préalable linguistique à l'étude des structures supralinguistiques (poétiques) de ses fragments. Il s'agissait d'établir dans la mesure du possible les rapports entre les formes transmises et les formes dialectales originales, l'orthographe et la prononciation, etc. La seule tentative plus ou moins systématique antérieure à la nôtre de décrire, ou plutôt «reconstruire», le dialecte d'Héraclite figure dans l'édition de Bywater [Bywater *HER* (1877) XI-XIII]. Elle est malheureusement assez sommaire, formaliste, voire arbitraire. – Les textes utilisés des fragments (numérotés selon Diels-Kranz) sont cités dans Mouraviev *PPH* (1996) 155-171, mais ne diffèrent que très peu de ceux des éditions standard (les différences importantes sont signalées en note par des renvois aux travaux où elles sont argumentées).

² *Dialecte* avant tout au sens habituel, mais aussi le sociolecte (ionien de la langue grecque, aristocratique de l'ionien [cf. Hipponax]) et l'idiolecte, impossible à distinguer du précédent.

certain «atticismes» apparents peuvent avoir déjà été utilisés par Héraclite en personne, soit parce qu'ils faisaient partie de la variante éphésienne de l'ionien, soit encore parce que la mode (ou l'antimode) littéraire était à l'attique³, soit enfin pour des raisons purement esthétiques ou expressives (rythme, phonique, ironie, allusion, citation, etc., etc.).

Plus généralement, il est dangereux de postuler d'avance une uniformité linguistique trop stricte qui risque de s'avérer mythique, surtout chez un auteur incontestablement aussi instruit de la littérature antérieure (cf. tous les noms qu'il cite) et conscient de la forme linguistique de son texte qu'Héraclite. Nous n'en tenterons pas moins, à propos de chaque catégorie de dialectismes, d'établir en première approximation ce qui pouvait avoir été chez lui la norme. («En première approximation» signifie en l'occurrence: en ne tenant compte que de la forme *écrite*, abstraction faite de la prononciation qu'elle représente.) Et nous comparerons les résultats obtenus avec les conclusions, fondées naturellement sur un échantillonnage beaucoup plus vaste (toute la littérature et toute l'épigraphique ionienne des origines à la fin du IV^e s. av. J. C.), obtenues par des chercheurs aussi réputés que Bechtel, Thumb, Scherer et Buck⁴.

(1-5). Phonologie

1. Les mots suivants sont traditionnellement écrits avec un tréma représentant une «diérèse», c'est-à-dire une prononciation dissyllabique⁵ de ce qui sans cela aurait été une diphtongue:

³ Rappelons qu'Athènes a joué un rôle important dans l'histoire éphésienne au milieu du VI^e siècle, sous l'érysmnète athénien d'Éphèse Aristarque, et pouvait avoir été idéalisée dès l'époque des dominations lydienne et perse (sans parler de l'époque des guerres persanes). Dans les inscriptions, l'influence de l'attique sur l'ionien oriental commence à se manifester vers le milieu du V^e s. (Thumb-Scherer 2 [1959] 248-9), mais cette propagation devait avoir commencé plus tôt dans des cercles restreints (privilégiés, instruits, itinérants?) de la population ionienne.

⁴ Bechtel *GD* 3 (1924); Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 194-284; Buck *GD* (1955; corr. 1968) 142-3, 184-9 et passim.

⁵ Comme nous sommes intéressé par le rythme accentuel des fragments et les rapports entre les longueurs des membres de phrase, il ne nous est pas indifférent de savoir si telle combinaison de voyelle était dissyllabique ou monosyllabique. L'exemple de βαῦζουσιν (mot indéniablement onomatopéique provenant de faw - cf. franç. *ouaou-ouaou* [ou waw-waw] - donc à radical

αἶδης (B 15 [u. l. αἶδης]) [mais αἶδην B 98]
 ἀρηίφατους, ἀρηίφατοι (B 24, B136)
 βασιληίη (B 52)
 βαύζουσιν (B 97)
 ἐπαίων, ἐπαίοντι (B 112, B 117)
 ληναίζουσι (B 15)
 ὀνήϊστος, -ον (B 121)
 πυρκαϊήν (B 43)

1a. *Psilose*. Pas d'exemples excepté αὔτις (B 40). Cf. ἐφ' ἡμέρηι (B 6), οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται (B 3-94), καθ' ἡδονήν (B 67) – de même que ἐφ' ἐνός (B 69) et καθ' ἡμέραν (B 72)⁶.

2. κ (= /q/) pour att. π devant ο ου ω, p. ex. ὄκως pour ὄπως. Cf. *infra*, 13. Pronoms (adverbes) démonstratifs ...

3. σσ (= /t/) pour att. ττ⁷:

ἄσσα (B 27)⁸

ἐλάσσονας (B 80A*⁹)

θάλασσα (B 31^a, B 31^b, B 61), θαλάσσης (B 31^a)

κρέσσον (B 95-109) [mais κρείττων (B 54)]

ὀρύσσουσι (B 22)

τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα (B 80A*) πασσέληνος (B 80A*)

[mais πεττεύων (u. l. πεσσ-) (B 52)]

incontestablement monosyllabique) montre clairement *soit* que le tréma des mss. médiévaux signale non une diérèse syllabique, mais une «diérèse graphique»: l'alpha et l'upsilon doivent être prononcés non comme un digraphe (prononcé [af]), mais comme deux graphèmes vocaliques séparés ([a-u] ou [a-i]), dont le second a de fortes chances d'être non-syllabique, *soit*, en tout cas, que ce tréma n'implique sûrement pas une prononciation dissyllabique originelle.

⁶ Tous les linguistes modernes sont unanimes à affirmer la disparition ancienne de l'aspiration initiale en ionien et à considérer des formes comme celles que nous citons, en tant qu'atticismes ou que survivances des formes figées: Bechtel *GD* 3 (1924) 35-9; Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 266-6; Buck *GD* (1955) 18-9, 53. Nous verrons toutefois que les aspirations tant initiales qu'internes jouent un rôle important dans le texture phonique de nombreux fragments. Cf. Mouraviev *PPH* (1996) 212-214, 258-268 (passim).

⁷ Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 264; Buck *GD* (1955) 69-70 (cf. 349).

⁸ Cf. *infra*, note 21.

⁹ Nouveau fragment dans *POxyrh.* 3710, II 33-55, III 1-19. Cf. Mouraviev «H4T» (1992) 229-42.

4. Rencontres de voyelles, formes non-contractées [attiques contractées] (cf. encore 8. Morph. 1^{re} décl. masc. sg.; 10. 3^e décl. thème sigm.; 12–13. Pronoms, etc.; 17–20. conjug. thèmes vocaliques):

[ἀντίξουν (B 8)]

ἔάν (B 18, B 49)¹⁰

νόον (B 40, B 104), νόωι¹¹ (B 114)

φάος (B 26)¹²

5. ν ephelcystique (euphonique, cf. 7; 9): toujours présent devant voyelle et/ou pause, absent devant consonne, sauf:

ψυχῆισιν (B 36, devant θ),

αὐτοῖσιν (B 34, devant μ)¹³

(6–21). Morphologie

(6–10). Déclinaison

(Articles, noms, adjectifs, pronoms)

(6–8). 1^{re} déclinaison

6. Féminin singulier: η après ρ, ι¹⁴

Nom. sing. ἡμέρη (B 67); ἀγχιβασίη (B 122), ἀπιστίη (B 86), ἀρμονίη (B 51, B 54), βασιληίη (B 52), πολυμαθίη (B 40), σοφίη (B 112); – ξηρή (B 118); σκολιή (B 59) [mais ἱερά (B 46)]

Acc. sing. ἡμέρην (B 57); ἀμαθίην (B 95–109), ιστορίην (B 129), κακοτεχνίην (B 129), νουμνηίην (B 80A*), πολυμαθίην (B 129) [*u. l.* –θείην]), πυρκαϊήν (B 33), σοφίην (B 129), ὑγιεινήν (B 111), – δευτέρην (B 80A*), προτέρην (B 80A*), ὕγρην (B 117)

[mais ἡμέραν (B 72), ἀρμονίαν (B 8); – ἰδίαν (B 2)]

Gén. sing. λύρης (B 51); – φανερός (B 54) [mais ἡμέρας (B 106); ἐσπέρας (B 120); περιφερείας (B 103)]

Dat. sing. ἡμέρηι (B 6); ἀπιστίηι (B 86)

¹⁰ La forme contractée ionienne étant ἦν (attique ἄν): Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 283–4; Buck *GD* (1955) 106.

¹¹ Cf. Bechtel *GD* 3 (1924) 14; 21 (cf. 242) considère comme erronée cette orthographe non-contractée qui rend plus difficile le jeu de mots ξὺν νόωι: ξυνῶι.

¹² Nous avons naturellement omis les non contractés réguliers comme κλέος, νέος etc.

¹³ Les -ν devant consonnes ne sont pas rares dans les inscriptions des VI^e-V^e ss.: Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 267; 268 (Dat. Pl.); Buck *GD* (1955) 84.

¹⁴ Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 268; Buck *GD* (1955) 86–7.

7. Féminin (et masc.) en -ησι (ν)

Dat. pluriel ἡμέρησι (B 80A*), ψυχῆσι(ν) (B 36, B 77^a); - ὕγρησι (B 77^a) [mais λήναις μύσταις (B 14)]

8. Masculin singulier. Nominatif en -ης, Accusatif en -ην, Génitif en -εω¹⁵

Nom. Πυθαγόρης (B 129), - *Acc.* Πυθαγόρην (B 40), - *Gén.* Τευτάμεω (B 39).

Comme toutes les exceptions proviennent soit de citateurs peu soucieux de préserver la forme dialectale des citations (Aristote, Strabon, Plutarque, Marc-Aurèle, Porphyre), soit de citations à textualité douteuse, nous pouvons considérer les formes en -η comme constituant la norme. (Sauf, peut-être, pour περιφερείας [B 103] où le rime en -ας semble délibérée.)

(9). 2^e déclinaison

9. Masculin pluriel. Datif en -οισι(ν)

Article. τοῖσιν + V (B 12) [mais τοῖς + V (B 5, B 29^{bl6}, B 49A, B 84, B 89, B 121), + C (B 5)]

Noms. αἰδοίοισιν + V (B 15) [mais αἰδοίοις + C (B 29^b)], ἀνθρώποισι + C (B 116) [mais ἀνθρώποις + C (B 61, B 110), + V (B 107)], δόμοισι + C (B 5 [*μ. l.* δόμοις]), ποταμοῖσι + C (B 12) [mais ποταμοῖς + C (B 49)]

[mais νυκτιπόλοις μάγοις βάρχοις + C (B 14), Δελφοῖς + V (B 94), Ἐφεσίοις + V (B 121), νούσοις + fin (B 136)]

Adjectifs. ἀπέροισιν + V (B 1^a), κωφοῖσιν + V (B 34) [mais αἰσχίστοις + C (B 29), ἀνήβοις + C (B 121)]

Pronoms. αὐτοῖσιν + V (B 12) + C (B 34) [mais αὐτοῖς + C (B 49, B 72, B 84)], ἐωυτοῖσι + C (B 17), [mais οἷς + C (B 72)]; cf. ὁκόσοις + V (B 17, ex corr.), τουτέοισιν + V (B 5)

Résultats: 11 -οισι(ν) dont 6 devant voyelle et 5 devant consonne contre 24 -οις (sans les *μ. l.*) dont 9 devant voyelle, 14 devant consonne et 1 en finale; soit 20 -οισι(ν) + V / C & -οισ' + V contre 15 -οις + C / fin. L'analyse de l'attitude (respectueuse ou irrespectueuse) du citateur vis-à-vis des formes dialectales permet d'éliminer 5 de ces derniers: B 14^a n'est pas une citation textuelle et B 72 comporte sept ionismes négatifs. Trois conclusions semblent possibles: (a) Héraclite utilisait -οισιν ou -οισ' / -οις devant voyelle ou pause, et -οισι devant consonne, les -οις devant consonne étant le fruit d'une atticisation postérieure;

¹⁵ Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 268-9; Buck *GD* (1955) 87.

¹⁶ Nous attribuons aussi à Héraclite le membre de phrase qui, chez Clément, suit le mot κτήνα.

(b) Héraclite utilisait -οισι(v) ou -οις indifféremment, selon les besoins du rythme et de l'euphonie; (c) Héraclite utilisait -οισι (sans -v) devant consonne et -οισ'/-οις devant voyelle ou pause. La première solution exige 14 corrections (et une explication du choix devant voyelle), la seconde n'en exige aucune (mais nécessite une justification sérieuse des motivations euphoniques du choix), la troisième exige 21 corrections (dont la suppression de 6 -iv et de 1 -v), sans parler de la suppression de tous les autres -v ephelcystiques. Sachant que nos sources, y compris les inscriptions, confirment l'existence de toutes les formes, tant longues que brèves¹⁷, *prima facie*, la première solution semble être à la fois la plus probable et la plus prudente. Mais il convient peut-être de tenir compte de la règle signalée par Bechtel en vertu de laquelle il suffit qu'un seul datif d'un groupe nominal soit long, les autres pouvant être courts. Et il ne faut certainement pas négliger la liberté de l'auteur de choisir, si nécessaire, une forme plus ou moins courante. Nous laissons donc la question ouverte jusqu'à un examen de tous nos textes cas par cas.

(10). *ᾤ déclinaison*

10. Thèmes sigmatiques¹⁸. Masculin-neutre.

Acc. Sing. masc. en -εα. Ξενοφάνεα (B 40)

Gén. Sing. neut. en -εος. τείχεος (B 44)

Nom.-Acc. pluriel neut. en -εα. ἄνεα (B 68), κτήνεα (B 29), ἀληθέα (B 112), καρφαλέα (B 126) [mais βάθη (B 86)]

Gén. Plur. neutre en -έων. ἐπέων (B 1^a), γραφέων (B 59) [mais ψευδῶν (B 28), ἐτῶν (B 92)].

Ces exemples semblent témoigner en faveur d'une orthographe dissyllabique (sans contraction des voyelles) des terminaisons.

(11). *Degrés de comparaison*¹⁹

11. ἄμεινον (B 110, cf. κρέσσον), ἄριστος, -οι, ἀρίστη (B 49, B 29, B 118), ἀκριβέστεροι (B 101A)
κρέσσον (B 95-109 [μ. l. ἄμεινον]) [mais κρείττων (B 54)]
μέζονες, μέζονας (B 25)
ἐλάσσονας (B 80A*)
πλέων (B 39) [μ. l. πλείων]), πλεῦνας (B 80A*)

¹⁷ Bechtel *GD* 3 (1924) 141-3; Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 270-1; Buck *GD* (1955) 88. Les formes longues sont considérées comme plus anciennes, les articles sont les premiers à se raccourcir, surtout devant voyelle. En poésie archaïque les deux formes sont utilisés selon les besoins du mètre.

¹⁸ Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 274-5.

¹⁹ Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 276; Buck *GD* (1955) 94.

Les formes ioniennes prédominent nettement.

(12). *Pronoms personnels, réflexifs*
(Pour le datif plur., cf. 2^e déclinaison)

12. ἡμέων (B 121), μιν ου νιν (B3-94)	[mais αὐτὸν (B 5)]
ἑμεωυτόν (B 101)	[mais ἐμοῦ (B 50)]
ἑωυτοῦ (B 129, [<i>u. l. ἑαυτοῦ</i>]), ἑωυτῶι (B 51), ἑωυτῶν (B 121), ἑωυτοῖσι (B 17), ἑωυτούς (B 116 [<i>u. l. ἑαυτούς</i>])	[mais ἑαυτόν (B 115), ἑαυτῶι (B 26)]
ωυτός (B 15), ωὔτή (B 60)	[mais ἡ αὐτή (B 59)]

De toutes les formes citées ne semblent suspectes que celles des réflexifs de la 3^e personne en ἑαυ-²⁰ et, peut-être, ἐμοῦ. Les autres variantes n'ont rien de spécifiquement «non-ionien» qui puisse en autoriser l'exclusion.

(13). *Pronoms (adverbes) démonstratifs, relatifs*

13. τοιουτέων (B 1 ^a [<i>mais u. l. τοιούτων</i>]) τουτέοισιν (B 5)	
ὄτεωι (B 15), ὄτεηι? (B 41), ἄσσα ²¹ (B 27)	
ὄκοῖων (B 1 ^a [<i>mais u. l. ὄποῖα</i>]), ὄκοῖον (B 5, B 31 ^b), ὄκόσα (B 1 ^b bis, B 21 bis, B 110), ὄκόσοι ου ὄκόσοις (B 17), ὄκόσων (B 108), ὄκόταν (B 117)	[mais ὄπόταν (B 67)]
ὄκη (B 117)	
ὄκως (B 1 ^a [<i>u. l. ὄπως</i>], B 51)	
ὄκωσπερ (B 1 ^b , B 29, B 44, B 51; B 51, B 67, B 79, B 90, B 114) [<i>mais ποτέ πῶς (B 16), ποτε (B 69)</i>]	

Les deux premiers exemples ressemblent fort à des hyperionismes. Le hapax ὄτεηι [doit être accentué sur l'initiale!] mérite une étude spéciale. Toutes les formes en ὄκο- ou ὄκω- semblent authentiques (quoique rares, elles sont quand même attestées par quelques inscriptions), celles en ὄπο- ou ὄπω- étant sans doute le fruit d'une atticismation postérieure²². En revanche, πῶς et ποτε sont les

²⁰ Les formes en ἑαυ- sont également attestées en Ionie aux V^e-IV^e ss. (Thumb-Scherer 2 [1959] 276), mais on voit mal à quelle fin Héraclite les auraient utilisées en même temps que les formes en ἑωυ-.

²¹ Selon Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 277 ἄσσα ne serait attesté en Ionie que par une inscription éphésienne du III^e s.

²² Bien qu'elles soient plus fréquentes que les premières dans les inscriptions que nous avons (Bechtel *GD* 3 [1924] 87-9, Thumb-Scherer 2 [1959] 262-3), il faut aussi tenir compte de la tradition littéraire (Hérodote, Anacréon, Hérodas) et il est douteux qu'Héraclite se soit servi, dans B 117 et B 67, de

seules formes attestées non seulement en ionien épigraphique, mais aussi dans l'ionien littéraire d'Archiloque, Phoenix et Démocrite, et doivent donc être conservés²³.

(14). *Prépositions, particules*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 14. ἐς + C (B 95-109, B 108 [<i>u. l. εις</i>]) | [mais εις + C (B 5, B 31 ^b); εις + V (B 89) ² |
| ἐνί (B 136) | [mais ἐν partout ailleurs |
| ξύν (B 114) | [mais préfixe συν-] ²⁵ |
| [οὖν (B 48)] | |

(15). *Numératifs, cardinaux*

15. τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα (B 80A*)²⁶

(16-21). *Conjugaison*

16. εἶναι.²⁷
 εἶμεν (B 49A *bis*), ἐόν (B 18), ἐόντος (B 1^a [*u. l. δέοντος, ὄντος*], B 2), ἐόντα (B 80), (παρ)εόντας (B 34), cf. ἐόντας? (B 63) [οὔσαν (B 106)]

doublets ne présentant aucune différence notable (sinon phonique). [Les deux autres cas, tous deux dans B 1, en tant que *variae lectiones* de leçon ioniennes normales, sont de vulgaires corruptions.]

²³ Le κῶς que Lucien *Vit. auct.* 14 (DK C 5 [I, p. 190, 19]) met dans la bouche du philosophe est évidemment un hyperionisme.

²⁴ Issue de *ενς, la préposition était régulièrement brève (ἐς) devant consonne, longue (εἰς) devant voyelle. Toutefois, du temps d'Héraclite, cette différence n'était sans doute pas reflétée par l'orthographe (ΕΣ dans les deux cas): Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 283. Il faut donc corriger les formes de B 5 et B 31^b (sauf s'il s'agit d'une licence motivée), mais pas celle de B 89.

²⁵ Cf. *infra*, note 32.

²⁶ Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 282. Les autres numératifs cardinaux de B 80A* sont représentés dans le papyrus par des ἐπίσημα.

²⁷ Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 277; 281.

(17-20) *Thèmes vocaliques en -α, -ε, -ω*17. Thèmes en -α²⁸:

ἐρεῖν (B 80)

προτιμέω (B 55)

[mais τιμῶσι (B 24)],

χρεώμενα (B 80)

[mais ἀναθυμιῶνται (B 12), μῶνται (B 98)]

cf. τοκεῶν (B 73-74), κυκεῶν (B 125)

18. Thèmes en -ε:

Actif. Présent indic. 3^e pers. sing. ἐξαρχεῖ (B 114), ἐπιρρεῖ (B 12), κρατεῖ (B 114), μαρτυρεῖ (B 34), ὁμολογεῖ (B 51 ex corr. [ὁμολογεῖν cod.]), φιλεῖ (B 87, B 123); - *3^e pers. plur.* δοκέουσι(ν) (B 17, B 27), ἐγκυρέουσι (ex. corr. B 17) [mais ἐγκυροῦσι (B 72)], φρονέουσι (B 17) [mais ποιοῦσιν (B 1^b), ὀμιλοῦσι (B 72)]

- *optatif* δοκοίη (B 5)- *inf.* ὁμολογεῖν (B 50), ποιεῖν (B 73-74), σωφρονεῖν (B 112, B 116), φρονεῖν (B 113)- *partic.* διαιρέων (B 1^a), δοκεόντων (B 28) [mais ποιούντα (B 5), διοικούντι (B 72)]*Impf. indic.* ὕμνεον (B 15)*Aor. indic.* ἐποίησε(ν) (B 30, B 53, B 111)

Méδιο-passif. Prés. indic. 1^e pers. sing. διηγεύμαι (B 1^a), - *3^e pers. sing.* διαχέεται (B 31^b) μετρέεται (B 31^b) [mais ὠνεῖται (B 85, u. l. ὠνέεται), ἐξικνεῖται (B 92), ἀφικνεῖται (B 108), διαιρεῖται (B 126A)], - *3^e pers. plur.* μυεῦνται (B 14), αἰρεῦνται (B 29)

Impf. indic. ἐποιοῦντο (B 15)

19. ζῶω:

ζῆι (B 76^a), ζῶουσιν (B 2), ζῶειν (B 20), ζῶν masc. (B 26), ζῶν neut. (B 88) [mais cf. ἀείζωον neut. (B 30)], ζῶντες (B 62), ζῶντων (B 63) [ζῆν disc. ind. (B 77^b)]

20. δέω:

δεῖ (B 2, B 73-74), ἔδησαν²⁹ (B 23). Cf. u. l. δέοντος (B 1^a, B 2).

Impression générale à première vue contradictoire. Toutefois:

1) les thèmes en α- sont conjugués comme des thèmes en ε-, en tout cas (sans contraction) à la 1^e pers. du singulier du présent de l'indicatif actif et au participe présent médio-passif et (avec contraction) au présent de l'infinitif actif;

²⁸ Bechtel *GD* 3 (1924) 17-19; Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 278.²⁹ Leçon transmise. Cf. Mouraviev «H4T» (1992) 115-117, «CH» (1990) 204-205.

2) les thèmes en -ε sont conjugués avec contraction en -εῖ à la 3^e pers. du singulier du présent de l'indicatif actif, en -εῖν à l'infinitif présent actif, en -εῦμαι à la 1^e pers. du singulier et en -εῦνται à la 3^e pers. du pluriel du présent de l'indicatif médio-passif et, sans contraction, en -έουσι(ν) à la 3^e pers. du pluriel de l'indicatif présent actif, et en -έων/-έοντ- au participe présent actif. Ne suscite donc des doutes que la 3^e pers. du singulier du présent de l'indicatif médio-passif où la variante non-contractée en -έεται semble supportée par des sources légèrement plus dignes de foi que la variante contractée en -εῖται [à noter toutefois que toutes les formes de ποιεῖν semblent systématiquement conjuguées avec contraction selon le modèle attique];

3) les deux formes non-contractées que nous avons de ζῶω ne permettent aucune conclusion en ce qui concerne les autres formes;

4) quant à la forme contractée ἔδησαν (pour ἔδέησαν) de l'aoriste de δέω, elle est homérique (*Il.* XVIII, 100).

(21). *Autres verbes*

21.

(ἀπο)θνήσκω: ἀποθανών (B 26), ἀποθανόντας (B 27), τεθνεώτος (B 26), τεθνεώτες (B 62) [mais τεθνηκός (B 88)]

ἐγείρω: ἐγερθέντες (B 1^b, B 21), ἐγρηγορώς (B 26), ἐγρηγορός (B 88), ἐγρηγορόσιν (B 89)

κρινεῖ (B 66).

κεκόρηνται (B 29).

(22). *Lexique*

22. Αἶδης: B 15 [mais Ἄϊδην (B 98)]
 αἰεῖ: B 1^a [*μ. l.* αἰεῖ], αἰεῖ: B 30; cf. αἰεζῶον (B 30), ἀέναον (B 29)³⁰
 ἀνθρώπειος: B 78, B 3-94, B 114 [mais ἀνθρώπινος (B 70),
 ἀνθρωπίνως adv. (B 16A*³¹)]³²

ἀοιδάς: B 104 (ex corr.)

ἄξύνετος: B 1, B 34, cf. ξύν

³⁰ Cf. Thumb-Scherer 2(1959) 283, selon qui la forme ionienne est αἰ.

³¹ Cf. Mouraviev «HCS» (1983).

³² Bechtel *GD* 3 (1924) 59 note que la forme en -ειος a été calquée sur θεῖος, tout comme la forme crétoise de ce dernier, θῖνος, l'a été sur ἀνθρώπινος. Une telle étymologie pourrait avoir eu, chez Héraclite, des incidences sur le choix de l'une ou de l'autre forme, par exemple, la première étant plutôt utilisée en présence de l'antithèse *humain* vs *divin*, la seconde en son absence. Malheureusement, cette hypothèse semble contredite par B 3-94 et B 16A*.

- αὔτις: B 40
 γίνομαι: B 1^a bis [mais *μ. l.* γίγν-], B 7, B 8, B 20, B 31^b, B 36
 ter, B 39, B 44?, B 63, B 69, B 75, B 76^c bis, B 77^a, B 80, B
 110, B 114 (περιγ.)
 γινώσκω: B 5, B 7 (διαγ.), B 57, B 86 (*μ. l.* γίγν-), B 97, B 108, B
 116
 διαφυγγάνω: B 86
 ἐθέλω: B 20, B 32 bis, B 114 [mais θέλω (B 85, b 110)]
 εὐροσύνη («nuit»): B 26, B 57, B 67 (ex. em³³) [mais εὐφρόνη (B
 99)]
 [ἰθός]: cf. εὐθεΐα (B 59)
 [κοινός]: cf. ξύν
 μείς: B 80A*.
 μοῦνον: B 32
 νοῦσος: B 111, B 136 [mais νόσος (B 46, B 58)]
 ξύν: B 114 [mais σύν B 16A*], ξυνιάσιν: B 51, ξυνός, -οῦ, -ῶι, -όν:
 B 2 bis, B 80, B 103, B 113, B 114 [mais κοινός (B 2 bis, B 89)],
 cf. ἀξύνετος [tous les mots à préfixe ont συν- (συν- etc.), mais cf.
 D.L. IX, 6 et Démocr. 68 B 165 ξυμπάντων]³⁴
 οὔλα (*μ. l.* ὄλα): B 10 bis [mais ὄλα (B 72)]
 [οὔνομα]: seult. ὄνομα (B 32, mais cf. μοῦνον; B 48, mais cf. οὔν)
 οὔρος: B 120 [mais ὄρους B 3-94]
 [σύν]: cf. ξύν
 σύρματα: B 9
 τοκεών: B 73-74

³³ Cf. Mouraviev «NR» (1973) 122, 125₂₂; «CE» (1985) 85-111; *PPH* (1996) 158, 162 ad frr.

³⁴ Bechtel *GD* 3 (1924) 241-2. Toutes les inscriptions ioniennes n'ont que des formes en συν-. Ces formes prédominent aussi dans les sources littéraires. La conclusion générale que Bechtel (après Wackernagel, *Sprachl. Unters. zu Homer*, 38 ss., et Natorp, *Die Ethika des Demokritos*, 31) retire de ces dernières (Archiloque, Anacréon et les philosophes ioniens) est que le verbe ξυνίημι, ainsi que ses formes et ses dérivés (dont ἀξύνετος), avaient en ionien un ξ régulier au début du préverbe, alors que tous les autres mots composés avec ce préfixe mais à radicaux différents avaient un σ, ce qui concorde bien avec ce qu'on observe chez Héraclite. Pour ce qui est de la préposition, la forme ξύν n'est pas non plus attestée par les inscriptions ioniennes, mais il y a en revanche deux exemples littéraires - Héraclite B 114 et Démocrite B 35 - irréfutable en raison du jeu de mot *in praesentia* avec ξυνῶι dans le premier et sans doute d'une allusion au même jeu de mot, mais *in absentia*, dans le second. (Toutefois, c'est le jeu de mot qui peut avoir motivé le choix de ξ- et il ne s'ensuit donc rien pour la forme de σύν, par exemple, dans B 16A*.) - Buck 142 (cf. 108) et la plupart des héracliticiens modernes considèrent ξυνός (à tort, croyons-nous) comme le doublet ionien exact de l'attique κοινός.

ὕγιεινῃ: B 111
 ὑπόμετρος: B 80A*³⁵
 Ζηνός: B 32³⁶

En analysant cette liste il faut tenir compte de la nature différente de certains doublets ionien-attique. Ainsi, ἀνθρώπειος et ἀνθρώπινος paraissent absolument interchangeables et il est vraisemblable (malgré ce qui est dit dans la note 30) qu'Héraclite n'utilisait que le premier. Ceci est encore plus vrai pour des variantes purement phonétiques telles que νοῦσος : νόσος, οὔρος : ὄρος etc. et cela d'autant plus que pour Héraclite elles avaient la même orthographe ΝΟΣΟΣ, ΟΡΟΣ. Mais ce n'est pas forcément vrai pour des doublets comme ἐθέλω : θέλω qui n'ont pas le même nombre de syllabes et produisent des effets de rythme différents, ou tels que ξυνός et κοινός qui, vu leur étymologies non-identiques, pouvaient exprimer des nuances de sens différentes.

* * *

Notre examen nous autorise à proposer, relativement au dialecte d'Héraclite, les conclusions suivantes qui, sans être ni infaillibles, ni astreignantes, sont supportées par la grande majorité des citations.

- Héraclite se servait d'un idiolecte ou sociolecte à fonds dialectal ionien relativement cohérent et relativement bien préservé par les textes qui nous sont parvenus.
- Cet idiolecte différait clairement de l'ionien «classique», trop normalisé, voire hyperionisé, tel que nous l'ont transmis les manuscrits d'un Hérodote ou des auteurs du *Corpus hippocratique*, et se rapprochait plutôt du dialecte «atticisant» que nous observons dans les inscriptions ioniennes du milieu du V^e siècle.
- Orthographiquement, il ne trahissait apparemment aucune préférence particulière pour des formes plutôt «ioniennes» ou des formes plutôt «attiques», par exemple pour les formes pleines plutôt que pour les formes contractées, et recourait sans doute à celles-ci ou à celles-là en fonction des paradigmes réels dominants, conformes à la prononciation réelle.
- Il comportait toutefois des zones d'incertitude où l'usage oscillait entre diverses variantes entre lesquelles on pouvait choisir librement, en fonction de considérations esthétiques ou autres, sans que cela ne change rien au sens.

³⁵ Ce *hapax* est certainement un néologisme forgé par Héraclite lui-même sur le modèle de ὑπέρομετρος «excessif». Cf. Mouraviev «PO» (1988) 33-4; «H4T» (1992) p. 231, 241.

³⁶ Bechtel *GD* 3 (1924) 149; Thumb-Scherer 2 (1959) 274. Ce génitif est attesté par des inscriptions d'Érythrée (V^e et III^e ss.), l'accusatif Ζῆνα par une inscription d'Éphèse (V^e s.).

- Et il n'excluait pas des recours occasionnels à des variantes moins courantes, à des formes plus singulières, voire hétérodialectales ou même inexistantes, lorsqu'elles pouvaient mieux véhiculer un sens, un coloris ou une nuance utiles ou répondait mieux à des critères stylistiques ou esthétiques.

Apostille (juin 2001)

L'article ci-dessus a été proposé à la rédaction au printemps 1998. En 1999 a commencé la publication de nos: *Heraclitea. Édition critique complète des témoignages sur la vie et l'œuvre d'Héraclite d'Éphèse et des vestiges de son livre* [en cinq parties, textes et commentaires], Academia Verlag, Sankt Augustin (volumes parus: II.A.1 et II.A.2). Une version améliorée et augmentée de la thèse signalée *supra* (cf. note 1) en constituera le volume III.3.A, actuellement en préparation. Elle s'intitulera *Le langage de l'Obscur. Introduction à la poésie des fragments* et contiendra un examen approfondi des aspects linguistiques (et notamment du dialecte), stylistiques et poétiques des fragments textuels d'Héraclite.

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Der Sinn von Aischylos, Choephoren 59 f.

Von WALTER PÖTSCHER, Graz

Gleichermaßen schwierig, wie für das Textverständnis und für die Weltanschauung des Aischylos wichtig, sind die Verse 59 und 60 der Choephoren; es handelt sich um den Satz:

Τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον (Aisch., Choeph. 59 f.).

Was meint Aischylos mit diesem Satz? Was soll er bedeuten? Johann Gustav Droysen¹ übersetzt: „Und glücklich sein ist Gott den Menschen, mehr denn Gott!“ „doch der Erfolg ist höchster Gott der Welt“ gibt U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff² diesen Satz³ wieder. Bei Oskar Werner heißt es: „Erfolgreich sein, das ist den Menschen Gott und höher noch als Gott“.⁴ In der Übersetzung von Franz Stoessl⁵ lautet der Satz: „Wohlergehn, das gilt den Menschen Gottheit, mehr als Gottheit noch.“ G. Ammendola⁶ wieder übersetzt: „l'aver felice sorte, questo tra i mortali è dio e del dio piú ancora.“ Dietrich Ebener gibt den Satz wieder mit: „Der Erfolg allein gilt den Menschen als Gott und mehr noch als Gott“.⁷ Kurt Sier übersetzt: „Aber Erfolg und Macht, das gilt bei den Menschen als Gott und mehr als ein Gott“.⁸

¹ Aischylos, übersetzt von Joh. Gust. Droysen, 4. Aufl., Berlin 1884.

² Griechische Tragödien, übersetzt von U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 2. Bd. Orestie, 5. Aufl., Berlin 1907.

³ Zitiert auch von Friedr. Blass, Aischylos' Choephoren. Erklärende Ausgabe, Halle a. d. S. 1906, 83, mit der Bemerkung: „sehr modern, aber doch den Sinn des A. wiedergebend“.

⁴ Aischylos, Orestie, griechisch und deutsch von Oskar Werner, München 1948.

⁵ Aischylos. Die Tragödien und Fragmente. Auf Grundlage der Übersetzung von Joh. Gust. Droysen bearbeitet, eingeleitet und teilweise neu übersetzt von Franz Stoessl, Zürich 1952.

⁶ Eschilo. Le Coefore. Introduzione, testo e commento a cura di Giuseppe Ammendola, Firenze² 1960, p. 37.

⁷ Aischylos. Werke in einem Band. Aus dem Griechischen übertragen von Dietrich Ebener, 2. Aufl., Berlin-Weimar 1987.

⁸ Kurt Sier, Die lyrischen Partien der Choephoren des Aischylos, Text, Übers., Komm., in: Palingenesia XXIII, Stuttgart 1988, p. 5. – „Bei θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον stößt die Steigerung ins Leere, wenn darin nicht ein Tadel liegt ...“, meint K. Sier zu Unrecht, p. 34. Ebenso Evangelos Petrounias,

Die Wiedergabe, „den Menschen“, „gilt den Menschen“ usw. und offenbar auch „tra i mortali è ...“ meint also, daß an dieser Stelle εὐτυχεῖν *in den Augen der Menschen* θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον sei. Hier liegt die erste Schwierigkeit. Die Formulierung ἐν βροτοῖς kann nicht ohneweiters mit einem Dativus iudicantis gleichgesetzt werden, als stünde βροτοῖς hier.

Im Vers Choeph. 60 steht aber die Behauptung, daß ἐν βροτοῖς τὸ εὐτυχεῖν θεός und θεοῦ πλέον *ist*. Kein Hinweis, keine Andeutung, daß dies *nur* in den Augen jemandes so sei! Zum Vergleich nenne ich aus derselben Trilogie die Stelle Eum. 232 ff.:

ἐγὼ δ' ἀρήξω τὸν ἰκέτην τε ῥύσομαι·
δεινὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσι κὰν θεοῖς πέλει
τοῦ προστροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῶ σφ' ἐκῶν.

Hier wird besonders deutlich, daß die μῆνις, falls er den ἰκέτης im Stich läßt, nicht in irgendjemandes Augen δεινὴ ist, sondern daß es dann die μῆνις unter Menschen und Göttern „real“ geben werde und daß diese furchtbar (δεινὴ) sein werde.

Athena sagt zu den Erinyen, daß sie niemandem ähnlich sind (ὁμᾶς δ' ὁμοίας οὐδενὶ σπαρτῶν γένοι, Eum. 410) und daß sie unter den Göttinnen (ἐν θεαῖσι) nicht von Göttern erblickt wurden (πρὸς θεῶν ὁρωμένας, 411).

Später kündigt Athena in derselben Tragödie an:

τῶν ἀρειφάτων δ' ἐγὼ
πρεπτῶν ἀγώνων οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ
τήνδ' ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν (Eum. 913–915).

Sie werde darauf sehen, daß ihre Stadt Athen immer Kriegsruhm besitzen, also siegen, werde.

Noch deutlicher wird die Bedeutung von solchen Formulierungen in den Versen 980 ff.

μηδὲ πιουῖσα κόνις μέλαν αἶμα πολιτᾶν

Funktion und Thematik der Bilder bei Aischylos (Hypomnemata 48), Göttingen 1976, 415, Anm. 948: „εὐτυχεῖν kann auch negativ gebraucht werden“ mit Hinweis auf Choeph. 59 f. – Zu θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον zitiert Sier (p. 35) einige Stellen, die aber doch keine Parallelen sind. Auch Frg. 70 (TrGF), Bd. 3, ed. Stefan Radt (Zeὺς ἐστὶν αἰθήρ, Zeὺς δὲ γῆ, Zeὺς δ' οὐρανός, Zeὺς τοὶ πάντα χῶ τι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον) ist keine Parallele; denn hier geht es ja um die Steigerung von πάντα – ob nun in der Bedeutung „alles“ oder „Weltall“ – und nicht um θεός.

δι' ὄργαν πονιάς
 ἀντιφόνους, ἄτας
 ἀρπαλίσαι πόλεως.
 χάσματα δ' ἀντιδιδοῖεν
 κοινοφιλεῖ διανοία,
 καὶ στυγεῖν μιᾶ φρενί.
 πολλῶν γὰρ τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς ἄκος. (Eum. 980–987).

Das wozu der Chor aufruft, bezeichnet er abschließend (987) als ἐν βροτοῖς ἄκος, als wirkliche Hilfe und Linderung.

Schon vorher (858 ff.) hatte Athena von den Erinyen verlangt, daß sie nicht Haß und Kriege in der Stadt veranlassen sollten, und wenn sie sagt

μηδ' ... ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἰδρύσης Ἄρη / ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν (861 ff.),

meint sie die Realität des Bürgerkriegs und zugleich das Wirken des Gottes Ares darin.

Nach diesem kurzen Überblick stellen wir fest: In den Versen Choeph. 59 f. wird das Subjekt (τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν) mit näherer Bestimmung (τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς als Geltungsbereich, d. h. um wessen εὐτυχεῖν es sich handelt) genannt und mit θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον gleichgesetzt. Formalisiert heißt dies: τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς = θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον.

Es findet sich also überhaupt kein Hinweis, daß diese Aussage nur als die Auffassung eines anderen oder anderer oder gar aller Menschen gemeint wäre. In diesem konkreten Fall meint das Sprichwort, wenn es überhaupt eines ist, eben, daß das εὐτυχεῖν unter Menschen θεός und mehr als θεός sei. Was dieses θεός-sein meint, werden wir noch zu zeigen haben. Vorerst aber wollen wir noch sehen, warum eine Interpretation, der Inhalt der Gnome sei die (falsche) Meinung der Menschen, nicht im Sinne des Aischylos, und daher als Interpretation dieser Stelle (Choeph. 59 f.) unzutreffend ist.

Gleich im nächsten Vers und in den nächsten Versen (Choeph. 61 ff.) wird die Dike (ῥοπή ... Δίκας ταχεῖα ...) ins Spiel gebracht. Warum? Doch nicht, weil τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν in den Augen der Menschen θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον sei. In der heidnischen griechischen Religion wird ja vieles als θεός angesehen: nicht nur Γαῖα-γαῖα, Οὐρανός-οὐρανός, Θέμις-θέμις, Δίκη-δίκη, Ἄρης-ἄρης, Ἐλπίς-ἐλπίς, Εἰρήνη-εἰρήνη, Πλοῦτος-πλοῦτος usw., sondern auch Θάνατος-θάνατος, Ἔρις-ἔρις, Νέμεσις-νέμεσις, um nur einige zu nennen. Nichts davon wurde

als Anlaß einer Bestrafung angesehen. Sogar die Aussage θεός γὰρ καὶ τὸ γινώσκειν φίλους galt – freilich bei Euripides (Helena 560) – als unproblematisch. Umso verwunderlicher, wenn das εὐτυχεῖν – wo doch die εὐδαιμονία allen Menschen als hohes Gut erscheint – als Anlaß zum Eingreifen der Dike angesehen würde, und zwar das εὐτυχεῖν überhaupt.

Oder sollte es die noch stärkere Überbewertung im θεοῦ πλεόν sein? Dies paßt doch wohl auch nicht recht; alles mögliche wurde als θεοῦ bzw. θεά angesehen. Aber was soll denn eigentlich eine Formulierung θεοῦ πλεόν überhaupt heißen? Bedeutet es etwa, daß jemand gegen den Willen eines Gottes oder der Gottheit εὐτυχεῖν wollte, daß er das εὐτυχεῖν dem Willen eines Gottes oder der Gottheit klar vorgezogen hat? Dies wird durch das Umfeld der Textstelle ausgeschlossen⁹. Es ist dort davon die Rede, daß jemand (τις) Angst hat (φοβεῖται δέ τις). Mit τις kann wohl nur Klytaimestra gemeint sein, deren Name hier noch nicht genannt wird. Selbstverständlich steht auch Agamemnon und seine Tat im Raum. Sein Einverständnis zur Opferung der eigenen Tochter an Artemis kann nach antik-heidnischer Auffassung nicht gegen den Willen der Gottheit überhaupt sein. Und die Rache der Klytaimestra ist jener der Elektra vergleichbar; diese fragt den Chor: καὶ ταῦτά μοῦστιν εὐσεβῆ θεῶν πάρα; (Choeph. 122). Der Chor antwortet: πῶς δ' οὐ, τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀνταμείβεσθαι κακοῖς; (123). Die Taten des Agamemnon und der Klytaimestra sind nach antik-heidnischer Moralauffassung zwar zwielichtig, aber nicht schlechthin verboten. Aspekte stehen gegen Aspekte:

ὄνειδος ἦκει τὸδ' ἀντ' ὀνειδούς,
δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρῖναι (Ag. 1560 f.).

Die Täter müssen büßen (Ag. 1564), aber nicht immer nur deshalb, weil sie sich eindeutig gegen die Gottheit vergangen haben. Agamemnon gab zwar Iphigeneia zur Tötung, allerdings für das Opfer an die Göttin Artemis frei und ermöglichte damit die Erfüllung des Gebotes des Zeus, gegen Troja zu ziehen¹⁰. Im Falle der Klytaimestra schreit

⁹ Anders ist die Situation in Aischylos, Hepta 529 f.:

ὄμνουσι δ' αἰχμῆν ἣν ἔχει, μᾶλλον θεοῦ
σέβειν πεποιθῶς ὀμμάτων δ' ὑπέρτερον ...

¹⁰ Vgl. W. Pötscher, Aischylos. Die Schuldproblematik in der Danais und in der Orestie. Originalbeitrag in: Hellas und Rom. Beiträge und kritische Auseinandersetzung mit der inzwischen erschienenen Literatur, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1988, 626 ff.

die Göttin Dike laut nach Rache (τούφειλόμενον / πράσσουσα Δίκη μέγ' αὐτεῖ / ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς φονίας φονίαν πληγὴν τινέτω. / δράσαντι παθεῖν, τριγέρων μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ, Choeph. 311 ff.)¹¹ an ihr. Auch steht weder bei Agamemnon noch bei Klytimestra das εὐτυχεῖν als Anlaß für ihre Taten im Mittelpunkt. Agamemnon klagt darüber, daß es βαρεῖα κῆρ sei, nicht zu gehorchen, *und* βαρεῖα κῆρ, die Tochter zur Opferung freizugeben; er wähnt sich in einer „Pflichtenkollision“ zu befinden und meint dann sogar, seine Entscheidung sei nach göttlichem Recht (θέμις):

βαρεῖα μὲν κῆρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,
 βαρεῖα δ', εἰ τέκνον δαΐξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,
 μαιίνων παρθενοσφάγοισιν
 ῥεῖθροις πατρῶους χέρας
 πέλας βωμοῦ. τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ κακῶν;
 πῶς λιπόνους γένωμαι
 ζυμμαχίας ἀμαρτῶν;
 παυσανέμου γὰρ
 θυσίας παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὄργᾳ
 περιόργως ἐπιθυμεῖν
 θέμις. Εὐ γὰρ εἴη (Ag. 206–217).

Auch Klytimestra geht es dabei nicht einfach um εὐτυχεῖν, sondern um Rache der im tiefsten Inneren verletzten Gefühle einer Mutter (. . . ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλότατην ἐμοὶ / ὠδῖν' . . ., Ag. 1417 f., vgl. 1424 f.).

Freilich beklagt Cassandra, daß das Glück der Menschen wie ein Schatten auf das Geringste hin anfällig sei (Ag. 1327 f.), und der Chor betont, daß *alle* Menschen immer glücklich sein wollen, daß sie davon nicht genug bekommen können (Ag. 1331 ff.); dann auf Agamemnon bezogen, heißt es, daß die Götter ihm gaben, die Stadt des Priamos zu erobern und heimzukehren (καὶ τῷδε πόλιν μὲν ἔλεῖν ἔδοσαν μάκαρες Πριάμου. / θεοτίμητος δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκάνει, Ag. 1335 f.). Eine Aufgabe, das verletzte Gastrecht zu rächen, konnte er erfüllen, was auch mit einem Glücksgefühl verbunden war, ebenso wie seine Heimkehr; aber dieses war nicht von Dauer. Dann kam die Strafe für ihn (vgl. Ag. 1338 ff.).

Wenn also die Auffassung eines Vorganges oder Zustandes oder einer Sache als θεός in der griechischen Religion üblich war, wenn weiters die Taten des Agamemnon und der Klytimestra (übrigens auch des Orestes und der Elektra) nach heidnisch-griechischer Mo-

¹¹ Vgl. W. Pötscher, Aischylos, 628 ff.

ralanschauung zwielichtig waren, also einen schlechten Aspekt hatten, aber doch in einer scheinbaren Pflichtenkollision eingebunden waren und den handelnden Personen zwar als schlechtes, schädliches (βαρεια κήρ) und doch (merkwürdigerweise) „notwendiges“ Tun erschien, und wenn weiters weder bei den Taten des Agamemnon noch bei denen der Klytimestra (noch bei denen des Orestes) das εὐτυχεῖν im Mittelpunkt steht, kann man den Satz τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον (Choeph. 59 f.) nicht so interpretieren, daß er hieße, das εὐτυχεῖν sei in den Augen und in der Werthaltung der Menschen Gott und mehr noch als Gott und es würde klar dem Gotte vorgezogen. Dies umso mehr noch, als εὐτυχεῖν an sich nichts Schlechtes ist, und selbst wenn es in einem Einzelfall durch die Umstände, durch die Mittel, es zu erreichen, belastet wird, kann doch in dem in Rede stehenden Satz nicht gemeint sein, daß alle (oder die Mehrzahl der Menschen) εὐτυχεῖν mit unerlaubten Mitteln anstreben.

Man wird sich also um eine andere Interpretation des Satzes (59 f.) umsehen müssen.

Die Formulierung τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν ... θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον drückt so wie θεός γὰρ καὶ τὸ γινώσκειν φίλους (Eur., Hel.560) nicht aus, daß dies ein Gott oder die Gottheit *ist*, sondern daß es sich um das *Wirken*, um die *Wirkung* der Gottheit handle¹². In den Hepta sagt Eteokles: θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς (625). Die Aussage τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν ... θεός (Choeph. 59 f.) meint also, das εὐτυχεῖν unter den Menschen sei das Wirken Gottes bzw. gehöre zum Wirken Gottes. Aber was heißt καὶ θεοῦ πλέον? Garvie¹³ weist in seinem Kommentar (zu 58–60) auf eine Euripides-Stelle hin: „θεοῦ πλέον: cf. E. Hipp. 360 ἀλλ' εἴ τι μείζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ“.

Der ganze Satz lautet:

Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν θεός,
ἀλλ' εἴ τι μείζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ,
ἦ τήνδε κάμῃ καὶ δόμους ἀπώλεσεν (Eur., Hipp. 359–361).

Dieser Hinweis führt aber nicht weiter; denn diese Euripides-Stelle

¹² Bei den Person-Bereicheinheiten (z. B. Γαῖα-γαῖα, Ἥλιος-ἥλιος, Χάρις-χάρις, Νέμεσις-νέμεσις, Θέμις-θέμις u.s.w.) ist ein Schritt weitergegangen: Da wird ein sachliches Faktum (Ding, Vorgang, Zustand) als solches und in einer logisch nicht durchführbaren Art zugleich und in einem als personale Gottheit (Gott oder Göttin) aufgefaßt.

¹³ Aeschylus, Choephoroi, With Introduction and Commentary by A.F. Garvie, Oxford 1986, p. 61.

ist ein Gefühlsausbruch einer verzweifelten Frau (vgl. auch Hipp. 433 ff.), während die Aischylos-Stelle eine Reflexion des Chores bietet. Daß Chor-Strophen in den Tragödien oft der Sinndeutung dienen, wissen wir. Zweitens aber handelt es sich in Choeph. 59 f. um eine kategorische Aussage (τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν. ... θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον), während in der von Garvie zum Vergleich herangezogenen Stelle eine klare Fiktion vorliegt; auch wenn εἴ τι μείζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ grammatikalisch im Indikativ steht, wird aus dem Zusammenhang eindeutig klar, daß der εἰ-Satz eine Fiktion enthält. Zudem steht die Aussage Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν θεός (359) nicht nur im Widerspruch zur religiösen Überzeugung dieser Menschen, sondern auch zur Struktur dieser Tragödie, samt ihren Äußerungen wie ἄσημα δ' οὐκέτ' ἐστὶν οἱ φθίνει τύχα / Κύπριδος (Hipp. 371 f.), ... ἐπειδὴ τοισίδ' οὐκ ἐξήνυτον/Κύπριν κρατῆσαι (400 f.), ὄργαι δ' ἐς σ' ἀπέσκηψαν θεᾶς. / ἐρᾶς· τί τοῦτο θαυμά; (438 f.), Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητός, ἦν πολλή ῥύη (443) und 447 ff. Die Formulierung εἴ τι μείζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ kann also nicht als entsprechende Parallele zu Choeph. 59 f. geltend gemacht werden.

Was aber ist mit καὶ θεοῦ πλέον wirklich gemeint? Es scheint, daß sich die Bedeutung aus der Stelle Aisch., Choeph. 59 ff. selbst – unter Heranziehung von Hepta 625 ff. und Ag. 1560 ff. (sowie auch Ag. 397. 461 ff.) – auffinden läßt, wiewohl ja θεοῦ πλέον auf den ersten Blick schwierig genug ist. Aischylos meint an dieser Stelle, daß für das εὐτυχεῖν der Menschen *nicht nur* das Wirken Gottes, sondern *auch* noch (καὶ ... πλέον) ein anderer Faktor nötig sei. Dieser Faktor besteht offenbar in einem untadeligen Verhalten des Menschen. In den Hepta antwortet der Chor auf die Feststellung des Eteokles

θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς (625)

mit der Bemerkung:

κλύοντες θεοὶ δικαίας λιτὰς
ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ', ὡς πόλις εὐτυχῆ ... (626 f.).

Das Wort δικαίας ist besonders wichtig. Im Agamemnon, in dem gar manches für die ganze Trilogie exponiert wird, singt der Chor:

λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν, (Ag. 396)¹⁴ über einen ungerechten Mann, und etwas später heißt es:

¹⁴ Vgl. Ag. 369 ff.

τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ
 ἄσκοποι θεοί. κελαι-
 ναὶ δ' Ἐρινύες χρόνων
 τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας
 παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾶ βίου
 τιθεῖσ' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' αἴστοις
 τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά (461-467).

Auch hier ist von einem die Rede, der ἄνευ δίκας zufällig Erfolg hat, aber einen Erfolg, der nicht Bestand hat. Schon Solon wünscht sich in der sogenannten Musen-Elegie im Gebet, das an die Musen gerichtet ist, ὄλβος von den Göttern zu erhalten (Solon, 13,3 ff.), aber einen ὄλβος, der gerecht (vgl. ἀδίκως, 7, δίκη, 8) erworben ist und deshalb bestehen bleibt¹⁵.

An der Choephoron-Stelle schließt sich an die Worte τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον (59 f.) unmittelbar – mit δ' in Gegensatz gesetzt zu einem nicht eigens ausgedrückten Fehlen des rechten Verhaltens des Menschen (des δίκαιον) – die Aussage, daß Δίκη wirksam wird, sofort oder später (ῥοπή δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ [oder ἐπισκοτεῖ]¹⁶ Δίκας/ταχεῖα τοῖς μὲν ἐν φάει,/τὰ δ' ἐν ..., 61 ff.). Das φοβεῖται δέ τις (58 f.) und das Vorangegangene deuten genug an, daß bei den hier in Rede stehenden Personen das δίκαιον, das richtige Verhalten, nicht vorhanden war und daher die ῥοπή ... Δίκας das dauernde εὐτυχεῖν stört.

Auch dort, wo es um zwielichtige Handlungen geht, die also einen negativen, einen schlechten Aspekt enthalten, muß der Täter büßen:

ὄνειδος ἦκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὄνειδους,
 δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρῖνα.
 φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.
 μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς
 παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ (Ag. 1560-1564).

¹⁵ ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν μακάρων δότε, καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθὴν· εἶναι δὲ γλυκὺν ὡς φίλοις, ἐχθροῖσι δὲ πικρὸν, τοῖσι μὲν αἰδοῖον, τοῖσι δὲ δεινὸν ἰδεῖν. χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη. πλοῦτον δ' ὄν μὲν δῶσι θεοί, παραγίγνεται ἀνδρὶ ἔμπεδος ἐκ νεάτου πυθμένος ἐς κορυφὴν (Solon, Eleg.13,3-10 West).

¹⁶ Vgl. auch A.F. Garvie, p. 63.

In den Versen

τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν,
τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον (Choeph. 59 f.)

hat das Wort πλέον eine *quantitative* und *keine qualitative* Bedeutung.

Zwei signifikante Beispiele für quantitative Bedeutung von πλέον seien hier genannt:

An einer Stelle in den Persern des Aischylos steht die *Anzahl* der Ausrufe παπαῖ in Rede:

Χο. Παπαῖ παπαῖ.
Ξε. Καὶ πλέον ἢ παπαῖ μὲν οὖν.
Χο. δίδυμα γὰρ ἔστι καὶ τριπλᾶ (Pers. 1031–1033).

Um eine quantitative Bedeutung handelt es sich aber auch im Prom. Desm. 842 f.:

σημεῖά σοι τάδ' ἔστι τῆς ἐμῆς φρενός,
ὡς δέρεται πλέον τι τοῦ πεφασμένου.

Kommen wir nun zum Schluß! Die Verse Choeph. 59 f. meinen also folgendes:

„Das Glücklich-sein, das bei den Menschen, ist sowohl Gott(es Wirkung) als auch mehr (noch) als Gott(es Wirkung)“. Oder mit anderen Worten, freier wiedergegeben: „Das Glücklich-sein, das bei den Menschen, ist ein Gottesgeschenk, aber nicht nur dieses, sondern mehr noch, denn es bedarf auch der Mitwirkung des Menschen – es ist auch von dessen Verhalten abhängig.“

Die Formulierung von 59 f. ist laut Scholien γνωμικῶς verwendet¹⁷, und hat daher wie so manche Gnome einen gewissen Interpretationsbedarf. Aischylos selbst leitet durch den unmittelbar darauffolgenden Text zur Deutung dieser Formulierung an.

Mit der hier vorgelegten Interpretation hoffen wir geklärt zu haben, was Aischylos mit diesem bislang unverstandenen Satz gemeint hat: Das Glück der Menschen sei Gottesgabe, aber insofern noch mehr, als es auch das Verhalten des Menschen voraussetze.

¹⁷ Vgl. dazu die Scholien zum Vers 60 und zu den Versen 61–66 (Scholia Graeca in Aeschylum, quae exstant omnia, Pars I, ed. Ole Langwitz Smith, Leipzig 1976, p. 16).

The Italic Simple R-Endings¹

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1. The mediopassive endings in *-r* of the Indo-European languages can be analysed without inordinate difficulty as adding *-r* to the middle (Lat. 3 sg. *-tur*) or active endings (Lat. 1 pl. *-mur*). The Celtic languages and the Italic dialects, however, appear to show some formations in which *-r* is added directly to the stem: Umbrian *ferar*, Venetic *toler*², Old Irish *berar*, Welsh *cerir*.

These forms have been profusely used in the discussion of the origin of the morpheme *-r*. Traditionally they have been considered to preserve archaic formations with an original "impersonal" function, either from the reinterpretation as impersonal of a 3 pl. in *-r*, or from nominal suffixes, or, finally, from a specific impersonal morpheme of the Indo-European verbal system. The presence of *-r* in the middle voice paradigms of some languages would be the product of secondary developments.

We are not going to tackle here the topic of the origin and function of the morpheme *-r* in the Indo-European verbal system³, but the interpretation of these forms is at all events crucial: it is necessary to examine in detail all the evidence in order to test its validity for the impersonal theory, and to inquire if they admit or require other interpretations. In the last years a valuable revision of the Celtic simple *r*-endings has taken place⁴. Although we cannot say that unquestion-

¹ This article is an enlarged version of the chapter devoted to Oscan and Umbrian of my *Memoria de Licenciatura* (1997). I'm grateful to Calvert Watkins, Jay Jasanoff (Harvard University) and Julia Mendoza (Universidad Complutense) for helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

² The Venetic *r*-forms (*toler*, *tolar*) can hardly belong here: they do not show any middle or passive meaning and the comparison with *vħagsto*, *donasto*, *doto* (in all probability active preterites with the addition of the originally middle *-to* after the drop of word final *-t*: **donast* > **donas* → *donasto*, **dōt* > **dō* → *dōto*) would rather suggest a perfect.

³ The only function that can be reconstructed for Indo-European **-r* on the evidence of the daughter languages is that of primary marker of the middle voice endings (as already proposed by Pedersen 1941:153 or Cowgill 1983:74–76, 108).

⁴ See specially Cowgill (1983:101–103), McCone (1986:239–240).

able solutions have been reached, the traditional attitude of viewing them as extremely old endings with impersonal value has been considerably lessened, and they are best interpreted as recent developments of the ancient middle ending **-o(r)*, or even as exclusive creations of Celtic, if not of insular Celtic alone⁵. On the other hand, a global revision of the Italic simple *r*-endings has taken place only very recently⁶.

2. So, it seemed useful to collect and study all the evidence of simple *r*-endings of Oscan and Umbrian, to remove from it the forms that had been misinterpreted or are uncertain, and, finally, on the basis of the resulting data, to try to determine their function in the verbal system of these languages. The conclusions arising from this study have allowed us to make out some lines of etymological analysis of these forms.

The traditional theory assigns for the *r*-endings a functional category. In Oscan and Umbrian the forms in *-r* and in *-ter* were involved in a functional opposition:

personal passive in *-(n)ter*, *-ntur*: impersonal passive in *-r*⁷.

However, as will be shown, the facts strongly suggest a distribution of *-r* uniquely on formal grounds. In Oscan and Umbrian, as in Latin, the impersonal passive is just one function of the 3 sg. passive among others.

3. The number of occurrences of passive forms in *-r* after the stem is still very scanty, but we can present them arranged in a more coherent system than that of some years ago, given that most of the forms included in grammars and handbooks have been explained otherwise.

The forms that have been usually cited are the following⁸:

⁵ The identity of the British pattern Welsh *keri-r* with Umbrian *fera-r* could be illusory: Cowgill (1983:103) points out that a form like **weh-r* would give Welsh **gwylr*, but not *gwelir*. He proposes to derive the British *-r* from conjunct **-tor* via **-dr*.

⁶ Those from Neu (1968:170–177), Watkins (1969:176–181) or Flobert (1975:455–457) are now out of date. In the light of their data, moreover, it is almost impossible to see in the distribution of *-r* any regularity at all.

⁷ So for example Levi (1934:165–184), Meillet (1966:234ff), Bottiglioni (1954:145), Pisani (1964:24), Neu (1968:170ff), Rix (1977b:136), Silvestre (1993:364).

⁸ For example Von Planta (1897:380), Buck (1928:177ff), Bottiglioni (1954:145), Pisani (1964:24), Neu (1968:171ff), Watkins (1969:176), Flobert (1975:455–457).

Umbrian *ferar* (present subjunctive), *ier* (present subjunctive? see below § 5.1.2.), *benuso*, *couortuso* (future perfect), *pihafei*, *herifi*, *cehefi* (perfect subjunctive),

Oscan *loufir* “vel” (< **loufēr* present indicative), *sakrafir* (perfect subjunctive).

Other forms have been proposed as well, though less frequently or with certain reservations: Umbrian *habe*, Pelignian *lifar*⁹, Oscan *lami*¹⁰.

4. As we can see, there are plenty of forms pertaining to the perfect tenses, but in Oscan and Umbrian, as in Latin, the passive morphology of the perfect tenses is always periphrastic, formed by the passive participle and the copula¹¹. Furthermore, none of the furnished forms is actually acceptable, as the following analysis shows.

4.1. Umbrian *pihafi* (VIa 38, 48, VIb 31, *-fei* VIa 29), *herifi* (Vb 6), *cehefi* (VIa 20), Oscan *sakrafir* (Ve 86.9/10, Ve 87.9), have been interpreted as 3 sg. impersonal-passives of a perfect subjunctive, formed by the suffix *-*f-ē-*. This interpretation displayed serious problems, since from a morphological point of view it would be quite surprising to encounter synthetic forms in a perfect tense. On the other hand, *-r* is only found in Oscan *sakrafir*, and hence it was assumed for the Umbrian forms, but given the fact that they appear up to 6 times in the Tables VI–VIIa, where *-r* is written more than 120 times, but only one not (*ostensendi* VIa 20)¹², that can hardly be true.

Gusmani (1966) did demonstrate on syntactic grounds that Umbrian *cehefi*, *pihafi*, *herifi* are present passive infinitives. Later, Franchi de Bellis (1981:166) added Oscan *sakrafir* to the set. In Oscan *-fi* has been secondarily characterised through the addition of *-r*¹³.

⁹ On *habe* and *lifar* see below §5.1.1 and §5.3 respectively.

¹⁰ Buck (loc. cit.) or Watkins (loc. cit.), as perfect subjunctive *lama-ti-r* from a perfect *-ti-*stem. But the context where it is found allows only a present subjunctive “secetur”, with the Oscan regular secondary ending *-tir*, like *sakraitir*.

¹¹ For data see Von Planta (1897:392) and Buck (1928:179). The only exception is Oscan *comparascuster* Ve 2,4 “disputata erit”, a synthetic form of the future perfect passive shaped by analogy with the future active *-est*: future passive *-ester*, see Meiser (1992:294). This is the only example of future perfect passive in Oscan, it is well attested in Umbrian, where it is always periphrastic: *pihaz fust* “piatus erit”, etc.

¹² According to Rix (1977a:328).

¹³ As for the former hypothesis, see Gusmani (1966). On the origins of this italic infinitive passive ending, see Rix (1977a) and García-Ramón (1992).

In consequence it is obvious that none of these forms can be considered an exponent of a simple *r*-ending.

4.2. Umbrian *benuso* (TI VIb 64, 65, VIIa 2) and *couortuso* (TI VIb 64) were considered 3 sg. impersonal-passives of future perfect forms of the shape **ben-us-o(r)*, **couort-us-o(r)*¹⁴. But in addition to the problems we have already mentioned, that it would entail the presence of synthetic forms in a perfect tense and that it supposes the absence of <-*r*> in Tables where it is normally written, this assumption has to face the lack of intervocalic rhotacism of -*s*-.

In recent years these forms have received several alternative explanations: Nussbaum (1973:366ff) proposed to interpret them as 2 sg. middle forms with the ending *-*so*: **ben-us-so*. The tables written in Latin alphabet would transpose a text in 2. person (that of the native alphabet) to another in 3. person, but some residual forms of the primitive redaction would remain. This is a sound hypothesis from a phonetic point of view, and it fits well in the context, but leaves unsolved the problem of the unlikelihood of a synthetic passive perfect inflexion. Cowgill (1987:85ff) proposes to explain them as 2 pl. *-*tā*, but the general context makes this proposal impossible.

Recently Prosdocimi and Marinetti (1994:195ff) have returned to the problem. Because of the agreement with *prinuatur*, -*uso* has to be 3 pl. of a perfect tense:

VIb 65:	<i>eno prinuatur ſimo</i>	<i>etuto</i>	<i>erafont</i>	<i>uia pora benuso</i>
	tum ministri retro	eunto	eadem	uia, qua uenerint

According to them, -*uso* must be equivalent to the 3 pl. future perfect -*urent*, it would appear in some archaic forms which were not replaced owing to the formular character of the text, just like Archaic Latin *amassim*, *capsim* ... with respect to *amauerim*, *ceperim*¹⁵.

Although it can by no means be considered a solved problem, to regard *benuso*, *couortuso* as passive or impersonal forms is nowadays impossible.

5. Thus, once these forms have been removed from the evidence, the actual occurrences of secure addition of simple -*r* to the stem have been strongly diminished: Umbrian *ferar*, *ier*, Oscan *loufir*, maybe Umbrian *dia*, in all probability not Umbrian *habe* and Pelignan *lifar*.

¹⁴ For references to the former hypothesis see Nussbaum (1973:366 n. 17).

¹⁵ They were also explained as 3 pl. by Pisani (1964:181): from *benust*, *couortust* with the same -*o* of *ambretuto*, *persnimumo*, *etato*, reinterpreted as 3 pl. marker.

loufir Ve 2,8 “vel” is the only form known from Oscan, preserved as a conjunction. Its origin in a present indicative **loufē-r* = lat. *lubet* seems unquestionable.

The interpretation of Umbrian *ferar* (TI VIb 50) as a present subjunctive has never been in doubt. It's not the same for the remaining forms¹⁶.

5.1. The context of *ier* (TI VIb 54) is the following:

pis est totar | tarsinater, trifor tarsinater, tuscer naharcer iabuscer nomner, eetv ehesu poplu. nosue ier esu poplu, sopir habe | esme pople, portatu ulo pue mers est, fetu uru pirse mers est.

“Quisquis est civitatis Tudinatis, tribus Tarsinater, Tusci Narci Iapudici nominis, ito ex hoc populo. Nisi *ier* ex hoc populo, siquis *habe* in hoc populo, portato illum quo ius est, facito ei quod ius est”

In general terms the passage is of clear interpretation. Only the verbs *ier* and *habe* (also in Ib 18: *svepis habe*) pose some problems.

5.1.1 Given that the italic dialects have joined in a single verb the corresponding Latin verbs *capio* and *habeo*¹⁷, from a semantic point of view *habe* may rank with either of both: a) “si quis habitat in hoc populo”, b) “si quis (quem) capit in hoc populo”, c) “si quis capitur in hoc populo”.

It has been explained as 3 sg. present indicative **habēt*, equal to Lat. *habet*, with the intransitive meaning of *habitat*, or to Lat. *capit*, in which case an unexpressed accusative is to be assumed¹⁸. But the absence of *-t* would be completely abnormal. Therefore a passive form **habēr*¹⁹ has been posited, but the omission of passive *-r* is unknown to Tables I–IV and, as stated above, exceedingly rare in Tables VI–VIIa.

A very interesting solution would be to consider *ier* and *habe* as remains of ancient injunctives, **habed*, as was proposed by Levi (1934:46ff), followed by Devoto (1940:276) and Adrados (1963:560). This hypothesis would resolve the formal problems of both forms, but to assume the survival of such a noteworthy archaism as the injunctive starting from these scanty data is no doubt very rash.

¹⁶ A completely new approach to these forms has been essayed by García Castillero (1998). See below § 8.

¹⁷ See Prosdocimi-Marinetti (1994:176ff).

¹⁸ Thus Vetter (1953:261).

¹⁹ This hypothesis goes back to Kent (1920:359ff), followed by Bottiglioni (1954:146 n.1, 313), Poultney (1959:275). Surprisingly, Pisani (1964:176) accepts **habēr*, but with a sense like Lat. *habitare*.

Be it as it may, it is by no means possible to use *habe* as a credible example of direct addition of *-r* to the stem.

5.1.2. The general sense of *nosue ier esu poplu* is equally clear, but it is quite otherwise in relation to the morphological interpretation of *ier*.

The most widespread explanation considers *ier* a perfect \bar{e} -subjunctive "itum sit"²⁰, from the same stem that Lat. *ii*, cf. future perfect 3 sg. *iust* VIa 7, but we encounter again the problem of a passive perfect with non periphrastic inflexion, compare to this effect Umbrian *kuratu si* Va 24 "curatum sit". The same is to be said against Pisani's (1964:167) translation as future perfect "itum erit", for the rest morphologically absurd (it lacks the future marker *-us-*).

It is difficult to justify *ier* as a perfect form, it must belong to the present system. It is likely as well that it should agree in mood and tense with *habe*.

Bücheler (1883:96ff) considered it a future indicative "ibitur", but it lacks any future marker (in addition, the future has a long vowel, cf. *eest* "ibit" VIa 2).

Olzscha (1963:116, 1963b:293) and Watkins (1969:180) have interpreted it as a present indicative. Its main argument is the agreement with *habe*, considered to be present indicative, but that is by no means sure, as stated above (§5.1.1). On the other hand, from a morphological point of view we would expect a full grade **ei-* (cf. Umbrian future *eest* VIa 2).

We have already pointed out with regard to *habe* the appealing possibility that we are dealing with the survival of ancient injunctives, but the most simple explanation for *ier* is to consider it a present subjunctive derived from an ancient athematic optative: **i-yē-r*²¹. It is advisable to take into account that the other Umbrian *r*-forms are undisputed present subjunctives.

5.2. *dia* (VIa 20) appears in the following passage:

eo iso ostendu | pusi pir pureto cehefi dia.
"ea sic ostendito, ut ignem ab igne capi duatur"

The syntax of the sentence is relatively clear²²: a consecutive clause

²⁰ Von Planta (1897:387ss), Buck (loc. cit.), Vetter (1953:261), Bottigioni (loc. cit.), Poultney (1959:131).

²¹ The same interpretation in Katz (1988:28) and Meiser (1992:303). Other examples of inherited athematic optatives in Umbrian are *sir*, *si*, *sei* and *heri*, *heris*, *herie*, *heriei*, see Rix (1977a:321n.20)

²² See Gusmani (1966:68ff), Rix (1976:237, 1977a:326ff), Meiser (1986:189ff).

introduced by *pusi* including an infinitive depending on *dia*, the principal verb. The meaning of this hapax is not clear, but I consider Meiser's (1986:189ff) proposal highly credible: a 3 sg. passive present subjunctive **dū-yā-r*, "detur, duatur", from a present stem **dū-ye/o-*, **dū-* being the reduced grade of the indoeuropean root **dō(u)*, Um. *purdouitu*, Faliscan *douiad*, Lat. *duam*, *duim*²³. From a syntactic point of view, this hypothesis is supported by the infinitive clauses functioning as subject of nominal predicates, like VIa 28–29: *perse mersei esu bue peracrei pihaclu pihafi* ... "si ius est hoc bove eximia piaculo piari ..."²⁴.

5.3. *lifar* (Ve 213,7) is usually considered to be a noun²⁵, but several attempts have tried to interpret it as a present subjunctive **lif-ā-r*, "libeat" (Pisani 1952:3, Jiménez Zamudio 1986:29).

This view faces some phonetic and morphological difficulties. From the root **leubh-* (Ved. *lūbhyati*, OCS *ljubiti*, Go. *go-laubjan*) we expect an Italic form containing the diphthong *-ou-*, such as Oscan *loufir* Ve 2,8, or, when in zero grade like Lat. *lubet/libet*, **luf*²⁶: the *u/i* fluctuation seems to be a specific Latin phenomenon. In Pelignan a first syllable **u* is regularly written <*u*>, however, a form *cibat*²⁷ instead of *cubat* is actually attested. If the phonetic problem is not conclusive, there is no reason to admit a different vocalism from Oscan *loufir*.

The principal problem lies in the segmentation of the sentence in which it appears:

eite uus pritrome pacris puus ecic | lexe lifar dida uus deti hanustu herentas (Ve 213 6–7).

"Ite vos protinus propitii qui hoc legistis scriptum | quos hoc legere libeat. Det vobis divitias honesta Herentas".

The most accepted explanation of *lexe* takes it as a 2 pl. verbal form equal to Lat. *legistis*. Jiménez Zamudio tries to explain *lexe* as

²³ See also Prosdocimi-Marinetti (1992:246ff). As for former proposals see Gusmani (1966:68–69). The most likely was that of Pisani (1964:143), from **dei-ā-r*, "uideatur", Gk. δέαιτο, Vedic perfect *dīdāya*.

²⁴ See Rix (1976:236ff), Meiser (1986:189ss).

²⁵ So since Thurneysen (1888). It would be a noun of an *i*-stem, **lifri-* > *lifar* (cf. um. *ocar* < **ocri-*), with the meaning of "scriptum", probably related to Lat. *liber*.

²⁶ See Lejeune (1964:396 n. 58).

²⁷ Jiménez Zamudio 1986, inscription § 46. Another example of [ū] pronunciation of /u/ could be *clisuist* Ve 213, 4, but its etymology is uncertain, see Jiménez Zamudio (1986:26).

an infinitive formed with the Latin suffix **-se*²⁸, but this is a highly unlikely solution. I still think the traditional view is the best solution. Be it as it may, *lifar* can by no means be accepted as a verbal *r*-form.

6. Thus the evidence of verbal *r*-forms is nowadays restricted to Oscan *loufir*, Umbrian *ferar*, *ier* and possibly *dia*. We will return to *loufir* later (§8-9). All the Umbrian forms are present subjunctive, at least modal forms. This fact enables us to wonder if *-r* is not the Umbrian 3 sg. secondary passive ending, corresponding to a primary ending *-ter*. Anyway, the traditional view of regarding *-r* as a specific impersonal ending is untenable.

The impersonal use is also found in the dental endings (Umbrian *herter* "oportet", Oscan *sakarater* "sacratur"), and is frequent with the periphrastic forms. In general terms, the functions of the Oscan and Umbrian passive voice agree with the Latin ones (see Buck 1928: 212ss).

From among the *r*-forms, *ier* is certainly impersonal, like Lat. *itur*. But this is not necessarily the case of *ferar*²⁹:

pone | esonome ferar pufe pir entelust ere fertu poe perca arsmatiam habiest ... (VIb 50)

"quando in sacrificium feratur ubi ignem imposuerit, is fertu qui virgam ritualet habebit ..."

The periphrasis *pufe pir entelust* "the place in which he has placed the fire" is to be interpreted as the grammatical subject of the verb *ferar*. The traditional interpretation of this passage regards *pufe pir entelust* as referring to an object not with its proper name, but with a circumlocution, maybe as the result of a taboo³⁰ (compare in the same line *poe perca arsmatiam habiest* "he who holds the ritual wand"). Accordingly, *ferar* is to be taken as a personal passive rather than as an impersonal one.

7. In consequence, it is difficult to maintain that *-r* is in a functional opposition with regard to *-ter*. In order to check if there is any regularity in the appearance of the simple *r*-endings, it is useful to compare

²⁸ For the details see Jiménez Zamudio (1986b). The principal objection against 2 pl. *lexe* = *legistis* is that *-kst-* never gives *-ks-* in the Italic languages. This problem could be solved assuming a 2 pl. *-se* (see Watkins 1969:35, Cowgill 1987:87-88), but it is not easy to justify such a hypothesis. *-se* could also be analysed as 2. pl. *-e* (equal to the Vedic 2. pl. Perfect *-a*) added to the same element *-is-* of Latin *-is-tis*: **leg-is-e* > *lexe*.

²⁹ See Le Bourdellès (1965:484).

³⁰ So, for example, Devoto (1940:267), Poultney (1959:271).

them with the Italic forms containing a dental *r*-ending. The following table presents all the synthetic mediopassive forms found in the Italic Dialects³¹:

Primary endings:

- | | | |
|-------|-----|---|
| 3 sg. | os. | <i>uincter</i> Ve 2,21 "conuincitur"
<i>sakahiter</i> Ve 147 A,19 "sancitur" ³²
<i>sakarater</i> Ve 147 A,21 "sacratur"
<i>comparascuster</i> Ve 2,4 "disputata erit" |
| | um. | <i>herte</i> Va 6.8.10, -ter IIa 40, IIIa 1, -ti Vb 8.11.13.16, -tei VIIb 2 "oportet"
<i>teite</i> Va 7 "datur" |
| 3 pl. | os. | <i>karanter</i> Ve 6,9 "vescuntur"
<i>ferenter</i> (mar.) Ve 218,3 "feruntur" |
| | um. | <i>ostensendi</i> VIa 20 "ostendentur" |

Secondary endings:

- | | | |
|-------|-----|---|
| 3 sg. | os. | <i>sakraítir</i> Ve 88 B,5 "sacretur"
<i>lamatir</i> Ve 2,21, Ve 6,4 "secetur?"
<i>upsaseter</i> (pel.) Ve 216 "operaretur" |
| | um. | <i>ferar</i> VIb 50 "feratur"
<i>ier</i> VIb 54 "eatur"
<i>dia</i> VIa 20 "duatur?" |
| 3 pl. | os. | — |
| | um. | <i>emantu(r)</i> Va 8.10 "emantur"
<i>terkantur</i> IIIa 9 "inscipiant"
<i>tursiandu</i> VIIb 2 "fugentur" |

Traditionally *-(n)ter* has been derived from **-(n)tro*³³, while Umbrian 3 pl. *-ntur* comes from **-ntor*. But this hypothesis leaves us faced with three great problems: (1) from a phonetic point of view the spellings *-te*, *-ter*, *-ti*, *-tei* imply /-tér/, which cannot derive from **-tro*³⁴, (2) the Umbrian opposition primary *-(n)ter*: secondary *-ntur*

³¹ The table is based on that of Meiser (1992:103), but we have introduced a change (*sakahiter* as indicative), which by the way favours his own proposal. We leave aside for the moment the Southpicene *qolofitúr*.

³² Traditionally it has been considered a subjunctive "sacrificetur", but the indicative goes better with the general context of the inscription. For the details, see Prosdocimi-Marinetti (1992:269-73).

³³ So for example Buck (1928:179).

³⁴ See Meiser (1986:71). -é- is Meiser's notation of a close -e-, as opposed to open -e-.

receives no explanation³⁵, (3), finally, today the comparative evidence supporting **(n)tro* has been severely lessened.

However, all these problems have reached a definitive solution in the proposal of G. Meiser (1992), assuming that a new mediopassive primary ending **(n)tir* has been created on analogy with the active **(n)ti*, **(n)tor* being restricted to the secondary endings³⁶.

8. Meiser's reconstruction leaves the door open for the interpretation of *-r* as the Umbrian secondary ending, instead of the expected *-tur*³⁷. Meiser (1992:292 n. 10) just wonders if we should regard *-r* as the Umbrian secondary ending or rather as an impersonal ending, without risking an answer. The idea was already expressed by Von Planta (1897:380) and Poultney (1959:122)³⁸, although without going into details.

As stated at the beginning of this paper, on the surface the italic *r*-forms are best equated with the Celtic ones: OIr. *°berar*, Welsh *kerir*. Their distribution in the verbal system is certainly different from that

³⁵ According to Meiser (1992:295), in Oscan the opposition has been reshaped once more on the thematic vocalism of indicative *-e-*: subjunctive *-é-*.

³⁶ Traditionally Tocharian AB 3 sg. *-tär*, 3 pl. *-ntär* and the Old Irish deponent 3 sg. *-ethar*, 3 pl. *-etar* have been considered to derive from endings of the shape **(n)tr(V)*, but they are best explained as coming also from **(n)tor*, like Hittite *-(an)tari* (from **(an)tar*, the addition of *-i* being an Anatolian innovation, cf. Yoshida 1990), Latin *-(n)tur*, Phrygian *-tor* and the Old Irish passive endings. See Adams (1988:17) for Tocharian. As for Old Irish, the opposition between passive and deponent is best interpreted as a secondary split of **(n)tor*, cf. McCone (1986:239–240). This reconstruction is confirmed by the Continental Celtic evidence (Celtiberian *bintor*, Gaulish *nitixsintor*). Jasanoff (1997) has recently defended **(n)tro* again, though not as an Indo-European inherited ending, but as an Italo-Celtic isogloss. The problem (3) is thus solved, but it can hardly fit the Italic facts from a phonetic point of view.

³⁷ **-tor* is found in Southpicene *qolofitür* (Marinetti 1986 AP.2.), but its morphological analysis is uncertain: according to Marinetti (1984:53) it is a modal formation, according to Meiser (1992:304–5) the general context rather suggests a present indicative. In the first case we would encounter a scheme similar to that of Umbrian, in the second one the Southpicene could have generalised **-tor* as general 3 sg. middle ending, perhaps even before **(n)tir* was created.

³⁸ Von Planta not without reservations. Poultney observes as well that the *r*-forms are predominantly impersonal in value. On the other hand, Poultney is somewhat inconsistent: he admits the interpretation of *habe* as present indicative **haber* and the presence of *-r* in *benuso* and *cohortuso*.

of Umbrian: in Old Irish *-ar* is basically restricted to the passive voice of the thematic present classes³⁹, but in principle it is reasonable to posit a common origin for the Celtic and Italic forms.

For Kuryłowicz (1968/69:16–17) the Italic and Celtic *r*-forms are a secondary and recent development: *-r* would correspond to the active Oscan *-d*, Umbrian *-ø* < **-t*, felt as the absence of *-t* < **-ti*, arising from a proportion

**fert*: **fertr* = **ferā(d)*: **ferār*.

Of course such hypothesis comes from the traditional explanation of *-ter* < **-tr̥* < **-tro*, which we have already rejected (§7). To posit *-d* < **-t* as a zero morpheme could be justified in Umbrian, but Oscan *loufir* would remain unexplained.

In a completely new perspective, García Castillero (1998:216–223) considers *ferar* and *ier* as active 2 sg. with **-s* > *-r*: subjunctive **ferā-s*, indicative perfect **i-es* (with thematic secondary ending instead of the historically expected **-tH₂e*). As for Oscan *loufir*, based on the photography published by Morandi (1982, tav. XXVII), which is unreadable to me, he prefers to read it as *loufi*], but as far as I can judge, the best restoration is still *loufir*. Be it as it may, García Castillero's proposal can at best only be considered as an unverifiable possibility.

In our opinion, the explanation of the Oscan-Umbrian and Old Irish simple *r*-endings should hardly be searched in innovations of these languages, that do not justify the creation of such abnormal forms. We must be dealing with inherited endings. The Oscan verb has given up the simple *r*-endings, but *loufir* seems to imply necessarily an indicative present, and this is a fact to bear in mind, since it involves that the specialisation we see in Umbrian is late and in any case not original.

9. I think that the most economical etymology to be assumed for the Italic forms is **-o(r)*⁴⁰, which fits also the Celtic ones. The archaic 3 sg. middle ending **-o(r)* is generally in retreat against **-to(r)*, and has been lost in most of the Indo-European languages, but is still preserved in Hit. *-a(r)*, in some Vedic remains like *á-duh-a-t*, *á-śay-*

³⁹ On the distribution of Old Irish 3 sg. passive *-ar* and *-thar* see Cowgill (1983:83–87).

⁴⁰ This assumption has been frequently posited (for example, Watkins 1969:183, Rix 1977b:136, 145ff, Stempel 1996:64), but, at least as far as Oscan and Umbrian are concerned, it has never given rise to a coherent hypothesis.

*a-t*⁴¹, and perhaps in Toch. B *ste* "is" < **stH₂-o*⁴². When turning to the Celtic and Italic forms, however, this hypothesis faces some difficult problems, both formal and functional. Only OIr. *-ar* has been explained as deriving from **-o(r)* with certain likeliness⁴³.

From a formal point of view, in languages in which the athematic inflexion (where **-o(r)* was more at home, judging by Hittite and Vedic) has only survived in some scattered archaisms, if **-or* was to be preserved, it almost seems unavoidable that it should be reanalysed as **-o-r*, from where **-r* could be reinterpreted as a personal ending, specially since in Italic and Celtic *-r* came to function as a voice marker itself.

On the other hand, the opposition between primary and secondary endings is not the same in the active and passive voice. In the passive, the opposition is restricted to the present system: Present and Future Indicative versus Imperfect Indicative and Present and Imperfect Subjunctive. The opposition between Indicative and Subjunctive is essential. In the languages which possess a Subjunctive, this one tends to take primary endings. This is certainly not the case of Oscan and Umbrian in the active voice (Oscan *-d*, Umbrian *-ø* < **-t*), but we have seen that the Umbrian middle secondary endings come from Indo-European primary endings (3 pl. *-ntur*). It is possible that *-r* has been relegated to the mood, and only later extended to the Imperfect Indicative (if *-r* is in fact the general secondary ending and not just that of the subjunctive, of which we have not the least evidence). Anyway, *loufir* suggests that this development has taken place very late and maybe exclusively in Umbrian.

10. Be it as it may, the truth is that the verbal ending *-r* is only found in Umbrian subjunctive forms and in the Oscan conjunction *loufir*, which suggests that the distribution of the Umbrian forms is

⁴¹ These Vedic forms have taken secondarily the personal endings of the normal type, 3 sg. *-a-t*, 3 pl. *-ra-n*.

⁴² García Castillero (1998) has recently tried to deny the reconstruction of the 3 sg. middle ending **-o-r*, but none of the alternative explanations for the Anatolian and Indo-Iranian facts (an analogy with the 3 sg. of the *hi*-conjugation and the influence of the perfect) can be taken very seriously.

⁴³ McCone (1986:239- 240) starts from an original distribution **V-tor*. **C-or*. **-or* is reanalysed as **-o-r*. Since most of the strong deponents that survive in Old Irish are ancient thematics or athematics with final vowel (that is, **V-tor*), **-or* finally was felt as the sole 3 sg. passive thematic ending. Later, the arising of a distinction between passive **-thor* and deponent **-V-thor* aborted the spread of **-or* as the sole passive marker in Old Irish.

secondary. They are not endings with an impersonal value in Oscan-Umbrian, nor can they be used as reliable evidence in that sense, as has been usually done. That its origin is *-or is the most economical hypothesis, but the scarcity of facts and the complexity of the evolution that must have taken place hinders us from determining the precise way of this evolution beyond unverifiable speculations.

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Die von den klassischen antiken Autoren überlieferten Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Bundesstaaten des griechischen Altertums standen den Denkern des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts Modell für die Grundzüge eines föderativen und repräsentativen Staatsaufbaus; dies gilt insbesondere für die „Väter“ der amerikanischen Bundesverfassung von 1787 und die Autoren der berühmten „Federalist“-Kampagne. Im Hauptteil der Abhandlung werden die Zeugnisse für eine direkte, kritische Auseinandersetzung des hellenistischen Historikers Polybios mit den einschlägigen Positionen in Aristoteles' *Politik* untersucht und Polybios' am Achaiischen Bund des frühen 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. orientierte Theorie des Bundesstaates konkret dargelegt. Im Anhang des Bandes sind ausgewählte Quellenzeugnisse versammelt.

Ulrich Schindel

Die Rezeption der hellenistischen Theorie der rhetorischen Figuren bei den Römern

Abhandlungen der Akademie
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Ulrich Schindel untersucht mit dem *Carmen de Figuris* und dem *Anecdoton Ecksteinii* zwei Figurentraktate. Im ersten kommen die verschiedenen Ströme der griechisch-römischen Figurenlehre gleichsam brennpunktartig zusammen, hierzu findet sich im Anhang eine kritische Edition; im zweiten, zu dem der Autor 1987 eine grundlegende Edition vorgelegt hat, ist besonders dessen erster Teil, eine umfangreiche Serie von Sinnfiguren (AE I), von Interesse. Ausgangspunkt der Untersuchung ist die These Schenkevelds von 1991, nach der ein System der Figurenlehre erst am Ende des 2. bzw. zu Beginn des 1. Jahrhunderts anzunehmen sei, jedenfalls *nach* der selbstständigen Entstehung von Gattungsbegriffen für die einzelnen Klassen (Sinnfiguren, Wortfiguren, Tropen).

V&R

Vandenhoeck
& Ruprecht