Multilingualism
in the Graeco-Roman Worlds

Edited by Alex Mullen and Patrick James

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MULTILINGUALISM IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLDS

Through words and images employed by individuals and communities across the Graeco-Roman worlds, this book explores linguistic interactions and multilingual representations of identity. It encompasses not only Greek and Roman culture and power, but also the transformation of the Graeco-Roman world under Islam and within the medieval mind. By treating a range of materials, contexts, languages, and temporal and political boundaries, the contributors consider points of cross-cultural similarity and difference and the changing linguistic landscape of East and West from antiquity into the medieval period. Contemporary multilingualism theory and interdisciplinary perspectives deliver fresh insights into remarkable evidence and offer new directions for the future.

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Contents

Figures

Tables

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Preface and acknowledgements

At the opening of this book, Barates, the Palmyrene from Syria, says farewell to his beloved Catuvellaunian wife, Regina, in a multilingual epitaph from second-century AD South Shields. At the close of the volume, Domsalôs dedicates a Phoenician–Greek tri-version text to Antipatros in the Dipylon cemetery of early Hellenistic Athens. Both monuments intrigue us with their complex linguistic and visual clues. Barates offers a carved image of Regina in an evocative mix of Western provincial and Syrian style, whereas Domsalôs baffles us with a lion and an apparently prow-headed man leaning over a corpse. These stone treasures illustrate many of the concerns of the volume, which aims to assess and further the rapidly expanding research into multilingualism in the ancient and medieval worlds.

Through the words and images employed both by individuals such as Barates and Domsalôs and by a range of literate communities, we can interrogate the complexity of multilingual representations of identity. Barates and Domsalôs lived under two different Empires and span the traditional East and West divide. By treating a complex range of materials and contexts, encompassing multiple languages, and temporal and political boundaries, we can investigate the points of cross-cultural similarity and difference and consider the changing linguistic landscape of both East and West from antiquity into the medieval period. We offer insights into the application of contemporary multilingualism theory and interdisciplinary perspectives, and hope that this volume offers food for thought and inspiring prospects for the future.

This volume began its life in the conference *Multilingualism from Alexander to Charlemagne: cross-cultural themes and perspectives*, held at the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge, May 2009. We are very grateful to all the speakers, chairs and delegates who made those days so stimulating and rewarding. We were extremely fortunate to have had support, financially and logistically, from numerous bodies, including

the University of Cambridge's Faculty of Classics, who awarded us support from The Sir Perceval Maitland Laurence Fund; The Greek Lexicon Project; the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic; Magdalene, Jesus, Trinity and St John's Colleges, Cambridge and All Souls College, Oxford. Geoff Horrocks, Steve Kimberley and the team of graduate helpers also provided assistance.

We subsequently commissioned a series of chapters from the conference participants, developing and expanding several themes which we deemed significant for progress in the field. Our contributors hail from a range of departments: Archaeology, Classics, Egyptology, Indo-European, Oriental Studies, and Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, underscoring the breadth of interest in multilingualism. We note our appreciation for the invaluable support received throughout the process from James Adams, James Clackson and Paul Russell. Three anonymous readers also provided thought-provoking and constructive comments. The unfailing support of Michael Sharp of Cambridge University Press and the meticulous work of our copy-editor, Iveta Adams, saw this volume to completion. We have found as editors our complementary skills and specialisms, support of family and friends and the patience and open-mindedness of our contributors extremely valuable.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to the following for their kind permission to reproduce images: Arbeia Roman Fort and Museums, Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums; Biblioteca e Musei Oliveriani, Pesaro; The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; The Egypt Exploration Society; The Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University; The British School at Rome; Marie Mauzy. We also reiterate the thanks of two contributors to their funding bodies: the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (Pádraic Moran) and the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Research Center in Egypt (Scott Bucking).

Abbreviations

The titles of periodicals have been abbreviated following *L'Année Philologique*. The abbreviations in the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, edited by J. D. Sosin, R. S. Bagnall, J. Cowey, M. Depauw, T. G. Wilfong, and K. A. Worp (available online at: scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html) have been employed for editions of ostraca and papyri, unless an alternative has been noted below.

ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin and New York.
apis	Advanced Papyrological Information System. Available online at: www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html.
Bataille	Bataille (1951).
CAT	C. W. Clairmont (1993–1995) *Classical Attic Tombstones* (8 vols.). Kilchberg.
CEG	P. A. Hansen (1983–1989) *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (2 vols.). Berlin.
CETEDOC	Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts.
CGL	G. Goetz (1888–1923) *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum: Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum* (7 vols.). Leipzig and Berlin.
CIL	(1893–) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin.
CNH	Villaronga (1994).
CPL	R. Cavenaile (1958) *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*. Wiesbaden.
DCPH	Delestrée and Tache (2002).
DT	García-Bellido and Blázquez (2001).
ET	H. Rix (1991) *Etruskische Texte* (2 vols.). Tübingen.

FGrH	F. Jacoby (1923–) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Parts I–III. Berlin.
GL	H. Keil (1855–1880).
Godlewski	Godlewski (1986).
GVI	W. Peek (1955) *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, vol. I: *Grab-Epigramme*. Berlin.
HEp	*Hispania Epigraphica*.
ICUR	A. Silvagni, A. Ferrua and D. Mazzoleni (1922–1985) *Inscriptiones Christianae Vrbis Romae* (9 vols.). Rome.
IG	(1890–) *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin.
IGUR	L. Moretti (1968–1991) *Inscriptiones Graecae Vrbis Romae*. Rome.
ILAf	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin and L. Chatelain (1923) *Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique*. Paris.
ILCV	E. Dielh (1925–1931) *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (3 vols.). Berlin.
IPT	Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo (1987).
IRPL	Arias Vilas, Le Roux and Tranoy (1979).
IRT	Reynolds and Ward-Perkins (1952).
Łajtar	Łajtar (2006).
LDAB	Leuven Database of Ancient Books. Available online at: www.trismegistos.org/ldab/index.php.
LPE	Jongeling and Kerr (2005).
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (1996) *A Greek–English Lexicon*, *Revised and Augmented Throughout by H. S. Jones, with the Assistance of R. McKenzie, with a Revised Supplement by P. G. W. Glare, with the Assistance of A. A. Thompson*. Oxford.
Mertens-Pack^3	R. A. Pack, *Index of Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 3rd (digital) edn. Available online at: promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/.
OCD	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (1996) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn. Oxford.
OM	*O'Mulconry's Glossary*, see Stokes (1900).
PG	J. G. Migne (1857–1866) *Patrologia Graeca* (*Patrologia cursus completus, series Graeca*). Paris.
PGM	K. Preisendanz *et al.* (1973, 1974) *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechische Zauberpapyri*, 2nd edn, revised by A. Henrichs (2 vols.). Leipzig and Berlin.

PL	J. G. Migne (1844–1864) *Patrologia Latina* (*Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina*). Paris.
RIB	R. G. Collingwood, R. P. Wright, S. S. Frere, M. W. C. Hassall, M. Roxan and R. S. O. Tomlin (1965, 1990–1995, 2009) *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*. Oxford and Gloucester.
RIG	P.-M. Duval *et al.* (1985–2002) *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises*. Paris.
RIL	Chabot (1940–1941).
SEG	(1923–) *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Amsterdam and Leiden.
ST	H. Rix (2002) *Sabellische Texte: Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen*. Heidelberg.
ThLL	(1900–) *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Leipzig.
v.l.	*varia lectio* (variant reading).

CHAPTER 1

Introduction
Multiple languages, multiple identities

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1 THE ALLURE OF REGINA

Sometime in the second century AD, Barates, originally from Palmyra, in central Syria, set up an epitaph for his wife, Regina, of the British tribe of the Catuvellauni in both Latin and Palmyrene (the Aramaic dialect of Palmyra) (*RIB* I 1065, Fig. 1.1). This unique monument, found to the south of the Roman fort at South Shields (north-east England), has been a source of intrigue and pride since its discovery in 1878: a replica even stood until recently in a nearby supermarket car park.[1] Regina's tombstone distils the excitement about multiculturalism in a tangible form and she is regularly heralded as a poster girl of integration in the Roman Empire:[2]

> D M · Regina · liberta · et · coniuge ·
> Barates · Palmyrenus · natione ·
> Catuallauna · an · xxx ·

> To the spirits, Regina, the freedwoman and wife of Barates, the Palmyrene. She was from the tribe of the Catuvellauni and lived 30 years.

> RGYN' BT ḤRY BR'T' ḤBL

> Regina the freedwoman of Barates, alas.

The content of the epitaph might help us to reconstruct the story behind this stone. Regina is a member of a group centred on Verulamium (St Albans) and, depending on how we interpret this 'tribal' designation, we might well suspect that she is a native British woman. Her name might have assisted in firming up our suspicions, but it cannot be categorised

I am very grateful to James Adams, James Clackson, Patrick James, Paul Russell and an anonymous reviewer for their comments on this introduction.

[1] The replica now resides in the gardens of the museum, the original inside.

[2] Barates and Regina even feature in the *Minimus* Latin text books (Cambridge University Press).

as either Celtic or Latin.[3] In fact, we might consider whether this name has been chosen specifically because it functions as *both* Celtic and Latin (a 'cover name'), a strategy that seems to be attractive in certain contact situations.[4] She is a freedwoman and wife of Barates, who may be the same Palmyrene attested as a *uexil(l)a(rius)* 'standard-bearer' in another inscription from Corstopitum (Corbridge), about 50 km west of South Shields (*RIB* I 1171).[5] If we accept this identification, then Barates can be counted amongst the numerous military men stationed along Hadrian's Wall, though the possibility has also been raised that the standard-bearer need not automatically be associated with the military and might rather represent a corporation (*collegium*).[6] Debate has therefore ensued as to whether Barates has been enticed from one end of the Empire to the other by trade or by the military, though the two are clearly closely intertwined and both serve as key foci of linguistic and cultural contacts and vectors of Latin language and literacy.[7]

The explicit content of the epitaph only takes us so far. The consideration of other aspects, epigraphic and linguistic, might take us further. The Latin portion of the text is positioned above the Palmyrene, in larger lettering, surrounded by a border, and occupies three lines as opposed to one. The cursive Palmyrene script has almost certainly been incised by someone well trained in its carving; though the script contains curves which are not easily suited to stonework, the result looks fluid and neat. Given that local British workshops would probably have produced only Latin, or possibly Greek, inscriptions, this part of the text has almost certainly been created by Barates himself or an associate. The case is not so clear for the Latin.[8] It is possible that the Latin may have been inscribed by someone other than the composer and inscriber of the Palmyrene, though it is equally plausible

[3] *Regina* in Gaul is cited as Celtic by Evans (1967: 247).

[4] See Mullen 2007.

[5] The inscription reads *[D(is)] M(anibus)* | *[..]rathes · Pal*|*morenus · uexil(l)a(rius)* | *uixit · an(n)os · LXVIII* 'To the spirits, -rathes, the Palmyrene, a standard-bearer, lived 68 years'. See *RIB* I p. 386 for the question of whether this refers to the same Barates or not.

[6] See the note to *RIB* I 1171 and Mann 1954: 505. The term *uexillarius* is also attested in the Vindolanda tablets, see Bowman, Thomas and Tomlin 2010: 209 for discussion.

[7] It is, of course, possible to have a foot in both camps, as we can see from a first-century inscription from Boldog in Slovakia referring to a certain *Atilius* as *inter(p)rex leg(ionis) XV, idem (centurio) negotiator* 'an interpreter of the fifteenth legion and also a trader', see Kolník 1978, also Adams 2003: 276.

[8] The presence of oddities in the Latin language and the fact that 'the confident execution of the Palmyrene inscription contrasts noticeably with the erratic lettering of the Latin inscription' (Phillips 1977: 91) have led to the assumption that Barates was responsible for everything. This is not a secure assumption. In any case, it is debatable whether the Latin should be termed 'erratic'. The epigraphy has an internal consistency and the letters M and G have a certain stylishness about them, indeed interpuncts have been included, which normally suggest a higher level of epigraphic awareness.

that it may have been produced by the same stone-cutter, who, if trained in Palmyrene epigraphy, may well have been versed in Latin too.

James Adams reveals more with a linguistic analysis of the inscription. He notes that the editors of *RIB* have mistakenly attributed *Regina, liberta, coniuge* and *Catuallauna* to the ablative case.[9] He argues that the ablative would be impossible to construe syntactically, but that the nominative, dative or genitive, which are found expressing the dedicatee in Latin, are not formally possible, even if non-standard variants are considered. Adams suggests that the forms are actually accusatives (missing the final *-m* expected in standard Latin), and that this interference in the Latin inscription betrays information about the origins of the author. In Greek honorific inscriptions the accusative of the honorand is used, often accompanied by a statue, and was the standard form in the Greek of Palmyra.[10] At South Shields, perhaps encouraged by the presence of the figure on this monument, the form of the Greek honorary inscriptions of Palmyra may have influenced the creation of this Latin funerary text. Adams proposes that 'Barates was presumably bilingual in Aramaic and Greek, and he imitated here in Latin the Greek construction which he knew from his place of origin'.[11] An inscription that on the face of it appears to be bilingual in fact demands a multilingual analysis.

Further analysis reveals that a fourth language may even be in play in this text from South Shields. The tribal name *Catuallauna* stands out as non-standard since other attestations, both literary and inscriptional, of this tribal designation show an *e*-vocalism in the middle of the name, as in Catuvellauni. The explanation for this change in vocalism can perhaps be sought in the Celtic languages, since in (Gallo-)Brittonic the name element *uellaun-* seems to have become *uallaun*, as, for example, in the Old Welsh personal name *Catguallaun* and the Middle Welsh personal name *Cas(s)wallawn*, whose earlier forms were almost certainly *Catuuellaunos, Cassiuellaunos*.[12] Though the assimilation of /e/ to an adjacent open vowel is not an unusual or distinctive sound change, and therefore not to be excluded as a feature of the Latin, Greek or Palmyrene of the inscription, it appears to be well attested in the (Gallo-)Brittonic branch of Celtic in precisely this linguistic environment, and it could be an indication of the British Celtic pronunciation of the tribal name, and

[9] Adams 1998, 2003: 254–255.

[10] From this usage the accusative spread to Greek funerary inscriptions and some Latin inscriptions in Greek environments; see Mednikarova 2003 for details.

[11] Adams 2003: 255.

[12] For a discussion of *uellaun-*, see Evans 1967: 272–277 and Lambert 1990c.

a hint at the Celtic linguistic background of Regina, a member of that tribe.[13]

Another feature of the text, the designation *Palmyrenus*, should encourage us to think about language and identity.[14] Palmyrene is a rare example from the Roman Empire of a non-Greek local language used epigraphically late into the Empire in contexts where other communities would uniquely use Greek or Latin (e.g. in military inscriptions), suggesting a strong link between ethnic identity and language for Palmyrenes, and high ethnolinguistic vitality (see pp. 26–29 for this concept).[15] Perhaps this explains the addition of the Palmyrene to the epitaph. It contains less factual content than the Latin, the only addition being an expression of grief, and, as Adams notes, 'there will never have been many Palmyrenes at South Shields capable of reading the Aramaic text (no Palmyrene unit of the Roman army is known from Britain)'.[16] Yet, Barates clearly saw the Palmyrene as vital in representing his identity, and it is a neat example of Adams' claim that 'a bilingual epitaph may be not only a means of imparting information about the deceased, but a form of display by the dedicator in which he expresses symbolically a feature of his identity or that of his referent'.[17] Indeed, the fort and port was likely to have been a multicultural locus throughout its history, a fact which may have facilitated the addition of the non-Latin personal expression of grief.[18] The advantage of the foreignness of the Palmyrene script is that even illiterates would presumably have been able to recognise that there was something else on the stone that was not Latin.

[13] I am grateful to Paul Russell for discussing this option with me.

[14] This expression of ethnic origin can be paralleled elsewhere, for instance at Rome: *CIL* VI 19134, VI 50.

[15] Note Adams' (2003: 247) comment: 'unlike many of the speakers of the vernacular languages who came into contact with the Romans, they [the Palmyrenes] held on to their original linguistic identity, even when they were far from home and participating in Roman institutions'. Key evidence can be found in Adams 2003: 247–271; Taylor 2002; see also Clackson, this volume.

[16] Adams 2003: 32. There is a reference to the *praefectus numeri barcariorum Tigrisiensium, Arbeia* (normally equated with South Shields) in the *Notitia dignitatum* (II.22) (late fourth to early fifth century AD), which perhaps indicates the presence of people from the region of the Tigris in a later period, see Rivet and Smith 1979: 216–225.

[17] Adams 2003: 32.

[18] The museum guide and displays at the South Shields' fort call the site *Arbeia* and state that it means 'the place of the Arabs'. This assertion appears to be based on the reference in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which refers to boat-men from the Tigris region (n. 16), and the suggestion of Kennedy (1986) that these men may have given the ethnic/regional name ('Arbāyā/ē) to the site. There are problems with this assertion, however, not least the fact that *Arbeia* may not certainly be the fort at South Shields. Rivet and Smith (1979: 256) offer parallels for the name but state that the etymology of *Arbeia* is unknown. If *Arbeia* were the ancient name for South Shields before the arrival of the men from the Tigris, it is possible that the name may be a Celtic equivalent of *Horrea classis*, which fits with a key function of the site as a huge granary at various periods (Paul Russell pers. comm.).

In assessing unusual epitaphs such as these it is essential to understand the broader linguistic context of the Empire and the possible negotiations of multiple identities within it.

2 CROSSING BOUNDARIES

Just as languages do not tend to follow man-made borders, neither does multilingualism. In the ancient world, as in the modern, monolingualism was a minority trait: 'the idea that monolingualism is the human norm is a myth'.[19] Those who work on language contact in the modern world are faced with an overwhelming variety of languages, communities and contexts, but they are still able to employ the same set of terminologies, frameworks, generalisations and interpretations across the spectrum to attempt to understand the diversity. In the same way, the complexity of multilingualism in the ancient world, though mesmerising and often approached through quite different evidence, can be submitted to the same modern theory. While the context and results of multilingualism in the medieval monasteries of Ireland (Moran) versus multilingualism in pre-Roman Iberia (Simkin) might appear, and are in many respects, worlds apart, the bilingual phenomena attested are created through analogous linguistic interactions and are representative of similar human processes. Instances of interference, for example, might look different in dissimilar contexts but are, in broad terms, fundamentally the same.[20] Modern bilingualism theory is only 'modern' in that it is a product of the modern world and, in some sense, 'under construction', rather than only being applicable to modern contexts.

Convinced that disciplinary boundaries impede research into ancient multilingualism, we have assembled contributors from a range of backgrounds. The scope of their collaboration is dauntingly broad: beginning with the advent of alphabetic scripts in the Mediterranean basin (Clackson) and finding an end-point somewhere in thirteenth-century Iceland (Blom). As long as evidence for multilingualism is available, any time or place in the past could have been used to illustrate the themes, but we have opted for the Mediterranean and Northern Europe in antiquity and the early Middle Ages. We felt it was acceptable, indeed desirable, to wish away periods, and

[19] Thomason 2001: 31.

[20] It would be unwise to formulate this statement in stronger terms. Sociolinguistics reminds us of the context-specific nature of language use and we should only think of sociolinguistic uniformitarianism operating in very broad terms. See Langslow 2002: 50–51 for a plea for caution.

in particular the divide between the ancient and the medieval.[21] Though diverse in their chronological and geographical dimensions, all the chapters are connected by the theme of the Graeco-Roman world. In this volume that world is plural. It encompasses the Graeco-Roman world of antiquity (Clackson, Simkin, Evans, Blom, Langslow, Bucking, Wilson and Osborne), but also its extensions, for example, the Graeco-Roman world of the Irish medieval mind (Moran), the continuation of classical traditions in the early medieval West (Russell), the use of *linguae sacrae* and *uoces magicae* in late antiquity and the early medieval period (Blom) and the transformation of the Near East and Egypt under the Islamic Empire (Papaconstantinou).

The problem of the over-rigid compartmentalisation of disciplines, linguistic competence, time-periods and subject matter is a recurring battle-cry for many of the contributors. We hear, for example, from Papaconstantinou about the lamentable state of publication of certain kinds of papyri: in the past those in Arabic, and not dealing with the formation of the Islamic state and society, have been sorely overlooked. Similarly, Wilson complains about the publication of inscriptions in different languages in different corpora, particularly heinous when bi- or tri-version bilingual inscriptions are split between corpora, and the lack of images, or even discussion of the material support for the inscriptions, in epigraphic editions. Papaconstantinou also bemoans the divisions between Classicists, Semiticists and Egyptologists. Her comparison of the fates of Coptic and Aramaic represents an important offering 'since Aramaic is studied in departments of Semitic Studies, and Coptic in departments of Egyptology, so that their common aspects as vectors of Eastern Christian cultures are not brought out' (p. 62).

The volume is loosely arranged in pairs of chapters. These pairs comprise themes deemed to be cross-culturally significant in the study of ancient multilingualism. In several pairs East and West have been joined to avoid this standard division, which, as I have argued elsewhere, can be unhelpful, not providing thematic coherence, forcing marginal areas or documents into one or other sphere and playing down cross-fertilisation.[22] Many of the themes raised by the pairs of contributors overlap and are developed across the volume.

Clackson and Papaconstantinou, considering the Roman and Islamic Empires respectively, treat the subject of language maintenance and shift,

[21] Horden and Purcell 2000 do this with skill, though their work lacks discussions of language use and epigraphy.
[22] Mullen 2010.

the former using largely epigraphic and anecdotal material and a sociolinguistic approach (deeming gender an important factor) and the latter using documentary sources and taking a more historical perspective. Though quite different in approach, they demonstrate key similarities: both argue for the importance of comparative studies and use modern linguistic theory in an attempt to illuminate the past. We shall consider below (pp. 26–29) the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality and how their chapters might allow us to make additions to the standard picture presented in modern bilingualism studies. This bi-directionality of influence reminds us of the potentially mutually enriching interaction between studies of contemporary and ancient multilingualism.[23]

Simkin and Evans take as their subjects the Iberian peninsula and a Greek–Egyptian community. A unifying theme of their chapters is the close scrutiny of the types of evidence which have become familiar to those studying multilingualism of the past. They show the diverse ways of interrogating the evidence and offer prospects for future research. Evans demonstrates the importance of context in identifying possible bilingual phenomena (see pp. 18–19 for definitions), explaining that many so-called Egyptianisms in the documentary papyri dissolve when the non-standard Greek of the texts is properly understood. His interdisciplinary approach is essentially sociolinguistic, but he also argues that we should treat the papyri as textual artefacts, plundering them for information from the handwriting, format and materials used; indeed the writing equipment employed by the author can be an indicator of his or her possible origins. Simkin guides us through the multilingual complexity of the Iberian peninsula, an area usually relatively inaccessible to non-specialists. He surveys the numerous indicators of language contact, showing us how to use (and how not to use) evidence from languages which are often imperfectly understood. Of particular interest is his incorporation of what he terms 'direct' and 'indirect' evidence, which includes, in the latter category, 'epigraphic influence'. His suggestions for epigraphic material which might be of interest in reconstructing language contact draw on a range of features beyond those usually cited in standard tomes on bilingualism. His subsequent sections on personal names and the function of Iberian, where he uses a variety of evidence to interrogate networks and movement of people, are both also crucially important for reconstructing language contact. Though he does not commit himself to the label 'indirect' for these forms of evidence, the positioning of these sections following the indirect 'epigraphic evidence'

[23] Note also the comments in Langslow 2002, especially 24–25, 51.

suggests that he sees them as such, though personal names could arguably be classed as either 'indirect' or 'direct', or perhaps both. Indeed, names as markers of identity and changes in naming practices under new socio-political circumstances and evolving cultural configurations are a concern in many of the chapters. As Evans reminds us, 'personal names are hardly the most secure indicators of the ethnicity or first language of an individual' (p. 110): of his brush documents, almost certainly the product of an Egyptian milieu, only sixteen out of thirty-eight authors have Egyptian names. Osborne highlights the various strategies of adopting new names in contact situations (translation, homophony ('cover names'), replacement), which often mask, or may, with care, reveal, original names.[24]

Blom and Langslow move us into the multilingualism of the world of technical discourse. One key question is how we should interpret multilingualism when it appears in such highly specialised contexts. Can the terminologies and theories of modern studies, which are primarily designed to treat spoken language, help us in any way? Both Blom and Langslow demonstrate that modern terminology and theory can indeed be applied to their evidence, though sometimes not without considerable difficulties. Blom categorises the features of ritual language by looking at a wide range of examples from the ancient and medieval worlds and by applying the findings of anthropological studies of ritual. Of particular interest is his discussion of the use of extracts of languages whose meaning had become opaque to evoke an otherworldly atmosphere. In these instances we have an auditory code-switch whose incomprehensibility is key to its function of communicating and performing ritual – not a feature discussed in studies of contemporary code-switching. In many cases in the written form these code-switches also involve a change of script, which adds a visual code-switch and potentially a further element of obscurity and mystery to the text. Langslow, in the chapter which most closely reflects the vast corpus of research by modern linguists, uses modern theory to try to categorise and understand some of the oddities in the technical discourse of Latin translations of Greek medical texts. We shall discuss further below the terminology and theories of contemporary bilingualism and their application to the ancient evidence (pp. 15–23).

Northern Europe in the medieval period is the focus of the chapters by Moran and Russell. Moran raises the theme of multilingual education. Some multilinguals gain their languages from multilingual homes and communities without formal education, but many become multilingual

[24] See Mullen 2007 for a discussion of naming strategies.

through education and formal learning. A large proportion of research into modern multilingualism treats second and third language acquisition, and investigates educational policies for multilingual communities. Despite the fact that our evidence is written and often therefore implies instruction at some level, education has not featured highly in recent discussions of multilingualism in the ancient world, nor have researchers effectively exploited contemporary theory. Indeed, in a recent volume on multilingual Egypt, Papaconstantinou notes that it is the 'one subject [that] is consistently neglected'.[25] In Moran's chapter the education under the spotlight is erudite and monastic. He asks how far a classical language such as Greek, which was never widely spoken in Ireland, was known in these closed circles, and how the knowledge had been transmitted. His close reading of the evidence allows us to attempt to reconstruct the written materials available in such monastic contexts. Next, Russell ranges over a considerable amount of material which has appeared in different guises in the preceding chapters: the literary and/or technical manuscripts of scholars, epigraphic remains and the linguistic evidence of loanwords and other linguistic features. His broad chronological view allows us to consider the nature of the transition from the Roman to the medieval period as he considers and develops the main themes of the preceding contributions: the function and fates of languages (Clackson and Papaconstantinou), the scope and limitations of the evidence (Simkin and Evans), the difficulties of treating technical discourse (Blom and Langslow) and the importance of context.

The final pair, Bucking and Wilson, builds in particular on this last aspect with two approaches to the integration of archaeological and textual material. With Bucking we return to education, though we are no longer in the erudite, monastic *scriptoria* of Ireland, but are considering functional scribal or basic literacy in Egypt (in another, but different, monastic context). Bucking ponders the unhelpful divide between 'word and dirt' and argues that by appreciating in detail the archaeological context of the graffiti at Deir el-Bahri and Beni Hasan, many of which involve sections of alphabets in various orders and combinations, we form a better picture of whether these have anything to do with education or the realm of

[25] Papaconstantinou 2010: 11. This is probably an overstatement; recent discussions include the work of Bellandi and Ferri (2008), Bucking (2007 and this volume), Cribiore (1996, 2001), Dickey (2010, 2012), Dickey and Ferri (2010) and Rochette (1997). Earlier work on the Graeco-Roman world was also interested in bilingual education, see, for example, Haarhoff 1920, Lewis 1976. The entries on bilingualism in the different editions of the *OCD* are of interest: the first edition has no entry under 'bilingualism', the second has a discussion of the elite and education by Theodore Haarhoff, and the third, supplied by Rosalind Thomas, provides a wider overview.

ritual, or both. His focus on the archaeological context encourages us to think about the precise location of texts, their measurements, their height from the floor, the light sources and the way in which the multiple texts, writers and readers interact. This chapter successfully responds to the manifesto, the volume *Ancient Graffiti in Context* (Baird and Taylor 2011a), which urges us to treat ancient graffiti with methodological rigour, accepting that they do not necessarily compare with modern graffiti,[26] that the distinction between text and image is largely artificial, and that analysis of their 'dialogues'[27] and their 'broader spatial and social environment'[28] is essential. Evoking a distinctively archaeological technique, Bucking even suggests that multiple graffiti on the same surface can be viewed stratigraphically. Wilson similarly argues for the importance of understanding the epigraphy of North Africa in its setting. His approach focuses especially on the importance of function, display and viewing as inseparable from the meaning of the words and provides another example of how to reconcile word and dirt. We shall consider this approach further at the close of this chapter (pp. 29–35).

Finally, Osborne rounds up the volume with a sceptical approach to our efforts. He reminds us, for example, that even the definition of 'language' is open for debate, though in his range of possible definitions he omits an important perspective, namely language as a grouping of idiolects *deemed a language by their speakers*. Languages are perhaps primarily social, political, cultural creations, and all the contributors (perhaps most vehemently Osborne) agree that there is little point in analysing language contact divorced from speakers. Throughout the volume we encounter the intimate connection between language and identity, and Osborne reminds us of the extreme position of the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis by suggesting that languages 'are at least part of the process by which we have ideas in the first place' (p. 327). The relationship between languages and culture is more complicated, as Papaconstantinou reminds us. She ends her chapter with the potentially incendiary comment that we should not necessarily mourn the loss of a language – this is to take a 'language-centred perspective' and does not appreciate the 'human dimension' (p. 76). In her case study of the Copts, the shift to Arabic and the loss of Coptic may be the sign of newly found prosperity and confidence. We might wonder whether the shift to Latin in the Western provinces might also be viewed, at least for some

[26] Modern graffiti-making is often viewed as an illicit lower-class practice. In the ancient world it could be the product of the elite and part of literary or political expression; equally though, ancient graffiti can also be the result of non-literates copying, see Baird and Taylor 2011b.

[27] Baird and Taylor 2011b: 7. [28] Benefiel 2011: 24.

communities, in a similar light. Osborne rightly urges us to lift our heads from the collecting and categorising to consider this broader, human, picture.

3 FASHIONABLE BUT NOT PRACTICABLE?

Until relatively recently, the focus of research into ancient bilingualism had been on elite bilingualism, the literary evidence and largely restricted to Latin–Greek contact. Over the last decade, seminal works, especially Adams (2003) and Adams, Janse and Swain (2002), have broadened our view by taking into account the myriad contact languages of the Graeco-Roman world and the range of evidence, from graffiti on potsherds to elaborate bronze inscriptions.[29] By applying the theories of modern bilingualism to the ancient evidence, a great deal of sophistication has been introduced into both our identification and description of the phenomena of bilingualism and their interpretation, particularly with regard to cultural contacts and expressions of identity.

But anyone who has worked in this field knows that, though fashionable, this approach is not easily put into practice, and all of the contributors discuss problems with the evidence to a greater or lesser extent.[30] A considerable problem, particularly for our interdisciplinary approaches, is the lack of contextualisation for our material. We are often confronted with inscriptional evidence which may have undergone undocumented removal in modern times or reuse in antiquity or the Middle Ages and manuscripts are often blighted by complicated transmission processes which we cannot always reconstruct (Langslow, Russell). Papyri, arguably, have been the most mistreated; they have commonly been wrenched from their find-spots without documentation, and often when find-spots are known these suggest 'dumping' in antiquity (Bucking).[31] Modern collections of papyri, furthermore, may be misleading, representing only the grouping of disconnected material in museum, university or private collections. We cannot know how much written evidence has not been transmitted to us; we may not read the texts correctly; we may date the evidence wrongly and we may be thrown off course by fakes.

A particularly thorny problem is trying to identify the author(s). Scribes were widely employed for the production of letters and other documents;

[29] See Mullen 2011 for a recent survey and bibliography of Latin in contact with other languages.
[30] Many of the papers in Cotton *et al.* 2009 discuss similar problems.
[31] The Oxyrhynchus papyri, for example, derive from rubbish dumps, see Bowman *et al.* 2007.

dictation is not always identifiable and, as a result, the origins of the linguistic features often remain obscure (Evans). Indeed, the production of lapidary inscriptions may have involved a team of people.[32] Stone inscriptions can pass through several stages: commission (which may have comprised little more than vague intentions, perhaps not even in the language of the final product, which may be dependent on the competence of the available staff); drafting; initial carving of outlines; and final carving. The bilingual content could therefore be the product of any one of a number of people, who may, or may not, be named in the inscription, and could even be the result of the use of manuals or the purchase of stones with pre-carved formulae. In Russell's paper we confront the problems of identifying the glossators of manuscripts; Langslow also raises the issue of the manuscript tradition, noting in passing the complicating factor that Greek script is sometimes replaced with Latin during the transmission of the texts.

By extending our evidence beyond the literary sources to the impressive range of non-literary material, we attain greater coverage and more direct access to the numerous communities of the past. But we are still in a much poorer position than linguists who study contemporary bilingualism. They can study speech, and copious amounts of it, all carefully collected and contextualised.[33] In reconstructing the bilingualism of communities in the ancient world, we must remember that we are dealing with written evidence, not the spoken word. Only a tiny section of society composed the literature that has been transmitted to us, and the inscriptional record is also restricted, though admittedly to a lesser extent (soldiers, elites and freedmen are particularly prolific; women, slaves and children much less so), so we are plagued by what has been termed 'epigraphic bias'.[34] The papyrological evidence is not quite so confined; indeed Papaconstantinou has argued that it 'allows us to apprehend a much wider range of social strata and language registers than any other source extant from the ancient world, and goes some way towards compensating for the absence of oral evidence',[35] but there is still a considerable décalage. The written word generally requires more thought than the spoken and may be affected by standardisation, formulaic language, deliberate archaism and linguistic choices based on genre.[36] The choice of language for the written output of a community may therefore not reflect day-to-day spoken usage: some

[32] Occasionally we find details of the production process, see Adams 2003: 84–88.
[33] Though, as Maya Feile Tomes reminds me (pers. comm.), modern linguists also restrict their data; it is just that our data is restricted for us.
[34] Bodel 2001. [35] Papaconstantinou 2010: 3.
[36] For the oral–written dichotomy, see Adams and Swain 2002: 2–7.

indigenous languages seem never to have been written and we cannot describe accurately the complexity of linguistic choices, motivated, for example, by domains (see below, p. 24), based purely on restricted written evidence.

Despite these problems, however, there are perhaps some advantages in studying bilingual phenomena through written evidence. For example, we might be able to learn more from a bilingual text created by multiple collaborators than from a recording of a bilingual's speech, as long as we can employ a sophisticated analysis. Adams deems the issue of collaboration in the production of a lapidary inscription not to be as problematic as at first sight: 'such variables do not undermine the linguistic evidence which the inscription can provide about language use in a lower-class bilingual community. Crass interference errors in a text compiled by two or three persons are more likely than not to reflect a common cultural background of the collaborators.'[37] The increased amount of thought and care that may often be involved in the creation of a text as opposed to a spontaneous utterance may allow the researcher to be more certain as to intentionality. Indeed texts with multiple modes of expression (use of scripts, addition of iconography, material support chosen, location etc.) may offer us numerous clues for interpretation (what contemporary linguists call a 'multi-modal' analysis). We can study the non-linguistic clues, including possible instances of visual code-switching, along with the purely linguistic features and build up a vision of the cultural configurations and identities at stake.

Indeed, our increasingly sophisticated analysis of written multilingualism may be of particular importance with regard to our future interaction with modern linguists.[38] Currently the perceived oral–written dichotomy between the study of multilingualism in the present and past is being dissolved as the tradition of investigating contemporary multilingualism through speech alone erodes with increasing interest in written evidence.[39] The majority of research currently focuses on what we might see as the 'speech-end' of writing, text messages, emails, internet chat, but there seems to be no reason why the field should not encompass the whole spectrum of

[37] Adams 2003: 92–93.

[38] Several of the key current areas of interest for contemporary linguists: linguistic landscapes, written bilingualism, multi-modal analysis and visual code-switching are paralleled by work being undertaken by students of the past, as indicated in this chapter. Fruitful collaboration is beginning to take place, as witnessed by the first seminar devoted to antiquity at the 'International symposium of bilingualism' 8 in Oslo, June 2011. I am grateful to Penelope Gardner-Chloros, Aneta Pavlenko and Antje Wilton for their invaluable advice on the field of contemporary multilingualism studies.

[39] Some early contemporary bilingualism studies specifically treating written code-switching material include McClure 1998, 2001; Montes-Alcalá 2001.

multilingual production, including translation literature, which currently constitutes a separate discipline.[40]

Antiquity provides us with a range of curious examples of 'bilingual' script use. Sometimes texts are entirely transliterated into the script of another language, as in this inscription from Rome: Αλλονια Μαρκ[ε]λα φηκιτ μαριτο σουο βενε μερετι (= *Allonia Marcella fecit marito suo bene mere(n)ti*) 'Allonia Marcella made this for her well-deserving husband' (*CIL* VI 15450). This is often a ploy to underline a duality of identity, a different method but the same aim as in the Barates inscription with which we began. At other times the change of script may be used to highlight a specific feature of the text which is considered to be distinctive; for example, Greek names may be presented in Greek script in a Latin text,[41] and unusual mixtures of scripts are often found in ritual texts in a deliberate ploy to obfuscate or lend potency. Distinctive orthographical mistakes made in the creation of certain transliterated texts, such as ταβελλαρουν for *tabellarum* (showing Greek *-ν* for Latin *-m*) in a second-century slave-trader's receipt (*CPL* 193), can hint that the author may not purposefully have chosen that script, but may have had no choice due to illiteracy in the language of the text.[42] The dictum that 'bilingualism does not necessarily entail biliteracy, though biliteracy generally entails bilingualism' needs qualification. This may be pertinent for many language contact situations, particularly where the scripts differ (as with Latin, Greek and Palmyrene) or have significantly distinctive orthographical rules. However, we can adduce evidence from this volume of biliteracy without bilingualism, for example with the knowledge of Greek in Ireland (Moran), which was read and written but not spoken. Our knowledge of the scope and limitations of analysing written bilingualism and script use may well eventually feed into contemporary multilingualism research and allow for cross-fertilisation.

Modern linguists are constantly augmenting the vast literature on bilingualism. Despite our adoption of their terminology and theories, there have been very few collaborative efforts and a concern lingers that we are not truly abreast of the latest research and have cherry-picked the aspects that suit our claims. Another problem is the complexity of the terminology and theories. Even though we have a very reliable and authoritative study in Adams (2003) to guide us through the minefield, the problematic situation, which has grown organically over the decades in modern theory and which has resulted in the same terms being used divergently, and different

[40] Recent literature includes Danet and Herring 2007; Dorleijn and Nortier 2009; Hinrichs 2006; Leppänen and Peuronen forthcoming.

[41] For examples, see Adams 2003: 90.

[42] For further details, see Adams 2003: 53–63.

terms being employed for the same phenomenon, has sadly still filtered down to students of the past. It seems appropriate at the outset, therefore, to present a template for the way this volume operates, largely building on the example set by Adams.

4 INTERMINABLE TERMINOLOGIES: INDIVIDUAL BILINGUALISM

The term 'bilingual' itself can be applied to both communities and individuals. The traditional view of bilinguals as being able to speak two languages equally well, often termed *balanced bilingual*s, has been superseded by a spectrum of definitions.[43] The scale begins with minimal competence in a second language, practised by *dominant bilinguals*, and extends to *balanced bilinguals* who have impressive linguistic skills and deep conversance with both cultures.

Four main groups of evidence exist for bilingualism in the ancient world, all of which may combine. These have largely been set up to categorise epigraphic evidence, but can be extended to papyri and manuscripts, though these clearly raise additional issues (how do we, for instance, classify a Latin text with interlinear glossing in other languages (Russell)?). The first, and most obvious, category contains texts which appear with two versions in two different languages, *bi-version bilingual texts*, for instance Regina's Latin–Palmyrene epitaph, or sometimes three versions, *tri-version trilingual texts*, which would include the Punic–Latin–Greek trilinguals from North Africa which Wilson interrogates. Important factors to consider in describing these texts may be where they reside on a continuum of 'equivalence' (the versions may say exactly the same things or not at all) and whether they provide idiomatic (*sensus de sensu*) or non-idiomatic (*uerbum e uerbo*) versions. The second large group of evidence, *texts displaying bilingual phenomena*, consists of texts ostensibly in one language but which show evidence of bilingual phenomena, as we shall see in many of the chapters. A smaller set, category three, encompasses those texts, *mixed-language texts*, involving two languages which are mixed to the extent that it is difficult to assign a primary language to the text,[44] as with the following second-century BC inscription (*IGUR* 718) on an *olla* from near the Appian Way, whose lexemes seem largely to hail from

[43] See Hamers and Blanc 2000: 6–8. Other terms for *balanced bilinguals* include *ambilinguals*, *equilinguals*, *fluent bilinguals* or *perfect bilinguals*.

[44] For the problems in identifying the 'matrix' language, see Bentahila and Davies 1998: 29–31.

Table 1.1 *Typology of bilingual texts*[1]

	1 *Bilingual texts*	2 *Texts implicitly reflecting bilingual situations*	3 *Mixed-language texts*	4 *Transliterated texts*
ADAMS	Two separate parts in different languages and 'a content which is usually, at least in part, common to both'.[2]	'An "implicitly bilingual" text is on the face of it in a single language, but there is reason to think that another language played a part in its formation.'[3]	Texts showing any form of code-switching *or* code-mixing.	Composed in language A, but the script is that of language B.
	1 *Bi-version (/tri-version) bilingual (/trilingual) texts*	2 *Texts displaying bilingual phenomena*[4]	3 *Mixed-language texts*	4 *Transliterated texts*
REVISED	As above.	Composed in language A, but showing interference/code-switching/borrowing from language B.	Written in genetically mixed languages *or* codes that are so mixed that it is impossible to identify the dominant language.[5]	As above. Can include *Texts displaying bilingual phenomena* or *bi-version bilingual texts*.

[1] Modern linguists may take exception to the use of the term 'text' in this context (Antje Wilton, pers. comm.), however, since this terminology has been used by Adams and no convenient alternative is available, it seems sensible to continue with the term.

[2] Adams 2003: 30.

[3] Adams and Swain 2002: 2.

[4] In some cases, it may be difficult to assess whether the relevant features are contact phenomena or whether the changes are in fact due to a process of coincidental internal change in language A, or even the external influence of a language that is poorly understood or unattested. See, for example, Adams 2003: 526; Clyne 2003: 93; Haugen 1958: 777; Evans and Russell, this volume. If the features are likely to be the result of internal change, the texts should not be termed 'bilingual'.

[5] See Auer 1998b: 13–21 for parameters for differentiating between alternation of two codes and mixed codes.

Latin, though the script, morphology and interference in 'anti' are from Greek:[45]

Text[46]	Transliteration	'Standard' Latin version[47]
CEΞCTOC ΚΛΩΔΙΟC	Sexstos Klodios	Sextus[48] Claudius
ΔΕΚΟΜΟΥ ΛΙΒΕΒΤΙΝΟC	Dekomou libebtinos	Decimi libertinus
ΑΝΤΙΔΙΟΝ ΤΕΡΤΙΟΝ ΝΩΝΑΙC	anti dion tertion nonais	ante diem tertium nonis

The final group, category four, consists of transliterated texts, often a Latin text in Greek script or vice versa, as we illustrated earlier with the Αλλονια Μαρκ[ε]λα inscription from Rome, or indeed the text on the *olla* above. Clearly these categories are not mutually exclusive.

We differ slightly from Adams (2003) as regards these categories in that we count texts displaying brief code-switching under the second category, and reserve for category three (*mixed-language texts*) those texts which are so mixed that the primary language is difficult to identify. Code-switching is a bilingual phenomenon and texts predominately in one language but showing brief code-switches (e.g. a Greek epitaph with a switch into Latin for a brief closing formula) should, we contend, be classified as *texts displaying bilingual phenomena* not *mixed-language texts*. It is worth making the distinction as these texts with a brief switch into a second language are quite different creations from the inscription near the Appian Way just cited. Texts written in mixed languages (for instance pidgins and creoles) would also fall into the mixed-language text category, although we shall see that mixed languages of this type are rarely committed to writing (n. 103).

Table 1.1 sets out the terminology as proposed by Adams (2003), though he does not present his scheme in tabular form, followed by the slightly revised terminology used in this volume.[49] Language A refers to the primary

[45] For details of the language of the inscription, see Adams 2003: 101–103. Few precise, contextual clues exist for this object, for which I have been unable to find an image. The *olla* is described in *IGUR* as earthenware and small and found where the *uia Latina* diverges from the *uia Appia*.

[46] This is the reading of de Ruggiero 1878 no. 401. ΛΙΒΕΒΤΙΝΟC has been corrected to ΛΙΒΕΡΤΙΝΟC in later corpora, e.g. *IGUR* 718.

[47] There is, of course, a great deal of difficulty in pinning down a 'standard' Latin, whose nature will vary depending on the time-period and which grammarians are followed (see Clackson and Horrocks 2007). In my version above, I use Ciceronian Latin as the benchmark.

[48] *Sexstus* might also be deemed a 'standard' Latin spelling, at least in some contexts, see Adams 1995: 90–91 for a discussion of its 'formal' or 'archaizing' status at Vindolanda.

[49] For further details of the revisions and expansions, see Mullen forthcoming.

or dominant language of texts, language B to the secondary. Language A and L1 (speaker's first language) and language B and L2 (speaker's second language) are not necessarily the same. We could also add *Translated texts* as a further category; Langslow uses 'language *x*' to refer to the language of the target text and 'language *y*' to refer to the language of the source text. Glossed texts perhaps also require a category of their own.

In what follows, I focus on the bilingual phenomena which can appear in the texts of group two (*Texts displaying bilingual phenomena*) as they feature in several contributions and cause many difficulties of categorisation.

The three main bilingual phenomena can be summarised as follows:

1. *Code-switching*: the phenomenon of switching between languages within one utterance or text.[50] It can be practised by both balanced and dominant bilinguals. Code-switching is subdivided by Adams,[51] following modern theory, into *tag-switching*, *inter-sentential switching* and *intra-sentential switching*.

(a) *Tag-switching* is the insertion of a tag, such as a common exclamation or interjection, in a different language from the rest of the utterance or text.[52] It is not uncommon, for example, for epitaphs to have a tag at the beginning or end, e.g. Greek ταῦτα at the end of a Latin epitaph or Hebrew *shalom* at the end of Greek or Latin Jewish inscriptions. The line between tag-switching and inter-sentential switches (below) is very thin, and modern bilingual studies often regard tag-switching as a sub-category of inter-sentential switching.

(b) *Inter-sentential switching* is characterised by a switch in languages between sentence or clause boundaries, e.g. *mihi simulatio pro repudiatione fuerit*. τοῦτο δὲ μηλώσῃ 'I shall regard pretence as rejection. You will probe this matter' (Cicero *Att.* 12.51).

(c) *Intra-sentential switching* occurs within the sentence or clause boundary, e.g. *nunc autem* ἀπορῶ *quo me vertam* 'But now I do not know where to turn' (Cicero *Att.* 13.13–14).[53]

[50] Important works on code-switching include: Auer 1998a; Bullock and Toribio 2009; Gardner-Chloros 2009; Gumperz 1982a, 1982b; Heller 1988, 1995; Jacobson 1998a, 2001; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Muysken 1997, 2000; Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002; Poplack 1980. See Jacobson 1998b for an overview of research trends.

[51] See Adams 2003: 21–25, also Swain 2002 and Rochette 2007. See Poplack 1980 for the terminology. Scholars of contemporary multilingualism still do not agree as to how the term code-switching should be employed, for instance, some scholars use code-switching to refer to inter-sentential switching, and code-mixing for intra-sentential switching, see Muysken 2000: 1. To avoid confusion I follow the terminology employed by Adams.

[52] See Hamers and Blanc 2000: 259 (though they call this type of code-switching *extra-sentential code-switching*) and Romaine 1995: 122.

[53] Muysken 1995, 2000 subdivides intra-sentential switching into: *alternation*, *insertion* and *congruent lexicalisation*. *Alternation* is code-switching where the two languages remain relatively separate

2. *Borrowing*: the adoption of any linguistic element (not only lexical items) into one language from another.[54] The items function in the recipient language as native elements, that is, they are used by monolingual speakers, often with some degree of morphophonemic integration.[55] This category includes *calquing* and *loan-shifting*. Calquing denotes the translation of a foreign expression by a new native form which matches the foreign form, e.g. *qualitas* is a Latin calque of Greek ποιότης.[56] Loan-shifting describes the process through which a word undergoes semantic extension on the model of a foreign counterpart, namely when 'the pre-existing degree of overlap between A and B facilitates the semantic extension of A'.[57] For example, in one of Russell's multilingual manuscripts, a scribe appears to have used Old Welsh *pemhed* 'fifth' to mean 'province' (*uel sim.*) based on the fact that Old Irish *cóiced* 'fifth' can also mean 'province' (p. 210).

3. *Interference*: the process through which features from L1 are unintentionally transferred into an utterance or text in L2. 'The presence of *interference* phenomena (as indeed code-switching) in an utterance or text implies that the speaker/writer is bilingual, if only imperfectly so.'[58] The phenomena can be orthographical, morphological, phonetic, lexical or syntactic.[59] We saw a relatively secure example in the inscription on the *olla* (*IGUR* 718) from a bilingual graveyard, showing Greek-influenced ANTI for Latin *ante* in the date.

(2000: 96–121), *insertion* involves the insertion or embedding of constituents of language B into language A (2000: 60–95), *congruent lexicalisation* is switching 'of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure' (2000: 3, see also 122–153). Adams does not mention the third category, but rather adds another from Bentahila and Davies: *leaks* ('minor elements of the psycholinguistically prior or dominant language find their way even into what is clearly intended to be discourse in the second language' (1998: 42)). Adams remarks that 'it must . . . be acknowledged that this type of "code-switching" is virtually impossible to distinguish from (morphological) interference' (2003: 25) (see Langslow, this volume p. 150). There seems little point in retaining this category.

54 Twenty years of research have concluded that 'given enough time and intensity of contact, virtually anything can (ultimately) be borrowed' (Harris and Campbell 1995: 149). Important works include: Field 2002; Heine and Kuteva 2005; Thomason 2001. Thomason and Kaufman 1988.

55 For *integration* or *nativisation*, see Clyne 2003: 142–152; Myers-Scotton 2006: 219–226. Other possible markers of integration are syntactic, semantic, prosodic, tonemic and graphemic. There are, of course, exceptions, see Hock and Joseph 1996: 270 for 'hyper-foreignisation' of loanwords.

56 Adams 2003: 459–461; Nicolas 1996.

57 Adams 2003: 523. For loan-shifts, see Adams 2003: 461–468. Adams states that this is often a high-class feature, but he also presents evidence from non-technical, lower-class discourse. No full-length, systematic discussion as yet exists.

58 Adams 2003: 27.

59 Syntactic interference is common in texts, see Adams 2003: 496–520. There are other options, e.g. *tonemic interference*, see Clyne 2003: 76–79, but only the most pertinent to the material in the volume are mentioned.

All three categories reside on a continuum.[60] Borrowing and code-switching show similarities; indeed it is generally accepted that code-switching may be a precursor to borrowing – 'a loan is a code-switch with a full-time job' as Gardner-Chloros quips.[61] For the ancient world, the distribution of the item in the extant literature may give an idea of whether it had generally been accepted into the recipient language (borrowing), or whether its attestation was ad hoc (code-switching or interference). Similarly, some interference phenomena could easily be assigned to code-switching and borrowing. Adams notes that the best way of assigning the features to either borrowing or interference is the direction of the transfer: L2 to L1 for borrowing or L1 to L2 for interference; though the bi-directionality of borrowing and, to a lesser extent, of interference occasionally causes problems.[62] Also essential is an understanding of the extra-linguistic context in which the example occurs. Interference is 'unintentional and beyond the control of the writer, whereas code-switching . . . is often a manifestation of linguistic skill'.[63] 'Often' is significant here, as code-switching (termed 'restricted code-switching') can also be practised by dominant bilinguals who switch from L2 to L1 because of gaps in their knowledge of the former. Reconstructing the intentionality or bilingual aptitude of authors, however, often eludes us.

In bilingual situations modifications of either L1 or L2 may be ad hoc, short-lived or restricted to the individual or to a small group of speakers. The nature of inscriptional evidence may well significantly reduce the ad hoc modifications passed down to us, but it can sometimes be impossible to distinguish between ad hoc phenomena and borrowings.[64] The patchiness of our evidence means that it is often difficult to say whether the item under scrutiny has been accepted into the speech community, particularly when we are dealing with contact between closely related languages where phonological or morphological nativisation is sometimes not identifiable (see Russell for the problems with distinguishing closely related 'languages' in textual evidence: in some instances 'multidialectalism' may be a more appropriate term). Furthermore, though the items may not have been borrowed into the language generally, the authors behind specific texts may have borrowed them into their idiolects, or the items may characterise a specific community code, or the speech of a literary community, as often

[60] Myers-Scotton 2006: 253–260. [61] Gardner-Chloros 1987: 102.
[62] Langslow 2002: 42–44. [63] Adams 2003: 28.
[64] Thomason 1997: 183 warns that we should not disregard the ad hoc features as 'no linguistic phenomenon that is found in an individual's speech can be ruled out as a permanent feature of the language of an entire speech community'.

in our ancient and medieval evidence. These distinctions should be made in our discussions wherever possible.

5 INTERPRETING BILINGUAL PHENOMENA

Bilingual phenomena can be extremely difficult to identify and analyse,[65] as we shall see in Simkin's chapter and Langslow's detailed discussion of the possible code-switching, borrowing and interference in the Latin version of medical works by Alexander of Tralles. Pieter Muysken states that the procedure of abstraction involved in the categorisation of bilingual phenomena 'will be justified if it is possible in the next stage of research . . . to make strong empirical claims about the properties of the distinct sets of data, allowing one to subsequently classify the unclear cases'.[66] Langslow is operating in this next stage as he attempts to find slots for some of the unusual examples in his technical medical literature. He unveils an added layer of complexity in that his Latin data are derived from compilation and translation of Greek sources, so, for example, transliteration is a recurring feature for consideration. What is particularly important, however, is that Langslow does not stop at intricate categorisation. As he states: 'by describing and analysing accurately the attested modes of translation and their status in the text and in the language at large, we may be better placed to comment on the implications (of both modes and status) for the nature of the contact languages involved, at least with regard to the currency of expressions, the register(s) represented in the text, and the sociolinguistic standing of the author' (p. 143). We *can* go beyond simply categorising.

We might consider further the interpretation of code-switching. Modern linguists, incorporating both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, have produced theories of linguistic ability related to various types of code-switching. Research suggests that inter-sentential code-switching is used mostly by dominant bilinguals, whereas balanced bilinguals employ significantly more intra-sentential switching.[67] It is generally thought that tag-switching is the form of code-switching which requires the least competence in the other language; some researchers do not even consider the phenomenon to be a real instance of code-switching, and it is certainly

[65] Myers-Scotton 2006: 253–260. [66] Muysken 1995: 188.

[67] See Poplack 1980: 581. Hamers and Blanc refer to the latter as 'a maturational social process' which children learn later 'since it requires full development of syntactic rules for both languages' (2000: 267).

true that, at least in some cases, the tag can be an 'emblematic part of the speaker's monolingual style'.[68]

Levels and types of code-switching can also be related to speakers' and interlocutors' attitudes, their age, their gender, the role of linguistic varieties in the community, the origins of the community, the attitude of the community to code-switching, to name just a few factors.[69] Several factors will be involved in a switch, and contextualisation is vital to determine these.[70] Generally, intra-sentential is regarded as the most intimate form of code-switching, and tag-switching the least. For instance, in the case of balanced bilinguals who can choose between the two types, an 'in-group' interlocutor encourages the former and a 'non-group' interlocutor the latter.[71] Poplack argues that intra-sentential switching should be seen as a 'discourse mode'[72] which, in some communities, can represent an unmarked choice.[73] The more complex forms of code-switching (some forms of inter-sentential and intra-sentential) suggest more than just a brief acknowledgement of a second language and culture; they are more indicative of a duality of identity. Tag-switching, however, may be evidence for imperfect competence in language B, or indicative that the language is moribund or even dead in a particular speech community, for example in the case of Hebrew tags such as *shalom* in Jewish epitaphs in Latin or Greek.[74]

A great deal of research remains to be done in applying these findings to the ancient material. One issue is that the categorisation and interpretation of the complex sorts of features discussed in contributions by Langslow and Russell might be considered highly specific to the evidence that they are treating. Copious amounts of literature in languages which are well contextualised and well understood can lead to a much finer analysis of

[68] Poplack 1980: 589. For 'emblematic' and 'intimate' code-switching, see Langslow, this volume p. 150. Poplack 1980 categorises frequent intra-sentential code-switching as 'intimate' and tag-switching, interjections, idiomatic expressions and single-word switches as 'emblematic'.

[69] See Gardner-Chloros 2009, especially 42–64.

[70] Although the macro-sociolinguistic context can often be illuminating, a proportion of code-switching is independent of this context. Auer 1998a is a reminder that internal analysis of code-switching, i.e. *conversation analysis* (Auer 1984), should not be overlooked.

[71] See Poplack 1980: 589–590. Her code-switching subjects are Puerto-Rican residents of the Spanish–English bilingual community of El Barrio (New York City).

[72] What is significant is not the exact position of the switch points, which can be relatively random, but rather the fact that the speakers have chosen this discourse mode (Poplack 1980: 614).

[73] Myers-Scotton 2006: 167. Code-switching may also be 'unconscious'. Code-switchers may not be aware that they have switched, and may not be able to report when and why they switched languages (Wardhaugh 1998: 103).

[74] For Hebrew tags, see Adams 2003: 22–23, 271–272; Leiwo 2002: 184. For the linguistic complexities of the Jewish communities of the Western Empire, see Noy 1999; Rochette 2008.

the types of bilingual phenomena involved than when we are treating epigraphic evidence, particularly when the languages are poorly understood (Simkin). This should remind us of the importance of the differences in the contexts for all the various material discussed in this volume. There are potentially significant divergences between individuals who have only passive (reading, listening, copying?) rather than active (speaking, writing, translating?) knowledge of a second language, and we must seek to understand the linguistic and cultural context as far as possible.

6 SOCIETAL BILINGUALISM

Societal bilingualism refers to the use of two or more languages within a community (strictly speaking *multilingualism* should be employed for more than two languages, but the term *bilingualism* tends to be extended). A range of factors may affect the levels and patterns of bilingualism in a community: duration of contact, number of speakers, role of imperfect learning, education, literacy, exogamy, age, gender, functions of the languages, level of cohesion in the community, role of language as an ethnic marker, linguistic and cultural similarity between, and relative socioeconomic dominance and attitudes of, the groups.[75] These factors naturally intersect and a simple linear relationship between them and bilingualism does not exist. Language contact can entail either *maintenance*,[76] where the languages in contact continue to be spoken, or *shift*, where speakers of one language shift to the other. Language shift may ultimately result in the total loss of the language being replaced. It is difficult to make assessments as to the extent of bilingualism in the distant past and the nature of language maintenance or shift, especially when we have little direct information concerning these factors and when the written evidence is partial. However, detailed analyses of the written record, combined with knowledge of better-documented societies in the ancient and modern worlds and information from archaeological and historical sources, may lead to plausible conclusions, as both Clackson and Papaconstantinou illustrate.

The function of languages in bilingual societies has always been of particular interest to sociolinguists and may be a vital indicator of levels of stability. For bilinguals, choice of language can be significant for presentations of identity and intergroup or interpersonal relations. Occasionally the choice of language may be due to idiomatic or lexical gaps in the

[75] See Clyne 2003: 20–69. See also Myers-Scotton 2006: 45–66, who notes that cities, border areas and trading centres are particularly multilingual.
[76] Fishman 1964.

other language, but 'the major reason is the symbolic value of speaking that language' in the multilingual context.[77] Fishman (1965) defined as *domains* the abstract mixtures of statuses, role relationships, settings and topics which provoke similar language choices (see Clackson pp. 37–38). A handful of regions of the ancient world offer a relatively rich variety of evidence, and a description of linguistic differentiation in certain domains can be attempted, for instance for Egypt.[78] Yet it is impossible to reconstruct a complete picture of the language choice for many domains in ancient communities, due to the limitations of the written record; even when we have papyri on a range of subjects and written by a variety of different people, it is, for example, extremely rare to get a flavour of the language use of a family in the home. For most regions we simply do not have enough evidence and the odd text may hint at relations between language and domain which are now irrecoverable.

In discussing the function of languages and societal bilingualism, whether unstable (leading to shift) or stable (encouraging maintenance), *diglossia* has been a particularly recurrent theme. Diglossia describes a specific type of societal bilingualism where the linguistic varieties can be assigned H(igh) and L(ow) prestige values *and are functionally compartmentalised*, a defining example being the diglossic situation in Modern Greek with Katharevousa (H) and Dimotiki (L).[79] The varieties are of the same language in *classic diglossia* and of different languages in *extended diglossia*. In our opinion, in defining diglossia it does not matter whether the varieties count as separate languages or not (we are well aware that the lines between language and dialect are a subjective matter in any case), what is essential is that diglossia indicates a rigorous functional compartmentalisation of the varieties, which is not necessarily the norm in bilingual interactions. Many commentators have demonstrated that diglossia is inadequate for the Roman world,[80] just as modern linguists have for contemporary bilingual communities.[81] It is impossible to reconstruct the whole picture of linguistic functions using ancient evidence, and a strict binary division neglects interpersonal variation and often does not accurately describe the complexities attested (in several areas the same language can act as both H and L depending on the circumstances and more than one H and/or L language is attested). Whilst we should not rule out the existence of

[77] Myers-Scotton 2006: 143. [78] Adams 2003: 527–641.

[79] See Ferguson 1959; Fishman 1967; Hudson 1992, 2002a, 2002b; Myers-Scotton 2006: 80–89. For more on the Greek situation specifically, see Horrocks 2010 and Georgakopoulou and Silk 2009.

[80] Adams 2003: *passim*, especially 537–541, 754–755; Adams and Swain 2002: 9–10.

[81] See, for example, Mæhlum 1996.

diglossic contexts in the ancient world, we should not be unreasonably optimistic about our chances of recovering them.

Nevertheless, we should remember that the notion of H and L linguistic varieties can still be useful in our descriptions, as we can often identify communities with, broadly speaking, varieties of different prestige or function, whether or not they show the strict division into domains as expected under diglossia. We might, for example, view the linguistic situation in inland southern Gaul during the Principate very broadly as follows: L1 (first language) Gaulish is spoken at home by the majority of the population and has the status L, whereas L2 (second language) Latin is spoken in domains such as education, non-local trade and the army, and has the status H. Within this broad schema there may have been diglossic regions, communities or individuals, but they will have formed only part of a patchwork of linguistic interactions. It is striking that in this volume only one of the authors mentions diglossia and does so only once (Papaconstantinou). This may simply be a result of the linguistic situations chosen for discussion and a feeling that diglossia is inadequate to describe them, though it might also reflect reluctance on the part of the contributors to engage with a term that has become rather 'slippery' in definition. It seems to me that we can, and should, continue to consider the possibility of diglossia in the ancient world, as long as we are rigorous in our definition of the term (and its subdivisions *classic* and *extended*) and do not use it simply as a synonym for *societal bilingualism*.

Modern linguistic studies cannot supply a strict set of factors which diagnose whether a language in a bilingual environment will be maintained or whether shift will occur. In general, certain factors recur, but their relative importance is variable.[82] If many speakers speak an H variety, stable societal bilingualism is hard (though not impossible) to maintain and language shift (towards the H variety) is the most likely result.[83] Cases of classic diglossia, however, seem to be relatively stable and, if shift occurs, it tends to be towards the L variety. Schiffman (1993) highlights possible conditions that might facilitate shift (either way) in extended diglossic situations, which serves to underline just how difficult it is to diagnose potential shift or maintenance. What is indisputable is that certain languages are *not* inherently 'weaker' or more prone to shift than others. However, it is the case that the nature of the languages in contact (how similar they are linguistically) will have an impact on the resultant linguistic outcomes.

[82] See Myers-Scotton 2006: 69–70, 89–106.

[83] See Myers-Scotton 2006: 86–87 and Schiffman 1993; the Basque–Spanish language situation is often cited as an exception.

The concept of *ethnolinguistic vitality* is, to my knowledge, absent from discussions of ancient bilingualism but has potential heuristic value. Introduced to sociolinguistics in 1977, the concept has been elaborated in an attempt to identify, inter alia, factors determining linguistic outcomes in situations of language contact.[84] The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting'.[85] The higher the ethnolinguistic vitality attached to a speech community, the more likely its language will be maintained; the lower, the more likely shift will occur. Ethnolinguistic vitality can be divided into two main categories: objective and subjective. The main variables of objective ethnolinguistic vitality are set out in Table 1.2 following Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977 (my additions in italics). In most cases the variables must be present or present in high levels for 'high ethnolinguistic vitality', but occasionally this is not the case: for instance, low levels of 'emigration' of the speech community are required for high ethnolinguistic vitality. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality has been the focus of recent research and concerns the assessment by the speech communities themselves of variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality; it has been shown to be as important as objective variables in determining ethnolinguistic vitality. Establishing relative ethnolinguistic vitality in situations of language contact is important in diagnosing linguistic outcomes and in understanding the nature of the speech communities.

How far the claim that 'it is possible to chart changes in vitality of various ethnic groups and thereby be able to better understand the complex dynamics of ethnic group relations'[86] can be related to past situations remains to be properly tried and tested, though Papaconstantinou, Russell and Wilson interact with this concept, as I have done at length elsewhere in attempting to model the ethnolinguistic vitality of speech communities in contact and the types of bilingual texts they produce.[87] Indeed, Clackson's chapter should lead us to wonder whether 'gender' should be added to the table as another variable.[88] Women's influence in a speech community and

[84] For some important studies, see Allard and Landry 1992; Bourhis and Sachdev 1984; Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977; Harwood, Giles and Bourhis 1994; Hogg and Rigoli 1996; Landry and Allard 1994a, 1994b; Landry, Allard and Deveau 2007; Landweer 2000.

[85] Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 308.

[86] Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 317.

[87] Mullen forthcoming.

[88] See also Langslow 2002: 27–28. A great deal of research has been devoted over the last decades to describing the nature of female speech in the Graeco-Roman world (see Clackson, this volume, n. 64), but the role of women in language contact situations of the past is only just beginning to garner interest.

Table 1.2 *Indicators of high ethnolinguistic vitality*

Variables: having the following or high amounts of the following will encourage a high ethnolinguistic vitality assessment (unless otherwise stated)	
Status	Economic status Social status Socio-historical status Language status (within) Language status (without)
Demography	National territory Concentration Proportion Absolute numbers Birth rate Mixed marriages: low rate (or in favour of relevant group) Immigration: high rate (if incomers assimilate) or low (if not) Emigration: low *Dense and strong networks*[1]
Institutional support	Mass media Education Government services Industry Religion Culture *Writing system*[2] *Standard language*[3]

[1] See Myers-Scotton 2006: 72–74.

[2] This aspect has not been thoroughly considered, though it is generally thought that literacy may have a retarding effect on the speed of linguistic change/loss. It seems sensible to classify having a writing system as an indicator of high ethnolinguistic vitality.

[3] Standard languages (particularly those of 'global' status, e.g. Latin, English) are documented as causing the reduction of varieties of the same language (convergence to the norm) and death to minority languages, see Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 77. Having a standard language, then, seems to encourage high ethnolinguistic vitality.

their attitude towards language change, whether conservative (encouraging maintenance) or innovative (encouraging shift), can have a significant impact on whether a language survives or is lost. It also appears that the domains of language use may have an impact on whether a language is maintained or lost, but it seems difficult to generalise on this matter. Clackson suggests that 'situations of unstable multilingualism may arise (but do not have to) when two or more languages are used in similar social

situations, or for the same purposes by the same speaker; in many cases there is no advantage to the speaker in using the language that affords less social, political or economic leverage, and the language is lost' (p. 37). But his bracketed remark confirms the complexity of the situation: many balanced bilingual individuals and communities use both of their languages across a range of domains (consider, for example, the alternating Greek and Latin of Claudius Terentianus),[89] and even when one language has apparently little leverage outside the community (consider, for example, the Spanish–English Puerto-Rican community of El Barrio, New York)[90] both languages can be maintained.

Mufwene's discussion of language maintenance and death in modern colonial contexts is offered by Papaconstantinou as potentially useful for thinking about language outcomes in both the Roman and Islamic Empires.[91] Mufwene's evidence suggests that indigenous communities in settlement colonies have low ethnolinguistic vitality and indigenous communities in exploitation colonies have higher. It is not clear whether the nature of colonial power should be added to the table above as a variable in its own right, but it might well be a useful tool for investigating ancient linguistic contacts. However, Mufwene's own discussion of the Roman Empire is highly problematic. He states that local languages are maintained in the Western provinces and that 'the real shift to Latin as a vernacular for the masses of the populations in today's Romance countries took place only after the Romans had left'.[92] These statements ignore the overwhelming evidence that few Western indigenous languages survive Roman rule and that over the course of the Empire Latin penetrated widely and deeply, despite a lack of systematic, widespread education and rigorous, official language policy (rather like English today, which Myers-Scotton has crowned 'the New Latin'[93]).[94] Furthermore, Mufwene's characterisation of the Western provinces as exploitation colonies vastly oversimplifies a complex picture of settlement and exploitation colonies and decentralized, local control which varies across time and place. Papaconstantinou argues that for her area the seemingly contradictory descriptions of past language contact indicate the role of multiple factors, possible fluctuations in circumstances and regional variation. As Clackson (p. 54) reminds us there is in any case 'no reason to suppose that a single model need apply across the ancient world'.[95]

We might now pause to ask to what extent applying the modern theory of bilingualism to the ancient world is fashionable but not really practicable.

[89] See Adams 1977; Strassi 2008. [90] Poplack 1980, 1988. [91] Mufwene 2004.
[92] Mufwene 2004: 214. [93] Myers-Scotton 2006: 407–408. [94] Rochette 2011.
[95] A view echoed by Russell p. 221.

In many cases it can be very difficult to classify the bilingual features we find in written evidence in any of the categories offered by modern theory and it is hard to see how fine an analysis concepts such as ethnolinguistic vitality can offer us. Are we simply shrouding conclusions we could have reached through common sense in complex terminology? We might wonder how far this categorisation and analysis really takes us, one of the concerns of Osborne at the close of the volume. The answer has to be that we can get further if we follow interdisciplinary approaches and all the evidence available to us.

7 MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO MULTILINGUALISM

It is only recently that approaches combining non-linguistic fields have become popular for those studying ancient multilingualism. The delay has perhaps partly been a result of the sheer weight of the linguistic contribution, particularly Adams (2003), but a trigger has been another authoritative tome, Wallace-Hadrill (2008), integrating linguistics, history and archaeology. In the last couple of years, three edited volumes have been produced, all expressing 'interdisciplinary' interests in some form. The 2008 volume, *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie*, offers an introduction which fits squarely with current research directions.[96] The editors bemoan the compartmentalisation of linguistics, epigraphy and history and urge systematisation. They hope that their book will establish a typology of epigraphic material and its historical context, competence of speakers, and function and modes of interaction of languages. This is far from achieved, with some contributors not even agreeing on basic terminology.[97] The volume emanating from the 2009 Madrid colloquium, 'Contactos lingüísticos en la Antigüedad: el Mediterráneo occidental', also claimed to have an interdisciplinary focus, but this largely seems to be one of crossing linguistic boundaries rather than integration with other disciplines.[98] Papaconstantinou's edited volume, *The Mulilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the ʿAbbāsids*, provides a holistic approach to the papyri and the languages therein and presents a 'socio-historical' rather than linguistic outlook, though Clarysse's contribution also encourages the integration of archaeological evidence.[99] Until now, however, no other volume on multilingualism has tackled the archaeological dimension in any detail.

[96] Biville, Decourt and Rougemont 2008. [97] See Mullen 2010 for a review.
[98] Ruiz Darasse and Lujan 2011. [99] Papaconstantinou 2010.

One key aim of the current volume is to demonstrate how interdisciplinary approaches are undertaken and to consider the scope for future elaboration. The contributors range from 'card-carrying' interdisciplinarians to those with interdisciplinary tendencies. By drawing together this set of specialists we represent a series of possible approaches and the breadth of the field. In these chapters linguistics integrates with anthropology, art history, history, literary studies and archaeology.

It seems worth reflecting briefly on the interaction which has, until now, been offered very little attention, namely that between archaeology and studies of multilingualism. This is a partnership that is in the early stages of its relationship, but has the potential to bear fruit. Anthropology, archaeology and linguistics have, of course, had a long association:[100] Varro in *De lingua Latina* (8.27–32), for example, makes an explicit comparison between the *consuetudo* 'normal practice' of spoken language and material culture.[101] However, archaeology and linguistics have not always been easy bed-fellows; we might consider, for example, the controversies surrounding the dating and location of Proto-Indo-European or the pre-history of the Iberian peninsula. More recently the two have been united again as archaeologists borrow from studies of language contact those terms they deem useful to describe some of the processes and results of cultural contact seen in the archaeological record.

Inspired by publications by Adams (2003) and Swain (2002) on bilingualism, and especially code-switching, Wallace-Hadrill argues that 'bilingualism is at least as interesting a model as fusion or creolisation.[102] . . . the Roman world produces no evidence of Creole languages,[103] but abundant

[100] See Hodder 1989 for a view from a post-processual perspective.

[101] For details and discussion, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 67–68.

[102] *Creolisation* in linguistics is used to describe the process through which a pidgin becomes a creole (i.e. becomes the native language of at least some people in the community). 'Creole' originally meant 'born in a location in which their parents did not originate' (i.e. Old World in New World) (Baker and Mühlhäusler 2007: 84) but soon began to be applied to mixed cultures and creolisation was used to refer to the process by which creole cultures were created. The term 'creolisation' has recently been applied (by Webster (2001) and others) to the processes of cultural change seen in the Roman Empire – one of many attempts to 'rethink Romanisation'. It seems to me, however, to have little to recommend it. The assumption seems to be that 'creolisation' can refer to the fusion of any two different cultures to create a new one. But the important characterisation of creole languages and cultures is that they are formed through the rapid mixture of very different languages and cultures, forced together in distinctive circumstances. This term should perhaps be reserved for these distinctive languages and cultures rather than being used as a catch-all term for cultural contact; see Stewart 2007 for an insightful series of essays on the theory, ethnography and history of creolisation.

[103] Pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages are indeed extremely rarely attested for the Roman world. However, based on our knowledge of these languages in more recent contexts, we would not expect direct written evidence. Indeed, there may be some indirect hints in the written record

evidence of bilingualism and code-switching'.[104] Wallace-Hadrill's support of the model of bilingualism derives from his view that an individual did not need to be Greek or Roman or native, nor a fusion, but could be all three at the same time, as demonstrated by the *tria corda* of Ennius.[105] He considers that other models, including even hybridisation, assume a replacement of old identities with new. 'The alternative model of bilingualism, or rather multilingualism, points the way to other possibilities: of populations that can sustain simultaneously diverse culture-systems, in full awareness of their difference, and code-switch between them.'[106] Wallace-Hadrill proceeds with caution, however, careful to clarify that just because linguistic negotiations might operate in a certain way, other aspects of identity, such as material culture, need not correlate: 'it is only a possible model, a hypothesis to evaluate'.[107]

Wallace-Hadrill's hypothesis aims to ensure that we do not see identities as an 'either or', but rather that we understand that 'the power of multiple identities lies in their strategic deployment in diverse contexts'.[108] As opposed to some other attempts to adopt theories and models from linguistics in other disciplines, the chosen model of bilingualism and code-switching seems to be extremely successful, not least because proper attention has been paid to the origins of the terms. However, the bilingualism model could perhaps be pushed further. In the case of code-switching, should we not also consider the sub-categories of inter-/intra-/tag-switching, or 'emblematic' versus 'intimate'?[109] How could these be applied to the analysis of archaeological material and visual culture? It is quite possible that the transfer cannot be pushed that far – we are mindful of Hannerz's warning that 'linguistic sources of inspiration have not always served cultural analysis well, and whenever one takes an intellectual ride on a metaphor, it is essential that one knows where to get off'[110] – but it is worth investigation.

that they may have existed (Adams 2003: 93–106), and contact situations created through trade, slavery, the army and colonisation between typologically very different languages and cultures in the ancient and medieval worlds might have formed plausible breeding grounds. In fact descriptions of modern settings might relate well to some coastal trading stations, mining communities and *latifundiae*. Simkin's discussion (pp. 98–104) of Iberian possibly acting as a lingua franca might alert us to the possibility of pidgin or creole languages being created through fusion between Iberian (or Punic or Phoenician) and the Indo-European languages of the Iberian peninsula, or indeed the Mediterranean more widely.

[104] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 13.

[105] Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 17.17.1. See Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 67–68 for discussion.

[106] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 27–28. [107] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 77. [108] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 85.

[109] See pp. 18–22 above. [110] Hannerz 1992: 264.

Wilson considers these linguistic sources of inspiration in his chapter on function and display in the neo-Punic inscriptions of North Africa wherein he views inscription and monument as inseparable. He evaluates the ethnolinguistic situation based on an analysis of all the evidence and points to many inscribed monuments where visual code-switching may be deemed significant. He raises important new questions and these need to be carefully worked through in future studies. In particular, he notes that 'semantically equivalent, idiomatic bi-versions may be visually unequal, and priority or dominance or impact of individual languages in a bilingual inscription may be determined by other means than linguistic treatment' (p. 313). Mileage may be gained by thinking carefully about the sub-categories of this code-switching phenomenon in linguistics and whether they might be applied to material culture and more generally about how the interaction between linguistic and material culture should be understood. As Bucking remarks, 'there is still a lack of fundamental research on the theoretical and methodological principles that would aid in better defining the various questions and problems arising from an interdisciplinary approach' (pp. 226, 228).

We might consider Regina's tombstone again and one other piece of the puzzle which has not been fully tackled by linguists and epigraphers. The inscriptions should not be treated separately from the iconography of the monument. Only around a quarter of the monument is actually devoted to the inscriptions. The more eye-catching aspect is, without doubt, the sculpted relief which depicts an archway supported by four columns under which is positioned an image of a seated woman, presumably Barates' wife, *Regina*. Though some of the detail has been lost through damage, it is clear that this sculpture is not typically Graeco-Roman, nor Romano-Celtic.

The woman sits facing forward on a wicker chair, clasping a distaff and spindle in her left hand and holding open with her right hand a box which sits on the floor on her right. On the floor to her left is a basket filled with balls of wool. She is wearing a long-sleeved cloak over her tunic and has a necklace and bracelets of corded type. Behind her head is an oval object. Several of the elements fit with western and Romano-British comparanda, for instance the positioning of the figure, the architectural framing, chair and dress.[111] However, there are signs that this is a little out of the ordinary. The basket and chest can be paralleled by Palmyrene examples, and the hair-style found here was worn almost without exception at Palmyra until

[111] See Colledge 1976 *passim*, but especially 231–233, and Phillips 1977: 90–91.

Figure 1.1 Funerary monument to Regina (*RIB* I 1065) (reproduced by kind permission of Arbeia Roman Fort and Museums, Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums).

around AD 170. But most importantly, the spindle and distaff held across her lap in the left hand are features almost unique to the iconography of Roman Syria. This monument has been created by a Palmyrene in a mixture of the preferred style of his native land and his new,[112] and, like the Palmyrene

[112] Due to signs of Palmyrene influence, Colledge argues that another inscription from South Shields, *RIB* I 1064, also with sculpted relief, is by the same sculptor, though he admits that there are some

script, is a visual clue as to his duality of identity, even for illiterates. So is this form of mixed iconography directly comparable to the bi-version text? It conveys the same duality of identity but, if we want to push the linguistic terminology, looks rather more akin to a mixed text with intra-sentential (intimate) code-switching, since the features of different origins are closely interwoven into one composite image. But what is the value of interpreting the iconography in these precise linguistic terms? And, at any rate, should we be breaking down the imagery into its apparent component parts? As Classicists we can put on our art historical hats and plunder scholarship on the art of Palmyra and Roman Britain in an attempt to disentangle the complexity, but would second-century viewers have been able to recognise the visual clues, particularly considering the majority would never have set foot in Palmyra? They might have appreciated a mix of 'Local' and 'Other', primarily based on the unusual script use, but perhaps not even that. Just as it is sometimes difficult for bilinguals to analyse their own speech, and particularly to convince code-switchers to appreciate that they have just code-switched,[113] the mixed imagery may be unintentional, or equally the message may have been designed not to be de-composed.

In studying epitaphs such as this, by integrating all the evidence – linguistic, epigraphic, archaeological, (art) historical – we can piece together clues that on their own seem meagre but together allow more confidence in our analysis. Equally though, we find epitaphs which provide quite different messages in their inscriptions and in their iconography, and it is only by understanding the parts that we can appreciate the whole message. Yet, the sometimes partial, often ambiguous, frequently uncontextualised nature of the ancient evidence repeatedly leaves us at a loss. We struggle enough with the identification and classification of linguistic phenomena, let alone with their interpretation and integration with other evidence. Often we can create a series of possible interpretations of inscriptional evidence and their supports, but rarely a definitive answer. For Barates' monument, a number of gaps remain and we wonder how much we know about the characters, especially Regina. Which of the four languages does she speak? Does she speak only the British Celtic language?[114] Is the image of her a reflection of what she was or what Barates wanted her to be? Why is she only a *liberta* and

differences, namely that Regina's monument is more 'crudely carved' and that some of the letters differ (1976: 233). It must, of course, be remembered that the inscription may not have been incised by the sculptor of the relief.

[113] See, for example, Gardner-Chloros 2009: 15.

[114] Russell, this volume, discusses the difficulties in reconstructing the linguistic composition, particularly levels of bilingualism, of Roman Britain.

not also a *coniunx* in the Palmyrene?[115] Osborne's discussion in this volume of the Antipatros inscription from Hellenistic Athens provides a parallel to the Regina inscription. We have another rather unusual bilingual text (this time a tri-version bilingual) with an accompanying sculpted relief, and again we are dealing with interactions of languages and cultures: Phoenician (another Semitic language) and Greek. Osborne demonstrates our inability to understand exactly what this monument might have 'meant' in third-century BC Athens and warns us that our various analytical frameworks are far from perfect. He believes that both the linguist's and the archaeologist's characterisation 'of what happens when cultures rub up against each other' seems 'unhelpfully crude' (p. 333).

Osborne's warnings may prove a useful check on the recent exuberance for all matters multilingual and multicultural, but studies into ancient multilingualism have by no means exhausted their usefulness. We seem, rather, to have entered a critical phase of refining, rethinking and elaborating, particularly with regards to interdisciplinary approaches. It is in this context that this volume was conceived.

[115] A question asked by Mary Beard in her *TLS* review of Adams 2003 (Beard 2003).

CHAPTER 2

Language maintenance and language shift in the Mediterranean world during the Roman Empire

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1 STABLE AND UNSTABLE MULTILINGUALISM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

During the period between the first spread of alphabetic scripts around the Mediterranean basin and the end of antiquity, a number of languages spoken around the Mediterranean basin fell out of use. For some of these languages, sufficient epigraphic records survive to give an idea of their grammar and likely genetic affiliations, while others are known only from scanty evidence or uncertain ancient testimonia. A few other languages, such as Basque and Albanian, have survived into the modern period, but cannot be clearly linked to any attested ancient language; there may have been many more languages that left no trace and did not survive. From a modern perspective, the linguistic ancient history of the Mediterranean appears to mirror more recent episodes of language shift and language loss through European colonial expansion, particularly in North America and Australia. However, recent colonial history in South America, Africa and Asia shows that language change is not always clear-cut. Whilst most indigenous languages in North America and Australia are now no longer spoken or in decline, in other parts of the world native languages are still widely spoken, sometimes alongside English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Indeed, it is apparent that over time communities can fluctuate between stable maintenance of two or more languages and progressive monolingualism. This chapter is an attempt to elucidate what happened on the ground during the spread of Latin in the West and Greek in the East. Was Latin or Greek ever used alongside a local language in what modern linguists would call a 'stable bilingual community'? Given the nature of the evidence, the answer to this question will undoubtedly have to be rather speculative, and will rely on extrapolation from scraps of evidence in isolated areas.

First, I shall give a little background to some of the technical terms I will be using. The terms 'stable' and 'unstable', and the allied terms 'language maintenance' and 'language shift,' have been used by linguists working on bilingualism since the 1960s.[1] In situations of stable multilingualism, the use of two or more languages may be maintained within a single community over a long period of time. There are a number of different situations in which stable bilingualism may exist; one recurring pattern is the association of different languages with specific groups in the community or with specific areas of use (termed 'domain', see further below). It may be, for example, that one language is used in domestic situations, another in business or the workplace and a third in religious circumstances.[2] Whereas stable multilingualism is associated with language maintenance, during periods of unstable multilingualism speakers shift to speaking a single language, and competence in other varieties is lost. Situations of unstable multilingualism may arise (but do not have to) when two or more languages are used in similar social situations, or for the same purposes by the same speaker; in many cases there is no advantage to the speaker in using the language that affords less social, political or economic leverage, and the language is lost. Stable bilingualism therefore may rely upon the existence of appropriate social settings and social opportunities for each maintained language. In the case of long-term stable multilingualism, one may find convergence effects or 'metatypy', where the languages used alongside each other begin to show similarities in underlying grammatical structures.[3]

In a number of articles and books the sociolinguist Joshua Fishman promulgated the use of the term 'domain' (which he credits to Georg Schmidt-Rohr 1932) for generalised social situations and contexts which might be appropriate for different language use, such as 'family', 'friends', 'acquaintances', 'education', 'employment', 'religious worship' or similar.[4] In recent years, the term 'domain' has been employed as a useful catch-all term for linguists to encompass both a set of social situations and also 'clusters of certain values'.[5] Fishman's own research attempted to elucidate the linguistic domains of immigrant families in North America, and he was able to calibrate speaker behaviour in different domains with styles

[1] See, for example, Fishman 1964; Fasold 1984: 213–245; Myers-Scotton 2006: 67–106.
[2] See Myers-Scotton 2006 *passim* for a wide range of illustrative examples from the modern world.
[3] The classic example in the literature is 'Kupwar' (although the actual village name is Kupwad) in Mahrashtra, India given by Gumperz and Wilson 1971. Ross 2003 has further examples and discussion.
[4] See the discussions of Fishman 1965, 1970, 1972.
[5] Myers-Scotton 2006: 77.

of speaking and topic of conversation.[6] For the ancient world, detailed specific research into language domains of this kind is of course impossible; no surviving documentary evidence can be used to determine exactly how a range of individuals in the same community varied their spoken behaviour according to context. However, one way to investigate multilingualism in the ancient world is to look at language use across different domains. Where the evidence suggests that local languages did survive alongside Latin and Greek in stable multilingual communities, it may be possible to gain some idea about who spoke what language when. In the first part of this chapter, I will briefly examine some of the evidence for the maintenance of the vernacular languages of the Roman Empire, before concentrating a little more fully on the picture in Egypt in the period after the end of Roman rule, which affords the best evidence for this inquiry.

2 STABLE AND UNSTABLE BILINGUALISM IN ITALY

Over time, language use in any bilingual community may change, often in response to socio-economic or cultural shifts. Stable bilingualism may become unstable, especially when one language becomes dominant through the provision of better opportunities for its speakers and of greater access to economic power and social influence. The Italian peninsula furnishes several examples of the transformation from periods of stable bilingualism to unstable, and surviving epigraphy sometimes allows language changes to be tracked, even if only to a limited extent.[7] In this section I shall look at two bi-version bilingual texts (see p. 15) from Italy in order to show some of the inferences which can be made from epigraphy about the larger linguistic situation, and some of the difficulties in making those inferences.

Some of the best evidence for bilingualism in Italy is available for the non-Indo-European language Etruscan, owing to the large number of Etruscan inscriptions (over 9,000), and the time-span of its attestation, from the eighth to the first century BC; there is also good evidence to suppose that at one period Etruscan was particularly associated with the domain of prophecy and divination. It is likely that there was an early period of stable Etruscan–Latin bilingualism, even though probably restricted to a small number of speakers. The supporting evidence includes: finds of Etruscan inscriptions in Rome and Latium;[8] Roman names and ethnic designations

[6] See, for example, Fishman 1965 on the different domains of Yiddish and English.
[7] Benelli 2001 and Adams 2003 (and more concisely Bispham 2008: 4–6) give recent overviews of the epigraphic evidence for language change and the advance of Latin in Italy.
[8] Colonna 1987, texts in *ET* II 18.

in early Etruscan texts;[9] some anecdotal evidence in later Roman authors (of uncertain value);[10] and the presence of Etruscan loanwords and possibly calques in Latin, which were borrowed into Latin early enough to appear in Plautus and Ennius. However, during the second century BC, with the progressive advance of Roman power through Etruria, bi-version bilingual inscriptions with imperfect Etruscan attest to the shift from Etruscan to Latin.[11]

As already mentioned, Etruscans and the Etruscan language were associated with soothsayers and diviners, particularly with divination through haruspicy and through lightning and thunder.[12] An anecdote related by both Suetonius (*Augustus* 97) and Cassius Dio (56.29) attests that Etruscan soothsayers had some knowledge of the Etruscan language: when they were consulted about a lightning strike which melted off the first letter of the word CAESAR from the inscription on a statute of Augustus, they knew that *ais* (plural *aisar*) was the Etruscan word for 'god'. However, there is also epigraphic evidence to suggest that, by the first century BC, Etruscan was falling out of use even in this domain. The text in question is a famous bi-version bilingual inscription from Pisaurum (Fig. 2.1):[13]

Figure 2.1 Bilingual inscription from Pisaurum (reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca e Musei Oliveriani, Pesaro).

[9] See especially Ampolo 1976–1977.
[10] See Adams 2003: 166–168 for a collection of ancient anecdotal evidence.
[11] See Kaimio 1974; Adams 2003: 169–179; Hadas-Lebel 2004; Penney 2009 for accounts of Etruscan and Latin bilingualism.
[12] The evidence is collected in Thulin 1906–1909 and the principal sources are translated in de Grummond 2006.
[13] This text has been widely discussed, most recently by Wallace 2008: 152–153. An image of the inscription is given at Baldi 2001: 153, who incorrectly ascribes the text to North Picene.

(1) *CIL* I² 2127 = *ET* Um 1.7, Benelli (1994) no. 1

Latin	L · Caf]atius · L · f · Ste · haruspe[x | fulguriator
Etruscan	c]afates · lr · lr · netσvis · trutnvt · frontac

Lucius Cafatius, son of Lucius, of the tribe of Stellatina, haruspex and lightning interpreter.

Pisaurum lies outside the area in which Etruscan is usually found, but comparison with other Etruscan texts makes it clear that the line beneath the Latin text is indeed Etruscan; the word *netσvis* is likely to mean 'soothsayer' and it occurs in Etruscan texts elsewhere. The inscription records the name and profession of a *haruspex* and lightning interpreter, Cafatius. Given his profession, the use of Etruscan is appropriate and it doubtless is intended to underline his proficiency as a soothsayer. However, the Etruscan on the Pisaurum inscription contains oddities in its letter forms and in the spelling conventions in the final two words *trutnvt · frontac*. These words appear to correspond to the Latin *fulguriator*, although it is not clear why the Etruscan uses two words to translate a single Latin term. The word *trutnvt* appears to be paralleled by the word *trutnuθ* on a *cippus* from Tarquinia (*ET* Ta 1.174). By spelling the final syllable *-nvt* rather than *-nuθ*, the stone-cutter seems to have followed the Latin convention of using the same letter for both the consonant *v* and the vowel *u*, although in Etruscan the vowel and consonant are usually represented by separate letters. The spelling of *frontac* is also odd: what is transliterated above as an *o* is a sign in the shape of an incomplete 8 with an open curve rather than a circle at the bottom. This sign occurs nowhere else in extant Etruscan inscriptions, and the native Etruscan alphabet has no letter *o*, using only the vowel signs *a, i, e* and *u*. Even though the meaning and derivation of *frontac* remain obscure, the use of *o* in this word may again be due to Latin influence. Taken together, these inscriptional oddities imply that the Pisaurum text, although erected to commemorate a soothsayer, was commissioned and carved by those who were unsure of the details of the Etruscan language. This may of course be due to the fact that the text was composed outside the usual Etruscan-speaking region, but it could also suggest that, even in the domain of religion, Latin had now partly supplanted Etruscan. The second explanation concurs with other evidence about the demise of Etruscan as a spoken language before the first century AD.[14]

[14] See also Oniga 2003: 44–47 for a collection of ancient testimonia on the survival of Etruscan. Note that Oniga dismisses the idea that the mention of Etruscan at Aulus Gellius II.7.4 implies that the language was still spoken.

The second text under consideration shows Latin used beside Oscan, an Indo-European language, spoken in south-central Italy. The inscription is also of particular interest, since it gives a glimpse of language use among non-elite females. The text is the record of two female workers in a tile-factory, who have left their footprints, and who have signed (or got someone else to sign) their names on a very large roof-tile:[15]

(2) *CIL* 1^2 3556a = *ST* Sa 35

Latin herenneis. amica
signauit. qando
ponebamus. tegila

Amica of Herens left her mark when we were laying out tiles.

Oscan **hn. sattiieís. detfri**
seganatted. plavtad

detfri of Herens Sattiis left her mark with her foot.

The Latin text has several non-standard forms, including the borrowing of an Oscan genitive ending in the name *Herenneis* in place of the expected Latin *Herennis*. The Oscan has no detectable oddities of language, although the meaning of the term **detfri** is uncertain; it may be a personal name or a professional term. The tile bearing the inscription was found at Pietrabbondante, an important Samnite sanctuary where the public inscriptions were all written in Oscan.[16] On its own, this text can tell us little conclusive about language shift and language maintenance in Samnium in this period. On one interpretation, the inscription reflects a situation of stable bilingualism at Pietrabbondante; both Oscan and Latin were available to the two speakers, and they chose to use both languages for the purposes of displaying their individual identities and their pride in their linguistic competence. By another interpretation, the text could show a period of unstable bilingualism, since both Latin and Oscan are used in the same environment, encompassing the workplace and the informal discourse of female workers. In a period when Latin was encroaching on the domains of Oscan, this text could be taken as an example of some of the negotiations of

[15] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 90–92 discusses this text and includes a drawing; Adams 2003: 124–125 and 2007: 159–160 examines specific linguistic points.

[16] There is no reason to follow La Regina (1976: 287) in thinking that the tile was transported there from Venafrum; the cost and effort of transporting large roof-tiles through the rough country of the central Apennines would have been prohibitive (Michael Crawford, pers. comm.).

linguistic identity taking place all over Italy. With hindsight, it is apparent that Latin would eventually supplant Oscan entirely.

Indeed, inscriptional evidence for all 'local languages' (other than Greek in the south) disappears from the Italian peninsula by the end of the first century AD. Ancient testimonia present a similar picture, as is shown by the material collected by James Adams which indicates that there was a change from the first century BC to the first century AD in the way Roman writers referred to Latin.[17] Rather than being seen as the language of Rome and Latium, Latin came to be viewed as the language of all of Italy: for example, Statius (*Siluae* 4.5) contrasts *sermo Poenus*, Punic, with (*sermo*) *Italus*, literally 'Italian', but meaning Latin, rather than any other native language. This may also imply that languages other than Latin (and Greek) were no longer widely spoken, if not completely extinct by the time of Statius.[18] In summary, there is no good reason to believe that there were any surviving stable bilingual communities in Italy by AD 100, other than ones involving speakers of the two imperial languages, Latin and Greek.

3 STABLE AND UNSTABLE BILINGUALISM IN GAUL

In this section I will examine the evidence for the maintenance of the local languages in Gaul, as an example of the language situation in the Western provinces. In southern Gaul there is a rapid disappearance of Gaulish written in Greek script after the Roman conquest,[19] which could be taken to be indicative of a switch to Latin. At the pottery factories of La Graufesenque in the first century AD, records and accounts are kept both in Latin and Gaulish.[20] As in the case of the Samnium roof-tile, this evidence can be interpreted in two different ways. Since there is an evident distinction in the use of Gaulish in texts for internal consumption, and Latin in texts for export, it is possible that the pottery accounts represent a period of stable bilingualism, with the two languages used in different domains. Alternatively, it may be that the insinuation of Latin in all levels of Gaulish society, even among pottery workers, represents the beginning of the end for the local language.

The picture is further complicated by the evidence for the survival of Gaulish beyond the beginning of the second century AD. The secondary evidence for the survival of Gaulish is difficult to judge correctly, since, as has been most recently shown by Alderik Blom, terms such as *lingua Gallica*

[17] Adams 2007: 189–202. [18] See also Oniga 2003: 55–58.
[19] Woolf 1998; Mullen forthcoming. [20] Marichal 1988; Adams 2003: 687–719.

or *lingua Celtica* may refer either to Latin spoken in the province or to the native language.[21] Of the many possible testimonia, I shall discuss just two. First, the much-cited passage of Ulpian which states that the Roman legal process for making provisions for someone who is not directly an heir (termed *fideicommissa*) can be made in languages other than Latin and Greek:[22]

(3) Ulpian, *apud Digest* 32.1.11
fideicommissa quocumque sermone relinqui possunt, non solum Latina uel Graeca, sed etiam Punica uel Gallicana uel alterius cuiuscumque gentis.

Fideicommissa can be left in any language, not just Latin or Greek, but also Punic or Gallican or the language of any other people.

Ulpian is alone in applying the adjective *Gallicanus*, rather than the usual *Gallicus*, to refer to language, although it is unlikely that he means to refer to anything other than Gaulish here.[23] The second example for the survival of Gaulish is taken from a saint's life, which is thought to date from the fifth century, although the saint himself lived at the end of the second century. In this text a language variety, which is referred to as *gallica*, is used within a specific spoken context:[24]

(4) *Vita Sancti Symphoriani Augustodunensis* (text after Thurneysen 1923: 10f.)
uenerabilis mater sua de muro sedula et nota illum uoce Gallica monuit dicens: 'nate, nate Synforiane, †mentobeto to diuo†'

His venerable mother warned him in earnest from the wall saying in familiar Gaulish: 'Son, son, Symphorianus, think of your God!'

The Latinity of the mother's words has recently been carefully analysed by Adams;[25] although all the words are Latin, everything except the verb *mentobeto*, which is Latin *(in) mente(m) habeto* 'keep in mind', could also be Gaulish or show Gaulish influence. The phrases *to diuo* and *nate* seem to show covergence between Latin and Gaulish; the Latin words *diuus* rather than *deus* and *natus* rather than *filius* are selected because they are closer to Gaulish words for 'god' and 'son'. Even if the language is classed as 'Latin', it seems to show the influence of long-term bilingualism with Gaulish.

[21] Blom 2009. [22] Most recently discussed by Blom 2009: 24–25.
[23] See Millar 1993: 294, 2006: 336 for the suggestion that by Punic, Ulpian may refer to the Semitic variety spoken around his home town of Tyre.
[24] The text is cited in Adams 2003: 198, 2007: 302. [25] Adams 2007: 302–303.

Alongside these testimonia for the survival of Gaulish, or a Gallicised Latin, there are also inscriptions in Gaulish attested well beyond AD 100. An example of one of these, text (5), is given below. This text occurs on a decorated spindle-whorl, a small fly-wheel used to regulate the speed of a spindle (Fig. 2.2). This example, like other similar texts, was found in eastern France and is dated to between the third and fourth centuries AD.[26] The inscription on this spindle-whorl is of an erotic nature, as are several of the other known examples, and one possible explanation for the texts is that they were given to women as love-tokens or gifts. Although this example is completely in Gaulish, other spindle-whorls have texts in Latin, a Gallicised Latin or a mixture of Latin and Gaulish. The texts do not seem to be formulaic, and there is nothing to indicate that the Gaulish inscription would not have been understood.

Figure 2.2 Gaulish spindle-whorl (Héron de Villefosse 1914: Fig. 1).

(5) *RIG* II.2 L-120
genet(t)a imi | daga uimpi

I am a good girl, and pretty.

The texts and testimonia from Gaul suggest therefore that Gaulish did survive until late into the Empire, and that some speakers also used a variety of Latin heavily influenced by Gaulish. However, since the evidence

[26] The texts with Gaulish elements are gathered at *RIG* II.2 L-111 to L-122, with drawings of the originals; see also Lambert 2003a: 124–128 and Adams 2003: 196 for discussion. See further Meißner 2009–2010 for discussion of the survival of Gaulish in Trier in the fifth century.

is so meagre, it is difficult to be certain about the nature of the language situation in late antique Gaul. As for the case of Pietrabbondante and La Graufesenque discussed above, the evidence may bear witness to a state of stable bilingualism in some communities, with two languages used side by side in different domains or different sections of the community, or it may be that our scanty textual remains and testimonia are records of the final outposts of Gaulish before a slow incoming tide of Latin. I shall return to this problem after looking briefly at evidence for the late survival of vernacular languages in other provinces of the Roman Empire.

4 VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN THE EASTERN EMPIRE: ANATOLIA

In many other parts of the Roman Empire there is evidence for local languages surviving alongside Latin and Greek well into the second and third centuries AD, to match that given above for Gaulish.[27] I will mention here just a couple of examples, both from Anatolia. There is inscriptional evidence for the survival of Phrygian in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the form of a number of tomb markers using both Greek and Phrygian text.[28] Written testimonia take the story of Phrygian much later, in particular the accounts of the linguistic proficiency of the fifth-century Arian Bishop Selinas as given below:[29]

(6) Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica* (*PG* 67.648)
Γότθος μὲν ἦν ἐκ πατρὸς, Φρὺξ δὲ κατὰ μητέρα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς διαλέκτοις ἑτοίμως κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδίδασκε.

He was a Goth on his father's side, but Phrygian through his mother, and because of this he taught readily in both languages in the Church.

Our current state of knowledge of Phrygian does not allow us to make a clear decision on the question of whether Phrygian was really a living language as late as this date, as some have argued.[30] But it does seem clear that in the third century Phrygian was still 'alive and well', as Claude Brixhe puts it,[31] owing to the existence of bi-version bilingual inscriptions where the Phrygian parts are adapted to correspond to the Greek. It is

[27] See the useful material gathered in MacMullen 1966; Millar 1968; Brunt 1976; Harris 1989: 175–190; Adams 2003 *passim*.
[28] See Haas 1966 for the only modern corpus of texts; see Brixhe 1999 for the need to publish a new corpus, and Drew-Bear, Lubotsky and Üyümez 2008 for recent finds.
[29] Taken from Janse 2002: 350.
[30] Brixhe 1987: 11, see also the comments of Sowa 2008: 71.
[31] Brixhe 2002: 253.

also relevant here to record Brixhe's view that some of the bilingual grave monuments were erected by those who 'belonged to the lower end of the ruling class'.[32]

Our evidence for Galatian as a spoken language of Anatolia is even less concrete, since it is limited to testimonia (including (7) and (8) below).[33] There is no surviving inscriptional text in Galatian. However, the evidence of place names can give support to Jerome's conclusion (cited below) that the language of the Galatians was a Celtic language not far removed from the Gaulish spoken at Trier in his day:[34]

(7) Jerome, *Commentary on Galatians* 2 (*PL* 26.357)[35]
unum est quod inferimus, et promissum in exordio reddimus, Galatas excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treuiros, nec referre, si aliqua exinde corruperint, cum et Aphri Phoenicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutauerint, et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore.

There is one further observation to make, to discharge our promise in the exordium: leaving aside Greek, which all the East speaks, the Galatians have their own language, which is almost the same as that which the Treviri speak, and it is of no consequence that they have corrupted it in some way, since even the Afri have partly changed the Phoenician language, and Latin itself changes constantly according to region and through time.

A second testimonium for the late survival of Galatian appears in the *Life of Saint Euthymius*, who died in AD 487, but whose life was composed over fifty years later when the author, Cyril of Scythopolis, stayed at his monastery. One of the miracles of Saint Euthymius was to cure a monk who had been possessed by the devil and struck dumb. The life recounts that after Saint Euthymius' intervention the monk could speak, but at first only in Galatian:

(8) Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Euthymii* 55
εἰ δὲ πάνυ ἐβιάζετο, Γαλατιστὶ ἐφθέγγετο.

If he was absolutely forced to, he spoke in Galatian.

[32] Brixhe 2002: 254.
[33] See Luján 2005c on place names and Mitchell 1993: 1 50–51 for further testimonia and discussion of the evidence for the late survival of Galatian.
[34] See Adams 2007: 116 n. 2 for an illuminating discussion of the significance of this passage for our knowledge of diachronic and diatopic variation in the ancient world.
[35] The spelling of the text given here follows Migne's edition in *PL*.

It may be worth pointing out that although this is generally accepted as evidence for the late survival of Galatian, the *Life* does not specify that the afflicted monk was able to communicate with anyone, and it is possible that he spoke gibberish and that this was interpreted as Galatian by those present, none of whom were proficient in the language.

5 VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN THE EASTERN EMPIRE: STABLE BILINGUALISM IN SYRIA AND EGYPT

There is therefore an accumulation of evidence about the late survival of vernacular languages across the Roman Empire. To be sure, some of the evidence is questionable or doubtful, but some remains incontrovertible. How is this evidence best explained? One attempt was made by Ramsay MacMullen, in a famous paper published in 1966. Starting from the passage of Ulpian cited in (3) above, MacMullen was of the opinion that after the advent of Roman rule the local vernaculars were situated in socially or geographically isolated pockets of the Empire: the rural population of the countryside were largely monolingual in the local vernacular, but urban dwellers and upper classes were proficient in Latin or Greek. As wealth and power gradually trickled down and out to the country from the towns, renewed local confidence, coupled with the spread of the Christian religion, led to the expansion of literacy in local vernaculars, and to the creation of a new regional identity centred around language: 'a positive counter-attack' as he puts it 'by two or three minority languages towards the close of the second century, demonstrating the height of its strength by the end of the fourth'.[36] In this way, MacMullen accounts for the apparent resurgence in local languages, as demonstrated by the cases of Gaulish and Phrygian discussed above.

I suggest that the weak point of this model is that it takes insufficient account of bilingualism. MacMullen sees bilingualism as 'common, then as now, in cities like Beirut, Alexandria, or Marseilles',[37] but his provincial counter-attack comes by implication from the monolingual provincials. It seems to me difficult to square this position with much of the evidence for vernacular languages, which are attested either alongside Latin or Greek (e.g. the Gaulish spindle-whorls, and the mixed language of the mother of Symphorianus), or in bi-version bilingual inscriptions (as the Phrygian gravestones), or in testimonia which presuppose bilingual speakers (examples (6) and (8)). Indeed, in the two areas of the Empire where we have

[36] MacMullen 1966: 13. [37] MacMullen 1966: 1.

probably the greatest amount of surviving information about vernacular language use, Syria–Palestine and Egypt, it seems that, for much of the population, some degree of bi- or multilingualism was the norm.[38]

There is no need for a lengthy discussion of the language situation in Syria–Palestine here. Issues of language use and bilingualism in this area have been explored in a number of studies.[39] It is clear that, in some cases, languages are important in private or civic identity: the city of Palmyra, for example, makes use of Latin, Greek and Palmyrene in its epigraphy,[40] and Palmyrenes who served in the Roman army left inscriptions in both Latin and Palmyrene as far abroad as Britain.[41] However, the link between language, religion and identity is very rarely as clear-cut as MacMullen thought in his 1966 paper.[42] The early Church in the Near East uses both Greek and Syriac/Aramaic, and there is no direct correlation between local language and anti-imperial sentiment. Although members of the Greek-speaking elite may not have had any knowledge of the vernaculars, many of those who spoke Semitic varieties as their first language would have also been proficient in Greek.

In Egypt, the wealth of surviving documentary material gives a clearer picture of the extent of bilingualism. Here too we have ample evidence for the local language in the form of Coptic, surviving in papyri, parchment and, later, paper documents from the fourth century AD to the Middle Ages.[43] Most of the published Coptic material we have from the Roman period comes from monastic settings, but that does not mean we should follow MacMullen or Keith Hopkins in thinking that 'Coptic represents a cultural resistance of native Egyptian against the dominance of Greek speakers and writers'.[44] As Roger Bagnall has demonstrated,[45] the documentary evidence clearly shows that in Coptic churches and monastic communities Coptic and Greek were used side by side and Greek was also used in rural communities. Even the usual assumption that Coptic was absent from Greek-speaking urban areas needs to be revised in the light of Sarah Clackson 2007, where it is revealed that there are over 400 unpublished Coptic texts from Oxyrhynchus. In Egypt, as in other areas of

[38] See Papaconstantinou, this volume, for a discussion of the linguistic complexity of these areas after the Arab conquest.
[39] See Millar 1993, 2008; Taylor 2002; and the papers collected in Millar 2006.
[40] See Millar 1993: 320–336; Kaizer 2002: 27–44 and Taylor 2002: 317–324 on language use in Palmyra.
[41] See Mullen, this volume, and Adams 2003: 248–260.
[42] MacMullen 1966: 13–14. For more recent work on the links between language and religious affiliations in the Roman Near East, see Millar 1971, 1998; Belayche 2009; and Kaizer 2009.
[43] See Fournet 2009: 430–445 for a recent survey of Coptic papyrology and its relation to Greek.
[44] Hopkins 1991: 146–147. [45] Bagnall 1993: 230–260.

the ancient world, the practice of separating out Latin and Greek material from the 'other' texts, both in publications and in museum deposits, has led to the disregard and even loss of the documents not written in a classical language.[46] The bulk of surviving Coptic material comes from the sixth century and later, but the language itself reveals the degree of integration between Coptic and Greek speakers over a long period of time. One only has to consider the amount of loanwords from Greek into Coptic (those found in published texts are collected by Hans Förster 2002) to realise the extent of bilingualism. Förster's work includes over 900 pages of loans from Greek into Coptic, including vocabulary at all levels of language, including pronouns, particles and verbs. Although there is evidence for learned borrowing of Greek vocabulary in Coptic, such as the poetical and technical words included in the Greek–Coptic glossary of the sixth century poet, notary and γραμματικός Dioscorus of Aphrodito,[47] the majority of Greek words which appear in Coptic documentary texts are borrowings from the everyday, spoken language.[48]

The situation in the Roman Near East and Egypt therefore suggests a picture of language use contrary to that suggested by MacMullen. Rather than a monolingual countryside, with some bilingual speakers resident in towns and cities, it seems that there was stable bilingualism in the countryside, where local languages were used alongside Latin and Greek, and the bulk of the monolingual speakers were urban dwellers, proficient in Latin or Greek (or both) but often not in the local vernaculars. Doubtless there were also speakers of local languages with some social status who were less proficient in the imperial languages, as may perhaps be suggested by the statement of Ulpian about the use of vernaculars for *fideicommissa*. Naturally, it is a big step to extend our conclusions from some parts of the Empire to the whole of the Mediterranean, and there were undoubtedly variations over space and time. Local languages survived the end of Roman rule in Syria, Palestine and Egypt in a way that they did not in the Western Empire nor probably in Asia Minor.[49] However, as is well put by Fergus Millar, 'if our scattered evidence can be made significant at all, it is only by comparison between areas'.[50] I consequently suggest that the model of language use in Egypt and Syria seems appropriate for the rest of the

[46] See Clackson 2004 for some examples of the treatment of bilingual Coptic and Greek archives. See also Mullen, this volume, for the problem more generally.
[47] Bell and Crum 1925; on Dioscorus as a γραμματικός, see Fournet 1999: 688–689.
[48] Förster 2002: xv.
[49] Syriac still survives in some communities in Syria, but most educated Coptic speakers had probably shifted to Arabic by around 1300, see Richter 2009: 419 and Papaconstantinou, this volume.
[50] Millar 1993: 234.

Empire, for at least some periods of Roman rule: vernacular languages were used alongside Latin or Greek in the countryside, and probably also in towns, in situations of stable bilingualism. In the remaining sections I will extend the argument, and see if the model of Egyptian bilingualism can be used to elucidate the domains of language use in the rest of the Empire.

6 DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE IN EGYPT

If there was some degree of stable bilingualism in the provinces of the Roman Empire, the next question is: what were the social uses of the vernacular language and Latin and Greek? In what ways did communities maintain the local language in the face of the gradual advance of Latin and Greek? I think here again we can examine the copious sub-literary evidence from Egypt in order to try to build up a more nuanced picture, and compare that with the more fragmentary evidence from the rest of the Mediterranean basin. I repeat the caveats from the end of the last section again here: we must be wary of projecting the same situation in Egypt in the sixth century to, for example, Gaul in the third century, but, even so, Egypt in late antiquity does give us a social and administrative picture far closer to the rest of the Roman Empire than anything else we have. As has been noted above, the use of Coptic is exceptional in Egypt, in that it continued to be spoken beyond the Roman Empire, and even beyond the Arab invasion of the seventh century. However, the survival of Coptic is in itself due to particular factors which are not repeated elsewhere in the Roman Empire: the early spread of monasticism and the continued presence and expansion of monasteries as centres of production and distribution of food and goods after the end of Roman rule.[51]

Let us now examine whether the Coptic texts can tell us anything about the domains of use of Coptic and Greek.[52] Clearly there are a number of issues which can be explored in this area, but one which does seem to recur in different sorts of material at different times is the prevalence of Coptic used, when there is a choice of languages, in texts written by or to women.

Take first the archive of women's letters from Egypt collected by Bagnall and Rafaella Cribiore (2006). It is striking that in this collection of material, '[w]omen simply disappear as writers of letters in Greek after the fourth century'.[53] In the period before the end of the fourth century we have

[51] Bagnall 1993: 293–297.

[52] Latin was only ever used by a small segment of the society in Egypt, see Adams 2003: 526–641 and Fournet 2009: 421–430.

[53] Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 19.

Table 2.1 *Letters found at Kellis sorted by gender and language*

	From women, addressed to men, women or uncertain	From men, addressed to women	From men, addressed to men	Fragmentary (addressee and author uncertain)	Total
Coptic	5	13	12	5	35
Greek	0	2	26	4	32

surviving evidence for women's letters in both Greek and Coptic, but in this period the question of language choice is skewed by the circumstances of Coptic literacy. Coptic only develops as a written language (apart from some early experiments of writing the Egyptian language in Greek) in the fourth century, and in the first hundred years of its use is restricted largely to monastic settlements.[54] After the fourth century, Coptic spreads to contexts other than the monastic. It seems therefore from Bagnall and Cribiore's evidence that, when women had a choice between Greek and Coptic, they chose to write in Coptic.

Bagnall and Cribiore's evidence can be expanded by considering in detail the language use of a fourth-century bilingual community in Egypt, where both Coptic and Greek are used as written languages and which is not a monastic setting. This is the village of Kellis, in the Dakhleh Oasis in the Western Desert, where Greek, Coptic and Syriac documents have been found in excavations since 1978, many of them associated with a Manichaean community who lived in the village.[55] Both Greek and Coptic are used at Kellis in letters between members of the community. In Table 2.1 I give figures for the numbers of letters found in Kellis sorted according to language and gender.[56]

As these figures show, women use Coptic in all cases where they are the author of a text, and men writing to women generally use Coptic. Coptic is clearly used in domains other than those in which women are present, since men also use Coptic when writing to men at Kellis, and there are thousands of other Coptic documents from later periods in the rest of Egypt where Coptic is used by men in purely male environments. But where we find both Coptic and Greek used at the same site or in the same

[54] Bagnall 1993: 240. [55] Bagnall and Rathbone 2004: 262–267.

[56] In this table I have included letters published in Worp 1995, 2004 and Gardner, Alcock and Funk 1999. I have not separated out column 1 by addressee owing to the small numbers involved.

archive, with roughly equal numbers of documents in both languages, it does seem that a recurring pattern is the preference for Coptic in documents written by, or addressed to, women. Sarah Clackson (1995) adduces further evidence of this pattern in the bilingual sixth-century archive of the boatman Patermouthis and his wife Kako from Syene: where Kako acts alone, she uses Coptic. Clackson also mentions the existence of yet more examples from unpublished Coptic texts from Oxyrhynchus.[57] Sometimes the evidence is explicit, for example *P.Münch.* 1.13.71, a late sixth-century sale contract from the Patermouthis Archive, which is signed by two women with Egyptian names who declare that they approve the text 'after it has been read to us and translated into Egyptian'.[58] Bagnall and Cribiore sum up the Egyptian case well, and it is worth repeating their remarks in full here:

> Women's preference for Coptic may be rooted in the fact that men operated extensively in the public world, where Greek was in late antiquity still the language of administration, power, commerce and the world at large. Women's lives were, though by no means confined to the home, much more defined by the domestic world, where Egyptian was at least on a par with Greek and perhaps dominant. The male/female, outside/inside, public/private binary opposition should not be pushed too far.[59]

7 A SOCIOLINGUISTIC MODEL FOR THE ROMAN EMPIRE?

It is, of course, no surprise that one of the domains of language use in bilingual or multilingual communities is centred on male and female language use. As David Langslow has pointed out in his programmatic discussion of bilingualism in the ancient world, the role of women in maintaining local languages against the language of colonialism or imperialism or state-imposed languages is well documented in a number of modern studies.[60] One example, not mentioned by Langslow, will suffice to illustrate: in Thessaloniki only women are fluent speakers of the variety of Romani known as Finikas Romani or Finikas Romika, men use a mixed code of Greek with inserted Romani words or phrases as a secret language.[61] However, as noted by Langslow, the opposite situation is also found, where women are at the forefront of language or dialectal change. Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet cite several instances from studies of modern

[57] Clackson 2007: 339–340. [58] Fournet 2009: 445. [59] Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 21.
[60] Langslow 2002: 28. [61] Matras 2002: 245–246; Sechidou 2005.

bilingual or bi-dialectal communities where women have been the innovators in switching to the variety associated with administration, commerce and power while men have not.[62] The example of language choice in the Austrian village of Oberwart is instructive.[63] In this community Hungarian is the language associated with agriculture and the peasantry, and German (the standard language of Austria) is linked with factory or commercial work. Since the Second World War women have sought marriage to those employed as 'workers' rather than 'peasants' (to use Gal's terms) and have themselves looked for employment outside farms. Their choice for a less labour-intensive and more modern life-style has also led to a choice to use German over Hungarian, even among those whose social networks are more linked to the peasants than the workers.

The language situation in Coptic Egypt is therefore at odds with that of modern Oberwart; which model is more appropriate to the rest of the ancient world? The social dynamics of Oberwart, and indeed of the other modern societies where women are at the forefront of language shift, are very different from those of antiquity. Industrialisation and modern social changes have led to the availability of choices for women, both in terms of their employment and in their marriage partners; these choices did not exist for the vast majority of women in the ancient world. This may suggest that the Oberwart model is inappropriate for ancient societies, and indeed some of the ancient testimonia on the speech of women can be taken to show that they were conservative in their language choices.[64] Both Plato (*Cratylus* 418b–d) and Cicero (*De oratore* 3.45–46) explicitly state that women preserve older linguistic forms in their speech.

However, the examples for female conservatism which are given in Plato's *Cratylus* are problematic. In this dialogue, Socrates is represented as giving a number of etymologies for Greek words; the evidence of women's pronunciation is adduced in order to support some of these etymologies. Socrates says that Greeks of an earlier time, and women of his day, tend to use <ι> for <η> or <ει> and <δ> for <ζ>, so that they say ἱμέρα in place of ἡμέρα 'day'. However, neither Plato nor Socrates had access to the historical development of Greek and these pronunciation differences are in fact not archaisms but innovations in respect of standard Attic.[65] Alan

[62] Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 284–286.
[63] Following the work of Gal 1979, well summarised in Gal 1978.
[64] Some of the ancient testimonia for 'female speech' are collected in Gilleland 1980. Since then there has been much work on male and female speech habits in the ancient world, see the surveys of Fögen 2004 and 2010 (noting also Adams 2005).
[65] As Sommerstein 1995: 83 pointed out.

Sommerstein understood the variant pronunciations of Athenian women to be low prestige forms, borrowed from the neighbouring Boeotian dialect, but Andreas Willi, discussing the same forms, sees them as evidence that Athenian women were in fact employing the more socially prestigious linguistic innovations of their day.[66] Indeed Willi interprets the behaviour of the women of fifth-century Athens through the model of the language situations in modern communities where women upgrade their language, such as in the Oberwart case and others, and is happy to see the same factors at work in ancient and modern societies. Perhaps this debate shows more than anything the difficulty of applying different sociolinguistic models to the scanty ancient evidence, and the possibility of a number of varying interpretations of the evidence. Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that a single model need apply across the ancient world. It may well be that the dynamics of female dialectal choices in the urban setting of ancient Athens were very different from those of language choice in the provinces of the Roman Empire, particularly in non-urban areas. Hence, if Willi is right to see the women of Athens as linguistic innovators (and this is not certain), this need not necessarily be an argument against applying the model from the Egyptian case across the Roman provinces more generally. In the remainder of this section, I shall re-examine the evidence from the Roman provinces already discussed, to see whether there is any support for the notion that maintenance of the local language was in any degree associated with gender.

The evidence as we have it does not allow a definite answer to this question, since we have so little epigraphical or literary remains written by women, and what we do have is most likely mediated in some way by a male scribe or a male environment; no one can doubt Harris' presumption that 'notably fewer women than men will have been literate' in the ancient world.[67] When women could write, their chances of being able to write in the local vernacular were even smaller. Even when we have texts which appear to represent the authentic female voice, as in the roof-tile cited in (2), we cannot be sure that this was not written for the women named in it by a literate male, or literate males.

However, despite these caveats, we do find that in a small, but significant, number of cases where we have inscriptions in local languages, or information about the language of women, the sex of the author or the addressee of an inscription corresponds well to language choice. Consider again the

[66] Willi 2003: 160–162. [67] Harris 1989: 24.

Gaulish evidence given in examples (4) and (5). The first repeats the non-standard Latin (or broken Gaulish) of the mother of Symphorianus, and the inscribed spindle-whorls clearly belong in the female, domestic, sphere, and, if they are indeed love-tokens, are addressed directly to female recipients. We can note also the presence of women as donors of bi-version bilingual Phrygian–Greek inscriptions.[68] Other testimonia can be found to lend support to the theory of women as preservers of the local language elsewhere in the Empire. For example, the story of the emperor Septimius Severus, who had to send his sister back to Africa over embarrassment about her linguistic competence:[69]

(9) *Historia Augusta Septimius Seuerus* 15.7
cum soror sua Leptitana ad eum uenisset uix Latine loquens, ac de illa multum imperator erubesceret, dato filio eius lato clauo atque ipsi multis muneribus redire mulierem in patriam praecepit.

Since his sister Leptitana came to him scarcely able to speak (good) Latin, and the emperor was very embarrassed about her, he sent her back to Africa, after giving her son senatorial rank and many gifts to her.

These scattered testimonia are of course suggestive rather than conclusive, and in different regions the maintenance of language in other domains may have been as important or more important than language use by females. In Gaul, it seems clear that religion and magic also formed a domain which was sometimes associated with the Gaulish language, as attested by the epigraphical remains and some material in the manuscript tradition, such as the charms containing Gaulish elements preserved in Marcellus of Bordeaux.[70] Some testimonia attest to the involvement of women with local cults using the Gaulish language, as in the following source for the life of the third-century emperor Severus Alexander:[71]

(10) *Historia Augusta Seuerus Alexander* 60.6
mulier Druias eunti exclamauit Gallico sermone: uadas nec uictoriam speres nec te militi tuo credas.

A female druid cried out to him in Gaulish as he left [for war]: 'Go, but have no hope of victory, nor trust yourself to your soldiers.'

[68] As does Brixhe 2002: 254. [69] Cited by Adams 2003: 237.
[70] See the discussion and reproduction of magical materials in Gaulish in Lambert 2003a: 151–180, and Meid and Anreiter 2005; Blom 2010 on the material in Marcellus of Bordeaux.
[71] The citation is taken from Blom 2009: 24; the so-called *Historia Augusta* is probably a late fourth-century composition.

Even if the scattered evidence from the Roman Empire outside of Egypt is understood to reflect situations of unstable rather than stable bilingualism, the retention of two languages among female speakers, or the representation of female speakers using moribund vernaculars, may still be significant. There are some texts from the Italian peninsula during the period of language shift to Latin that associate female speakers with the local language. It is not necessary to mention the Pietrabbondante roof-tile again; there is ample evidence from elsewhere in Italy. First, the only Umbrian–Latin bi-version bilingual text so far discovered is the inscription of a woman's name, in both Latin and Umbrian, on a cooking pot without clear provenance:

(11) *ST* Um 38

Umbrian	**numesier. uarea. folenia**
Latin	nomesi uarea

Varia (Folenia), wife of Nomesius.

In this text the Umbrian version of the woman's name is longer, since Umbrian, like other Italic languages and Etruscan, used female *praenomina*, which were absent from Roman names.[72] Although the date of this inscription is uncertain, it is suggestive that here again we find a bilingual inscription associated with a female speaker. In other areas of Italy, the association of texts in vernacular languages with females is repeated: twenty-one of the surviving corpus of fifty-nine Paelignian inscriptions have a female dedicator or mark the grave of a female (including several of the priestesses of Ceres), and the longest and finest-carved of all the Paelignian inscriptions, *ST* Pg 9, is set up in honour of a departed priestess. In the corpus of Venetic inscriptions (gathered in Lejeune 1974), women are scarcely recorded at all in the material before 150 BC,[73] but later, and in the material in 'Veneto-Latin', women become the object of grave inscriptions and occur as dedicators of objects on their own. Indeed, all of the inscribed writing styluses dedicated to the goddess Reitia at the sanctuary at Baratella (near Este) are the gifts of women.[74] In all of these cases, female participants and the vernacular language are associated together in

[72] Rix 1995: 726.

[73] Except for four inscriptions on stone, two of which were found in archaeological contexts which put them at an earlier date (Lejeune 1974: 58).

[74] Inscriptions 21–43 in Lejeune 1974: 204–209. Note that in some of these the name of the dedicator is not legible. I am grateful to David Langslow for suggesting I look at the presence of women in the Venetic material.

the area of local cult or religious practice, again highlighting a possible overlap between women's linguistic and cultic activity.

8 CONCLUSION

In such a wide-ranging survey as this it is impossible to make any hard and fast claims about the linguistic situation over the time and expanse of the Roman Empire. However, I hope to have shown that comparing some of the scattered evidence for the maintenance of vernacular languages under Roman dominance can be suggestive and illuminating. In particular, the examination of one of the domains of language use among Coptic and Greek speakers in late antique Egypt is enlightening. The Egyptian situation, where some women tend to prefer the vernacular to Greek at some times and in some places, chimes well with other more superficial evidence for the maintenance of vernaculars from elsewhere in the Empire, and it should alert us to gender as one of the potentially important factors in language conservation and language shift.

CHAPTER 3

Why did Coptic fail where Aramaic succeeded? Linguistic developments in Egypt and the Near East after the Arab conquest

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In 2003 David Wasserstein published in *Scripta Classica Israelica* an article entitled 'Why did Arabic succeed where Greek failed? Language change in the Near East after Muhammad', wherein he addressed the very intriguing question of why Arabic, within a relatively short period after its arrival in the area as a language of power, succeeded in penetrating all levels of society, reaching much deeper than Greek ever had, despite its uninterrupted more-than-millenary presence in the region. A year later, the same journal published an article by Robert Hoyland with the title 'Language and identity: the twin histories of Arabic and Aramaic (and: Why did Aramaic succeed where Greek failed?)'. Engaging directly with Wasserstein's article, Hoyland questions the rapidity and totality of the success of Arabic, noting in particular that although Greek was indeed ousted from the Near East, Aramaic firmly held its ground. He thus shifts the focus to the reasons why Greek was less fortunate than Aramaic in the area.

Strikingly, even though the two authors have different views on a number of points, there is one on which they agree: Greek *failed*. For both, this failure is understood in comparative terms, in relation to another language considered as having similar sociolinguistic characteristics or similar claims to 'success'. Wasserstein's pair of languages is probably the most pertinent, since in many parts of the Near East the two languages had very similar functions. Indeed, like Greek, Arabic was imposed in the area through conquest, and it was established as a *Reichssprache*, spoken by rulers and by those who associated with them, as well as by administrators; but unlike Greek, Arabic 'filtered down to virtually all sectors of the population', eventually becoming the exclusive language of speech and reducing the local languages to the margins at best.[1] On the face of it, the parallel with

[1] Wasserstein 2003: 265–267.

Aramaic is more slippery, especially as Greek is precisely presented here as a lingua franca rather than the equivalent of Aramaic in any way. Greek was not, we are told, 'felt to be the particular language of any cohesive social group'.[2]

In this view, one of the reasons for the failure of Greek is that, during its long and distinguished presence in the Near East, it was all at once a language of culture, a language of power and a lingua franca, but never a widespread mother tongue, and never a language conveying a sense of ethnicity. It failed to achieve low status and failed to become the first language of a group by replacing the language that group had previously spoken. In other words, Greek remained a High language in a world of pervasive extended diglossia. This verdict, unsurprisingly, comes from Semiticists.[3] One suspects that some Classicists might interpret this as the *success* of Greek, not its failure, as it is precisely the lack of specific affiliation with a given ethnic or religious group that has sustained its continued universality beyond immediate political contingencies.

Other Classicists, however, will contest this fact altogether. Thus, according to Glen Bowersock and Fergus Millar, Greek was well embedded at all levels of society, and was the exclusive or first language of a number of groups in Roman cities of the Near East.[4] What for the Near East remains difficult to establish because of the nature of the evidence – learned texts and inscriptions do not give straightforward access to what was actually spoken – can be argued more convincingly for Egypt, whose papyri come from a much wider range of linguistic contexts, some very relevant to everyday situations. Roger Bagnall has insisted on its ubiquity in Egypt, where low-quality Greek is regularly found in written form even in rural contexts, indicating that it had gone down well below the level of 'language of culture'.[5] Raffaella Cribiore's studies of Greek education in Egypt also involve individuals who are not affluent, Hellenised city-dwellers.[6]

Greek did indeed drastically diminish on the Near Eastern and Egyptian scenes after the Arab conquest, and this is generally seen as corroborating the hypothesis that it functioned mainly as a second language and a *Reichssprache*, and was rendered useless in both cases through its replacement by Arabic. However, Greek did not entirely disappear, and certainly

[2] Hoyland 2004: 191–192.

[3] Donner expresses the same idea in his account of the Arab conquest: 'Among the great masses in Syria who could neither read nor write, Hellenism had sent down only very shallow roots before striking the solid Semitic bedrock' (1981: 94).

[4] See especially Bowersock 1990; Millar 2008.

[5] Bagnall 1993: 240–260, 2011: 75–94; see also Fournet 1999; Sidarus 2007.

[6] Cribiore 1996, 1999, 2001.

not as a High language, which according to that hypothesis is all it ever was in the first place. Averil Cameron's survey of its presence in the area after the Arab conquest makes this abundantly clear.[7] Greek remained present in the Melkite Churches of Jerusalem and Alexandria throughout the Middle Ages, and was even used by members of the non-Melkite Church in some cases, especially when they needed to communicate outside the boundaries of their own flocks.[8] Trilingual Greek–Coptic–Arabic lexica were still produced in Egypt in the fifteenth century.[9] Presumably it was also in use among merchants dealing with Byzantium, for example those whose documents were found in the Cairo Geniza.

Saying that Greek failed is a rhetorical way to make a slightly provocative statement. Greek did not *fail*: its use in the Near East receded, for reasons that are still not entirely understood, and are beyond the scope of this chapter. If one language *did* fail in the area, it is Egyptian – or Coptic. The epigone of an extremely ancient and highly prestigious royal language, it started slowly but steadily to be abandoned by its speakers in favour of Arabic from the tenth century onwards, and became totally extinct at some point in the later Middle Ages.[10] How could a language which was so powerful a vector of cultural identity become entirely obsolete, especially within an imperial framework that tended to favour the formation of relatively autonomous self-governing communities? The two articles with which I began each address aspects of this question, insofar as the success of Arabic is directly linked to the demise of Coptic, and the success of Aramaic is a foil against which the failure of Coptic might be better understood, by helping us bring to the fore the distinctive features of the Egyptian case.

At the outset, the situation of Aramaic and Coptic was similar: they were the local spoken languages of the area's Christian population, were used by ecclesiastical authors in their writings, and as time went by, especially from the late fifth century onwards, they were also more and more present in epigraphy and in documents. Geographically, the areas where they were most prevalent were also the two strongholds of resistance to the Council of Chalcedon, and thus both Aramaic (especially its northern dialect Syriac) and Coptic have been generally considered to be languages of the non-Chalcedonian Churches. Even though a one-to-one correspondence between a given Church and a given language is not only questionable but totally inaccurate, the relation between the non-Chalcedonian Church and Syriac or Coptic was symbolically important among the speakers of both languages. Despite those points of convergence, however, after the arrival

[7] Cameron 1997. [8] MacCoull 1990.
[9] These are the as yet little-studied 'scalae'; see Sidarus 1978 and 2000, with references.
[10] See Zaborowski 2008; Richter 2009.

of the Arabs the two languages knew very different trajectories. Aramaic continued to expand, participated in the intellectual life of the Caliphate, and in derived forms continues to be spoken to this day. At the same time, Christians in the Near East had begun using Arabic from the end of the eighth century, and Arabic speakers had been present even before the conquests. Coptic, on the contrary, remained the sole written language of Egyptian Christians until the tenth century, while Arabic was only used in administrative and some legal dealings. In the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, however, Coptic was abandoned as a learned/literary language, a few antiquarian exceptions notwithstanding.[11] When it fell into disuse as a spoken language is more difficult to assess, but there are, as we shall see, clear signs that in the tenth century the shift had already started.[12]

Attempts have of course been made to explain the demise of Coptic. Some remain unsatisfactory because ultimately they are more concerned with why Arabic was adopted than why Coptic was abandoned. Yet even though Arabic was successful everywhere as Wasserstein shows, only in Egypt did it entirely replace the local language. Most often the languages that came into contact with it continued to be used, as Egyptian had been used for a thousand years alongside Greek. It is important in this matter to distinguish between two different, if interrelated, questions. One, generally well analysed, is that of the success of Arabic among the conquered populations; the other is why one of the languages spoken previously by the conquered populations, Coptic, was eventually totally abandoned by its native speakers, contrary to Aramaic, Berber or Persian.

This distinction has not hitherto been made. The only two articles devoted entirely to the question were written more than twenty years ago by the Copticist Leslie MacCoull.[13] Her approach is very passionate and emotional and she essentially presents us with an indictment of Muslim domination over Eastern Christians. Even so, she sees the disuse of Coptic as the result both of a forced shift and of an internal lack of vitality, thus combining one external and one internal factor. In strong language, especially in the second article, MacCoull claims that Coptic culture 'lost touch with [its] past' because of its 'anti-intellectual stance' and its 'devaluation of learning'.[14] Despite some important insights, MacCoull's approach to the subject was not analytical and systematic. Perhaps the most problematic point is the fact that she directly equates language and culture. Thus instead of investigating why the culture of Egyptian Christians found in Arabic a

[11] See Richter 2009: 419–421. [12] Papaconstantinou 2007: 295–297, and below, pp. 66–70.
[13] MacCoull 1985, 1989. [14] MacCoull 1989: 35.

better vehicle of expression than it did in Coptic, she simply declares that 'Coptic culture . . . self-destructed'.[15]

The shift to Arabic in the territories of the Islamic Empire is usually associated with conversion to Islam. This is of course true to a large extent, but not entirely, since in Iran, for instance, conversion did not entail Arabicisation. The question investigated here, however, is the shift to Arabic of populations that did *not* convert to Islam. Even in the very subtle analysis by Christian Décobert, who distinguishes carefully between the two phenomena of Islamisation and Arabicisation, the link between the two is maintained, as the author concludes that the latter is the first step to the former.[16]

Recently Tonio Sebastian Richter gave a survey of the main evidence for the last phases of Coptic, including material on the influx of Arabic loanwords in some written texts. From the analysis of those loanwords he suggests that it was the prestige of Arabic material and scientific culture that attracted the Egyptians and incited them to abandon their language.[17]

All in all, one remains dissatisfied with the state of research to date on the extinction of Coptic, even though many important points have been raised. Interestingly, although most accounts of language extinction today put emphasis on economic interpretations, such hypotheses have never been advanced for the Coptic language. Neither has the phenomenon of its extinction been set against the wider background of the Islamic Empire and of similar situations elsewhere in that Empire.[18] In this chapter I would like to suggest some new avenues for the study of this question, and highlight the importance, firstly, of a comparative approach and, secondly, of a larger historical understanding of the society wherein language change takes place. A full study cannot be undertaken here, but an initial approach will be attempted.

Considering the similarities outlined above between Coptic and Aramaic, it is surprising that their fates have never been compared. To a large extent, this is, as often, the result of academic specialities that do not meet, since Aramaic is studied in departments of Semitic Studies, and Coptic in departments of Egyptology, so that their common aspects as vectors of Eastern Christian cultures are not brought out. I shall begin by reviewing the reasons given by Hoyland for the persistence of Aramaic under Arab rule, and discuss how they do or do not apply to Coptic, and shall then suggest a number of other factors that must be taken into account.

[15] MacCoull 1989: 35. [16] Décobert 1992. [17] Richter 2009.
[18] See Clackson, this volume, for a study of shift and maintenance across the Mediterranean in the Roman Empire.

The first point made by Hoyland concerns the relation between Aramaic and Greek. Contrary to Greek, Aramaic was a language that was identified with a given social group and understood as its mother tongue. It was the spoken language of a great part of the population, while Greek was probably a lingua franca more than anything else, albeit with a very strong presence. The fact that there were so many translations from Greek into Oriental languages speaks for this hypothesis, as does the swift abandonment of Greek after the conquest.[19] The situation described by Hoyland can also be observed in Egypt, although it is not necessarily accurate as far as Greek is concerned for either of the two countries. In Egypt at least, Greek seems to have been widely spoken, and there clearly were Greek monolinguals, who did, however, identify themselves as Egyptians and remained in the country after the Arab conquest. It is much more difficult to demonstrate the presence of such speakers in Syria, where there are no papyri to document them, but it seems difficult to believe they did not exist. If indeed they did not (which I do not think was the case), it would point to an important difference between Egypt and Syria as it would mean that societal bilingualism was better rooted in the former than in the latter.

Another reason given for the steadfastness of Aramaic in relation to Greek is that the Syrian Church 'came to terms with Islamic rule more easily than did the Greek Church',[20] presumably in this way reinforcing the use of their language as the main Christian language in Syria. The role of the Church was certainly essential in shaping the way Christian communities evolved in the Caliphate. Yet such a statement raises a number of questions, for example, why it is that of the two Churches in Syria, it was the one that was closest to the new rulers that should be the one that retained its own language, while the Chalcedonian Church, even though doctrinally and politically attached to Byzantium, should have been the first to switch to Arabic. The answer lies partly in the fact that this view is largely a later construct. In Syria, like in Egypt, the historiography of the non-Chalcedonian Church strives *ex post facto* to claim that they were the favoured interlocutors of the Arabs, as opposed to the Romans/Chalcedonians, who were also political enemies of the Caliphate and thus not to be trusted. In practice both non-Chalcedonians and Chalcedonians were trying to secure this favoured place in the initial phases of Arab rule. It seems that in Egypt, like in Syria, the Chalcedonians were the first to adopt Arabic as their official language: the earliest Christian work in Arabic in Egypt is indeed a long *Chronicle* by Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq (877–940), otherwise known as Eutychios,

[19] Hoyland 2004: 192. See also, for this view, Brock 1994 and Taylor 2002.

[20] Hoyland 2004: 193.

the Melkite (Chalcedonian) Patriarch of Alexandria in the ninth century. This was perhaps a way to mark their proximity to the ruling power, or simply to avoid irritating them by continuing to use Greek, the language of their political enemy.

This is also where the parallel between Egypt and Syria ends. I have argued recently that the official switch to Arabic by the Coptic Church happened with the move of the Patriarchate from Alexandria to Cairo in the early eleventh century.[21] This was very soon after the foundation of Cairo and the establishment there of the Fāṭimids in 973. As the ʿAbbāsids had done – and were still doing – in Baghdad, the Fāṭimids built a sparkling new capital, began sponsoring interreligious court debates and strove to imitate the prestigious scholarly and cosmopolitan environment of the ʿAbbāsid capital. This attracted Christian theologians from the very start, most notably the famous Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, who is considered one of the most brilliant controversialists of the Eastern Christian world. His written Arabic was of very high quality, and he presumably also spoke it well too, as he seems to have spent much more of his time at court than in the city of al-Ashmūnayn (ancient Hermoupolis), whose bishop he was.[22]

During the period of fifty-odd years between the foundation of Cairo and the establishment there of the Fāṭimid Caliphate in the late tenth century, and the move of the Coptic Patriarchate to the capital in the early eleventh, there was some internal resistance to the Arabicisation of the Church, mainly centred in the very traditionalist monasteries of the Wadi Natrūn and the Fayyūm. Works against assimilation to the Muslims and the adoption of Arabic were composed there, and allow us to see that the process was not entirely uncontroversial.[23] Eventually the very monarchical structure of the Egyptian Church, where the Patriarch had direct unmediated authority over local ecclesiastical structures, allowed the Patriarch's choice to prevail within the Church. That choice – to move to Cairo and adopt Arabic – was internal and political, designed to counter the rising power of the bishop of Miṣr, the Christian part of the new capital, who was too close to the Fāṭimid court for the comfort of the Patriarch.

Whatever the value of this reconstruction, it highlights an important difference with what was happening in Syria in the tenth century. While Egypt was now home to a caliph and his capital, Syria had lost the caliphal capital in 750 and thus remained a province, however prestigious. The court of the ʿAbbāsids was in Baghdad, further afield from the great centres

[21] Papaconstantinou 2007. [22] For a very useful introduction to Severus, see Griffith 1996.
[23] Décobert 1992; Papaconstantinou 2007.

of Syriac learning and of Aramaic speakers than when the court was in Damascus. Although Syriac was present in Baghdad because it served as an intermediate step in the translations from Greek into Arabic, it was not the population's spoken language. Baghdad, like Cairo, was a newly founded Arabic-speaking capital with an inclusive caliphal court, and both seem to have had an impressive linguistic effect on the populations they attracted.

This brings me to another point made to explain the persistence of Aramaic. According to Hoyland, who follows a generally accepted view, the fact that Aramaic's Edessan dialect, Syriac, by that time a prestigious learned Christian language, participated in the translation movement sponsored by the ʿAbbāsids, was instrumental in allowing Syrian Christians in general to participate in the intellectual life of the Caliphate and to interact with Muslims 'in a variety of ways'.[24] This is indeed an important difference with Coptic, which did not partake in the translation movement from Greek to Arabic, nor in any intercultural intellectual exchange, at least none that scholars today deem historically important. In fact Coptic did provide an essential link in the transmission of Christian texts to Ethiopia, and however unimportant that may seem, it does mean that Coptic texts were being used, and that there must have been some demand for them, even if it cannot compare in any way to that emanating from the ʿAbbāsid capital.

These last two points are very important, but they have one vital drawback: they remain within the domain of learned writing and official, or at least urban, use of language. What could have been the impact of the translation movement on the population of the Empire? To what extent do such texts inform us on what was actually spoken in Syria and Egypt? Translators and readers of those texts put together probably represented a very small proportion of the total population, even though they did have power, money and political support. How biased an image of the linguistic map of seventeenth-century Europe we would have today if the overwhelming majority of surviving sources were the Latin texts produced by the members of the Republic of Letters! And as the early modern European example makes patent, the absence of a language from the intellectual scene does not mean it will become obsolete, and its presence on the intellectual scene does not necessarily keep it alive as a language of spoken communication. So it is probably safe to consider that being part of the translation movement helped the maintenance of a written form of Aramaic, although this

[24] Hoyland 2004: 194–198 (quotation at 196).

does not explain the maintenance of the widely spoken forms; and that not being part of it had little to do with the eventual extinction of Coptic.

The final aspect that is brought up to explain Aramaic's success vis-à-vis Greek is that 'for the first few centuries of Islam the Aramaic language and Syrian Christianity continued to spread'.[25] It expanded geographically, reaching as far as China, India and, according to Kosmas Indikopleustes, Ceylon.[26] Like the previous point, this is a factor that can play positively, but its absence will not necessarily play negatively. If the Greek language has made it through the centuries, and arguably more securely than Aramaic, it is certainly not because of its geographical expansion in Hellenistic times, much larger than that of Aramaic. On the other hand, a number of local languages in the Islamic world never reached India and Ceylon, but did not become extinct either: Coptic's neighbour Berber is a case in point.

The above discussions show how difficult it is to approach language shift when one needs to rely on texts written mostly, if not exclusively, in institutional contexts. These can be analysed linguistically for evidence of language contact,[27] they can be read directly for straightforward pieces of information, and indirectly, in the hope of assessing the authorial or institutional intentions underlying them; but they cannot inform us about the majority of the population and they cannot capture orality – not even for the high-status individuals who produced them. In the case of Coptic, although there is no doubt that there was a clear institutional language shift within the Church, it remains unclear whether that shift was actually following the evolution of the linguistic situation in the country, or whether, with time, its influence filtered down into domains of communication where Coptic was still in use.

It is very difficult to assess the sociolinguistic map of tenth-century Egypt, although with papyri we do have more evidence than we do for Syria, where our access to the language spoken outside religious or urban centres is much more limited. Even the domains in which Coptic was in use in the tenth century are unclear. Predictably, administration was the domain that Arabic penetrated first. From the early eighth century onwards, as part of a general move to Arabicise the chancellery of the Caliphate under 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd, Muslims began being appointed on such local administrative positions as that of pagarch. These had until then remained in the hands of Christians, even though Muslims had held the higher

[25] Hoyland 2004: 198. [26] *Christian Topography* 3.65.1 (ed. Wolska-Conus 1968: 503).
[27] Taylor 2002, for instance.

positions early on.[28] The shift did not happen overnight, and one still finds bilingual and even trilingual documents in the eighth century, indicating that the transition was under way. It is not always possible to know whether the new Muslim officials were Arabs or converted Christian Egyptians, but in some cases the patronyms make clear that they were converts, such as the eighth-century *amīr* of al-Ashmūnayn, Abū Sahl 'the son of the blessed Shenute'.[29] This implies that his first language was Coptic, even though he now needed Arabic to get on with his work. While Qurra ibn Sharīk was governor of Egypt (709–715), letters from his headquarters in Fusṭāṭ to local officials were still sent in Arabic *and* in Greek,[30] but this was probably less and less the case as time went by.

The gradual Arabicisation of the local administration made it necessary for the representatives of Christian communities and other local worthies to be able to communicate in Arabic, and for the rest of the population to have at least some access to Arabic, if only through interpreters. It also meant that members of those communities with administrative ambitions would learn Arabic as a strategy of upward social mobility. Some seem to have converted to obtain such positions, although this tells us nothing about the language they used. However, in the tenth century, elite Christians who had good Arabic could do very well, finding themselves in the enviable position of *kātib* (secretary) in government service. The above-mentioned Severus (p. 64) is one of many examples of this.[31] Some educated Christians were even vizirs under the Fāṭimids, such as Abū al-Yumn Quzmān ibn Mīnā (971–995) and 'Īsā ibn Nasṭūrus (995–996).[32]

Arabic also seems to have gradually imposed itself as the dominant language of economic activity in the broadest sense. From as early as the first half of the eighth century, Arabs, who had lived until then mainly as soldiers in the camp-city of Fusṭāṭ, started settling in the countryside and becoming involved in agriculture. The first attested Arab landowner is known from an Arabic papyrus dated 735, a letter he sent to his estate manager while on business in Alexandria. He had travelled on the Nile and overland from the Fayyūm to Alexandria accompanying goods to the

[28] On the administrative structures of early Islamic Egypt, see Sijpesteijn 2007a, 2007b.

[29] *P.Ryl.Copt*. 199.

[30] Richter 2010. As the complete archive is not preserved, it is impossible to know whether for every Arabic letter there was a Greek copy, but this seems highly probable. A few documents are bilingual, with two texts repeating the same order but written according to two different documentary traditions.

[31] Griffith 1996: 16. The tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasī notes that the Christians were the best secretaries in Syria because their mastery of Arabic was superior to that of most Muslims: Miquel 1963: 224–225.

[32] See Samir 1996, with several other examples.

Alexandrian market. The instructions he gives to the manager reveal a large, diversified production on what was clearly a large estate, only part of which was under that manager's responsibility. Among other things, the letter mentions two neighbouring Christian landowners, whose names are Arabicised in the letter, and also the use of Christian agricultural labourers.[33] Thus from very early on, the area between Cairo and Alexandria started being settled by Arabs who worked the land and employed lower-status Christians, but also transacted with Christians of similar status. This must have made knowing Arabic necessary for a much larger portion of the population than did its prevalence in the administration.

In the papyri of the transitional period, the prevalence of Arabic in economic life appears mostly through transaction documents of various sorts, generally deeds of sale, transfer, guarantee etc., but also marriage contracts or wills. Until the Arab conquest, documents of private transaction and private law were made out either in Coptic or in Greek. Coptic prevailed very quickly after the conquest and was used exclusively in private transaction documents until the end of the eighth century. The latest group of such documents in Coptic is the mid eleventh-century archive of a family living in Teshlot, near al-Ashmūnayn.[34] The archive also contains documents in Arabic, indicating on the one hand that Coptic was indeed still used as a vernacular in the area, and on the other that within the same family there were at least some individuals who used Arabic. The Teshlot Archive, however, is an exception. From the tenth century onwards most private transaction documents between Christians were made out in Arabic,[35] presumably because it was easier to produce them before a Muslim court as well a Christian one in case of litigation, a very common practice, it seems.[36] Moreover, once the Egyptian Church itself had adopted Arabic, any disputes arising among Christians and brought before a bishop were probably also dealt with in Arabic. This shows that Christians active in some areas needed at least a working knowledge of Arabic. That a complete language shift had not yet taken place is indicated by a number of tenth-century sale contracts in Arabic wherein the final clause, stating that the document was read out to the parties and witnesses before they added their signatures, mentions that this was done in Arabic and 'in the foreign language' (*bi-l-'ajamiyya*).[37]

[33] Sijpesteijn 2004. [34] Richter 2000.
[35] For one such group of tenth-century documents, see Abbott 1941.
[36] See Simonsohn 2009, 2011.
[37] Frantz-Murphy 1981: 209/212 (text 1 of 962, ll. 14–15) and 216/218 (text 2 of 963, ll. 13–14); Abbott 1937: 7/14 (text 1 of 946, ll. 19–20).

The domain of religious life is somewhat of a puzzle. As in the period that preceded the conquest, it certainly continued under the Arabs to include practices of a private nature that symbolically extended the domestic sphere into the shrines or cemeteries, rather than being exclusively public or institutional[38] – in other words, practices one would expect to have taken place in Coptic. However, these are scarcely documented in a direct manner except through graffiti in some monastic sites, and a fair amount of monastic correspondence from the late seventh and the eighth century, but very little in later material. Unsurprisingly, these are all in Coptic, although this might tell us more about collection and publication than it does about what was happening on the ground. Graffiti are notoriously difficult to date, and Arabic Christian graffiti from monastic sites have never, to my knowledge, been collected and published. Arabic papyri are largely underexploited, and their publication to date has privileged the texts that throw light on the formation of the Islamic state and society, so that Christian texts have been largely, if not entirely, neglected. It is thus very difficult to know what the effect of the Church's language shift was on local religious life. Liturgical manuscripts were still copied in Coptic in the eleventh century and contained homilies, sermons and saints' lives which were, in principle, read out to the assembly as part of the liturgy. Many manuscripts from the tenth century onwards, however, have a parallel Arabic translation,[39] and it is unclear which language was actually read out during the service. Their disposition in parallel vertically on the page suggests that only one of the two languages was used, otherwise it would have meant regularly turning the pages back and forth. Bilingual manuscripts designed for readings in both languages are usually arranged sequentially, with each reading in the second language following the same reading in the first language.[40] It seems plausible that the Coptic text, usually more beautifully and imposingly written, was there symbolically, and that what was read out was the Arabic, often copied in a less calligraphic manner and giving the impression that it is there for practical reasons and not decorative or ceremonial ones. This is also suggested by a late tenth-century papyrus from al-Ashmūnayn that contains an open letter by the bishop to his congregation about a matter of sorcery, and this letter is in Arabic.[41] This is at a time when the Church had not yet officially adopted Arabic, but even so a bishop could use Arabic to communicate with the people

[38] Frankfurter 2009.

[39] A large number of Coptic literary texts had been translated into Arabic by the late eleventh century; see Rubenson 1996.

[40] See Boud'hors 2010: 187–188.

[41] Reinhardt 1897.

on a matter that was not administrative or official, but related to a local pastoral affair. The identity of this bishop is unknown, and the letter is not precisely dated, but it is noteworthy that the aforementioned Severus ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (d. 987), a champion of Arabic, had been appointed bishop of al-Ashmūnayn in the 950s by Patriarch Theophanes (953–956).[42]

Least accessible to us is the domain of private communication, largely because of the paucity of Christian letters among the published papyri of the period. Monastic correspondence until the end of the eighth century in Coptic is available in several publications of Coptic papyri and ostraca, but for the lack of published evidence we know next to nothing about private correspondence between Christians in later periods. As with private religious practice, it is unclear whether this lack of evidence reflects a lack of interest in editing such texts or the dearth of such texts in the record. The Teshlot Archive mentioned earlier contains some private letters from the mid eleventh century, some of which are in Coptic and some in Arabic. One of the Coptic letters has an unrelated Arabic letter on the back, and both are addressed to the same person.[43] This points to a balanced bilingual group whose members were not necessarily bi-literate; some felt more at ease writing in one language, some in the other, but they understood both.

This short survey shows that between the eighth and the tenth century Arabicisation had progressed considerably among the Christian population. That the liturgy remained in Coptic and that in the thirteenth century some members of the clergy could still compose a hagiographical text in Coptic do little to undermine this conclusion.[44] This does not mean that Coptic was no longer understood, however, despite the alarmist claims by several medieval authors that Christians no longer understood ‘their language’.[45] The Teshlot Archive, which dates precisely from the period when the Patriarchate was moving to Cairo and beginning to use Arabic, shows that Coptic was still understood by part of the population. Some fifty years earlier, the Palestinian geographer al-Muqaddasī had visited Egypt and found the ‘protected subjects’ speaking Coptic and the country’s Arabic ‘uncertain and sluggish’.[46]

These slightly contradictory indications partly reflect the fact that such a process of language shift cannot be entirely straightforward and will on the contrary tend to be very fluid and unstable, despite a steady overall

[42] Griffith 1996: 17. [43] Thung 1996.

[44] I.e. the martyrdom of John of Phanijoit, set in the Crusader period; see Zaborowski 2005. On the currency of Arabic in the tenth century, see also Björnesjö 1996.

[45] Papaconstantinou 2007. [46] Miquel 1972: 124.

movement in a given direction. They also reflect a high degree of regional variation. The general consensus is that, like Greek, Arabic penetrated much more quickly and deeply in the North than in the South. The texts complaining about the loss of Coptic were all produced in the North, and the tenth-century *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Samuel even mentions those 'in the Ṣaʿīd' (the South) who still speak Coptic'.[47] As we have seen, in the area around Fusṭāṭ and between Alexandria and the Fayyūm, Arabic was well implanted even in the countryside from the early eighth century. The evidence suggests however that by the tenth century it was dominant at least as far south as al-Ashmūnayn.

Assessing the balance of the two languages in the period during which the language shift took place is but one side of the problem. Arabic progressed everywhere in the Islamic world, creating bilingual situations among the conquered populations, but its degree of dominance was different in different places. It is important to discern what was specific to the Egyptian case that resulted in the local language dying out.

Sociolinguistic literature on the extinction of languages in the modern world has insisted heavily on the economic factor, more precisely on the economic advantages offered by the abandonment of a traditional language in order to adopt the dominant lingua franca that allows participation in the prevailing globalised economic system and the prosperity it offers. Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine, for example, introduce an opposition between *metropolitan* (M) and *peripheral* (P) languages.[48] The M-language is associated with the dominant economic and social class (usually the urban elites), while the P-language is used for a smaller range of economic roles and functions, and is usually spoken in areas that are less developed economically.

Taken at this simple level, this is of course something that can apply to Egypt and Syria. In order to compare the two and understand their differences, however, we should be able to compare what the prevailing economic system might have been, both at the level of each province, and at the 'globalised' level of the Empire itself. The difficulty here is that one cannot compare the two provinces on equal terms because of the nature of the evidence we have, or the lack thereof. Papyri can tell us what language a rural settler wrote, but archaeology cannot. Archaeological work in the Levant has brought revisions to many earlier assumptions about the economic situation and activity in the first Islamic centuries. Unfortunately,

[47] Papaconstantinou 2007: 276, and on the date 292, and *passim*.
[48] Nettle and Romaine 2000: 128ff. and *passim*.

for Egypt this sort of archaeological work still remains to be done, and for Syria we have no papyri.

Research to date could be deceptively misleading. Following the lead of the available sources, new work on Syria and the Levant has insisted on the continuing prosperity of the area under the Umayyads,[49] while scholars working on early Islamic Egypt have highlighted the systematic extraction of resources organised by the Arabs, and the additional tax burden represented by the introduction of a capitation. These are phenomena that certainly also touched Syria. On the other hand, there has been no study of the effect on the internal economy of Egypt of the end of the *annona* system with the Arab conquest, and the relief this most certainly brought in the short term to its agricultural structures. This could have been followed by a transfer of the productive potential to other commodities, or to abandonment of part of the cultivable areas, or a combination of the two. In any case, one imagines that to some extent it will have counterbalanced the new extractive demands of the Arabs.

Related to this question is that of the size of the country's population, also left largely unstudied. Egypt was one of the most densely inhabited areas of the Roman Empire,[50] but we have no study about the effect of the sixth-century plague on its inhabitants. The question is relevant for language use insofar as one important criterion of ethnolinguistic vitality is the number of speakers (see Table 1.2). We know that Syria certainly was struck by the plague, while this is not entirely established for Egypt. The sixth-century papyri, for example, preserve absolutely no mention of the plague. The systematic levy of *corvée* workers from Egypt in the late seventh and early eighth centuries for works in Jerusalem and Damascus would seem to indicate that there was a reservoir to draw from which did not exist locally.[51] Such movement of rural inhabitants between provinces would also have precipitated the acquisition of Arabic by individuals who in different circumstances would have had less incentive to learn it.

That Egypt's local population should have been larger than that of Syria, however, presents us with a paradox in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality, since it would have been a factor in favour of the maintenance of the language. On the other hand, it is true that for over two centuries, Coptic did not fare any worse than other local languages in the Caliphate, and only after the late tenth century do we see any important signs of regression – and

[49] See Walmsley 2007, with further references.
[50] Bowman 2011, with further references. [51] Bell 1908: 116–117.

that is a time when the country underwent some very important changes with the establishment of the Fāṭimid Caliphate.

Most contemporary research on language loss focuses on the indigenous languages of the areas colonised by Europeans and on the minority languages of Europe itself. In recent decades, the role of economic globalisation on world languages has come to the fore, and an overall consensus has emerged that the need to learn English as a quasi-universal second language along with the national language in many countries is killing off the minority languages in many modern nation states. This has given the impression that we are dealing with a recent phenomenon, and consequently has prevented testing the various interpretative models against earlier cases of political and economic hegemony and their effects on languages. In this respect, Coptic is interesting as one of the best documented, major historical languages that became totally extinct (as opposed to transformed into derived languages).

One such model was suggested by Salikoko Mufwene, who analysed a series of modern colonial situations rather than contemporary cases.[52] These are interesting for the present purpose because, both with the Roman Empire and with the Islamic Empire, we have a pattern that is in many ways reminiscent of European colonialism. Mufwene distinguishes two different scenarios in modern European colonies as far as language is concerned. He notes that 'the impact has been more disastrous to indigenous languages in former settlement colonies than to those in exploitation colonies'.[53] In settlement colonies assimilation of the local population was strongest and the drive towards social homogenisation most powerful. The colonisers' language eventually became everyone's vernacular by gradually penetrating all functional domains, including private life. Exploitation colonies, on the other hand, had a relatively small number of settlers with little interest in sharing their language, and they exhibit a much higher index of maintenance of the local languages.

Mufwene goes on to discuss the Roman Empire, suggesting that the maintenance of local languages in its European provinces fits in well with the observation that the Roman mode of occupation was that of an exploitation rather than of a settlement colony. Mufwene's treatment of the Roman example leaves much to be desired (see p. 28 above), largely because he relies on general secondary literature which does not reflect the new insights, questions and interpretations advanced by recent research. His main point on colony types, however, could indeed be applied to the

[52] Mufwene 2004. [53] Mufwene 2004: 209.

socio-economic status of Roman provinces. The notion of 'exploitation colony' would apply to Egypt better than to any other Roman province, and it can be argued that this did not change under the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids. The settlement of Arabs in the Valley – as opposed to the Delta area and the Fayyūm – does not seem to have been very important under their rule. Still in the tenth century, al-Muqaddasī states that 'the majority of the population of the Valley are, in fact, Copts'.[54] Much of the administration was in the hands of local elites, who must have been bilingual, and in some cases converted in order to assimilate even further with the ruling class, much as they had earlier adopted Roman citizenship and Greek–Christian *paideia*. Most of this administration was geared towards the extraction of the country's resources and its systematic exploitation for the benefit of a centre from which it was remote, whether this centre was Rome, Constantinople, Damascus, Jerusalem or Baghdad.

Considering Egypt as the equivalent of an exploitation colony is consistent with the country's initial linguistic resilience and even the rather strong vitality of Coptic during the eighth century. This period, when the Arabs took over the local administration more vigorously and began organising the fiscal system more methodically, is also the period of the greatest boom of the Coptic language in terms of literary creation and text production in general.[55] This situation changed radically with the arrival of the Fāṭimids, who arguably transformed Egypt into something much more akin to a settlement colony. To quote Mufwene, in settlement colonies the 'colonists sought to create new Europes outside their metropoles' (Mufwene 2004: 209). This is precisely what the Fāṭimids were doing when they established their capital in Cairo, a prestigious newly founded city with all the trappings of power and culture designed to turn it into a second Baghdad. For the Egyptians the centre of power was no longer 'out there', it was once again 'right here': all of a sudden, and for the first time since the Ptolemies, Egypt was no longer a marginal, if rich, province, but the centre of an Empire and the seat of a prestigious court.

The arrival of the Fāṭimids was important in another way. From the very start they strove to make Egypt the exclusive and obligatory passage of the very lucrative eastern trade, through a route that initially went up the Nile to Aswān and across the Wadi 'Allaqi to the Red Sea port of 'Aydhab, which was already used for the *ḥajj*, the exploitation of the gold mines and the slave trade. From the eleventh century, almost reproducing

[54] Miquel 1972: 112; al-Muqaddasī probably means Christians, but this does not tell us what language they spoke.

[55] Papaconstantinou 2011.

the Roman route from Berenikē to Koptos, the route went from ʿAydhab to the bend of the Nile, where the city of Qūṣ gradually developed as a major centre. The boom of the eastern trade under the Fāṭimids is reflected in the documents of the Cairo Geniza, which record a number of Jewish merchants with connections in Aden and India. The control of the trade was facilitated by the Fāṭimids' Isma'ilī affiliation, which was also dominant in the Yemen. Customs stations were established along the Nile, at Qūṣ, Akhmīm and Fusṭāṭ, cities where merchant communities of Jews, Christians and Muslims settled and controlled the passage of their respective products and the corresponding levies. A commercial postal service from Fusṭāṭ was even organised at regular intervals so as to bring south news about markets and prices.[56]

These developments seem to have had far-reaching consequences. Participation in the prevailing system and the prosperity it brought with it could ring much more true when its centre was within reach. Arabic was no longer only the language of local officialdom and faraway caliphs, or more or less popular soldiers and governors; it was the language of a prestigious court located in the very middle of the country, and that of a new class of merchants who had their hands on some lucrative forms of commerce transiting through Valley cities. This trade was not religiously exclusive or determined, so participation did not require conversion, but it did make Arabic the language of everyday communication.

The new situation not only enhanced the prestige and usefulness of Arabic, it also had some bearing on the very important question of group identity. If language is a vehicle through which a group can express its affiliation to an ideal community, or its indigenous roots as opposed to the foreignness of other groups, one cannot avoid the inference that this function was now filled by Arabic, and that this was partly the result of the Fāṭimid system. Here was a dynasty that could be identified as distinctly Egyptian, thus quite plausibly filling the need for Egyptian self-identification, pride and symbolic capital. This might have combined with the fact that Coptic never seems to have attained a very high level of social and cultural prestige. In the fourth century, Egyptian was clearly associated with peasants and illiteracy; in the sixth and early seventh century, Coptic reached its high point, being used publicly by local elites;[57] and it remained the language of private transaction and communication after the Arab conquest, when a large amount of homiletic and hagiographical literature was produced. However, not a single major work of literature or theology

[56] Garcin 1976, 1978: 308–309; Power 2008. [57] Papaconstantinou 2008.

with sufficient prestige to circulate outside the country was written in Coptic, and it was never in any circumstances a language of power. Such factors would have lessened its value in the eyes of its speakers and thus reduced the language's vitality and capacity for resilience. After all, Arabic, like Greek before it, allowed Egyptian scholarship to be read widely outside Egypt and contributed to the country's Empire-wide prestige in a way Coptic could not. In this respect, Aramaic had a much greater advantage, being the language of a number of famous authors, of the administration of several kingdoms, and of missionaries going beyond all frontiers to spread it to China and India.

Let us now return to my initial question once again: why did Coptic fail? A number of factors have been suggested that can combine to make up a plausible answer. Above all, however, what has been said indicates that perhaps the question itself is not framed in the right terms. Seeing the abandonment of Coptic as a failure is to adopt a language-centred perspective that does not take into consideration its human dimension. One might argue that the wholesale adoption of Arabic by the Copts was not only the sign of a newly found prosperity and confidence of the community within its country: it also marked the emergence of Egypt as a major independent player in the medieval Mediterranean, and the choice of the Egyptian Christians to participate fully in that phenomenon.

CHAPTER 4

Language contact in the pre-Roman and Roman Iberian peninsula
Direct and indirect evidence

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1 INTRODUCTION

The Iberian peninsula in the pre-Roman and Roman periods was a dynamic multilingual environment, where Iberian, Celtiberian ('Hispano-celtic'), Lusitanian, Aquitanian and other indigenous languages were joined by Phoenician/Punic, Greek and Latin, each of which had a settled presence lasting several centuries. The rich epigraphic record contains a wealth of evidence for interaction between these various languages; as a result, there have been many detailed studies of language contact in the region, though these have not always been fully appreciated outside the region, perhaps due to the complex and inaccessible nature of the material.

Language contact has always been a focal area in the study of Iberian, the indigenous language with the largest corpus and the largest number of linguistic contacts, for the simple reason that the language itself is very poorly known: we can transliterate the texts, but, for the most part, we cannot understand them. As a result, the few Latin–Iberian bilinguals have been the subject of particularly intense study, most obviously because they could provide the key to understanding more about Iberian, but also because they represent one of the few areas where we can be confident of the meaning of at least part of the text, where there are good parallels for what to expect from comparable bilinguals in other languages, and consequently a more sophisticated analysis is possible.

Previous studies have paid most attention to the contacts between the indigenous languages and Latin, but the same methodology can also be used to investigate the evidence for contact between the indigenous languages themselves, which is often just as rich. In fact, it is not possible to separate the two issues, since the relationships between the indigenous languages were profoundly changed by the arrival of the Romans, and there are often complex multilingual situations involving three or more

languages, both indigenous and colonial. Indeed, a distinctive feature of paleohispanic studies is the importance of sociolinguistic considerations for some of the most fundamental questions in the field. For example, when investigating vexed issues such as the nature and antiquity of the Iberian presence in north-eastern Spain, and the details of how the Celtiberian language came to be spoken in the peninsula, scholars have frequently tried to consider the sociolinguistic realities behind these prehistoric language shifts, and the possible scenarios (for example, Francisco Villar's 'failed Indo-Europeanisation')[1] which could have led to the historical situation.[2]

New discoveries and new interpretations of the existing evidence continue to provide fresh insights into all aspects of language contact in the Iberian peninsula, and in some cases have profound implications for the linguistic history of the region. Developments in the study of multilingualism and sociolinguistics in general need to be taken into account, and to a certain extent it is possible to use the typology of multilingualism as a deductive instrument in our analysis, for example to ascertain whether a suggested contact scenario is plausible by identifying the categories of contact-induced phenomena that we might expect to find, or to predict what type of contact situation might explain a particular piece of evidence.

A particularly profitable technique is the use of indirect evidence, in the form of contact-induced phenomena that are not strictly speaking linguistic, but which inevitably presuppose direct language contact, and furthermore can provide vital evidence for the nature of this contact. The information from fields as diverse as numismatic iconography and the economics of ancient transhumance can have implications which are crucial for our understanding of the linguistic situation in ancient Spain and Portugal, and which need to be integrated with the information derived from the direct evidence of the texts themselves. Once again, the fact that we understand so little of the Iberian language has meant that Iberian studies have by necessity always been interdisciplinary, so the methodological issues which arise in such approaches have already been explored at length in the history of Iberian scholarship. Admittedly, the combination of evidence from different disciplines has sometimes had unfortunate results, especially when the linguistic prehistory of the region is concerned, but with careful analysis it is often possible to make progress in the study of the ancient languages of the Iberian peninsula and the history of their interaction. This study examines the various types of direct and indirect evidence for contact

[1] Villar 1991: 465–466, discussed in Lorrio Alvarado and Ruiz Zapatero 2005: 200.

[2] See Pérez Vilatela 2004: 133–138; Burillo Mozota 2005: 423–424; Lorrio Alvarado and Ruiz Zapatero 2005: 197–200.

between Latin and the indigenous languages, explores the correlations between them and the ways in which these different sources of evidence can be combined, and shows how the methodology can be applied to other language contacts in the peninsula.

2 LANGUAGES AND SCRIPTS OF THE PENINSULA

The ancient languages of Spain and Portugal can be divided into three main groups: colonial languages such as Phoenician, Punic, Greek and Latin, indigenous Indo-European languages such as Celtiberian and Lusitanian, and indigenous non-Indo-European languages such as Iberian and Aquitanian. It is worth giving a brief sketch of the linguistic situation in the peninsula (Fig. 4.1), beginning with central Spain where the picture is relatively simple.

Celtiberian, an Indo-European language, was spoken throughout central Spain and is attested in nearly 200 inscriptions (about forty in the Roman alphabet and about 160 in the Levantine script, although many of these are coin legends). These inscriptions date from the second century BC to the Christian era, and range from Navarra and the Ebro Valley in the north to Peñalba de Villastar and Iniesta in the east, with isolated examples from Villasviejas del Tamuja (Botija, Cáceres) in the south-west and Lora del Río (Sevilla) in the south. Indeed, Celtiberian may even have been present south of the Guadalquivir, if the place names Segovia and Segida are any guide.[3]

The situation in Galicia is also apparently straightforward: although there are no indigenous inscriptions, the evidence from place names and personal names in Roman inscriptions indicates that the region was likewise Celtic-speaking. There may also be some traces of a pre-Celtic substratum in these proper nouns,[4] but not enough to be able to say anything interesting about language contact.

Central Portugal was home to the Lusitanian language, attested in five inscriptions in the Roman alphabet, probably dating to after 100 BC. The Lusitanians were apparently surrounded by Celtic-speaking peoples; indeed, many of the similarities between Lusitanian and Celtic could possibly be due to extensive contact, rather than a close genetic relationship.[5]

The situation in the south is more complex. For most of the first half of the first millennium BC, the south and south-west of the peninsula were dominated by the great power of Tartessos. The culture which bears this semi-mythical name was apparently centred on the coast between

[3] Cf. de Hoz 1995a. [4] See Luján 2006. [5] See Wodtko 2009.

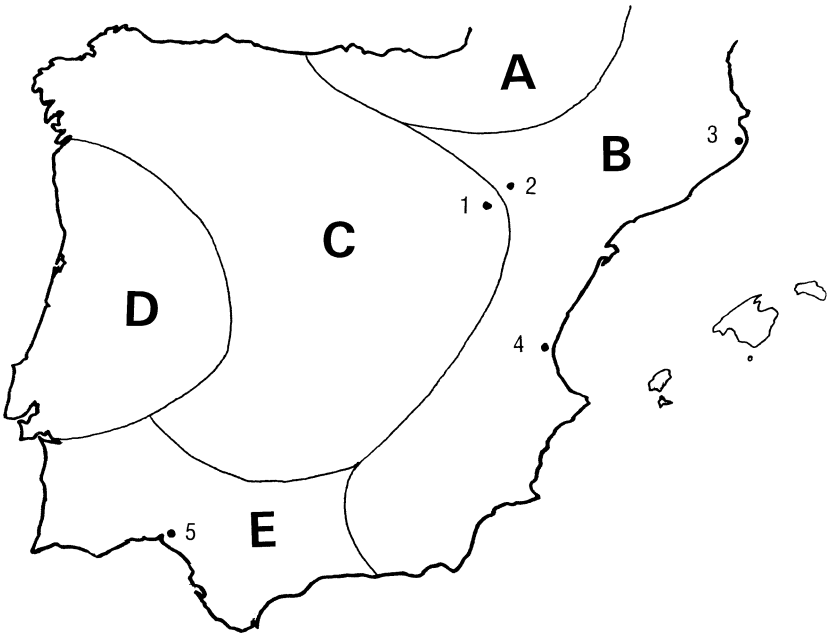

Figure 4.1 Ancient languages of the Iberian peninsula.

Languages:

A	Aquitanian/early Basque
B	Iberian
C	Celtiberian
D	Lusitanian
E	Tartessian and other 'Southern' languages

Selected sites mentioned in the text:

1	Contrebia Belaisca (modern Botorrita, Zaragoza)
2	Salduie (modern Zaragoza)
3	Emporion (modern Empúries, Catalonia)
4	Saguntum (modern Sagunto, Valencia)
5	Onoba (modern Huelva)

the mouths of the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir, and seems to have controlled the trade along these rivers; its coastal urban centres such as Onoba (modern Huelva) flourished with the first wave of Phoenician settlement in the region. Its linguistic affiliation is unknown: the Tartessians may have spoken the same language recorded in the South-Western script (an indigenous script derived from Phoenician), preserved in about ninety

inscriptions centred in the Algarve and apparently dating to the period 700–300 BC, but this is uncertain. Thus, although the South-Western language and script are often referred to as Tartessian,[6] we should follow de Hoz (2003a) in reserving this name for the earlier culture centred around Huelva.

There was apparently a Celtic presence in the south-west, as suggested by Herodotus' Arganthonios,[7] ethnonyms such as the Celtici and occasional place names such as Laccobriga. The inscriptions in the South-Western script sometimes seem to contain Celtic or Lusitanian names and noun phrases (for example, the South-Western **lokoobooniiraboo**[8] recalls the dative plural *Lugubo Arquienobo* from Galicia),[9] but the attempts to interpret these inscriptions as entirely Celtic are highly problematic.[10] It seems just as likely that they represent an otherwise unknown language, possibly non-Indo-European but showing only the vaguest similarities to the other pre-Indo-European languages of the peninsula. If the Celtic or Lusitanian links are genuine, they would in this case represent loans or instances of code-switching.

The native languages of the central south are even more obscure. The non-Indo-European Iberian language of the east coast was present in eastern Andalusia, where it is written in the Meridional semisyllabary (an indigenous script related to the aforementioned South-Western script) and occasionally in the Roman alphabet. However, there are few traces of Iberian west of Porcuna, and even here it may not have been the language of the population at large. Indeed, the personal and place names of the region show many distinctly non-Iberian features, such as consonant-resonant clusters and apparently unrestricted *m* and *p* (which are only present as contextually restricted allophones in Iberian); José Antonio Correa argues that these proper names form a cohesive corpus, which we can call Turdetanian.[11] It is worth noting that there are also a few inscriptions in the Meridional script which do not show any clear Iberian features; this 'Southern language'[12] could be related to Correa's Turdetanian proper names, but the evidence is too meagre to tell.

The east coast of Spain was dominated by Iberian, which is attested in about 2,000 inscriptions dating from 400 BC or earlier to the Christian era, mostly written in the Levantine semisyllabary (a descendant of the Meridional and South-Western scripts). The inscriptions are found over a wide area from eastern Andalusia right up to the Languedoc (France),

[6] E.g. in Koch 2009. [7] Herodotus 1.163. [8] J.1.1 in Untermann 1997. [9] *IRPL* 67.
[10] E.g. Koch 2009. [11] Correa 2005, 2009. [12] See, for example, Luján 2005b.

where Iberian was in close contact with Gaulish. Iberian also extended up the Ebro Valley, and was in equally close contact with Celtiberian not only here, but also on Celtiberian's eastern border in the vertical strip from the Ebro down through Peñalba de Villastar to Iniesta.

Among the personal names recorded in Iberian inscriptions in the Levantine script in Catalonia, there are several which are not easily explained as Iberian. Javier de Hoz follows Jürgen Untermann and others in attributing them to an Indo-European substratum, which he terms Paraligurian.[13] This could have important consequences for our understanding of the history of the Iberian presence in the region, but on purely linguistic grounds the evidence is too tenuous to establish the presence of such a language; the same applies to the 'Balto-Italoid' substratum which Villar finds in all corners of the peninsula.[14]

The presence of Aquitanian distinguishes the far north; this ancestral form of Basque was spoken in a territory corresponding to the historical borders of Gascony (i.e. the triangle of south-western France under the Garonne river), where it was in close contact with Gaulish, and is abundantly attested as proper names in Latin inscriptions. The evidence from Spain itself is more limited, but is now sufficient to confirm that Aquitanian was indeed spoken in Navarra, and perhaps also in the southern Pyrenees.[15] The direct evidence for linguistic contact with Iberian and Celtiberian is limited, but this could merely reflect the fact that the epigraphic record of the southern Pyrenees is particularly poor.

These native languages were joined at an early date (perhaps 900 BC or even earlier) by Phoenician. The first colonies were on the south coast, although the Phoenicians also ranged up the east coast of Spain to Aldovesta at the mouth of the Ebro, and perhaps even as far north as the Gulf of Lion,[16] as well as having an important and early presence on Ibiza. From the colonies in the south they also travelled up the Atlantic coast at least as far as Santa Olaia in western Portugal. However, the south was the region with the most extensive Phoenician/Punic presence, and the language apparently remained in regular use well into the Christian era. Although the total number of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions from the Iberian peninsula is fairly small, new examples continue to appear from all periods.[17] The archaic Phoenician script of the earliest inscriptions is eventually replaced by neo-Punic and the peculiar local variant known as Libyo-Phoenician,

[13] See de Hoz 2009. [14] See Villar 2000.
[15] See Gorrochategui 2007–2008; *pace* Villar (in Villar and Prósper 2005).
[16] See Arteaga, Padró and Sanmartí 1986. [17] See Zamora López 2005: 157 n. 7.

found only on coins from the far south, mostly from the province of Cádiz but stretching as far north as Arsa and Turriregina in Badajoz.

The Phoenicians were not the only traders and colonists in the south: there is an increasing amount of evidence for an early Greek presence, supporting not only the classical references to a Greek settlement of Mainake, but also Herodotus' accounts of Samian and Phocaean contacts with Tartessos. The most important piece of evidence is the Niethos bowl from Huelva on the south coast, probably dating to before 550 BC;[18] its inscription Νιηθωι appears to be a Hellenised dedication to the indigenous (and apparently originally Celtic) god Neton, which would attest to linguistic contact between the Greeks and the indigenous inhabitants. However, the earliest and most extensive Greek presence was in the north-east, centred on the colonies of Massalia (modern Marseille, France) and Emporion but stretching down the coast as far as Alicante and Murcia,[19] and with evidence for interaction between Greeks and Iberians from the sixth century onwards.

Finally, the arrival of the Romans in the late third century provides a wealth of evidence for linguistic contact, but also changed the picture for good: all of the other languages were soon on the retreat, and the only indigenous language to survive was Basque, in the high Pyrenees.

3 DIRECT EVIDENCE

3.1 Bilingual inscriptions

Perhaps the most tangible category of evidence for linguistic contact is the bilingual inscription, and there are several examples from the peninsula, nearly all of which are Latin–indigenous or Latin–Greek.[20] It is helpful to be able to classify these bilingual inscriptions into further sub-categories, in the hope of detecting patterns in the type of evidence that they provide. Following Mullen's opening chapter, we can divide them into two main categories: 'bi-version bilingual texts' – that is, inscriptions with two texts in separate languages – versus 'texts displaying bilingual phenomena', that is, inscriptions which constitute a single text that shows code-switching, interference or borrowing between two languages. Bi-version bilingual texts can

[18] See Almagro-Gorbea 2002. [19] E.g. Domínguez 2004: 161.

[20] The Latin–Greek bilinguals from the peninsula are discussed in M. de Hoz 1997, the Latin–Iberian bilinguals in Untermann 1999 and Orduña Aznar 2008, and the Latin–Lusitanian bilinguals in Wodtko 2009.

be further classified according to the relationship between the two texts – that is, whether they correspond completely, partially, or not at all.

This classificatory system is not always straightforward: for example, if a text in one language is followed by a short phrase in another, it can be unclear whether this should be understood as a 'bi-version bilingual text' whose texts do not correspond, or as a 'text displaying bilingual phenomena' with code-switching at the end. Also, if a text in one language contains lexemes from another language, it can be unclear whether we are dealing with a one-off example of code-switching, or whether these were loans that were present in the language as a whole. In fact, these problems exist even in the more detailed framework proposed by Martti Leiwo (2002), who operates with slightly different categories.

In the case of Iberian, the fact that the language remains poorly understood makes the classification even more difficult. For example, with the bi-version Iberian–Latin bilinguals it can be very hard to tell whether or not the two texts correspond. For F.11.8,[21] an architrave inscription from Sagunto which reads *M. F*]*abius. M. L. Isidorus. coerau*[*it* |]**itoŕ. tebanen. otar. koroto**[, it depends on whether we accept that the fragmentary]**itoŕ** in the Iberian text is the same as the Latin *Isidorus*.[22]

The problem is particularly crucial for the two stamp impressions from Azaila which read **baboŕote|nbotenin** (E.1.287, in the Levantine Iberian script) and *Protem|us feci[t* (Vallejo 1943: 474–475), since these are found on separate, albeit highly similar, ceramic mortars. They were originally taken as parallel texts – reading **boŕote|nbotenin**, where **boŕotenbo** is supposedly an Iberian rendering of Protemus – and therefore as evidence that the workshop which made these mortars had two distinct linguistic markets, Iberian and Roman, perhaps with two separate networks of distributors. However, although some scholars still advocate a connection,[23] it is actually doubtful whether the two texts correspond at all.[24]

In other cases the content of the Iberian text is clearer. Parallels from within Iberian onomastics suggest that C.18.5, an inscription from Tarraco which reads **aŕetake | atinbelauŕ. antalskar** | *Fuluia. Lintearia*, is a funerary inscription for an Iberian called **atinbelauŕ**, son of **antalskar**; *Fuluia Lintearia* may have been the dead man's wife.

[21] Paleohispanic inscriptions are cited using the numbering system established by Untermann 1990 and continued in Moncunill Martí 2007, in which each text has a three-part identifier (e.g. F.3.1, C.18.5). The fonts used in the transcriptions indicate the script of the inscription, with italics indicating the Roman alphabet, bold type indicating an inscription in one of the semisyllabic scripts, and bold italics indicating the Graeco-Iberian script.

[22] Cf. Velaza Frías 2002a; Beltrán Lloris 2004; Orduña Aznar 2008.

[23] For example Silgo Gauche 2008; Orduña Aznar 2009.

[24] Cf. *HEp* 13, 2007: 287.

Finally, for C.18.6 *heic est sit* | **aŕe teki. ar**++[- | **sakaril**+[-, also from Tarraco, the similarities to C.18.5 and other Iberian funerary inscriptions suggest that here the contents of the Latin and Iberian texts do indeed partially correspond, and that **aŕe teki** is the Iberian equivalent of the Latin formula *hic situs est* 'here lies' (in this case attested in a non-standard form).

The corpus of Iberian–Latin bilinguals continues to grow as new texts are discovered. The latest additions are problematic: Javier Velaza Frías concludes that the stone block from Muntanya Frontera could merely have been reused secondarily,[25] while the inscription on the Tossal de Manisses sherd could be a modern forgery.[26] However, the prospect remains of more informative discoveries in the future, and Eduardo Orduña Aznar (2008) demonstrates that it is still possible to make substantial progress in the analysis of the existing texts.

Despite the aforementioned problems with the classification of the bilinguals, some patterns do seem to emerge. For example, there are several 'bi-version' Latin–Iberian bilinguals, yet there are apparently no 'bi-version' bilinguals in the Celtiberian corpus, apart from a couple of coin inscriptions.[27] Coin inscriptions are a special category, since the desire for maximum recognition is a natural motivation for the presence of parallel Roman and indigenous texts; indeed, unless there is morphological adaptation it can sometimes be unclear whether such texts should be taken as two languages, or merely as a single place name written in two scripts.[28]

3.2 Texts displaying bilingual phenomena

As well as these classic bilingual inscriptions of the 'bi-version' type, there are several texts which appear to show code-switching between Latin and Celtiberian, Lusitanian or Iberian. In most cases the primary language of the inscription is Latin, but there are a few examples of indigenous texts switching into Latin.

Significantly, all of these texts are written in the Roman alphabet; for Iberian this in itself is an extremely rare phenomenon, so it is no surprise that the number of texts is very small. Unfortunately, they are often also

[25] Velaza Frías 2008: 302. [26] Velaza Frías 2001: 661.

[27] The most obvious candidates are *Cel*/**kelse** from Celsa and *Osi*/**usekerte** from Ossicerda. In fact, the mint-site of Celsa is more likely to be Iberian than Celtiberian, and the affiliation of Ossicerda is unclear; however, there is also **tam**/*Tamusiensi* from Tamusia (*CNH* 406.1, *DCPH* 361.3). Beltrán (1952) mentions **ko**/*Colounioq*, but the existence of this type is doubtful.

[28] We can compare in this regard the Gaulish bronze coins with personal names in both Greek and Roman script: *DT* 577 *Roueca*/Ροουικα, *DT* 587 *Epenos*/Επηνος.

highly problematic: for instance, the text *tercinoi . eguan. oasai. f* inscribed on a silver vessel from Santisteban del Puerto (H.3.4) apparently shows code-switching from Iberian into Latin in the marker of filiation, but de Hoz reads the final sequence as *oasani*.[29] Even when code-switching is clearly present, as in the Latin–Iberian inscriptions H.6.1 from Castulo and G.12.4 from Elche, it can be difficult to identify the matrix language.

The evidence for code-switching between Latin and Celtiberian is significantly better. The same problems sometimes apply – for example, the readings of the rock inscriptions K.3.18 and K.3.20 from Peñalba de Villastar are doubtful, and for K.3.20 it is not clear whether Latin or Celtiberian is the matrix language – but there are more texts to work with, and the analysis is usually clearer. A typical feature is the retention of native morphology and case-endings in an otherwise Latin text, such as the Celtiberian genitive plural in the stone inscription from Puebla de Montalbán (*CIL* II 3088): *L. Pom Fuscinus Lanciocum Fusci f.* These Celtiberian family names in *–cum* appear to be particularly resistant to Latinisation, presumably because they were codified in this case-form: we can compare the list of magistrates in the Latin Botorrita II bronze inscription, which includes *Lubbus Urdinocum Letondonis f. praetor*, *Lesso Siriscum Lubbi f.* [*ma*]*gistratus*, *Babbus Bolgondiscum Ablonis f. magistratus* and *Segilus Annicum Lubbi f. mag*[*istratus*]. The naming formula is still essentially the same as that found in the Celtiberian texts of Botorrita I and III (e.g. **letontu esokum abulos** '*Letondu* of the *Esokoi*, son of *Abulu*'; **akuia abokum letontunos** '*Akuia* of the *Abokoi*, daughter of *Letondu*'), but the patronymic genitives have been Latinised, while the family name genitives retain their Celtiberian endings.

The evidence from Lusitanian is equally good, and as Dagmar Wodtko demonstrates, it is possible to go further and establish a hierarchy of code-switching within the material.[30] Among the numerous Latin dedicatory inscriptions containing Lusitanian noun phrases of theonym plus epithet, some retain the Lusitanian case-endings (e.g. dative singular *Bandei Brialeacui*).[31] However, in other instances the theonym retains its indigenous case-ending, but the epithet appears with a Latin case-ending (e.g. *Reue Siddico*). The next stage sees both theonym and epithet take Latin case-endings (e.g. *Coso Oenaego*). A further level of assimilation is reached when the theonym is replaced by a Latin form such as *deo* or *Marti* (e.g. *deo Vagodonnaego*); finally, in some cases even the suffixal morphology of

[29] De Hoz 1989: 558. [30] Wodtko 2009: 15–18.
[31] The theonyms in this section are taken from the examples in Wodtko 2009.

the epithet is Latinised, and the only Lusitanian feature is the lexical base of the epithet (e.g. *genio Viriocelensi*).

Wodtko further shows that there is a difference between theonyms and personal names in this respect – theonyms seem more resistant to Latinisation, while personal names show Latin case-endings from the start: 'commiting personal names to writing therefore seems to imply the Latinisation of their inflection'.[32] This special status of the religious sphere is also evident in the fact that all five inscriptions in the Lusitanian language itself are religious in nature.[33] Furthermore, the code-switching in two of these inscriptions highlights this division, since the Latin component within these Lusitanian inscriptions consists precisely of forms of the word for writing: *scripsi*, *scripserunt*.[34]

Thus, despite the difficulties in telling the difference between 'biversions' and 'texts displaying bilingual phenomena' in these corpora, it is possible to identify complex patterns of language interaction which are not captured by these broad classifications, and which provide a wealth of sociolinguistic information about the nature of the contacts between the languages involved.

3.3 Loanwords

Another obvious type of direct evidence for linguistic contact is the presence of loanwords. As mentioned above, there is a difference between loanwords which enter the language as a whole, and foreign words found in a particular text or texts, which may represent 'one-off' code-switching (pp. 18–21, 84). There are numerous examples of lexical loans between the various ancient languages of the peninsula, and it is often possible to narrow down their origin and sociolinguistic context, and therefore to make inferences about the type of contact situation which led to their adoption.

Most of the words in question represent loans from the indigenous languages into Latin. Some of these probably had a highly restricted distribution, as with the apparently Celtic mining terminology mentioned by Pliny.[35] The example *balux* 'gold-dust' also turns up in Martial,[36] but in general these forms are specialist jargon terms that are unlikely to have had a wider existence within peninsular Latin. However, some words were clearly in general use, since they survive into the modern Romance languages of the peninsula. A good example is Spanish *páramo* 'plateau, upland', already

[32] Wodtko 2009: 23. [33] See Alfayé and Marco Simón 2008. [34] See de Hoz 2005c.
[35] See de Hoz 2003b. [36] See Adams 2007: 402.

attested in the Classical period as *paramus*;[37] it was apparently in wide use in Celtiberian-speaking regions, but its unexplained /p/ may indicate a Lusitanian or Indo-European substratal origin.[38] A peninsular origin also seems likely for *lausa* 'flagstone, slab', which gives Spanish *losa*, Portuguese *lousa*, Catalan *llosa* and ultimately English *lozenge*. An example which spread even further is *cuniculus* 'rabbit'; this is sometimes connected to Bizkaian Basque *kui* (< **kuni*), but Xaverio Ballester and Robert Quinn (2002) demonstrate that it is best taken as a Celtiberian word. All of these examples are classic substratum loans: they denote distinctive local fauna (rabbits) or geographical features (plateaus), or are technical terms relating to indigenous industries (stoneworking, mining).

There are many other words in the peninsular Romance languages which have been claimed as substratum loans from the non-Indo-European languages of Basque and Iberian. Most of the examples are dubious;[39] nevertheless, there are a few Spanish words that are almost certainly of Basque origin (most notably *izquierdo* 'left', which even turns up in Portuguese as *esquerdo*), so it is likely that at least some of the other 'substratum' words in Spanish and Catalan really do go back to an Iberian or Basque source. However, it is difficult to prove such cases even when there is a promising match in Basque, and often no such match exists.

Alongside these substratal loans from the indigenous languages into Latin, there is also the phenomenon of 'superstrate' loans from Latin and the other colonial languages into the indigenous languages. It is easiest to detect these loans in Basque, the only indigenous language to survive to the present day. Almost all of the Aquitanian material comes from inscriptions in the Latin language, and contact with Latin and its descendants has continued uninterrupted up to the present day, leading to thousands of Latin and Romance loanwords in Basque.

When we turn to Iberian, we meet the same problem as with the study of the bilingual texts: the fact that we cannot understand Iberian. It has been alleged that there are loanwords from all three colonial languages, but these claims are extremely difficult to prove, and in most cases there is actually very little evidence to support them. For example, on internal grounds the Iberian word **eban** has been variously translated as 'stone', 'he saw to it' (i.e. Latin *curauit*) or 'son',[40] and has consequently been connected to Phoenician *bny* 'build', *bn*' 'building' or *bn* 'son', but the similarity seems just as likely to be mere coincidence. The supposed Greek loans are no

[37] See Adams 2007: 425–426.
[38] Cf. *Pallantia* etc., and the discussions in Pérez Vilatela 2004; Ballester 2004.
[39] See, for example, Trask 1997: 415–421.
[40] E.g. Rodríguez Ramos 2003; Artigues *et al.* 2007.

better: Iberian **ierene** – a dubious reading in F.13.2 – has been claimed as a loan from Greek ἱερεύς,[41] but this is apparently based entirely on the superficial resemblance, which is not even exact. Iberian **kuleś** is supposedly a loan from Greek κύλιξ; it at least occurs on vessels, although never on an actual *kylix*. This did not deter Jaime Siles from the identification,[42] but the same sequence occurs on lead and stone as well, and sometimes seems to function as a personal name element, so it seems highly unlikely that this really is a vessel name.[43] The case for Iberian **bateiŕe** as a loan from Latin *patera*[44] is rather better, since our only example is on a vessel; however, it still cannot be proven. A more interesting case is Iberian **seśte**, found on a bronze sextans from Ilerda; Joan Ferrer i Jané (2007) takes this not as an Iberianised form of the Latin name *Sextus*, as previously claimed, but as a lexical loan for the name of the denomination.[45] However, we might expect something closer to *sextans*, *sextant-*, and the fact that other coins from the same mint bear the legends **tibeŕi** and **luki** – presumably magistrates' names – makes certainty impossible.

It is possible to go beyond these usual questions of loans into and from the colonial languages, to consider the possible loans between the indigenous languages. We have already seen that *paramos* may be a loan into Celtiberian from an earlier Indo-European language which preserves initial /p/; this could be an extremely important piece of evidence to suggest that Lusitanian was once more widely spoken in the peninsula. Another interesting point is the amount of evidence for contact between Aquitanian and Gaulish: we even find Aquitanian–Gaulish hybrid names such as *Belheiorigis* and *Horolati* (both genitive singular).[46] As such, the apparent Celtic loans in Basque such as *hartz* 'bear' should probably be attributed not to Celtiberian, as is sometimes claimed,[47] but to Gaulish.[48]

For the question of loans between Iberian and the other indigenous languages, the same difficulties recur. María Lourdes Albertos Firmat (1966)

[41] E.g. Jímenez 2001: 91, following Anderson 1989: 184. [42] Siles 1985: 177.
[43] See Pérez Vilatela 1991: 38.
[44] E.g. Untermann 1990: II 131; Pérez Vilatela 1991: 38; de Hoz 1995d: 76.
[45] See also Ferrer i Jané and Giral Royo 2007: 96. [46] Gorrochategui 1984; De Hoz 1995b.
[47] E.g. Matasović 2009: 71 (albeit in this case for a word which cannot possibly be a Celtic loan, namely Basque *bortz*, *bost* 'five').
[48] The case of Basque *zilhar* 'silver' is less clear, since the word is attested in Celtiberian (**silabur**) but not yet in Gaulish. However, this word is a special case, since it has a wide distribution in Europe and its ultimate origin is unclear. Mees (2003: 27) takes Celtiberian **silabur** as a borrowing from Iberian, and suggests that the 'silver' word spread north to Germanic, Baltic and Slavic along with the silver itself, but this is apparently based on the discredited connection of **silabur** with Iberian **śalir** (Tovar 1979). Indeed, even if **silabur** itself were to turn up in an Iberian text, it would be impossible to prove that it really is a native Iberian word and not just a Western European *Wanderwort* of uncertain origin.

suggested that several Iberian onomastic elements (**aiu**, **neŕe**, **tautin** etc.) are of Celtiberian origin;[49] in itself the existence of Mischkomposita is not impossible, and we have the parallel of the Aquitanian–Gaulish hybrid names mentioned above, but the Iberian sequences involved are often short and non-distinctive, so it is hard to prove that the resemblances are not just mere coincidence.

A particularly interesting question is the possibility of loans between Iberian and Aquitanian/Basque. The recent identification of possible numerals in Iberian,[50] bearing a striking similarity to their Basque counterparts, would – if correct – imply either genetic relationship or large-scale borrowing. The former has often been ruled out as unworkable; if borrowing is responsible, it seems likely that the direction of borrowing would have been from Iberian into Aquitanian/Basque rather than the other way round, since Iberian was apparently the dominant language of trade and commerce throughout the north-east, and was influential even in areas where it was apparently not the main native language of the local population (see p. 100). The borrowing of numbers is cross-linguistically common, and we could add further possible 'superstratum' loans such as Basque *sari* < **sali* 'payment', perhaps from Iberian **śalir**, where the context suggests a meaning 'money, silver' *vel sim.*[51] Another candidate is Basque *hiri* 'town', already sometimes claimed as a loan from Iberian **ildiŕ** (apparently also 'town').[52] This would fit the fact that Iberian society was urbanised at a stage when its western neighbours were not.

The debate over the significance of these apparent links between Basque and Iberian is set to continue, and unless genetic relationship can be ruled out, it would be risky to base too much on these putative loans. Nevertheless, they are a good example of how the same methodology used to investigate Iberian contact with Latin can also be applied to the question of its earlier contacts.

4 INDIRECT EVIDENCE

Given the limitations of the direct evidence, it is profitable to explore some of the indirect indications of language contact. The most tangible are those

[49] Cf. Pérez Vilatela 2004 and Silgo Gauche 1994; the theory is revived and developed in Faria 2008.

[50] Orduña Aznar 2005; Ferrer i Jané 2006, 2007, 2009.

[51] E.g. Silgo Gauche 2007: 221.

[52] The required Basque protoform *(*h*)*ili* shows the 'wrong' lateral, since we might expect Iberian *-ld-* to correspond to the Proto-Basque 'strong' or geminate lateral **L* (i.e.*(*h*)*iLi*, which would give modern Basque *hili* rather than *hiri* (e.g. de Hoz 2005a: 183)). However, this does not seem a fatal obstacle.

relating to epigraphy; Leiwo (2002) includes this in his classificatory system as another type of code-mixing, after morphological and phonological interference, but it seems best to separate the two and treat epigraphic issues as indirect evidence. Although there is often a clear correlation between the presence of epigraphic influence and the presence of purely linguistic contact phenomena, epigraphic influence can also take various less obvious forms, which ultimately shade into more general cultural influence.

4.1 Epigraphic influence from Phoenician/Punic

Epigraphic influence begins with the Phoenicians, who were the first to introduce writing to the peninsula, and whose consonantal alphabet was the model for the first paleohispanic script. It is also possible to detect the indirect influence of Phoenician epigraphy in the supports and types of inscriptions for the earliest indigenous epigraphy of the south, and indeed in its rarity and restricted sphere of use.[53] This corresponds with the more general Phoenician influence in other areas of culture:[54] as de Hoz (2005b) demonstrates, it is possible to consider the adoption of writing as another 'Orientalising' trait.

4.2 Epigraphic influence from Greek

The next major epigraphic influence on the peninsula came with the arrival of the Greeks.[55] The Greek alphabet is sometimes said to have been involved in the initial creation of the paleohispanic script, but the evidence is not compelling and it seems more likely that the Phoenician script was the sole model. However, the Greeks were present in the south from an early date,[56] and the Niethos inscription appears to show early interaction with the indigenous population (p. 83).[57] In the north-east, the earliest evidence for interaction – and indeed, the earliest evidence for the Iberian language – comes from the personal names in the Greek lead texts of Pech Maho (France) and Emporion, which attest to commercial dealings between Greeks and Iberians from the Languedoc down to the coastal centres of Emporion and Saguntum from at least the sixth century.[58]

[53] See Zamora López 2004, 2005. [54] See Blázquez Martínez 1986.

[55] Although it is possible that the Mycenaeans reached as far as Spain (Mederos Martín 1999; López Pardo 2000; Blázquez Martínez 2002), they are unlikely to have had any significant linguistic influence, and it is clear that the paleohispanic scripts are not actually related to Linear A and B as they were in the 'Argaric' model of Gómez-Moreno. The present discussion confines itself to the first millennium BC.

[56] See González de Canales, Serrano and Llompart 2008: 646. [57] See Almagro-Gorbea 2002.

[58] See de Hoz 1999a.

The nature of the Greek presence further south-east in Contestania (Alicante) is more controversial, and the very existence of the alleged Greek colonies of Hemeroskopeion, Alonis and Akra Leuke has frequently been rejected.[59] However, there is an increasing amount of archaeological evidence for a Greek presence at Santa Pola (apparently the ancient Alonis),[60] and the Graeco-Iberian script used in Alicante and Murcia seems to confirm that there was direct contact between Greeks and Iberians in the region.[61]

The existence of the Graeco-Iberian script can be considered as a sociolinguistic problem, since the region of its adoption is also the only area where both the Iberian semisyllabaries were in regular use. Furthermore, the functions of this script overlap completely with those of the semisyllabaries: it is found in graffiti on ceramics and in commercial lead texts, epigraphic categories which are well attested in the Meridional and Levantine scripts. It is possible that Graeco-Iberian served as a marker of local identity which distinguished one community from their neighbours, just as the local variants of the Greek alphabet did in Greece. There is a problem in that the find-spots overlap with those of the other native scripts, but we can perhaps attribute this to the mobility of the Iberian traders and of the texts themselves. Indeed, we could even take Graeco-Iberian as the marker of a particular network of Iberian traders, in which case the overlap with the other scripts does not pose any problem for the idea that the use of Graeco-Iberian as opposed to Meridional or Levantine was a marker of identity.

In fact, this still may not be the best answer to the question of why the Graeco-Iberian script was created in the first place. A better explanation may actually be purely chronological, namely that neither of the other Iberian scripts was yet in use in this region at the time of its creation (perhaps as early as 450 BC),[62] and that the Graeco-Iberian script was created not as an attempt to garner some of the prestige associated with Greekness, but simply because the Iberians who created it had no other means of writing their language. In any case, this question of the Graeco-Iberian script is a good example of how evidence from different disciplines (in this case, epigraphy and archaeology) is crucial for the study of such contacts between ancient languages, and can radically affect the sociolinguistic conclusions which should be drawn.

[59] See Aubet 2005. [60] See Domínguez 2006: 484–491. [61] See de Hoz 1995c: 161–162.
[62] See de Hoz 1985–1986: 290. The epigraphic criteria on which he bases this date have been slightly weakened by subsequent discoveries, but it is reasonable to suppose that the script is at least a few decades older than the earliest surviving examples, so a fifth-century date seems plausible.

Interestingly, the inscriptional typology of Iberian in all three of its scripts seems to show a certain amount of Greek influence, most notably in the high frequency of lead texts. It is important to note that almost all the surviving Iberian lead texts appear to be commercial (and not e.g. *defixiones*).[63] Although commercial lead texts are not unknown for Phoenician and Etruscan,[64] all the examples are from Greek or even Iberian-influenced contexts; the Celtiberian lead text from Iniesta is also clearly the result of contact with Iberian.[65] Thus, although the commercial lead texts do form part of a wider, pan-regional phenomenon, it is Iberian and ultimately Greek which appears to have made most extensive use of this practice.

4.3 Epigraphic influence from Latin

Often, the specific influence of Latin epigraphy on the indigenous languages of the peninsula is unmistakeable. The most obvious form of epigraphic influence is the use of the Roman alphabet, which is attested for all the major indigenous languages of the peninsula. Sometimes it was taken up by previously anepigraphic peoples, but in other cases it appears to represent a switch from semisyllabic to Roman script. This is clearest on the coins, where the legends often change from indigenous (or in the southern mints, Punic/neo-Punic/Libyo-Phoenician) to Roman, sometimes with an intervening bilingual/digraphic stage.[66] In fact, the legends in the Roman alphabet probably represent a shift to the Latin language as well, as indicated by the fact that there is often morphological adaptation, e.g. **kelse** > *Celsa*.[67]

[63] The Iberian lead texts from Orleyl are sometimes described as 'funerary', but only because they were found rolled up in a funerary urn. The text from El Amarejo could indeed be a *defixio* (Velaza Frías 2007: 277), but such examples seem to be the exception rather than the rule.

[64] See de Hoz 1999b: 443–448.

[65] See Jordán Cólera 2006; Lorrio Alvarado 2007.

[66] The situation is actually more complex than this, since the earliest issues of some mints (e.g. Vesci) are digraphic, while others (e.g. Obulco, Ituci) appear to show a double switch, from Latin to indigenous or digraphic and back to Latin again. This could be interpreted as the result of an initial need or desire on the part of the issuing authorities to assert and consolidate their authority by emphasising the colonial element in the relatively newly established power structures, followed by an attempt to foster civic identity and cohesion by emphasising the indigenous element or presenting it as co-official alongside Latin, with a final phase where the indigenous scripts had fallen out of use entirely. In any case, it is important to remember that for these towns of the south, unlike the mints which produced coins before the Roman conquest, the issuing of coinage was an entirely colonial phenomenon.

[67] A possible exception is **kolounioku** > *Clounioq*; here the legend in the Roman alphabet may still be Celtiberian, since the fully colonial issues of the imperial period use the Latinised city name *Clunia*.

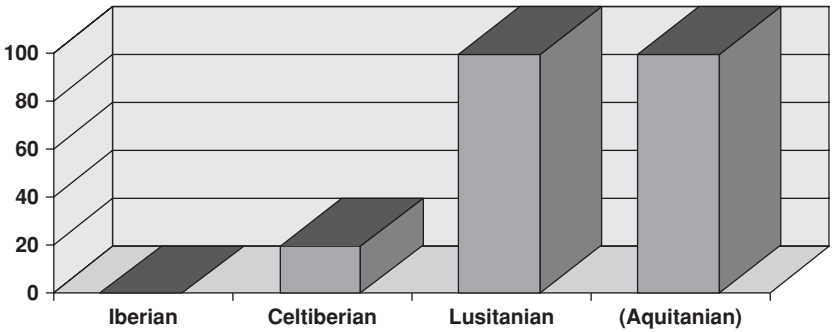

Figure 4.2 Use of the Roman alphabet, as percentage of total inscriptions.

Leaving aside the special category of coin epigraphy, there is a highly significant and immediately obvious difference from language to language in the use of the Roman alphabet to write indigenous languages (Fig. 4.2). Iberian has about 2,000 inscriptions with three or possibly four in the Roman alphabet, while Celtiberian has ten times as many, within a corpus that is ten times smaller. As for the Lusitanian language, which is written entirely in the Roman alphabet, we have a total corpus of five inscriptions, three of which show code-switching into Latin.

These differences tie in with the fact that Iberian had a long epigraphic tradition before the arrival of the Romans, whereas Lusitanian was written for the first time in the Roman alphabet, having previously been a purely spoken language. As mentioned earlier, it is surely no accident that the code-switching in two of the five inscriptions consists precisely of the word for this characteristically Roman activity (*scripsi*, *scripserunt*). It is worth comparing the Aquitanian language, which is even further along the scale: there are no inscriptions in Aquitanian itself, only names and theonyms preserved in Latin inscriptions.[68] Furthermore, the relative frequency of Aquitanian names compared to Roman ones sharply decreases the closer one goes to the Aquitanian heartland. This seems paradoxical, but as Gorrochategui points out, it reflects the fact that in the areas where Aquitanian

[68] There is a lone example of an Aquitanian theonym (Λαρρασωνι, dative singular) preserved in a Greek dedication, but the origin and authenticity of this inscription are dubious (Decourt 2004: 299–300). More interesting are the couple of supposedly Aquitanian forms in the Iberian or Celtiberian script, such as the Pyrenean mint-names **olkairun** and **bentian** (e.g. Tovar 1979; Beltrán Lloris and Velaza Frías 2009; Velaza Frías 2009; cf. de Hoz 1995b: 275), and **lueikar**[on ceramic from Calahorra, which Velaza Frías 1995 compares to the allegedly Aquitanian]*eihar* in the *Tabula Contrebiensis* (e.g. Fatás 1983: 12). However, although the case of **bentian** is highly suggestive, and inevitably invites comparison with Basque *mendi* 'mountain' (e.g. Faria 2001, 2002, 2005; Villar 2002), it is not certain that any of these are actually Aquitanian at all.

culture was strongest and where there was least assimilation, the only people to use writing at all were Romans.[69]

The situation for Celtiberian is more complex: although it is written in its own indigenous script (a slightly adapted version of the Levantine Iberian semisyllabary) as well as in the Roman alphabet, all of the examples date from the Roman period, and the script is sometimes claimed to have been created as a direct response to Roman power and literacy.[70] The truth of this is hard to judge, but it is interesting to note that as with the horseman coinage, the Levantine semisyllabary can be taken as a marker of indigenous identity that encompasses both Iberians and Celtiberians, in opposition to the Romans.

A less radical form of Roman epigraphic influence is also visible within the semisyllabic texts, not least in the sporadic appearance of clearly Latinised letter forms. For example, Iberian **n**, which normally resembles its archaic Greek counterpart, sometimes lowers its right side to become more similar to Latin N.[71] A particularly interesting example is the Celtiberian bronze from Luzaga (K.6.1). It has recently been recognised that this text, like several other texts in the western variant of the Celtiberian script, uses the 'dual system' previously only known from Iberian, which distinguishes voiced and voiceless stops by means of an extra stroke. In the Luzaga inscription, as in all the others, it is the voiceless series which show the extra stroke. However, for the pair **ke** and **ge** the values appear to be reversed.[72] It can hardly be a coincidence that these two signs are formally identical to Latin C and G.[73] That is, it seems that the creator of this particular sub-variant of the script – who may have been the engraver of the Luzaga inscription himself, since there do not appear to be any other inscriptions which show the same switch of values – was familiar with the Latin alphabet, and, struck by the fact that the signs for **ke** and **ge** resembled Latin G and C respectively, switched the values to harmonise them with those of the Latin letters. Indeed, this could even be an inadvertent slip, on the part of a Celtiberian who used the Roman alphabet more regularly than the native semisyllabary, and perhaps even wrote in Latin more regularly than in Celtiberian. It may also be significant that the Celtiberian word for son is *gentis*, and that on the model of Latin F this is abbreviated to G in a Celtiberian inscription in the Roman alphabet (K.3.14), and to **ke/ge** (in the non-dual system) in an inscription in the Celtiberian script (K.0.2).[74]

[69] Gorrochategui 1995: 49. [70] See Beltrán Lloris 1999.
[71] See, for example, F.11.5; Arasa i Gil 1994–1995: 94. [72] See Jordán Cólera 2005: 1022.
[73] See Jordán Cólera 2007: 110. [74] See Adams 2003: 282.

Some texts in the Levantine semisyllabary show Latin influence not just in the letter forms, but in the very structure of the script: the original semisyllabic system is replaced by quasi-alphabetic spellings, where syllabic signs are followed by *plene* vowel-signs. This phenomenon is most widespread in Celtiberian, but is not unknown in Iberian. The best example is the coinage of Cesse, where we can see the process in action: the original legend **ke.s.e**, consisting of three graphemes, is replaced by **ke.e.s.s.e**, whose five graphemes mirror the Latin spelling.

It is possible to detect other types of influence from Roman epigraphy. As well as the aforementioned changes in letter forms, and the appearance of Latinate serifs and elaborate word-dividers in Iberian texts (especially those from the urban centres of Emporion and Saguntum), a generally Romanising *ductus* also produces less obvious changes in the appearance of Iberian inscriptions, for instance in the size and shape of the prepared field for some inscriptions on stone, and the placing of the inscription within this field.[75] There is also a more general influence on the epigraphic typology: we find official bronze plaques in both Iberian and Celtiberian, *tesserae hospitales* in Celtiberian, and the rise of Iberian funerary epigraphy (which before the Roman period is rare, if not completely absent), with arguably Romanising features such as the use of abbreviations, and sometimes also the indication of the age of the deceased.[76] The influence of Latin epigraphy is often also cited as the cause of even more fundamental and much less obviously Romanising changes. For example, although Iberian had been a written language long before the arrival of the Romans, the initial stages of the Roman presence see a substantial increase in the use of indigenous language and script. The most tangible result is the geographical expansion of Iberian epigraphy, especially up the Ebro Valley.[77] For all of these features, there has been a detailed discussion of how much is directly due to the influence of Latin epigraphy, how much is the indirect result of cultural contact with the Romans, and how much is due to internal developments or to a more general, pan-Mediterranean trend.[78]

5 PERSONAL NAMES

One of the most important sources of evidence for linguistic contact is the field of personal names. The most common phenomenon is the gradual

[75] See Arasa i Gil 1994–1995.
[76] See Arasa i Gil 1994–1995; de Hoz 1995d.
[77] See de Hoz 1995d: 82–83.
[78] As well as Arasa i Gil 1994–1995 and de Hoz 1995d, we can mention the studies of Beltrán Lloris 1993, 1995, 1999; Panosa 1996; Velaza Frías 2002b; Abascal Palazón 2003.

adoption of the Latin naming system and nomenclature by members of the indigenous population; the stages of this process are the same as we find elsewhere in the Roman world. For example, as in Gaul,[79] we often find a generational change where the father's name is indigenous but the son or daughter bears a Romanised name: from Iberian we have *Cn. Cornelius Nesille f.* and *P. Fabius Enesagin f.* on the famous Ascoli bronze, while a granite stele from Badajoz commemorates *Julia Rufa*, daughter of the Celtic or Lusitanian *Tongetus*.[80]

The various examples of Roman names in indigenous inscriptions, such as **tibeśi** on an Iberian coin and **koŕneli** in an Iberian stone inscription, probably represent the same phenomenon.[81] As with Roman names in Gaulish texts, we should not ignore the possibility that these could be Romans who ordered an inscription in a native language;[82] however, for most examples there are specific reasons why this is probably not the case.[83] Thus, it seems likely that the bearers of the various Roman and Graeco-Roman names on the Celtiberian Botorrita III inscription – **markos**, **bolora** (*Flora*), **saluta**, **kinbiria** (*Cimbria*), **tiokenes** (*Diogenes*), **bilonikos** (*Philonicus*) and **antiokos** – were the descendants of people with Celtiberian names. Indeed, three of these names from Botorrita are accompanied by patronymics, and in each case they appear to be Celtiberian.

Onomastic Romanisation was apparently not always a one-way process; sometimes we seem to find an indigenous name with a Roman patronymic, such as *Camira Flaui f.*, *Maela Seueri f.* and *Reburrus Rufini f.*[84] Such cases are rare, especially once we discount apparently Roman forms such as *Luci* and *Titi* which could actually be indigenous, but again, the parallels from Gaul (e.g. *Matugeno Montani f.*)[85] confirm that we should take the phenomenon seriously.

There is also onomastic evidence for interaction between Iberian and other languages. Here the situation is not always so clear, and a degree of caution is needed. For example, the same Botorrita III bronze mentions individuals with Iberian first names but Celtiberian family names, e.g. **biurtilaur alaskum**, **iunstibas uiriaskum**, **bilosban betikum**. Despite the apparently high prestige of Iberian in the Ebro valley, it seems more likely that these are Iberian speakers who had been integrated into the

[79] See Stüber 2007: 86, 89. [80] See Wodtko 2009: 39; *HEp* 5, 1995: 55.
[81] Siles 1981. [82] Stüber 2007: 85.
[83] For example, if **tibeśi** really is the Roman name *Tiberius*, it would surely represent an Iberian magistrate bearing a Romanising name, since the use of a bare *praenomen* is not a Roman practice (Faria 2007: 228).
[84] Vallejo Ruiz 2005: 254, 342, 385. [85] Stüber 2007: 89–90.

Celtiberian clan system, rather than Celtiberians who had found it expedient to adopt an Iberian name. However, it is difficult to prove this, and further evidence is needed before we can justify the decision to analyse the two groups of names differently – i.e., to take **tiokenes** (*Diogenes*) **uiriaskum** as ancestrally Celtiberian, but **iunstibas uiriaskum** as ancestrally Iberian. There is also the danger of circular argument, if we attempt to draw sociolinguistic conclusions from texts where our analysis is itself partly based on sociolinguistic assumptions. Nevertheless, the interpretation proposed above does seem the most likely, and as with the Ascoli bronze, it is even possible to detect different levels of assimilation: Botorrita III names another individual as an Iberian **bartiltun ekarbilos**, with no Celtiberian family name, and with the characteristic Iberian naming formula of name plus father's name with no morphological marking on either. Both the Ascoli bronze and Botorrita III are ready-made prosopographies, which provide an invaluable insight into particular sectors of the population of the Ebro Valley.

The presence of Gaulish names in Iberian texts from the north-east raises the same problems, but is equally informative about the nature of the contacts between Iberians and speakers of other languages. An interesting example is the Iberian commercial lead text from Emporion which is apparently addressed to **katulatien**, i.e. a Gaul *Catulatios* with the Iberian suffix **-en**. Velaza Frías suggests that this name could actually be Iberian rather than Gaulish,[86] but across the border in Languedoc there are other lead texts, stamps and ceramic graffiti in the Iberian language which contain clearly Gaulish names, often also bearing Iberian suffixes: B.1.59 **ośiobaŕenYi** (*Oxiomaros*), B.1.364 **latubaŕentagiar** (*Latumaros*),[87] B.7.34 Pech Maho IA **botuoŕiś** (*Boduorix*), **kanbuloike** (*Camulos*). As de Hoz (2009) points out, it seems more likely that these names belong to Gauls who had learned to write in Iberian (apparently the only written indigenous language in the region at the time), rather than Iberians who had adopted Gaulish names.

6 IBERIAN IN THE EBRO VALLEY

Gaulish names in the Iberian inscriptions are one of the bases for de Hoz's argument that Iberian was a regional lingua franca, used as a language of trade by members of other ethnic groups.[88] This remains a controversial

[86] Velaza Frías 2006: 275.
[87] V.l. **ŕatu-** (*Ratumaros*); see Ferrer i Jané 2008.
[88] See de Hoz 2003a.

theory,[89] especially for its claim that Iberian was originally restricted to Contestania, a relatively small part of its historical range; the idea that Iberian was not a native language in the north-east is particularly contentious. It is worth pointing out that even Velaza Frías, who is otherwise sceptical, accepts that the wide geographical range and apparent lack of dialectal variation in Iberian supports the idea of a relatively recent expansion;[90] however, we should be careful to distinguish the early flourishing of Iberian epigraphy in the north-east, with its strong commercial associations and its typically private inscriptions, from its later presence in the Ebro Valley.

Texts such as the mosaic inscription from Andelos (Muruzábal de Andión) in Navarra are very important as evidence for the possible nature of this Iberian presence in the Ebro Valley. It is very similar to another mosaic from Caminreal in Teruel, and the connection is confirmed by the fact that both texts mention a certain *Likinos*, presumably a master mosaic maker. Both also contain place names: the Andelos text mentions Bilbilis, and the Caminreal text mentions Ossicerda. These apparently indicate two different workshops, or some kind of franchise of mosaic makers. Both inscriptions are apparently in Iberian, even though the name *Likinos* is clearly Celtiberian, the town name of Bilbilis probably is as well,[91] and Ossicerda could be too.[92]

Mosaic inscription from Andelos (K.28.1):

likine. abulo̓raune. ekien. bilbiliaś.

Mosaic inscription from Caminreal (K.5.3):

likinete. ekiar. usekeŕteku.

It has been suggested that the Andelos inscription is a mixed text containing Aquitanian/Basque features. This seems unlikely, and indeed was originally based on an erroneous reading and the assumption that the matrix language was not Iberian but Celtiberian.[93] The text seems to be Iberian: both **ekien** and **aś** have parallels elsewhere in the corpus, and although the Andelos inscription lacks the familiar Iberian suffixes of the Caminreal text, we do not know enough about Iberian grammar to know whether this is

[89] See de Hoz 2007: 37 n. 71. [90] Velaza Frías 2006: 279.
[91] Although the ultimate origin of the place name is unclear, the coin legend **bilbiliz** suggests a Celtiberian ablative singular.
[92] Luján 2005a: 483 (although the etymology given in Curchin 2008 is unconvincing).
[93] Pérez Vilatela 1996.

unexpected (for example, the Caminreal text could be a nominal (i.e. non-verbal) sentence and Andelos verbal, or vice versa).[94] However, it contains the intriguing sequence **likine. abulośaune**, which Jesús Rodríguez Ramos (1999–2000) takes as an Iberian adaptation of a Celtiberian syntagm *likinos abulos launi*, 'Likinos the servant/freedman (?) of Abulu'. Therefore, this could be a rare example of Iberian–Celtiberian code-switching.

Whatever the truth about the Andelos inscription, the mere fact that it uses the Iberian language is striking. There are hardly any other Iberian inscriptions as far west as Andelos, and the native language of the area may even have been Aquitanian[95] (although as we have seen, the claim that the Andelos inscription itself contains Aquitanian features is not compelling). The fact that Iberian was used this far up the Ebro Valley is important, and its use on a mosaic inscription shows that it was seen as a suitable medium for this type of prestige statement, identifying the mosaic as a genuine Likinos. Indeed, the other Iberian inscription from the region, from Aranguren, is on a bronze plaque;[96] this is highly atypical for Iberian epigraphy, and would seem to indicate an equally high-status and possibly public function. If the Andelos inscription really is linguistically atypical as well, this would be even more significant; unfortunately, our knowledge of the Iberian language does not allow certainty on this point.

The links between Andelos, Bilbilis, Caminreal and Ossicerda seen in the two mosaics (Fig. 4.3) provide good evidence for studies of networks and mobility among the indigenous elites, in this case the activities of skilled craftsmen and rich customers. These form a useful supplement to the web of links that can be plotted between the find-spots of the inscribed Celtiberian *tesserae hospitales* and the place names mentioned in their contents (Fig. 4.4).[97] These *tesserae* are often assumed to be associated with similarly high-status individuals, but we should not forget that the exact function of the *tesserae* is still not clear.[98] Manuel Salinas de Frías (1999) suggests that they may be related to the practice of transhumance; the idea that *tesserae* were intended for use by shepherds rather than diplomats or similarly important people may seem surprising, but we should remember that transhumance was a practice of great economic importance, and was often very closely supervised and controlled by the power structures of

[94] Cf. Luján 2010: 294–298, who suggests that the Caminreal text contains an ergative construction, and the Andelos text an antipassive.
[95] See Velaza Frías 1995: 217.
[96] See Beltrán Lloris and Velaza Frías 1993; Moncunill Martí 2007: 435–436.
[97] See Untermann 1997: 437; Simón Cornago 2008: 142.
[98] See Beltrán Lloris 2001.

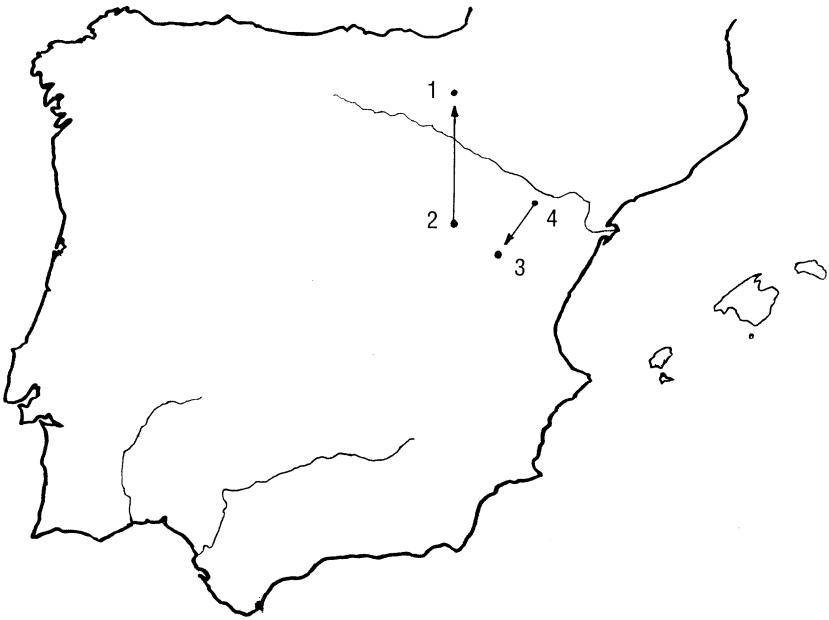

Figure 4.3 Connections attested on the mosaic inscriptions of Andelos and Caminreal.
Sites:
1 Andelos (Navarra)
2 Bilbilis (modern Calatayud, Zaragoza)
3 Caminreal (Teruel)
4 Ossicerda (modern La Puebla de Híjar, Teruel)
Arrows point from the place names mentioned in the inscriptions towards the respective find-spots of the two texts.

the region in question.[99] Thus, transhumance may indeed have been one of the contexts in which these *tesserae* were used, and the great distances between some of the find-spots and issuing authorities of the individual *tesserae* need not rule it out, since transhumance could involve very large distances.[100]

A similar network of links lies behind the corpus of Iberian commercial lead texts, which are often several hundred years older and attest to trading relationships, partnerships or hawala networks of merchants from the Guadalquivir to southern France. Unfortunately, they rarely contain

[99] See Christie 2008. [100] See Gómez-Pantoja 2004.

Figure 4.4 Connections attested on selected Celtiberian *tesserae* (after Simón Cornago 2008).

Sites:

1	Monte Cildá, Olleros de Pisuerga (Palencia)
2	Virovia (modern Cerro de San Juan, Briviesca, Burgos)
3	Libia (modern Colina de las Sernas, Herramélluri, La Rioja)
4	Paredes de Nava (Palencia)
5	Palenzuela (Palencia)
6	Uxama Argaila (modern Alto del Castro, El Burgo de Osma, Soria)
7	Tarmestuts (probably Termes, modern Montejo de Tiermes, Soria)
8	Turiaso (modern Tarazona, Zaragoza)
9	Cuenca (exact find-spot unknown)
10	Caminreal (Teruel)

Lines extend from the place names mentioned in the inscriptions towards the respective find-spots of the *tesserae* they appear on.

clear and identifiable place names,[101] so it is usually impossible to identify where a given Iberian lead inscription was written. However, epigraphic details such as the use of the Levantine, Meridional or Graeco-Iberian script sometimes help to narrow down the possible origin, or at least its

[101] See, however, Orduña Aznar 2003; Luján 2005a.

general direction. The Greek parallels are also helpful, since they attest to interactions between Greek and Iberian traders in Saguntum, Emporion and Pech Maho, and it is likely that the Iberian lead texts involve similar distances.

De Hoz (2009) proposes that these functions of the Iberian language had a direct effect on its epigraphy: more specifically, he suggests that Iberian's role as a language of trade among non-native speakers, and the resulting frequency with which foreign names appeared in Iberian texts, was the cause of an innovative feature found in some varieties of the Levantine script, namely the ability to distinguish voiced and voiceless stops. Ultimately, this is probably a theory too far: the very fact that Iberian itself apparently possessed phonemic /t/ : /d/ and /k/ : /g/ oppositions makes it impossible to prove that the 'dual system' was anything more than a purely internal development.

However, there are other instances where these sociolinguistic questions do indeed offer new insights into seemingly unrelated issues. For example, if Iberian really was a lingua franca, this may have important consequences not just for the study of its language contacts, but also for the circumstances of its eventual extinction. The rapid spread of a lingua franca over a large area can be followed by an equally rapid decline, especially when its function is taken over by another language. For example, this is exactly what happened to Police Motu in New Guinea, when its function as a lingua franca was taken over by Tok Pisin. Indeed, it may not even matter whether Iberian was a true lingua franca. Velaza Frías, who rejects this idea, still accepts that Iberian was so homogeneous over its huge range from Aranguren and Andelos in Navarra to Ensérune in Languedoc and to Obulco and Iliberri (**iltuŕiŕ)** in the south that it must have been the result of a relatively recent expansion. Although Iberian appears to have had some prestige status in the upper Ebro Valley and Navarra, its presence here may well have proved more fragile than that of Celtiberian and Aquitanian once the region lost its autonomy.

With this in mind, it is interesting to consider the epigraphy of the town of *Contrebia Belaisca* (modern Botorrita) in the province of Zaragoza. A spindle-whorl found here bears an Iberian inscription, and Botorrita III confirms that there were some Iberians here, but it was a Celtiberian town and Celtiberian is the language of most of the public bronze plaques. However, when the town was called to arbitrate in a dispute between the two neighbouring towns of Salduie and Alavona (perhaps as a deliberate step to ensure that the case was seen as being decided indigenously rather

than by the proconsul, who is specifically mentioned as merely 'approving' the judgement, *iudicium addeixit*, rather than imposing it),[102] the judgement was recorded not in Celtiberian nor in Iberian but in Latin, in the inscription known as the *Tabula Contrebiensis*, dating to 87 BC.

It seems fairly clear that Salduba/**salduie** was an Iberian town (not least because of the evidence from the Ascoli bronze, written just a year or two earlier than the *Tabula Contrebiensis*).[103] It is often claimed that Alavona/**alaun** (modern Alagón) was Basque, although this is more contentious: it is certainly mentioned as a town of the Vascones by both Pliny and Ptolemy, and their presence here has been attributed to a secondary, southwards expansion in the time of Pompey, but this does not mean that the Aquitanian/Basque language was spoken here. Although the *-n* of **alaun** could plausibly be taken as a Vascoid suffix,[104] it could equally be Iberian.[105] Indeed, the only name in the *Tabula Contrebiensis* which could be Vascoid ([.]*eihar*) actually comes from Salduie,[106] while the only Alavonian mentioned in the text seems to have an Iberian name (*Turibas Teitabas f.*). Of course, this does not mean that everyone in the town was Iberian, and it could be significant that he is the one they chose as their advocate, but the name at least proves some degree of Iberian influence in the town. However, despite the demonstrable presence of Iberian at all three sites, and despite the fact that the judgement was apparently deliberately presented as an indigenous ruling rather than as an edict of the Roman proconsul, the language of the inscription is Latin. Therefore, even if Iberian had previously been the language of diplomacy in the region, it certainly was not in this case. The rise of Latin in these functions was inevitably linked to the decline of Iberian, and we find a progressive reduction in its written functions: the last Iberian inscriptions are purely private in nature, as opposed to the public inscriptions of the earlier period, and all the parallels would suggest that after this it was a purely spoken language, before eventually dying out completely.

7 FURTHER PROSPECTS

The examples presented in this survey have shown that it is possible to extract a surprising amount of sociolinguistic information concerning language contact and multilingualism even from poorly understood languages

[102] According to Fatás 1983: 15–16; Tsirkin 1993: 288.
[103] The first four names on the Ascoli bronze, which are listed without an ethnic and therefore appear to indicate cavalrymen from Salduba itself, are clearly Iberian.
[104] See Blázquez Cerrato 2009: 89. [105] See Luján 2005a: 482. [106] See Fatás 1983.

such as Iberian and poorly attested languages such as Lusitanian. Many important new texts have been discovered within the last few years, and future finds will inevitably offer new opportunities for progress in the field, but there is also ample potential for further investigation within the material which already exists, using the same multidisciplinary approach which has proved so fruitful for the study of the more recent language contacts of the peninsula.

A focus on multilingualism may even allow us to formulate more informed hypotheses about the linguistic situation in the peninsula at a much earlier date. We have already seen that the relationship between Basque and Iberian is coming under renewed scrutiny, and as Wodtko (2009) points out, the issue of language contact is also vital for the question of the relationship between Celtiberian and Lusitanian. Both of these issues have crucial implications for the linguistic prehistory of Spain and Portugal, even including the much-discussed question of how and when the Indo-Europeans first entered the peninsula.

CHAPTER 5

Complaints of the natives in a Greek dress
The Zenon Archive and the problem of Egyptian interference

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1 PETOSIRIS' DRAFT-MEMORANDUM

Sometime on or after 23 January in the year 254 BC, a man called Petosiris drafted a memorandum in Greek to Zenon. The text is transcribed and translated as (1) below. In the field of papyrology this Zenon is a famous figure, the principal accumulator of the massive archive now known by his name. He was an agent of Apollonios, the finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (282–246 BC), and at the time in question he was managing Apollonios' large estate in the north-eastern corner of the Fayum basin, in Middle Egypt.[1] Petosiris is known from at least six texts in the Zenon Archive, and seems to have been a supervisor of building works.[2] This draft-memorandum is actually the fourth and last of a series of communications from him, which cover both front and back of a single papyrus.

(1) *P.Cair.Zen.* III.59499, Back, cols. ii–iii, ll. 85–102:
ὑπόμνημα Ζήνω-
νι [[χαίρειν]] παρὰ Πετο-
σίριος. Πᾶεις ὁ στασιασ-
τὲς ὁ γεωργὸς [[σ νῦν]] τὸν τόπον τ<οῦ>-
[[σκενοῖ σ]] τον νῦν σκενοῖ.
[ο]ὐκ αὐτοῦ ἐστ[ι]ν, ἀλλὰ βασι- 90
Col. iii
{σι}λικόν. ἔχρεσεν παρά μοι μέχρι μῆ-
νές τινες, μέχρι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον
οἰκοδόμεσε, καὶ σ[[οι]]ὺ δέδωκας (δραχμὰς) κ εἰς οἰ-
κοδομὴν ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι
ἀδελφῶι, ταύτην τὴν οἰκίαν ὃ πέπρακεν Φανέσι 95
ἐλαιοπώλης τὸ ἥμυσον (δραχμῶν) ξδ, τὸ δὲ ἥμυσον

[1] Zenon and the Zenon Archive have attracted a vast literature, but no definitive treatment as yet exists; Pestman 1981 provides an indispensable tool for advanced research, Clarysse and Vandorpe 1995 a brief introduction (and cf. more recently Manning 2003: 110–118).
[2] Clarysse 1981: 403, s.v. Πετοσῖρις no. 18.

[[Κοροιβίδης]] μέλλι ἀγοράσαι.
καὶ ἄλλον τόπον ἔχει ἐγ βασιλικοῦ,
καὶ τοῦτο πέπρακεν Ὥρωι τὸν ἐπὶ
τῶν κρότωνες, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ οἰκίαν [[πέ- 100
πρακεν]] οἰκοδόμεσεν ἀλλ' [[ε]] ἃ νῦν πέ-
πρακεν.

Memorandum to Zenon ['greetings' is deleted] from Petosiris. Pais the weigher, the farmer, ['now' is deleted] this place ['inhabits' is deleted] now inhabits. It is not his, but belongs to the crown. He borrowed from me for several months until he built his own place, and you have given him and his brother 20 drachmas for the building of this house, this house of which he has sold half to Phanesis the oil-seller for 64 drachmas, but the other half ['Koroibides' is deleted] he (?) is going to buy. And he has another place from the treasury [i.e. from crown funds?], and this he sold to Horos, the one in charge of the castor, and he has by no means ['sold' is deleted] built a house, other than the ones which he has now sold.

This is a remarkable specimen of early Koine Greek. Even for experienced readers of non-literary papyri it is a demanding text, full of peculiarities of orthography, morphology and syntax, and of complicating additions and corrections. The original editor, C. C. Edgar, observed that 'the text is so mutilated and the Greek is so extraordinarily bad that it is difficult to give a clear account of what Petosiris means to say'.[3] As often with Edgar's linguistically oriented comments, this is something of an overstatement. The portion of the papyrus relevant here is actually reasonably well preserved, partly through his own brilliant efforts. And it is in fact possible, as demonstrated above, to produce a more or less clear translation. Some of the obscurities arise simply from our ignorance of the broader context of the message. Consideration of a short extract, however, will give a sense of the oddities to which Edgar was reacting.

The Greek of ll. 95–7 runs: ταύτην τὴν οἰκίαν ὃ πέπρακεν Φανέσι | ἐλαιοπώλης τὸ ἥμυσον (δραχμῶν) ξδ, τὸ δὲ ἥμυσον | [[Κοροιβίδης]] μέλλι ἀγοράσαι. Close examination reveals several curious features. To begin with, ταύτην τὴν οἰκίαν is a floating accusative phrase, very loosely connected to the preceding clause, from which it echoes the genitive ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας of the line above (l. 94). The accusative phrase is the antecedent of the relative ὅ, which does not agree with it in gender, but (if with anything) with the following τὸ ἥμυσον. The relative is also

[3] Edgar 1928: 213 (*P.Cair.Zen.* III.59499, introduction).

expressed rather vaguely in the accusative case. In literary Attic prose one might have expected the genitive ἧς instead of ταύτην τὴν οἰκίαν ὅ. The name Φανέσι, on the other hand, does seem to be in the expected case – the dative – as indirect object, but when this person's profession of 'oil-seller' is added in apposition, as an afterthought between the lines, it appears in the nominative – ἐλαιοπώλης, not ἐλαιοπώληι.[4]

The form of the case-ending of Φανέσι is also interesting, and could be explained in several ways. One could argue, for instance, that it represents the widespread, originally dialectal, dative of such *-i* stems in -ī which the Attic ending in -ει tends to replace in the post-classical period, even where the genitive in -ιος is retained in resistance to Attic -εως.[5] It would be rash to push that possibility (or others) too strongly. The easiest interpretation is that it simply shows ι for ει, as a confusion arising from the phonetic identity reflected in the two spellings.[6] This confusion is certainly seen in the next line, where we find the third-person singular verbal form μέλλι (= μέλλει).

Finally, we have an editorial correction (presumably by the hand or direction of Petosiris) worth noting, the deletion of the name of the prospective purchaser Koroibides. The intention may have been to correct a mistake after naming the wrong person, the correct name for some reason never being added, at least to this draft.[7] It is hard to believe that Pais, the subject of πέπρακεν, should also be taken as the subject of μέλλι. As the text stands after the deletion, however, it might appear that he has both sold half the house he has built and is also planning to buy the other half himself, a situation which does not seem to make sense in context.

Whatever this third-century BC property developer was actually up to, it is enough for the present purpose to note that in just three lines we are

[4] *P.Cair.Zen.* III.59499, Back, cols. i–ii, ll. 44–84, a draft of a letter from Petosiris to one Kleon on matters closely related to and at one point almost duplicating the content of our draft-memorandum to Zenon, contains a similar, but more complex error in ll. 63–64 ἀλλὰ πέπρακεν [[τ]] Φανε|σις τῶι ἐλαιοπώλης τὸ ἡμυσον τῆς οἰκίας (δραχμῶν) ξδ ('but he has sold to Phanesis the oil-seller half of the house for 64 drachmas'). There the name of the purchaser (Edgar does not accent the word) appears to be in the nominative Φανῆσις (cf. Πανῆσις/Φανῆσις at Clarysse 1981: 387), while the supralinear addition of his profession (presumably added in the same editorial process as ἐλαιοπώλης in l. 96) includes the dative article before the nominative ἐλαιοπώλης. I have verified the reading of the edition against a digitised image available through the Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum (Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, University of Oxford) at: www.ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk.

[5] Buck 1955: 91 (§109).

[6] Mayser and Schmoll 1970: 60–65, 66–70; Gignac 1976: 191; Browning 1983: 25; Horrocks 2010: 161–162, 165–166.

[7] For what it is worth, note that the name Koroibides has not been deleted in the parallel passage at ll. 65–66 (cf. n. 4 above): τὸ δὲ ἥμυσον Κοροιβίδης ἀγορά|σαι μέλλι.

able to observe half a dozen features encouraging Edgar's early twentieth-century assessment. And there is a lot more similarly strange material scattered through the rest of the text. So what are we to make of such an 'extraordinarily bad' Greek composition, written some eighty years after Alexander the Great's occupation of Egypt? One obvious response – I would suggest the default response in modern scholarship – would be to take Petosiris' name as the key. It is an indigenous Egyptian name. And papyrologists have tended over the past century to attribute this kind of Greek to Egyptians struggling to express themselves in the language of their foreign masters. Bilingual interference is often suspected.[8] For instance, Petosiris' odd use of Greek cases may seem easier to understand when we reflect that the Egyptian language had no case-endings at all, indicating the syntactic relations of nouns and pronouns by word order or by prepositions and other markers.[9] The notion of bilingual interference explaining oddities in the Greek is undoubtedly plausible, and almost certainly accurate up to a point, but in my view it drastically oversimplifies. In this chapter I shall develop my contention that the reality, as far as we can reconstruct it, is much more complicated.

2 APPROACHING THE PROBLEM OF EGYPTIAN INTERFERENCE

The Zenon Archive offers rich evidence of various kinds for assessing issues of ancient bilingualism and multilingualism. It is a very large corpus, as indicated at the outset, containing nearly 2,000 texts.[10] Nearly all of these are written in Greek – the Archive comprises close to 40 per cent of all third-century BC Greek papyri now known – but there are some twenty-four documents partly or solely written in Egyptian (using the Demotic script).[11] And the broader linguistic context is still more complex. The greater part of the corpus (though by no means all of it)[12] documents a multilingual community in the region of the Fayum village of Philadelphia

[8] The term *interference* is used throughout this chapter in the sense defined at Adams 2003: 27–28 and p. 19 above.

[9] Gardiner 1957: 64–67 (§§83–88); Muhs 2010: 189.

[10] The figure given by Mark Depauw's Trismegistos site, as at 19 July 2010, is 1,831 texts, which needs to be seen as approximate (www.trismegistos.org/index.html).

[11] Pestman 1981: 184 gives details of the Demotic Egyptian texts.

[12] Pestman 1981: 171–183 surveys the changing character and geographical orientation of the Archive as it developed over more than three decades; cf. Clarysse and Vandorpe 1995: 24–32 for helpful graphs.

and the nearby reaches of the Nile Valley.[13] Greek and Egyptian were both in close contact with other languages in the area.

The Fayum basin was intensively settled and its agricultural potential greatly developed in the early Ptolemaic period.[14] The influx of new settlers included Macedonians and other immigrants from all over the older Greek world, but also numerous others again from non-Greek backgrounds and regions. In addition, many indigenous Egyptians from other parts of the country were relocated, at least temporarily, to the district.[15] Onomastics offers some indication of this diversity. Personal names are hardly the most secure indicators of the ethnicity or first language of an individual, but it is worth noting that Willy Clarysse's fine prosopography records not only Greek and Egyptian names in the Archive, but also one or more of Arabic, Aramaic or Hebrew, Latin, Persian, Thracian or other origin (not all of these are relevant to the Fayum).[16] Meanwhile, more than half of the known Fayum villages in the early Ptolemaic period have Greek names, but there are several with Semitic ones, probably Jewish military settlements, and names like Syron Kome, 'the village of the Syrians', are indicative of other population sources.[17] More problematic evidence, suggestive up to a point, comes from the ethnic designations for certain taxation-groups, Hellenes, Jews, Persians and Arabs.[18] The population in Zenon's time was ethnically and linguistically diverse, and the focus in the following pages on influence from Egyptian on Greek should not be allowed to obscure this certain fact and its potential implications for interference phenomena.

The present study is, however, centrally concerned with the Greek texts of the Zenon Archive, the issue of bilingual interference from Egyptian,[19] and in particular a set of 162 documents which can be connected one way or another with indigenous Egyptian authors or scribes. I want to explore the problem of identifying interference phenomena, which represent one

[13] The village of Philadelphia, the base of the finance minister Apollonios' estate, lay about 10 km from the Nile Valley across 'a hilly strip of desert . . . , easily crossed by donkey' (Clarysse 1980: 95). Clarysse 1980 brings out its close links with the Memphite nome in the Valley.

[14] Manning 2003: 99–110, especially 108–110.

[15] Rathbone 1990: 112; Manning 2003: 108 and n. 55; Clarysse 1980: 106–122.

[16] Clarysse 1981: 271–466.

[17] Manning 2003: 109–110 and n. 65; Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 90–92.

[18] Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 124–125, 138–147 (Hellenes), 147–148 (Jews), 157–159 (Persians), 159–161 (Arabs).

[19] The possibility of Greek influence on Egyptian in the Zenon Archive and the Ptolemaic period generally will not be pursued here, but also deserves further study; cf. Depauw 2006: 295–299, examining possible influence between Greek and Demotic Egyptian letters and observing limited signs of possible stylistic and linguistic influence from Greek on Demotic in the third century BC.

of the key indicators of bilingualism and its broader influence in speech communities.

Examples are frequently cited by modern editors and commentators and may seem to be abundant. Clarysse, for instance, links the following features to interference in one important study, which draws on a small selection of texts:[20]

(a) confusion of *epsilon* and *eta*;
(b) neuter plural subjects governing plural (rather than singular) verbs;
(c) errors of gender (cf. ὅ in l. 95 of (1) above);
(d) δέομαί σοι (rather than σου);
(e) non-declined Egyptian names;
(f) topicalised pronouns;
(g) ἐγράφη in a dating formula in *P.Mich.Zen.* 52;
(h) omission of connective particles;
(i) the phrase γῆς ἄρουραι (rather than ἄρουραι alone) in *P.L.Bat.* xx.38.

Some items in this list seem to represent clear cases of interference, such as ἐγράφη in the dating formula, which is apparently unique for Greek but corresponds to a standard Demotic formula.[21] Others are not so convincing. Particle-omission, for example, is a complex issue which can admit more than one explanation, including the effects of natural Greek patterns of usage.[22] And the topicalised use of pronouns (as αὐτόν in *P.Mich.Zen.* 29, ll. 9–11 κ̣α̣[ὶ] | τὸν δὲ πῶλον αὐτῆς ἀποστηλῶ [σοι] | αὐτόν 'And her foal too, I shall send it to you') occurs not only in Egyptian papyri, but also in the New Testament (as αὐτῷ in Matthew 5:40 καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον 'And to the one wanting to sue you and take your shirt, hand over to him also your cloak'), and is a feature of modern Greek.[23] If we want to believe it arises from Egyptian interference, we have to accept that it has spread to Palestine, and to the Aegean region, and has become fully integrated in the Greek language. Sven-Tage Teodorsson has considered the idea that Egyptianisms occurring in the papyri might have spread to other parts of the Greek-speaking world. But he concludes that this is unlikely, asserting that 'as soon as a given phenomenon in the papyri is found in later stages of Greek in other regions there is no reason to suspect that it is due to Egyptian interference'.[24]

[20] Clarysse 1993: 197–200.
[21] Clarysse 1993: 199; Depauw 2006: 166, 172, and for the Demotic formula 159–169, 171–172.
[22] Evans 2010b.
[23] Cf. Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton 1997: 432–433.
[24] Teodorsson 1977: 21.

Thus there is a need for caution and for careful reassessment of all possible cases. The identification of genuine examples of bilingual interference from Egyptian in the Archive is a far from straightforward task, and if we are to gain our best possible understanding of the material we urgently need a systematic analysis. I shall set out below a method for satisfying that need,[25] and I shall finish with a brief demonstration of some of its provisional indications. In the process I also hope to bring out the scope and limitations of our evidence.

An interdisciplinary approach is crucial. As will become clear, mine is essentially sociolinguistic, taking in various contextual aspects of the material. But we must also aim to exploit fully the unique character of papyrological evidence in drawing linguistic conclusions. These documents ought to be interpreted as textual artefacts, using whatever information can be extracted from palaeography and format in every case.

The writing implements used are, for instance, highly significant. The vast majority of the Zenon papyri were written with a Greek pen, designed for Greek alphabetic writing and the very thin strokes suitable for it. But Clarysse's small selection of texts noted above are a set of documents written with the Egyptian brush, which was designed for writing Demotic script and produced 'rather thick strokes, with a good deal of variation between thick and thin strokes'.[26] For practical reasons, as Clarysse has persuasively argued, it is highly unlikely that a Greek scribe would choose to employ an Egyptian brush to write Greek on papyrus. Accordingly documents written with the Egyptian brush are almost certainly the work of indigenous Egyptian scribes, while either Greek or Egyptian scribes might have employed the Greek pen.[27] The Egyptian-brush group thus represents, as we shall see below, one of our most secure points of contact with Egyptian authorship of texts written in Greek, and in turn with possible Egyptianisms.

3 ASSEMBLING LIKELY SUSPECTS

It is almost a century since the modern rediscovery of the Zenon Archive in the 1910s. Over the years various scholars have made observations about

[25] The following discussion is based on the work of the present author's 'Bilingualism and the Greek language in Hellenistic Egypt: evidence from the Zenon Archive', a project of the 'Language, script and acculturation in Graeco-Roman Egypt' programme co-directed with Dr Malcolm Choat within the Ancient Cultures Research Centre and the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University, Sydney. It is a pleasure to thank the project's research assistants Helena Bolle, Genevieve Young and Rachel Yuen-Collingridge for their contributions.

[26] Clarysse 1993: 189.

[27] Clarysse 1993: especially 186–194; on Egyptian-brush texts, see also Tait 1988; Sosin and Manning 2003; Depauw 2006: 297; La'da 2008: 6.

the Archive's evidence for language contact. The Greek of documents from persons with Egyptian names has typically attracted a harsh assessment. This is brought out by the following selection of comments extracted from published editions of such papyri, all along the same lines as Edgar's 'extraordinarily bad' assertion quoted above. The Greek competence of these texts is characteristically seen as limited, and is explicitly or implicitly connected with Egyptian interference:

(a) 'The petition is a good example of Egyptian Greek, the work of a native interpreter who translated the complaint of the brick-makers into the best Greek at his command, much like a present-day petition written in French or English for the benefit of a European inspector' (Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* II.59291 (petition to Zenon from Harmais and Teos), introduction);

(b) 'The grammar here becomes as hopeless as the plight of the petitioners' (ibid., n. to ll. 6–8);

(c) 'one of the most ungrammatical pieces in our collection, and the meaning can only be guessed at' (Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* III.59490 (letter from Pasis to Zenon), introduction);

(d) 'Despite its simplicity of statement, the letter is none too clear. The scribe who wrote it was apparently not overstrong in his Greek' (Westermann and Hasenoehrl, *P.Col.Zen.* I.51 (letter to Zenon from Sto[to]etis), introduction);

(e) 'This exceedingly illiterate letter' is 'written across the fibres in a large, crude hand of typical native type [i.e. with an Egyptian brush]' (Skeat, *P.Lond.* VII.2061 (letter from Psentaes to Zenon), introduction);

(f) 'The letter is written, with a thick pen [i.e. with an Egyptian brush] but in a fairly good hand, by a scribe who' was 'probably a man of little education, but acquainted, more or less, with both languages and able to present the complaints of the natives in a Greek dress' (Edgar, *P.Mich.Zen.* 29 (petition to Zenon from Senchons), introduction).

There has been a further tendency to observe a feature perceived to be bad Greek (usually in relation to literary Attic prose), to try to find a similar feature in contemporary Egyptian texts, and to present the Greek feature as an example of bilingual interference.[28] But there are numerous problems embedded in this impressionistic style of response to the material. Where we find a feature which is non-classical and matches a feature of the Egyptian language (or some other language for that matter), this combination of characteristics is not in itself sufficient reason to identify the phenomenon

[28] Clarysse 1993: 197–200 (discussed above) partly illustrates this approach.

as a 'bilingualism'.[29] In my view a completely fresh approach is required, one which carefully considers other possible explanations, such as the effects of natural developments within the post-classical history of the Greek language and the educational levels of authors or scribes.

My own investigation is built from a comprehensive new assemblage of documents which might be regarded as the 'likely suspects' for evidence of interference from Egyptian. These fall into four partly overlapping categories:

(a) *Egyptian-name* documents, that is documents from persons with Egyptian names;
(b) *Egyptian-brush* documents, that is documents written with the Egyptian brush;
(c) *Egyptian-milieu* documents, that is documents which can be said on the basis of internal contextual features to represent probable Egyptian authorship or background;
(d) *bilingual* documents, that is documents containing both Greek and Egyptian text.[30]

The Zenon Archive contains a set of 119 Egyptian-name documents. Petosiris' series of communications from which my (1) above is drawn obviously belongs in this group. There are thirty-eight Egyptian-brush documents, sixteen of which also belong to the Egyptian-name set. In addition, there are a further ten items which can be placed within the loose category of Egyptian-milieu documents. Here we move into the territory of subjective identification, but I believe that texts such as (2) below have to be considered (with due caution) within the analysis. This is a petition to Zenon from two cat-feeders, who can hardly be other than indigenous Egyptians, though their names are not actually mentioned:

(2) *P.Cair.Zen.* III.59451 (not dated, but from the period 256–248 BC):
Ζήνωνι χαίρειν οἱ ἱερόδουλοι τῆς Βου-
βάστιος ὄντες αἰλουροβοσκοί. καλῶς
ποιῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφεῖκεν τὸ γένο[ς]
τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀλειτούρ-
γητον, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώ- 5
νιος. ἐσμὲν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐξ <Σ>ώφθεως. Λε-
οντίσκος οὖν ἡμᾶς βιασάμενος ἀπέσ-
τειλεν ἐπὶ τὸν θερισμόν, καὶ ἵνα
μή σε ἐνοχλήσωμεν, ἀπελει{ρ}τουρ-

[29] Cf. Teodorsson 1977: 19–24.
[30] See Depauw 2009 for a detailed treatment of Greek–Demotic bilingual documents in the Ptolemaic period.

γήσαμεν τὸ γινόμενον ἡμῖν. νυ- 10
νὶ δὲ ἐγ δευτέρας πάλιν ἡμᾶς
Λεοντίσκος ἀπέσταλκεν ἵνα [[θε-
ρίζωμεν]] πλινθουλκῶμεν· ἐσμὲν δὲ δύο· τοὺς δὲ πλινθουλκοὺς
σκεπάζει τοὺς ἐν Σώφθει Ἀμερῶιν καὶ Βησᾶν, οὓς ἔδει νῦν λειτουρ-
γεῖν, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον αὑτῶι. κα- 15
λῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Βασι-
λεὺς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ διοικητὴς
συντέταχεν, καὶ σὺ ἐπακολουθήσας
ὡσαύτως· πρὸς ὃγ γὰρ καταβοή-
σωμεν οὐκ ἔχομεν σοῦ παρόντος. 20
εὐτύχει.

To Zenon greetings, the temple-slaves of Boubastis, being cat-feeders. The king, doing well, exempted this class throughout the land from public service, and just so also Apollonios. And we are from Sophthis. So Leontiskos sent us by force to the harvest, and in order not to bother you, we performed the service which came about for us. But now for a second time again Leontiskos has sent us ‘to work on the harvest’ is deleted] to make bricks; and there are two of us; but he is sheltering the brick-makers who are in Sophthis, Amerois and Besas, who should now have been performing public service, for his own advantage. So would you please, just as both the king and Apollonios the finance minister has [*sic*] ordered, also yourself attend to things just so; for we have no one [else] to whom we may call for help while you are here. Be fortunate.

Finally, there are also eleven bilingual documents containing both Greek and Egyptian text. I leave aside a group of sixteen doubtful texts, which arguably belong in one or another of these categories.[31]

4 INTERPRETING THE DATA-SAMPLE

The items in my four categories add up to the total of 162 documents mentioned earlier. As a set I shall refer to them as *Egyptian Greek* documents. It needs to be acknowledged at once, however, that we cannot be sure just

[31] One of these doubtful texts is the intriguing *P.Col.Zen.* II.66, from someone who complains to Zenon that he is badly treated ὅτι εἰμὶ βάρβαρος, ‘because I am a *barbaros*’ (l. 19) and ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίστ̣αμαι ἑλληνίζειν, ‘because I don’t know how to speak Greek’ or ‘because I don’t know how to speak Greek well’ (l. 21). See Rochette 1996 for a valuable discussion. Unfortunately, the name of the author cannot be read because of damage to the papyrus (see the plate at Westermann, Keyes and Liebesny 1940: 19; also digital images via the Advanced Papyrological Information System, available at: www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html). While he was certainly a non-Greek, internal evidence suggests this correspondent may not have been an Egyptian either; Westermann, Keyes and Liebesny 1940: 16 (= *P.Col.Zen.* II.66, introduction) suggest he was an Arab, but his ethnicity cannot be isolated objectively (so Rochette 1996: 311 n. 1).

what the 'Egyptian' character of most of these texts is. A document from someone with an Egyptian name, for example, may not actually be written by that person. This is probably a common scenario. If a scribe is employed, that scribe may not be Egyptian and may or may not be copying verbatim from dictation. We should therefore be wary of assuming that any Egyptian-name document supplies authentic evidence of an indigenous Egyptian author using the Greek language. Of all my four categories, it is really only bilingual documents where one hand appears to be responsible for both Greek and Demotic texts and the thirty-eight Egyptian-brush documents where we can be almost certain that an Egyptian has actually done the writing. These, especially the Egyptian-brush group, form the core of my analysis, though I shall not focus on them in the present discussion (texts (1) above and (3) below are each written with a Greek pen).

We also need to be alert to the fact that some Egyptian Greek documents from the Archive may always remain unidentifiable. There is, for instance, a distinct possibility that, already at this early stage in the mid third century BC, we have indigenous Egyptians or the offspring of mixed Greek–Egyptian marriages using Greek names, and thus slipping under the radar. I have elsewhere described one possible instance from the Zenon Archive.[32] Though one needs to be wary of overstating the case based on a few scraps of information concerning one individual, there could potentially be numerous other examples.

So it is possible that my sample group both includes some texts which are not really compositions from indigenous Egyptians and excludes others which are. Nevertheless, it is this set of 162 Egyptian Greek texts which in my view needs to provide the basic sample. Absolute accuracy in the assemblage would be an impossible goal. And the key requirement is in fact to avoid making advance judgements on whether individual texts represent Greek or Egyptian authorship. The fundamental task is simply to distinguish the balance between non-standard usage – 'bad' Greek, as Edgar put it – and standard usage in these documents (it is crucial, as James Adams has observed, to consider both aspects of the usage).[33] Only when the balance between standard and non-standard usage has been established will I attempt the further objectives of the analysis. These are to isolate within the non-standard component of the documents those phenomena which cannot be explained in terms of natural Greek developments, and as the

[32] Evans 2004: 203–204 and n. 25, on Zenon's agent Herakleides and his ἀδελφός Paapis (who is mentioned in *PSI* IV.384).

[33] Cf. Adams 2003: 741–749.

final step to seek to identify which abnormal features can be demonstrated to be genuine Egyptianisms. In other words, I want to turn on its head the usual approach, which starts from piecemeal observation of perceived Egyptianisms.

By *standard* Greek, I do not mean necessarily the sort of usage we find in literary Attic prose of the classical period. The term is applied here to the emerging post-classical standard, the 'good' (as we might say) Koine Greek of third-century BC Egyptian documents.[34] And this, as I have argued elsewhere,[35] is recoverable from another set of Zenon Archive texts which act as a valuable 'control' for establishing non-standard features. These are a large body of documents from educated authors, such as those sent in the name of Apollonios the finance minister, or those from his senior subordinates, of whom Zenon was one. We shall observe an example in (4) below. This material offers an effective basis for assessing whether features unfamiliar from classical literature really are bad Greek in the third century, and to what extent they can potentially be attributed to bilingual interference.

My analysis of Egyptian Greek texts from the Zenon Archive is at this stage a work in progress. As well as previously alleged Egyptianisms, such as Clarysse's list discussed above, I am investigating a wide range of additional linguistic and stylistic features. As can be seen from (1) above, the material can be very rich indeed in particular cases. The ultimate aim is to provide the clearest picture possible from our remote distance of the character and extent of Egyptian interference in the Archive's texts. Along the way I anticipate laying a small troupe of ghost-Egyptianisms, which I suspect of haunting modern scholarship.

5 PROVISIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON EGYPTIAN GREEK TEXTS

The enquiry allows us to address further questions as well. In linguistic and stylistic terms, for instance, are these Egyptian Greek texts all much the same? To whatever extent they can be treated as a set, are they distinct from the control group? I next want to offer some provisional observations on these two issues.

First, let us take the idea of homogeneity within the Egyptian Greek sample. We can in fact throw it away at once. What becomes clear is that one must not lightly form general assumptions on the basis of the usage

[34] Cf. Horrocks 2010: 80–84, 88–89; Adams 2007: 13–17, on the complicated issue of standard varieties of languages; Colvin 2009, on the origins of Koine Greek.

[35] Evans 2010a: 57–58, 2010b.

observed in any single document. Significant variety can be observed. This may be demonstrated very simply by comparing two Egyptian-name documents.

As we have seen, (1) above is full of non-standard features, and looks like fertile territory for isolating possible Egyptianisms. We can find here, for example, instances of items (a), (c) and (h) from the list of features linked to interference which was presented above. It is also important to note, before we get carried away, that it is full of standard features as well. Consider, for example, ll. 93–95 καὶ σ[[οι]]ὺ δέδωκας (δραχμὰς) κ εἰς οἰ|κοδομὴν ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι | ἀδελφῶι. In this text-segment, which comes immediately before the problematic ll. 95–97 examined in the first section of my chapter, we encounter complete control over the formation of oblique cases, and even a spelling correction of the nominative pronoun to the classical form. Meanwhile, through the whole of the memorandum there are no significant problems, for the period and region, with verbal morphology, across a total of fifteen verbal forms.[36] In addition, we must remember that it is a draft. It is worth considering to what extent (and by whom) a fair copy actually dispatched to Zenon might have been tidied up.[37] Perhaps, as a draft, this piece may offer unusually clear insights into the Greek competence of Petosiris himself. But he, or an amanuensis, may have been writing carelessly in the draft, paying more attention to the complicated and apparently controversial activities of Pais, which he wanted to report, than to the grammar, and may have been capable of a higher standard in the finished version. In short, bilingual interference may well be a factor in Petosiris' Greek, but level of education and process of composition may also explain some or all of its oddities.

However one interprets the language of this text, it provides a sharp contrast with (3) below. The latter document, not dated, is another Egyptian-name text. And this is a fair copy, a petition sent to Zenon from a potter with attitude named Paesis. It is a very different specimen of Greek:

(3) *P.Cair.Zen.* III.59481 (not dated):
Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Πα-
ῆσις. ἵνα μὴ συμβαί-
νηι τοὺς χωνεύον-
τας κεραμεῖς ἔν τισιν
τῶν κεραμίων δια- 5

[36] Cf. Mayser 1938: 102; Gignac 1981: 239, on the unaugmented forms of οἰκοδομῶ at ll. 93, 101.
[37] On the general issue of authorial revision of draft documents on papyrus, see Luiselli 2010, who focuses on much later material.

μαρτάνειν καὶ πά-
λιν ἐπιχωνεύοντας
ἐξανηλίσκειν [[τημ]] πλείω πίσσαν
μάτην, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προ-
εστήξομαι τῆς χωνεύ- 10
σεως μετὰ Λυσιμάχου
καὶ Νεφορείτου καὶ Ἑρι-
έως· τούτου γὰρ γενο-
μένου κεράμιά τε πλείω
καὶ ὀρθῶς χωνευθήσεται 15
καὶ ἡ πίσσα διατηρηθή-
σεται. γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ
παρὰ τοῖς κεραμεῦσιν
διαβολὴν ἔχοντά με· φασὶ
γὰρ πρὸς σὲ γράφειμ με ἀεί 20
τι καθ' αὑτῶν ἀλυσιτε-
λές. οὐ φροντίζω οὖν αὐ-
τῶν· σοὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ χρήσι-
μον προσαγγέλλων οὐκ ἂν
παυσαίμην. καὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ 25
δεδωκότος Ἀνόσιτι πώ-
ματα κεραμίων Ϗ
οἱ λοιποὶ κεραμεῖς οὐ δε-
δώκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ
σκυθρωπάζουσιν. 30
εὐτύχει.

To Zenon greetings, Paesis. So that it doesn't turn out that the potters who coat jars with pitch make a hash of it in some of the jars and by recoating them again use up too much pitch without reason, if it seems good to you I shall manage the coating, together with Lysimachos and Nephoreites and Herieus; for if this happens, more jars will be coated with pitch, and in the right way, and the pitch will be conserved. And know too that I am being slandered by the potters; for they say that I am always writing something damaging against them to you. So I take no notice of them; for I would never stop reporting what is useful for you. For also, while I have given Anosis 2,000 jar-lids, the rest of the potters have not given any, but even cast angry glances at me. Be fortunate.

There are one or two post-classical developments on display,[38] but the language here is much more polished. Regardless of the fact that we are

[38] Note, for instance, the post-classical 'coating (with pitch)' sense of the χωνεύ- words at ll. 3–4 (τοὺς χωνεύον|τας), 7 (ἐπιχωνεύοντας), 10–11 (τῆς χωνεύ|σεως), 16 (χωνευθήσεται); cf. LSJ s.v. χωνεύω on the lexical assimilation of χωνεύω and κωνῶ.

comparing fair copy with draft, I think it is clear that a greater degree of linguistic and stylistic sophistication is exhibited, reflecting a higher level of Greek education. Consider, for a single example, the elegantly phrased potential expression σοὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ χρήσι|μον προσαγγέλλων οὐκ ἂν | παυσαίμην in ll. 23–25.

We can always assume that Paesis happened to have access to a better-educated scribe. That may be so, but what the systematic analysis so far appears to be revealing is that the majority of the Egyptian Greek texts – including, it should be stressed, a number of the Egyptian-brush texts – tend to be closer to the standard of (3) than to that of (1). Petosiris' draft-memorandum belongs with a small minority of extreme cases. This raises all sorts of interesting implications about scribes and literacy which will be worth pursuing in due course. For the moment, I merely want to bring out the facts that the Egyptian Greek texts are far from all being on the same linguistic level, and that many show a fair to high level of competence.

We can turn now to the question of linguistic difference between the Egyptian Greek sample and the control group. Here again the emerging picture is complex. My (4) below is a letter written to Zenon on 25 January 253 BC by Artemidoros, the finance minister Apollonios' doctor. Artemidoros is a well-known figure in the Archive and author of as many as eight of its texts.[39] If anyone will show us the educated standard Greek of the place and time, he should. Edgar certainly admired his usage, observing that 'Artemidoros writes in lively, idiomatic Greek, which it is a pleasure to read'.[40] In other words, his Greek is not too far from literary Attic prose, which the early editors really wanted the Greek of the papyri to be.[41]

(4) *P.Cair.Zen.* II.59225 (25 January 253 BC):
Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι· ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος
ὑγίαινεν καὶ τἆλλ' ἦν κατὰ γνώμην. τοῖς Λεπτίνου υἱοῖς Νικάνδρωι καὶ Μυρικῶντι
ἐμ Φαρβαίθωι ἵππος ἐστὶν μέλας, παραπρήματα μεγάλα ἔχων καὶ ἐπ' οὐθὲν ἄλλο χρήσιμος ὢν

[39] Clarysse 1981: 302, s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος no. 13.
[40] Edgar 1926: 82 (*P.Cair.Zen.* II.59225, introduction).
[41] Clarysse 2008 brings out this same attitude, demonstrating the editorial tendency to restore the verb ἐθέλω in fragmentary papyri and inscriptions, ignoring the fact that its normal post-classical form was θέλω.

ἔξω εἰς ὀχείαν. πυνθάνομαι δέ σοι γνωρίμους εἶναι τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐπὶ πλέον. καλῶς ἂν οὖν
ποήσαις μάλιστα μὲν ἀγοράσας μοι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν ἵππον εἰς ὀχείαν, ἐὰν ἦι μικροῦ τινος 5
λαβεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή ἐστιν πώλιμος, χρῆσαί μαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν [[ἐπιοῦσαν]] ὀχείαν· ἐὰν γὰρ σπουδάσηις, οὐ μή σοι ἀντείπωσιν. ἐμ πάσηι δὲ ἐπι-
μελείαι ἔσται. ὁποτέρως δ᾽ ἂν οἰκονομήσηις, χαριεῖ μοι γράψας τὴν ταχίστην, ἵνα εἰδῶ εἰ
ὑπάρχει μοι. ὁ γὰρ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἵππος πρεσβύτερος ἤδη ὢν οὐ κατακρατεῖ τὰς θηλείας. ἐπέ[[ι]]στειλα δέ σοι καὶ περὶ τοῦ σησάμου τοῦ ἐμοὶ γεγονότος ἐν τῶι κλήρωι,
ἵνα περί τε τῆς συγκομιδῆς σπουδάσηις, ὅπως συγκομισθῆι τρόπωι τινί, καὶ ἐμοὶ γράψηις
πόσον γέγονεν. καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖμ μοι ἐπιστείλας καλῶς ἂν ποήσαις. 10
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λβ, Ἀπελλαίου ε̄.

Back:
(Address) εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν. Ζήνωνι
(Docket) (ἔτους) λβ. Ἀρτεμίδωρος
ἰατρός.

Artemidoros to Zenon, greetings. If you are well, it would be good; and I am well too, and Apollonios was well, and the rest was according to our wishes. The sons of Leptines, Nikandros and Myrikon, have a stallion in Pharbaithos, a black one, which has large swellings [on its legs] and is useful for nothing else apart from impregnating [the mares]. And I learn that the young men are very well known to you. So would you please make a particular effort to buy me the stallion from them for impregnating [the mares], if it is possible to get it cheaply; but if it is not for sale, borrow it for me for the ['mounting' is deleted] impregnating [of the mares] – for if you are keen, they will certainly not oppose you – and it will receive every attention. And in whichever way you manage the business, you will gratify me by writing as quickly as possible, in order that I may know if it is mine. For since the stallion at my place is now rather old he does not lord it over the mares. And I sent word to you also about the sesame crop which I have in the holding, in order that you should be attentive about the harvest, so that it should be harvested in a certain manner, and you should write to me how much there is. So would you please send me word also about these matters. Farewell. Year 32, Apellaios 5.

Back: (Address) To Philadelpheia. To Zenon. (Docket) Year 32. Artemidoros. Doctor.

It is easy to agree with Edgar's evaluation of Artemidoros' Greek. But there is one curiosity even here. In l. 6 the papyrus has ΧΡΗΣΑΙΜΑΙ.[42] Edgar prints χρήσαιμαι, 'instead of the expected οἰκονομήσας ὅπως χρήσωμαι'.[43] Hans Schmoll, however, interprets the form persuasively as χρῆσαί μαι (= μοι), with μαι for μοι by phonetic attraction from the preceding syllable.[44] This is the sort of simple mistake anyone could make, and I do not mean to make much of it, other than to say that it is by no means the only error to be found within the documents of the control group. We should bear carefully in mind that the Archive's educated writers can produce non-standard phenomena too.[45] We do not find them only in the Egyptian Greek texts. And although Petosiris' draft-memorandum displays a very different variety of Greek, the language of Paesis' petition appears to me not far removed from that of Artemidoros' letter. In other words, the higher-level Egyptian Greek compositions in the Zenon Archive seem essentially to reflect the standard Greek of third-century BC Egypt.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The evidence beginning to emerge, then, from my work on the Zenon papyri should warn us against overly hasty identification of interference phenomena. A cautious approach to the problem is crucial. The data are suggesting that a proficient level of Greek literacy was fairly common within the indigenous community of the Fayum in the third century, at least among Egyptian scribes. It is also indicating that previous scholarship has tended to overstate the degree of bilingual interference from Egyptian in the Greek documents of the Archive. These provisional findings dovetail with Geoffrey Horrocks' general impression of Egyptian Greek texts from the Ptolemaic period:

> While some are clearly the work of barely literate authors of non-Greek origin, the majority of the informal documents composed by and for Egyptians in Greek, despite the fact that they come from areas outside the capital, in fact display a surprisingly competent knowledge of the language. This suggests that the process of Hellenization, including some exposure to traditional education at a basic level, had progressed quite quickly and efficiently.[46]

[42] The reading of the edition has been verified against a digitised image available at: www.ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk (cf. n. 4 above).
[43] Edgar 1926: 82 (*P.Cair.Zen.* II.59225, l. 6 n.); cf. Mayser 1938: 88, 201.
[44] Mayser and Schmoll 1970: 90. [45] Cf. Evans 2010a, 2010b for other examples.
[46] Horrocks 2010: 89.

Horrocks' observation that the linguistic competence of these texts suggests early exposure of the indigenous population to 'traditional [Greek] education at a basic level' is now supported, up to a point and specifically for the Fayum, by Clarysse and Thompson's investigation into taxation documents of the period *c.* 250–150 BC. Their data include suggestive, if elusive, glimpses of teachers and learning in the Fayum villages.[47] In addition, they confirm the long-held suspicion that there was a significant indigenous element in the Ptolemaic scribal profession.[48] Thus, many persons of Zenon's time effectively wielding the Greek pen (as opposed to the Egyptian brush) may well have been Egyptians.

A document like Petosiris' draft-memorandum conjures up many interesting possibilities concerning bilingualism and the Greek language in the early Ptolemaic Fayum. What I hope to have shown in this short treatment is that the easy assumption, that Egyptian interference explains the oddities of (1) above, obscures a complex range of issues which need to be addressed in the interpretation of the papyrus. When we assess individual texts, we have to consider diachronic changes within the Greek language, linguistic register, educational levels, the circumstances and process of composition revealed by palaeography and format, even the difficulty of analysis derived simply from our all too frequent lack of contextual information. Without addressing these factors we cannot expect to achieve a satisfactory appreciation of the material. I also hope to have demonstrated that the issues can only be clarified to fully productive effect when such documents are interpreted as part of a systematic analysis of related texts from the same period and region. This is a demanding method, and takes us well beyond purely linguistic questions, but I believe it holds very great potential for sharpening our understanding of the Egyptian Greek texts of the Zenon Archive and the multilingual community which they witness. By extension it also has important implications for the general interpretation of early Koine Greek.

[47] Cf. Clarysse and Thompson 2006: II, 125–133.
[48] Clarysse and Thompson 2006: II, 344–345.

CHAPTER 6

Linguae sacrae *in ancient and medieval sources*
An anthropological approach to ritual language

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1 THE FORMS OF RITUAL LANGUAGE

This chapter addresses a specific form of language mixture, which occurs in what for present purposes will be called 'ritual language'. With ritual language I indicate a specific form or marked register of language distinctively characteristic of, and reserved for, ritual, which is directly used in accomplishing the ends of the ritual operation.[1] This comprises verbal forms such as those ordinarily referred to as spells, curses and oaths; or, when associated with petition, as praise, invocation and thanksgiving. With ritual I indicate 'activities that are marked off from normal activity by framing behaviour through rules, repetitions, and other formalities'.[2] The term ritual is in this context to be preferred over value-laden terms such as 'religion' and 'magic', as the boundaries between magic, religion and even medicine are notoriously fluid in late antiquity and the early medieval period.[3]

Anthropologists have established that ritual language is a marked form of language necessarily distinct from ordinary speech.[4] Virtually any means, including marked forms of phonology, morphology, syntax, prosody and lexicon, can frame a stretch of discourse as ritual language.[5] The use of marked language is of course not restricted to the ritual domain, and may be compared with other technical registers, such as legal language.[6] Many of these marked forms of ritual language pertain specifically to spoken language and can therefore not easily be retrieved from the written record, for example a marked voice quality, or stylised and restricted intonational contours,[7] even though ritual texts sometimes provide directions on how

I wish to thank Yitzhak Hen, Richard Payne, Elisabeth Boyle and Paul Russell for various suggestions for improvement. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

[1] Wheelock 1982: 49–71. [2] Meyer and Smith 1994: 4.
[3] Meyer and Smith 1994: 79. [4] Tambiah 1985: 22–30.
[5] Keane 1997: 52. For example, even the so-called 'plain speech' of the Quakers is recognisable by certain stylistic features.
[6] Keane 1997: 49. [7] Keane 1997: 52–53 and Veldhuis 1999: 46.

specifically to say certain things. I shall concentrate on aspects of ritual language that have written manifestations.

The first is the use of a specific liturgical or 'sacred' register, or even a separate language, other than that used in everyday communication; the degree to which participants in the ritual understand this sacred register may vary.[8] Secondly, this sacred register itself 'is often built up from elements which are archaic, borrowed, tabooed, or formulaic',[9] and may include elements derived from other languages.[10] Mixture of this kind will henceforth be referred to as ritual code-switching. These archaic, obsolete or foreign elements inserted within the matrix language often include words and grammatical forms that speakers believe to be archaic or foreign. They are frequently characterised by opaqueness of meaning, a further common aspect of ritual language, which constitutes 'obscurity in meaning, even for those members of the culture for whom the ritual is being carried out . . . and sometimes even for the ritual practitioner'.[11]

Finally, an extreme form of ritual code-switching consists of the insertion of 'non-lexical' utterances, also known as *uoces magicae*,[12] or Ἐφέσια γράμματα.[13] Indeed, *uoces magicae* appear to be a truly cross-cultural phenomenon: attested in Assyrian and Egyptian texts from the second millennium BC, they are found as far afield as medieval Ireland and Iceland, and continue to be used down to the present day.[14] Linguistic anthropologists have stressed that language is not only used to describe particular states of affairs, but also to do things, that is, to perform some (social) action. This has radically changed the way anthropologists analyse magical spells.[15] Whereas previously scholars encountering *uoces magicae* either dismissed them as 'gibberish' and 'mumbo-jumbo' or conversely employed them as quarries for lexical items, the work in recent decades of anthropologists such as Stanley Tambiah has redirected the focus instead on the very notion of their 'unintelligibility' and the function of these utterances within their context.[16]

[8] For a short discussion, see Kainz 1950: 109 and Crystal 1965: 151–156. [9] Du Bois 1986: 217.
[10] Tambiah 1968: 177. [11] Du Bois 1986: 318.
[12] See Heim 1893: 525–530 for early discussion. The seminal work on *uoces magicae* remains Hopfner 1921–1923. For recent short discussions with more literature, see Gager 1992: 5–12; Frankfurter 1994: 199–205; Graf 1997b: 218–222; Ogden 1999: 46–50; Veldhuis 1999: 46. See Brashear 1995a: 3429–3438 and especially 3576–3603 for an extensive glossary of *uoces magicae*.
[13] For early discussion, see Wessely 1886; Audollent 1904: lxvii–xxii, especially lx for examples; and Preisendanz 1962. For recent bibliography, see Kotansky 1991: 107–137.
[14] See Brashear 1995a: 3429 n. 235 for bibliography. Some *uoces magicae* were meant to be spoken out loud while others were meant to be written down, see Frankfurter 1994: 194–199 and Brashear 1995a: 3431.
[15] See Tambiah 1968: 179 and Duranti 1997: 214–244. [16] Gager 1992: 9.

Taking this anthropological viewpoint, I will identify and illustrate the manifestations of ritual language as they are attested in written sources from late antiquity and the early medieval period. First, the use of a sacred language and ritual code-switching in general (section 2), followed by the use of tag-switching in particular (section 3). Next, I will illustrate the occurrence of opaqueness of meaning in ritual tags (section 4), and finally the use of non-lexical utterances, or *uoces magicae* (section 5). Furthermore, I will explore the continuum between these various manifestations, and underscore the often wilful tendency towards obscurity in ritual language and its close relation to, and frequent overlap with, the use of *uoces magicae*. However, this discussion excludes forms of ritual language which involve the use of script only, such as transliterations into another script, retrograde and palindromic writing, and the use of magical signs or *charaktēres*.[17]

From what follows it will become evident that ritual language, including its associated types of code-switching, provides little evidence for bilingualism in ordinary spoken language. As noted previously, ritual language must be regarded as a technical register, which in both appearance and context is radically different from ordinary speech. Since ritual code-switching takes place within the ritual domain, which is far removed from that of colloquial language, it may often represent a language mixture which is unacceptable in ordinary speech. Therefore, due to its special nature, this form of bilingualism does not allow for the same type of analysis as presented in modern bilingualism theory employed in studying the past.[18] Even so, ancient and medieval ritual languages provide a singular type of bilingual use which has rarely been studied in its own right. This chapter aims to fill that lacuna by suggesting a different approach, bringing the findings of linguistic anthropology to bear on the problematic textual evidence for ritual languages.

Finally, in order to stress the universality of the features under discussion, and to illustrate the fact that there is a clearly traceable tradition leading from antiquity into the early Middle Ages,[19] I have chosen to draw on various sources of different date and provenance, from early Christian liturgical texts, Greek magical papyri[20] and curse tablets,[21] to ancient and

[17] See Bucking, this volume, for the use of the alphabet in ritual contexts.
[18] For example, Adams 2003.
[19] Kieckhefer 1989: 19–42 and Van Binsbergen and Wiggerman 1999: 9–10.
[20] Collected in *PGM* and translated in Betz 1992. For a collection of recent finds, see Daniel and Maltomini 1990–1992.
[21] For curse tablets, see Audollent 1904; Gager 1992; Graf 1997b: 118–174; Ogden 1999; Brodersen and Kropp 2004.

medieval medical works and herbals.[22] While I am aware of the various different functions of, for example, a prayer and a curse, the main difference between them lies in their function, and not so much in their form which is my present concern.[23]

2 SACRED LANGUAGES AND RITUAL CODE-SWITCHING

The first feature to be illustrated is the use of a sacred language: a marked form of language felt to be specifically suited for the duration of the ritual act. Cases in which this language is used for only part of the ritual, and is therefore embedded within another language, should be regarded as ritual code-switching (or in cases where the switch occurs between larger passages, ritual code-alternation). In various religions with a strong written tradition, such as Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism, the view has been strictly held that, as Tambiah observed, 'in religious ceremonies the sacred words recited should be in the language of the authorised sacred texts'.[24] Indeed, it will become evident from the examples discussed below that the switch into a sacred language is often triggered by its association with a specific sacred text.

Within the various surviving Christian liturgical traditions the sacred register also exists. It may take the form of an altogether different language, such as Latin in the Roman Catholic Church; or else a marked, archaic form of the vernacular language, such as the use of older Greek and Old Church Slavonic in the Orthodox Churches, and the similar function of classical Armenian, Coptic, Syriac and Ge'ez in the various Eastern Churches. Within a medieval Western context it is very much Latin which is the ritual language, not just for official Christian liturgy,[25] but also for spells, curses, and the like.[26] The respective functions of Hebrew within Judaism and classical Arabic within Islam are comparable, even if it has to be remembered

[22] Charms are common in late antique texts, such as *De medicamentis*, associated with Marcellus Empiricus, Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*, Sextus Placitus' *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*, the Hippiatric corpus (or *Hippiatrica*: a Byzantine collection of late Roman writings on veterinary medicine and magical recipes, for the most part for horses), the *Physica Plinii*, Pseudo-Dioscurides' *De herbis feminis*, and also in the early medieval Latin *antidotaria* and many other, sometimes as yet unedited, texts. Collected in Heim 1893; Önnerfors 1985 and 1988. For a complete list of sources, including unedited manuscripts, see Addabbo 1993: 133–135. A good discussion of this material is Rothschuh 1978.

[23] Graf 1991. [24] Tambiah 1968: 181.

[25] For an account of Early Modern lay attitudes to Latin as a partly understood liturgical language, see Waquet 2001: 101–109.

[26] Olsan 1992: 118. In medieval usage Latin often is itself the language of incantations within a vernacular context, for example in the *Liber de diuersis medicinis* in the Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral, MS A.5.2.) in Middle English and Latin, and in London, British Library,

that 'the nature of the authority attached to the sacred language and its range of exclusiveness shows complex variations'.[27] Examples of the ritual uses, both Christian and other, of Greek will serve to illustrate this.

2.1 Ritual uses of Greek

Within the early Christian tradition, Greek, after having been replaced by various other vernaculars, still seems to be felt as particularly fitting for the most sacred parts of the Eucharistic rite, especially those parts with Scriptural connotations, illustrating Tambiah's observation cited above. For example, the author of the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, a late fourth-century treatise narrating the pilgrimage of a devout woman to the Holy Land, describes how the Easter ceremonies in Jerusalem were still held in Greek, but that they were accompanied by a translation into Aramaic:

> itaque quoniam episcopus, licet siriste nouerit, tamen semper grece loquitur et nunquam siriste: itaque ergo stat semper presbyter, qui, episcopo grece dicente, siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audiant quae exponuntur.[28]
>
> Even though the bishop may know Aramaic, he always speaks Greek and never Aramaic; and, therefore, there is always a priest present, who, while the bishop speaks in Greek, translates into Aramaic so that all may understand what is being explained.

A similar attitude to Greek is apparent in the Coptic version of the *Apostolic Tradition* (Ἡ ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις). This is a Christian document from the early third century originally written in Greek, which includes a Eucharistic Prayer.[29] This document was translated into Sahidic Coptic, the oldest extant manuscript of which dates from the early eleventh century. Still, in the translation the responses introducing the Preface are left in the original Greek.[30] Interestingly, we also find the same Greek phrases retained

MS Royal 12.D.xxxv in Middle English, Anglo-Norman and Latin. MacLeod and Mees (2006: 157) discuss an interesting charm in a mixture of Latin and Old Norse. In fact, Latin was so much associated with spells that saying one's Latin prayers in Reformation England could provoke an accusation of magic; see Thomas 1971: 179.

[27] Tambiah 1985: 23–24. For numerous examples among other non-Western peoples often without a tradition involving authorised sacred texts, see Webster 1948: 94–95.

[28] *Itinerarium Egeriae* 47.3 in Glorie 1965: 89.

[29] Jungmann 1951: 28–32; Cross and Livingstone 1997: 91.

[30] Till and Leipoldt 1954: 3.

in a version of the later medieval Arabic translation of the same text from the Coptic.[31]

In Rome the liturgy was gradually translated from Greek into Latin during the interval between the third and the sixth century, probably in order to accommodate the changed composition of the Christian community in the city.[32] Even so, the persistence of Greek in the liturgy can be gleaned from the work of the fourth-century theologian and rhetorician Marius Victorinus, who switches from Latin into Greek when citing the words of the *oratio oblationis*:

> hinc oratio oblationis intellectu eodem precatur deum σῶσον περιούσιον λαὸν ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων.[33]
>
> Wherefore the prayer of offering supplicates God with the same meaning: *save thou a peculiar people zealous of good works*.

This is suggesting that in Rome at that time this prayer was still recited in Greek.[34] It is very likely that the fact that this prayer is closely associated with a Scriptural passage, Titus 2:14, triggered the switch into Greek.

The liturgical use of Greek was also sporadically maintained in the medieval West. For example, the Greek text of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed are part of the Roman rite described in the eighth-century *Old Gelasian Sacramentary*, in which the Greek main text occurs, with a Latin rendering inserted interlineally, in an otherwise entirely Latin sacramentary.[35] Similarly, the so-called *Liber Commonei*, the oldest part (perhaps dating from the early ninth century) of 'St Dunstan's Classbook', itself made up of several sections and compiled at Glastonbury somewhere in the second half of the tenth century, contains the lessons and canticles for the Easter Vigil in Greek and Latin.[36] At a still later date, the words of the *Gloria in excelsis*, an early liturgical hymn originally composed in Greek, but in the West generally used in a Latin translation,[37] are still

[31] Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borgia 60. Written in Cairo in AD 1368, it is copied from a text dating from 1295 which is in its turn based on a Coptic manuscript from AD 926; see Périer and Périer 1912: 567, and 591 for the relevant passage.

[32] Klauser 1946; Jungmann 1951: 49–51.

[33] Marius Victorinus, *Aduersus Arium* 2.8 in *PL* 8.1094.

[34] Jungmann 1951: 50–52 and Leipoldt and Morenz 1953: 184.

[35] The Greek *Paternoster* in the *Old Gelasian Sacramentary* in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Reg. lat. 316, fol. 2v; Greek *Credo* on fols. 45v–46v. On this text, see Jungmann 1951: 62–63.

[36] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.4.32, fol. 28r; see also Russell, this volume.

[37] Cross and Livingstone 1997: 681–682.

given in transliterated Greek in the eleventh-century *Winchester Troper*.[38] The *Gloria in excelsis* is based closely on the angels' song in Luke 2:14. It is therefore likely that the Greek origin in Scripture is a factor in the language choice reflected by the *Winchester Troper* – in this case it is not just that Greek is the language of Scripture and therefore fitting for liturgical purposes, but also that the words of the angelic hymn were preserved from Scripture.

However, switching into Greek was by no means restricted to Orthodox Christian, liturgical use. In charms occurring in late antique and medieval works on medicine, farming and veterinary art, such as the early fifth-century *De medicamentis*, we also find Latin incantations with phrases in Greek, especially phrases taken from Homer.[39] Similarly, the Greek invocation embedded in the Demotic text of a divination ritual, described in one of the London–Leiden papyri which is based on an indeterminable number of Greek *Vorlagen*,[40] was left untranslated. According to Jacco Dieleman 'the invocation, whose desired effect was considered dependent upon correct pronunciation, had to be kept in its original language, lest the entire rite would be stripped of its ritual power'.[41] A later Coptic spell discovered in the remains of a Manichean community in Kellis (Dakhleh Oasis) in Egypt also starts with an invocation in Greek. Perhaps by this device the writer made 'a sympathetic connection with the revered and authoritative tradition of Greek-language magic'.[42] A similar attitude may partly explain the use of Greek in a third-century Latin-language *defixio* which has the purely formulaic parts in Greek.[43]

The above examples illustrate that switching into Greek was employed within various ritual traditions. The reason for this is to be sought in the reputation of Greek within these traditions as the language of the Judaeo-Christian Scriptures, authoritative *Vorlagen* for Egyptian magical texts, and Homer.

[38] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775, fols. 5v, 69v and 167r.

[39] For example Marcellus Empiricus, *De medicamentis* 15.108 in Niedermann and Liechtenhan 1968: I 266. This curious use of Homeric verse was relatively widespread, and can be found in the magical papyri (e.g. Betz 1992: 47, 54 and 76), in Coptic charms and amulets (e.g. Meyer and Smith 1994: 83–90 no. 43), as well as Latin medical texts, where this usage seems to have survived up to the Early Modern period; for discussion and examples of which, see Heim 1893: 514–19 and Önnerfors 1988: 135 nos. 48 and 49.

[40] *PGM* XIVa 1–11.

[41] Dieleman 2005: 144.

[42] Mirecki, Gardner and Alcock 1997: 17. Kropp 1930–1931: III 121–122 argued that later Coptic ritual texts also employ Greek to heighten the effect of their magic.

[43] Audollent 1904: 266 no. 253. For discussion and further examples, see Mancini 1988: 209–211. Compare the Latin *defixio* with *uoces magicae* in Greek script from Gaul (Augustodunum) edited in Marcillet-Jaubert 1979: 185–186.

3 RITUAL TAG-SWITCHING

In addition to ritual code-switching or code-alternation, involving the insertion of long utterances from one language into another, the sacred register often allows for the insertion of short formulae or tags, which I will define as tag-switching. Suzanne Romaine proposed that 'tag switching involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in another language'.[44] James Adams includes exclamations and interjections,[45] and within the ritual domain I also take tag-switching to include the insertion of short invocations or (divine) epithets.

In early Christian Greek texts, for example, we find ritual exclamations which consist of tags in Hebrew and Aramaic, which were partly taken over from the Jewish tradition, but preserved in early Christian, Greek, usage. Some of these are only attested for early Christianity, for example *Abba* (Aramaic אַבָּא 'father'), which occurs three times in the New Testament, in each case with its Greek equivalent Ἀββα, ὁ πατήρ.[46] Another such example is the liturgical exclamation *Maranatha* (Aramaic 'Our Lord, come!' or 'Our Lord has come'),[47] which occurs in 1 Corinthians 16:22 as well as in *Didache* 10.6, a short early Christian manual on church practice generally dated to the late first century.[48] The following passage from this text has been thought to be part of an early Christian liturgical sequence[49] (Hebrew and Aramaic tags are printed in bold):

> ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. **ὡσαννὰ** τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ. εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω. εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω. **μαρὰν ἀθά. ἀμήν.**[50]
>
> Let grace come and let this world pass away. *Hosanna* to the God of David. If any man is holy, let him come; if any be not, let him repent. *Maranatha*. *Amen*.[51]

However, we saw that Greek increasingly took over the status of the marked sacred language of Christianity, and, in fact, tag-switching into Greek is a

[44] Romaine 1995: 122. [45] Adams 2003: 21.

[46] Mark 14:36; Romans 8:15; Galatians 4:6. Note the use of the nominative with a definite article in the Greek to translate the Aramaic, instead of the expected vocative. Aune 1980: 1550 suggested that the word *abba* would have been incomprehensible to gentile Christians and that the persistence of the word may partly have been due to its palindromic structure and its possible connection to glossolalia.

[47] Cross and Livingstone 1997: 1031–1032. This ambiguous Aramaic phrase is thought to have been translated in Revelation 22:20 as Ἀμήν· ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ, which is probably the more correct meaning, rather than 'the Lord has come', which is how it was understood by the Christian Fathers.

[48] Cross and Livingstone 1997: 479. [49] Robinson 1953.

[50] Lietzmann 1907: 11. [51] Translation in Robinson 1953: 39.

common feature of most Christian liturgical languages. For example, the brief formulaic Greek prayer for Divine Mercy, κύριε ἐλέησον 'Lord have mercy', which from an early date had been used in the liturgical worship of the Church, was taken over untranslated into the Latin Western rite, as well as into the Coptic, Syriac and Ethiopic rites.[52]

Not only invocations and petitions triggered tag-switching into Hebrew or Aramaic in early Christian ritual language. Tags in the form of short acclamations such as *amen*, Hebrew אָמֵן 'verily', meant to express assent by both Jews (for example Deuteronomy 27:15) and Christians (for example 1 Corinthians 14:16) at the end of religious formulae, prayers, hymns and creeds,[53] also survived several shifts in liturgical language. In fact *amen* is still in use in most Christian communities today, having thus survived even the Protestant Reformation, which tended to favour divine worship in the vernacular. It was also used outside the official liturgy of the Church, and occurs for example in numerous Coptic charms and spells.[54] Similarly the phrase *Halleluja*, Hebrew הַלְלוּיָהּ 'praise ye God', a Jewish liturgical expression of praise (for example in Psalms 10–18), had already been left untranslated in Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible, and was taken over into the liturgy of the Church at an early date.[55] It remained untranslated in various Christian traditions, such as the liturgy of Saint Mark in Coptic,[56] and in the West Syriac (Jacobite) liturgy.[57]

Once such a formula or tag had gained ritual significance it could also be used outside of its original context, and it could even cross religious boundaries.[58] For example, an undated Coptic curse from post-conquest Egypt cites the Islamic *Basmala* بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *bismi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* 'in the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate'

[52] Hammond and Brightman 1896: 206. Note that it appears not to have been used exclusively by Christians, as there are non-Christian attestations too, see Jungmann 1951: 333–346. Similarly, in the oldest extant West Syriac liturgy (ascribed to Saint James) the exclamations στῶμεν καλῶς, σοφία and πρόσχωμεν are retained in Greek, see for example Hammond and Brightman 1896: 72 and 74. Fragments of (transliterated) Greek are also retained in the Ethiopic (Ge'ez) liturgy, see for example Mercer 1915: 160.

[53] Cross and Livingstone 1997: 51.

[54] Meyer and Smith 1994: 228–230 no. 113.

[55] Cross and Livingstone 1997: 43.

[56] See, for example, Hammond and Brightman 1896: 145.

[57] See, for example, Hammond and Brightman 1896: 79.

[58] Fragments of phrases in Hebrew, Aramaic or Greek with a Judaeo-Christian association (like *amen*) are also found outside the official liturgy of the Church. Thus, many Coptic magical texts contain garbled versions of the Aramaic words Ελωι ελωι λεμα σαβαχθανι (Mark 15:34) 'my God, my God why have you forsaken me', which Jesus Christ is said to have spoken on the Cross; see Kropp 1930–1931: III 128; Brashear 1995a: 3472 n. 455. Similar is the use of the *trisagion* in Greek, which is very commonly used in Coptic spells and curses, for example Meyer and Smith 1994 nos. 63 and 64, which combine the text of the *trisagion* with strings of vowels and numerous *uoces magicae* in *-el* and *-oth*. The *trisagion* is attested in Latin charms as well, see, for example, Önnerfors 1988: 136 no. 60; further examples in Heim 1893: 540 no. 233 and Olsan 1992: 131.

in Arabic, transliterated with Coptic letters as **ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲗⲣⲁϩⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲗⲣⲁϩⲓⲙ** *pesmelle elrahmen elrahim*. It is followed by a short curse in Arabic, and, after a string of what appear to be *charaktēres* or *uoces magicae*, the text continues in Coptic.[59] The use of the *Basmala* is striking since this curse was probably written by a Christian, as the text makes reference to Christ on the cross. In a similar manner the Islamic *exordium* and other Qur'anic phrases are found used in Ethiopic (Ge'ez) Christian charms, sometimes considerably corrupted and embedded within strings of *uoces magicae*.[60]

4 OPAQUENESS OF MEANING

It was noted earlier that a sacred language, or a temporary switch into a sacred language, may not have been properly understood even by the initiated among the speakers. This propensity for opaqueness of meaning can be illustrated by the use of Latin chants like the archaic *Carmen Aruale* sung by the Arval brethren, and especially by the *Carmen Saliare* sung by the Salian priests, of which Quintilian wrote:

> et Saliorum carmina uix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta. sed illa mutari uetat religio et consecratis utendum est.[61]
>
> The chants of the Salii are hardly properly understood by their own priests; but their *religio* forbids them to be changed, and they must be used in their sanctified form.

In many cases ritual languages tend towards semantic obscurity, and extreme examples may be found in ostensibly garbled forms of a sacred language,[62] for example the use of 'fake' Sumerian in late Akkadian spells, or 'fake' Hattic in Hittite ritual texts.[63] Still, this tendency is highly dependent on the specific sub-genre and the cultural context of the source text, and is far less pronounced in, for example, Orthodox Christian liturgical texts than in some of the Gnostic liturgical texts or magical charms. I will further illustrate this tendency with various ritual uses of Hebrew and medieval Irish.

[59] Discussion and translation in Kropp 1930–1931: II 242–243 and Meyer and Smith 1994: 197–199 no. 94; edited in Crum 1902.

[60] Cohen 1985: 159.

[61] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.6.40 (Radermacher 1965: I 46).

[62] For (perceived) foreign languages and 'gibberish' in ancient Egypt, see Brashear 1995a: 3395 n. 30.

[63] Leipoldt and Morenz 1953: 183 and Veldhuis 1999: 48. Mancini 1988: 109 mentions the use of Luvian in Hittite and Cretan in Middle Egyptian. Dieleman 2005: 138–143 mentions fake Nubian in Demotic spells.

4.1 Opaqueness of meaning and Hebrew

In the magical papyri and in Coptic texts, Hebrew was employed as a sacred language. Indeed, in the papyri, Hebrew elements (both longer phrases and tags) outnumber all the other foreign elements, even though the reason for the reputation of Jewish magic is unknown. Coptic texts evoke numerous angels, calling upon their names 'that are written here in Hebrew, the language of heaven'.[64] We encounter the abundant use of the Hebrew names and epithets ιαωθ 'Jahweh', αδοναι 'My Lord' and σαβαωθ 'hosts', itself derived from the so-called *trisagion*, originally taken from Isaiah 6:2 in Greek (and Hebrew): ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαωθ 'holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts'. Outside a specific Jewish context these epithets are apparently understood as divine names or invocations.[65] In fact, these terms caused a remarkably productive creation of new epithets in *-oth* in the papyri and on curse tablets,[66] and the same use of these epithets (and *uoces magicae* derived from them) occurs in medieval charms,[67] and even on runic amulets from medieval Norway.[68]

Often this practice concerned perceived Hebrew words only, as in the following Coptic exorcism, which cites an apocryphal 'Hebrew' prayer spoken by Jesus Christ himself in a letter to King Abgar of Edessa:

> ⲁϥϥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲥⲙⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙⲛⲧϩⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲉ ⲉϥⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲃⲓ ⲁⲕⲣⲁ̄ⲃⲉⲓ ⲙⲓⲗⲁⲥ̄ ⲫⲓⲛⲁ̄ⲇⲱⲛ ⲁⲉⲓⲣ̄ ⲉⲗⲱ̄ⲉⲓ . . . [69]
>
> He raised his voice, in Hebrew [and] prayed, saying in this way: *akrabi akrabei milas phinadōn aeir elōei . . .*

[64] Meyer and Smith 1994: 304 no. 133. In the magical papyri *uoces magicae* are often indicated as ἑβραϊστί or the like, see Heim 1893: 528 and Brashear 1995a: 3434. A curious Irish parallel is found in the apocalyptic text *In Tenga Bithnua* 'The Ever-New Tongue' (ed. Carey 2010), which may in fact go back to a Gnostic treatise, perhaps a lost *Apocalypse of Philip*, see Stokes 1905: 96. In this dialogue, a number of sages assembled on Mount Zion on Easter Eve question the spirit of Apostle Philip about the creation of the universe. Every answer of the angelic voice starts with strings of *uoces magicae*, supposedly Hebrew, meant to represent 'the speech of angels'.

[65] Heim 1893: 522. Note that the term *Sabaoth* is also retained in the *Sanctus* of the Roman Catholic rite, as well as in the Greek Orthodox rite.

[66] Brashear 1995a: 3435; Gordon 2002: 703; Versnel 2002: 114–115. A similar case is the suffix *-el* (as in *Gabriel*), which came to be the marker of many angelic names in post-biblical texts, see Peterson 1926; Cohen 1985: 149; Olyan 1993: 104. Further bibliography can be found in Brashear 1995b: 220–221. An extreme example of this creativity is Meyer and Smith 1994: 233–237 no. 117.

[67] For example in London, British Library, MS Sloane 2584, fol. 45v, discussed in Olsan 1992: 128–129.

[68] For example the charms found on a wooden amulet from Bergen from *c.* AD 1400, written in runic script but composed in Latin; see MacLeod and Mees 2006: 159.

[69] Pleyte and Boeser 1897: 470.

This invocation contains mostly *uoces magicae* with only a few recognisable Aramaic and Hebrew terms such as **ϵλϣϵι** *elōei* 'my God' in the passage cited and, later in the same prayer, **ϐαρογχ** *barouch* 'blessed'. Still, in the translation provided by the text the invocation is claimed to mean 'God who is seated above the Cherubim with four living creatures beneath him, and they are those who have flown fearfully from the course of the air'.[70]

Similarly, a late antique translation of Origen's commentary on the *Gospel of Matthew* attests to the Christian use of Hebrew terms embedded in (presumably Greek) incantations used for the exorcism of demons: *quibusdam autem et de Hebraeo acceptis adiurant daemonia* 'they adjure demons by certain (adjurations, words, things) taken even from Hebrew'.[71] Still, Saint Jerome's disparaging remarks about the use of Hebrew-derived terms again suggests that these were generally not understood by their practitioners:

> . . . Armazel, Barbelon, Abraxan, Balsamum et ridiculum Leusiboram ceteraque magis portenta quam nomina, quae ad imperitorum et muliercularum animos concitandos quasi de hebraicis fontibus hauriunt, barbaro simplices quosque terrentes sono, ut quod non intellegunt, plus mirentur.[72]

> . . . Armazel, Barbelon, Abraxas, Balsamum and the ridiculous Leusibora, and the rest of the portents, more than names, which, to excite the minds of the unlearned men and weak women, they pretend to draw from Hebrew sources, terrifying the simple by barbarous combinations in order that they may be more amazed because they do not understand.

The use of Hebrew, or perceived Hebrew, also persisted within medieval Christian usage.[73] It probably was the perceived status of Hebrew, either as the language of heaven, or at least as the language of Judaeo-Christian Scripture, which triggered switches into that language. However, it is clear that the switches mostly concerned perceived rather than actual Hebrew.

[70] Kropp 1930–1931: II 81; Meyer and Smith 1994: 321 no. 134; Brashear 1995a: 3434–3435.

[71] *PG* 13.1757; translation in Adams 2003: 194. [72] Jerome, *Epistolae* 75.3.1 in Hilberg 1996: II 32.

[73] A spell in the Roman alphabet against worms embedded in a Latin text, *Sisim hemma mulahos usmonim pilagrim uelamos einmispar*, turns out to be a (slightly corrupted) Hebrew phrase from the Song of Songs 6:8: שִׁשִּׁים הֵמָּה מְלָכוֹת וּשְׁמֹנִים פִּילַגְשִׁים וַעֲלָמוֹת אֵין מִסְפָּר *šiššîm hēmmā mə·lākôt ūšmōnîm pîlagšîm wa'ălāmôt 'ên mispār* 'there are sixty queens and eighty concubines and young women without number', see Heim 1893: 528 and Versnel 2002: 137. Of course, Hebrew was also known in medieval Jewish communities, where it was likewise used in incantations, often mixed with Judaeo-Romance, see Mancini 1988: 208 n. 17 with bibliography.

4.2 Opaqueness of meaning and Irish

Another language credited with a similar reputation, albeit within a very different cultural and geographical context, was Irish. This can be illustrated, for example, by a passage from the thirteenth-century Icelandic *Vatnsdœla saga*, which suggests that in contemporary Iceland 'Irish was regarded as the language par excellence of magical formulae'.[74] It is told of a certain Barðr, who was *margkunningr* 'accomplished in magic', that when he was laying on a storm, *siðan gekk hann andsœlis þrysvar ok mælti írsku* 'then he went around three times, against the direction of the sun, speaking in Irish'.[75]

The occurrence of Irish, often corrupted, in Old English and Latin formulae from medieval Britain appears to reflect a similar attitude. An early eleventh-century English manuscript prescribes a charm against fever, which runs as follows (note that the context is vernacular, so the use of Latin already constitutes a marked form of language):

> in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Telon tecula tilolob ticon tilo leton patron tilud amen. Ronbea furtacht italmon ronbea beathatrocor laruithitt inim. Domini est salus. Christi est salus. salus tua domine sit semper mecum. n. sancta Trinitas. sana me ab hostibus corporis et animae meae. Iesus Nazarenus rex Iudeorum.[76]

> In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Telon tecula tilolob ticon tilo leton patron tilud amen. Ronbea furtacht italmon ronbea beathatrocor laruithitt inim*. Salvation is the Lord's. Salvation is Christ's. May your salvation ever be with me, O Lord. The name [of] the Holy Trinity. Keep me healthy from the enemies of my body and mind. Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews.

The first string of foreign-looking words (*telon tecula*, etc.) consists of alliterating *uoces magicae*, but the second string of non-Latin terms seems to be garbled Irish: *ro-n-be furtacht i talmoin* 'may there be help for us on earth' and *ro-n-be i nim* 'may there be to us . . . in heaven', with *beathatrocor* perhaps to be read as *beatha trócar* 'a merciful life', or *breth trócar* 'a merciful judgement'. Some of the garbling may be due to the intricacies of copying Insular script, but this type of corruption appears to be an essential, and partly conscious, aspect of ritual language use (see section 5). This can,

[74] Plummer 1910: I clx.

[75] Sveinsson 1939: 127. This Irish influence is also borne out by the spread of *loricae* (incantations recited for protection) to Iceland; see Mees 2009: 128–130.

[76] Durham, Cathedral Library, MS Appendix Hunter 100, fol. 118r. For discussion, see Thurneysen 1938–1939: 289–290.

for example, be illustrated by the following charm preserved in a late eleventh-century English manuscript:

> Wið ðon þe mon oðde nyten wyrm ȝedrince, gyf hyt sy wæpned cynnes sinȝ ðis leoð in þæt swiðre eare þe her æfter awriten is. Gif hit sy wifcynnes sinȝ in þæt wynstre eare: gonomil orȝomil marbumil marbsai ramum tofeð tenȝo docuillo biran cuiðær cæfmiil scuiht cuillo scuiht cuib duill marbsiramum. Sinȝ nyȝon siðan in þæt eare þis ȝaldor 7 pater noster æne.[77]

> In case a man or beast has drunk in a worm, if it [i.e. man or beast] be of the male sex, [then] sing this poem, which is written hereafter, into the right ear; if it be of the female sex, in the left ear: *gonomil orȝomil marbumil marbsai ramum tofeð tenȝo docuillo biran cuiðær cæfmiil scuiht cuillo scuiht cuib duill marbsiramum*. Sing this poem nine times more in the ear and one Lord's Prayer.

Here the first line of the charm can be identified as Old Irish *gono mil orgo mil marbu mil* 'I slay the beast, I slaughter the beast, I kill the beast.'[78] The rest of the charm is extremely garbled, but it is evident how the phrase *gonomil orȝomil marbumil* may already have been regarded by the scribe as a string of *uoces magicae*. As with Hebrew, the ritual authority associated with Irish triggered a switch into that language, but in these cases, the original Irish had almost certainly become opaque to the scribe.

5 *VOCES MAGICAE*

The previous examples illustrate the propensity of ritual language for switching into an obscure or downright incomprehensible code. Indeed, they underscore the continuum between switching into an obscure code and switching to semantically empty terms, namely *uoces magicae*, which constitutes the last manifestation of ritual language use discussed here.

Some *uoces magicae* clearly did not evolve from formulae or tags which had become obscure over time. A case in point are the complex strings of vowels used as invocations, especially the vowels of the Greek alphabet,[79] which are found frequently in the magical papyri, on curse tablets, in

[77] London, British Library, MS Harleian 585. Discussed in Meroney 1945: 177–178.

[78] Carney and Carney 1960: 144; Watkins 1995: 522.

[79] Heim 1893: 540 no. 233 and Gordon 2002: 702. On the use of letters, and especially vowels, in magical formulae, see Ruelle 1889; Audollent 1904: lxiii–iv; Dornseiff 1922; Kropp 1930–1931: III 135–137; Miller 1986; Frankfurter 1994: 199–205; Crippa 1999: 103–107. For further bibliography, see Brashear 1995a: 3431 n. 242.

late antique medical texts like *De medicamentis*,[80] and in medieval Latin charms.[81] More relevant to our present purposes, by contrast are those *uoces magicae* which form the recurring divine, angelic and demonic names or epithets, and the more or less consistent invocational formulae, which are often treated as divine names in their own right.[82] These *uoces magicae* are similar in function to the epithets and invocations discussed earlier.

However, it needs to be stressed that they have a more oblique connection with existing languages. This is due to the propensity of ritual language to vary and to create neologisms often akin to *uoces magicae* on the basis of existing words, which makes it almost impossible to distinguish between semantically empty terms and deliberately corrupted tags derived from existing languages.[83] Therefore, even if we take full account of simple mistakes made in transmission, it is evident that ritual tags, whether taken from a foreign language or not, seem to be subject to creative wordplay in which the corruption of existing words may partly be a conscious process. Henk Versnel (2002) calls this process, for want of better word perhaps, 'magicalisation', whereby tags and phrases derived from foreign or obsolete languages may gradually change into *uoces magicae* within a ritual context, thus creating a far from clear-cut boundary between fossilised tags and *uoces magicae*.[84]

In fact, strings of *uoces magicae* are frequently part of a phrase, and the switch occurs in much the same way as in the tag-switching described earlier. *Voces magicae* generally occur alongside comprehensible language, for example in charms such as *asca basca rastaia serc cercer recercel nihil est nihil est nihil facturum erit*,[85] or *alotamentum sedraoton terfice isfinias nereta despone permofinet ment, hec mihi et platoni in usum erat*,[86] of which the final parts are in Latin. In many cases therefore *uoces magicae* are incorporated into an utterance very much in the same way as phrases and tags, and they should be seen as a form of ritual code-switching. Several identifiably Hebrew or Aramaic tags clearly used as *uoces magicae* on papyri, gems and

[80] Marcellus Empiricus, *De medicamentis* 10.70: ΨΑ ΨΕ ΨΗ ΨΕ ΨΗ ΨΑ ΨΕ, in Niedermann and Liechtenhan 1968: 1 200, is reminiscent of similar forms found in the Greek magical papyri.

[81] Olsan 1992: 121. [82] Graf 1997a: 128. [83] Versnel 2002: 137.

[84] This process often appears arbitrary at first sight, so that frequently *uoces magicae* consist of seemingly random combinations of vowels and consonants. Even so, there are noticeable structural tendencies to syllabic repetition often leading to accumulative strings of alliterating words, *homoioteleuta*, and general rhyme and rhythm, see Winkler 1935; Deonna 1944; Brashear 1995a: 3431 and Blom 2010 (with bibliography). In fact, it has been claimed that formal rigidity tends to increase as the semantic clarity of the elements in the charm decreases (Addabbo 1991: 17 n. 19). An obvious example of a phrase that developed into a medieval magical formula is the well-known *hocus pocus*, derived from the words of Institution *hoc est corpus meum* (Heim 1893: 528–529).

[85] Önnerfors 1988: 135 no. 27. [86] Önnerfors 1988: 132 no. 47.

defixiones will serve to illustrate further the fluid boundaries between ritual tags and *uoces magicae*.

For example, the common *uox magica* σεμισελαμ, often associated with the sun, is identifiable as Hebrew שֶׁמֶשׁ עוֹלָם *šemeš ʿôlām* 'eternal sun/sun of eternity, the world', or instead as Aramaic שמי שלם *šmy šlm* 'my name is peace', since, in rabbinical Aggadic tradition, 'peace' is regarded as one of God's names.[87] Another frequent *uox magica* is μαρμαραωθ, which has been related to the Syriac epiclesis ܡܪܝ ܡܪܘܬܐ *māre mārawātā* 'Lord of lords' which appears in a fragmentary sixth-century Christian liturgical manuscript,[88] and it has even been suggested that it survived in medieval Latin prayers as *mermeut* and *mermeunt*.[89] A final example is the *uox magica* prescribed in Marcellus Empiricus, *De medicamentis* 26.44: καραβραωθ, which is, perhaps, identifiable as Hebrew קְרָא בְּרָעוֹת *qərāʾ bərāʿôt*, possibly meaning 'invoke evil things'. Perhaps it is a variation on the common *uox magica* αβραωθ, itself derived from Hebrew אֲבִי רָעוֹת *ʿavî rāʾôt* 'father of evils'.[90] In all these cases, however, it is evident how structural aspects like the reduplicating syllabic structure or the endings in *-oth* could easily lend themselves to variations such as μαρμαρεωθ μαρμαραυωθ μαρμαραωθ μαρεχθανα.[91] This makes these terms, even when they are demonstrably derived from existing languages, almost indistinguishable from *uoces magicae*.

6 CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion has illustrated that ritual language provides a singular form of bilingual use that needs to be studied in its own right. Seen from an anthropological point of view, ritual language is a technical register, which in both appearance and context (the ritual domain) is radically different from ordinary speech, and does not allow for the same type of analysis. This chapter has brought the insights of anthropologists such as Tambiah to bear on the problematic textual evidence for ritual language, taking into account the problems of retrieving forms of ritual language from the written record.

Examples of the use of distinct languages for the purpose of ritual, often involving code-switching, and of the retention of foreign elements of these after one (or even more) language shift(s) have shown that the various

[87] *PGM* IV 1805, V 351, V 365, VII 645–650. See Scholem 1965: 134; Gager 1992: 269; Brashear 1995a: 3598.
[88] *PGM* VII 488, VII 598, VII 608. For the Syriac epiclesis, see Bickell 1893: 609.
[89] Kropp 1930–1931: III 124–125; Preisendanz 1930; Gager 1992: 268; Brashear 1995a: 3591–3592.
[90] Heim 1893: 134. [91] *PGM* IV 366–367; Betz 1992: 45.

types of ritual language mixing described by linguistic anthropologists can also be identified among written sources from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. They also illustrate that the switch into a sacred language is often triggered by its association with a specific sacred text. It has become clear that, once a tag has gained ritual significance, it can be used outside its original context, and can even cross significant cultural and religious boundaries. Furthermore, there is a tendency for these elements to become opaque in meaning or downright unintelligible. Finally, it has been argued that the use of *uoces magicae* can be regarded as an extreme variety of ritual code-switching. Indeed, it is clear that, in certain genres of ritual texts, the boundary between fossilised phrases and tags and strings of *uoces magicae* is often extremely fluid.

CHAPTER 7

Typologies of translation techniques in Greek and Latin

Latin elticis *:* catelticis = *Greek* ἑλκτική *:* καθεκτική

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1 INTRODUCTION

My remarks here are prompted by some curious Greek words and forms encountered in my current work towards the first complete critical edition of a Late Latin text, and the question where they belong – in other words, what phenomenon or phenomena they exemplify – in typologies of borrowing and translation techniques. The text in question is a medical book, the Latin translation-cum-compilation (made probably in the sixth century AD) of the *Therapeutica* and *On Fevers* by Alexander of Tralles (*fl.* early/mid sixth century). Immediate illustration of the curiosities to which I refer is offered in (1) and (2) below – I am interested particularly in the Latin words underlined. The 'Latin' adjectives *elticis*, *catelticis*, *alioticis*, which belong closely together, look like transcriptions of Greek -ικός adjectives in the feminine genitive singular (-ικῆς), but function as feminine nominative singular in the Latin. A rather different phenomenon is seen in the noun *cynorodoxeos*, but again a Greek genitive singular form (originally in -εως) lies behind the form which in the Latin context can only be nominative. (For details on the forms and their morphology, see section 4.)

(1) Alex. Trall. *Therapeutica* II, 397, 10 (Puschmann) εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡ ἑλκτικὴ δύναμίς ἐστιν ἀσθενής, . . . · εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλλοιωτικὴ δύναμις ἀσθενήσει, . . . 'If, then, the attractive power (*sc. of the liver*) is weak, . . . ; if, on the other hand, the transformative power is weak, . . . '

Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.68 siquidem elticis uirtus fuerit infirmata, . . . ; quodsi alioticis uirtus epatis fuerit infirmata, . . . [1] 'If the *elticis* power (*sc. of the*

[1] The text of the quotations from the Latin Alexander is provisional at this stage. In a few instances, the text has been reconstructed on the basis of a collation of all the manuscripts, and printed, albeit tentatively, in Langslow (2006). Generally, however, it is based on just the three oldest manuscripts (my A, M and P1) and the early printing (Lyons 1504) – for details, see Langslow (2006: Ch. 3).

liver) is weakened, . . . ; but if the *alioticis* power of the liver is weakened, . . . '

(2) Alex. Trall. II, 247, 29–30 πῶς δεῖ θεραπεύειν τὴν κυνώδη ὄρεξιν τὴν γινομένην δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς καθεκτικῆς δυνάμεως; 'How must one treat doglike hunger arising through weakness of the retentive capacity (*sc. of the whole body*)?'

Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.20 *tit.*[2] curatio si ex imbecilla uirtute catelticis fiat cynorodoxeos 'Treatment if as a result of a weak *catelticis* capacity *cynorodoxeos* occurs.'[3]

The questions how to describe and account for these forms provide a starting point, and to some extent a recurring focus in this paper, even if I do not as yet have satisfactory answers to them. After some further introductory remarks on general strategies of translation, I review types and partitions of, first, code-switching, interference and borrowing, and, secondly, of the terminological status and the integration (or nativisation) of borrowed medical terms, highlighting new types observed in the Latin Alexander and the phenomenon of the non-Greek use of Greek words. In each section, in the hope that the general and the particular may illustrate each other to mutual benefit, I alternate general remarks on and illustration of wider phenomena with consideration of their applicability to our specific question, how to describe and account for *elticis*, *catelticis*, *alioticis* (and secondarily the type represented by *cynorodoxeos*).

2 TRANSLATION AND BILINGUALISM

Translating constitutes a particular and very diverse set of forms of bilingual behaviour. The cases I am interested in arise in contexts of translation (the

My editorial corrections of the text are signalled by the use of italics. The Latin version in passage (2) is a much freer rendering of the Greek than that in (1). Variability of this kind – which may, as in example (2), extend beyond the basic *uerbum e uerbo* versus *sensus de sensu* typology discussed in section 3 – is common in the Latin Alexander. Latin sentences at some remove from the Greek of Puschmann's edition (1878–1879) presumably reflect redaction (editorial intervention) either in the Greek tradition (including the manuscript used by the Latin translator) or in the Latin version. Such redaction (both of the Greek and of the Latin Alexander) is well attested; for details, see Langslow (2006: especially Ch. 2).

[2] By *tit.* I refer to a chapter title, or heading (transmitted as part of the running text of the main body of the work, and plausibly regarded as part of the original translation, as opposed to the derivative list of chapter titles which is prefixed in some manuscripts to the start of the work or to the start of each book, and which is more often subject to variation and modification).

[3] On the face of it here, *catelticis* begs to be taken as modifier of *cynorodoxeos*, but the context requires the construal that I give in the translation. Cf. 2.22 *init. si ex calore nimio imbecilla fiat catelticis uirtus* 'if as a result of excessive heat, the *catelticis* capacity becomes weak'. This clause is not in the Greek, but here the intended meaning is not in doubt.

production of written translations), but translation of what type? The context is written, literary in a sense, although apparently not – at least, not always – drawn from the high literary language. Given the generally high degree of consistency in the numerous decisions that had to be taken in the turning of the thousands of Greek sentences into Latin, the translating was probably written in the first instance, rather than translated orally on the spot, and quite possibly supported by the ready availability of written bilingual glossaries giving the translator one or more Latin equivalents to use for a given Greek word. Presumably, the aim of the maker of the translation, who is in some degree bilingual at least to the extent of being able to read Greek and to write some form of Latin, is to convey in language *x* (the target language, the language of the 'target text') ideas proper to users of language *y*, or normally expressed in language *y* (the source language, the language of the 'source text'). I use *x* and *y* deliberately here (rather than 'L1' and 'L2') in order to leave open the possibility that the maker of the translation may be translating into L2 (even if, in both the ancient and the modern world, translations into L1 are much more frequent).

In my title I refer deliberately to the bland 'translation', in preference to 'borrowing', 'code-switching', or 'interference', in order to sidestep there at least the difficult and involved terminology associated with aspects of the latter concepts. Nevertheless, we must confront these terms and the various categories and sub-categories of phenomena which they denote. For, by describing and analysing accurately the attested modes of translation and their status in the text and in the language at large, we may be better placed to comment on the implications (of both modes and status) for the nature of the contact languages involved, at least with regard to the currency of expressions, the register(s) represented in the text, and the sociolinguistic standing of the author. This applies both in general and if we have a particular problem, such as that of accounting for our Latin nominative singular feminine adjectives in *-icis* (*elticis*, *catelticis*, *alioticis*).

3 TYPOLOGIES OF TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES: GENERAL STRATEGIES

Different translation techniques, at the level of text, phrase and word, have been identified and studied with special reference to comparing the target with the source, and in particular to observing, categorising and interpreting features of the source in the target.

In his general strategy, a translator may set out to produce a version that is either broadly *sensus de sensu* or more or less *uerbum e uerbo*.[4] Still

[4] For the expression *uerbum e uerbo*, note Cicero, *Fin.* 3.15 and Horace, *Ars* 133; for the two strategies contrasted, Jerome, *Letter* 57.5.2 (AD 395, to Pammachius, on the best type of translation).

fundamental on this dichotomy is Sebastian Brock (1979). He illustrates both types, characterising (1979: 73) the former, *sensus de sensu*, as the Graeco-Roman ideal, in which the translator is interested in the form of the translation, and its impact on the reader, and hence in bringing 'the original to the reader'. The *uerbum e uerbo* type, in contrast, he characterises as the Judaeo-Christian ideal, as being 'solely concerned with the content of the original', and hence as bringing 'the reader to the original'.

A single translation may appear to illustrate, in different passages, both broad strategies. This seems to be the case for the Latin Alexander, if we compare the following examples, (3) as an instance of *sensus de sensu* translation:[5]

(3)

Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.37. 1 (Langslow 2006: 163) inprimis oportet eis cibos offerri qui et refrigerandi habeant aliquid, et confortare possint locum qui solutus est. 'First, they should be offered foods which both have some cooling property and are able to strengthen the place which is afflicted'.	Alex. Trall. II, 281, 7–8 ἁρμόζει πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἁπάντων ἐκεῖνα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων προσφέρειν, ὅσα μετὰ τοῦ ψύχειν ἔτι καὶ ῥωννύειν δύναται τὸ μόριον ἐκλυόμενον. 'It is fitting first of all to offer them any of those foods which along with cooling are able also to strengthen the part which is afflicted'.

and (4) as an example of a much more *uerbum e uerbo* approach:

(4)

Alex. Trall. Lat. 1.125 adhuc melius et diaforitic*o*terum facies adiutorium, quemadmodum et amoniacum 'even better and more diaphoretic will you make the remedy, in fact just like ammoniac gum'.	Alex. Trall. II, 109, 16–18 ἔτι κάλλιον καὶ διαφορητικώτερον ἐργάσῃ τὸ βοήθημα, ὥσπερ δὴ τὸ ἀμμωνιακόν.[6]

[5] Notice, for example, the order of the first two words; the use of Latin *et* . . . *et* . . . for Greek μετά . . . ἔτι καί . . . ; the generic subjunctives *habeant*, *possint*; the Latin relative clause *qui solutus est* for the Greek participle ἐκλυόμενον.

[6] In fact, this example is fully *uerbum e uerbo* except only the Greek definite article (Latin *adiutorium* for Greek τὸ βοήθημα). Elsewhere in the Latin Alexander, however, a Latin demonstrative adjective (*hic* or *ipse*, say) is apparently made to stand for the Greek definite article.

Brock's examples of the *uerbum e uerbo* type, however – at least those of sacred and doctrinal texts – all fall under what Ilya Gershevitch (1979) memorably termed 'alloglottography' (in an article published in the same year as that of Brock, who therefore does not use the term) – that is, the written rendering of the source text (the original) in such a way that it can be precisely reconstructed from the target text (the translation). Brock's examples of *uerbum e uerbo* translation are deliberate, controlled. In some of his instances demonstrably (and perhaps more generally), the use of the *uerbum e uerbo* strategy yields a 'double safeguard' (1979: 78), a safeguard for the reader, who is assured a pure rendering of the original, however unidiomatic, and a safeguard for the translator, who is innocent of any modification or falsification of the original – these are instances of, as it were, deliberate and systematic imitation of the source language by the target language.[7]

Such control is not so apparent in the *uerbum e uerbo* parts of the Latin Alexander, which one cannot help suspecting have their (in Latin terms) unhappy form *faute de mieux*. The makers of the Latin Alexander are not fully in control of the language of the original – and perhaps not of the target language either! Even the 'higher' passages – those in more classicising Latin, with stylistic aspirations – contain some bad misunderstandings. To my mind, this makes their work more rather than less interesting as a case of bilingual behaviour.[8]

While it may be fair to characterise the Latin Alexander as showing a frequent alternation between *uerbum e uerbo* and *sensus de sensu* translation strategies, it seems that this opposition throws no immediate light on the genesis of our puzzling forms in *-ticis*: about half of the instances of *elticis*, *catelticis* and *alioticis* occur in passages which are not slavish *uerbum e uerbo* renderings of the Greek (cf. already the examples in (1) and (2) above). If their occurrence is not explained by their distribution, let us examine them more closely as complex words in their syntactic contexts, and so return to the question what among the various bilingual phenomena they are examples of.

[7] Brock observes the value of such translations, which he compares to diplomatic editions, also for the editor of the original text. In form and effect (lack of idiomaticity), they resemble interference in language-contact situations less formal than translations, but they differ from it in being deliberate and systematic.

[8] In fact, I believe that the Latin Alexander is a very valuable witness for improving the Greek original, but for reasons having more to do with the transmission of the respective texts than with the strategy and competence of the translator. Again, for further details, see Langslow (2006: Ch. 2).

4 'LATIN' *ELTICIS*, *CATELTICIS*, *ALIOTICIS*

To recapitulate some basic information (summarised in (5) below): the Greek forms are well attested and understood (ἑλκτικός since Plato,[9] καθεκτικός and ἀλλοιωτικός since Aristotle[10]) as well-formed derivatives of respectively ἕλκω 'drag, draw, attract', κατέχω 'hold down, detain, confine' and ἀλλοιόω 'alter, transform', in various philosophical and scientific contexts, and in medicine in particular as terms of physiology and therapeutics.[11] We can confidently predict the Latin forms that each would be expected to yield. Outside learned circles, we should expect the Greek initial *h-* (of ἑλκτικός) not to be written, and the *th-* of καθεκτικός to be written *t-*. In probably all Latin-speaking communities from the Republican period on, a cluster *-lct-* (as in ἑλκτικός) would be naturally simplified to *-lt-*.[12] Quite unexpected, on the other hand, is the apparent assimilation of the stem of **catectic-* to **eltic-*, yielding *cateltic-* (cf. 1.6 in (6) below for the two side by side). Insofar as *eltic-* is the Latinised reflex of (Greek) *(h)elctic-*, the stem *cateltic-* represents either the Latinised reflex of (Greek) *cat(h)elctic-*, or a Latin assimilation.[13] However, it seems that the expected Latin declension (*-icus, -a, -um* for Greek -ικός, -ική, -ικόν) was attained by *eltic-*, *cateltic-* and *aliotic-* only through correction in the course of the

[9] Plato, *R.* 523a2, of the power of a subject to draw its student towards knowledge of reality.

[10] Each only three times in Aristotle – καθεκτικός: *Top.* 125b18, *Hist. anim.* 635b3, *Probl.* 963a21; ἀλλοιωτικός: *De sensu* 441b21, *Phys.* 257a24, *De caelo* 310a29.

[11] In the system of physiology developed and represented by Galen (although it almost certainly antedates him), four 'natural powers' (φυσικαὶ δυνάμεις) were attributed to natural organisms, and to individual organs of animals. These powers were the attractive, the retentive, the alterative (part of digestion, but distinct from the cooking aspect of this process, the πεπτική) and the excretive (in Greek: ἑλκτική, καθεκτική, ἀλλοιωτική, ἀποκριτική). The last-named, the excretive, occurs only once in the Greek Alexander, at II, 313, 18, in a passage that is not in the Latin version. For surveys of Galen's physiology and further references, see Hankinson 2007: especially 223–225 and Debru 2007: especially 270–271.

[12] Compare, for example, *ultor* 'avenger', for **ulctor*, agent noun to the root of *ulcīscī* 'to be avenged'; or *fultus* 'supported, propped' (for **fulctos*), participle to *fulcīre* 'to support' (see e.g. Leumann 1977: 217; Weiss 2009: 180).

[13] In Greek manuscripts of Galen, καθεκτικός occasionally appears as καθελκτικός (by assimilation to ἑλκτικός), e.g. *In Hippocratis de natura hominis librum comm.* 2.5 (p. 64, 22 Mewaldt). Such a variant is never reported by Puschmann (1878–1879) for the manuscripts of the Greek Alexander, but it remains possible that the assimilation in Latin *catelticis* is of Greek rather than Latin origin. On the other hand, Latinisation may be reflected also in the single *-l-* in the stem of *alioticis* (contrast Latin *ali-* and Greek ἀλλοι-). The fourth example in (5), *cynodis (*or *-es) orexis*, appears to have undergone univerbation, and possibly some sort of metathesis [–d–r– > –r–d–] of a type (stop–liquid) familiar especially in Late Latin, although no precise parallel is offered by Väänänen (1981: §137) or Stotz (1996–2004: III.7 §§293–297): the closest, in the latter (§295.1), *cinodomel* for *cydonomeli*, cited from the *Alphita*, an important [Salernitan?] medieval medical–botanical glossary, shows rather [–d–n– > –n–d–]. However, I have yet to collate all the forms of *cynodes orexis* attested in the manuscripts of the Latin Alexander.

manuscript tradition. With regard to the attestation of these adjectives, for *elticis*, the *ThLL* [s.v. *helcticos*] cites only Latin medical translations, those of Oribasius and Philumenus (the latter a Latin version of a lost work by a second-century Greek doctor incorporated into Book 2 of the Latin Alexander); *catelticis* and *all(o)eoticis* were apparently missed by the *ThLL*. As for *cynodes orexis*, only the Latin Oribasius is cited, s.v. *orexis*:

(5)

Greek form/meaning	Latin: expected	attested	interpretation
ἑλκτικός, -ή, -όν 'attractive, that tends to draw'	**(h)el(c)ticus, -a, -um*	elticis (2x) elticen (1x) (elticin 1x?)	Greek fem. gen. sg. Greek fem. acc. sg.
καθεκτικός, -ή, -όν 'retentive, that tends to retain'	**cat(h)ecticus, -a, -um*	catelticis (9x) catelticen (1x) (cateltici 1x?2x)	Greek fem. gen. sg. Greek fem. acc. sg. Greek fem. nom. sg.
ἀλλοιωτικός, -ή, -όν 'alterative, that tends to transform'	**all(o)eoticus, -a, -um*	alioticis (1x)	Greek fem. gen. sg.
κυνώδης ὄρεξις 'morbid hunger' (like that of a dog)	**cynodis/ cynodes orexis*	cynorodoxeos	Greek gen. sg.[14]

The attested Latin spellings are easily interpreted as writings of Greek inflectional forms, some of which appear to have been lifted straight from their Greek syntactic contexts, as in most of the instances of the forms in *-is* (for Greek -ῆς; cf. (2) above) and as in the only passage (6) in which the Latin forms are in *-en* (for Greek -ήν; in (6), notice that *eltic-* and *cateltic-* are set in contrast side by side):

(6)

Alex. Trall. Lat. 1.6 simul etiam iuuanda[15] est **elticen** uirtus ut nutriri possint capilli, etiam et **catelticen** uirtus – propter enim consistentem	Alex. Trall. 1, 449, 21–23 ὥστε μικτὴν εὑρίσκεσθαι δύναμιν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ βοηθήματι, **ἑλκτικήν** τε ἅμα καὶ τρέφειν δυναμένην αὐτὰς καὶ

[14] Presumably, the development was roughly (gen. sg.) κυνώδους ὀρέξεως → *cynodu(s) orexeos* → *cynod'orexeos* → *cynorodoxeos/-eus*.

[15] Presumably, reflecting earlier *inuenienda* somehow?

calorem **elticen**; propter autem constringendam cutem **catelticen**. 'At the same time help is to be given to the attractive power, so that the hairs can be nourished, and to the retentive power – attractive in virtue of the present heat, retentive in virtue of the constricting of the skin.'	καθεκτικὴν, διὰ μὲν τῆς προσούσης θερμότητος ἑλκτικὴν, διὰ δὲ τῆς ψύξεως καθεκτικήν. 'So that a mixed power is found to be in the remedy, both attractive and able to nourish it [*new hair*] and at the same time retentive – attractive in virtue of its warmth, retentive in virtue of its cooling action.'

The inflection of the forms is, then, usually fixed by their form in the Greek original, and is not determined by their Latin syntactic context. However, in context, if one disregards their morphology, the forms are for the most part easy to interpret and liable therefore, in many instances, to have their endings 'corrected' in due course by learned redactors. Note the first example in (7) (and cf. (1) above).

(7)

Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.20 maxime si frigida sit distemperantia per quam soluitur **cateltica** (**catelticis** *P1 M*) uirtus 'especially if it is a cold imbalance through which the retentive power is loosened'	Alex. Trall. II, 249, 3–4 μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ψυχρᾷ δυσκρασίᾳ καὶ καταλύεσθαι πέφυκεν ἡ καθεκτικὴ δύναμις. 'It is especially on a cold imbalance that the retentive power tends to be loosened.'
Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.201 effusio seminis fit quando ex plenitudine seminis grauatur **catelticis** (-is *M* -usi *P1*) uirtus – id est ea quae continet – consistens in seminariis uasis. 'A discharge of semen occurs when from an abundance of semen there is weighing down of the cateltic power – i.e. that which contains – present in the seminal vessels.'	Alex. Trall. II, 495, 16–17 γονόρροια γίνεται ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ πλήθους σπέρματος βαρύνοντος τὴν δύναμιν τὴν καθεκτικὴν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς σπερματικοῖς ἀγγείοις. 'Flow of seed occurs sometimes as a result of a mass of seed weighing down the retentive power which is in the spermatic vessels.'

The main reason why we are quite reasonably surprised at our translators' failure to deal straightforwardly with Greek ἑλκτικός, καθεκτικός and ἀλλοιωτικός is that these words are members of the large, important and productive morpho-lexical class of Greek adjectives and nouns in -ικός, -ική, -ικόν, which has been prominent in Latin medical terminology since

the first century AD, and which is prominent still, and – with the named exceptions – straightforwardly and reliably dealt with in the Latin Alexander, by means of borrowing, i.e. transcription and integration (or, more rarely, morphological loan-translation[16]). In (8) and (9) are just a few of many possible examples. That in (8) relates to pathology, those in (9) to one of the contexts relevant to our present concerns, that is, the properties of foods and remedies:

(8) Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.12 facit quoque et ad emoptoicos (masc. acc. pl.; cf. αἱμοπτυϊκός) et dentes reumatizantes et ad omnis reumaticas (fem. acc. pl.; cf. ῥευματικός) passiones, et stranguiria patientibus et uesicam dolentibus et colicis et spleneticis (masc. dat. pl.; cf. κολικός, σπληνητικός). 'It (*the remedy*) is effective also for those spitting blood and for a flux in the teeth and all rheumatic affections, and for those suffering strangury and those with pain in the bladder and those afflicted in the colon or the spleen.'

(9) Alex. Trall. Lat. 1.6 et quae uirtute areotica (fem. abl. sg.; cf. ἀραιωτικός) sunt medicamenta 'and those medicaments which have the power of drying';
1.89 et magis habent ad reprimendum stipticam uirtutem (fem. acc. sg.; cf. στυπτικός) 'and they (*the remedies*) have rather styptic power for repressing';
1.114 aliquo alio narcoticam habente uirtutem (fem. acc. sg.; cf. ναρκωτικός) 'some other substance with narcotic power';
2.139 malactica est uirtute (fem. abl. sg.; cf. μαλακτικός) 'it (*the medicament*) has the power of softening';
2.143 plus esse conuenit diaforeticam et malacticam uirtutem habentia (fem. acc. sg.; cf. διαφορητικός, μαλακτικός) 'it is more appropriate that they (*the remedies*) should have diaphoretic and softening power'; cf. 1.41 sic ad ea ueniendum quae amplius diaphoretica sunt uirtute 'then we must resort to those which have a more marked diaphoretic power'.

The borrowing by Latin of Greek adjectives and nouns in -ικός, -ική, -ικόν is a good example of the borrowing of a morpho-lexical *system*.[17] Clearly, our problem cases, which for some reason fail to penetrate this system,

[16] In which the Latin suffix *-tiuus* translates the Greek suffix -ικός: so, in the Latin Alexander, for example, *confortatiuus* (τονωτικός), *mitigatiuus* (παρηγορικός), *operatiuus* (δραστικός), *recorporatiuus* (μετασυγκριτικός), *temperatiuus* (ἐπικεραστικός). On Latin *-tiuus* (and *-torius*) for Greek -ικός, see André 1963: 48–53 and Langslow 2000: 353–361.

[17] Morpho-*lexical* systems are surely not subject to the same constraints on 'borrowability' as, on the traditional view going back to Whitney (1881), grammatical systems are. It is of morpho-*syntactic* elements and patterns that Lucien Tesnière famously asserted (1939: 85) that 'la miscibilité d'une langue est fonction inverse de sa systematisation' (quoted by Haugen (1950: 224 n. 36), who also

are loanwords of sorts, but of what sort? In the typology of David Magie (1905), they are evidently instances of *transcriptio* (as opposed to *translatio/interpretatio* or *comparatio*).[18] Furthermore, they instantiate *transcriptio* in the stronger, or at least literal, sense that not only the stem but also the inflectional ending has been transcribed. The presence of alien morphology is often a concomitant of what is seen as a type of 'code-switching' as opposed to borrowing (at any rate, integrated borrowing). Perhaps, then, our puzzling forms in *-ticis* are instances of some sort of code-switching. These remarks call for a brief digression on the various species of these phenomena distinguished in the linguistic literature, and the associated terminology.

5 BILINGUALISM AND CODE-SWITCHING VS BORROWING VS INTERFERENCE

Synchronically, at least, a borrowing is quite distinct from a 'code-switch'.[19] Various types of code-switching are distinguished against criteria of different sorts, grammatical and functional or pragmatic,[20] and code-switching

quotes Whitney (1881: 14), 'whatever is more formal or structural in character remains in that degree free from the intrusion of foreign material'). Note, however, the scepticism on the validity of linguistic constraints voiced by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: especially 14–20), a reference I owe to Alex Mullen. The apparent difficulty experienced by ἑλκτικός, καθεκτικός, ἀλλοιωτικός in intruding where numerous other members of the same system had intruded before remains, to me at least, a puzzle.

[18] This typology was taken over by Dubuisson (1985) in his analysis of the Latinisms in the Greek prose of the second-century BC Greek historian Polybius, and is helpfully summarised by Rochette (2010: 291), who illustrates each approach for the rendering of Latin *consul* and *quaestor* in Greek: *per transcriptionem* – κωνσουλ, κ(ο)υαιστωρ; *per translationem* – σύμβουλος (i.e. WITH + COUNSEL), ζητητής (i.e. SEEK + AGENT SUFFIX); *per comparationem* – ὕπατος (the 'highest' magistrate, which the consul is), ταμίας (the 'treasurer', the central office of the quaestor). (NB Rochette has accidentally transposed ζητητής and ταμίας.) On the rendering of Roman institutions in Greek, note also Mason 1970 and 1974.

[19] Cf. Poplack and Sankoff 1984: 99 and Myers-Scotton 1992, and, more recently, e.g. Muysken 2000: 69–75 and Myers-Scotton 2006: 253–260. The most important recent discussion of these phenomena and the associated terminology with reference to the ancient world is in the introductory chapter of Adams 2003: especially Introduction I.V, 18–28.

[20] The (essentially functional, or pragmatic) distinction between 'intimate' and 'emblematic' code-switching cuts across the formal, or structural, syntactic dichotomy between inter-sentential (including tag switching, which is often emblematic) and intra-sentential, see Mullen, this volume, for further details. It is the latter type that encompasses lexical loan-phenomena with which we are here concerned, and which may be further subdivided between 'alternation', 'insertion' and 'congruent lexicalisation' (cf. e.g. Muysken 1995; 2000), and code-switching within the word (or morphological interference? or 'leaks'? cf. e.g. Adams 2003: 25, 27). A multi-purpose illustration (drawn from Adams 2003: 23–24, switches marked with double obliques): *ILCV* 4463 Βηρατιους Νικαγορας | Λαζαρίῃ καὶ Ἰουλίῃ καὶ Ὀνησίμῃ | κον φιλιους βενε μερεντες | ὁ βίος ταῦτα: intra-sentential code-switching (but with a tag-switch (inter-sentential) into Greek at the end), 'intimate' (as opposed to 'emblematic'), 'alternation' phrase by phrase (as opposed to 'insertion', except with a switch within the word (morphological interference?) in φιλιους, with Greek ending -ους for intended Latin -ως = *-ōs*).

as a whole is – not only in this volume – generally distinguished not just from borrowing but also from interference. One (non-grammatical) synchronic criterion serving to identify the use of a borrowing is that it need not entail any knowledge of the source language: a switch, on the other hand, like interference, does imply a context involving language contact, and a degree of bilingualism (cf. Adams 2003: 27), although with the following important distinction between switching and interference. A switch, whether involving a whole word-form or affecting just a part of a word-form (usually the stem or the inflectional ending), will tend to be deliberate, even skilful, and will be made manifest in performance in the user's L1 (in a translation, the target language), while interference will be unintentional or the result of incompetence and will affect either L1 or L2 (usually L2 – and, in a translation, again of course only the target language comes into question).[21]

So, to give some brief illustration (using some of the examples discussed by James Adams (2003: 18–28)), (10), (11) and (12) below are all instances of code-switching, clearly deliberate and artful. All three are intra-sentential insertions, operating below the level of the nominal phrase. The switch in (10) is intra-phrasal, affecting only the noun (ληκύθους) within the adjective-noun phrase (*illas* ληκύθους); it depends on the retention of the L2 (Greek) morphology, and is further signalled by the use of L2 (Greek) script:[22]

(10) Cicero, *Att.* 1.14.3 nosti illas ληκύθους 'you know my *palette*'.

The switches in (11) and (12) take place within the *word*. Each manifests the deliberate (artful and jocular) use of L2 (Greek) morphology on an L1 (Latin) stem. This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as 'morphological borrowing', but, at least in the context of code-switching, it is better termed 'morphological switching':

[21] The distinction advanced in this paragraph between code-switching and interference is not hard and fast: code-switching may be sub-conscious (i.e. the code-switching mode is chosen, but not the switch points), and it may be the result of imperfect competence (such as a gap in the lexicon or inflectional morphology); further, in the case of a balanced bilingual, it may be inappropriate or impossible to identify L1 versus L2. I owe these observations to Alex Mullen.

[22] In identifying instances of the use of Greek script in Latin literary texts, we are of course at the mercy of the individual manuscript tradition. There are a few clear examples in the manuscripts of the Latin Alexander (e.g. 1.41 et ΗΓΑΡΜΙΧΑ [A et tapauxa M 7 7cixa P2 *om*. P1: *surely reflecting* πταρμικά] id est sternutationes 'and πταρμικά, that is sneezing-agents'), but how many others have been lost through the general tendency to replace Greek with Latin letters, it is impossible to say. In lucky cases, certain forms of corruption in Latin manuscripts may be taken to reflect Greek letters in an earlier exemplar.

(11) Cic. *Att.* 1.16.13 φιλοσοφητέον, id quod tu facis, et istos consulatus non flocci fact**eon** 'one must take to letters, as you do, and not care a button for their Consulships' (translation by Shackleton Bailey (1999: 91)).

(12) Quintilian 8.6.33 at 'οἶνοι' ἀγαθοῖο' ferimus in Graecis, Ouidius ioco cludit 'uin**oeo** bon**oeo**' 'but while we accept "οἶνοι' ἀγαθοῖο" in Greek, Ovid in jest ends a verse with "*uin**oeo** bon**oeo***" ("of good-*um* wine-*um*")'.

The instances in (13a) and (13b) are in certain respects descriptively similar to those in (10)–(12), but are to be regarded as cases of interference rather than of code-switching, chiefly because the mixing of languages that they show is not deliberate but accidental – both are from the same document, a receipt issued by a non-native user of Latin. In (13a), the matrix language (Latin, here L2) shows foreign (Greek, here L1) accusative plural endings on the noun–adjective phrase δηναριους σεσκεντους in a pattern superficially identical to that of Ovid's '*uin**oeo** bon**oeo***' in (12):

(13a) *CPL* 193 . . . σκριψι μη ακκηπισσε . . . δηναριους σεσκεντους . . . ' . . . I wrote that I had received . . . six hundred *denarii* . . . '

In (13a), there is no question that the stem σεσκεντ- is Latin and that δηναριους as a masculine noun is also Latin (in contrast to the neuter δηνάρια, the standard form of this loanword in Greek). At first sight, (13b) would seem to contain another instance of exactly the same type, a switch affecting an inflectional ending – the stem of Latin *classis* with Greek first-declension genitive singular ending -ης. If the ending had been intended to be Latin, it would have been written -ις. In fact, we should note also the alternative possibility (favoured by Adams 2003: 25) that what we have in κλασσης is a switch at word level (i.e. of the whole word rather than just the ending) to a perfectly regular Greek word-form, the genitive singular κλάσσης of the integrated loanword κλάσσα (Greek first declension from Latin third-declension *classis*):

(13b) *CPL* 193 . . . ακτουμ καστρις **κλασσης** (κλάσσης?) πραιτωριαι ' . . . performed in the camp of the praetorian *flotte*'.

On the latter interpretation, κλάσσης in (13b) would in formal and structural terms resemble Cicero's ληκύθους in (10) above, the key difference between the two lying in the fact that ληκύθους is manifestly deliberate (and, in part at least in virtue of this fact, is said to be a code-switch),

while κλάσσης is at least very probably accidental (and is hence said to be an instance of interference, whether at word level or affecting only the inflectional ending). If κλάσσης is a Greek word-form in its entirety (rather than Latin stem κλασσ- + Greek ending -ης), it is the more striking in that it is part of a Latin noun + adjective phrasal term (*classis praetoria* 'the praetorian fleet'), and its modifier (πραιτωριαι = Latin gen. sg. fem. *praetoriae*) is apparently unaffected and given its 'correct' Latin form.[23]

The two criteria most frequently used for characterising code-switching/interference as distinct from borrowing centre on the use of foreign inflectional material, and the frequency of occurrence or degree of integration in the matrix language of the foreign lexical material. Thus, it is held that interference and code-switching have in common the tendencies (a) to include foreign inflectional material (in the context of translation literature, morphology characteristic of the source), with or without a foreign lexical stem, and (b) to involve rare (even 'nonce'[24]) forms with a low degree of integration or standardisation. Borrowings, on the other hand, will tend to recur and, in keeping with their consequently higher degree of integration, to show native inflection (in a translation, that which is characteristic of the target language). This digression began with stress on the importance of a synchronic point of view for a meaningful distinction between borrowing and code-switching/interference. Diachronically, it may be hard to tell them apart, in that borrowings may start life as cases of interference or code-switching. It would seem reasonable to suppose that the arrow of change will always point in the same direction (from code-switching/interference to borrowing, and not the other way around), and that this unidirectionality will hold also of the individual criteria, i.e. that over time a foreign word, if it catches on at all in the matrix language, will become more integrated, gaining in currency and shedding its foreign inflection in favour of matrix-language morphology. Superficially, or in formal terms at least, *elticis*, *catelticis* and *alioticis* might be regarded as lying in a phase of development somewhere between code-switch and borrowing.

[23] I owe this observation to Patrick James. I wonder whether it weakens the case for viewing either κλάσσης as a whole or the -ης ending of κλασσης as a Greek morpheme in favour of regarding -ης as an alternative Greek *spelling* of Latin *-is* (although eta is not used to represent Latin short *i* elsewhere in this text).

[24] For Poplack's (1980) term 'nonce borrowings' Myers-Scotton (2006: 253–260) substitutes the expression 'singly occurring' items in her valuable discussion of whether such words and forms are borrowings or code-switches.

In the light of these reflections, it is interesting to observe that one and the same word which may reasonably be regarded – on grounds of frequency, distribution, use and morpho-syntactic adaptation – as a well-integrated lexical borrowing may appear in Latin translation-literature to show behaviour in one context characteristic of a switch, in another of interference. A promising example is, I think, to be seen in the use of the genitive singular form of *paralysis* in three Late Latin medical texts ((14)–(16) below). The term *paralysis* is used without apology or awkwardness (of the sort seen in (15) below), and with Latin inflection, by Vitruvius (8.3.4; first century BC), Petronius (129.6; first century AD) and Suetonius (*Vitellius* 3.1; first to second century AD), and in medical discussions in the first century AD by Scribonius Largus and the Elder Pliny (e.g. 22.105, 27.92).[25] Its use, then, and the Latin genitive singular inflection that it bears in Cassius Felix (fifth century AD), as e.g. in (14), is entirely in keeping with the status of integrated borrowing that it would seem to have enjoyed for five centuries:

(14) Cass. Fel. 54.1 (Fraisse) et sunt distantiae paralys**is** duae 'and there are two types of paralysis'.

It is therefore striking to find, probably just a few generations before Cassius Felix, the Greek genitive singular form (*paralyseos* for Greek παραλύσεως) attested in the works of two other highly educated Latin medical writers, working probably in the same province, Africa. Caelius Aurelianus (15) uses this form three times, and no other form of the genitive singular:

(15) Cael. Aur. *Chron*. 2.2 sed plurimis species duae paralys**eos** uisae sunt 'but many have thought that there are two species of *paralysis*' (cf. 2.4 haec sunt communes paralys**eos** significationes 'these are the signs common to both types of *paralysis*'; 2.15 Erasistratus memorat paralys**eos** genus, et 'paradoxon' appellauit 'Erasistratus records a type of *paralysis* which he has termed *paradoxos*').

The Greek genitive form *paralyseos* is attested also – once only – in the short gynaecological work of Theodorus Priscianus (16), a near-contemporary of Caelius Aurelianus.

[25] Scribonius introduces the word *paralysis* as a Greek term (101, p. 54, 8 Scon.), but subsequently (156, p. 76, 19, *al.*) uses it as if it were Latin (thereby treating it as an instance of my type MF1 in (22) below). Celsus is the only Latin writer to treat Greek παράλυσις as an instance of my type MH4, that is to say he assigns to it (2.1.12, 6.6.36) a Latin translation equivalent, *resolutio neruorum*, which he subsequently uses (e.g. 2.8.14, 2.8.40, 3.27.1A, 5.28.2B) consistently in place of the Greek term.

(16) Theod. Prisc. *Gyn.* 7 (p. 229.1 Rose) sub horrore causae ueluti paralys**eos** mentiuntur imaginem 'affected by the shuddering of the disease, they (*sufferers from suffocation of the womb*, praefocatio matricis) give the appearance of having a sort of paralysis'.

Now, admittedly further research is needed on the language – I mean the Latinity – of both Caelius Aurelianus and Theodorus Priscianus. However, as things stand, I think it very probable that Caelius Aurelianus is code-switching, deliberately using the Greek genitive form in order to avoid the morphological ambiguity of the Latin ending *-is* and/or to enhance his appearance of learning.[26] Theodorus' use of genitive *paralyseos*, on the other hand, is, I think, much more likely to be another effect of interference on the part of – as I suppose (cf. Langslow 2002: 42–43) – his L1 (Greek) on his L2 (Latin). On the other hand, our problematic forms *elticis* etc. appear neither learned, nor like cases of interference, since most often the (original) genitive case of the Latin forms in *-is* (Greek -ῆς) is impossible in the Latin syntactic context.

I suspect that there is fruitful further work to be done on the treatment of Greek inflectional forms in Latin, in particular that of the genitive singular ending -εως. This ending (in *paralys**eos***) was deliberately chosen to bring us back to our starting point. For, if some sense can immediately be made of the Greek genitives *as genitives* in (15) and (16) above (*paralyseos*), the same cannot be said of (17) (repeated from (2) above), in which the last word (*cynorodoxeos*) appears to be used by the maker(s) of the Latin Alexander as a nominative singular.

(17) Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.20 *tit.* curatio si ex imbecilla uirtute catelticis fiat cynorodox**eos** 'Treatment if as a result of a weak *catelticis* capacity *cynorodoxeos* occurs.'

On the face of it, *cynorodoxeos* might be thought to be a late example of the process supposedly witnessed very much earlier as giving rise to Latin nominatives such as *abacus* and *elephantus* (if, that is, they are from the Greek genitives ἄβακος and ἐλέφαντος).[27] An important difference, however, lies

[26] Alternatively, conceivably, Caelius is preserving the morphology of his source text in order to distinguish Greek terms from Latin, even among familiar items. I owe this suggestion to Patrick James. Further research is needed on the spelling and morphology of this long and difficult text.

[27] On these forms, see André 1956 and Leumann 1964: 97, who rejects the idea that they are in any straightforward way Latin nominatives from Greek genitives.

in the fact that *cynorodoxeos* does not decline. It belongs rather to a small but growing dossier of Latin indeclinable nouns in *-eos* (or *-eus*) which presumably originate as transcriptions of Greek genitive singular forms in -εως, and are subsequently used by the maker(s) of the Latin Alexander in nominative or accusative, as well as genitive, function and occasionally exhibit masculine gender. Two lexical groups are prominent: 1. terms of pathology, originally feminines in -σις, -σεως in Greek: e.g. *diabroseos* (διάβρωσις, erosion of the coats of a blood-vessel), *pitiriaseos* (πιτυρίασις, a 'bran-like' eruption on the skin), *syntixeos* (σύντηξις, colliquescence), and of course *cynorodoxeos* (κυνώδης ὄρεξις); and 2. botanical terms, originally feminines or neuters in -ι(ς), -εως in Greek: e.g. *ameos* (ἄμ(μ)ι, ajowan), *limnisteos* (λίμνηστις, greater centaury), *orcheos* (ὄρχις, the plant salep), and commonest of all *ireos* (ἶρις, iris). As far as I can see, this curious type has not been noticed before, although a few individual forms are catalogued in recent fascicles of the *ThLL*.[28] It merits, however, further research and report for historical as well as philological and linguistic purposes in that, to the best of my knowledge, examples of the type are documented to date only in texts thought to have been made in northern Italy in the sixth century AD – that is, apart from the Latin Alexander, in Latin translations of Oribasius, Hippocrates and (in Book 2 of the Latin Alexander) Philumenus. It thus promises to provide another stylistic agreement between these texts.[29]

As for our puzzling forms in *-ticis*, they seem not to fit easily into any of the categories so far considered. They are clearly transcriptions in origin; they are used as borrowings, but without morphological integration, and showing endings which speak against either code-switching or interference.

[28] See, for example, the *ThLL*, s.vv. *pityriasis*, *limnestis*; the editor of the former article is uncertain whether to regard *pitiriaseos* in the Latin Alexander as a genitive (with *passio* 'disease' understood), or as a nominative. On the other hand, *orcheos* is ignored both by the *ThLL*, s.vv. *orchis* and *cynorchis*, and by André (1985: s.vv.). The borrowing of Greek genitives in -εως as Latin indeclinables is not noticed, as far as I can see, by Leumann (1977: 453–460) in his chapter on integration of Greek nouns in the Latin declensions, nor by Biville in her monumental work on the incorporation of Greek forms in Latin (1990–1995). I have looked in vain also in Housman 1910; Väänänen 1938; Frei-Korsunsky 1969; Biville 1993.

[29] The survival in modern Italian alone among the Romance languages of *ireos* (masc., no pl.) may allow it to be added to the dossier of Italian, especially northern Italian, features identified by Adams (2007: 472–511) in the Latin of these late medical translations (on this, see further below). I am grateful to Nigel Vincent and Martin Maiden for help with Italian *ireos*.

6 FURTHER DISCUSSION OF 'CODE-SWITCHING' AND 'BORROWING'

Pieter Muysken, in his influential contributions on code-switching (which he calls 'code-mixing') and grammatical theory (Muysken 1995; 2000), compares the distinction between lexical borrowing and code-switching with that between derivational morphology and syntax. Is there anything in his distinctions and characterisations to help us with the analysis of especially the ending of *elticis* in *elticis uirtus* etc.?

Muysken defines (1995: 189; cf. 2000: 71) code-switches as 'words (W) with different language indices [his subscript 'p' and 'q'] inserted into a phrase structure' (18a), and lexical borrowings as 'formatives (F) inserted into an alien word-structure' (18b). He represents them schematically as follows:

(18a) $[_S \ldots W_p\ W_q \ldots]$ (Muysken's code-switching)

(18b) $[_W \ldots F_p\ (F_q) \ldots]$ (Muysken's borrowing).

In the former case (18a), his definition and representation are not affected by whether the matrix language is 'p' or 'q'. In the latter (18b), however, we must assume that the basis, or 'host', language is that denoted by subscript 'q', since the optional '(F_q)' can stand only for 'host' inflectional morphology attached to the foreign lexical stem 'F_p' in order to enable it to behave, in Muysken's words, 'externally like an element from the host language' (1995: 189; cf. 2000: 71).

As it stands, Muysken's scheme for code-switching in (18a) nicely captures Cicero's *illas* ληκύθους (cf. (10) above), and in the Latin Alexander would capture *cateltici uirtus*,[30] since *cateltici* can be interpreted as a word in the 'foreign', embedded language (W_p) in agreement with another word in the matrix language, *uirtus* (W_q). However, the scheme does not apply to *catelticis uirtus* because *catelticis* cannot be regarded in this context as a word in the embedded language.

Equally, Muysken's scheme for borrowing in (18b) describes the commoner type *areotica uirtus* (cf. (9) above) or the secondary form, *eltica uirtus* etc., of our problematic cases, in which the Greek formative *eltic-*

[30] For which there seems to be adequate manuscript support at 2.21 *tit.*, 2.22 *tit.*, 2.22 *init.*, with *cateltici* for Greek fem. nom. sg. καθεκτική – although the problem remains of the apparent Latinisation of the stem (see above).

(Muysken's F_p) is inserted into the Latin word-structure [*-a uirtus*] (the Latin ending *-a* being Muysken's F_q). If, however, it is right to see alien morphology in the *-is* ending of *elticis*, then in order to characterise *elticis* as a borrowing in *elticis uirtus*, we should need to supplement his scheme with at least (18b'), below, where [F_p] may (but need not) be morphologically complex and is enabled by host morpho-syntax (signalled by subscript 'q' in $[F_p]_q$ in (18b')) to behave externally like an element of the host language (in this instance, to function as [fem. nom. sg.? or endingless?] determiner of *uirtus*):

(18b') $[_W \ldots [F_p]_q \ldots]$.

Muysken's simple formalism lends support to the hypothesis raised above that *elticis* in *elticis uirtus* is neither code-switch nor borrowing, but somewhere between the two, and to the extent that it can be more easily accommodated in (18b) than in (18a) perhaps closer to a borrowing than to a code-switch.

Muysken brings loans and switches together as instances of 'lexical interference' – *another* example of terminological variability in this domain, as we shall shortly see – but he rejects the claims of 'some people' that 'it is better to drop the conceptual distinction between borrowing and code-mixing altogether and to speak about "interference" in general' (Muysken 2000: 71). He defines and distinguishes code-switches and loans, as in the table in (19), with reference to two dimensions, '(a) whether a particular case occurs at the supra-lexical or sub-lexical level, in the sense just described; and (b) whether it involves being listed [i.e. lexicalised] or not':

(19) Types of 'lexical interference' (after Muysken 1995: 190; 2000: 72)

TYPES OF LEXICAL INTERFERENCE	not listed	listed
supra-lexical	code-switching	conventionalised code-switches
sub-lexical	nonce loans	established loans

Other work tends to distinguish 'code-switching' and 'borrowing' at the level of the lexicon with reference to a longer list of other, more particular, criteria, which allow in principle a more nuanced characterisation of problematic instances such as our forms in *-ticis*. Shana Poplack and David Sankoff (1984) give a useful review of many earlier studies in the field,

which is conveniently schematised by Muysken (1995: 190–191; 2000: 73) in the binary feature chart which I reproduce slightly modified in (20):

(20) A binary feature-matrix characterising borrowing and code-switching (after Muysken 1995: 190–191; 2000: 73)

	borrowing	code-switching
no more than one word	±/+	±/–[31]
adaptation: phonological	±/+	±/–
morphological	+	–
syntactic	+	–
frequent use	+	–
replaces host synonym	±/+[32]	–
recognised as host word	+	–
semantic change	+	–

Poplack and Sankoff themselves highlight the four types of criteria set in bold in (20) in their study of the attainment of 'this state of complete assimilation', which 'obviously does not come about instantaneously' (Poplack and Sankoff 1984: 103–104).[33] They acknowledge that identifying (integrated) loanwords against criteria remains an inexact science,[34] but they reach a relatively optimistic conclusion on the plausibility of their criteria at the end of their introduction (1984: 105). Their ordering of the criteria appears to suggest (though I should stress that this is not

[31] In this row, I have substituted tendencies for Muysken's clear-cut values (+ for borrowing, – for code-switching).

[32] In this cell, I have changed Muysken's value (+) to reflect the fact that a borrowing may, but need not, replace any of its (near-)synonyms in the host language (see Poplack and Sankoff 1984: 104). Cf. the types labelled 'MH' in (22) below.

[33] It is worth observing in passing that some of these criteria have an ancient and venerable pedigree. So, for example, frequency of use is explicitly acknowledged as a criterion of assimilation or nativisation by Cicero, *N.D.* 2.91 (see Wenskus (1996: 235–236) on the imagery of worn currency, coins in long circulation; she compares Apuleius, *Apol.* 38.3). And Seneca the Younger in a memorable passage of the *Natural Questions* (5.16.4–5) alludes to the criteria of (in the terminology of Poplack and Sankoff 1984) 'replacement of host synonym' and 'acceptability' or 'use as a host word'; on this passage, see Wenskus 1996: 234.

[34] 'Not all of these criteria, however, will be satisfied in all cases which we may want to consider loanwords, and each of them may be satisfied by words which are not' (Poplack and Sankoff 1984: 104).

expressly their intention) a chronological sequence as in (21), which could, by reversing the arrows, be regarded as an implicational hierarchy:

(21) frequent use → phonological and morphological integration
[→ displacement of host synonym(s)[35]] → acceptability as a host form.

If this holds in the domain investigated by Poplack and Sankoff (i.e. for English loanwords in the Spanish speech of Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, New York), it repeatedly fails in Latin translation literature. In our particular cases, *elticis*, *catelticis* and *alioticis* seem to have attained acceptability with phonological integration, at least in their stems, but without morphological integration in their inflection, although (probably – but cf. n. 13 above) with Latin assimilation of a 'malapropistic' kind in the stem *cateltic-*.

7 TERMINOLOGICAL STATUS AND INTEGRATION OF LOANTERMS

Integration in the language at large can be unevenly reflected in individual texts. The sociolinguistic position of authors writing on one and the same subject can be very different. The morphological foreignness of *cynorodoxeos* and *catelticis* goes hand in hand in the Latin Alexander in a most unexpected fashion with their repeated use as apparently familiar and well-integrated loanterms without apology or explanation.[36]

In some earlier work on a general characterisation of Latin word-formation in the Roman Empire, centring on the language of four Latin medical texts which are not in any straightforward sense translations,[37] I proposed a typology (reproduced in (22) in modified form) of the kinds of terminological treatment to which foreign terms and their host-language (Latin) translation-equivalents are subject:[38]

[35] I have bracketed this stage because it is not clear to me that it is bound to occur in any language-contact situation ancient or modern, and certainly in Graeco-Roman medical contexts, there was often no Latin term to displace. A Latin equivalent may or may not have been created (either before or after nativisation of the Greek term), and the Latin creation may have fared better or worse than the Greek term. Cf. n. 32 above and the discussion in section 7.

[36] Admittedly, *catelticis uirtus* does receive an explanatory note (*id est ea quae continet*) at 2.201 (quoted in (7) above), but the isolation of this gloss and the fact that it comes so late in the text makes me doubt whether it was part of the original translation.

[37] By this, I mean that they are based on Greek sources, dealing with Greek vocabulary and phraseology, perhaps even translating whole Greek sentences, recipes, paragraphs, but that as far as we know they are not rendering directly longer portions of Greek text, let alone a single Greek treatise either word-for-word or *sensus de sensu*.

[38] For other approaches to typologies of borrowings, note (e.g.) Weise 1882; Deroy 1956; Gusmani 1973; Humbley 1974; Biville 1990–1995.

(22) Partition of the manners of use of foreign terms and their translation-equivalents (adapted from Langslow 2000: Ch. 2)

B	Borrowed: used without mention of foreign origin
MF1	Mentioned as Foreign, but otherwise used without comment
MF2	Mentioned as Foreign on every occurrence (often only once)
MH	Mentioned as Foreign and given a Host equivalent, with:
MH1	the Foreign term preferred
MH2	neither term independent of the other
MH3	each independent of the other
MH4	the Host term preferred

The status-types proposed and discussed there are in a sense points between the two extremes – 'unlisted' code-switching and integrated borrowing – set up in the binary feature chart in (20) above. The typology as it stands served the particular purpose of characterising the use of Greek medical terms in four Latin medical texts in such a way that the texts might be compared and contrasted with one another quantitatively, and to some degree and with due caution, qualitatively also. On the qualitative side, I discussed a small number of striking, in a sense 'extreme', cases of integration or non-integration of Greek medical terms in the Latin texts under consideration.

Extreme cases recognised hitherto include, on the one hand, the naturalisation, or nativisation, of loanterms to the extent that they appear 'on the right', as the *explanans*, in explanatory equivalences such as those illustrated in (23)–(25). (23) and (24) are deliberately chosen to provide further illustration of the frequency and ready integration of Greek terms in -ικός, -ική, -ικόν (Latin *-icus*, *-ica*, *-icum*). In (23), note that the -ικός/*-icus* adjective in the adjective–noun phrasal term appears in both the *explanandum* part of the equivalence (*reumatice*, for Greek ῥευματική, with Greek ending) and in the *explanans* (*reumatica*, with Latin ending). In (24), on the other hand, the Greek dative form, made to fill the slot of a Latin ablative, is glossed with what is clearly a Latin ablative ending on an -ικός/*-icus* adjective functioning in the masculine plural as a noun denoting sufferers from the disease denoted by the stem (*pthisici* (φθισικοί) 'sufferers from *pthisis* (φθίσις)'):

(23) Cassius Felix, *De medicina* 23.1 (Fraisse) reumatice diathesis, id est **reumatica passio**.

(24) Cass. Fel. 75.1 in pthoes (*i.e. Greek φθόαις*), hoc est in **pthisicis**.

(25) Cass. Fel. 42. 14 sin uero paresis fuerit stomachi, id est **paralysis**.

(25) incidentally exemplifies again the extent of the nativisation of Greek παράλυσις (as Latin *paralysis*, discussed above). Interestingly, there may be cases in learners' Latin of what we may call 'hypercorrection against contact-induced lexical change', in other words against the assumption that an L1 (Greek) word is an integrated borrowing in L2 (Latin). I think of cases such as (26) and (27). These are in a sense reversing the unidirectional arrow of naturalisation referred to above. Both, however, are drawn from Theodorus Priscianus, whose L1, as I suggested earlier, was probably Greek not Latin. In both, Greek loanterms which we have good reason to suppose had been for centuries widely understood and used in educated Latin-speaking circles (especially *podagra* 'gout' and *dysenterici* 'sufferers from dysentery': compare (26') and (27') respectively) are ignored – surely, deliberately avoided – in favour of elaborate paraphrases, reminiscent of the practice of a much earlier age.[39]

(26) Theod. Prisc. *Gyn*. 2.118 (p. 221, 20 Rose) quibus uero sub calido tactu **pedum dolor** obuenerit 'but for those whom foot-pain (gout) hot to the touch has afflicted'.

(26') Celsus 5.18.1 ad calidas podagras 'for cases of hot gout'.

(27) Theod. Prisc. *Gyn*. 3.31 (p. 247, 3 Rose) in **iis qui** sanguinem uomuerint[40] aut **dysenteriae uitio laborarint** 'in the case of those who have vomited blood or suffered with the disease dysentery'.

(27') Pliny, *Nat*. 12.32, 20.10 dysenterici 'those suffering from dysentery' (cf. Scribonius Largus 85).

A third type of extreme case is seen in some instances of my type MH1 above (that is, cases in which a host-language terminological equivalent is provided but the foreign term is preferred). The point of interest here is the failure of certain loan-translations to achieve any visible currency in the

[39] Cf. Cato, *De agricultura* 122 *si lotium difficilius transibit* 'in dysury' (lit. 'if urine is passed with some difficulty'). For the Latin phrasal lexeme *pedum dolor* 'gout', note for example Cicero, *Brut*. 130, *Fam*. 6.19.2, Celsus 5.18.34, Pliny, *Ep*. 1.12.4 (and see further *ThLL*, s.v. *pes*, 1896, 53 ff.).

[40] Cf. the single-word *haemoptyïci* 'those spitting blood', although this is not attested before Marcellus (e.g. 7.20) and Caelius Aurelianus (e.g. *Chron*. 3.2.35), near-contemporaries of Theodorus.

host language. In contrast with early established MH4 examples, such as those in (28), several perfectly well-formed loan-translations, such as those in (29), are attested just once in the Latin record and remain to all intents and purposes nonce-forms:[41]

(28) Well-integrated loan-translations (type MH4): *destillatio* = κατασταγμός 'catarrh, the common cold', *aspera arteria* = τραχεῖα ἀρτηρία 'the trachea'.[42]

(29) Non-lexicalised (nonce) loan-translations (type MH1): *coruus* = κόραξ 'a type of surgical knife' (Cels. 7.19.7), *rotula* = τροχίσκος 'a small, round medicinal tablet' (Cass. Fel. 32.2 (Fraisse)), *fossula* = βοθρίον 'a type of ulcer' (Cass. Fel. 29.8 (Fraisse)), *filificium* = παιδοποίησις 'the bearing of children' (Cael. Aur. *Gyn.* 1.291, 1140).

Once again, Theodorus Priscianus offers a superficially comparable instance (30), which, if, as I suppose, Theodorus is translating into his L2 (Latin) from his L1 (Greek) and hence L1 and L2 are reversed, has a rather different flavour:

(30) Theod. Prisc. *Gyn. immineo* = ἐπιμένω 'to persist' especially with treatment.[43]

However, the case in (30) differs importantly from those in (28) and (29) in that the Greek model of the Latin loan-translation is not mentioned in the text, and in that it is a finite verb (cf. Otta Wenskus' remark quoted on p. 168 below).

8 NEW TYPES IN THE LATIN ALEXANDER

The above are a few examples of extreme cases of the treatment of Greek loanwords in Latin medical texts, at both ends of the spectrum of naturalisation – integration and non-integration. It seems that the text of the Latin Alexander is likely to throw up not only interesting new examples of

[41] These are further examples of Coleman's 'losers' (cf. Coleman 1989).

[42] Early attestations of *destillatio* include e.g. Celsus 1.23, Seneca, *Ep.* 75.12, Pliny, *Nat.* 20.183; for *aspera arteria*, cf. e.g. Cicero, *N.D.* 2.136, Cels. 4.1.3.

[43] See, for example, *Euporiston faenomenon* 53, p. 55, 3 Rose, 85, p. 90, 16; *Logicus* 15, p. 114, 2, 45, p. 144, 23; of a disease persisting, *Eup. faen.* 43, p. 44, 13. For discussion and Greek parallels, see Langslow 2002: 42–43.

existing types, but new types altogether. It is perhaps in their context that *elticis*, *catelticis* and *alioticis* may be accommodated.

The first one that deserves a mention is the use of *transcriptio* extended not only to foreign morphology (as apparently in the ending of *elticis*, etc.), but even to items of core vocabulary. This seems the most likely explanation of the word *uitia* in the curious translation, in (31), of a sentence early in the introduction to the extensive discussion of gout:

(31) Alex. Trall. II, 501, 19 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αἴτια τὰ τὴν ἀνιαρὰν τίκτοντα ποδάγραν 'Well, many are the causes that give rise to accursed gout':

Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.236.1 multa igitur sunt uitia in his qui insanabiles possident podagras 'So, many are the afflictions in those who have incurable cases of gout.'

The question arises, what is *uitia* ('diseases') doing here? It is very rare in the Latin Alexander,[44] and it is in any case a poor equivalent for αἴτια ('causes'), which is correctly translated on numerous occasions.[45] One possibility is that αἴτια was originally rendered with *causae* ('causes'), and that *causae* was then misunderstood as meaning 'cases' or 'diseases', and replaced with the 'higher' synonym *uitia*.[46] In view of the purely formal resemblance between Greek αἴτια and Latin *uitia*, I am inclined to raise and favour the possibility that the Greek word was in the first place transcribed (as **aitia*) and then either misread (say, in an early uncial script in which <A> with an open top resembles <U>), or 'corrected', and so Latinised. It is at least possible that *elticis*, *elticen*, etc. are uncorrected transliterations of unrecognised Greek adjectives. This observation fails, however, to address the most puzzling aspects of these forms, the partial Latinisation of their stems alongside the apparent failure to recognise their suffix.

9 NON-GREEK USE OF GREEK WORDS

The second type also may have a questionable connection with real Greek words. In my book on medical Latin (Langslow 2000: 80 n. 9), I observed the presence in the texts I was focusing on – none of them straightforward

[44] In Books 1 and 2 (together more than 80 per cent of the Latin Alexander), I have found the stem only seven times, at 2.10, (2.35 *tit.*), 2.214 (*in paralisin/paralysim uitium*), 2.260, 2.265 (cf. 2.53 *tit.* and 2.67 *uitiosus*).

[45] To the best of my knowledge, Greek αἴτια is never attested in a medical context in the sense 'faults'.

[46] For *causa* 'disease', note e.g. Tertullian, *Nat.* 2.7 (and see further *ThLL*, s.v., 680, 82 ff., although some of the earlier examples cited there are, I think, doubtful).

translations[47] – of Greek words unknown in surviving Greek texts. These include those listed in (32) (for details, see Langslow 2000: Index, s.vv.):

(32) Greek medical words unknown in Greek texts but attested in Latin medical texts: *elephantia* 'the disease ἐλέφας/ἐλεφαντίασις'; *leptospathium* 'a thin spatula'; *masomenum* 'a remedy for toothache'; *spleniticus* 'for treating a diseased spleen'; *sycotice* 'a remedy for anal lesions'; *tiltarium* 'a lint dressing'; *trichocollema* 'a salve for the eyelashes'; *xerolusia* 'a dry bath in hot sand'.

There are certainly more examples of this kind to be found in the Latin Alexander as excavations continue. In the meantime, two very particular – and potentially more interesting – types of apparently non-Greek use of Greek words have already come to light.

First, I note in passing the presence in the Latin text of some items of non-standard Greek vocabulary that may be characteristic of Italian Latin. These include those listed in (33), which have recently been discussed by Adams (2007: 489–491, 498), in his ground-breaking study of the regional differentiation of Latin:

(33) Non-standard Greek apparently characteristic of Italian Latin: e.g. *pelagicus* 'of large, ocean-going fish' (Alex. Trall. Lat. 1.63, 2.130, 135; for Greek πελάγιος, πλανήτης);[48] *tricoscinum* 'hair-sieve', *tricoscinare* 'sieve with a hair-sieve' (for Latin *saetacium*, *saetaciare*; apparently ← Greek *τρι(χο)κόσκινον, but only κόσκινον is attested (Attic; modern Greek dialects of southern Italy; modern southern Italian dialects)).

Adams studies these words and many others (mainly non-Greek) in a long chapter devoted to assessing the linguistic – especially lexical – evidence for attributing to northern Italy the production of the Late Latin translation of the fourth-century Greek doctor Oribasius, together with a group of other Late Latin medical translations including, as it is becoming increasingly clear,[49] the Latin Alexander.

Secondly, it frequently happens in the Latin Alexander that Greek words are used rather differently in the Latin version compared with their models or counterparts in the Greek original. Provisionally, I distinguish two types of mismatch, the one lexical, the other syntactic or morpho-syntactic.

[47] Cf. n. 37 above.

[48] Admittedly, as Patrick James observes, *pelagicus* could reflect the effective borrowing of the suffix *-icus* (← Greek -ικός) and its nativisation to the point where it could be used to 'amplify' the less marked suffix *-ius* (Greek -ιος, in πελάγιος).

[49] For details, see Langslow 2006: 181–182; Adams 2007: 474–475, 497.

The lexical type may be illustrated by the use in the Latin Alexander of *encathisma* (Greek ἐγκάθισμα) 'a sitz-bath' even where the Greek original has a different expression, albeit still a straightforward noun phrase, as, for example, in (34):

(34) Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.185 *encathismata/incatismata* for Alex. Trall. II, 481, 2 λουτροῖς ἐκθερμαίνουσιν 'warming (medicated) baths'.

Similarly, the Latin Alexander attests not only the adjectival *plethoricus* (matching Greek πληθωρικός) but also the substantival base-form *pletura* corresponding to Greek πληθώρα. The latter noun, however, is not found in the Greek original, which uses instead, as in the examples in (35), either the substantival perfect passive infinitive τὸ πεπληρῶσθαι or the neuter noun πλῆθος:

(35) Alex. Trall. Lat. 1.93 quodsi absque **plenitudine** corporis **id est pletura** (Alex. Trall. II, 29, 7–8 χωρὶς τοῦ πεπληρῶσθαι τὸ σῶμα) flegmon tibi uisus fuerit fact*us* . . . ; optimum autem est in talibus in quibus non est pletura ut diximus primo lauare aegrotantem 'If, however, the inflammation seems to you to have arisen in the absence of excessive fullness of the body, i.e. *pletura* . . . ; but it is best in such cases in which there is no excessive fullness as we have said first to wash the patient'; Alex. Trall. Lat. 1.144 cognosce non in eo esse **pleturam** (Alex. Trall. II, 231, 18 πλῆθος; cf. Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.184, 185) 'recognise that there is no excessive fullness in him (*i.e. the patient*)'.

In this instance, the possibility suggests itself that the phonological adaptation and sociolinguistic integration of Greek πληθώρα was accelerated by its being falsely identified (by a sort of folk-etymology) as a member of the large class[50] of Latin derivatives made to verbs with the suffix *-tura* (*-sura*).

A second type of divergence between the Greek in the Latin Alexander and the Greek in the Greek original concerns rather the syntactic incorporation of the foreign lexical stems. For a first example, we may use again the loanword *encathisma* 'a sitz-bath', which, in the passage quoted in (36), is used with a passive 'quasi-auxiliary' verb[51] to translate the Greek substantival passive infinitive (τὸ ἐγκαθίζεσθαι):

[50] There are some twenty-three forms in *-tura* relating to medicine altogether in the four texts studied in Langslow 2000: 301. Large numbers of first attestations of forms in *-tura* in Latin generally are reported for all periods from before 100 BC to after AD 400 (for details and references, see Langslow 2000: 300 n. 114).

[51] I say 'quasi-auxiliary' because the passive *adhiberi* 'to be applied' is in a medical context so banal as to be comparable with 'to be' or 'to have'.

(36) Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.209 (de incatismatibus) post haec autem **incatismata** sunt adhibenda . . . '(On sitz-baths) After this, however, sitz-baths are to be administered' (Alex. Trall. II, 347 (περὶ ἐγκαθισμάτων) καὶ τὸ ἐγκαθίζεσθαι . . . κάλλιστόν ἐστι βοήθημα '(On sitz-baths) And using the sitz-bath is an excellent remedy').

A second case of syntactic divergence is found among the curiously varied set of translation equivalents (summarised in (37) below) of derivational forms based on the Greek verb διαφορεῖν 'to dispel, carry away' (especially of the disposal of harmful matter in the body). In outline, the Greek stem διαφορ- is rendered either by translation or by transcription. In the former case, only rarely is a single Latin equivalent used (*euentare*; *euentatiuus* for διαφορητικός – cf. n. 16 above): usually, the 'double translation' *digerere uel euentare* is employed for a single form of Greek διαφορεῖν.[52] Transcription (with varying degrees of morphological adaptation) is employed for the deverbal adjective διαφορητικός (*diaforiticus*), even in the comparative grade διαφορητικώτερος (*diafor<it>icoterus*), and for the absolute use of finite forms of the verb διαφορεῖν. The notable feature in the last case is that the Latin translator avoids the difficulties inherent in borrowing rather than translating a Greek verb in its finite forms by, in effect, rendering the inflectional ending with the corresponding form of *facere*, and the stem with the borrowed nominalisation *diaforesis*, even though Greek διαφόρησις is altogether rarer in the Greek original and often not present in contexts where Latin *diaforesin facere* is used:

(37) Translation and transcription of Greek διαφορ-

Translation	
'double translations'	
digerere uel euentare	διαφορεῖν
difficilis ad digerendum uel euentandum	δυσδιαφόρητος
'solo translations'	
euentare	
once *euentatiua* (*uirtus*)	διαφορητικός
Transcription	
diaforiticus,	διαφορητικός,
comp. *diaforiticoterus* (*!*)	διαφορητικώτερος
diaforesin facere	διαφορεῖν absol.

[52] Cf. the double translation of the deverbal adjective δυσδιαφόρητος at Alex. Trall. Lat. 2.214 *difficilis ad digerendum uel euentandum*.

Wenskus (1996: 251–254) has observed, with regard to her extensive corpus of borrowed forms from Greek into Latin, the rarity of Greek verb-forms, a clear preference for Latin verb-forms, and a tendency to replace Greek verb-forms with Latin nominalisations. She comments in passing (1996: 252) 'hier scheint mir übrigens auch eine der Wurzeln des lateinischen Nominalstils vorzuliegen' 'here, incidentally, it seems to me we have also one of the roots of the Latin nominal style'. I take it that this remark refers to only those cases where a Latin translation uses a noun in order to render a verb in the Greek original, rather than to the nominal style in Latin in general,[53] which, it seems to me, is well rooted in Latin quite independently of Greek. In either case, this is an important hypothesis, which deserves further attention and testing.[54]

10 CONCLUSION

The final set of examples (the translation-strategies used for Greek διαφορ-) contains another instance of a Greek adjective in -ικός which is either translated or successfully borrowed and integrated into Latin (cf. (8) and (9) above). This serves only to underline further the anomalous status of *elticis*, *catelticis* and *alioticis*, on which I confess I am as yet unable to draw firm conclusions, although they are perhaps better understood now than at the outset.

With their Greek inflectional endings, *elticis* and congeners give the appearance of being examples of transcription in the first instance. They would thus take their place alongside other transcriptions in the Latin Alexander (such as 2.23 [*odorem*] *cnisodi* for Greek κνισώδη 'fatty, greasy, like roast meat', and possibly *aitia* for Greek αἴτια, if that is what lies behind the puzzling *uitia* at 2.236.1, (31) above), which I have yet to catalogue or investigate systematically.

The possibility was raised above (p. 164) that the intention of the 'first translator' to revisit and Latinise *elticis*, etc., at least by integrating their morphology, was never realised – although, taken together, the forms seem to have been given on almost every occurrence the standard ending *-is* regardless of the case-form of the Greek original. This hypothesis has implications for the mechanics of the process of producing a written translation. It would also suggest that Latin rather than Greek was that translator's L1,

[53] That is, the frequent use of a nominalisation + auxiliary verb (or quasi-auxiliary: see n. 51 above) in preference to a finite verb. On aspects of the nominal style in medical Latin, see Langslow 2000: Ch. 6.

[54] Note also Wenskus 1995.

and hence that translation was proceeding in the usual direction, from L2 to L1.

It was twice suggested above that *elticis*, etc. are neither straightforward code-switches nor regular borrowings. They show features characteristic of both types, but those typical of borrowings are more prominent and numerous. In order to illustrate this graphically, I take the liberty of reproducing as (38) Muysken's table (20 above) with the addition of a column for *elticis*, etc.:

(38) Muysken's binary feature-matrix (from (20) above) with an additional column

	borrowing	*elticis*, etc.	code-switching
no more than one word	±/+	+	±/–
adaptation: phonological	±/+	+	±/–
morphological	+	stem + ending – (?)	–
syntactic	+	– (?)	–
frequent use	+	+	–
replaces host synonym	±/+	–	–
recognised as host word	+	+ (?)	–
semantic change	+	–	–

For all their odd appearance and syntactic behaviour, one thing these words are not is nonce-forms. They are well established in at least two important medical translations made probably in the same place (northern Italy) and at about the same time (sixth century AD). Their frequent use without apology or explanation is in line with that of integrated borrowings, 'real loanwords', although I hesitate to assert that they are 'recognised as host words'.

In the terms of the typology of terminological status presented above (22), they belong either straightforwardly to type B or, if we regard as original the explanatory gloss at 2.201 (but cf. n. 36 above), then to type MH1. However, even if we acknowledge the earlier existence in Latin of the forms (*at*)*tractiua* (or *-toria*), *retentiua* (or *-toria*), *alteratiua* (or *-toria*), which might in principle have competed with *elticis*, *catelticis*, *alioticis*, respectively, it would be a gross exaggeration to say that these

Latin adjectives were established host synonyms replaced by the Greek terms.

The Greek terms are clearly subject to phonological adaptation, and morphological adaptation at least of the stem is seen clearly in *eltic-* and the 'malapropistic' *cateltic-* and possibly in *aliotic-*, too. The Latinisation of the stems is strongly indicative of borrowings rather than code-switches. Admittedly, the failure to adapt their inflectional morphology to their Latin contexts is a feature more characteristic of code-switching, but if they are morphological switches they are not of a standard type in that their endings – in their Latin syntactic context – usually make no more sense in Greek than in Latin.

What the bizarre inflectional morphology reflects most strikingly is the failure to recognise these words as members of the large and successful morpho-lexical set to which they belong, and I wonder whether this yields an argument in favour of regarding the translator's L1 as Latin. For it is scarcely thinkable that a translator with Greek as his L1, capable of rendering -ικός, -ική, -ικόν with Latin *-icus*, *-ica*, *-icum* on countless occasions for numerous different stems, would have failed to recognise that these adjectives belong to the same class, and so to treat them in the same way. I acknowledge the risk that I am overestimating the linguistic competence of the translator(s) in both Latin and Greek, although we saw much earlier that some successful *sensus de sensu* translation is achieved in the Latin Alexander alongside, from a Latin point of view, less inspiring *uerbum e uerbo* passages, and that our puzzling adjectives in *-ticis* and our indeclinables in *-eos* occur in both 'higher' and 'lower' styles of translation, and with sufficient regularity to occasion – and I hope justify – this long discussion. I close by highlighting two further aspects of this regularity.

First, somehow relevant to their genesis may be the fact that *elticis*, *catelticis*, *alioticis* constitute a small but near-complete morpho-lexical set of terms of Galenic physiology (cf. n. 11 above). I am not aware of other such subsets amid the countless Latin borrowings from Greek terms in -ικός, -ική, -ικόν. Imagine, though, that the fourth of the four φυσικαὶ δυνάμεις, ἡ ἀποκριτική, were to be found in a Latin medical translation showing other northern Italian features rendered as *abcriticis uirtus*!

Secondly, the (plausibly northern Italian) translations which alone attest *elticis*, *catelticis*, *alioticis* have in common also the use, in part at least as indeclinables, of loanwords starting life as Greek genitive singular forms of feminine nouns (the type *ireos*, *cynorodoxeos* briefly introduced above). It is striking that the Greek noun-form which the problematic adjectives ἑλκτικῆς, καθεκτικῆς and ἀλλοιωτικῆς are most frequently modifying is

δυνάμεως, which, although always correctly rendered with Latin *uirtus*, is a member of the same class which yields the *cynorodoxeos* indeclinables, and may somehow be related to the apparent fossilisation of the genitive singular feminine of the adjective in a variety of case functions in the Latin translation. But *ireos*, *cynorodoxeos*, etc. call for separate discussion, and I am getting perilously close to *obscurum per obscurius*!

CHAPTER 8

Greek in early medieval Ireland

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INTRODUCTION

This study explores bilingualism in the area of literary education, that is, the formal study of another language using written documents. Its focus is the study of Greek in early medieval Ireland, in the period from the seventh to the ninth century. Though never absorbed into the Roman Empire, by the seventh century Ireland had thoroughly embraced Christian culture, and with it the prerequisite of Latin literacy. In their study of the Latin language, using late antique school books and commentaries, the monastic schools of early medieval Ireland might be regarded to some extent as inheritors of the Graeco-Roman tradition, and in particular the late antique grammatical tradition. It has long been suggested that the Irish interest in classical languages was not limited to Latin (itself a foreign language), but extended also to Greek. Although the means by which such a knowledge may have been acquired has never been clear, this discussion presents new evidence for the study of Greek in Ireland, and explores how late antique manuals of bilingual Greek–Latin instruction were later reused in circumstances far removed from those of their origins.

Knowledge of Greek in the West is generally held to have declined sharply by the end of the fifth century,[1] when the compilatory efforts of Latin writers Boethius, Macrobius and Martianus Capella provided the main points of access to Greek literary culture for subsequent generations.[2] There are plenty of indications, however, that the Greek language maintained a special prestige. It was recognised as the language of the New Testament and featured on the *titulus* of Christ's cross.[3] Accordingly it was classed

[1] When considering Greek in the West, my focus is principally outside Italy, which Bischoff (1967: 246) characterises as something of an exception.

[2] The principal survey is Berschin 1988a, with an overview for the early medieval period in Berschin 1988b. See also Laistner 1924 and Bischoff 1967, who emphasises the activities of medieval Irish scholars. Howlett 1998 and Herren 2010 have more recently surveyed Irish sources.

[3] John 19:19–20.

among the 'three sacred languages' (*tres linguae sacrae*) during the Middle Ages, along with Latin and Hebrew. Augustine regarded these as 'pre-eminent languages', and praised Jerome for his singular attainment in all three.[4] Greek learning was also acknowledged as the foundation of secular scholarship.[5]

The study of Greek among the early medieval Irish, both at home and abroad, has been the subject of a long and often lively debate since Ludwig Traube's seminal article 'O Roma nobilis' (1891), which identified circles of Irish scholars on the Continent in the ninth century, distinguished among other things by their shared interest in Greek. Traube remarked that 'anyone on the Continent who knew Greek during the time of Charles the Bald [King of the West Franks, 843–877] was either an Irishman or without question had acquired this knowledge from an Irishman, or else the report which surrounded the person with such renown was a fraud'.[6] This position found concord with a romantic view of medieval Ireland as a sanctuary for classical learning during the barbarian Dark Ages.[7] The inevitable critical reaction was first articulated by Mario Esposito (1912), who dismissed the methods of earlier writers, characterising knowledge of Greek in Ireland before the ninth century as 'almost non-existent',[8] while that of Irishmen in Carolingian circles (with the exception of Eriugena) was an 'inaccurate and uncritical smattering'.[9] Max Laistner took a more moderate position, concluding that 'Traube's thesis is still sound, if by Irish we understand those who came to the Continent from Columban's time on; for there is no satisfactory evidence that they could have acquired any Greek, apart from a few ecclesiastical terms, in their homeland'.[10]

[4] *Tractates on John* (ed. Willems 1954) 117.4: *et erat scriptum Hebraice, Graece et Latine: rex Iudaeorum. hae quippe tres linguae ibi prae ceteris eminebant: Hebraea, propter Iudaeos in Dei lege gloriantes; Graeca, propter gentium sapientes; Latina, propter Romanos multis ac pene omnibus iam tunc gentibus imperantes*; *De ciuitate Dei* (ed. Dombart and Kalb 1955) 18.43.8: [*Hieronymus*] *homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus*. The term *tres linguae sacrae* seems to have been coined by Isidore in *Etymologiae* 9.1.2–3.

[5] An Old Irish gloss on the St Gall Priscian comments on a remark in the grammarian's introduction: 'The Latins have such love for the Greeks that they follow even their errors' (Hofman 1996: vol. 1, 99; vol. 2, 5).

[6] Cited in translation by Berschin 1988a: 132, who endorses this position.

[7] Exemplified in Berschin 1988a: 95, citing Fermin-Didot 1875 (in translation): 'Hellenism, banned from the western reaches of the Continent, sought refuge further away on the island which had escaped the Roman conquest: Ireland . . . The mysticism which constitutes the basis of the Irish character disposed them to philosophical reveries, which explains their ardour for Plato. The study of the Greek language was thus one of the foundations of their education.'

[8] Esposito 1912: 683.

[9] Esposito 1912: 683. Coccia 1967 gives a scathing assessment of medieval Irish learning generally. Howlett 1998 has a more positive interpretation.

[10] Laistner 1957: 238.

Irish vernacular evidence has been all but ignored in this long debate.[11] This paper will focus on early Irish glossaries, texts compiled in Ireland from the eighth century, comprising etymological and other notes on several thousand Irish words, very often comparing these with similar-sounding words in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Welsh, Norse, English and (in one case) Pictish.[12] Paul Russell (2000) was the first to show that, in relation to the study of Greek, these texts contain evidence for the availability in Ireland of some of the same sources as those circulating on the Continent in the ninth century. I hope here to identify these sources more closely, and in the process show not only that Greek was indeed actively studied in Ireland, but *how* the language was studied, and to evaluate how well it was known. My focus here will be on O'Mulconry's glossary (OM), being the earliest such text and concentrating on Greek far more than any other.

2 EVIDENCE PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED

It may be instructive to outline in brief the evidence for the Irish knowledge of Greek discussed in previous assessments. In the first place, there is almost no reliable evidence for access to native speakers of the language. Mo-Sinu maccu Min, the abbot of Bangor who died in 610, is recorded as having learnt his computus from 'a certain learned Greek'.[13] However, nothing is known about this anonymous teacher, and in other cases the term *Graecus* can be merely synonymous with *sapiens*. The more significant figures are Theodore of Tarsus, the archbishop of Canterbury sent from Rome in 669, and his companion the abbot Hadrian, formerly of Naples. Bede, writing some sixty years later, tells us that Theodore's pupils spoke Greek as well as their native tongue,[14] and there were certainly close cultural contacts between Britain and Ireland throughout the period. However, there is little to corroborate Bede's testimony, and there is no evidence for any continuity of such proficiency in subsequent generations.

The Greek alphabet was certainly widely known, and was tabulated in computistical manuscripts along with its numerical values, the names of the letters and the names of the Greek numbers.[15] The Greek alphabet was also

[11] Ua Nualláin 1909 collects some interesting material in a study apparently unfinished.

[12] I list the languages in order of their frequency of citation. For an overview of early Irish glossaries, see Russell 1988.

[13] Cf. Ó Cróinín 1982.

[14] *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.2 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969).

[15] These tables generally include the numerical letters digamma (in its medieval form resembling *stigma* ς = 6, labelled ἐπίσημον), koppa (ϟ = 90) and sampi (ϡ = 900, labelled ἐνακόσιοι). See for example, Jones 1943: 181.

used in abbreviations for *nomina sacra*: ΔM (*deum*), IHC (IHCOYC), XPC (XPICTOC), the last example familiar from the illuminated carpet pages marking the opening of Matthew (*Christi autem generatio . . .*) in deluxe gospel books.[16] Over time the uses of Greek script were extended. The Irish scribe Dorbbéne, writing a copy of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* between 704 and 713, uses Greek script for words in Greek (e.g. ΠΗΡΙCΤΗΡΑ 'dove'), Latin (ΦΙΝΙΤΥΡ CΗΚΥΝΔΥC ΛΙΒΕΡ for *finitur secundus liber*) and even Irish (KOPKUPETI for Corcu Réti, a population group).[17] The trend of writing Latin in Greek script is further developed a century later in the Book of Armagh (*c.* 807), which has an entire Latin *Paternoster* written in Greek letters (fol. 36ra), as well as assorted explicits, page titles and similar notes.[18]

There are just two Irish examples of any continuous Greek written in Greek script, both of which have a liturgical origin.[19] The first is in the Schaffhausen manuscript (n. 17), which concludes (p. 137) with the Greek *Paternoster* in Greek script.[20] The second is an inscription on a stone monument at Fahan in Donegal, which has been dated to various points between the eighth and eleventh centuries.[21] It records the doxology: ΔΟξΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΕ ΠΑΤΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΑΓΙΩ 'Glory and honour to Father and Son and Holy Spirit'.[22]

Individual Greek or Greek-derived words occur frequently in Hiberno-Latin writings of the period, invariably in isolation and frequently in an ostentatious and rather superficial way. The smattering is small enough to allow us to list all the Greek words in an illustrative sample of texts.[23] The hymn *Altus Prosator*, attributed to Columba (died 597), contains the words

[16] Latin *Christi* is given the hybrid abbreviation XPI. On *nomina sacra*, cf. Lindsay 1915: 403.

[17] Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, MS Generalia 1, pp. 2a, 103b and 47a, respectively; ed. Anderson and Anderson 1961.

[18] Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 52. This use of script is generally characterised as 'playful' or similar. However, there is some consistency. In the Schaffhausen manuscript, Greek script is used both for emphasis (e.g. in explicits) and to mark foreign words, much as italics are used in modern typography. Similarly in the Book of Armagh, its *Paternoster* in Greek script emphasises a key passage in Jesus' own words, perhaps alluding to the original language of the Gospel.

[19] See Blom, this volume, on code-switching in liturgical texts.

[20] Reproductions of this page are in Berschin 1982: 503 and Berschin 1988b: Pl. 4.

[21] Edwards 1985: 395–396; Stevenson 1985: 92–94.

[22] Macalister 1945–1949: II 120. Photograph in Berschin 1982: Pl. 16. Confusion of η and ε (e.g. in τιμή) is very common in the sources discussed here. The Latin equivalent, *gloria et honor patri et filio et spritui sancto*, begins the last of a series of anthems following the *Gloria in excelsis* in the Antiphonary of Bangor (fol. 33v). It is the Mozarabic doxology prescribed in the Fourth Synod of Toledo in 633, and Warren (1893–1895: II 74–80) has shown that the anthem closely corresponds to the opening of the Ὄρθρος (Lauds) in the Greek *Euchologion*; cf. Hillgarth 1962: 193.

[23] I derive these lists from the indices to their editions.

apostatae, *coenodoxia*,[24] *protoplaustrum*, *poliandria*.[25] The Antiphonary of Bangor (680–691) contains the Greek or Latinised Greek words *agie*, *agius*, *bradium*, *migrologi*, *pantes ta erga*, *proto*, *protoplaustrum* and *zoen*,[26] the last used resourcefully to conclude an abecedarial poem on the abbots of Bangor. Muirchú's life of Patrick (*c.* 690) contains one Greek word: *antropi*.[27] Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* includes *agonotheta*, *lithus*, *machera*, *omonimum*, *onoma*, *protus*, *sophia*, *xenium*,[28] and his *De locis sanctis* discusses the Greek spelling of Thabor (Θαβώρ) with reference to 'books of Greek'.[29]

The group of texts whose style is labelled 'Hisperic' provides a different picture. These are characterised by an artificial vocabulary of neologisms and nonce words, many coined from Greek and Hebrew. Michael Herren has argued that the *Hisperica famina* derive from a mid seventh-century Irish milieu, on grounds of references to Irish speech and 'Irish oil', and a small number of coinages perhaps derived from Old Irish words.[30] He lists 117 Greek or Greek-derived words in the A-text of the *Hisperica famina*, and notes that words not derived from Isidore are found sporadically in 'some bits of *CGL*', concluding: 'What Greek or Hebrew glossaries would have been available to the faminators can only be a matter for the imagination.'[31] Herren (1987) also investigated Greek sources in his edition of other Hisperic poems: the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, *Leiden lorica*, *Rubisca* and *Adelphus adelpha meter*. The first of these is associated with Laidcenn of Clonfert-Mulloe (died 661).[32] Of over 120 words referring to parts of the body, 86 are traced to Isidore.[33]

There is considerably more evidence for active study of Greek among Irish scholars in ninth-century Carolingian schools. The most striking is a series of bilingual biblical manuscripts. Sedulius Scottus (at Liège from

[24] The term is translated *uana gloria* 'vainglory' in Anglo-Saxon glossaries (cf. Stevenson 1999: 359); the substitution of *-oe-* for *-e-* (in the element κενο- 'empty') is a classicising hypercorrection, probably under influence of *coenobium* '(monastic) community'.

[25] Cf. Stevenson 1999, who assigns the poem to Iona in the second half of the seventh century.

[26] Warren 1893–1895. Found respectively in folios 12r, 15v, 16v, 6v, 12r, 5r, 6r, 36v. *Bradium*, according to Warren, is probably a mistake for *brabium*, Late Latin for βραβεῖον.

[27] Bieler 1979: 62–122. [28] From the index in Reeves 1857.

[29] *huius orthographia uocabuli in libris Graecitatis est inuenta* (2.27). On this basis, Manitius 1911–1931: I 236 inferred that Adomnán had learnt Greek.

[30] Herren 1974: 32–39. Herren also cites its use in the *Lorica*, *Rubisca* and *Adelphus adelpha meter* to argue for an early circulation in Ireland.

[31] Herren 1974: 26–27. [32] On his authorship, see Herren 1987: 42–45, 1973: 35–51.

[33] The dates and authorship of the *Rubisca* and *Adelphus adelpha meter* are a matter of speculation, with Herren suggesting Bobbio *c.* 800 and possibly Brittany in the ninth or tenth centuries respectively; given this uncertainty I will pass over them here.

c. 848) wrote a Greek Psalter with Latin interlinear translation.[34] This was more than an exercise in penmanship: Walter Berschin remarks that its supplementary material 'attests to the author's acumen in textual criticism'.[35] Similarly the Basel Psalter, the St Gall Gospels and the *Codex Boernerianus* (Pauline epistles) were all identified by Traube as belonging to the same circle of Irish scholars and associated by him with Sedulius.[36]

Other manuscripts contain grammatical material relating to Greek. Martinus Hiberniensis at Laon possessed a copy of the enormous Greek–Latin Harleian glossary,[37] in a manuscript also containing Greek idioms and paradigms, lists of Greek words in Priscian and in the poems of Martinus' contemporary Eriugena (John Scottus), and other notes.[38] A similar miscellany may be found in the anonymous scholar's notebook from Reichenau.[39] Its eight folios contain a short Greek–Latin glossary with declensional paradigms,[40] a paradigm of the Greek article (very faulty) and of the noun κιθαριστής, as well as Latin hymns, Irish poetry and miscellaneous notes on Latin grammar, exegesis and astronomy.

Eriugena[41] is credited with a knowledge of Greek far exceeding that of his contemporaries, as is evident in his translation from Greek of the theological works of Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor.[42] His achievement must have been facilitated in part by his study of Macrobius' comparative grammar *De differentiis et societatibus Graeci Latinique uerbi*, his extracts providing an important witness for its reconstruction.[43]

So the evidence points to a considerable disparity between the study of Greek in Ireland and that among Irishmen on the Continent, supporting Laistner's view of Greek in Ireland being almost non-existent. But how

[34] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 8407 (Verdun).

[35] Berschin 1988a: 143.

[36] Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS A.VII.3 (imagaes at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/ubb/A-VII-0003). St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 48 (images via www.e-codices.unifr.ch/). Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS Msc. A 145b (images at http://digital.slub-dresden.de/sammlungen/titeldaten/274591448/). A direct connection to Sedulius is no longer supported, and Berschin 1988a: 13–14 thought that this was tacitly revised by Traube in his later work.

[37] See p. 186 below.

[38] Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 444; *CGL* II 213–483, 553.44–559. On Martinus and the school at Laon, see Contreni 1978.

[39] Sankt Paul im Lavanttal (Carinthia), MS 86b/1 (images at http://hildegard.tristram.de/schulheft/). Oskamp 1978: 385–391 identified the scribe as that of the Karlsruhe Priscian.

[40] 3r–4v; also found in Laon 444, 300r–306r, ed. Petschenig 1883; cf. Dionisotti 1988: 21–24. Goetz (*CGL* II xxxvii) identified the first page of the Reichenau text (not present in Laon) as the earliest fragment of the bilingual glossary entitled *Glossae Seruii*.

[41] His name is a play on *Graiugena*, *Graecugena* 'Greek-born', substituting *Ériu* 'Ireland'.

[42] These translations in turn influenced his own philosophical work, the *Periphyseon*.

[43] *GL* V 595–630; de Paolis 1990.

much of this is down to disparity of evidence? In fact, very few manuscripts survive from early medieval Ireland at all. With a small number of exceptions, the extant manuscripts are mostly scriptural and liturgical books. However, we do have a large corpus of Irish-language material in later medieval manuscripts, much of which can be dated linguistically to the same period as that of the Carolingian manuscripts discussed above. And this evidence may help to bridge the gap.

3 GREEK IN IRISH ETYMOLOGICAL TRACTS

O'Mulconry's glossary is the modern title given to a work found in an Irish manuscript of 1572,[44] with three other fragmentary witnesses of similar date. The language of the core part of the text, however, has been dated to the late seventh or early eighth century.[45] The glossary presents etymologies for about 880 Irish words,[46] very frequently deriving these from Latin, Greek or Hebrew. It begins:

> incipit discreptio de origine Scoticae linguae quam congregauerunt religiosi uiri, adiunctis nominibus ex Hebr<ae>icano Hi<e>ronimi et tractationibus, i.e. Ambrosi et Cassiani et Augustini et Eisiodori. Virgili, Prisciani, Commiani, Ciceronis, necnon per literas Graecorum, i.e. Atticae, Doricae, Eolicae ling<u>ae, quia Scoti de Graecis originem duxerunt, sic et ling<u>am.[47]
>
> Here begins a description of the origin of the Irish language which religious men compiled, having combined Jerome's Hebrew names and [other] discussions, i.e. by Ambrose and Cassian and Augustine and Isidore, Virgil, Priscian, Commianus, Cicero; and also by means of Greek literature, i.e. in the Attic, Doric and Aeolic language, because the Irish derive their origin from the Greeks, and thus too their language.

The sources stated fall into three groups coinciding with the three sacred languages. Hebrew is accounted for by Jerome's tract on Hebrew names. Authorities given for Latin are four Church Fathers and then (dropping

[44] The Yellow Book of Lecan: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 1318 (H.2.16), cols. 88–122. The text was published, without translation, in Stokes 1900. Reference numbers, prefixed 'OM', are from this edition. Paul Russell, Sharon Arbuthnot and the present author have been engaged in editing this and related texts as part of the Early Irish Glossaries Project. Transcriptions and links to manuscript images, where available, can be accessed at: www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/.

[45] Mac Neill 1930–1932. It is clear that the text suffered in transmission. Discussion of corruptions and problems of interpretation is avoided here, but will be treated in depth in the forthcoming editions (see previous note).

[46] It is not always clear where a glossary entry begins or ends, making any count somewhat arbitrary.

[47] *adiunctis*] *adiunsis* MSS; *duxerunt*] *dixerunt* v.l.

the conjunction *et*) four secular authorities. By contrast, the sources for Greek are unnamed.

About 246 entries (about 28 per cent) contain etymologies for Irish words from Latin, and many of these posit relationships that are still borne out. Irish *aíminn* 'pleasant' is derived from Latin *amoenus* (OM 79) and *aíne* 'fasting' from *ieiunia* (OM 80), which are genuine borrowings from Latin into Irish. Irish *cáech* 'blind' from Latin *caecus* (OM 196) and *ingen* 'nail' from *unguis* (OM 720) associate words which we now regard as Indo-European cognates (PIE **kayko-*, **$h_3$noghu-*). Of the 192 entries (about 22 per cent) which provide etymologies from Greek words, very few identify any real linguistic relationships, not surprisingly given the absence of language contact between Greek and Irish, except through Greek words borrowed into Latin. The first example below recognises one such case, showing awareness of the original sense of *basilica* < βασιλική 'royal'. The second distinguishes the original Greek sense of the Latin borrowing *gymnasium*:

> **OM 182:** Baslec .i. a basil<i>ca Grece, eclesia Latine, tech rig nime.
>
> *Baslec* 'church', i.e. from βασιλική in Greek, *ecclesia* in Latin, house of the King of heaven.
>
> **OM 175:** Bádud ondí as batailia .i. gimnasia .i. nochtfrecorthid céill.
>
> *Bádud* 'a submerging, defeat', from *battualia*, i.e. γυμνασία, i.e. naked exerciser.[48]

More commonly, however, Irish and Greek words are paired on the basis of formal similarity, and some additional explanation is supplied to bridge the semantic gap. For example:

> **OM 222:** Cerd grece cires .i. manus . . . ar cach dán dogníat lámhae is cerd dongairther .i. lámdae.
>
> *Cerd* 'craft', in Greek χεῖρες, i.e. 'hands' . . . for every skill which hands perform is called a craft, i.e. handiwork.

This is, of course, typical of medieval etymology, and goes back to Varro and beyond to the Greek grammatical tradition.[49] As Mark Amsler points

[48] The orthography of Latin words (e.g. *batailia* = *battualia*) is generally non-classical and very likely subject to textual corruption in places. I retain the manuscript spellings here, but for clarity give classical forms in translations. The Irish translation of γυμνασία is inaccurate, rendering it as though γυμναστής.

[49] See Amsler 1989 for a full discussion.

out, it is precisely this 'extra-systemic justification' that invokes the wrath of modern linguists.[50] The real value of this material in the present context is that, with nearly 200 such entries citing Greek words, we can treat them as a corpus with which to build some coherent profile of sources and to appreciate how these sources were used.

Isidore of Seville is the fourth Latin authority in the prologue, and his influence is very clear throughout the glossary. His *Etymologiae* was well known in Ireland soon after its completion in 636,[51] and his etymological method must have been a model for the Irish glossary compilers. Passages from Isidore are cited frequently in the text,[52] and two entries mention him by name.[53] One entry cites a passage which is corrupt in Isidore's manuscript tradition:

> **OM 126:** Brat grece brathin lamminas a tenuitate.
>
> *Brat* 'cloak', in Greek *brathin*, sheet, from [its] thinness.
>
> cf. *Etym.* 16.18.2: brattea dicitur tenuissima lamina, ἀπὸ τοῦ βρεμετοῦ, qui est ὀνοματοποιεία crepitandi, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ †βρατυν† lamina.
>
> The thinnest sheet [of metal] is called *brattea*, from βρεμετον [? cf. βρέμω 'clamour'], which is onomatopoeia for rattling, or from †βρατυν†, a sheet.

It should be no surprise to find Isidore used, not least because his work circulated widely in the early Middle Ages, but also because he cites hundreds of Greek words in his text. About seventy Greek words cited in the glossaries may be traced to Isidore. However, the Irish compiler's enthusiasm for mining such words sometimes leads him astray. In the following entry he misidentifies an uncommon Latin word in his source as Greek:[54]

[50] Amsler 1989: 28.

[51] On Isidore in Ireland, see Herren 1990. The *Etymologiae* was the authority most often cited in the corpus of 9,412 glosses in the St Gall codex of Priscian: cf. Hofman 1996: I 70.

[52] E.g. OM 124 (*Etym.* 11.1.63), OM 167 (*Etym.* 11.1.35), OM 211 (*Etym.* 12.2.38), OM 291 (*Etym.* 5.27.24), OM 297 (*Etym.* 4.9.2–3), OM 375 (*Etym.* 13.16.5), OM 381 (*Etym.* 12.7.18), OM 404 (*Etym.* 14.6.36), OM 409 (*Etym.* 1.38.9).

[53] OM 154 (*Etym.* 14.8.23), OM 292 (*Etym.* 19.3.3). In the latter his abbreviated name was recognised in Mac Neill 1930–1932: 119.

[54] Similarly OM 393, referring to *merum* 'pure' (found in *Etym.* 3.42.4, etc.), and OM 731, referring to *elbum* (probably a late form of *heluum* 'bay (colour)') and citing *Etym.* 19.28.7. These Latin terms are not described as Greek by Isidore, though the Irish glossary compiler assumes them to be so. A similar confusion over *merum* occurs in the Munich Computus, an Irish computistical tract (as noted in Bischoff 1967: 249).

> **OM 415:** Éraic grece erciscunda diuicio communis rei.
>
> *Éraic* 'payment, compensation', in Greek, *erciscunda* [division of inheritance], division of common wealth.[55]
>
> cf. *Etym.* 5.25.9–10: herciscunda enim apud ueteres diuisio nuncupabatur.
>
> For division was called *herciscunda* by the ancients.

Perhaps a more telling entry is the following:

> **OM 375:** Égem, egemon Grece, dux Latine, quia est uox <quae> ducit omnes quo uadit. Vel égem ab ega .i. capra, quia clamat in morte, unde dicitur: Egium mare .i. di labrai thondi. Namm inter Tenedum <et Chium> saxum <est in> mare simile capre, quam Greci egam dicunt.
>
> *Égem* 'a shout', ἡγεμών in Greek, leader *dux* 'leader' in Latin, because it is the voice which leads all to where it goes. Or *égem* from αἶγα i.e. 'goat', because it shouts in death: from which the Aegean Sea is named, i.e. from the sounds of a wave. For between between Tenedos and Chios there is a stone in the sea similar to a she-goat, which the Greeks call *egam*.

The second part of the etymology links Irish *égem* 'a shout' and Greek αἶγα (apparently on the basis some curious animal lore), and incidentally cites *Etym.* 13.16.5 on the name of the Aegean sea. The transcription *e* for αι reflects contemporary Greek pronunciation, which prevails in these texts.[56] Isidore cites the word αἴξ 'goat' in its accusative case. However, the compiler treats this as a first-declension Latin noun, and then goes on to hypercorrect Isidore by adding a Latin accusative ending *-m*. This indicates that not only was he unfamiliar with this basic word, but he was probably unaware of the morphology of Greek consonant-stem nouns.[57]

The second authority to feature prominently as a source for Greek in the glossaries is that named Commianus, which appears to be an error for Cominianus, under which name the grammarian Charisius was transmitted in Insular circles.[58] The author is also cited by name in the main text:

[55] Irish *éraic* is a legal term for compensation, sometimes due collectively from one's kin group.

[56] This must ultimately reflect contact with native speakers of Greek, though not necessarily directly; see Moran 2011. The first etymology, drawing on the tenuous parallels between *égem* and ἡγεμών, *dux* and *uox* may be an echo of Priscian (*GL* II 6.4–5): *uox autem dicta est uel a uocando, ut dux a ducendo, uel ἀπὸ τοῦ βοῶ, ut quibusdam placet.*

[57] Alternatively, the spelling *egam* may reflect the remodelling which took place in the Greek declensional system whereby an accusative ending -αν spread to consonant stems. I am grateful to Patrick James for this suggestion.

[58] Cf. Barwick 1925: xx; Law 1982: 18; Kaster 1988: 392–394; Hofman 1996: I 54. The attribution is not entirely without foundation: Charisius' grammar is a compilation, Cominianus being frequently cited as one of his sources.

> **OM 519:** Fer a uiro .i. uir a uirtute licet Cominianus dicit: uirus unde uir appellatur.
>
> *Fer* 'man' from *uir* 'man', i.e. *uir* from *uirtus* 'virtue', though Cominianus says: *uirus* 'noxious fluid, semen', from which *uir* is named.
>
> cf. *Etym.* 10.274: *uir a uirtute* and Charisius (Barwick 1925: 40.12–13): *uirus* (ἰὸς ἢ ἐχίδνης δηγμός), *unde uir appellatur*.

Charisius compiled his *Ars grammatica* around the middle of the fourth century, and it is clear that his grammar was intended to teach Latin to Greeks. He frequently includes Greek translations in lists of Latin words illustrative of points of Latin grammar, as in the following extract discussing the genitive formation of certain Latin nouns:[59]

> sedes ['seat'] ἕδρα sedis, strages ['slaughter'] σύμπτωσις σωμάτων stragis, saepes ['fence, hedge'] φραγμός saepis, ualles ['valley'] φάραγξ uallis, uerres ['male swine, boar'] κάπρος βιβαστής uerris, rupes ['precipice'] ἀποῤῥωγάς rupis, scrobes ['ditch'] βόθυνος φυτείας scrobis, torques ['collar'] μηνίσκος δέριον torquis.[60]

The pedagogical strategy extends beyond merely explaining unfamiliar Latin words. This kind of grammar contrasts significantly with Latin grammars written for Roman schoolboys, epitomised in the work of Aelius Donatus.[61] Donatus' work is spare, mostly concerned with explaining grammatical terminology, categorising the parts of speech, and providing clear examples of tropes, solecisms, barbarisms, and so on. In his *Ars minor*, he provides a paradigm for a single verb only (*lego*). After all, his pupils could already speak Latin, they just needed to learn to speak and write correct Latin. Greek students, on the other hand, needed to build their vocabulary and learn the morphology of a wide range of Latin words. The same situation later pertained in the early medieval West, and vocabulary-building was a particular imperative in those areas where learners did not already speak a variety of Late Latin or Proto-Romance as their native tongue.[62] Is it not surprising, therefore, to find Charisius being used in Ireland to teach Latin. What is more striking is to find him used to learn Greek.

[59] Barwick 1925: 46.14–18.

[60] Where the Greek translations comprise two words, the second word is sometimes a modifying noun in the genitive (σύμπτωσις σωμάτων 'collapse of bodies', βόθυνος φυτείας 'ditch for planting'), sometimes a synonym (e.g. μηνίσκος, δέριον [LSJ s.v. δέραιον], both with a sense 'neck ornament'). In the case of *uerres* 'male swine, boar', βιβαστής may serve to restrict the sense of κάπρος, which may refer to either gender, to masculine (LSJ explains the word 'stallion, *Gloss(aries)*', referring to *CGL* II, 480 βιβαστής *admissarius*).

[61] The definitive study and edition is Holtz 1981.

[62] Cf. Dionisotti 1984.

Charisius is the most likely source for about thirty or so Greek words. But here again, the glossary author's focus on the Greek in the text sometimes leads him astray. In the following examples, a Latin genitive occurs where we would expect a nominative. The simplest explanation may be eye-skip: Charisius supplies both nominatives and genitives, and the glossary author appears to have copied from the wrong side of the Greek word:[63]

> **OM 318:** Doér grece doriforas .i. satilitess.
>
> *Doér* 'base, unfree', in Greek δορυφόρος, i.e. attendant.
>
> cf. Charisius 47.15: *satelles* δορυφόρος *satellites*.

But some more serious misunderstandings could arise as a result of the change of the text's intended use. Reverse-engineering a dictionary can be a fraught process, particularly when there is not an exact equivalence on both sides.[64] Two Greek words translating a single Latin term may be either synonyms or one coherent phrase. Word division can also be challenging, as in the entries below:[65]

> **OM 140:** Béim grece bemandro .i. pasus.
>
> *Béim* 'a beat, blow, strike', in Greek βῆμα ἀνδρός, i.e. a step.
>
> cf. Charisius 55.7: *passus* βῆμα ἀνδρός *passus*.
>
> **OM 203:** Caint Grece cantabato .i. sentes .i. deilggi . . .
>
> *Cáint[e]* 'satirist' (?), in Greek *cantabato*, i.e. *sentes*, i.e. thorns . . .
>
> cf. Charisius 35.3: *sentes* ἄκανθαι, βάτος.

Isidore and Charisius would together account for about a hundred, or roughly half, of the Greek words cited in O'Mulconry. The other authorities named in the prologue occasionally offer some parallels, but fail to fill the remaining gap, though one notable parallel occurs with a single short and enigmatic entry:

[63] Similarly OM 489 *Fán* ['slope'] *Grece faran .i. uallis* (cf. Charisius 46.15: *ualles* φάραγξ *uallis*) and OM 53 *Arge* ['herd'?] *Grece indolis* . . . (cf. Charisius 46.10: *indoles* ἀρετή *indolis*), though the sense of the latter entry is unclear.

[64] Compare Dionisotti 1988: 6–10 on the origins of the Latin–Greek Philoxenus glossary.

[65] The first pair of Greek words comprise a noun followed by a qualifying genitive, the second two synonyms. Mac Neill 1930–1932: 119 argued that *passus* 'a step' was here misunderstood by the glossary compiler as the perfect passive participle (of *patior*) 'having suffered' (based on the frequently violent connotation of *béim*). Alternatively, he may have had the beat of footsteps in mind: the context within a list of nouns in Charisius would reinforce this interpretation.

OM 160: Bríathor insce apud Eoles.

Bríathor, 'word' in Aeolic.

Bríathor and *insce* both mean 'word' in Old Irish. Stokes added the note: 'An Aeolic *βρήτρα seems intended; cf. El[ean] ϝρᾶτρα'.[66] The attested Aeolic ϝρήτωρ 'orator' (Attic-Ionic ῥήτωρ) provides a closer formal match.[67] Latin grammarians tended to regard the digamma as characteristic of Aeolian Greek.[68] Priscian is the only one to note that in Aeolic texts β tends to be written for ϝ before ρ at the start of words:

> in b etiam solet apud Aeolis transire ϝ digamma, quotiens ab ρ incipit dictio, quae solet aspirari, ut [ϝ]ῥήτωρ βρήτωρ dicunt, quod digamma nisi uocali praeponi et in principio syllabae non potest.[69]

> The Aeolians change ϝ to β when a word begins with aspirated ρ; thus for [ϝ]ῥήτωρ they said βρήτωρ, because digamma can only be placed at the start of a syllable and before a vowel.

Although the entry relies on a convenient blurring of the distinction between ῥήτωρ 'speaker' and ῥήτρα 'speech', it would appear to justify the prologue's claim not only to use Priscian, but that the Irish language derived from Greek dialects including Aeolic.

So far, we have traced only about half of the sources for Greek words in the Irish glossary. In going further, we might recall that the actual stated source for Greek is not a named author at all, but a rather vague reference to *litterae Graecorum* (recalling Adomnán's reference to *libri Graecitatis*). This is compatible with the use of anonymous Greek–Latin glossaries. Such texts are often invoked as a last resort in source analysis, and the genre tends to be treated by scholars as something of an amorphous mass. While the tradition of glossing and glossary-compiling goes

[66] Stokes 1900: 241.

[67] Going on the date of O'Mulconry, it is possible that *bríathor* would originally have been written (and pronounced) *brēthor*. This early form of the word also occurs in the Irish Priscian glosses: cf. Strachan 1903.

[68] E.g. Pompeius' commentary on Donatus (*GL* v 105.3–4): *quid est digammos? Graeci habent varias linguas, item est una lingua quae dicitur Aeolica. apud istos Aeolicos est una littera quae appellatur digammos, quasi duo gamma superposita*. 'What is digamma? The Greeks have various dialects; moreover there is one dialect which is called Aeolic. Among those Aeolians there is a letter which is called digamma, like two gammas superimposed.'

[69] *GL* II, 18.5. In his edition, Hertz did not print the digamma before ῥήτωρ, which I give in brackets here and I think makes more sense in the context. This is also the reading found in the Irish St Gall manuscript, and the same passage is paraphrased by the glossator: cf. Hofman 1996: I 126/II 43. Allen 1968: 48 notes that this spelling (β for ϝ) is found in texts of Sappho and other Lesbian poets.

back at least to Hellenistic times, the medieval transmission of bilingual Greek–Latin glossaries appears to have its roots in the early centuries AD.[70] The surviving corpus may be divided into two well-defined groups. The first, known as *idiomata*, lists peculiarities in the comparative grammar of Greek and Latin.[71] *Idiomata* focus in particular on the nominal class, and are grouped into categories listing nouns with different genders in Latin and Greek (*idiomata generum*), verbs which govern different cases (*idiomata casuum*), and defective nouns (*singularia/pluralia tantum*).[72] The categories are in turn subdivided under headings such as *apud Latinos masculina*, *apud Graecos feminina* (e.g. *hic aduentus* ἡ παρουσία), *apud Latinos feminina*, *apud Graecos neutralia* (e.g. *haec aqua* τὸ ὕδωρ), and so on. Such lists are also associated with Latin grammarians such as Charisius, who makes references to *idiomata* being among his sources.[73]

The second major category of Greek–Latin glossarial material is known as *hermeneumata* (Latin *interpretationes*).[74] These derive from late antique classroom texts intended for elementary bilingual instruction.[75] Carlotta Dionisotti divided their constituent parts into four main elements.[76] The first two are word-lists, one alphabetical with a particular focus on verbs (including inflected forms), the other organised into class lists (*capitula*) covering topics, such as names of pagan gods and goddesses, the heavens, houses and temples, feast days, spectacles, winds, parts of the body, and so on. The third, perhaps most characteristic, element is a colloquium between master and pupil, consisting of rudimentary exchanges on topics

[70] On Hellenistic scholarship, see Dickey 2007. For a broad overview of the Latin tradition, see Hessels 1910. On bilingual glossaries, see Goetz, *CGL* I 12–47, and especially Dionisotti 1988.

[71] For a discussion of this material in glossaries and Latin grammars, and Bede's use of it, see Dionisotti 1982a.

[72] The most important manuscript witnesses are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 7530 (Monte Cassino, 779 × 797), printed in *CGL* II 549–553; Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, MS IV.A.8 (Bobbio, s. VIII, Irish minuscule), *CGL* II 537–548, also printed in Barwick's edition of Charisius, 379–386, 450–463; London, British Library, MS Harl. 5792 (*c.* 800), *CGL* II 487–506 = Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 444 (Laon, 858 × 869).

[73] E.g. *sed C. Iulius Romanus ea uerba idiomata appellauit* (332.21). Kaster (1988: 424–425) suggests that Julius Romanus may date to the third century AD.

[74] St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 902 (s. IX), was one of the first manuscripts to be rediscovered by Humanists. As the manuscript also contains Dositheus' bilingual grammar, the text became known as *Hermeneumata Dositheana*. This authorship was rejected by Krumbacher 1883, who referred to the author as *magistellus nescioquis*. (High-quality images of the St Gall manuscript are now available on-line via www.e-codices.ch.)

[75] The question of whether they were composed to teach Greek to Latin speakers or vice versa is a matter of debate. Dionisotti (1982b: 91) has argued that they were used to teach Greek in Roman schools on the basis of a Western manuscript transmission.

[76] Dionisotti 1982b: 86–88.

concerning the classroom environment and daily routine. A final part comprises extracts of texts for reading practice.[77]

Besides the *idiomata* and *hermeneumata*, two major dictionaries survive from the early medieval period. The Harleian Greek–Latin glossary is a massive lexicon, running to about 270 pages in Georg Goetz's edition.[78] It is found in an eighth-century Italian manuscript that once belonged to Nicholas of Cusa;[79] nothing is known of its history between the eighth and fifteenth centuries. A copy, however, is preserved in Laon 444, the manuscript owned by Martinus Hiberniensis.[80] Joseph Vendryes 1904 observed that this manuscript contains misplaced quire signatures written in Old Irish, indicating that its exemplar was organised by an Irishman, and raising at least the possibility that it might have been written in Ireland. The second major dictionary, known as Pseudo-Philoxenus, is the only Latin–Greek lexicon to survive from this period, originally compiled for Greek speakers needing to read Latin.[81]

Russell noted that the rigidly formulaic citation of Greek in Irish glossaries (*X Grece, Y Latine*) has affinities with the format of Greek–Latin glossaries.[82] He observed that the bilingual glossaries published in *CGL* II offered a potential source for many entries that could not otherwise be traced, and in particular the large Harleian glossary. Russell suggested that there was a 'strong likelihood . . . that a version of this glossary, or material closely related to it, was available to the compilers of the material which ended up in the early Irish vernacular glossaries'.[83]

Was the Harleian glossary available in Ireland? The implications are not small: the Harleian glossary has been described as the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* of its day;[84] if such a resource were really available in Ireland as early as the seventh century it would substantially change our picture of the knowledge of Greek in Ireland at that time.

[77] Goetz published five major *hermeneumata* in vol. III of *CGL*: Hermeneumata Leidensia, Amploniana, Monacensia, Einsidlensia, Montepessulana. He also included, under the heading *hermeneumata uaria*, several fragments, extracts and other material derived from lost texts, including lost fragments printed by Stephanus. For a very useful table of contents and manuscripts, see Dionisotti 1982b: 87, revised in Dionisotti 1988: 26–28. The Leiden version was recently edited in Flammini 2004. A new edition and study is soon to be published: see Dickey 2012; this book appeared too late for me to consult it.

[78] *CGL* II, 213–483. It is also referred to (after Stephanus) as Pseudo-Cyril or the Cyrillus glossary, to be distinguished from the Byzantine lexicon of the same name.

[79] London, British Library, MS Harl. 5792 (images at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5792).

[80] Cf. Dionisotti 1988: 9–13, 45–54.

[81] Printed in *CGL* II 3–212; edited, with source analysis, in Lindsay *et al.* 1926–1931: III 138–291.

[82] Russell 2000: 411. The invariable abbreviation in manuscripts of *Gr*(*a*)*ece*, *Latine* further underlines this formulaic character. I expand *.g.* and similar here with the medieval spelling *Grece*.

[83] Russell 2000: 413.

[84] Dionisotti 1988: 13; Bischoff 1967: 266, referring to the lexicon published by Stephanus in 1572.

Table 8.1 *Glossaries in* CGL II–III *with most entries matching O'Mulconry*

Glossary	*CGL*	Pages	Matches	Avg/page
Harleian (Cyrillus) glossary	II 213–483	270	78	0.3
Herm. Monacensia	III 119–220	101	52	0.5
Philoxenus glossary	II 3–212	209	48	0.2
Herm. uaria: Glossarium Leidense	III 398–421.21	23	45	2.0
Herm. Montepessulana	III 283–343	60	43	0.7
Herm. Leidensia	III 1–72.45	71	34	0.5
Herm. Einsidlensia	III 223–79	56	33	0.6
Herm. Stephani	III 347–90	43	33	0.8
Herm. uaria: Stephani 1	III 438–67.1	29	32	1.1
Herm. uaria: Glossae Bernenses	III 487–506.1	19	28	1.5
Herm. Amploniana	III 72–94	22	26	1.2
Herm. uaria: Glossae Vaticanae	III 506–31.31	25	23	0.9
Herm. uaria: Frag. Bruxellense	III 393–98.39	5	21	4.2
Glossae Seruii Grammatici	II 507–33.28	29	17	0.6
Idiomata (Harl. 5792)	II 487–506	19	16	0.8
Herm. uaria: Stephani 2	III 467–74.48	7	12	1.7
Herm. Medicobotanica Vetustiora	III 535–633	98	12	0.1
Glosses from Laon 444	II 553.44–59	6	12	2.0
Idiomata (Naples IV.A.8)	II 537–48	11	9	0.8

Russell found that about half of the Greek words in Irish glossaries occur in this text. In addition, he discussed a number of entries in Irish glossaries that might be explained by reference to entries that occur in the Harleian glossary uniquely. However, the high degree of correspondence is perhaps not surprising given the monumental scale of this work, containing, at a rough estimate, some 18,000 entries. Indeed, it would be surprising if many of these Greek words did *not* occur in such a work. Taking the Harleian glossary as a vast compilation, perhaps the material available to the Irish author was one or other of its sources. More interesting, then, are smaller bilingual glossaries which contain a higher proportion of common entries relative to their size.

In Table 8.1 (ordered by number of correspondences), this proportion can be roughly gauged in the column listing the average number of correspondences per page. The Harleian glossary has on average only 0.3 corresponding entries per page (i.e. three entries in every ten pages), and the large Philoxenus glossary even fewer. By contrast, some of the shorter hermeneumata have a much higher rate of correspondence. The most notable are the texts named by Goetz as Glossarium Leidense, which has more than half the number of Harleian entries (forty-five against

Table 8.2 *Glossaries in* CGL II–III *with most entries matching O'Mulconry (untraced sources)*

Glossary	*CGL*	Pages	Matches	Avg/page
Herm. uaria: Glossarium Leidense	III 398–421.21	23	32	1.4
Harleian (Cyrillus) glossary	II 213–483	270	29	0.1
Herm. Monacensia	III 119–220	101	27	0.3
Herm. Montepessulana	III 283–343	60	20	0.3
Philoxenus glossary	II 3–212	209	19	0.1
Herm. Leidensia	II 1–72.45	71	13	0.2
Herm. Stephani	III 347–90	43	12	0.3
Herm. uaria: Stephani 1	III 438–67.1	29	12	0.4
Herm. uaria: Glossae Bernenses	III 487–506.1	19	12	0.6
Herm. Amploniana	III 72–94	22	11	0.5
Herm. uaria: Glossae Vaticanae	III 506–31.31	25	9	0.4
Herm. Einsidlensia	III 223–79	56	8	0.1
Herm. uaria: Frag. Bruxellense	III 393–98.39	5	8	1.6
Herm. uaria: Stephani 2	III 467–74.48	7	4	0.6
Idiomata (Harl. 5792)	II 487–506	19	3	0.2
Glossae Seruii Grammatici	II 507–33.28	29	3	0.1
Glosses from Laon 444	II 553.44–59	6	3	0.5
Herm. Medicobotanica Vetustiora	III 535–633	98	2	0.0
Idiomata (Naples IV.A.8)	II 537–48	11	2	0.2

seventy-eight) even though it is less than one tenth of its size (twenty-three pages), and Fragmentum Bruxellense, which shares twenty-one entries in under five pages.

I have already argued that both Isidore and Charisius were used directly by the compiler of O'Mulconry, and these sources furnish about half of the Greek words found in that glossary. Many of these words also occur in the Greek–Latin glossaries, and it is of course very possible that our author came across the same terms in more than one source. But where words occur in Isidore or Charisius, they hardly constitute useful evidence for the use of Greek–Latin glossaries. Accordingly, Table 8.2 lists correspondences for words otherwise not accounted for (ordered by number of correspondences).

In this context, the Glossarium Leidense, already noted above, appears to be far more significant. It contains more of these entries than any other (including the Harleian glossary), despite being one of shortest glossaries in *CGL*. The text is found in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLF 26 (Amiens, s. VIII), the earliest surviving manuscript of any of the

hermeneumata. In fact, it represents the partial reworking of a *hermeneumata* text into a conventional alphabetical glossary, and its original form is preserved in a later manuscript, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 1828–1830 (s. x).[85] This is the text printed by Goetz as Fragmentum Bruxellense, and although the shortest text printed in *CGL* II or III (fewer than five pages), it has the highest average correspondence of any. It seems likely, then, that the *hermeneumata* text available to the author of O'Mulconry was much more similar to that represented in Goetz's Glossarium Leidense/Fragmentum Bruxellense than to the Harleian lexicon. It may be significant that the Brussels manuscript was written in England, the only *hermeneumata* manuscript with an Insular provenance.

If the use of Isidore, Charisius and the Brussels Hermeneumata together provides the most economical account of the sources for O'Mulconry, this still leaves about forty-five entries (roughly a quarter) untraced. Some of these occur in various parts of *CGL*, without any particular pattern evident. Some could potentially have been derived from the works of Servius, Martianus Capella and other authors, although cumulative evidence pointing to dependence on one or other work is similarly lacking. I have been unable to trace a few words to any printed Latin source. This is perhaps not surprising. Of all genres of text, glossaries may have suffered the vicissitudes of manuscript transmission more than most, generally lacking the authority either of a named author or a non-generic title (other than *glossae*, *interpretamenta*, or similar). We can be sure that many early glossary sources no longer survive. Indeed, the Brussels Hermeneumata is partially a case in point. The elements that survive are fragments, lacking the usual colloquia or reading passages, and an earlier, more complete, version may well have accounted for several more entries in the Irish glossary.

What about other bilingual texts? I have noted above (pp. 176–177) the existence of bilingual ninth-century Irish manuscripts of the Psalter, Gospels and Pauline epistles, as well as an early eighth-century *Paternoster* in Greek only (p. 175), which might relatively easily have been converted into such a bilingual. Could the remaining Irish glossary entries have been derived from the study of such a text? The very restricted range of words cited in the Irish glossary would indicate that these were not culled from a continuous text, however. There is a preponderance of nouns in particular (about 70 per cent), with the remainder mostly verbs, and a handful of adjectives, adverbs and prepositions. The grammatical forms are similarly

[85] Goetz printed the Brussels *capitula* only under the heading (*CGL* III 393–398.39).

restricted, nouns being almost always in the nominative singular, verbs in the first person singular present indicative active, with a smaller number of imperatives, infinitives and present participles. If we argued that the Greek words cited are normalised versions of oblique forms found in running text, we would need to demonstrate a knowledge of Greek grammar which the glossaries do not support. And there are no indications of declensional errors, or other grammatical mistakes that might be expected in any such process of normalisation.[86] The evidence instead points to the use of vocabularies and Latin texts citing Greek words in isolation.

4 CONCLUSIONS: KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK

Based on the sources identified above, how do we assess the knowledge of Greek evident in the work of the glossary compiler? On the face of it, 192 words in O'Mulconry's glossary does not seem to amount to very much. The original tally may have been somewhat higher, allowing for its faulty transmission and in particular the fact that only the first half of the glossary appears to have survived (the number of entries falls off very sharply after letter I).

Even so, this is to miss the point. For the author did not set out to write a text about Greek at all, but instead to produce an etymological tract exploring the origins of *Irish* words. As mentioned, these etymologies draw in not just Greek, but Latin and Hebrew, and also all of the languages spoken in Britain and Ireland in the early medieval period. At a time when medieval Irish historians were attempting to reconcile traditional accounts of Irish history with received Christian and classical traditions (by positing a Greek origin for the Irish race, for example), students of language were trying to understand the relationship of Irish to classical and biblical languages, as well as those of their neighbours. The Irish glossaries might thus be considered as an early stage in the history of comparative linguistics.

Accordingly, the compiler cites only Greek words that suit his purpose, that is, Greek words that correspond roughly with Irish words in both sound and sense. We may take it that not every Greek word known would answer to an Irish word in this way (even allowing for the broad parameters of ancient etymology), and that the compiler must have drawn on a stock of Greek many multiples greater than that cited in the text.

[86] The exception being the treatment of αἶγα discussed above (p. 181), which is clearly in this case derived from Isidore.

To build a truer picture of the extent of Greek known to the compiler, we must extrapolate from the evidence of the sources. Isidore and Charisius both contain large amounts of Greek vocabulary.[87] Neither source, however, was intended to teach Greek. Isidore aimed to provide enough Greek to explain the etymology of Latin words, while Charisius supplied Greek words as a crib to those who knew the language already, in order to aid their study of Latin vocabulary. We have seen, in both cases, that confusion could arise in the use of these texts by Irish scholars for a purpose for which they were not designed.

Certainly, with the range of vocabulary in these sources being largely restricted to nouns in the nominative singular, the potential to read continuous Greek would have been very limited. The evidence for the availability of *hermeneumata*, however, suggests that some more progress in the language may have been possible. After all, these were texts written specifically for language learners. Whether originally composed for Greek-speaking students of Latin or vice versa, the parallel texts in both languages closely correspond, and could therefore have been applied to either scenario. Their word-lists were intended specifically to supply common vocabulary, and the conversation texts were pedagogically oriented: simple sentences, repetition and variation, introduction to basic grammar.

The overall picture, therefore, points to some passive knowledge and at best very basic reading ability. Dionisotti warns against evaluating such knowledge in absolute terms: 'We should beware of . . . creating a strange antithesis between the "use of glossaries", on the one hand, and "real knowledge of Greek", on the other – as if a Westerner could wake up in the morning knowing the meaning of Greek words without learning them from somewhere'.[88]

The main challenge for anyone attempting to acquire a reading knowledge of Greek in this period was the absence of sources for grammatical information, particularly in relation to the verbal system. This was later discovered in Macrobius' comparative grammar of the Greek and Latin verb, excerpted by Eriugena in the ninth century, and the contemporary interest in producing bilingual biblical manuscripts suggests that this was another avenue into a more advanced study of Greek. The etymological

[87] A search of the text of Isidore on the CETEDOC CD-ROM returns about 1,000 passages citing Greek words.

[88] Dionisotti 1988: 2. Vendryes (1913: 221) expressed a similar point (referring to Cormac mac Cuilennáin, to whom the related Irish glossary *Sanas Cormaic* is attributed): 'Et que veut dire M. Esposito quand il soutient que Cormac ne savait pas *le* grec? . . . qu'il n'en possédait pas l'histoire et la littérature autant qu'un Budé ou Wilamowitz? C'est certain. Mais s'il ne savait pas *le* grec, il est indubitable que Cormac savait *du* grec.' (Italics as printed.)

tracts compiled in Ireland in the seventh and eighth centuries show a very resourceful use, and minute study, of all available material containing information on Greek, and provided a foundation of learning on which later Irish scholars were to build.[89]

[89] Part of this research was funded by the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences.

CHAPTER 9

An habes linguam Latinam? Non tam bene sapio

Views of multilingualism from the early medieval West

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1 CAROLINGIAN GAUL AND IRELAND

When Charlemagne came to power in the second half of the eighth century AD, he rewrote the existing written laws, had the unwritten laws of the Germanic tribes and their ancient barbaric poems written down, and began the composition of a grammar of his native language; Einhard, his biographer, writing *c.* 817–836, relates:

> post susceptum imperiale nomen, cum aduerteret multa legibus populi sui deesse – nam Franci duas habent leges, in plurimis locis ualde diuersas – cogitauit quae deerant addere et discrepantia unire, praua quoque ac perperam prolata corrigere, sed de his nihil aliud ab eo factum est, nisi quod pauca capitula, et ea inperfecta, legibus addidit. omnium tamen nationum, quae sub eius dominatu erant, iura quae scripta non erant describere ac litteris mandari fecit. item barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus ueterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriaeque mandauit. inchoauit et grammaticam patrii sermonis.
>
> After assuming the imperial title [Charles] realizing that there were many deficiencies in the laws of his own people – for the Franks have two sets of laws that differ tremendously at a number of points – decided, therefore, to fill in what was lacking, to reconcile the disagreements, and also to set right what was bad and wrongly expressed. He did nothing more about this than to add a few items to these laws, but even those in an imperfect state. But he did direct that the unwritten laws of all the peoples under his control should be gathered up and written down. [Charles] also [ordered] that the very old poems, in which the deeds and wars of ancient kings were sung, should be written down and preserved for posterity. He began [as well] a grammar of his own language.[1]

[1] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* §29 (ed. Holder-Egger 1911: 33; translation in Dutton 1998: 34). This probably refers to when he assumed sole power in 771 rather than when he came to joint power

Einhard then goes on to describe how he renamed the months in Germanic 'since before then the Franks were used to referring to them by a mix of Latin and Germanic names', and also 'assigned individual names to the twelve winds since until then scarcely more than four of them were named'.[2] We may also set this alongside Einhard's earlier comment about his ruler's own linguistic competence:[3]

> nec patrio tantum sermone contentus, etiam peregrinis linguis ediscendis operam impendit. in quibus Latinam ita didicit, ut aeque illa ac patria lingua orare sit solitus, Grecam uero melius intellegere quam pronuntiare poterat.
>
> Not being content with only his own native tongue [German], he also made an effort to learn foreign languages. Among those, he learned Latin so well that he spoke it as well as his own native language, but he was able to understand Greek better than he could speak it.

While such claims about the linguistic competence of kings always need to be treated with circumspection (Charlemagne's own native language was probably some form of Low Franconian),[4] there is a hard-headed realism apparent in both these passages which encourages us to think that they contain an element of plausibility. According to Einhard, whatever grand plans Charlemagne had about legal reform did not in the end amount to much – *pauca capitula, et ea inperfecta*; and Einhard is also disarmingly open about the quality of Charlemagne's Greek – more passive than active. While the first passage above has been read as an assertion and demonstration of royal power not only over the legal system but also over the seasons, the weather and even time itself,[5] what should detain us here are the linguistic details involved in this exercise of royal power. One element in this, which is never made explicit, has to do with the fixing of the pronunciation of Latin. Roger Wright has argued that it was in the Carolingian period that a spoken classically pronounced Latin was developed, whereas previously there had been a more or less fixed written Latin beside a spoken version which had gradually become more Romance in its phonology, morphology

with his brother, Carloman, in 768. On Charlemagne's languages and languages in the Carolingian Empire, see, for example, Barbero 2004: 119, 213–214; Ganz 2005: 47–48; McKitterick 2005: 154, 2008: 315–320; Rio 2009: 15–20; on Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, see McKitterick 2008: 7–20.

[2] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* §29 (ed. Holder-Egger 1911: 33; translation in Dutton 1998: 34); while he may have hoped to produce a thoroughly Germanic set of month names, at least one, *Windumemanoth* 'October', is based on Latin *uindemia* 'wine-vintage'. On the renaming of the winds, see Hammer 1997.

[3] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* §25 (ed. Holder-Egger 1911: 30; translation in Dutton 1998: 32).

[4] For discussion of other medieval examples, see Russell forthcoming.

[5] Schramm 1968: 311–313; Hammer 1997: 80; McKitterick 2008: 326.

and perhaps its syntax.[6] Even within the confines of the former Roman Empire so many different versions of Latinity would gradually have become problematic, but when one adds to the mix speakers of Germanic and Celtic languages from the frontiers of the former Empire and beyond, many of whom had learnt Latin as a second language and saw no compelling reason why Latin should be regarded as a superior language, and also the fact that the new Carolingian Empire spanned parts both of that former Empire and of the lands beyond, the need for a more standardised form of Latin became urgent.[7]

The fixing of a classically pronounced Latin and the consequent and growing separation between a more formal spoken Latin and its spoken Romance descendants seem to have had practical consequences. In 813 in Tours, not long before Charlemagne's death, a decree on church reform required that clerics should translate sermons to the people *in rusticam Romanam linguam aut theotiscam* 'in a rustic Romance language or German', the implication presumably being that by this time the pronunciation of Latin had become so classical that clerics were producing sermons in a classically pronounced literary Latin that no one could understand.[8]

To the issue of a changing Latinity we may add the promotion of Frankish as a language of state, as noted in the passage above, which was manifested in the rewriting of the names of months and winds alongside the creation of a grammar, the writing down of oral poetry, and an overhaul of the legal system.[9] While the rewriting of laws is a commonplace of the exercise of royal power, the emphasis on literacy and language is important.[10] An interesting parallel can be found in early medieval Ireland. *Auraicept na n-Éces* 'The Scholar's Primer', the core of which dates to the seventh century but which was wrapped in layers of commentary from then on all the way through the medieval period, is a text preoccupied with the status of the Irish language and, while it purports to be in some senses a grammar (and thus offering for Irish what Priscian and Donatus provided for Latin), it is mainly interested in poetry.[11] The *tres linguae sacrae*, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, were central to medieval Irish thought and exegesis, and the *Auraicept* takes us back to Babel to make a case for Irish being

[6] Wright 1982, 2002, and the essays in Wright 1991.
[7] Cf. McKitterick 2008: 319.
[8] McKitterick 2008: 317; on terms for languages at this period in Gaul, see Blom 2009.
[9] Hammer 1997; McKitterick 2008: 326.
[10] For the trope (which can be traced back as far as Justinian) of new rulers revising and rewriting laws, see Emanuel 1967: 29–30.
[11] The fullest (but now dated) edition of *Auraicept na n-Éces* is Calder 1917; Ahlqvist 1982 contains an edition of what is regarded as the core 'canonical' text.

a language of a similarly high status:[12] the *Auraicept* locates the creation of the Irish language in the dispersal of languages after the fall of the Tower of Babel, and sees Irish as arising from a deliberate selection of all the best features of other languages. The story goes that ten years after the dispersal of the languages, Fénius Farsaid was asked by the school in Egypt to abstract a language from the many languages then in existence. That language was assigned to Goídel mac Aingin meic Glúinfhind meic Láimfhind meic Agnumain of the Greeks and was thus called *Goídelc* 'Irish'. It was constructed in the following way: 'what was best of every language and what was widest and finest was cut out into Irish'; Irish was, therefore, sometimes called the *bérla tóbaide* (or *bérla teipide*) 'the selected language' (lit. 'the cut-out language'), and so, while it may not be the language of Paradise, it came a close second.[13] Manuscripts containing the *Auraicept* frequently contain other learned texts, such as glossaries, and also legal texts, and there are clear parallels between the exegetical techniques of the *Auraicept* and the setting out of the law.[14] In part the similarities in explanatory mode have to do with some, if not all, of these texts being educational.

The parallel narratives outlined above from Carolingian Gaul and Ireland contain a number of the themes which will be explored in this chapter. While numerous interesting paths might be pursued, the aim is to consider the evidence for multilingualism in north-west Europe on and beyond the fringes of the former Roman Empire in the three or four centuries after the disintegration of Roman control. What makes this area particularly interesting is that it encompasses both areas with a long tradition of spoken Latin, such as Spain and Gaul, and those where there was no continuous (or very little continuous) tradition of spoken Latin. Latin was being learnt by non-native speakers as a high-status language. One consequence was that the great late antique grammars of Priscian and Donatus were far too complicated for non-native learners of Latin, and this gave rise to the creation of shorter, more practical, grammars to be used alongside commentaries to Donatus and Priscian.[15] Much of the evidence, therefore, will derive from educational contexts and will often involve multilingualism

[12] For discussion of Greek in early medieval Ireland, see Moran, this volume, and 2011.

[13] Russell 2005: 405–406.

[14] Cf., for example, Dublin, Trinity College MS 1317 (H.2.15a) (s. xv), which contains, in addition to *Auraicept na n-Éces*, several glossaries (including a legal glossary) as well as a legal text (*Bretha Nemed*) and a version of the *Dindshenchas* (collections and analyses of place names); see Abbot and Gwynn 1921: 92–94; Ó Muraíle 1996: 78–86; Russell 2008: 17–19.

[15] For texts of Donatus and Priscian, see Keil 1855–1880: II–IV; for discussion of Latin grammarians in Britain and Ireland in the early medieval period, see Law 1982, 1997.

in which Latin is one of the partners; as such, the question may resolve itself into one about the relative status of the vernacular(s) vis-à-vis Latin. However, almost as a by-product, there are cases where we find evidence for contact between the vernaculars, and often between closely related vernaculars (such as Welsh, Cornish and Breton), in the form of vernacular glosses and commentary on Latin texts. The educational context, for which we have surviving evidence, was mainly monastic and that then raises the issue of multilingualism within closed communities and the relative vitality of the languages in that context.[16] More generally, we shall explore a number of cases where it looks as if there is evidence for multilingualism, but where very little can be done with it as there are too many uncertainties. This chapter started at Aachen, Charlemagne's capital, and will now move westwards to early medieval Britain to consider three cases of increasing complexity and richness before moving earlier to consider the issues raised by post-Roman epigraphy and the linguistic situation in Britain in the fifth and fourth centuries AD. As with all 'views', interesting things will be obscured but the aim is to show that for the linguist interested in multilingualism the post-Roman West has much to offer and, if nothing else, this chapter will encourage more linguists to explore the riches of the evidence from this period and area.

2 GLASTONBURY

Our second 'view' is from Glastonbury in the ninth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4.32 (*S.C.* 2176) is thought to have been compiled in Glastonbury in the second half of the tenth century, and by its association with Saint Dunstan, who was abbot of Glastonbury at this period, is often known as 'St Dunstan's Classbook'.[17] The association with Glastonbury at this early period is uncertain, though it was certainly there by the second half of the fifteenth century when it is listed in the catalogue.[18] It is made up of several sections, some of which date to the early ninth century:

[16] For the notion of 'ethnolinguistic vitality', see Mullen, this volume. For discussion of the educational contexts in early medieval Britain, see Lapidge 1982, 1986, 2010.

[17] Hunt 1961 is a fascimile of the whole manuscript; a digitalised version of manuscript can be found at: http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msauctf432. For a detailed discussion of the manuscript, see Bodden 1979, Budny 1992 and Breen 1992; cf. also Lapidge 1982: 92–94. On the definition of a 'classbook', see Wieland 1985.

[18] For reservations about the early Glastonbury connections of this manuscript, see Dumville 1993: 50–51.

fos. 1–9: a fragment of Eutyches, *Ars de uerbo*; glossed in both Latin and Old Breton.[19]

[fos. 10–18: an Old English homily added after Dunstan's time.]

fos. 19–36: the *Liber Commonei*, 'The Book of Commoneus', the oldest part of the manuscript, and described as 'the patriarch of all Welsh books known' by Henry Bradshaw.[20] It contains a wide range of unusual texts, and in particular provides rare evidence for knowledge of Greek:

20r text on number; alphabet of Nemnivus; two paragraphs on date of Easter;

20v table on course of moon through the zodiac;

21r pascal table for years 817–827;

21v *Questio* on Colossians 2:14;

22r computistic tract;

23r weights and measures tract (with substantial Old Welsh glosses and commentary as well as Latin glosses);[21]

24r Minor Prophets (Greek and Latin);

28r lessons and canticals for the Easter vigil (Latin and Greek).

It also includes scientific (fol. 23) and astronomical materials (fos. 20–21r, 22r), and the section on weights and measures has numerous Old Welsh glosses, some of which may have been taken from the exemplar. However, it has also been claimed to have Irish links: the name Commoneus, perhaps a form of *Cummianus*, Old Irish *Cuimíne* or *Cumméne*, is found in the colophon at fol. 19r bottom *finit opus in domino e thei quiri altisimo meo patre Commoneo scriptum simul ac magistro* 'The work finishes in the highest Lord, the supreme God, written for my father and also master Commoneus';[22] and it has been recently argued that the Greek materials towards the end of this section of the manuscript show Irish features.[23] On the other hand, as will emerge in discussion of the Old Welsh and Old Irish glosses in the Juvencus manuscript (Cambridge University Library, F. 4. 42), there is evidence for the presence of Irish scholars in Wales at this

[19] For discussion of this text, see Sarginson 2006, with p. cx for this manuscript. Early editions and discussions of the Old Breton glosses are Stokes 1860–1861: 232–238, Zeuss and Ebel 1871: 1052–1054, and Rhŷs 1873: 228–230; for a modern discussion, see Fleuriot and Evans 1985: 1 *passim*.

[20] This description does not appear in any of Bradshaw's published works, but is quoted by Ellis 1880: 426 from a letter by Bradshaw. I am grateful to Rebecca Rushforth for tracking down this much-quoted, but elusive, description.

[21] The most recent edition is by Lambert 2003b; cf. also Zeuss and Ebel 1871: 1060; Stokes 1860–1861: 237–238; Williams 1929–1931b; Falileyev 2000: *passim*.

[22] Budny 1992: 113. [23] Breen 1992.

period and there may be no need to assume a direct connection with Ireland.[24]

fos. 37–47: Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, Book 1; one of the oldest surviving manuscript fragments, and the only evidence that the text was known in Anglo-Saxon England; glossed in Latin and Old Welsh.[25]

This is an extraordinarily rich collection of linguistic data involving Latin, Greek, Old Welsh and Old Breton, with Old English as a latecomer, but it is important to remember that, as a relatively late compilation, the separate sections must be evaluated separately. That the Eutyches fragment is glossed in Old Breton by no means forces us to assume that it has come from Brittany; on the other hand, the textual affiliations of the text of Eutyches do seem to point to the Continent.[26] It is entirely likely that the *Liber Commonei* derives from a centre of learning in Wales, but there are no indications as to where. Likewise, the Ovid fragment is clearly glossed in Old Welsh as well as in Latin and presumably comes from a Welsh centre, possibly in the south.[27] Part of the difficulty, to which we shall return, is that texts may be glossed in different ways for different reasons; for example, the Old Breton glossing on Eutyches is lexical, providing Old Breton renderings of many of the Latin verbs listed as examples. On the other hand, while some of the glossing on Ovid is lexical, much of it is explanatory and has the air of teaching notes: both the Latin and the Old Welsh glosses of the Ovid suggest a teacher trying to teach pupils how to read Latin verse and so it focuses on the points where there is a difference between the verse and prose forms, such as the second-person singular deponent ending *-re* beside *-ris*, etc.[28] Strikingly, glosses in both languages seem to be directed to this aim and suggest that the teacher at least was comfortable in both languages.[29] On the other hand, the dense

[24] See below, pp. 206–214.

[25] On the Old Welsh glosses, see Stokes 1860–1861: 234–236; Zeuss and Ebel 1871: 1054–1059; Rhŷs 1873: 230–235; Falileyev 2000: *passim*. For discussion of some aspects of the Latin glossing, see Hexter 1986: 26–41.

[26] A Breton origin is assumed by Sarginson (2006: lix and cx) because of the Old Breton glosses, although she notes in reference to another manuscript (p. cxl and n. 106) that Irish glossing 'does not necessarily suggest that this MS originated in Ireland'. In fact, it is quite likely that the manuscript tradition as a whole is Insular in origin (Sarginson 2006: lx and Law 1982: 21–22). For further discussion on the distinction between Old Breton, Old Cornish and Old Welsh, see below, pp. 204–206.

[27] A southern location is prompted by the gloss, *ceintiru* (fol. 38r4) glossing *patruelibus*, which arguably shows a southern dialectal feature against a northern Middle Welsh form, *kefynderw* (Charles-Edwards 1971: 108; cf. also Russell 2003b: 44–45).

[28] See Auct. F. 4.32, fos. 38r20 and 39v27 (corresponding to Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 1.89 and 207 respectively).

[29] On the techniques of grammatical glossing, see Lambert 1987.

Old Welsh commentary on the weights and measures text has the feel of a scholar struggling to render the text in his own language as a way of explaining to himself what is going on – and, one suspects, without any great expectation of blinding success. For our purposes, while we may feel there are multilingual things going on in the penumbra of these texts, they give us relatively little to work on. They probably come from an educational context but are at least one step removed from the classroom.

3 EARLY MEDIEVAL CORNWALL

We move westwards from Glastonbury to Cornwall for our next 'view'. While the details of the multilingualism of our previous example may have been tantalisingly out of reach, this case brings us to the reality of the multilingual monastic classroom. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS, 572 (*S.C.* 2026), fos. 41v–47r (s. x²) contains a text conventionally known as *De raris fabulis* 'On occasional news'.[30] It consists of a set of colloquies, short dialogues which cast light on the methods of teaching and learning Latin in medieval Britain. They are designed to teach Latin by the direct method to non-native speakers (who, given the monastic context of many of the colloquies, were probably novices in a monastery).[31] Basic frame-sentences are provided to which are added rows of nouns and it appears that the students were required to generate fresh sentences using the resources given to them by manipulating the cases of the nouns. It provides an interesting contrast to the Eutyches mentioned above: while that is preoccupied with verbs, this text is largely interested in nouns in particular lexical fields, so that we find groups of nouns relating to tools, horse-accoutrements, food, and other domestic scenarios. Ultimately based on texts such as the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana which were developed in the Eastern

[30] For editions of the text, see Stevenson 1929: 1–11 and more recently Gwara 2004a (note that the sub-division of the text in these two editions differs); early discussions are Zeuss and Ebel 1871: 1060–1063; Stokes 1860–1861: 238–249; Rhŷs 1873: 235–239; Loth 1893 and Craster 1923. A digitalised version of manuscript can be found at: http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msbodl572. For discussion of the manuscript, see Dumville 1992: 66, 1993: 97 n. 74 and 142 n. 8. For discussion of the text, see Lapidge 1986: 94–97 and Gwara 2004b, and for its Latinity, Lapidge 2010. The title was derived by Stevenson (1929: 10 (§26)) from the *finit*: *finit Amen de aliquibus raris fabulis* and has variously been translated as 'On uncommon tales' (Gwara 2004a: 1) or 'On rare stories', but may perhaps be best rendered as 'On some uncommon news', *uel sim*. It may refer to the news brought by the monks that the British have won a great victory over the English on account of their humility (Stevenson 1929: 10 (§ 24); Gwara 2004a: 28–29 (§22)). If so, *fabulae* would then reflect the Welsh and Irish usage of *chwedlau* and *scéla* respectively (the plurals of the words for 'tale') to mean 'news' (cf. Lapidge 1986: 95).

[31] See Porter 1994; Gwara 1998. Both discussions relate to the Anglo-Saxon schoolroom, but probably offer a useful guide to the earlier situation with which we are concerned.

Roman Empire for Greek speakers to learn Latin, they became particularly common in the early medieval West and especially in Britain.[32] *De raris fabulis* is an early example of the type from Britain; it is closely related to a series of scholastic colloquies associated with Ælfric Bata (a pupil of Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, *c.* 955–1010), later versions of which acquired an influx of words from Old English glossaries.[33] These texts were also prone to attract extra materials; while the core of our text is in colloquy-form, there are insertions, and not only do the glosses peter out in the latter part of the text, but the text changes character in its second half and becomes more narrative.[34]

The context is monastic and most of the colloquies purport to be between novices, or between them and their teachers, or indeed between priests and their superiors. In addition to the direct teaching, it appears that passive acquisition of the language was also part of the process, though not always a successful part:[35]

> et episcopus dicit ad principem sacerdotum, 'an habes Latinam linguam?' 'etiam, uel utique; non tam bene sapio, quia non multum legi, sed tamen fui inter scolasticos et audiui lectores docentesque predicantesque atque illam mirabiliter die et nocte meditantes atque dicentes et obsonium facientes. unde et ego ex illis aliquid, quanquam sum paruus ingenio, longua tamen meditatione pauca fona, .i. uoces uel uerba, recognosco, sed etiam haec regulariter respondere non possum. ignoro enim regulas gramaticorum nec exempla poetarum.'
>
> And the bishop says to the leader of the priests, 'Do you have Latin?' 'Yes, or indeed; I do not know it very well, as I have not read much, but I have been among scholars and I have heard readers teaching and preaching and wondrously thinking about it day and night and speaking and disputing. As a result then, although I am of little talent, nevertheless by long study I recognise a few words, i.e. sounds or words, but even these I cannot regularly get right. For I am ignorant of the rules of the grammarians and I do not know the examples of the poets.'

[32] On the Continental origins of the Hermeneumata, see Dionisotti 1988; for discussion of them in an Insular context, see Gwara and Porter 1997: 15–24, and also Moran, this volume.

[33] For the other versions of the colloquies, see Stevenson 1929: 12–112; Gwara 1996. For discussion of the relationship between them, see Gwara and Porter 1997: 19–24.

[34] An obvious insertion is the section on *De beneficiis* 'On loans' (Stevenson 1929: 4 (§7); Gwara 2004a: 10–13 (§8) 'list of boons'), which seems to be a list of tools which can be borrowed; if so, it again reflects the semantics seen in the Welsh borrowing of *beneficium*, Old Welsh *benfic* (later Welsh *benthyg*) 'loan'. This passage is heavily glossed both in ink and dry-point glosses, the latter etched in the vellum with a dry stilus; for the former, see below, and for the latter, see Falileyev and Russell 2003. For the glosses, see below, pp. 202–204.

[35] Stevenson 1929: 10 (§26); Gwara 2004a: 30–31 (§23).

Any adult learner of a second language would sympathise with the frustrating experience reflected in this passage: however much he listens to people teaching and preaching and can understand them, he still cannot convert that passive knowledge into an active use of the language – *regulariter respondere non possum* – and it is worth stressing that this is a priest speaking to a bishop. More striking is the final sentence where again, as in Einhard's description of Charlemagne's learned activities, grammar and poetry are brought together in the same sentence; this may well refer to the use of the classical Latin poets as examples in grammatical texts, but we should perhaps also bear in mind the educational role of Latin poetry in learning Latin, such as the glossed text of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* in Bodleian Library Auct. F. 4. 32, fols. 37–47 (mentioned above), for more advanced study, or even Juvencus' metrical version of the Gospels (discussed below). Just as we have evidence from graffiti and letters that Virgil was part of the core curriculum of pupils from Pompeii to Vindolanda and required an element of grammatical education in order to be comprehensible, so in western Britain several hundred years later Latin verse was still part of the curriculum.

For our purposes one of the most interesting aspects of *De raris fabulis* is its heavy glossing. In addition to thirty Latin glosses, there are some 111 Brittonic glosses, mainly Old Welsh though some are in Old Cornish.[36] It has been suggested that the text was originally glossed in Wales and then was taken to Cornwall; Kenneth Jackson suggested that the glosses had acquired 'a Cornish veneer in some cases'.[37] The arrangement of the glosses certainly suggests that they have arrived in the text in several layers: some have been associated with the text long enough to have become incorporated into the main text, others are interlinear, either above the word they refer to or in the margins; some are preceded by *.i.* (the abbreviation for *id est*), others are not. Most are written in the same hand as the main text and in some cases it is possible that the glosses have wandered from their original location; it is also clear that at least some of the glosses were copied *pari passu* with the text and not added later. Furthermore, in its subsequent transmission the manuscript acquired seventeen dry-point glosses; most are Old English and none is demonstrably in a Brittonic language.[38] An analysis of the layers of glossing suggests that the embedded glosses (which probably reflect an earlier layer of glosses incorporated into the main text) tend to be Welsh. The interlinear glosses show not only Welsh features, e.g. *au* (Old Cornish *o*),

[36] For discussion, see Lapidge 1986: 94–97; Gwara 2004b: 13–33; Falileyev 2000.
[37] Jackson 1953: 54–56.
[38] Falileyev and Russell 2003; *pace* Jackson 1949: 71. The manuscript ended up in Canterbury, and it is highly likely that these dry-point glosses were acquired further east than Cornwall or Wales.

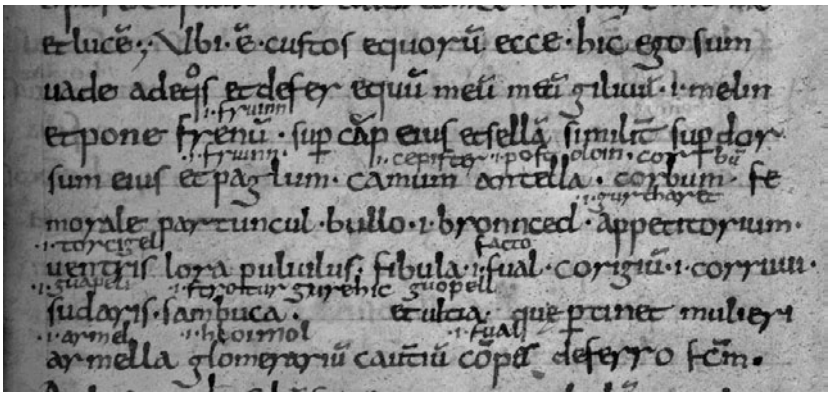

Figure 9.1 Oxford, Bodley MS, 572, fol. 43r (extract) (reproduced by kind permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford).

guerclaud, *laubael*, reduction of some unstressed vowels to /ə/ (spelt *i* or *e*) which is not found in Cornish, and the unvoiced /ɬ/ (spelt *ll* or *hl*), *celleell*, *hloimol*, but also Cornish features, e.g. *o* (Old Welsh *au*), *morthol* (Middle Welsh *morthw*(*y*)*l*); *enep* (Welsh *wyneb*); in addition, there are also forms, e.g. *hloimol* (meaning uncertain), which seems to show features of more than one language, in this case Welsh /ɬ/ but Cornish *-ol*.[39]

The points made above can be well exemplified in the following passage (*De raris fabulis*, §11), which is a literal transcription of the text in Fig. 9.1 (Brittonic glosses are in **bold**; the following, somewhat tentative, translation is of the main Latin text only).[40]

. . . 'Ubi est custos equorum?' 'ecce, híc ego sum.' 1
'uade ad equos et defer equum meum giluium, **.i. melin**
.i. fruinn
et pone frenum super caput eius, et sellam similiter super dor 3
.i. fruinn **.i. cepister** **.i. postoloin** corbum
sum eius et paglum, camum, antella, corbum. fe
.i. gurtharet
morale **partuncl**, bullo, .i. **bronnced**, appetitorium, 5
.i. torcigel facto
uentris lora, puluilus, fibula .i. **fual**, corigium, .i. **corruui**,
.i. guapell .i. strotur gurehic **guopell**
sudaris, sambuca, et ultia, que pertinet mulieri, 7
.i. armel .i. hloimol **.i. fual**
armella, glomerarium, cauterium, compes de ferro factum.' 8

[39] For further discussion, see Gwara 2004b: 27–29.
[40] Stevenson 1929: 4–5 (§11); Gwara 2004a: 14–15 (§13) (Gwara's text is heavily emended).

> 'Where is the guardian of the horses?' 'Behold, I am here.' 'Go to the horses and bring back my bay horse, and put a bridle over its head, and likewise a saddle on its back and a bit, halter, breast-girth, saddle-bow. Leggings, chest guard, spurs/goad ?, saddle-girth, cushion, buckle, girth, saddle-blanket, side-saddle ?, and a woman's saddle blanket, bracelet, cloak, branding iron, fetter made of iron.'

We may note that the glosses are found both in the main lines of text and interlinearly, with and without *.i.*, and on line 7 we can see that the scribe left a gap after *sambuca* in order to allow room for the long gloss, *.i. strotur gurehic* 'i.e. a woman's saddle', before resuming the main text with *et ultia*. Old Welsh *fruinn* occurs twice as a gloss, on *frenum* (l. 3) and *paglum* (l. 4), and, since these two words occur one above the other on the manuscript page, it is thinkable that one of them is an error; on the other hand, Welsh *ffrwyn* (which is borrowed from *frenum*) can mean both 'bit' and 'bridle', and so may well have been used twice. This section of the text is designed to teach the vocabulary of horse-accoutrements and is framed as a dialogue between the groom and the horseman. The range of nouns covers all the declensions, but, as is often the case with lists, the case-forms in the list revert rapidly to the nominative, even when the syntax requires the accusative. However, while this could be due to scribal inattention, in an educational context it is reasonable to suppose that it is a deliberate strategy to force the student to create the relevant accusative forms to fit the syntax; a modern textbook might well bracket off the list with the instruction to create the correct forms.[41]

This example from Cornwall provides a clearer sense of a multilingual, monastic context in which Latin is being learnt by speakers of Welsh and Cornish. Whether we are to think of the scenario as genuinely multilingual with both Cornish and Welsh being heard in the cloisters alongside Latin or whether the mixture of languages is a product of scribal compilation is a moot point. It may be useful at this stage to raise one of the difficulties of dealing with glossing in different Brittonic languages which is relevant to discussions of multilingualism in contexts where the languages in question are closely related, namely: how can we tell whether it is Old Welsh, Old Cornish or Old Breton? While manuscript provenance and palaeography can help to a certain extent, the diagnostic differences between the languages at this period were sufficiently slight and the amounts of each language which have survived so small that it is often difficult to tell whether we are dealing with variation in scribal training (and location of that

[41] It is matter of regret that Gwara's edition of this passage (2004a: 15), and of others which contain similar lists, has regularised the grammar to such an extent that this important feature has been obscured.

training) or with genuine linguistic difference.[42] For example, we might well wonder about the written language produced by a scribe trained in Wales copying a manuscript in Cornwall which was glossed in Old Breton (and Latin) or *mutatis mutandis*. While it is perfectly feasible for manuscripts to have moved around (that is, for example, for an earlier version of *De raris fabulis* to have moved from Wales to Cornwall), it is equally the case that scribes travelled around and took their training with them. In any given scriptorium, therefore, the performance of a scribe would depend on a number of factors: his training would of course be crucial, but it would in part depend on what he had been told to do or thought he was doing, and then on whether he carried out his instructions or his own plans accurately and consistently.

A good example of the issues is provided by two manuscripts preserved in French libraries. The main text of Angers MS 477 is Bede's *De temporum ratione*; it is glossed in two hands or groups of hands, the earlier of which writes or copies mostly Old Breton glosses in a black ink but some of the glosses in his hand show traces of Old Welsh features (e.g. *laur*), while the later hand writes in a brown ink and produces glosses with predominantly Old Welsh features.[43] Paris, BN Lat. 10290 is a manuscript of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* and is glossed by several different scribes; there is an early layer of Old Irish glosses (some of which parallel the Old Irish glosses in the Priscian manuscript from St Gall (Skt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 903)). Some of them have been 'Brittonicised' (partially turned into a Brittonic language) and there are also Old Welsh glosses which have been 'Bretonised' (adjusted to make them seem more Breton), a later layer of Old Welsh glosses, and also some late 'Cambricisation' (adjusted to make them seem more Welsh) of Breton glosses.[44] Much of the variation looks phonetic, e.g. Old Welsh *au* : Old Breton *o* to represent the respective reflexes of Brittonic /ɔ:/ which gave Welsh /au/ but Breton (and Cornish) /œ/, Old Welsh *i* : Old Breton *e* (before nasals); or orthographic, e.g. different choices of spelling /ð θ χ/, etc., spelling of the Old Welsh reduced vowel, e.g. *cim-* beside Old Breton *com-*, where the vowel is not

[42] Anxiety about this matter arose early in the history of scholarship on these manuscripts. Henry Bradshaw (Cambridge University Librarian, 1867–1886) expresses such concerns in a letter to the Celticist Whitley Stokes dated 17 January 1877 (a draft is preserved in Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 6425, fols. 249–254, at fol. 249r): while he felt that he could identify Breton manuscripts palaeographically, the philologists had been unwilling to follow him in treating the vernacular glosses in these manuscripts as Old Breton (Russell 2011a). Today there is more clarity, although manuscripts which contain both Old Welsh and Old Breton glosses, such as Angers MS 477, are still the subject of debate.

[43] Lambert 1983, 2005; Fleuriot and Evans 1985: 1 9, 26–31.

[44] For detailed discussion and argument, see Bachellery 1964–1965; Fleuriot and Evans 1985: 1 31–32, and *passim*; Lambert 1982.

reduced – in other words, a similar range of issues as was observed above in *De raris fabulis*. But the difficulty is that often the so-called Old Breton spellings can also be found in Old Welsh (and vice versa).[45] Moreover, what linguists might regard as a diagnostic feature marking a real phonological distinction, such as the choice between a Welsh *-aul* and a Breton *-ol*, might simply for the scribe be a spelling choice. It is also not helpful that there are very few diagnostic morphological features; perhaps the only clear one is the form of the article: Old Welsh *ir* beside Old Breton *in*, though even here the forms of *r* and *n* are not always easy to distinguish in some scribal hands. Particular problems are caused in these manuscripts by mixed glosses: for example, in the Angers manuscript (fol. 65b) the gloss *tri pemp rann aur* 'three fifths of an hour' shows an Old Welsh feature in *aur*, but Breton features in *pemp* (Old Welsh *pimp*) and *rann* as a masculine noun (as in modern Vannetais Breton, but feminine in Welsh) shown by the use of the masculine form of the numeral *tri*.[46] Often the diagnostic feature occurs in the final syllable, e.g. *-auc* : *-oc*, *-aul* : *-ol*, etc., and it is possible that in some cases the original might only have had a partial gloss (merograph) to which the suffix was added later. In other words, when we are dealing with closely related languages, it is difficult to be sure that what we think is evidence for multilingualism is really that.

4 SOUTH-EAST WALES

An example from north of the Bristol Channel, perhaps from south-east Wales, may take our understanding a little further. Cambridge University Library, Ff. 4. 42 is a glossed text of Juvencus' metrical version of the Gospels.[47] It seems to have been copied somewhere in Wales, in the second half of the ninth century. An origin in south-east Wales has been posited on the basis of a gloss by scribe G (fol. 20r15) where *quid* 'what?' is glossed *papep bi*; the first word has been correctly interpreted as containing a misreading of the Old English letter form *þ* (thorn), thus *recte papeþ bi*

[45] Cf., for example, the number of *com* spellings in the charters of the Book of Llandaf (from south-east Wales), best illustrated in the indices to Davies (1979: 156–158) and the discussion in Sims-Williams (1991: 36–47); or the spelling of fricatives in the 'Surexit' memorandum (Jenkins and Owen 1984: 119–120).

[46] Fleuriot and Evans 1985: 1 28.

[47] The Welsh material, glosses and two groups of marginal verses were edited by Stokes 1860–1861: 204–232, 1865. There has been much recent work on this manuscript by McKee (2000a (text and commentary), 2000b (facsimile)) which has placed scholarly work on a completely new footing. For further discussion of the scribal activity, see Lapidge 1982: 111–113, 1986: 97–101; Harvey 1991; McKee 2000c and, for the Irish context, Sims-Williams 2011: 30–34. The Old Welsh is also discussed by Falileyev 2000. There is a detailed discussion of all the Old Welsh in this manuscript by McKee 2000a: 463–558. The Old Welsh verses (*englynion*) were also edited and discussed by Watkins 1982 and Haycock 1994: 3–16, the latter only dealing with the longer set of nine *englynion*.

'what thing is it?' (Modern Welsh *pa beth . . . ?*). This is, however, poor evidence for the provenance of this particular manuscript; all it tells us is that, somewhere in the tradition of the exemplar from which scribe G was copying, a scribe had used the Old English letter form to represent /θ/ in the Welsh word *peth* 'thing' (and importantly it is evidence for copying rather than for composition of glosses). That *þ* was the letter-form of choice might encourage us to think in terms of a more (south-)eastern location in Wales for at least one exemplar, but it is by no means an automatic assumption.[48] More suggestive evidence for a south-eastern connection may come from the cryptogram on fol. 36r which names *Cemeilliauc* (Modern Welsh *Cyfeilliog*), who has been tentatively identified with the bishop of this name in south-east Wales.[49]

One significant advantage this manuscript has over the ones discussed already is that it is an original glossed manuscript, not a copy, and so we can see the range of different hands at work either copying glosses from other manuscripts or creating new glosses. The main text, Juvencus' metrical version of the Gospels, was copied by a scribe, who in a colophon identified himself as *Nuadu*, which is an Irish name, and is annotated by at least six other scribes (in Latin, Old Welsh and Old Irish). Concentrating on the Old Welsh and Old Irish annotations, the distribution is as follows:[50]

	Old Welsh additions	*Old Irish additions*
A (Nuadu)	colophon	[Irish name]
B	6 glosses	1 gloss
C	verses (*englynion*)	Latin verse mentioning Féthgna
E	10 glosses ?	4 glosses ?
F	6 glosses [+ 1 Old Breton gloss[51]]	1 gloss
G (collaborating with B)	112 glosses ?	13 glosses ?

[48] Lambert 1990a: 344, for example, has shown that there are a number of Old Breton glosses scattered through Continental manuscripts which are best explained by assuming that the *p*-form was originally intended as the Old English *þ* representing a dental fricative of some sort, perhaps /θ/. If we take that range of evidence seriously, we could just as well think in terms of a Continental origin for one of the exemplars of this manuscript.

[49] McKee 2000b: 27–29.

[50] The table is from McKee 2000a: 67; see her n. 308 for the basis of her calculations (note that McKee includes the 'portmanteau' (mixed Irish/Welsh) glosses in her figures). For discussion of the various glossators and their distinguishing features, see McKee 2000a: 67–73.

[51] For the one possible Old Breton gloss, *roenhol*, see Lambert 1995: 96–100, who argues it is Old Welsh, and Schrijver 1997, who thinks it is Breton, and also McKee 2000a: 549–550. The main feature encouraging the Breton hypothesis is the suffix *-ol*, which is regarded as diagnostically distinguishing Welsh, where the suffix takes the form *-aul*, from Cornish and Breton.

In addition to the *papep bi* gloss discussed above, scribal error provides further evidence for the copying of glosses; for example, scribe E glossed *conabula* 'swaddling clothes' (fol. 5v3) with *mapbrith .i. onnou* which is intended to represent Old Welsh *mapbrith*(*i*)*onnou* < *map* 'son, boy, child' + *brethyn* 'cloth' + *-ou* (plural suffix) (lit. 'baby-clothes').[52] Although we cannot be sure how far back in the tradition the error was perpetrated, a scribe has assumed that there are two glosses and either treated an existing *i* as *.i.* 'i.e.' or he inserted *.i.* part way through; perhaps the gloss was written either side of a descender from the line above and a scribe thought it was two words. One might wonder if that is the kind of error a Welsh scribe copying Welsh would perpetrate.

The multilingual nature of the annotation in this manuscript has long been recognised. In a detailed study of the work of the scribes, Anthony Harvey suggested that at least three of them, the main scribe A (by name at least), together with E and G, may have been Irish.[53] He based this on the fact that scribes E and G can be observed miscopying Welsh glosses, but it is worth observing that they also miscopied (or perhaps were confused by) at least one or two Irish glosses as well. Helen McKee, on the other hand, inclines towards the view that all the scribes apart from Nuadu were Welsh, although it is likely that some of them may have been competent in Irish as well, and at least one may have been Breton or trained to write in a scriptorium with Breton affiliations.[54] An overall consideration of the annotation, both vernacular and Latin, suggests a gradual accretion of glossing and commentary, and a major advance on previous work is McKee's recognition (building on work by Michael Lapidge) that much of the Latin commentary which surrounds the text of Juvencus seems to derive in some way from Irish sources; she draws attention in particular to the parallels with the commentary to the Máel Brigte Gospels.[55] It is perhaps in that context that the glossing on the Juvencus manuscript should be viewed – as part of a process of transmission of exegetical knowledge from Ireland to Wales (or at least from a predominantly Irish linguistic context to a predominantly Welsh one, wherever that may have been) – and it is possible that the process might have involved a shift of language.

As noted above, our main scribe (A) is named in the colophon: *araut di nuadu* (fol. 55r inf.) 'a prayer for Nuadu'. Not only is his name Irish (the

[52] Among the Old Welsh glosses on the Oxford Ovid, *Ars amatoria* fragment which is preserved in Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32 (for which see above), we find *in cunis* glossed *mapbrethinnou* (fol. 39v8); for discussion, see Falileyev 2000: 109–110 and McKee 2000a: 528. This compound is only attested in these two instances, and it is tempting to think there might be some sort of connection.

[53] Harvey 1991. [54] McKee 2000a: 67–73, 2000c: 11–12. [55] McKee 2000a: 44–67, 2000c: 12–19.

Welsh cognate is *Nud*) but the formula of the colophon looks like an Old Welsh rendering of the Old Irish *oróit do* (+ dative) 'a prayer for *X* (dative)', a formula which is widespread in Ireland (both in epigraphy and in scribal colophons), but only found here in Welsh.[56] Old Welsh *araut*, like Old Irish *oróit*, is a loan from Latin *oratio*. The Old Welsh preposition *di* 'to, for' corresponds semantically to Old Irish *do*. Although the name is Irish, it is following the Welsh morphology of the phrase: in Irish terms *Nuadu* is the nominative singular beside a dative singular *Nuadait*, while in Welsh (which has lost its case forms) a form identical to the nominative singular would be used whether it was the subject or governed by a preposition. Not only then are we working with Welsh words but also with Welsh syntax and morphology. It is reasonable to suppose, but ultimately unprovable, that Nuadu is an Irishman and that he spoke Irish, but the fact that he is using an Old Welsh phrase calqued on a common Irish phrase is strongly suggestive.[57] It suggests that he was at least bilingual (in Irish and Welsh) and perhaps trilingual, if we include Latin.

In this kind of multilingual context, it is worth reconsidering what we think the scribes were doing. The fact that four different hands were adding vernacular glosses to the manuscript does not necessarily mean that they were all composing *extempore* glosses. Rather, the copying errors indicate that at least some of the glosses were being copied from other Juvencus manuscripts into our manuscript, but, because copying errors are relatively few and far between, we have no idea about what proportion might be copied as opposed to being made up on the spot; for if the scribes copy them without error and we do not encounter the gloss in another extant Juvencus manuscript, we cannot distinguish it from an *extempore* gloss. The question then arises as to whether they were copying glosses in Latin, Welsh and Irish just as they found them, or moving them from one language to another. Lambert has shown that instances of 'translated' glosses can be identified in other manuscripts, and such cases can also be identified in the Cambridge Juvencus, where they take a particular form that shows clearly that they have arisen from attempting to 'translate' Old Irish into Old Welsh, but not vice versa.[58] The disquieting thought, however, is that in most cases they are only identifiable because the translation 'fails' in

[56] For a convenient list of inscriptions containing this formula, see Stokes and Strachan 1901–1903: II 287–288. For colophons, see Plummer 1926.

[57] Harvey 1991: 190–194 suggested that he might be Welsh, just as there were Anglo-Saxons with British names, though this analogy has been rejected by Charles-Edwards 1995: 719.

[58] For instances of the 'translation' of glosses in other manuscripts, see Lambert 1982: 193, 1989: 86–87, 1990a: 344, 1990b, 2005: 314–315.

some way or another – disquieting because, if the process of translation were completely successful, we would never know, since they would just look like perfectly well-formed Old Welsh glosses. They are important for the present purposes as they require a good, but not perfect, level of control of more than one language. Furthermore, previous scholarship has tended to push these forms out to the margins of the discussion and to talk of them in terms of error and miscopying, and it is not clear that the significance of what they can tell us about the linguistic abilities of the scribes has been fully appreciated. Part of the purpose of what follows is to situate these forms more centrally in the discussion of the scribal activity in this manuscript, and to argue that such forms provide exactly the kind of evidence for bilingualism or multilingualism which it is often so difficult to find.

Two hands are involved: scribe E provides one instance, and the other four (or possibly five) are perpetrated by scribe G.

(a) At fol. 5r22 *nomenque genusque* has been glossed by scribe E *.i. tribus .i. bemhed*, where Latin *tribus* 'tribe' is itself glossed by Old Welsh *pemhed* 'fifth' (in a mutated form), the ordinal to *pimp* 'five'.[59] This only makes sense in Irish terms: the Old Irish ordinal to *cóic* 'five' is *cóiced*, which can also mean 'province', of which there were five in medieval Ireland (hence the origin of the term). In Welsh the ordinal 'fifth' can never have this sense and so we have to assume that in this instance the sense required of Old Welsh *bemhed* is calqued on the Irish;[60] did the exemplar perhaps have a gloss *.i. tribus .i. cóiced*? While in this case the gloss 'fails' because Old Welsh *pemhed* 'fifth' did not share this sense with Old Irish *cóiced*, in other cases the 'failure' is more easily identifiable as it usually involves the formal elements of the gloss itself and often results in the creation of a 'portmanteau' form, part-Irish and part-Welsh; notably, many take the form of an Old Irish stem and an Old Welsh suffix.

(b) At fol. 33r7 scribe G glossed *feruida* with *anbithaul*.[61] Now while this could simply be a spelling of Welsh *ynfydol* 'mad', the orthography, particularly initial *an-* for /ən/-, would give pause for thought, and an adjective 'mad' makes only slight sense in the context of a storm and churning waves. More plausibly, it can be understood as a rendering of Old

[59] McKee 2000a: 475.
[60] This is a case of what has been called *Lehnprägung*, 'semantic calquing' or 'loan-shift' 'where an inherited word is invested with additional meaning based on that of the foreign word' (Binchy 1976: 170), see also Mullen p. 19.
[61] McKee 2000a: 468.

Irish *anboth*, *anfeth* 'storm' to which the scribe has added the Old Welsh adjectival suffix *-aul*. If so, this does require some considerable control of Old Irish: if we assume that the exemplar had Old Irish *ainbthech* 'stormy', the glossator has had to relate that to the base *anboth* or *anfeth* to which he has added the Welsh suffix.

(c) Likewise, when at 44r31 scribe G glossed *barathri . . . caeno* 'in the mud of the abyss' with *.i. latharauc uel gennec*, it looks as if he was doing the same thing:[62] *latharauc* is probably a calque on Old Irish *lathrach* 'muddy pool'. He has extracted a stem *lathar-* from *lathrach* to which he added the Old Welsh suffix *-auc*, just as he extracted *anboth* or the like from *ainbthech*. The interesting point here is that a *lathar* is not attested in Old Irish; *lathrach* is usually associated with *loth*, *lath* 'mud', but the scribe clearly assumed the existence of **lathar* to which he might add the Welsh suffix. It is worth noting that, as in *anbithaul* above, in order to create this form he has taken into account the effects of Irish syncope in the derivative and restored the vowel in the base-form, thus **lathar*, even to the extent of getting the spelling of the restored vowel correct by Old Irish spelling conventions. The second gloss, *gennec*, is less clear, perhaps a Welsh rendering of Old Irish *genech* 'gaping' (with the Old Welsh suffix *-ec* in mind), though it could simply be the Old Irish form with a missing aspiration mark.

(d) A more complex instance is found at fol. 26r25: scribe G glossed *monimenta* with *.i. hencassou*.[63] It contains the Old Welsh plural suffix *-ou* and so matches the number of the lemma, *monimenta*. However, *hencass-* is not otherwise attested in Welsh and seems to be a partial calque on Old Irish *senchas* 'tradition' (plural *senchaissi*). Interestingly, it seems to have been treated as a compound of Old Irish *sen-* 'old' which has been replaced by the Old Welsh equivalent *hen-*, but the second element, **cass-*, for which there is no Welsh cognate, is retained.[64]

(e) There is a final example where scribe G is obliged to grapple with a verb. At fol. 49v16 scribe G glosses the last two words of *epulis mecum num uescitur* 'surely he does not enjoy a feast with me?' with *.i. anit arber bit*.[65] There is a textual issue here in that our text of Juvencus has misread the manuscript's *nū* (for *nunc*) as *num*; our glossator has then glossed *num*

[62] McKee 2000a: 523–524. [63] McKee 2000a: 505.

[64] For the etymology of *senchas*, see McCone 1995; if he is right that it is a noun based on a compound of *sen* 'old' and the root **k^{w}ei-* 'see', thus 'seeing old things', the Brittonic cognate would begin ***henb-*, *uel sim*.

[65] McKee 2000a: 469–470.

with Old Welsh *anit* 'surely not', suggesting that this might be a gloss aimed precisely at this version of Juvencus. The gloss *arber bit* has been understood as an Old Welsh version of later Welsh *arfer bwyd*, literally 'use food', and so taken to be glossing *epulis . . . uescitur* even though the gloss is clearly over *uescitur* and not related to *epulis*; however, it is not clear that *bit* can be read as an Old Welsh version of *bwyd*; we might expect *buit* or the like. In the context of what Hand G is doing elsewhere, it seems more likely that *arber bit* is a Welsh version of the Old Irish idiomatic phrase *ar-beir bi*(*u*)*th* 'enjoy, make use of', and as such should be taken as glossing only *uescitur*.[66]

A striking feature of these glosses in hands E and G is that they can be read in one direction only – that is, the language shift is consistently from Irish to Welsh; while the stems may well have retained an Irish form, possibly because there was no easily available Welsh cognate (or they did not know the Welsh equivalent), the morphological markers, adjectival or plural suffixes, are Welsh. We might contrast them with the small group of Old Irish glosses:[67] none is 'portmanteau' in the same way as many of the hand G glosses discussed above, that is, with a Welsh stem and an Irish suffix, nor do they show semantic influence from Welsh. In other words, they confirm our impression that the direction of shift is from Irish towards Welsh. Previous discussions have tended to treat this group of forms as representing mistakes on the part of the glossators. However, they seem to be better explained as traces of a process of translating glosses from one language to another; the fact that in one way or another they have 'failed' is what allows us to see them for what they are, and we are left to wonder how many more of the Old Welsh glosses in this manuscript are the successful product of this kind of gloss-translation.

There are several different ways of viewing these findings. A strongly Irish view of the origins of the Cambridge Juvencus might go something like this. In the exemplars lying behind the glosses all the vernacular glossing was

[66] There is a final case which is more debatable as it involves us thinking our way through a scribal error: at fol. 10v16 scribe G glossed *frequens* with *.i. litimaur* (McKee 2000a: 526 and 527; cf. also Stokes 1860–1861: 212; Thurneysen 1890: 93). The gloss is by no means easy to analyse and almost certainly is the outcome of a copying error; it has been understood as purely Old Welsh, for later *llwythfawr* (with *liti-* being an error for *luit-*) or for *llydwfawr* (with *liti-* being an error for *litu-*). Thurneysen understood it as Old Irish *lín* 'number' + Old Welsh *maur* 'great' (with *liti-* being an error for *lin-*). If so, this looks very much like a partial calque on Old Irish *línmar* 'numerous', a compound of *lín* 'number' and *már* 'great', thus literally 'of great number'; similar compounds occur in Welsh and it seems that here the Irish second element was replaced by its Welsh equivalent, *maur* (for such compounds, see Russell 1996). All of the above accounts of this word are plausible and for our purposes this case is probably to be excluded as a clear example of a 'portmanteau' gloss.

[67] For a list, see McKee 2000a: 67 n. 309.

in Old Irish; the multilingual scribes were generally very good at turning these Old Irish glosses into Old Welsh and most translation attempts were successful – hence numerous perfect Old Welsh glosses; some, however, were less successful and resulted in semi-translated 'portmanteau' forms – often Old Irish stems with Old Welsh suffixes; and some were not translated at all, perhaps because the scribes did not understand them or conceivably thought they were Latin or Welsh already. A weaker version of the same view would be that not all the glosses were in Old Irish (some might also have been in Old Welsh or indeed in Old Breton), but that there was more Old Irish in the exemplars than we have now in the manuscript, and that some degree of translation had taken place, not all of it perfectly. An even weaker view would be that the scribes were simply copying glosses across from their exemplars as they found them, although such a view fails to account for the 'portmanteau' forms. The effect of this last view is simply to push the argument further back into the manuscript tradition. Of course, in all of this it is possible that the translation process occurred several times over and at various points in the transmission of the glosses. On the other hand, if such process were buried further back in the manuscript tradition, it is striking that the results mainly occur in the work of one scribe, G, with one markedly different example in hand E; this suggests either that he was copying a particular exemplar where such forms were common, or that he was performing the translation himself.

What then can we say about the scribes of the Cambridge Juvencus and their linguistic skills? As we have seen, Harvey argued that three of the scribes at least, A (Nuadu), E and G, were Irish, while McKee thinks that apart from Nuadu they were all Welsh. Strictly speaking, it is possible for scribes to copy text in languages they do not know and so, unless we see them manipulating the languages, we cannot have any sense of what they know; thus, I have no view about scribes B, C and D, and, while scribe F may, on palaeographical grounds, be Breton, that remains open to argument. I think it likely that scribe A, Nuadu, is Irish if only on the basis of his name and the Irish idiom in his colophon. Apart from him, we can only comment on scribes E and G: both seem to have a stronger control of Irish than Welsh, but have a good grasp of Welsh morphology and word-formation. Scribe G, on the one hand, struggled on occasions to find the correct Welsh equivalent for the Irish nominal stems but, on the other, felt comfortable with the Old Irish idiom *ar-beir bi*(*u*)*th*, while scribe E allowed the semantics of Old Irish *cóiced* to interfere in the semantics of Old Welsh *bemhet*. These two scribes are also responsible for the majority of the Irish glosses in the manuscript. It is likely, therefore,

that they were Irish but with a good, although not perfect, control of Welsh.

The three case studies from early medieval Britain have presented evidence of increasing complexity. What they have in common is that the evidence almost certainly relates to closed communities and tells us nothing about the linguistic realities of early medieval Wales, Cornwall or Glastonbury beyond the monastery walls. Furthermore, the case of *De raris fabulis* relates very clearly to an educational context, and more particularly to an elementary-teaching context, while, for example, the glossing on Ovid's *Ars amatoria* in Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4.32 is suggestive of a less elementary teaching environment. On the other hand, the compilation of glossing and commentary evident in the Juvencus manuscript seems in part related to a much more learned level of engagement with these different languages, though there is a great deal of elementary grammatical glossing (such as the marking of cases) as well.[68] They also in their different ways draw attention to the methodological difficulties of exploring multilingualism in these contexts. Our British scribes may well be offering us evidence of multidialectalism rather than multilingualism and in some instances perhaps not even that – perhaps just different ways of spelling. St Dunstans' Classbook (Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4.32) seems to offer rich resources for the seeker after evidence for multilingualism, but the compilatory nature of the manuscript requires that each section has to be treated separately and so, for our purposes at least, the cumulative impact of all the languages in this manuscript is somewhat reduced. Yet when we do encounter detailed evidence, such as the 'portmanteau' glosses in Juvencus, it is so specific to its context that it is difficult to know how to generalise from it.

5 EARLY INSULAR INSCRIPTIONS FROM WEST WALES

So far we have been discussing cases where our focus has been on the spoken vernaculars beside a learnt Latin and on the role of the vernacular in the learning of Latin in Britain and Northern Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. At the beginning of this chapter I contrasted Britain and parts of Northern Europe, where Latin was a learnt language, with those parts of Europe where Latin had been spoken for centuries, and where the Romance descendants of Latin continued to be spoken. In fact, a further, and finer, distinction might be drawn between Britain (or at least parts of Britain within the Roman Empire), where Latin had once been spoken but

[68] McKee 2000a: 50–51.

was no longer, and those parts of Europe beyond the edges of the Roman Empire where Latin had never been spoken. If we now stay in Wales, and in western Britain more generally, but move back in time towards the end of a Roman presence in Britain, we enter a period when Latin, rather than being a superstrate language, was becoming substrate and indeed arguably was on the way to extinction, and there we find that the linguistic parameters were different.

In his description of Britain in the first half of the eighth century, Bede claimed that there were five languages in Britain: English, British, Irish, Pictish, Latin.[69] In Wales in the fifth and sixth centuries there is evidence for three, British, Irish, Latin, in the form of some 144 inscriptions, mainly from the western half of Wales. Patrick Sims-Williams has recently argued that, contrary to previous views which tended to downplay the Irish presence, up to 75 per cent of the names in these inscriptions are Irish in some way: for example, some are written in the Ogam script, or contain names with Irish features, such as the *-a-* composition vowel between the two elements of a compound name (as opposed to *-o-* in British), e.g. British CVNOCENNI beside the Ogam form **CUNACENNI** on the same inscription from Trallwng (Brycheiniog),[70] or contain Irish name elements which are never attested in Brittonic, e.g. the first element of NEFROIHI and NEPRANI which corresponds to Irish **NETTA**-, Old Irish *Nad-*.[71]

These inscriptions provide a rich body of evidence with which to explore the realities of spoken Irish, British and Latin at this period. For example, John Koch has argued on the basis of this evidence for the simultaneous collapse of a case-system in both British Latin and British predating the loss of final syllables;[72] the evidence in question is provided by forms such as VASSO : *uassus*, ADQUAE : *atque*, IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM : *congerie*, CIVE : *ciuis*, CONSOBRINO : *consobrinus*, MULTITVDINEM : *multitudine*, where the weakening of final consonants has brought about a confusion of the classical case-endings.[73] Thomas Charles-Edwards has used this, together with examples like CORBALENGI IACIT

[69] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.1 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 16–17); for discussion, see Sims-Williams 2002; Falileyev 2003; for a detailed linguistic discussion based on the evidence of these inscriptions, see Sims-Williams 2003; for the social context, see Redknap 1995 and Handley 1998, 2001.

[70] Nash-Williams 1950: 81 (§70); Tedeschi 2005: 106–107 (Gse-17); Redknap and Lewis 2007: 242–245 (B45). It is conventional to print Ogam script in **bold**.

[71] For NEFROIHI, see Redknap and Lewis 2007: 302–305 (G27); for NEPRANI, see Okasha 1993: 271–273 (38 Tavistock (Devon) 1). For details, see Sims-Williams 2002: 31.

[72] For this important article, see Koch 1982–1983; on the loss of endings, cf. also Hamp 1975.

[73] The form preceding the colon is found in the inscriptions, that following is the expected classical form in the context.

ORDOVS 'C. lies [*sc.* here], a member of the Ordovices' (where in classical terms CORBALENGI has a genitive singular ending even though it is the subject of the verb and should agree with ORDOVS), to argue that Latin was still a spoken language at this period.[74] James Adams, on the other hand, has used the latter type of evidence to argue that spoken Latin had in fact died out and these inscriptions reflect a mechanical application of ill-understood rules and case-forms, perhaps modelled on the pattern of Irish case-endings in the parallel Ogam inscriptions.[75] The argument is on-going, but one of the main defining features of Brittonic languages is that they lost both final syllables and their case-system (though traces of cases survive in adverbial phrases and some place names in all the Brittonic languages).[76] This may be contrasted with Irish, on the one hand, which also lost its final syllables but kept a case-system and, on the other, with some Romance languages, such as Italian and Spanish, which retained some final syllables (or at least the vowels of them) but lost their case-systems. The VASSO : *uassus* type of evidence suggests that a similar reduction was taking place in British at the same time, but only if both Latin and British (and in Wales probably Irish as well) were still spoken languages. We also know that Latin loanwords into Brittonic languages can take a number of different forms and not all of them reflect a purely classical version of the language;[77] for example, we might compare Welsh *cafell* 'chancel' and *cawell* 'basket', both from Latin *cauella*, but with the former representing the non-classical pronunciation of *-u-* as /v/, and the latter the classical pronunciation as /w/.

When Gildas, writing in a highly educated literary Latin, launches a diatribe against the Welsh king, Maelgwn, with the vocative, *Maglocune*, he is

[74] Charles-Edwards 1995: 716–718. For the inscription, see Nash-Williams 1950: 102 (§126); Tedeschi 2005: 159–160 (G50-41); Edwards 2007: 184–188 (CD28). We may also note the intriguing fact that CORBALENGI has an Irish name (*-a-* composition vowel, and surviving as Old Irish *Corbleng*) but can identify himself as a member of the Ordovices, a British tribe from north Wales.

[75] Adams 2007: 616–620. It is worth pointing out that not all of these inscriptions have parallel Ogam versions, and furthermore Latin inscriptions of this type are found in areas where there is no evidence for an Irish presence; see the reply to Adams in Charles-Edwards forthcoming.

[76] For place names, see below. Too much emphasis has perhaps been laid on the adverbial phrases as evidence for the survival of cases; they can be used as evidence for a case-system at an earlier phase of the history of the Brittonic languages, but we know that. The critical question is how long they survived as functional markers, and the adverbial forms are less helpful for that; for example, Middle Welsh *beunyd* 'every day' is a reflex of the accusative singular phrase */pa:pon diu̯on/, hence the internal -/n/- from a nasalised -/d/-, but its very survival probably suggests that it had become fixed before the reduction of final syllables reached the VASSO stage.

[77] On the long and energetic debate about the form of Latin loanwords into Brittonic languages, see Jackson 1953: 76–121; Gratwick 1982; for comments from the sidelines, see Charles-Edwards 1984; McManus 1984b; Russell 1985.

unwittingly telling us something very interesting about the current state of British and British onomastics and his control of them:[78] *Maelgwn* is the Welsh reflex of the oblique stem **maglo-kun-* (literally 'lord-hound'); the corresponding nominative singular was **maglo-kū*. In Celtic consonant-stem nouns (as in other Indo-European languages), the vocative singular followed the nominative stem, not the oblique stem. Gildas' vocative is not only based on the oblique stem but uses the Latin second declension ending *-e*; the implication then is that for Gildas the nominative of this name was **Maglo-kunos*, whence a Latin vocative *Maglocune*, and that some process of thematisation of consonant-stem nouns was already under way in British.[79] We might wonder then whether the immediate predecessors of Welsh *ciwed* 'rabble' and *ciwdod* 'crowd, people' were the classical-looking forms, *ciuitās* and *ciuitāt-* (the oblique stem) respectively, or semantically differentiated British forms, such as **ciuita* and **ciuitāta*. In other words, it is important that, when considering the parallel processes of loss of case and declension in British and Latin, we maintain the distinction between case and declension. While final syllables might have become indistinct and some cases may have fallen out of use sooner than others (perhaps, for example, datives were less necessary as they were replaced by prepositional markers), a minimal case-system could have continued, but at the same time declensional distinctions could have been collapsing. Peter Schrijver has observed, on the basis of Breton *breo* 'quern' beside Welsh *breuan* representing the original nominative and oblique stems of a Brittonic **brāwū* (nominative), **brāwōn-* (oblique) respectively, that more than one case must have been preserved into late Brittonic.[80] We might both compare and contrast this situation with Old French, where two cases were preserved; however, the two cases which survived into Old French, were the nominative and accusative, while the others came to be expressed prepositionally. But in British it is not immediately clear which cases beside the nominative survived longest; we may hazard that, since the genitive is never marked prepositionally in Welsh (except for *o* 'of, from' being used in a partitive sense) and since the use of prepositions in genitival expressions in Cornish and Breton seems to be relatively late and observably replacing a pattern like that of Welsh, it is likely that the genitive survived longer

[78] Gildas, *De excidio Britonum* §33 (ed. Winterbottom 1978: 102). On Gildas' education, see Lapidge 1984.

[79] Compare also the Old Welsh plural *-ein* < **-anī*; the original locus seems to have been neuter nouns and so we must assume a shift from an *n*-stem nominative/accusative plural to an *o*-stem plural; see Stüber 1998: 28–29.

[80] Schrijver 2002: 96–97.

than others. We might also look to the supporting evidence of the early forms of place names such as *Cair Teim* (*Historia Brittonum*) 'Cardiff' where *Teim* seems to reflect the genitive of the river-name *Taf* < **Tam-*, or *Pentyrch* where *-tyrch* seems to reflect a genitive of *twrch* 'boar'.[81] Admittedly, accusatives and datives are less likely to be encountered in place names, but when we set this beside the predominance of nominatives and genitives in the inscriptions from Wales and the fact that they were being used one in place of the other, the evidence might be pointing in the same direction, that the nominative and genitive were the two cases still in full use.[82] Furthermore, it is striking that in the evidence listed above, when it comes to using the other cases, difficulties arise and, while in part they will probably arise from phonetic weakening of the final syllables, unfamiliarity with those case-forms might also have played a part.

The glimpes, then, which we have of British Latin and of the undifferentiated Brittonic language in the centuries after 'the departure of Rome' from Britain are meagre but support the idea that Latin continued to be spoken for several centuries alongside British and that they arguably shared a number of developments. If so, this probably indicates a high degree of bilingualism at a period when Latin was no longer the dominant language.

6 ROMAN BRITAIN

Our final view comes geographically from the fringes of the Roman Empire and chronologically from the period when Roman control of Britain was beginning to fade in the fourth and fifth centuries, although it also glances towards our starting point in the Germanic world. Over the last decade or so, this period and geographical area have become, depending on one's view, a methodological playground, testing-ground and/or battlefield for theories of language contact, bilingualism and multilingualism.[83] Not only do we have to deal with the changing relationship between speakers of Latin and British but also in the post-Roman period with the arrival of speakers of the Germanic language which was to become Old English. Had

[81] Koch 1982–1983: 209–210; for *Cair Teim*, see Jackson 1938: 52.

[82] Adams (2007: 616–620) may therefore be right that there was confusion between these two cases, perhaps partly due to their occurrence side by side in commemorative contexts, but that does not necessarily mean that Latin had died out.

[83] For the range of the discussion, see Evans 1983; Tristram 2002, 2007; Russell 2011b and the essays collected in Filppula, Klemola and Pitkänen 2002 (especially Schrijver 2002 and Poppe 2002); Tristram 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006 and Higham 2007 (especially Coates 2007 and Schijver 2007).

it not been for the arrival of English, it is likely that the language of south-east Britain, the most Romanised part of the country, would eventually have developed into a version of northern Romance perhaps very similar to French.[84] Scholars have also noted that Celtic loanwords in Old English are remarkably few and far between but intriguingly more Celtic features have been identified, or at least argued for, in Middle English than in Old English.[85] What is in little doubt, however, is that the immediately post-Roman period in Britain was probably one of bilingualism at the very least and that the languages involved and the relative statuses of those languages might well have varied significantly in different parts of Britain. Two phases may be roughly distinguished in this period. The first, which would have been a continuation of the situation in Roman Britain itself, would have involved British Latin and British. The second (in south-east Britain at least) would have involved the inter-relationship between speakers of British Latin and/or British and speakers of Germanic languages, and it is this phase which has recently been attracting considerable attention from scholars not least because it opens up the field to scholars of Germanic languages as well as to Celticists and Classicists.

What follows focuses on the earlier phase but will do no more than draw attention to some of the issues, many of which require much more detailed treatment than can be provided here. The most recent significant study in this field has been by Schrijver.[86] Basing his arguments on the work of Sarah Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, who claimed that *typically* a superstrate language primarily donates lexical items to the substrate, while a substrate language primarily influences the morphosyntax of the superstrate, Schrijver argued that in moving from the Roman period to the post-Roman period there had been a shift in the relationship between British and Latin such that, while in the Roman period Latin has been the superstrate language and British the substrate, later it shifted so that Latin became the substrate and British the superstrate.[87] Thus, most lexical items entered British from Latin in the Roman period, and there was morpho-syntactical influence by British on Latin caused by British speakers learning Latin.[88]

[84] For the Latin and Romance context, see the general studies by Herman 1975; Väänänen 1981; and more specifically on the interface between Celtic and late Latin, Schrijver 1998–2000, 2005.

[85] Cf. the essays in Filppula, Klemola and Paulasto 2008, and in Filppula and Klemola 2009 (especially Schrijver 2009).

[86] Cf. especially Schrijver 2002, more briefly expressed in Schrijver 2007.

[87] See in particular Thomason and Kaufman 1988; cf. also Thomason 2001, 2004; Tristram 2002: 114–117, 2007: 193–203.

[88] For loanwords from Latin into Brittonic languages, see Loth 1892; Lewis 1943; Haarmann 1970 (in Welsh), 1973 (in Breton); Zimmer 1990a, 2002. For parallel discussions of Latin loanwords in Old

In the south-eastern parts of Britain, then, it was this British-influenced form of Latin which was encountered by speakers of English; lexical items were not borrowed because that is not what superstrate languages do, but it is possible that British morpho-syntactic features which had been taken over into the Latin of Roman Britain by speakers of British who had learnt Latin were carried into English. From the point of view of British, the crucial point in Schrijver's argument is that in the post-Roman period speakers of Latin (albeit heavily influenced by British) migrated into the 'Highland' zone where they learnt British. Latin eventually died out in the 'Highland' zone but, as the substrate language for a period, exerted a substrate morpho-syntactic influence on British.

A number of questions are raised by this scenario. This is not the place to rehearse the arguments about the 'end of Roman Britain' as a historical debate, but it is the case that the 'Highland/Lowland' distinction is almost certainly too crude to be of real value. If we look at physical indicators of Romanisation in Britain, such as, for example, distribution of villas, road networks, urbanisation, and in particular the presence of significantly militarised areas, not only Hadrian's Wall but also fortresses and other indicators of a military presence, and make an assumption that such areas would also indicate a high proportion of Latin speakers, south Wales, for example, begins to look very 'Lowland' and the higher parts of the Chilterns rather 'Highland'.[89] In other words, a simple geographical split will probably not do. We should also constantly remind ourselves that neither British nor Latin should be regarded as monolithic linguistic entities: the British spoken north of Hadrian's Wall, for example, was probably very different from that spoken in the south-west peninsula (and we do not know whether British was spoken at all by the late Roman period in the south-east). Furthermore, there would have been several varieties of Latin spoken, depending on the level of influence from British, not to mention the Latin spoken by a newly arrived legate and his staff from Rome or at a later stage by a newly trained priest from southern Gaul. Schrijver does acknowledge that south-west British, the ancestor of Cornish and Breton, seems to have been more Latinate in its phonology than languages further north, but similar considerations would apply *mutatis mutandis* to forms of British spoken in the north in and around the military settlements. That of course brings us to another issue – the various contexts of linguistic contact, whether civilian or military, commercial, educational, etc. In other

Irish (where a more nuanced picture can be discerned), see McManus 1983, 1984a. For discussions of the sociolinguistic situation in Britain, see Mann 1971; Hamp 1975; Adams 2007: 577–623.

[89] See, for example, Sargent 2002.

words, matters are always going to be more complicated and, although one single model might be helpful in pointing us in particular directions, it may well not give us the whole picture.

Furthermore, the Thomason and Kaufman model does not simply work on superstrate/substrate patterns of influence but also has to do with the size of the groups, typological distance, markedness, factors of time, levels of bilingualism (role of imperfect and perfect learning) and so on, all of which will have some role to play here. Schrijver's version of the model where loanwords only ever 'drip down' from the superstrate language requires us to assume that all the Latin loanwords (apart from those that are demonstrably late) in Brittonic languages must have entered British during the Roman occupation of Britain when Latin was dominant. A simple counter-example to that would be technical vocabulary, which often seems to buck the trend, such as all the Gaulish words for wheeled vehicles borrowed into Latin. Furthermore, Latin remained dominant in ecclesiastical registers for much longer and, given the significant proportion of Latin loanwords in British which belong to that context, we might think that the transference of loanwords went on for very much longer, perhaps in gradually narrowing contexts.[90] Furthermore, the epigraphic evidence from Wales from the fifth and sixth centuries (and indeed continuing long after that) suggests that in particular contexts Latin did not die out in this period at all. We have also seen the teaching of Latin going on in ninth- and tenth-century Cornwall and Wales. It seems to me that, if only the evidence were available, models involving graded levels of relative ethnolinguistic vitality would probably prove much more useful for this kind of scenario.

A more specific question arises about Schrijver's concentration on phonology. Morpho-syntactic features are a cornerstone of the second part of Schrijver's argument; the only evidence he has for Latin being a substrate language in the 'Highland' zone is the morpho-syntactic influence which it had on British. Yet, while a list of features is presented, they are nowhere discussed.[91] Three features are mentioned: (a) loss of case-system (via a reduced case-system); (b) loss of neuter gender; and (c) the development of pluperfect in the Brittonic languages. More could be added, but here I shall restrict myself to a few observations on these three. The loss of cases has been discussed above and, while it is possible that this happened *pari passu* in British and Latin, it is by no means clear that we have to assume that Latin was leading the way even though we know that a similar change happened in other areas where a north-western Romance form of

[90] For an important discussion, see Smith 1983.

[91] Schrijver 2002: 96–97, 2007: 167; Russell 2011b.

Latin was being spoken (resulting in Old French).[92] The difficulty is that, as was pointed out above, in Old French the nominative and accusative survived, while an argument can be made for suggesting that in British the nominative and genitive survived longest. That might present a problem if, as Schrijver suggests, British Latin shared north-western Romance features with the Latin of northern Gaul.[93] We know very little about the loss of the neuter gender, but given that it happened in Irish as well (even though a little later), it might be thought to be a tendency within the Celtic languages and have nothing to do with Romance. For example, given that in the extant Brittonic languages nasalisation is not used as a frequent morpho-syntactic marker (unlike in Irish), neuter *o*-stems, for example, would not have been clearly distinguished from masculine *o*-stem nouns, and so the two categories might well have merged. Moreover, it is not clear that we know when the neuter disappeared in Romance languages anyway, and for the argument to hold we would want evidence that its disappearance in early Romance pre-dated or was contemporary with it disappearing in British. Furthermore, there are different ways in which such influence could occur (if it did occur). For example, if the neuter was disappearing from Late Latin, one possibility might be that the number of neuter nouns being borrowed into British would be severely outnumbered by masculine and feminine nouns and perhaps that statistical imbalance in British could have brought about the merging of neuter nouns into the other genders.[94]

At first sight, the development of the pluperfect, a feature which arose in all the Brittonic languages but not in Irish, looks more promising. A Latin origin was first proposed by Proinsias Mac Cana, who argued that the characteristic pattern of using the *s*-preterite stem plus endings of the imperfect to create a pluperfect, e.g. Middle Welsh *carasswn*, *carassut*, *carassei* 'I, you, he had loved', Middle Cornish *carsen*, *carses*, *carse*, Middle Breton *carsenn*, *carses, carse*, could be attributed to Latin influence, broadly on the model of *amauerat*, etc.[95] However, two problems immediately spring to mind. First, to judge from the evidence

[92] On the Old French declension and the collapse of Latin declension, see now Maiden 2011: 159–167; Sornicola 2011: 18–35.

[93] Cf. also Ternes 1998.

[94] For a general discussion on the loss of gender, see Corbett 1991: 315–318; for Romance, see Maiden 2011: 167–174.

[95] Mac Cana 1976; for the forms, see generally Pedersen 1909–1913: II 370–374; Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 295–298; for Middle Welsh, Evans 1964: 114, 127–128; for Middle Cornish, Lewis 1946: 55; for Middle Breton, Lewis and Piette 1966: 46; Hemon 1975: 192–194; for Old Breton, cf. Fleuriot 1964: 310. For the pluperfect in Romance, see Togeby 1966.

of all the Romance languages, the pluperfect became a periphrastic tense relatively early in the history of Latin, taking the form of the imperfect of *habere* plus the past participle; forms such as *amauerat* had developed to /aˈma:rat/ and so become unclear.[96] It is unlikely, therefore, that *amauerat* or the like existed in British Latin, except perhaps at a high literary level where it would have had little impact on the spoken language. Secondly, even if it had existed at the right period, it is difficult to see how it could have acted as the model for *carassei* which cannot be interpreted as a preterite stem plus the imperfect of the verb 'to be'. That said, the general proposition that the Brittonic pluperfects have been created under the influence of Latin is still worth pursuing (though this is not the place to do it); it is just that the Mac Cana model cannot work.[97]

These observations raise a series of methodological issues which can only briefly be encapsulated here. One of the difficulties with questions of language contact and multilingualism in the past is that we can observe numerous situations where we strongly suspect that our speakers were operating in more than one language. The problem, as has been observed several times in this chapter, is that it is very difficult to take things further unless there is the right kind of evidence to hand. And even when it is to hand, the irony and the paradox are that it is so specific (because it needs to be) that it is difficult to be sure how far one can generalise from it. It is vital, therefore, that the methodological bar be set very high.[98] For example, if the feature under consideration as a candidate for borrowing from Latin is attested in Old Irish as well as in the Brittonic languages, then it is probably a Common Celtic or Insular Celtic feature, and Latin can be supposed to have had nothing to do with it. It follows then that substrate/superstrate influence should only be contemplated if the feature cannot be explained as an internal development, although in some cases the work has yet to be done on the feature in Celtic languages to be sure that it did arise internally. Similarly, if we are to think of a feature as having arisen in British (as opposed to later in one or more of the Brittonic languages), it must be attested in Welsh and at least one of Cornish and Breton (and preferably in the earlier stages of these languages). The development of the feature should be sufficiently specific and not so general that it could happen independently in any language at any time; that is why the case of the Brittonic pluperfect looks so tantalising. Furthermore, the

[96] Cf. Salvi 2011: 327–334. [97] For further discussion, see Russell 2011b.
[98] For some challenging thoughts along these lines, see Isaac 2003.

chronology needs to be right – the change must have already happened in the donor language before it occurs in the receiving language or be happening simultaneously – and finally, however entrenched our suspicions that contact is going on, there needs to be the right kind of evidence to make it worth discussing.

CHAPTER 10

Towards an archaeology of bilingualism
On the study of Greek–Coptic education in late antique Egypt

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1 INTRODUCTION

The modern study of ancient education, traditionally a text-based endeavour, recently found itself in the archaeological spotlight with the discovery at Kom el-Dikka, Alexandria, of a row of buildings (auditoria) believed to have functioned as the classrooms of an academic complex in late antiquity.[1] This discovery provides an appropriate starting point for considering some of the problems in reconstructing Greek–Coptic educational practices in late antique Egypt, roughly between the fourth and seventh centuries AD. Although the interpretation of these buildings rests tenuously on indirect literary and iconographic evidence, the classroom function has come to be accepted as an established 'fact'.[2] Such thinking, a kind of 'railroading epistemology', captures the way in which modern scholarship has pursued the study of education in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt,[3] and therefore the present chapter, at its most foundational level, aims at problematising the situation, with specific reference to bilingual learning in Greek and Coptic and to the physical spaces in which such activities took place.[4] To do so, it is first necessary to examine the discipline of papyrology, which is responsible for the bulk of the scholarly literature on the topic, and

[1] See the collection of studies presented in Derda, Markiewicz and Wipszycka 2007. See Fig. 10.1 for the Egyptian sites mentioned in this chapter.

[2] For a discussion of this evidence, see Majcherek 2007: 38–41.

[3] The term 'railroading epistemology' was originally coined by the distinguished scholar of science studies, Donna Haraway (1988), and was adopted by Near Eastern archaeologist Michelle Bonogofsky (2003) in her reappraisal of Neolithic plastered skulls from Jericho and other sites in the southern Levant. As Bonogofsky explains it, 'once an interpretation is made it is accepted without question by others who in turn build upon the now-assumed facts without a critical examination of the new, much less old, data' (2003: 7).

[4] The issue of Greek–Coptic learning taps into the much wider discourse on the study of ancient bilingualism. For bilingualism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see most recently Dickey 2009; Fournet 2009; Thompson 2009.

its relationship to archaeology, given the identity of papyrological materials as archaeological objects.

Papyrology emerged in the late nineteenth century, when large numbers of texts began to be recovered from various Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine sites primarily in Egypt and elsewhere in the Near East, along with some rather exceptional European finds.[5] These texts were written in a wide range of languages and scripts, notably Greek, Latin and the various forms of ancient Egyptian, including Demotic and Coptic.[6] Broadly defined, the discipline may be said to embrace not only portable texts, such as those written on papyrus, parchment, wood, pottery and limestone (the last two referred to as ostraca), but also non-portable texts that occur as inscriptions in one form or another.[7] Although the study of inscriptions has its own well-established discipline, epigraphy, there is considerable overlap between the two fields, especially in terms of presenting editions of graffiti.[8] As the case study of Deir el-Bahri discussed below illustrates, portable and non-portable textual finds may be used together to provide a more integrated perspective on writing activities at a given site.

Historically, the relationship between papyrology and archaeology has not been very intimate, and only in the past twenty years or so have there been sustained efforts to look at papyrological texts as the archaeological objects that they indeed are. These efforts have taken various forms, including convening special workshops, journal articles dedicated to the subject, and archaeological introductions to editions of excavated texts.[9] Even now, however, there is still a lack of fundamental research on the

[5] For introductory material, see especially Turner 1980, 1982; Bagnall 1995; Gascou 2009; Keenan 2009; Sider 2009.

[6] For background, see Bagnall 1993: 230–260, 1995: 17–31.

[7] On the portable texts and the various materials used for their production, see Bülow-Jacobsen 2009.

[8] On the discipline of epigraphy as it pertains generally to the study of the Graeco-Roman world, see especially Millar 1983 and Bodel 2001. For important collections of Greek inscriptions from Graeco-Roman Egypt, see the list provided for Egypt and Nubia in the electronic database of the Packard Humanities Institute 2010. An overview of Coptic inscriptions is provided by Krause 1991. Some examples of papyrological editions that include Greek or Coptic graffiti are *P.Mon.Epiph.*, *P.Horak*, *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.*, *O.Mon.Phoib.* and *O.Oasis*. For the use of the term 'graffiti' and an overview of the study of such finds from ancient Egypt, see Peden 2001: xix–xxii; Navrátilová 2007: 15–24; Cruz-Uribe 2008; Baird and Taylor 2011b. In the present work, the term refers to all informal texts and figures that have been subsequently added to an existing architectural element, typically a wall. Epigraphers often distinguish between etched products ('graffiti') and painted ones ('dipinti'), for example Łajtar 2006: 87.

[9] For example, Bagnall 1988; van Minnen 1994; Bingen 1996; MacCoull 1998; Römer 2004; Gagos, Gates and Wilburn 2005; Bucking 2006b; and the papyrological editions of *P.Kellis* I–VI; *O.BuDjem*; *O.Claud.* I–III; *O.Elkab*. In the past decade or so, the discipline of epigraphy has likewise been devoting more attention to the archaeological settings of inscriptions and graffiti, for example Morrison and Lycett 1997; Russell 1999; Talbot 1999; Darnell 2002; Rutherford 2003; Baird and Taylor 2011a; Mullen and Wilson, this volume.

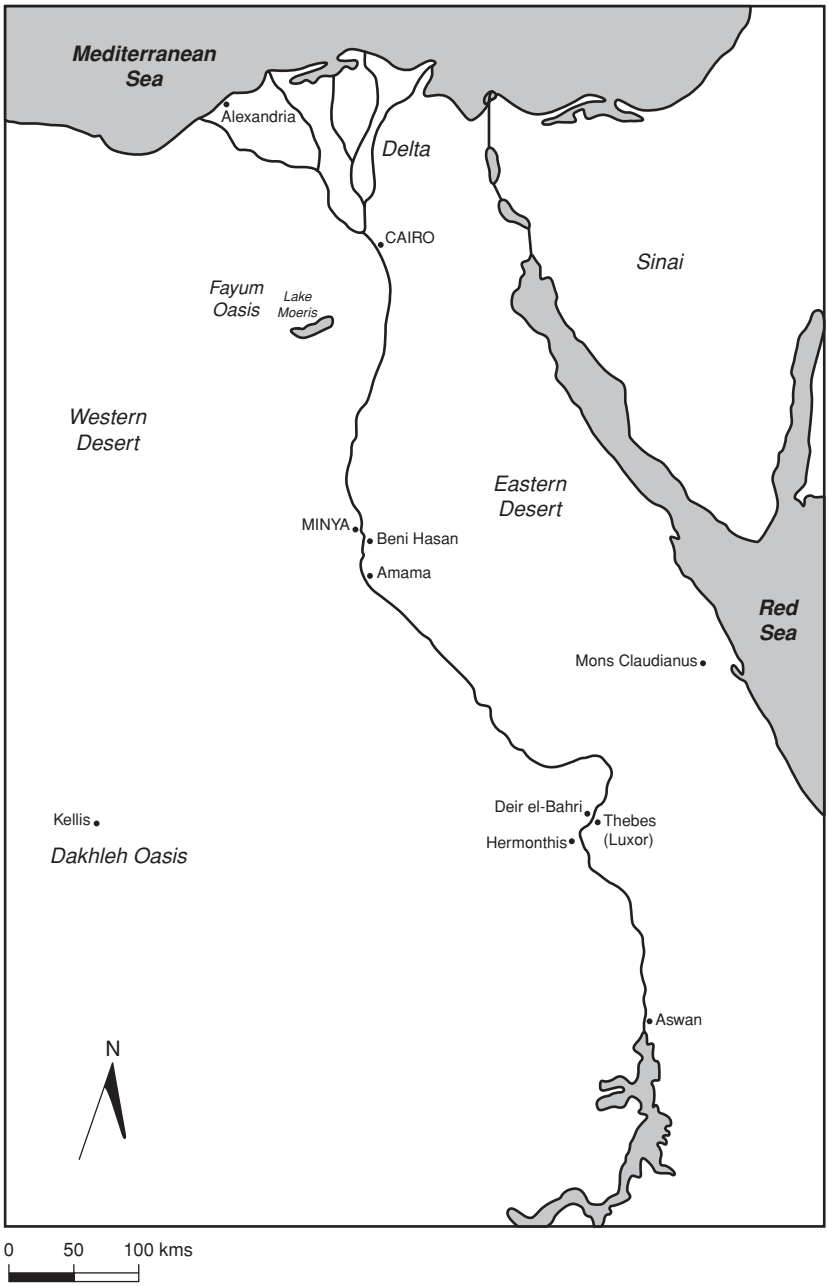


Figure 10.1 Map of Egypt, showing sites mentioned in the chapter.

theoretical and methodological principles that would aid in better defining the various questions and problems arising from an interdisciplinary approach to papyrological materials. Highlighting some of the larger disciplinary and interdisciplinary concerns meshes well with one of the major themes of this volume – namely, delineating the role of archaeology in the study of ancient literacy and bilingualism. Once on the table, these issues can be applied to an examination of papyrological texts associated with educational activities and, more specifically, with bilingual learning.

2 CONSTRUCTING MEANINGS AND CONTEXTS

The encounter between papyrology and archaeology may be viewed as a meeting of two very different worlds, namely the world of 'the word' and the world of 'the dirt' – the former encompassing the various papyrological texts that have survived from Graeco-Roman Egypt and the latter the archaeological landscapes from which these texts have been recovered. In her presidential address to the American Philological Association in 1995, Emily Vermeule eloquently expressed the relationship between the two worlds:

> The low esteem felt by classical philologists toward field archaeologists was a remnant of the medieval tradition by which those who dealt in Dirt were felt to practise the mechanical arts, while those who dealt in the Word belonged with the liberal arts. The liberal arts are still more highly prized in academic places than the mechanical arts; the Word is still generally felt to be more powerful than, as well as cleaner than, the Dirt.[10]

Although excavated papyri are in essence both 'word' and 'dirt', it is their identity as texts rather than as archaeological objects that has historically defined and driven the discipline of papyrology. In confronting the identity of texts as archaeological objects, papyrologists have to step outside their philological comfort zone into another disciplinary world. Archaeologists have been reflecting quite extensively on their own practice for several decades and have produced a vast literature with which papyrologists must now engage as they seek to broaden their own ideas about how meaning can be constructed from texts.[11]

[10] Vermeule 1996: 2.

[11] For surveys of archaeological method and theory, see Gosden 1999; Johnson 1999; Lucas 2001; Trigger 2006.

The question of archaeological meaning, which most fundamentally centres on bridging the gulf between present and past, speaks to the enormous challenge of using the static material remains excavated in the present to understand the cultural dynamics of a long-past society.[12] Two of the key concepts that help to address the question are those of context and human agency. For papyrological materials, this translates into understanding the circumstances surrounding the production, use and disposal of texts by individuals in particular spaces, that is, their systemic context, and how this systemic context relates to the archaeological context, that is, the specific find-spots in which these texts were excavated, if known. It is a formidable challenge that has yet to be taken up fully by papyrologists. Assyriology, another discipline that works with excavated texts, has also come face to face with the same issue.[13] In a recent study of clay cuneiform tablets excavated at the Syro-Anatolian city of Alalah, Eva von Dassow reflects on the problem:

> Every text was produced at a particular place and time, for some particular reasons and purposes; so, too, it was used, stored, or discarded for particular reasons at particular places and times. No more can the text logically be divorced from the location of its use or deposition than from the artifact on which it was written, or from the historical period during which it was written.[14]

In examining papyrological texts from late antique Egypt, it is helpful to bear in mind some of the broader issues concerning archaeological contexts. Such an examination places the texts back into the archaeological record, providing an important spatial dimension for analysing language use and the possible function(s) of texts. It also helps to draw attention to the dynamic relationship between agents (people) and artefacts (texts) at specific points in time and space.

Although both portable and non-portable texts present challenges in terms of identifying archaeological context, portable texts are more troublesome by their very nature, in that they can so easily be moved from place to place. This is especially the case for the lightweight materials of papyrus and parchment, which, as Colin Hope's research on Greek papyrus fragments from Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis illustrates, do not even require human agency to travel from structure to structure or room to room within a given structure: Hope determined that animals and wind contributed to the dispersal of several fragments of two leaves (A and B) of a Manichaean

[12] Johnson 1999: 14. [13] Matthews 2003: 56–64. [14] Von Dassow 2005: 2.

codex discovered in three different structures in Area A at the site, namely the North Building, House 1 and House 3. The fragments of Leaf A were found in the North Building and House 3, while those of Leaf B came from the North Building and House 1.[15]

A more exclusively human side of the problem concerns dumping – whether ancient or modern. For example, quite a few text-intensive sites, such as the South Sebakh outside the Roman fort at Mons Claudianus in the Eastern Desert,[16] have been classified as ancient rubbish heaps, complicating efforts to anchor textual finds to the specific physical settings in which they were produced or used. This also has some relevance to the study of bilingual education in Roman Egypt, as several of the ostraca excavated from the South Sebakh have been classified as school exercises: *O.Claud.* I.179–189 are written in Greek and *O.Claud.* I.190 in Latin. Given the nature of the archaeological context, it cannot be determined whether all of these ostraca originally came from one particular educational setting ('school') at the site.[17]

Another issue that impacts on the assessment of archaeological contexts is the multiple re-use of spaces in which texts have been found. This issue is considered further below in the case study of Deir el-Bahri to illustrate some of the problems associated with the study of Greek–Coptic education. The Deir el-Bahri materials also allow for the development of more integrated assessment strategies involving portable and non-portable texts, since both kinds of texts are represented at the site.

3 'SCHOOL' TEXTS FROM GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

Before presenting the case studies, it is necessary to discuss briefly the genre of papyrological materials known as school texts and to elucidate their role in the study of education in Graeco-Roman Egypt, especially with respect to bilingual learning. From the early days of papyrology, there has been great interest in school texts, much of it focused on the editing and cataloguing of the relevant texts,[18] although, as the recent books of

[15] Hope 1997. [16] Bingen 1996.

[17] In the rather uncritical view of the editor of *O.Claud.* I.179–190, 'the variety of school exercises makes it clear that a school master was giving elementary instruction at Mons Claudianus' (p. 169). Another issue is the identification of all the ostraca as exercises. Additional ostraca (*O.Claud.* II.409–416) found in deposits inside the fort have also been associated with a school at the site, but these deposits, too, seem to be mainly the result of dumping; see the archaeological summary in *O.Claud.* II (pp. 13–15).

[18] See Hesseling 1893; Milne 1908, 1923; Ziebarth 1913; Collart 1937; Husselman 1947. For representative literature from the second half of the twentieth century, see Zalateo 1961; Parsons 1970; Debut 1986; *P.Rain.Unterricht*; *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt*.

Raffaella Cribiore and Teresa Morgan illustrate, significant steps have also been taken to discuss them within broader social and historical contexts.[19] Three key issues inform the present discussion. The first concerns the initial identification of surviving papyrological materials as school texts and how, once this identification is made, it tends to be accepted without question by subsequent investigators, regardless of the obvious problems of the identification process itself; the second concerns the need for a more nuanced and critical perspective on school texts with bilingual elements; and the third involves developing a similar perspective when it comes to 'spatialising' school texts, namely placing them back into their ancient physical settings.

The first issue, which speaks again to 'railroading epistemologies', is well illustrated by an ostracon containing a Greek alphabet now in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The ostracon was purchased on the antiquities market during the winter of 1905–1906 at Luxor (ancient Thebes) by J. G. Milne, who also produced the first edition of the text and who initially classified it as a school text.[20] Milne's classification was reinforced in the subsequent catalogues of school texts produced by Giorgio Zalateo, Janine Debut and Cribiore,[21] all of whom do not offer any critical examination of function – an examination that is especially warranted given the complete lack of an archaeological context and the alternative functions of magical text and cryptogram proposed in the second edition of the ostracon (*O.Ont.Mus.* 1.65). Such thinking is wedded to certain preconceived ideas about the function of alphabet texts. For example, if one were shown a modern-day abecedarium, it would very likely be viewed as an educational tool, given that our school experiences as young children involved learning the various letters of the alphabet, and it is with this sort of 'pre-understanding' that papyrologists are inclined to approach similar texts from the ancient world, namely, they are seen as the products of schoolchildren learning the fundamentals of reading and writing. Thus, with regard to assessing these texts, 'our' meaning becomes 'their' meaning, and from this emerges a significant hermeneutical problem.[22]

[19] Cribiore 1996, 2001 and Morgan 1998. For earlier efforts, see Marrou 1956; Maehler 1983. Cribiore 1996 also contains the most recent catalogue of Greek school texts.

[20] Milne 1908: 121 (no. 1). [21] Zalateo 1961: no. 5; Debut 1986: no. 34; Cribiore 1996: no. 44.

[22] On hermeneutics in general, see Inwood 1998; on the notion of 'pre-understanding' in philosophy, see Inwood 2005. For the application of hermeneutics to archaeological interpretation, see Shanks and Hodder 1995; Gamble 2001: 36. Seebohm 2004: 55–92 discusses archaeology and papyrology as part of a study of hermeneutics from the perspective of nineteenth-century historians and philologists.

Given this problem, it could reasonably be argued that at least some of the alphabet texts regarded for many years by papyrologists as school texts had an entirely different function in ancient times. And although there is typically a lack of internal or external evidence to allow for definitive statements to be made regarding function – educational, ritual, or otherwise – the question still remains as to why this educational function has been accepted by the papyrological community as the default interpretation of these alphabet texts. One contributing factor is the use of ancient literary testimony to reinforce the preconceptions associated with abecedaria. Most often invoked is Book I of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, an elite Roman educational manual that is assumed to have informed activities in every corner of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Not discussed, however, is an equally compelling body of ancient literature concerning the ritual use of alphabets; although such literature has attracted scholarly attention outside papyrological circles since the early twentieth century, it has often been overlooked in the formal assessment of these kinds of texts.[23] The papyrological approach has also been largely uninformed by the more contextualised assessments of alphabet texts from other parts of the Hellenistic and Roman Near East (notably the southern Levant), some of which derive from funerary settings.[24]

Even in cases in which there is supporting evidence to argue persuasively for a non-educational function of abecedaria from Graeco-Roman Egypt, the educational interpretation tends to be 'railroaded' through in the papyrological literature. An excellent example is the sixth- or seventh-century AD wooden tablet in the Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels (inv. E 6801) that has been included in the most recent catalogue of school texts.[25] The Coptic alphabet is written six times on one side of the tablet,

[23] A notable exception is Fournet 2000. For early scholarship on the ritual use of alphabets, which includes surveys of extant inscriptions, see Dieterich 1901; Dornseiff 1922. Additional literary testimony is discussed in Bij de Vaate 1994: 155–156. See Frankfurter 1994 for an overview of the scholarship on letter magic since Dornseiff's 1922 publication. Christian use of abecedaria is addressed in Leclercq 1907. Another aspect of this use concerns Christian liturgical texts written as alphabetic acrostics: two notable examples (both from a monastic setting) are *P.Mon.Epiph.* 593 and *P.MorganLib.* 59; on the last, see Kuhn and Tait 1996, who also provide a discussion of this genre of texts. There is a growing body of literature on texts of ritual power that unpacks the fundamental issues of terminology and taxonomy, for example Gager 1987; Meyer and Smith 1994: 1–6; Mirecki and Meyer 2002, especially part 2.

[24] See especially Hachlili 1985: 507–511; Bij de Vaate 1994. The discovery of a number of Greek abecedaria from the seventh century BC at a sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos, reported in Langdon 1976: 17–19, suggests that the ritual use of Greek alphabets has its origins in the earliest phases of classical antiquity.

[25] Cribiore 1996: no. 169. The editor of the tablet, Préaux (1935), considered it to be an amulet. For additional bibliography, see *LDAB* 3365.

with each alphabet followed by the seven Greek/Coptic vowels, a feature that is highly characteristic of texts of ritual power, as attested by a number of surviving Coptic amulets.[26] On the other side of the tablet, also written six times, is Psalm 28:3 in Greek ('the voice of the Lord is upon the waters; the God of glory has thundered'). A portion of the same Psalm is attested on a fifth-century AD amulet from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* LXV.4469) in combination with the Letter of Abgar to Jesus, an apocryphal work frequently used as a text of ritual power in late antiquity.[27]

The second issue is also reflected in the Brussels tablet. Its Coptic and Greek elements raise questions concerning the nature of bilingual literacy, and although its educational function is at best uncertain, further attention needs to be given to the issue of how papyrology has addressed bilingual (particularly Greek–Coptic) texts that can more confidently be interpreted as having an educational function. Indeed, a more nuanced perspective may be helpful in interpreting exercises such as the one from the Bala'izah monastery (*P.Bal.* II.396 = *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 149).[28] The Greek elements of this exercise consist chiefly of names and documentary formulae that occur in Coptic texts, for example the invocation ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος (lines 6–7), and the exercise may therefore have more to do with the mechanical reproduction of such formulae than with acquiring Greek literacy.[29] Thus, papyrological notions of 'double education'[30] require significant problematising, and, as the present study suggests, one approach is to look at the production of Greek and Coptic 'school' texts at localised levels with the aid of archaeological data and other associated textual finds (portable and non-portable alike) – although, as we shall see in the case studies of Deir el-Bahri and Beni Hasan presented below, even this approach is not without its difficulties.

[26] For examples, see Meyer and Smith 1994: nos. 51, 61, 64, 71, 91. On the ritual power of the seven vowels, see Frankfurter 1994: 199–205. It is also possible that the Brussels tablet served both ritual and educational purposes, on which see Bucking 2006a: 67–68. An interesting parallel is provided by a group of texts of ritual power, all from the same workshop, that offers evidence of apprentice ritualists copying spells for practice purposes (Meyer and Smith 1994: 293–310).

[27] Elliott 1993: 538–542; Skemer 2006: 96–105; Blom, this volume.

[28] See Cribiore 1999: 282, in which the exercise is viewed as evidence that 'instruction in Greek and Coptic might occur in the same setting'.

[29] This idea is consistent with the date of *P.Bal.* II.396 (eighth century), when Greek was overshadowed by Coptic as a documentary language in Upper Egypt, especially in monastic settings such as Bala'izah (Sijpesteijn 2009: 453 n. 3). It is further supported by the relatively few Greek documents recovered from Bala'izah (*P.Bal.* II, p. 531). On the use of Greek invocations in Coptic documents, see Bagnall and Worp 1981; the invocation practised in *P.Bal.* II.396 is 25 in Bagnall and Worp's list (p. 123).

[30] The term was recently coined by Fournet 2009: 444.

The third issue brings us to the schoolrooms in which these texts have been placed by modern scholars. How have these spaces been identified? For the most part, they are papyrological constructs, built largely on the bases of the authority of the previously mentioned catalogues of school texts and ancient author testimonies. This is certainly the case for the above-mentioned Toronto ostracon, which, like many of the surviving school texts, does not derive from controlled excavations: its initial editor provides a rather imaginative tale concerning the original finder of the ostracon happening upon 'a spot where a schoolmaster of Thebes had taught his classes in the open air near a rubbish heap, on which material for writing exercises might be obtained in plenty, to be thrown away again as soon as used'.[31]

However, even when archaeological evidence is available and introduced, it does not always come with a full critical perspective, underscoring the need for some guiding principles for the use of such evidence in papyrological interpretation. A good illustration is afforded by recent finds of ostraca at a Coptic monastery in western Thebes built around a pharaonic period rock-cut tomb of the New Kingdom eighteenth dynasty (corresponding to the sixteenth century BC). This tomb, designated K93.11, was excavated between 1993 and 2000 by the German Institute of Archaeology in Cairo. It is in a part of western Thebes known as Dra' Abu el-Naga, which has a large concentration of pharaonic private tombs of officials and administrators. Quite a few of these tombs were reused in late antiquity as habitation places for Coptic monks, and K93.11 is one example. Archaeological excavation of the tomb's second forecourt revealed evidence of such habitation by Coptic monks, including a deposit of ostraca that contains a number of probable writing exercises, one of which is a name followed by the letters of the Greek alphabet arranged in a vertical column.[32] On the basis of these finds, it was concluded that there was a primary school in the second forecourt. What seems to be missing from this conclusion, however, is adequate consideration of the extent to which, as the archaeologist Michael Schiffer puts it, 'the spatial patterning of archaeological remains reflects the spatial patterning of past activities'.[33] Was there in fact a school in the second forecourt or did these ostraca wind up there as the result of some other sort of activity, such as dumping?

[31] Milne 1908: 121.
[32] For a preliminary report on these ostraca, see Burkard, Mackensen and Polz 2003: 62–64.
[33] Schiffer 1972: 156.

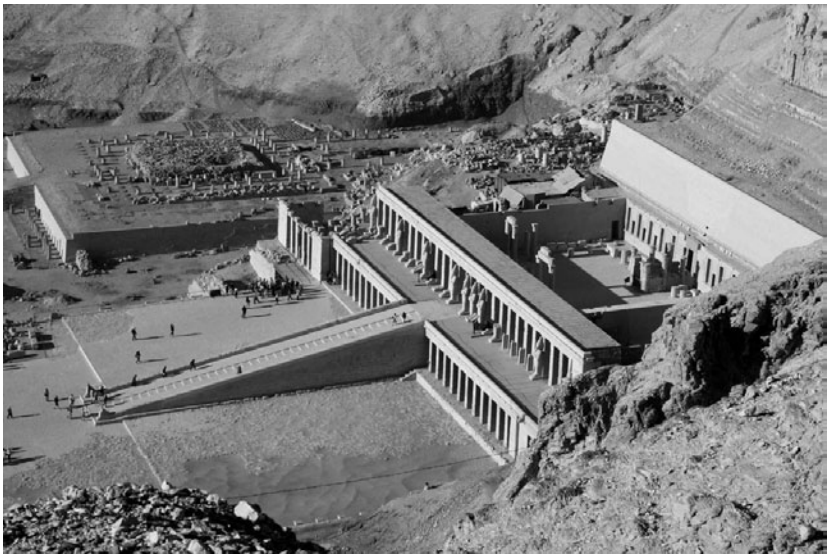


Figure 10.2 Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes: middle and upper terraces with connecting ramp (photo: D. Fafard).

4 Deir el-Bahri: alphabet texts and the multiple reuse of spaces

The site of Deir el-Bahri further highlights some of the challenges in interpreting the archaeological record with specific reference to the multiple reuse of spaces, and at the same time provides a valuable case study for problematising Greek–Coptic learning activities. Located on the West Bank of Luxor, it is most famous for its New Kingdom mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut constructed around 1450 BC on three levels connected by ramps (Fig. 10.2).[34] There is some uncertainty as to how long the temple continued to be in use in pharaonic times, but it seems to have finally been abandoned at some stage during the Late Period (664–525 BC). In the Ptolemaic period, however, the temple became a major cultic centre for the worship of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, and Imhotep, two important figures in pharaonic Egypt who had become deified and were associated with healing.[35] The architectural context of this cult is evident in the various modifications and additions that were made on the upper terrace during

[34] See Łajtar 2006: 3–11, with references.

[35] For background, see Łajtar 2006: 11–104.

the Ptolemaic period, notably the construction of the 'Ptolemaic sanctuary' with its associated reliefs and inscriptions.[36]

According to Adam Łajtar, who recently published an extensive study of the Hatshepsut temple in the Graeco-Roman period, this cult appears to have continued at the site on an organised basis until around the end of the second century AD, and numerous visitors' graffiti attest to its activity.[37] Dated graffiti from the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries AD suggest that the abandoned site was still visited by worshippers.[38] By the middle of the fourth century AD, however, all traces of cultic activity disappear, and some 250 years later, a Christian monastery dedicated to Saint Phoebammon was built on the upper terrace of the site.[39] The architectural remains of this monastery were present on the upper terrace until they were dismantled in 1894 during Edouard Naville's excavations of the Hatshepsut temple at the site.[40] Naville also recovered a large number of Coptic ostraca, many of which attest to the use of the monastery as an administrative office for Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis,[41] and around ninety Coptic graffiti, both textual and figural, have been subsequently documented.[42]

In 1951, André Bataille published a collection of the Greek graffiti from the Hatshepsut temple, among which were four alphabet graffiti found in various locations on the upper terrace (Fig. 10.3).[43] One was discovered in the first niche on the south-western side of the central court of the upper terrace (Bataille 101). The remaining three – Bataille 185, 187 and 188 – were found either inside or at the entrance of a corridor leading from the north-eastern corner of the central court to the Chapel of the Night Sun. Bataille 187 and 188 present a verse attested in the *Anthologia Palatina* (IX 538), which exhausts the letters of the alphabet.[44] Another alphabet graffito was reported by Łajtar on the north-western side of the central court, some eight metres from the Ptolemaic portico.[45]

Multiple reuse of the space certainly presents some challenges for interpreting these texts and assigning them to a particular period of occupation at the site. A number of factors may be considered in attempting to provide a more contextualised analysis, notably (1) the specific location of the

[36] Łajtar 2006: 31–36. [37] Łajtar 2006, especially 36–37, 80–94, 107–391.
[38] Łajtar 2006: 94–104. [39] See Godlewski 1986; Łajtar 2006: 103.
[40] See the reconstructions of the various monastic buildings in Godlewski 1986: 21–50.
[41] Godlewski 1986: 51–59, 153–160, with references. [42] Godlewski 1986: 91–107, 141–152.
[43] Bataille 1951. The four alphabet graffiti are referred to in this study by the catalogue numbers Bataille assigned to them: Bataille 101, 185, 187 and 188.
[44] For a catalogue of alphabet verses of this kind, see Fournet 2000: 67–70.
[45] Łajtar 2006: 382–383 (no. 314). Bataille 101 was also re-edited in Łajtar 2006: 237–239 (no. 156). All subsequent references to graffiti published in Łajtar 2006 are referred to by his numbers, for example Łajtar 314.

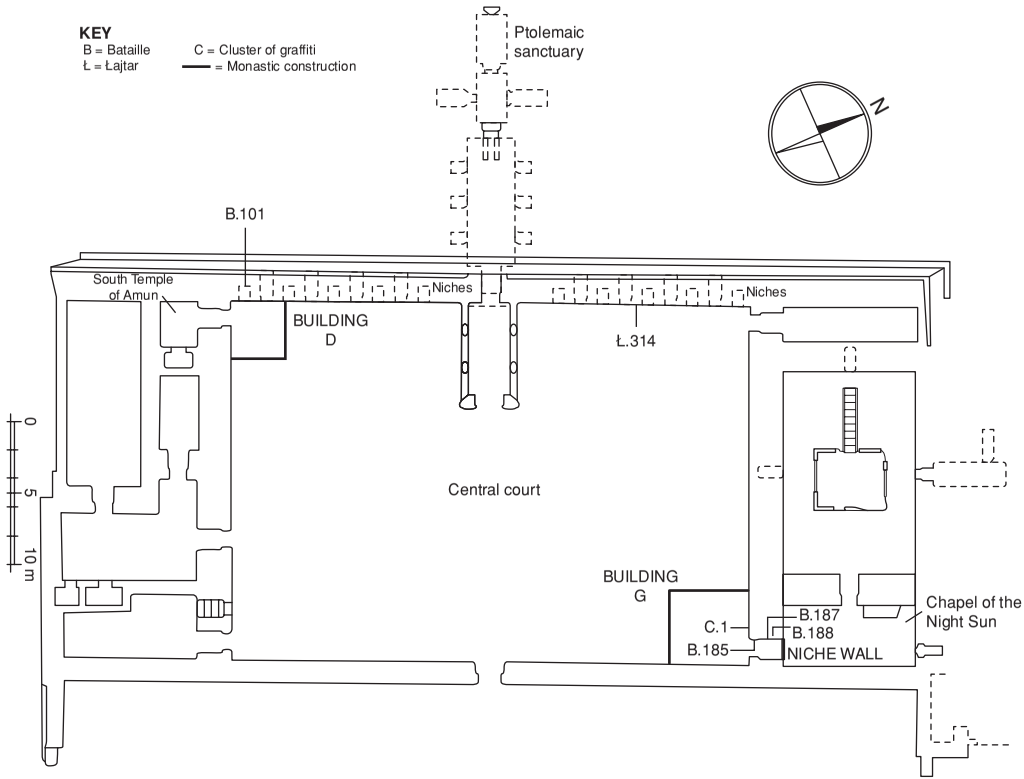


Figure 10.3 Plan of upper terrace of Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahri, showing locations of alphabetic graffiti (after Łajtar 2006: Fig. 2).

text within the complex; (2) the position of the text on the architectural feature, for example, how high up it is on a wall; (3) the size of the text and of the individual letters; (4) whether the text was etched into the surface or painted/inked on it; (5) the lighting available in ancient times for inscribing and viewing a particular text; and (6) additional finds, textual and otherwise, in the vicinity of the text and at the site in general.

While Łajtar takes a more cautious and nuanced approach to interpreting alphabet texts, the traditional papyrological approach has tended to view them as the products of schools.[46] Indeed, Bataille 185, 187 and 188 have been used to define a locus of educational activity during the reuse of the site as a monastery in the Coptic period; in light of the factors outlined above, however, a more comprehensive spatial analysis is clearly warranted.[47] Although such an analysis is complicated by Naville's wholesale clearance of Coptic buildings on the upper terrace, a complete mapping of the surviving graffiti, textual and figural, in architectural space would allow for a better identification and assessment of activity areas.[48] A few preliminary observations along these lines may be offered based on the present author's 2009 survey of the upper terrace.[49]

There are two architectural features of particular importance in analysing Bataille 185, 187 and 188 (Fig. 10.3). The first is the above-mentioned corridor leading from the north-eastern corner of the central court to the Chapel of the Night Sun (Fig. 10.4). During the Coptic period, this corridor functioned as a large niche (approximately 1.5 m wide and 2 m long) created by blocking off the entryway into the Chapel.[50] It was fronted by the second notable architectural feature, namely Building G, a structure of approximately 5 by 5 m abutting the northern wall of the central court (Fig. 10.5).[51] On the western wall of the niche are two alphabet verses written in some of the available space around the depictions of the deity

[46] Łajtar 2006: 237–239. For a similar conservative approach, see also Fournet 2000.

[47] See Bataille 1951: 132; Cribiore 2001: 24–25. Responding to Bataille's suggestion of a schoolroom scenario to explain these texts, Fournet 2000: 79 notes that 'il est malaise d'y avoir les traces d'une école locale' and raises the possibility of a ritual function, although he does not ground this possibility in any of the other relevant finds at the site.

[48] This integrated approach takes its inspiration from a growing body of literature on three-dimensional mapping techniques and their applications in art history, archaeology and epigraphy, for example el-Hakim, Fryer and Picard 2004; Meyer *et al.* 2006; Esser and Mayer 2007; Dorman 2008; de Santis 2009.

[49] This survey was conducted as part of a multi-site graffiti survey project that also included the site of Beni Hasan, discussed below. It was funded by a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship at the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE). The author wishes to thank Egypt's Ministry of State for Antiquities and the Permanent Committee of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) for facilitating access to the various sites.

[50] Godlewski 1986: 28.

[51] Godlewski 1986: 32–33, in which letters are assigned to the various reconstructed monastic buildings.

Figure 10.4 North-eastern corner of central court of upper terrace, Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahri, with arrows indicating locations of Bataille 185 and graffiti cluster C.1 (photo: S. Bucking).

Amun and the pharaoh Thutmose II in the large New Kingdom relief on this wall (Fig. 10.6).[52] One of the verses (Bataille 187) is 2 m from ground level and written between the forearm of Amun and the arm of Thutmose II; the other (Bataille 188) is 60 cm lower on the wall to the immediate left of the front leg of Amun. Both texts are written in red ink and reproduce a portion of the alphabet verse, ἀβροχίτων δ' ὁ φύλαξ θηροζυγοκαμψιμέτωπος ('Softly dressed is the guard who bends under the yoke the head of the wild beasts'). Although it is difficult to obtain secure readings of the entire texts, they seem to follow the standard version of the verse given in the *Anthologia Palatina* (IX 538). Most visible upon physical inspection were the initial alpha and χιτων of ἀβροχίτων in Bataille 187 and αβροχ in Bataille 188, but because of extreme fading since Bataille's documentation of the texts, as well as the original smearing of the red ink used to produce Bataille 187, the rest is more difficult to read. Certainly, as Bataille observed, both verses appear to be incomplete: Bataille 187 finishes with θηρο of θηροζυγοκαμψιμέτωπος, after which there are

[52] On the relief, see Naville 1895: 5, Pl. II.

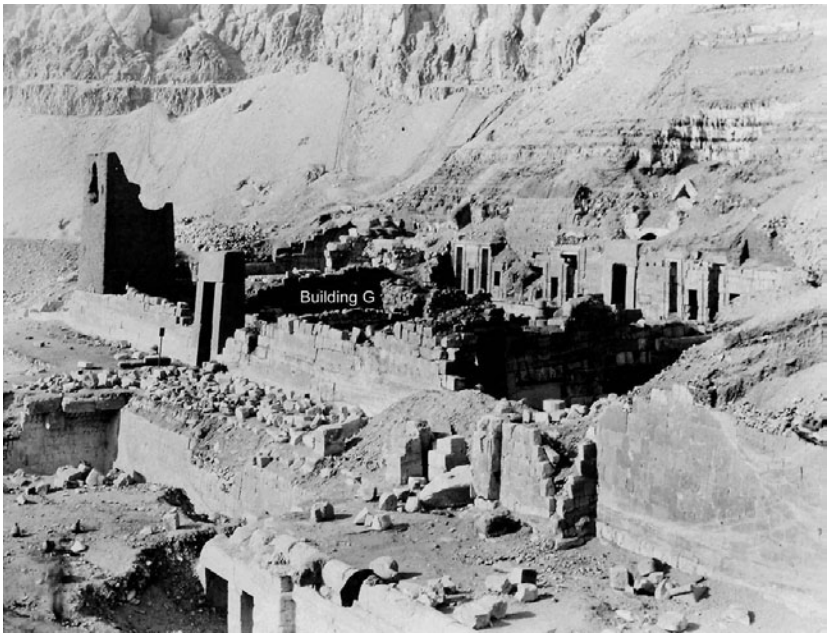


Figure 10.5 Upper terrace of Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahri, during Naville's excavations, with remains of Building G prior to their disengagement (Egypt Exploration Society, Carter 10, reproduced by kind permission of the Egypt Exploration Society).

only the slightest traces of four additional lines of a different text, and Bataille 188 ends with ἀβροχίτων, although some extremely faded traces suggest that the verse continued.[53]

Bataille 187	Bataille 188
αβρο	αβροχ
χιτων[54]	ιτων [?
δ ο φυλα-	
ξ θηρο[55]	
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
. . . . .	

[53] Bataille 1951: 134 notes the possible presence of the φ of φύλαξ on line 2, beneath the χ of ἀβροχίτων on line 1, but this could not be verified by the present author during his survey.
[54] Bataille 1951: 132 tentatively reads η for ι.
[55] Bataille 1951: 132 reads ω for ο, with the ω and ρ transposed and a possible additional letter between η and ω.

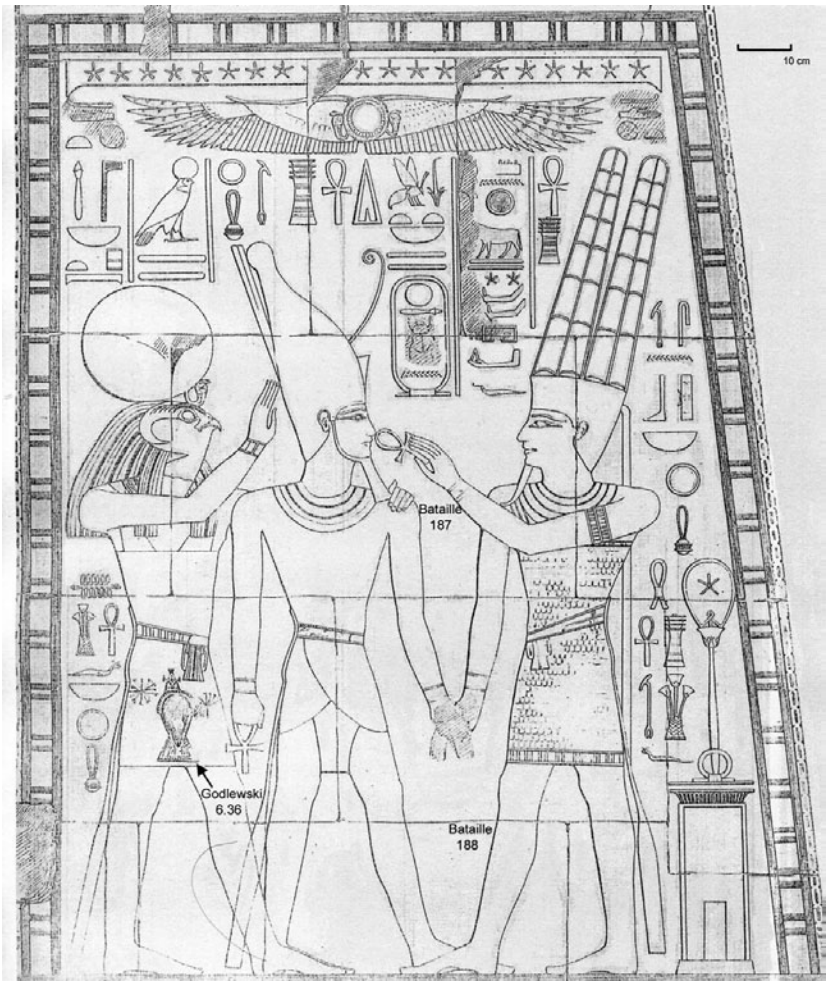


Figure 10.6 Drawing of relief on western wall of corridor leading to Chapel of the Night Sun, Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahri, with locations of alphabet graffiti and bearded male bust (after Naville 1895: Pl. 2).

Bataille 187 takes up approximately 11 by 11 cm of space on the wall, including the traces of text that followed the alphabet verse, while Bataille 188 as it survives today is more rectangular at 4 cm high and 9 cm wide. It is likely that the same hand is responsible for both texts.

The niche itself is not especially graffiti-intensive, although there are a few other graffiti that attest to the use of this space during the Christian

Figure 10.7 Bearded male bust (Godlewski 6.36) in corridor leading to Chapel of the Night Sun, Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahri (photo: S. Bucking).

period and provide a basis for viewing the alphabet verses as contemporary compositions.[56] A bearded male bust in red ink flanked by two rosette decorations (Godlewski 6.36) appears close to the southern end of the western wall, approximately 10 cm higher than Bataille 188 and 45 cm away from it (Fig. 10.7). This graffito was drawn on the apron of the deity Harmakhis, a form of Horus, in the original wall relief. Above the bust is a monogram formed with the Greek/Coptic letter A, and below it a triangular base containing two Christian crosses.[57] A similar male image (Godlewski 6.38) enclosed in a circle approximately 15 cm in diameter is located high up on the eastern wall of the niche, 2.65 m above ground level. Both images are most likely representations of either saints or monks.[58] Immediately above the male image on the eastern wall is a less stylised circular human face (Godlewski 6.37). Further to the south along the eastern wall at about

[56] Graffiti catalogued in Godlewski 1986 are referred to by chapter (6 or 10) and item number.
[57] On monograms, see Gardthausen 1924; Hurtado 2006: 135–154.
[58] For the use of a similar style to depict a saint at another monastery in Upper Egypt (Esna), see Sauneron 1972: Fig. 56.

the same height as the circular face is a large cross of simple design painted in red ink.

More graffiti-intensive than the niche proper are the doorjambs at its entrance, and the other alphabet text, Bataille 185, is on the western of these (Fig. 10.4). This text for the most part follows the correct sequence of letters and is arranged vertically in four columns, the third column much longer than the others:

Bataille 185

α	ε	ι	τ
β	ζ	κ	υ
γ	η	μ	φ
δ	θ	ν	
		ξ	
		ο	
		π	
		ρ	
		c	

Written in red ink, the graffito is 2.35 m above the ground level and takes up a space of approximately 15 cm in height (at its maximum in column three) and 11 cm in width. The writer omitted the lambda in the sequence and seems to have neglected the last three letters of the alphabet in the fourth column.[59] Above Bataille 185 are mainly figural graffiti, also in red ink, the largest of which is a very faded orant figure, approximately 40 cm in height and 23 cm in width (Godlewski 6.33).[60] Less faded but more difficult to identify is another figure (Godlewski 6.35), perhaps an animal, partially overlapping with the body of the orant. Below this and to the left is a smaller, somewhat irregular, rectangular figure with an inscribed cross. A much larger and more elaborate cross occurs at the top of the doorjamb to the left of the orant figure, with branches that terminate in perpendicular lines (Godlewski 6.34). The only other textual graffito on the western doorjamb (apart from the alphabet) is what appears to be a name in very faded red ink, just above and to the left of Bataille 185.[61]

[59] Two somewhat visible characters to the left of the first column might be the 'missing' ψ and ω, suggesting that χ may have been written after φ in the fourth column (or was simply forgotten by the writer, as in the case of λ). Above the alphabet matrix are two additional signs, one of which may be a Christian cross and the other apparently another μ. In his transcription of the text, Bataille 1951: 131 transposes the ζ and η, but it seems that they were written in the correct sequence, albeit in a rotated form.

[60] On the orant in Christian art, see Hazzikostas 1998; Jensen 2000: 35–37.

[61] Based upon the initial recording in Bataille 1951: 132, it appears to be a personal name, Ψένονφις, but due to fading, only a few of the letters could be verified by the present author.

Additional graffiti from the Christian period appear on the eastern doorjamb, most prominently an eight-line Coptic religious text in red ink approximately 1.9 m above floor level (Godlewski 10.27). Measuring 12 cm in height and 38 cm in width, the text is catechistic in nature and mentions the four sins of forgetfulness, negligence, desire and gluttony. Above it are mainly figural graffiti, including an animal-like figure and a possible monogram (Godlewski 6.39 and 6.40, respectively).

Łajtar's topographical mapping of the Ptolemaic and early Roman period graffiti on the upper terrace also reinforces the idea that Bataille 185, 187 and 188 date to the time of the Coptic monastery. There are only two graffiti connected with the cult of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, and Imhotep (Łajtar 59 and 60) in the north-eastern corner of the central court, suggesting that this part of the upper terrace was not a significant activity area for graffiti production during the pre-Christian use of the temple as a cultic site.[62]

On the northern wall of the central court, immediately to the west of the entryway into the niche, is another cluster of graffiti (C.1) that may be related to the Christian period graffiti on the doorjambs and in the niche itself (Figs. 10.4, 10.8). The cluster is on the third course of blocks and measures 35 cm in height and 51 cm in width. It consists of letters and symbols in red ink, including, among others, a large cross (20 cm high and 12 cm wide) and an M-like character, possibly a monogram, written repeatedly. The M-like character bears some resemblance to another possible monogram located on the upper part of the eastern doorjamb. It also parallels the above-mentioned monogram based on the letter A drawn above the male bust on the western wall of the niche (Fig. 10.7).

All three regions of graffiti activity – the niche, its entryway, and the eastern end of the northern wall – fall within the larger architectural context of monastic Building G (Figs. 10.3, 10.5). Naville's discovery of a large terracotta cauldron in this building led him to speculate that it functioned as the kitchen of the monastery, but this interpretation is uncertain.[63] The main question is what activities are suggested by the graffiti, and more directly to the issue at hand, how realistic it is to see any of these activities as educational in nature.

[62] It is possible that some graffiti may no longer be extant, a limiting factor for any topographical mapping. To illustrate the point, the documentation of Łajtar 59 is based solely on Bataille's earlier recording of it, since it disappeared at some point after the early and before the later survey. Łajtar 59 is a very common type of graffito that records the visit of a particular individual to the cultic site and is found in great abundance in other parts of the upper terrace; it uses the formula τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ δεῖνος ('The act of worship of NN') discussed in Łajtar 2006: 90–91.

[63] See Godlewski 1986: 32.

Figure 10.8 Graffiti cluster C.1, northern wall, central court of upper terrace, Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahri (photo: S. Bucking).

Of the three alphabet texts associated with the space, Bataille 185 seems the least likely to have had an educational function, given its location high up (2.35 m) on the western doorjamb, and a different function, perhaps along ritual or decorative lines, might be suggested. However, a complicating factor is that when Bataille 185 was originally produced, the ground level may have been higher owing to accumulation of debris (rubbish, sand, etc.).[64] Still, this text could be related to the manipulation of the Greek alphabet as a symbol of ritual power, given the nature of the other graffiti on both doorjambs.[65] Some comparanda are provided by the Christian period alphabet graffiti documented in the early 1960s in the church under the Arab citadel at Faras in Lower Nubia.[66] These graffiti, written in black ink on a sandstone block in the southern wall of the church, comprise two Coptic alphabets and a separate list of vowels, all arranged

[64] See Łajtar 2006: 88.

[65] The ritual power of the Greek alphabet in Coptic Christian settings is also evident in liturgical texts in the form of alphabetic acrostics that use only the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet, omitting the indigenous Egyptian Demotic signs (see above, n. 23; see also Montserrat 1998: 425).

[66] Michalowski 1965: 176–178 (no. 10).

vertically.[67] As suggested in the earlier discussion of the Brussels wooden tablet, the presence of the vowels here may be more indicative of a ritual rather than an educational function, especially given the archaeological context, although only the latter function was proposed by the original editor.[68]

Bataille 187 and 188 may be more readily viewed in an educational light, since they are not as high up on the wall as Bataille 185, although the niche itself is a rather narrow and confined space (approximately 1.5 m wide and 2 m long), and so not ideal for group learning.[69] At 2 m from ground level, Bataille 187 might be difficult to interact with unless an accumulation of debris had raised the floor level, which is quite possible.[70] If the niche containing Bataille 187 and 188 had been used as a space for learning, one might have expected to find additional texts, although such texts could simply have perished over time. Alternatively, the absence of additional texts may be an indication that Bataille 187 and 188 had a symbolic rather than didactic function. Certainly the figural graffiti in the niche tap into a well-established tradition of Christian monastic iconography, and the alphabet verse, written twice, may likewise have been used to convey ritual power.[71] This interpretation may be reinforced by one of the ostraca from the monastery (*Columbia apis*.348) (Fig. 10.9): it contains the pious phrase 'My Lord, Holy Father' in Coptic, accompanied by the same Greek alphabet verse as that in Bataille 187 and 188.[72] Literary

[67] Michalowski 1965: 176 (Text 10A), 178 (Texts 10D and 10G). Another Coptic alphabet (Text 10B), written horizontally in two separate parts, although with only two letters per line, also has a significant vertical aspect, that is, four columns, each with 7–8 letters. For additional examples of Greek and Coptic alphabets written vertically, see Brashear 1983, also citing those from Faras. Although their interpretation is ambiguous, they are typically classified as school texts, for example *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1, Pl. 28/4 and its entry in the catalogue of school texts in Cribiore 1996: no. 72 (with cross-references to the earlier catalogues). The vertical design may be comparable to the *carmina figurata*, in which the visual representation of *uoces magicae* (often vowels) held some ritual power (Frankfurter 1994: 199–200).

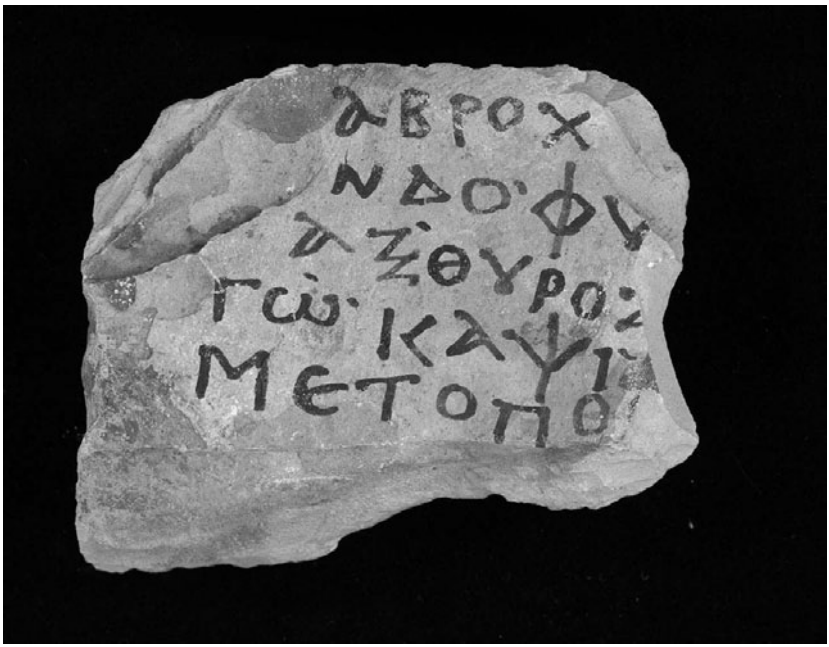
[68] Michalowski 1965: 176 refers to these texts collectively as an 'exercice sur l'alphabet copte'. On the ritual power of the seven Greek/Coptic vowels, see above, n. 26, and on their arrangement in columns in texts of this genre, see, for example, a Greek love-charm from Roman Egypt (*Michigan apis*.3030), the subject of a separate study by Martinez (*P.Mich.* XVI). Vowels are sometimes arranged in triangular or square patterns in Greek and Coptic amulets (the *carmina figurata* mentioned in n. 67 above); see Frankfurter 1994: 199–200.

[69] This raises the possibility of either self-education or one-to-one (tutorial-type) learning. Self-education in the Roman Empire has recently been discussed in Sheppard 2008.

[70] See n. 64 above.

[71] See above for the evidence concerning the ritual power of the alphabet. The figural graffiti and painted decorative features published from other Egyptian monasteries provide additional insights into the repertoire of iconographic forms. For a useful discussion of these forms, see the catalogue of decorative elements in Coptic hermitage QR 195 at Kellia in Rassart-Debergh 2003: Ch. 3.

[72] On the provenance of the Deir el-Bahri ostraca now in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University, see O'Connell 2006: 122–128. In another monastery of Phoebammon, not



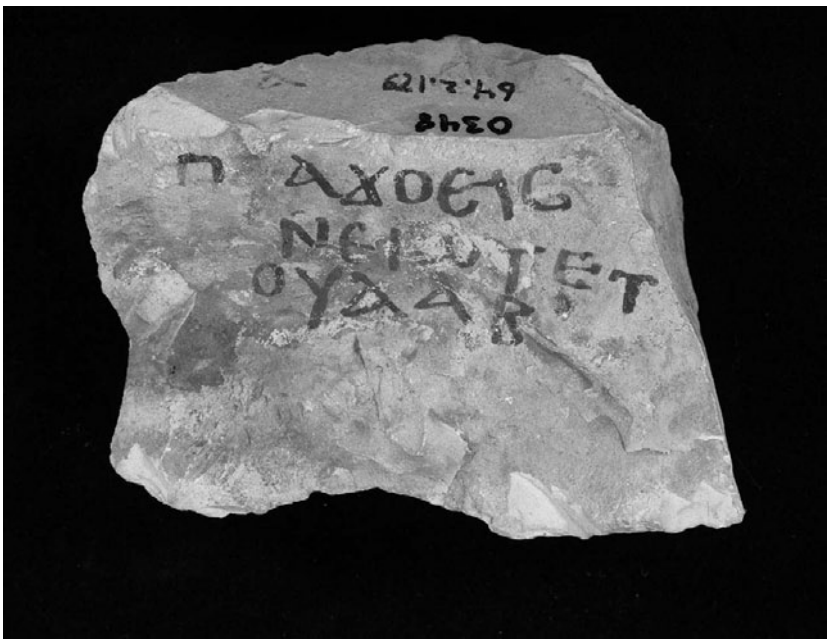


Figure 10.9 a, b *Columbia apis*.348, excavated at Deir el-Bahri by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926–1928: a. alphabet verse; b. Coptic religious phrase (O. Col. inv. 348, reproduced by kind permission of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University).

sources, too, mention the ritual powers of these kinds of alphabet verses in connection with the healing of the sick,[73] and they may also be compared to the various *uoces magicae* in Christian amulets, for example the palindrome *Ablanathanalba*, and the word *Sensengenbarpharanges*.[74] This meshes well with the long tradition of healing that bridged pre-Christian and Christian use of the site.[75] Such activities help to account for the presence not only of certain alphabet formulae in the monastery, but also of magico-medical texts at the site.[76]

Yet, as noted above, the default papyrological approach to these alphabet texts is to place them in schools, and the roots of this approach are once again evident when considering Bataille 101 – another Greek alphabet graffito on the upper terrace that Milne associated with a primary school at the site during the Roman period.[77] This association is an example of a 'railroading epistemology', since it ignores the epigraphic evidence that Milne himself presents in the same article for the use of Deir el-Bahri as a cultic site of healing in the Roman period.

Bataille 101 is in the first niche at the southernmost end of the western wall of the central court (Niche A) (Figs. 10.10, 10.11). The alphabet was written in red ink on the western wall of the niche, approximately 65 cm above the niche floor, indicating that the person who produced it was in a seated position inside the niche. That person also produced the text in a rather unusual way, writing the initial letters of the alphabet in large

far from the one at Deir el-Bahri, the same alphabet verse is written on an ostracon three times in varying stages of completeness (*O.Mon.Phoib.* 40). This ostracon also contains the name of Moses written after the second copy of the verse, and as Brashear (1983: 97) notes, the use of this name may point to a ritual purpose (see also Cribiore 1996: no. 61, where it is catalogued as a school text). Another verse that exhausts all the letters of the alphabet, κναξζβιχθυπτησφλευμοδρωψ, is written vertically on a wooden tablet now in the Louvre (see Brashear 1983: 98–99 and, for its classification as a school text, Cribiore 1996: no. 60). Fournet (2000: 63–64, 72–76) presents a comprehensive discussion of the verse and cites an example of its ritual use on a wooden tablet from Kellis (*P.Kellis* 1.82), although in this instance it is not written vertically.

[73] See Cribiore 1996: 39; Fournet 2000: 80–81.

[74] See Meyer and Smith 1994: 389, 392; Versnel 2002; Blom, this volume.

[75] See Łajtar 2006: 50–56, 103.

[76] See, for example, *O.Crum* 487 and *O.Crum* 490. *O.Crum* 490 contains the *sator* palindrome, especially well known for its protective and healing capacities; see Meyer and Smith 1994: nos. 46, 50, 55, 61, 64 for examples in Coptic texts of ritual power. For background on the Christian use of these palindromes, see Tabbernee 2008: 129–131. The use of alphabet verses as texts of ritual power is discussed further in Fournet 2000: 81–82, who provides two examples of amulets (*P.Bingen* 19 and 26) that have the same verse as that in Bataille 187 and 188. Fournet makes an interesting change-over-time argument with regard to these kinds of alphabet verses, claiming a shift from educational to ritual function in the Christian/Byzantine era.

[77] Milne 1914: 97.

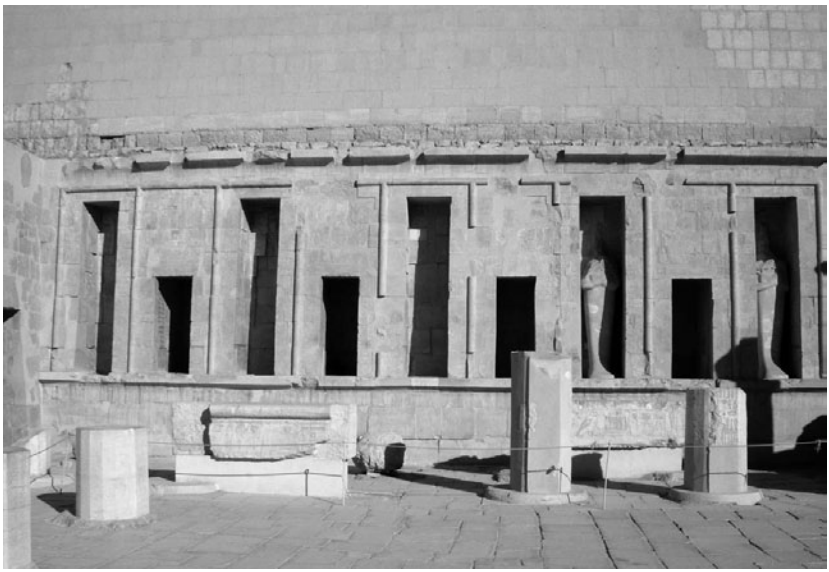


Figure 10.10 View of southern side of western wall, central court, Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahri, showing Niches A–I (Niche A at far left) (photo: S. Bucking).

handwriting (for example, 8.2 cm for beta) in the south-western corner of the niche and continuing the rest of the alphabet in two lines to the left in much smaller handwriting (for example, 2 cm for omicron):

Bataille 101
Ⲑ^{Ⲓ}ⲔⲚⲘⲚⲜⲞⲠ
Ⲣ̣Ⲥ̣Ⲧ̣ⲨⲪⲬⲨⲱ ⲀⲂⲄⲆⲈ^{Ⲍ}Ⲏ

Two letters that the writer had forgotten in the original sequence (Z and I) were added above the line in their appropriate places. Blotches of red ink appear above and below the alphabet, and there seems to have been another line of writing beneath that containing the last eight letters of the alphabet. That it was produced in the niche of a temple with a known cult, active during the Graeco-Roman period, gives strength to the idea of a ritual function.[78] The cult, which was associated with Amenhotep, son of Hapu, and with Imhotep, flourished at Deir el-Bahri until at least the end

[78] On the ancient Egyptian use of niches in both public and private religious contexts, see, for example, Teeter 1993; Whitehorne 1995; Frankfurter 1998: 37–144.

Figure 10.11 Alphabet graffito (Bataille 101), Niche A in western wall of central court, Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahri (photo: S. Bucking).

of the second century AD.[79] There is certainly more tangible evidence for the presence of this cult than for Milne's proposed primary school. Indeed, the south-western corner of the upper terrace in which Niche A is located and the adjoining South Temple of Amun appear to represent an area of significant cult-related activity, based upon the presence of visitors' graffiti of the προσσκύνημα and other types.[80]

[79] Łajtar 2006, especially 16–37. The same author also views the alphabet graffito as being related to the activities of this cult; see Łajtar 2006: 238.

[80] The προσκύνημα graffiti are Łajtar 144, 146, 148(?), 154, 155 and 159. See also above, n. 62. Examples of other kinds of graffiti in the area of the south-western corner of the upper terrace that attest to cultic activity are Łajtar 141, 142, 143, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153 and 158. An interesting parallel

Another graffito in Niche A (Łajtar 157) might suggest that Bataille 101 was a product of later religious activities at the site, perhaps still related to the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep.[81] This graffito is a dating formula located on the northern wall of the niche, 89 cm above the floor and 18 cm from its north-western corner. It appears to be one of a group of twelve late third- or early fourth-century AD graffiti distributed in the first four niches (A–D) on the southern side of the western wall.[82] These graffiti represent evidence of pilgrimages to the site by a corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis. Bataille 101 could therefore very well be linked to the religious activities of these workers.

One must also consider the possibility that Bataille 101 belongs to the period of Christian habitation at the site. Niche A had been incorporated into the larger monastic Building D constructed in the south-western corner of the central court (Fig. 10.3).[83] Within the context of Building D, which measures approximately 3 by 3 m, a cluster of six Christian graffiti appears on the western wall immediately to the north of Niche A: two are knots of Solomon (Godlewski 6.6 and 6.8) and the remaining four are crosses decorated with additional symbols, including the alpha-omega (Godlewski 6.4, 6.5, 6.7 and 6.9).[84] The alpha-omega symbol provides evidence of the ritual use of the Greek alphabet in a Coptic Christian setting, and perhaps the reproduction of the entire Greek alphabet in Niche A may be viewed in a similar light. Five additional Coptic graffiti (Godlewski 6.50–6.54) are located in the passageway of the former South Chapel of Amun that is connected to Building D. Thus, a significant activity area associated with the production of Christian graffiti can be identified. Moreover, that Niche A was used in the Christian period is further supported by finds in some of the other niches along the western wall of the central court: Niche H, for example, has crosses painted on its northern, southern and western walls and on the ceiling, as well as a bust of a male religious figure (Godlewski 6.10) on the upper part of the northern wall.[85]

are the Roman-period graffiti on the temenos wall at Deir el-Haggar in the Dakhleh Oasis, where an alphabet text was written among a number of προσκύνημα graffiti (Kaper and Worp 1999: no. 6).

[81] See Łajtar 2006: 94–102.

[82] The others are Łajtar 160–164, 166–169, 172–173.

[83] Godlewski 1986: 32.

[84] On the apotropaic function of the knot of Solomon, see Dinkler 1978; Maguire, Maguire and Duncan-Flowers 1989: 4; Maguire 1994: 265–268; Sansoni 1998. Christian use of the alpha-omega symbol is discussed in Lieball 1968; Reddish 1992.

[85] The issue of the multiple reuse of space with regard to the dating of alphabet graffiti at the site is somewhat less problematic in the case of Łajtar 314, since it has a Christian period graffito

Since Niche A is 1.56 m above the floor of the upper terrace and is too small to accommodate more than one person, it is difficult to view it as a locus of educational activity in the Christian period. Although the entire Building D, which incorporates Niche A, may be interpreted as such a locus, the nature of the other surviving graffiti within this larger space seems to support the use of the alphabet rather as a symbol of ritual power. Nonetheless, if an educational function during the time of the Christian monastery on the upper terrace were proposed for Bataille 101, then – as in the case of Bataille 187 and 188 – there would be a stronger basis for regarding it as an aid for learning the Greek constituents of the Coptic alphabet than the Greek alphabet, since the monastery appears to have been a predominantly Coptic-using environment.

To contextualise this point further, the relative quantities of Coptic and Greek texts from the Christian monastery at Deir el-Bahri may be examined. In terms of recorded textual graffiti, the overwhelming majority are written in Coptic, and the extremely small number in Greek tend to be either personal names or formulaic expressions, such as εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν (Bataille 89), which would not require an especially high level of Greek literacy.[86] Among the corpus of published portable texts (ostraca and papyri), the Greek texts are again a distinct minority (chiefly biblical and liturgical passages) – indeed, they constitute less than 5 per cent of the entire corpus.[87] A further breakdown of portable texts is theoretically possible with respect to the relative quantities of published 'school' texts in Coptic and Greek associated with the site,[88] but, as noted above, the problems associated with identifying these purported school texts are a significant obstacle to constructing a reliable data set. *O.Crum* 520, one of the ostraca recovered from the monastery by Naville, illustrates the point and presents a similar situation to that of the Brussels wooden tablet (inv. E 6801) discussed above. It contains a Greek liturgical text (doxology) followed by a Greek or Coptic alphabet, and whether the ostracon was intended as a writing exercise or as a text of ritual power cannot be determined definitively.[89]

(Godlewski 6.22) drawn partially over the original incised alphabet; this 'stratigraphy' indicates that the alphabet is probably associated with the earlier cultic activities at the temple.

[86] On the formula εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν, see Łajtar 2006: 219 (no. 132).

[87] Calculated on the basis of the inventory in Godlewski 1986: 153–163.

[88] The vast majority of these texts are either in the catalogue published in Cribiore 1996 or in *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt*.

[89] Due to a break in the ostracon, the end of the alphabet has not survived to allow for a definitive identification of the alphabet. I am grateful to Dr Elisabeth O'Connell, Assistant Keeper in the

Multiple reuse of the site also interferes with creating a localised profile of Greek–Coptic learning activities at the time of the Christian monastery. This is illustrated by *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I, Pl. 34/2, a writing exercise consisting of the name, Agamemnon – perhaps a reference to the well-known Greek mythological figure. Given that the handwriting could easily predate the time of the monastery, the ostracon may reflect activities that took place at the site in the Roman period.[90] This is consistent with the broad chronological horizon of the writing surface itself, most likely a sherd from a Roman amphora.[91]

Among the ostraca that can be more confidently anchored to the Christian monastery, only a few provide evidence for Greek-learning activities, and even these should be viewed with caution. For example, *O.Crum* 512 (= *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 240) consists of a prayer that echoes Psalm 50:10 and addresses God as φιλάνθρωπος, followed by a short list of Greek words beginning with phi. The ostracon could be an actual exercise, but since biblical passages, especially from Psalms, were often copied by monks as acts of piety and devotion, an educational function is by no means secure, and the Greek word-list generated after the passage may therefore simply be an informal creation by the writer, presumably a monk at the monastery.[92] Based on the use of ϯϊϲⲟⲛ for κτίσον in the Psalms passage, the writer's dominant language was Coptic, and he may simply have wished to recall other Greek words beginning with phi. Moreover, from what survives of the list, his facility in Greek seems to have been rather limited: after repeating φιλάνθρωπος and writing its cognate, φιλανθρωπία, he adds two Latin personal names – Φαυστιανός and Φλαυία – that would not require substantial knowledge of Greek.[93] Likewise, *O.Crum* 431 (= *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 231), also from the monastery, offers a list of

Department of Egypt and the Sudan at the British Museum, for providing a study photograph of the ostracon.

[90] The date range given in the *LDAB* (no. 6879) is between the second and seventh centuries AD. Two other databases provide a significantly narrower range, namely seventh/eighth century AD (Mertens-Pack³ no. 2700; Cribiore 1996: no. 173). The narrower range seems to reflect the unexamined assumption that the ostracon was produced during the period of Christian habitation and is also difficult to support palaeographically. I thank Pat Easterling, Eric Handley and Richard Hunter of the University of Cambridge for their input on this matter.

[91] For a general introduction to Roman amphorae and a guide to the more common types, including those found in Egypt, see Peacock and Williams 1986. I thank Dr Elisabeth O'Connell, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egypt and the Sudan at the British Museum, for inspecting the ostracon and sharing her opinion concerning the type of vessel to which it belonged.

[92] On the prominent role of Psalms in Egyptian monastic life, see the discussion in *P.Naqlun* I, pp. 50–53.

[93] For Φαυστιανός in the Greek papyri from Roman Egypt, see *P.Kell.* IV.96 (lines 341, 1136, 1399); *P.Oxy.* II.237 (line 32); for Φλαυία, see *P.Ryl.* II.172 (line 1); *P.Stras.* III.132 (lines 11, 21, 24, 27, 56).

Greek words in addition to some Coptic grammatical paradigms. The list contains mainly names, and all the remaining words are attested in Coptic texts, such as βάσανος (line 8). Again, it is problematic to view this text as evidence for significant bilingual education.

Columbia apis.949, another Greek ostracon from the monastery, raises interesting questions because it contains Homeric material, namely a formulaic tag line concerning Helen of Troy (*Iliad* 3.171 and 3.228) and a paraphrase of the second half of *Iliad* 3.61.[94] Given the extreme brevity of the texts and the two distinctly different styles of highly skilled writing, it is tempting to interpret this as a scribal exercise or pen trial, rather than as the product of advanced literary studies that typically occurred under the supervision of a grammarian.[95] Certainly, the archaeological context of the ostracon seems to work against the latter scenario. If *Columbia apis*.949 is indeed a scribal exercise or trial of different writing styles, the writer need not have possessed a high degree of proficiency in Greek. For example, the cursive style of writing used to produce the Homeric tag is also found in Coptic documents from the monastery, such as the list of names in *O.Crum* 443, and this scribe may be mechanically reproducing these very short Greek texts. Alternatively, a greater knowledge of Greek may be informing the writing of these Homeric lines, especially if the ostracon dates to the early phase of the monastery, when Greek still had a foothold in certain documentary contexts. This is well illustrated by the will of the founder and head of the monastery, Apa Abraham (*P.Lond.* I.77), dated to around AD 600, and that of his successor, Apa Victor (*P.KRU* 77), dated to AD 634: while Abraham's will was drawn up in Greek, Victor's was in Coptic, indicating the advance of documentary Coptic within a relatively short period of time.[96] It is this documentary aspect of Coptic that also seems predominant among the purported school ostraca from the monastery. Since the overwhelming majority of the exercises reflect the drafting of business and personal letters,[97] basic educational activities seem to have served more practical vocational aims than the modern papyrologically driven reconstructions of the ancient schoolroom usually allow.

Similar issues concerning the nature of bilingual learning arise from a consideration of some of the non-portable texts at the monastery. Indeed, the question could be asked whether the previously discussed Greek alphabet verses (Bataille 187 and 188) reflect activities related to the learning of

[94] For the *editio princeps*, see Cribiore 2008.
[95] Cribiore 2008: 44.
[96] Godlewski 1986: 79–81; Fournet 2009: 439.
[97] See, for example, *O.Crum* 56, 75; *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 142, 158, 159, 160, 162, 171.

Greek, Coptic, or Greek and Coptic, at the site, assuming of course that these verses originally served some kind of educational function, which, as already noted, is not entirely certain. Although the Coptic alphabet is formed by adding a few signs from Egyptian Demotic to the Greek alphabet, these signs are sometimes physically separated in pedagogical aids (see discussion below), and therefore it may well be that such verses served as a means for teaching the Greek constituents of the Coptic alphabet.[98] Literary testimony from Quintilian, Clement of Alexandria and others certainly lends support to the educational use of alphabet verses such as Bataille 187 and 188, so it is not unreasonable to interpret them as borrowings of Graeco-Roman educational devices for use in the Coptic schoolroom.[99] These verses even found their way into the Coptic scriptorium and are attested on the flyleaf of the Glazier Codex, a fifth-century AD Coptic manuscript containing a copy of part of the Acts of the Apostles.[100] At the front of the manuscript, the scribe wrote the same alphabet verse as the one in Bataille 187 and 188 prior to the beginning of the Biblical text, either as a professional sample or test of the pen.[101] Bearing these factors in mind, a great deal of caution should be exercised when examining the issue of Greek–Coptic education, since it is not always clear from the nature of the surviving evidence how much bilingual learning, if any, was taking place.

5 BENI HASAN AND THE BILINGUAL ASPECT OF LEARNING

The site of Beni Hasan, located some 250 km south of Cairo and 20 km south of the provincial capital of Minya, raises similar issues with regard to our understanding of Greek–Coptic education. During the Middle Kingdom eleventh and twelfth dynasties (roughly between 2000 and 1800 BC), pharaonic administrators of the region built tombs in the upper part of the hillside at the site. This necropolis of rock-cut tombs was excavated in 1890 and 1891 by Percy Newberry and George Fraser under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society). Included in their four-volume publication of the excavation is a brief chapter on Greek and Coptic graffiti that attest to the later use of the site, most probably for habitation

[98] On the development of Coptic, see Kasser 1991a, 1991b; Emmel 1992; Callahan 2001.

[99] For the literary testimony, see Cribiore 1996: 39–40; Fournet 2000: 62–63.

[100] See Bellet 1982: 4–6; Schenke 1991: 20; Fournet 2000: 67–68.

[101] The scribe also wrote two other short texts, an Old Testament verse in Coptic (2 Kings 1:2b–3) and a formulaic tag in Greek appearing in Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum* 1.1; Polybius, *Historiae* 1.37.7, 6.11a.7; Xenophon, *Symposium* 2.9; and Plato, *Republic* 7.538a. For further discussion of these texts, see Bellet 1982: 4–5; Schenke 1991: 20–25; Fournet 2001.

by Christian monks, around the sixth century AD.[102] Unfortunately, this phase of occupation was poorly documented archaeologically, save for a few tantalising remarks regarding Coptic pottery finds, first mentioned rather generally (without reference to specific tombs) in a brief report published in 1891.[103] This was followed by a reference to the finds in Tomb 3 in Newberry's excavation report.[104]

In 2009, this author conducted a survey of the Coptic graffiti inside a number of the tombs at Beni Hasan. One of the focal points of this project was Tomb 23, which belonged to a senior official of the twelfth dynasty named Neter Nekht, who held, among other titles, that of 'Administrator of the Eastern Desert'.[105] The interior portion of the tomb consists of a rectangular chamber approximately 9 by 8 m (Fig. 10.12). Evidence of habitation by Christians in late antiquity is provided by two large crosses painted in red ink on the eastern wall of the tomb, among other graffiti – figural and textual – on this and the northern wall. Due to extensive quarrying in the tomb, its floor plan in the Christian period cannot be determined, although a number of holes in the walls are probably related to modifications of the space made during this period. In addition, two niches were cut into the eastern wall, the first of which measures 24 cm high, 46 cm wide and 14 cm deep, and the second, a little further south along the wall, measures 31 cm high, 35 cm wide and 16 cm deep. The presence of Coptic graffiti and architectural modifications in some of the other tombs along the upper hillside is suggestive of a flourishing Christian community at Beni Hasan in late antiquity.[106]

The most extensive graffito in Tomb 23 – and the one most relevant to the present study – is on the northern wall near the corner with the eastern wall. It consists of a large alphabet table in red ink, measuring approximately 90 cm high and 60 cm wide (Figs. 10.12, 10.13). Since the bottom of the table is only some 65 cm from the ground, the person who

[102] Newberry 1893: 65–68.
[103] Naville, Newberry and Fraser 1891: 19–20.
[104] Newberry 1893: 73, 79.
[105] Newberry 1893: 27–28.
[106] Based on the data from this author's survey, Tomb 15, for example, is particularly graffiti-intensive and contains a wide range of texts (names, invocations, etc.) and drawings, with the heaviest concentrations along its northern wall. Although more limited in terms of graffiti, Tomb 29 features significant architectural modifications from the Christian period, most notably two niches cut into its eastern and southern walls. Three large crosses were painted in red ink above the eastern wall niche. Rectangular slots carved into the upper and lower front edges of this niche suggest that a single or double door had been fitted to create a closable cupboard. By contrast, the southern wall niche was cut at floor level and contained a staircase, now filled in, which led down into one of the burial pits of Tomb 30 (Newberry 1893: 33). In addition, a window was cut into the southern wall near the corner with the western wall. Regional parallels for these late antique architectural and decorative modifications in pharaonic rock-cut tombs occur in the North Tombs at Tell el-Amarna and at Sheikh Said, approximately five km to their north (Jones 1991).

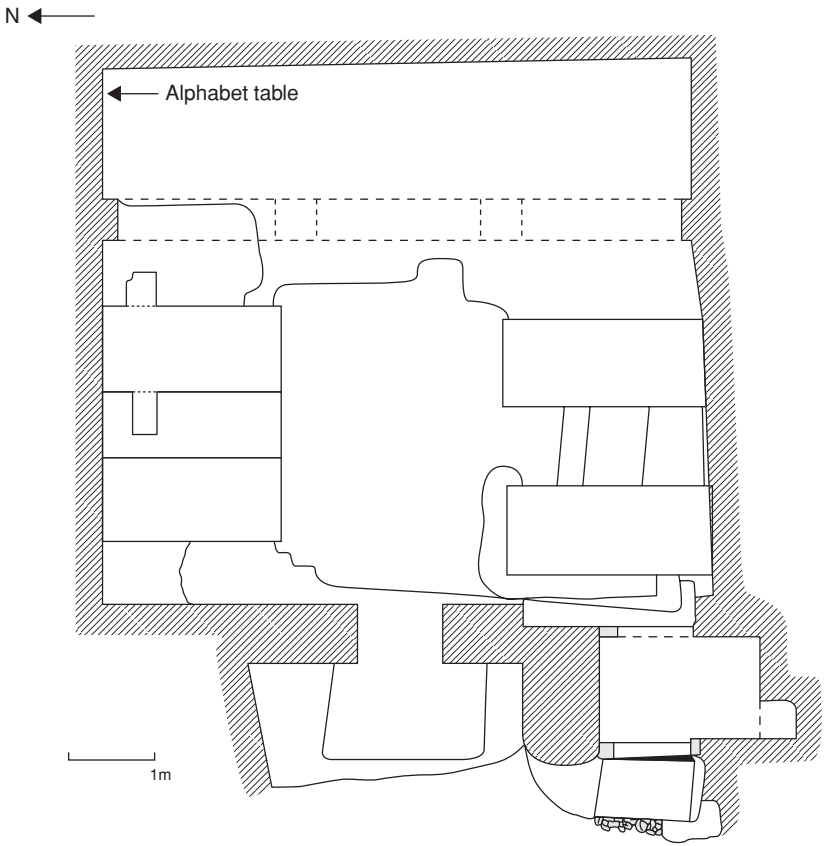


Figure 10.12 Plan of Tomb 23, Beni Hasan, showing location of alphabet table (after Newberry 1893: Pl. 23).

created it must have begun it in a standing position and completed it in a sitting or kneeling position. The table is arranged in six rows, each of which contains a number of frames or sub-divisions created with red ink lines. The size of the letters in the table ranges from 2 to nearly 4 cm, with the larger letters occurring in the first two of the six rows.

Row 1 contains three frames of alphabets: the first frame has the Greek alphabet in proper order and the second in reverse order. The third frame has a series created more or less by alternating letters from the beginning and from the end of the alphabet. The pattern is correctly followed in the first part of the series, namely **ⲁⲱⲃⲫⲅⲭⲇⲫⲉⲅⲍⲧ**, after which the writer seems to have accidentally skipped over **ⲥ** and puts **ⲏⲣ** instead of **ⲏⲥ**, resulting in the subsequent pairings of **ⲑⲡ** and **ⲓⲟ**. At this point, the series

Figure 10.13 Facsimile of Tomb 23 alphabet table, Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893: Pl. 25).

is interrupted by adding the forgotten ⲥ and then the remaining part is given, namely ⲕϫⲗⲛⲙ.

In row 2, which consists of nine frames, the writer produced a biliteral syllabary, using an initial variable consonant with all of the vowels, for example, in frame 1, ⲃⲁ, ⲃⲉ, ⲃⲏ, ⲃⲓ, ⲃⲟ, ⲃⲩ, ⲃⲱ. This syllabary continues into row 3 until all of the consonants are exhausted. It does not, however, always follow the correct order of the consonants, as in the placement of the ⲣ series where the ⲕ belongs (row 2, frame 6) and vice versa (row 3, frame 3). At the bottom of the first three frames of the third row, the writer produced the six letters of the Sahidic Coptic alphabet that are borrowed from Demotic: three of the letters are written in the first frame (ϣ, ϥ, ϩ), two in the second frame (ϭ, ϫ), and one in the third frame (ϯ). The last three frames of row 3 begin a triliteral syllabary using a fixed initial consonant (ⲃ, ⲅ, and ⲇ) followed by a vowel and a variable consonant, for example, in row 3, frame 9, ⲃⲁⲃ, ⲃⲉⲃ, ⲃⲏⲃ, ⲃⲓⲃ, ⲃⲟⲃ, ⲃⲩⲃ, ⲃⲱⲃ, and in row 3, frame 10, ⲃⲁⲍ, ⲃⲉⲍ, ⲃⲏⲍ, ⲃⲓⲍ, ⲃⲟⲍ, ⲃⲩⲍ, ⲃⲱⲍ. This triliteral syllabary takes up the remaining rows of the table (rows 4–6), ending with combinations of ⲇ-ⲇ: ⲇⲁⲇ, ⲇⲉⲇ, ⲇⲏⲇ, ⲇⲓⲇ, ⲇⲟⲇ, ⲇⲩⲇ, ⲇⲱⲇ. Only traces of some of the writing in the last four frames of row 4 survive. The writer neither exhausts all the variable second consonants, nor has them consistently in their proper order. To illustrate, the triliteral syllabary for ⲃ ends with combinations of ⲃ-ϫ (row 4, frame 7), and both the combinations of ⲃ-ⲍ (row 3, frame 10) and ⲃ-ⲙ (row 4, frame 4) are out of sequence. The writer also apparently lapses into a biliteral syllabary twice, once in row 4, frame 8, by giving ⲅⲁ, ⲅⲉ, ⲅⲏ, ⲅⲓ, ⲅⲟ, ⲅⲩ, ⲅⲱ prior to the beginning of his triliteral combinations for ⲅ, and again in row 6, frame 6, with ⲇⲁ, ⲇⲉ, ⲇⲏ, ⲇⲓ, ⲇⲟ, ⲇⲩ, ⲇⲱ before the start of the triliteral combinations for ⲇ.

The main issue is how this table should be interpreted. Did it serve as a kind of instructional aid or exercise for learning the fundamentals of Greek, Coptic, or both? The table was initially inventoried as a Coptic school text (*P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 74) and then as a Greek school text, the latter designation embedded in a rather romanticised reconstruction of its usage at Beni Hasan:

> . . . it was like a permanent model that provided a suitable decoration to a 'room for education'. The voices of children learning Greek syllables – ba-be-bi-bo- and so on – must have echoed amid the silence of a glorious past.[107]

[107] Cribiore 2001: 24.

Such attempts at classifying the table as either Greek or Coptic are not wholly satisfactory and detract from recognising a potentially more complex situation regarding learning and literacy. For example, the Greek alphabets in row 1 may need to be viewed in light of the presentation of the six Demotic signs at the bottom of the first three frames in row 3: is the writer attempting to convey the idea of both the Greek alphabet and the Greek constituents of the Coptic alphabet? Physical separation of the Demotic signs of the Coptic alphabet from the Greek letters is attested in other texts from late antique Egypt, indicating that it might be some kind of pedagogic strategy for defining the fundamental relationship between the Coptic and Greek alphabets. *Duke apis*.32053911, an unprovenanced wooden tablet now in the Duke University collection, also contains syllabaries and alphabets.[108] Each side of the tablet presents the Demotic signs of the Sahidic Coptic alphabet in a separate column on the right-hand side: on the inside surface, it comes after a scrambled Greek alphabet that is arranged vertically, while on the outside surface it immediately follows on from a portion of the syllabary (the separate Greek alphabet being presented linearly at the bottom of this side).

For the Beni Hasan graffito, as well as the Duke tablet, the problem regards the specific trajectories of Greek–Coptic learning.[109] They may go no further than the acquisition of very basic practical skills, such as the recognition of individual letters and words and the ability to write one's name or the name of a revered religious figure.[110] This sort of writing appears to have had great significance among Christian monks and anchorites as acts of pious devotion and remembrance, and many thousands of names were written on the walls of their various dwelling-places throughout Egypt, including the tombs at Beni Hasan, for example: **ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ** (Tomb 3); **ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ** (Tomb 13); **ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲙⲟ** (Tomb 15); **ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲥⲁⲕ** (Tomb 21); **ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲱⲣ** (Tomb 23); and **ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ** (Tomb 32).[111] The apparent emphasis

[108] For the *editio princeps*, see van Minnen 1995.

[109] For a brief discussion of this issue, which includes the Duke tablet, see Cribiore 1999: 283–285.

[110] For evidence of this phenomenon of 'signature literacy' in Greek and Coptic documentary texts, see, for example, the crudely written acknowledgement of Serenus in *Princeton apis*.686, a Greek contract for the sale of a house from the sixth century AD, and the clumsily executed subscription of Enoch in *O.Sarga* 168, a Coptic payment order from the sixth/seventh century AD. On 'slow writers' in documentary texts, see most recently Kraus 2007: 131–148, with references. These writers are also known to us through colophons in Coptic literary manuscripts, suggesting that writing skills may have sometimes lagged behind reading skills (on the assumption that these individuals were actually reading the books in which they wrote their colophons); for an example, see van Lantschoot 1929: LVIII.D; re-edited in Elanskaya 1994: 333–338.

[111] On the use of the term **ⲁⲡⲁ** as a reverential title in Egyptian Christian communities, see Crum 1939: 13. For the initial recording of these names, see Newberry 1893: 65–68.

on Greek letters in the table may simply reflect a pedagogic strategy that privileges the original script over the adapted one. Such a strategy may have likewise informed the production of a Greek alphabet ostracon from another part of the 'Hellenised' world. Dating to the third or second century BC, the ostracon was excavated at the site of Lattara in southern Gaul and perhaps reflects the kind of foundational learning needed for writing Gallo-Greek, which uses the Greek script.[112]

Also critical is the question of how the Beni Hasan table might be used to define a physical area of educational activity or, specifically, a school. The position of the table extending fairly low on the northern wall and the occurrence of the larger-sized letters towards the top of the table could lend support to the argument that it was well suited to individuals sitting on the floor in front of it and engaged in educational activity. But who would these individuals be? As the above quotation suggests, the tendency among papyrologists is to see them as children. However, once these texts are viewed in their proper archaeological context, such ideas need to be assessed in light of the available evidence: in the case of Tomb 23 – or any of the other tombs at Beni Hasan – it is difficult, if not impossible, to materialise children in the rather meagre archaeological record.[113] Nor does anything in the surviving graffiti suggest the presence of children. Therefore, if Tomb 23 were the setting for some kind of learning activities, it most probably involved adult Christian monks, who apparently, based on the extant graffiti, inhabited this tomb in late antiquity.

Additional evidence for the manipulation of the alphabet in Tomb 15 may be used to strengthen the interpretation of the Tomb 23 alphabet table as a product of educational activity by the monks. Among the numerous graffiti on the northern wall of this tomb is a cluster of individual letters of the alphabet, often repeated, that are more haphazardly written than the alphabet table in Tomb 23. No particular pattern is apparent other than a very noticeable emphasis on the letters **ⲗ** and **ⲱ**, which held symbolic value for Christians.[114] The writer does not reproduce any of the signs of the Coptic alphabet borrowed from Demotic, again raising the question of what sort of learning this cluster of letters might reflect. The name **ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ**

[112] The ostracon was initially edited by Bats 1988: 148 and re-edited by Fournet 2000: 61–66. On Gallo-Greek, see Woolf 1994: 84–95; Mullen forthcoming.

[113] For current research on the archaeology of childhood, see Baxter 2005a, 2005b; Wileman 2005; Johnson 2007.

[114] See above, n. 84.

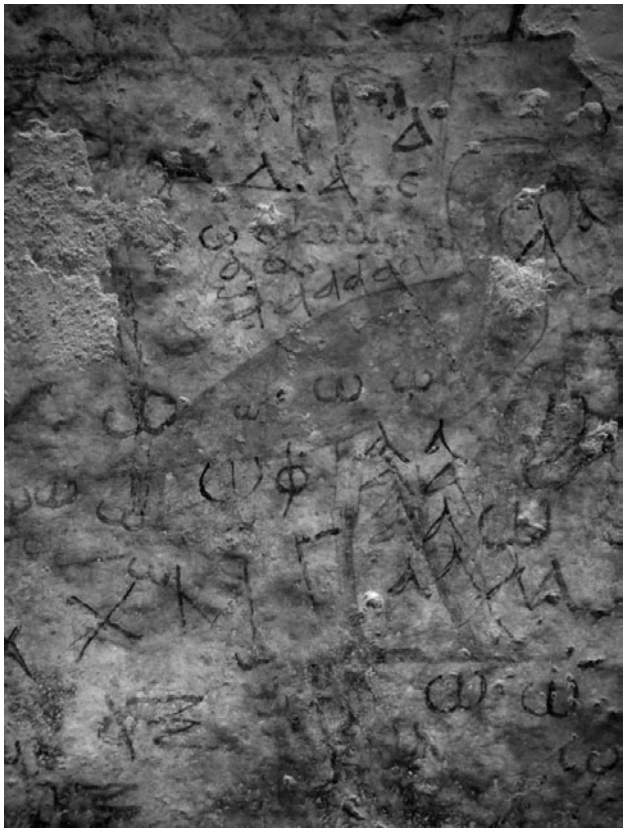


Figure 10.14 Main concentration of alphabet graffiti on northern wall of Tomb 15, Beni Hasan (photo: S. Bucking).

and the Christian abbreviation ⲭⲙⲅ also occur among the letters (the entire text area is approximately 80 cm by 70 cm) (Fig. 10.14).[115]

Like the alphabet graffiti at Deir el-Bahri, a ritual function may alternatively be proposed for the alphabet texts in both Tomb 15 and Tomb 23. Regarding Tomb 15, the presence of the Christian formula ⲭⲙⲅ and the emphasis on the letters ⲗ and ⲱ can be used to advance this idea. In the case of Tomb 23, a ritual purpose is especially plausible in light of other

[115] The Christian abbreviation ⲭⲙⲅ has been variously interpreted as standing for Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ ('Mary gave birth to Christ'), Χριστὸς, Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ ('Christ, Michael, Gabriel', the last two referring to the archangels), and Χριστὸς μαρτὺς γένηται ('Christ be [my] witness') (Derda 1992: 136 n. 6; Llewelyn 1998).

graffiti in the same location on the northern wall as the alphabet table, most notably a knot of Solomon to the upper left of the table.[116] Higher up on the wall above the table is a commemorative graffito with names, including **ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲱⲣ**, enclosed in a *tabula ansata* – a writing frame well attested in ritual contexts.[117] To the west of this area on the northern wall is a protruding panel that was originally part of the Middle Kingdom tomb. The panel features another knot of Solomon and a second *tabula ansata*, in this case containing only the name **ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲱⲣ**. In addition, the panel has two Christian crosses and a bust of what appears to have been a male figure, although the details of the figure were subsequently destroyed. The frequency of these types of graffiti could readily lend support to a ritual context for the alphabet table.

Both the Beni Hasan and Deir el-Bahri case studies bring to the forefront the hermeneutical problem of the school text/ritual text binary and the need to look at a more complex set of cultural circumstances to explain the function of these texts and their significance for the individuals and communities that produced them. By examining the spatial contexts of the texts and situating them within their archaeological settings, an integrated perspective emerges based on the ritual and educational aspects of monastic practice. Another aspect that bears directly on an understanding of the case-study texts is language use, and certainly in this regard, a second binary, that of Greek text/Coptic text, requires problematisation. Moreover, as the Deir el-Bahri case study illustrates, plotting graffiti on chronological and spatial axes can be especially difficult when the archaeological site shows a pattern of multiple reuse. The Beni Hasan graffiti are less problematic in this respect, since the tombs containing the graffiti apparently had not been in use prior to the period of monastic habitation. The only pottery noted in the published reports is Coptic, although a complicating factor is the lack of detailed records concerning the clearance of these tombs.[118]

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

An interdisciplinary approach combining papyrology and archaeology provides new ways to frame questions regarding education, literacy and bilingualism in Graeco-Roman Egypt. It allows for developing a spatial context

[116] See above, n. 84.

[117] Kotansky 1983: 175–176. For examples from Roman Egypt that enclose an alphabet and προσκύνημα, see Kaper and Worp 1999: nos. 1, 2, 6. Thomas 2007: 192–194 provides general background on the significance of *tabula ansata* in Roman antiquity.

[118] See above, nn. 103, 104.

for the production and use of texts by individuals – in essence, archaeologies of literacy and bilingualism – and for problematising the functions of these texts with the aid of more integrated assessment strategies. On the linguistic side, assessing levels of Greek–Coptic education within particular spaces is complicated not only by the large number of Greek graphemes in the Coptic alphabet, but also by their physical separation from the Demotic signs in extant learning aids, of which the Beni Hasan table appears to be one example. Additional complicating factors are the significant percentage of Greek loanwords in Coptic and the use of Greek formulae, such as Christian invocations, in Coptic texts. The first factor is illustrated by the ostracon from the Christian monastery at Deir el-Bahri (*O.Crum* 431) that contains some Coptic grammar and a list of Greek words attested in Coptic texts: the presence of these words can hardly be used to argue persuasively for substantive bilingual learning among the monastery's residents. The second factor is likewise illustrated by some of the texts from this monastery, namely the alphabet verse written twice in the niche in the north-eastern corner of the central court (Bataille 187 and 188) and also copied on an ostracon (*Columbia apis*.348). This verse, which exhausts the letters of the Greek alphabet, is a well-attested formula in Coptic scribal circles and cannot therefore be taken as a reliable indicator of Greek educational activities.

Viewing these kinds of alphabet texts critically against the broader spectrum of available papyrological and archaeological data helps to shed 'pre-understandings' and to confront certain 'railroading epistemologies' that have largely defined modern scholarly approaches to the study of education in Graeco-Roman Egypt. With this also comes the recognition of the fundamental challenge, expressed by the archaeologist Clive Gamble, to 'move from our frame of meaning . . . to that of the people studied. Rather than imposing our view of how their world worked, we have instead a dialogue of difference.'[119]

[119] Gamble 2001: 36.

CHAPTER 11

Neo-Punic and Latin inscriptions in Roman North Africa
Function and display

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1 NEO-PUNIC AND LATIN IN THE EPIGRAPHIC LANDSCAPE OF ROMAN NORTH AFRICA

This chapter examines the function and display of neo-Punic, neo-Punic and Latin bilingual, and Latino-Punic[1] inscriptions in Roman North Africa, especially in Tripolitania and Lepcis Magna. I will consider how and why Punic was used as a language for monumental euergetism alongside Latin by assessing both the public setting of the neo-Punic texts, and the extent to which there was cultural interchange between the epigraphic habits in the two languages. I will also look at some non-monumental neo-Punic and bilingual texts which provide a wider context for the monumental inscriptions by shedding light on bilingual practice in other situations.

Neo-Punic is the name conventionally given to the cursive development of the Phoenician–Punic script used in North Africa. It is usually held that while the neo-Punic script is occasionally attested before the sack of Carthage in 146 BC in the Third Punic War, it is most common after 146 BC when it becomes the normal script for epigraphic Punic.[2] There are problems, however, with this chronology. Most neo-Punic inscriptions are undatable on internal evidence, and are dated after 146 BC on the basis of the cursive script – and this dating is then used, by a circular argument, to date the script. Although most inscriptions relating to the burials in the

I am grateful to Alex Mullen for the invitation to contribute, to Josephine Quinn, Lisa Fentress, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Fergus Millar, the editors and anonymous reviewers for comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and to Josephine Quinn for letting me see a copy of her chapter on Lepcis in advance of publication. The audiences at the conference and at the Roman Discussion Forum seminar in Oxford where a version of this paper was presented also made some helpful suggestions. James Adams, as always, has provided invaluable pointers to bibliography and linguistic advice. Hannah Friedman prepared the distribution maps on the basis of my lists and with coordinate data kindly provided by Jack Hanson. Errors and misinterpretations are of course mine alone.

[1] Latino-Punic is the term used for inscriptions where the Punic language is written in Latin script.

[2] See Amadasi Guzzo 2005 for a brief review of the development of the scholarship distinguishing Phoenician, Punic and neo-Punic.

Carthage tophet are indeed in non-cursive Punic, not all are, so neo-Punic was clearly in use before the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. Conversely, Punic script was used after 146 BC, since the bilingual inscription with Punic lettering from the mausoleum of Ateban at Dougga is usually dated after 146 BC on grounds of architectural style. The only safe conclusion seems to be that there was a longish transitional period of overlap during at least the second century BC when both the non-cursive and cursive versions of the script were in use simultaneously, as indeed one might expect.

The vast majority – 99 per cent – of Punic (as opposed to neo-Punic) inscriptions are either votive dedications to Tanit or Ba'al, or funerary inscriptions. These are highly formulaic, as illustrated by two examples from El Hofra in Algeria which, while completely standard in their phraseology, are by dedicants with Greek names and are transliterated or display bilingual phenomena. One is a transliterated text, in the Punic language but written in Greek letters:

> *LPE* El Hofra GP1
>
> ΛΑΔΟΥΝ ΛΥΒΑΛ ΑΜΟΥΝ ΟΥ
> ΛΥΡΥΒΑΘ·ΩΝ ΘΙΝΙΘ ΦΑΝΕ ΒΑΛ
> ΥΣ ΝΑΔΩΡ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡ·ΟΣ ΒΥΝ
> ΖΩΠΥΡΟΣ ΣΑΜΩ ΚΟΥΛΩ ΒΑ-
> ΡΑΧΩ
>
> To the lord Bal Ammon and our lady Thinith, the countenance of Bal, which Sosipatros, son of Zopyros, vowed. He heard his voice and blessed him.

The other is in the Greek language, but uses entirely Punic phraseology, even down to code-switching the title of Tanit as 'fene Ba'al'. The dedicant, of course, has a Greek name, Alkimedes, and Ba'al becomes Cronos:

> *LPE* El Hofra GP2
>
> ΚΡΟΝΩΙ ΘΕΝ-
> ΝΕΙΘ ΦΕΝΗ Β
> ΑΛ ΕΘΥΣ[ΕΝ Α]
> ΛΚΙΜΗΔΗ[Σ]
> ΚΑΙ ΕΠΗΚ[ΟΥ]
> [ΣΕ] ΤΗ[Ν ΦΩΝΗΝ]
>
> To Cronos (= Ba'al), Thenith, countenance of Ba'al. [A]lkimedes sacrificed <it> and he he[ard] hi[s voice ?]

The neo-Punic epigraphy from North Africa includes such votive and funerary inscriptions, but under Roman domination the range of

epigraphic types widened under influence from the Latin epigraphic habit. Analysis of the use of neo-Punic inscriptions in Africa under Roman rule has, however, been greatly retarded by the tendency of epigraphic corpora to restrict themselves to inscriptions in a particular language: both *CIL* VIII and Joyce Reynolds and John Ward-Perkins' *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (*IRT*) omit the neo-Punic text in Latin–neo-Punic bi-version bilinguals or Latin–Greek–neo-Punic tri-version trilinguals, though *IRT* gives the Greek in Latin–Greek bilinguals or in trilinguals.[3] It generally says of bilingual or trilingual inscriptions that the neo-Punic versions simply translate the Latin, although as we shall see, many manifestly do not. Giorgio Levi Della Vida's collection *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania* (published by Maria Amadasi Guzzo from the author's notes after his death) includes both Punic and neo-Punic inscriptions but relegates the Latin text of the neo-Punic–Latin bilingual inscriptions to footnotes.[4] Even in more localised collections of inscriptions, Latin and neo-Punic texts are published separately; of the dedications to Ba'al/Saturn from Teboursouk, only the anepigraphic and neo-Punic stelai were published by Mhamed Fantar while publication of the closely related (and possibly exactly contemporary) Latin dedications found with them was entrusted to Azedine Beschaouch.[5] Fantar's discussion of connections between the two is limited to a footnote observing that the phrase *diem faustum et bonum* of the Latin texts is a straightforward translation of the Punic formula BYM N'M WBRK.[6] Fortunately, the recent selection of neo-Punic texts from North Africa and elsewhere in Karel Jongeling and Robert Kerr's *Late Punic Epigraphy* (*LPE*) does give parallel texts in bilingual or trilingual inscriptions, but this is a selection and not a corpus, and the commentary is restricted to linguistic features, with no information about context or physical form and features of the inscriptions.[7] Jongeling's *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (2008) also gives parallel texts for bilingual and trilingual inscriptions, and does give line drawings for many (though not all) of the Punic texts – but does not give translations or drawings of the Greek and Latin texts of bilingual or trilingual inscriptions.[8] Most strangely, it gives no information for any of the inscriptions about the nature of the support (stone, ostraca, metal object) or its context (building inscription, funerary stele, etc.). For this information one has to revert to the earlier publications cited. The commentary is restricted entirely to linguistic points. It is therefore still

[3] Reynolds and Ward-Perkins 1952 (*IRT*); Reynolds 1955 for supplement. These defects have not been remedied in the recent online edition (http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/).
[4] Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987.
[5] Fantar 1974; I have not been able to find a publication of the Latin inscriptions.
[6] Fantar 1974: 12 n. 2. [7] Jongeling and Kerr 2005. [8] Jongeling 2008.

true to say that no epigraphic corpus for North Africa, for any ancient language, systematically gives photographs, and thus they all utterly fail to convey the visual impression of inscriptions, including the relative impact of different languages or scripts and their relation to any iconography on a monument. The fragmentation of modern scholarly interests within narrow horizons has greatly hampered analysis of the cross-cultural significance of the epigraphic material. I include myself in that characterisation – as I am no expert in Punic, I rely in this paper on the transcriptions and translations of others, chiefly those of Jongeling and Kerr.[9]

This chapter, therefore, collects the evidence for bilingual and trilingual texts involving neo-Punic and Latin, presenting texts, translations and where possible illustrations in an effort to examine how the epigraphic record illuminates the changing relationships between Latin and Punic over time, and what that might say not only about linguistic but also cultural interaction, by looking at: (1) bilingual or trilingual inscriptions where neo-Punic occurs with Latin and sometimes with Greek; (2) those neo-Punic inscriptions which depart from the traditional epigraphic formulae or functions found in Punic epigraphy; and (3) inscriptions in the Punic language which use Latin script.

In 146 BC the linguistic landscape of North Africa was a mixture of Punic and Libyan, with Greek as a cultured and trading lingua franca in the Hellenistic cultural *koine* of the central Mediterranean. Latin, introduced initially as the language of the conquerors, eventually became the new lingua franca, but only after a time lag of at least a century. There are a mere five Latin inscriptions from North Africa that pre-date 46 BC, all from the region around Utica, Carthage and Cap Bon;[10] it was only after the wave of Caesarian and Augustan colonisation in Africa that Latin began to

[9] The current scholarly practice for transcribing and publishing neo-Punic inscriptions is, frankly, a mess. No Punic or neo-Punic font has been devised, and so neo-Punic inscriptions are not published in their original characters but are transcribed either into Hebrew (unhelpful for those who do not know Hebrew), or into a variety of systems using the Latin alphabet (upper- or lower-case) plus symbols for additional letters, with often idiosyncratic ways of marking uncertain readings. In this paper I have chosen to follow *IPT* in using upper-case transcriptions, which I consider marginally easier to read than Jongeling and Kerr's lower-case transcriptions, but I have signalled uncertain readings with italics rather than overdotting. (The normal habit of rendering uncertain readings in inscriptions by underdotting is ruled out for neo-Punic by the practice of transcribing emphatic consonants by underdotted letters.) The letters for N and T are virtually indistinguishable in Tripolitanian neo-Punic and where it is impossible to decide from the context these are rendered as N/T. My readings generally follow *LPE* or Jongeling 2008 as being the most recent linguistic treatments, and except where otherwise noted I adopt their translations.

[10] Zucca 1996 (Carthage, Tunes, Utica, Uthina and Curubus); Quinn 2003: 16.

dominate the epigraphic habit. But when it did, from the Augustan period onwards, it did so quickly and spectacularly: North Africa is one of the richest regions for Latin inscriptions, especially on stone – some 30,000, as opposed to a few hundred neo-Punic inscriptions. The cursive script of neo-Punic is more difficult to carve, but this is hardly an adequate explanation for the epigraphic ousting of neo-Punic by Latin, since the rustic capitals which became popular for Latin inscriptions in the second and third centuries AD also show a considerable degree of cursive development.

The greatest concentrations of neo-Punic inscriptions have been found in the eastern Maghreb in what is now northern Tunisia and north-eastern Algeria, where they are mainly votive and funerary, and in Tripolitania, where the functional range is wider and includes more building inscriptions (Fig. 11.1). Jongeling's *Handbook*, which collects all published neo-Punic (but not Latino-Punic) texts, contains 645 neo-Punic inscriptions (including bi- and tri-version bilinguals and trilinguals), of which some forty-three are ostraca, graffiti on pottery, amphora stamps, or other inscriptions on portable objects; the rest are on stone.[11] Of these roughly 600 inscriptions on stone, twenty-four are bilingual in neo-Punic and Latin, five bilingual in neo-Punic and Libyan, and three are trilinguals (all in neo-Punic, Greek and Latin). None of the neo-Punic inscriptions on stone is later than the third century AD, and possibly not even later than the second century. In addition, there are some transliterated texts: three known Graeco-Punic inscriptions, in which the Punic language is written in Greek script (these may all date from the second or first century BC), and *LPE* lists sixty-eight Latino-Punic inscriptions in which the Punic language is written in Latin script, of which five are ostraca and one is a brickstamp.[12]

Before dealing with the bilingual inscriptions in neo-Punic and Latin, it is worth considering the occurrences of neo-Punic with other languages in North Africa (Fig. 11.2). There is a bilingual inscription in Punic and Libyan recording the construction of a temple at Dougga in 139 BC, and another roughly contemporary bilingual inscription on the mausoleum of Ateban at Dougga (usually dated after 146 BC on the rather uncertain grounds of architectural decoration of the mausoleum, despite the use of Punic script: see above, pp. 265–266).[13] Other Punic–Libyan bilinguals from Mechta des Beni Oukden and Sigus (Algeria) and Lixus (Morocco) are all funerary.[14] So too the five bilingual inscriptions in neo-Punic and Libyan from Mactar, Teboursouk and Bordj Helal in Tunisia, and Guelma and Aïn el-Kebech in

[11] Jongeling 2008. [12] Jongeling and Kerr 2005. [13] *RIL* 1 and 2. [14] *RIL* 803, 813, 881.

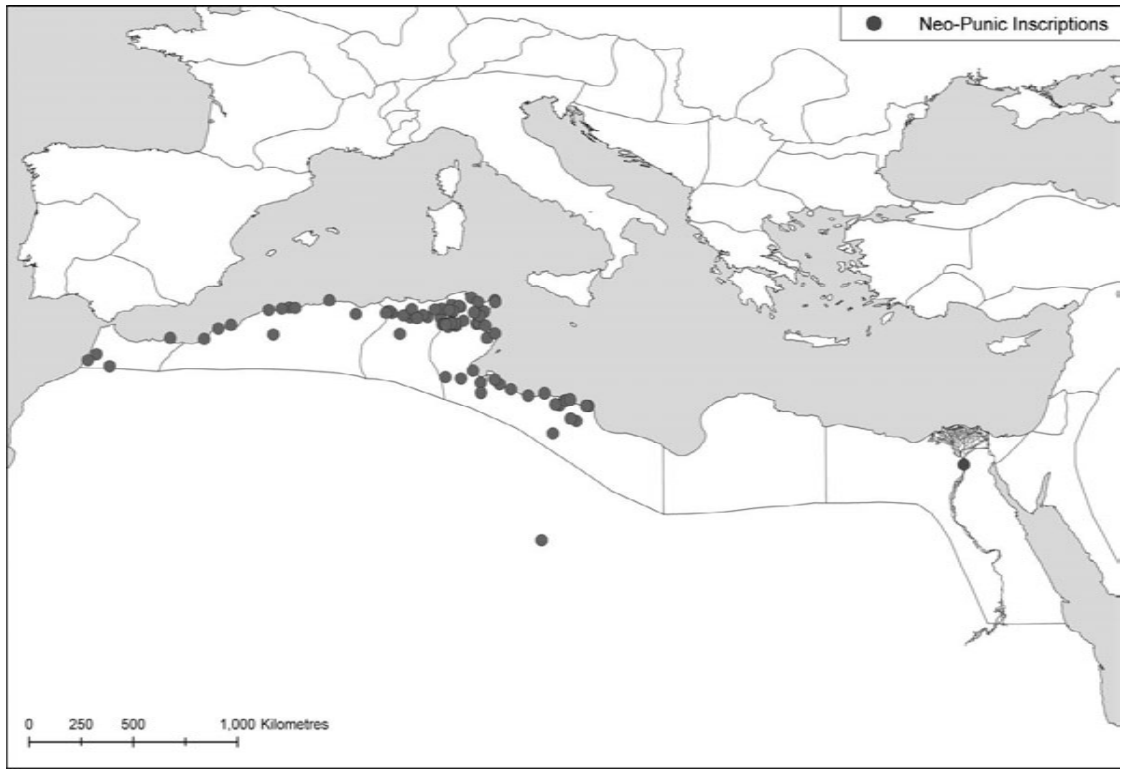

Figure 11.1 Distribution of neo-Punic inscriptions in North Africa (A. Wilson/H. Friedman; data from Jongeling 2008).

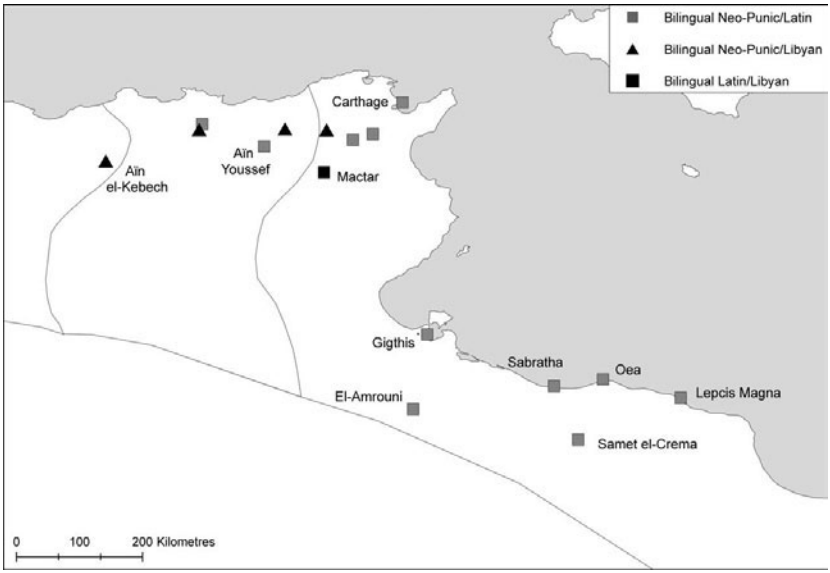

Figure 11.2 Distribution of neo-Punic bilingual inscriptions in North Africa (A. Wilson/H. Friedman; data from Jongeling 2008).

Algeria, are all funerary.[15] Neo-Punic–Libyan bilinguals are thus even rarer than neo-Punic–Latin bilinguals, and this is possibly to be explained by differences in the epigraphic tradition of these languages: most inscriptions in Libyan alone found within the area of Roman territory are short funerary texts on stelai, while those from south of the frontier (the Fazzan, for instance), consist of little more than personal names, often inscribed on the natural rock.[16] Similarly, there are few bilingual Latin–Libyan inscriptions (fifteen, all funerary);[17] outside the funerary domain the functional ranges of Latin and Libyan inscriptions rarely intersect. By contrast, as we shall see, many of the bilingual neo-Punic–Latin inscriptions are monumental building inscriptions, although some are funerary or votive.

[15] *LPE* Hr. Maktar N54 = *RIL* 31; *LPE* Teboursouk N2 = *RIL* 12 (where the neo-Punic text contains just the name of the deceased, while the Libyan is longer); *LPE* Bordj Helal N1 = *RIL* 72; *LPE* Guelma N40 = *RIL* 657; *LPE* Aïn el-Kebech N1 = *RIL* 451.

[16] For Libyan inscriptions, see Gsell 1921: I 310–311; Chabot 1940–1941 (*RIL*); Février 1956; Millar 1968: 128–130; Daniels 1975; Brogan 1975; Brett and Fentress 1996: 37–41.

[17] *RIL* 85 = *CIL* VIII 17317; *RIL* 145 = *CIL* VIII 5218 + 17933, *ILAf* 138; *RIL* 146 = *CIL* VIII 5209, *ILAf* 137; *RIL* 147 = *CIL* VIII 17396 = 5225a, *ILAf* 153; *RIL* 150 = *CIL* VIII 5216, *ILAf* 141; *RIL* 151 = *CIL* VIII 5220 + 17395, *ILAf* 147; *RIL* 182 = *ILAf* 152; *RIL* 193 = *ILAf* 145; *RIL* 252 = *ILAf* 156; *RIL* 288 = *CIL* VIII 17320, *ILAf* 169; *RIL* 289 = *CIL* VIII 17319, *ILAf* 168; *RIL* 510; *RIL* 665 = *ILAf* 468; *RIL* 844; *RIL* 906.

The majority of neo-Punic inscriptions that belong to the Roman period and diverge from the traditional votive or funerary formulae come from Tripolitania, and most here are from Lepcis. The numbers of inscriptions in the different languages illustrate the relative dominance of Latin in the epigraphy of Tripolitania: *IRT* lists 971 inscriptions, mostly in Latin, though a number have since proved to be Punic inscriptions in Latin script; Jongeling's *Handbook* has a total of 126 neo-Punic inscriptions from Tripolitania, of which five are graffiti on pottery. There are nine bilingual inscriptions in Latin and neo-Punic and three trilinguals, in Latin, Greek and neo-Punic.

I shall largely ignore votive and funerary stelai in the earlier Punic tradition, though they also illustrate the progressive adoption of Roman nomenclature by Punic families in the course of the first century AD.[18] The Roman period sees the use of cinerary chests and urns with the deceased's name in either neo-Punic or Latin, and the use of neo-Punic for graffiti on plaster and on pottery vessels, and ostraca dealing with agricultural produce, but I do not propose to examine these, other than to note that these forms extend the range of attested uses of neo-Punic beyond that which is attested for Punic. Nor shall I deal with coin legends, the neo-Punic and bilingual elements of which are well analysed by James Adams.[19]

2 BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS FROM LEPCIS MAGNA

That the Punic language was already being employed epigraphically before the Roman period for a wider range of purposes than simply funerary and votive uses is shown by a block found reused in the Byzantine wall around the Old Forum at Lepcis, which has been dated to the late second or early first century BC by its letter forms (Fig. 11.3), though in some respects these are more Punic than neo-Punic (Jongeling omits it from his corpus of neo-Punic inscriptions). It records a dedication by Hadrubal to Shadrapa and Melkashtart, with the elders of Lepcis granting approval. The civic magistrates are referred to by the Punic title 'sufetes' and there is no explicit mention of Roman magistracies or Roman formulae (*IPT* 31):[20]

1. L'DN LŠDRP' WLMLK'ŠTRT RBT 'LPQY M'Š [. . .]
2. H' DL HKT'RT 'L B'ṬN' 'Š NDR WṬYN' 'DRB'*L* BN K[. . .]

[18] Cf. Adams 2003: 213–219. [19] Adams 2003: 207–209.

[20] Lepcis had Punic magistracies until at least the Flavian period, but the absence of other Roman formulae might argue against a date in the first century AD. On *spṭ* ('sufet'), see Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 45–46.

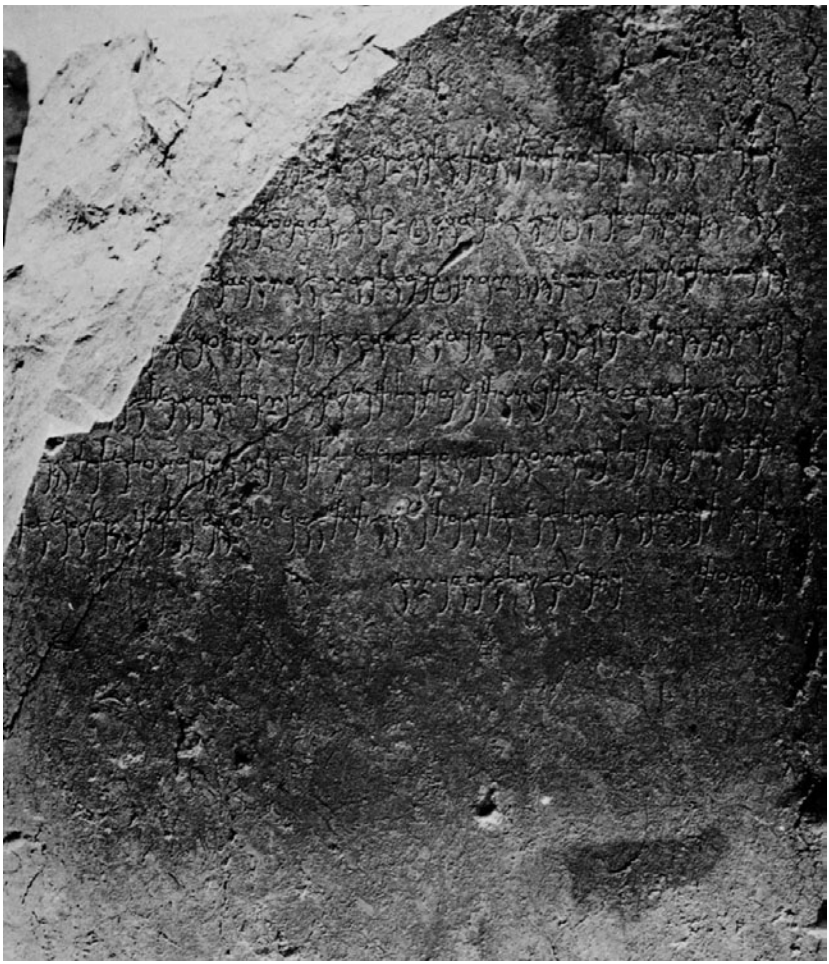

Figure 11.3 Dedication to Shadrapa and Melkashtart (*IPT* 31), found reused in the Byzantine defensive wall around the Old Forum at Lepcis Magna (Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: Pl. 19).

3. BN BD'ŠTRT MPQD BYRḤ ḤYR ŠPṬM B'LPQY 'RŠ WBDM*LQ*[RT]
4. M'Š HNḤŠT 'L M'KN' 'YTKD' 'DR' 'LPQY WKL 'M '[Ḫ]*P*[QY]
5. L'DM H' L'DRB'L 'T MŠWTM BTKLT MQM LPY KL 'RK'ML'..

6. ‘LNM WLMḤT KL NŠ’ Y‘GN WBṢ‘M N‘MM ’T M’NŠ’ W*N*BṢ‘ LMLKT HM*Q*[M]
7. WLMḤT B/KMYP’ YBL’M ’T ’BTM W’T T’RM ’L ‘RB MLKT HMQM ’T
8. KL HB‘T KŠM‘’ QL’ BRKY’

To the lord Shadrapa and to Melkashtart, patrons of Lepcis, this statue with its base over its moulding which has dedicated and erected Hadrubal, son of K[. . .]
son of Bodashtart, in office (?), in the month of ḤYR, the sufetes in Lepcis being Aris and Bodmelqart
the statue of bronze on its base. The elders of Lepcis and all the people of Lepcis granted approval
to which man, to Hadrubal, their contributions for the cost of the sacred place, in accordance with all the estimates [. . .]
and in addition to these, and to pay everything that they had borrowed and the profits (?) with a contribution (?) and profits (?) for the work of the sacred place,
and to pay, as is right . . . ?? . . . . as guarantee for the work of the sacred place
the entire sum. Because they heard his voice, they have blessed him.

This inscription perhaps adumbrates the trend that we see in Tripolitania from the Augustan period onwards, representing largely a new departure in the Punic epigraphic habit, with the appearance of building inscriptions, recording the erection of a public building as an act of euergetism, or civic benefaction, usually linked to competition for holding political office. This is a common Roman convention, and appears first at Lepcis on quintessentially Italian-style public buildings. The earliest such inscriptions are either bilingual texts in Latin and Punic on the same stone, or there are two equivalent inscriptions in the two languages from different parts of the same building. The first of these is from the *macellum* or market building; dating to 9–8 BC, this is the earliest dated public building at Lepcis. The building takes a form that would be thoroughly at home in Italy in this period: a rectangular colonnade with stalls between the columns, and two octagonal kiosks in the centre with further stalls.[21] The Lepcis example is in

[21] Gaggiotti’s thesis (1990a) that the architecture of the Roman *macellum* has Punic origins is utterly speculative and should be rejected. His hypothesis that *macellum* derives from a Punic root (Gaggiotti 1990b) is weakened by his inability to decide which root this might be. The Latin word *macellum* is in fact a borrowing from Greek (Ernout and Meillet 1932, s.v.; Walde and Hofmann 1954, s.v.); the origin of the Greek word is obscure, but may have been borrowed from Semitic, though Chantraine 2009, s.v. μάκελλον is doubful on this point (cf. Hofmann 1989: 255–256, who lists other authors’ opinions but does not commit himself to one of his own). Even if it does derive from a Semitic root, it is by no means necessary that it be from Punic rather than another Semitic language; moreover,

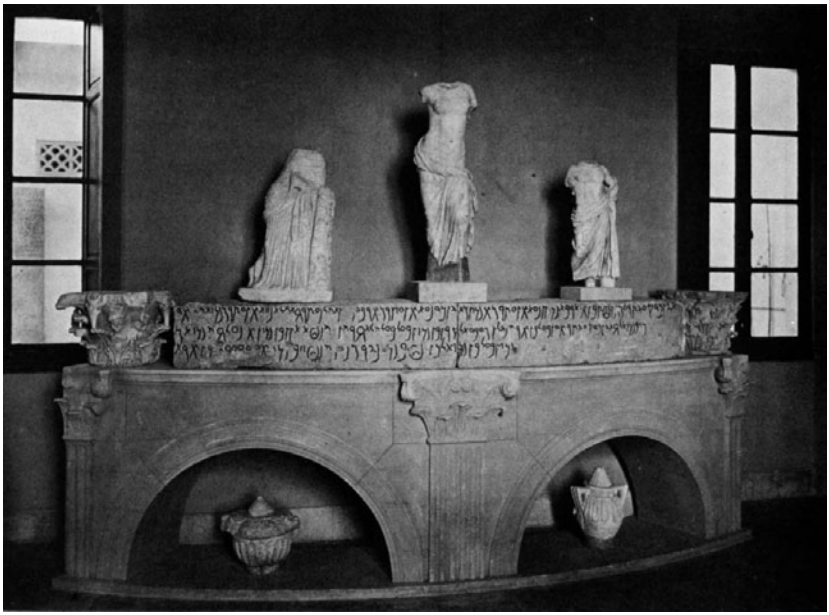

Figure 11.4 Neo-Punic inscription from the north-east *tholos* of the *macellum*, Lepcis Magna, 8 BC (*IPT* 21), recomposed on elements of the *tholos*, in the museum at Lepcis (Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: Pl. 8).

fact bigger than most Italian *macella* (and indeed than those outside Italy), which tend to be more square and have a single kiosk in the centre; but the differences in the Lepcis example may be attributed to the larger scale rather than any difference in conceptual design.[22] Two equivalent texts, one in Latin from the exterior of the building, and one in neo-Punic from inside the *macellum*, recorded the dedication of the building by a local notable, Annobal Tapapius Rufus.

The neo-Punic text of the building inscription is partially preserved on two blocks from the frieze that ran around the circular part of the north-eastern kiosk in the *macellum* (*IPT* 21; Fig. 11.4). It was carved on three lines, but the left-hand ends of each line are missing, with a sizeable lacuna at the end of the inscription. The letters range between 2.5 and 8.5 cm high:

the derivation comes via Greek and there is absolutely no reason to believe that the architectural form of the Roman *macellum* is Punic, a supposition for which concrete evidence is wholly lacking. See de Ruyt 1983: 225–235, 280–282.

[22] Degrassi 1951; cf. de Ruyt 1983: 97–106, 296.

1. MYNKD Q'YSR 'WGSṬS BN '*L*M RB MḤNT P'MṬ 'SR W'ḤT WMYNKD P'M'T 'SR W'RB' W*TḤ*T MŠLT 'SR HMŠLM P'M'T 'SR WḤMŠ 'D[R KHNM]
2. WZBḤM LHMYNKD Q'YSR 'DNB'L BN 'RŠ *P*YLN/T W'BDMLQRT BN ḤNB'L B'L ŠLM HRŠT [...] ŠPṬM MTN BN ḤN' P'L HŠḤM W[
3. ḤNB'L BN ḤMLKT ṬBḤPY RWPS ŠPṬ ZBḤ 'DR 'ZRM BT'RM [ ]

Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of a god, head of the army for the 11th time, *imperator* for the 14th time, having the authority of the ten rulers for the 15th time, chief [of the ?priests].
The sacrificers of the *imperator* Caesar being Iddibal son of Arish PYLN and Abdmelqart son of Annobal, executor of the ŠLM sacrifice of the firstling, and while the sufetes were Mutun son of Hanno, maker of bouquets (?) and [... son of...],
Annobal, son of Himilcho, Tapapius Rufus, sufes, sacrificer, lord of the 'ZRM offering, according to plan [made it at his own expense and dedicated it ??].

The treatment of Latin terms and imperial titles is particularly interesting, involving transliteration of 'Caesar' and 'Augustus', and calques on other Latin words, in one case apparently with some interference from Libyan. Unlike Greek inscriptions, in which Augustus is usually translated as Σεβαστός, this inscription simply transliterates 'Augustus' as well as 'Caesar' and may suggest that it is considered as a name rather than a title.[23] Apart from these two transcriptions, the Punic text is kept deliberately free of Latin borrowings.[24] The word MYNKD, used to render *imperator*, seems to be closely related to the word MNKDH in Libyan inscriptions, meaning something like 'leader'.[25] RB MḤNT, corresponding to the Latin *consul*, means 'head of the army', and *tribunicia potestate* is calqued as 'having the authority of the ten rulers'.[26] The term that must have translated *pontifex maximus* is incomplete, the first word is to be reconstructed as 'D[R] 'chief' and the rest of the phrase is plausibly completed with KHNM, to give 'chief of the priests'. *Flamen* is rendered as ZBḤ 'sacrificer'.[27] The expression BT'RM, made it 'according to plan', must then be a calque on the Latin *faciendum curauit* (or *coerauit*), which is the parallel element in the Latin inscription.[28] The title 'lord of the 'ZRM

[23] Cf. Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 55–56. [24] Adams 2003: 222.
[25] Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 48–50; Adams 2003: 222; Jongeling 2008: 22.
[26] Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 37–39; Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: 50.
[27] Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 42–43.
[28] I follow Jongeling in reading BT'RM ('according to plan') rather than *IPT*'s reading BN 'RM ('son of Arim').

Figure 11.5 Latin building inscription from the external south wall of the *macellum*, 8 BC (The British School at Rome Archive, *IRT* Collection, 319, reproduced by kind permission of The British School at Rome).

offering' is rendered in the Latin by the more neutral *praefectus sacrorum*; 'executor of the ŠLM sacrifice' has no equivalent in the surviving Latin and remains unexplained, although the suggestion that the ŠLM sacrifice was some kind of peace offering (cf. Hebrew ša:lo:m) is perhaps attractive.[29]

The corresponding Latin text (*IRT* 319) was engraved in lapidary capitals about 15 cm high on thirty-one blocks of the external south-west wall of the market, over and beside the south entrance (Fig. 11.5):

> [imp(erator) Caesar diui f(ilius) Augustus] co(n)s(ul) XI imp(erator) XIIII trib(unicia) pot(estate) XV pont(ifex) m[axi]mus
> M(arco) Licinio Marci f(ilio) Crasso Frugi co(n)s(ule) augure proco(n)s(ule) patrono flaminibus Augusti Caesaris Iddibale Arinis f(ilio) [Pil]one [et Ammicare A]nnobalis [f(ilio)] . . . on.. [su]fetib(us) M[uttun(e) Annonis f(ilio)]
> Annobal Imilcho(nis) f(ilius) Tapapius Rufus sufes flamen praefectus sacrorum de sua pequ[nia] faciun[dum coe]rauit idem[que] de[d]icauit.

[29] A suggestion which I owe to an anonymous reader of this paper.

> *Imperator* Caesar Augustus, son of the deified one, consul for the 11th time, *imperator* for the 14th time, invested with tribunician power for the 15th time, *pontifex maximus*.
> With the proconsul Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi, son of Marcus, consul and augur, acting as patron, the *flamines* of Caesar Augustus being Iddibal Pilo, son of Aris, and Ammicar . . . on.., son of Annobal, the sufetes being Muttun, son of Anno,
> Annobal Tapapius Rufus, son of Himilcho, sufes, *flamen*, prefect of the sacred rites, had this made from his own money, and dedicated it.

This is of course a fairly standard Latin euergetism formulation, in both texts, with the imperial titulature giving the date; the Latin version certainly and the Punic version very probably said that Annobal Tapapius Rufus had the market built from his own money, and dedicated it. The two texts are closely similar, although the name of the proconsul is missing from the Punic text, probably because the end of line 1 is missing. Annobal is a clearly a local with good Punic names, but the Latin presents them in the *tria nomina* format with the paternal filiation. Josephine Quinn has recently pointed out that the arrangement with the neo-Punic text on the kiosk within the *macellum* and the Latin text on the exterior wall makes the Latin more visible from the outside, but the Punic is visible for longer to those inside the building.[30] This is true, although the fact that the letters of the Latin inscription average 15 cm high while those of the neo-Punic reach a maximum of only 8.5 cm underscores the fact that the Latin text was much more striking. Moreover, the Punic inscription on the central circular part of the *tholos* would either have been placed directly under the roof of the outer, octagonal, part of the *tholos*, in which case it would not have been well lit, or much higher on the circular central section above the roof line, of the octagonal surround, in which case it could only have been read from a distance; either way, it can hardly have been easy to read.[31] The neo-Punic text was therefore much less visible and legible than the Latin. Nevertheless, the Latin text – the earliest dated surviving Latin building inscription from Lepcis – has not yet adopted some features of monumental Latin epigraphy: it is not framed or set off from the rest of the wall in any way, and not placed centrally over the south entrance. At some point the Latin text was obscured, plastered over along with the entirety of the external wall.

Annobal Tapapius Rufus appears again a few years later as the builder of the theatre, dedicated in AD 1 or 2. Again, this is a classically Italian

[30] Quinn 2010. [31] Cf. Degrassi 1951: 60.

Figure 11.6 Bilingual inscription (*IRT* 321 and *IPT* 24a) from over the corridor into the orchestra in the theatre at Lepcis Magna, commemorating the building of the theatre by Annobal Rufus, AD 1/2 (photo: A. Wilson).

building type, with the *cauea* raised on artificial vaulted sub-structures, a semicircular orchestra, and the *cauea* connected to the stage building over lateral corridors leading to the orchestra, to create an enclosed, inward-looking ensemble. The lintel over the door from the orchestra to the west lateral corridor carries a bilingual building inscription in a *tabula ansata* (Fig. 11.6; Latin *IRT* 321 followed by neo-Punic *IPT* 24a; cf. Jongeling 2008: 24–25):

> imp(eratore) Caesare diui f(ilio) Aug(usto) pont(ifice) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXIV co(n)s(ule) XIII patre patr(iae)
> Annobal Rufus ornator patriae amator concordiae
> flamen sufes praef(ectus) sacr(orum) Himilchonis Tapapi f(ilius) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fac(iendum) coer(auit)
> idemq(ue) dedicauit
> ḤNB'L MYŠQL 'RṢ MḤB D'T HTMT ZBḤ ŠPṬ 'DR
> 'ZRM BN ḤMLKT ṬBḤPY R'PS BT'RM BṬM P'L W'YQDŠ

Latin:

> When *Imperator* Caesar, son of the deified one, Augustus was *pontifex maximus*, invested with tribunician power for the 24th time, consul for the 13th time, father of his country,

> Annobal Rufus, decorator of his home city, lover of concord,
> *flamen*, sufes, prefect of sacred rites, son of Himilcho Tapapius, had this made from his own money,
> and dedicated it.

Neo-Punic:

> Annobal, who adorns the country, who loves friendship, sacrificer, sufet, lord
> of the 'ZRM offering, the son of Himilcho Tapapi, Rufus, made it according to plan at his own expense and consecrated it.

A virtually identical bilingual inscription (with differences only in the division of the text across lines) is carved on the corresponding lintel over the door from the orchestra to the east lateral corridor (Latin *IRT* 322 followed by *IPT* 24b). Both inscriptions are semantically non-equivalent bi-versions and there are greater differences between the Latin and neo-Punic texts than in the *macellum* dedications. Significantly, the neo-Punic omits the entire imperial titulature, as of less interest or relevance to the local audience; but this time Annobal does not quite cast his name in the *tria nomina* format: he is Hannobal Rufus, son of Himilcho Tapapi. At least, this seems to be what was intended in the Punic inscription (on the basis of what the Latin says), but all the names have been recarved to give the nominative case, leading to a degree of confusion. It seems that at this date, in the epigraphic context at least, Punic speakers were still playing around with the format of names. However, whereas in the *macellum* inscription the imperial titles were calqued from Latin into Punic, here in the theatre Annobal's (honorific?) appellations 'who adorns the country, who loves friendship' seem to be a local feature with no parallel in texts outside Lepcis and are calqued from Punic into Latin as *ornator patriae amator concordiae*. The Latin text also simply takes over the Punic term sufes for magistrate, and renders the Punic title 'lord of the 'ZRM offering' as the less specific *praefectus sacrum*.[32] Both texts therefore suggest somewhat non-idiomatic renderings of concepts expressed in the other; this is not a straightforward case of the primacy of one language over another, but rather where concepts or expressions in both are being made to fit the format of the other – Latin nomenclature and epigraphic formulae determine the format of the text but Punic titles and appellations also need to be expressed in the Latin.

Another lintel block with an identical Latin text (*IRT* 323) but no corresponding neo-Punic text was found in a reused context and has now

[32] Cf. Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 43–44.

Figure 11.7 Latin inscription (*IRT* 323) over the street entrance to the theatre at Lepcis Magna, AD 1/2 (photo: A. Wilson).

been replaced above the street entrance to the east dressing room (Fig. 11.7). If correctly re-erected, this would parallel the arrangement in the *macellum* where the exterior of the building bore a Latin inscription, and the interior a Punic one – or, in the case of the theatre, a bilingual one.

Latin was quickly being adopted for monumental epigraphy and soon we find building inscriptions in Latin alone, the earliest of which is from the *calchidicum*, or portico which contained an imperial shrine, near the theatre, built by Iddibal Caphada Aemilius, son of Himilis, in AD 11 or 12. Here the Latin inscription (*IRT* 324a) runs along the front of the building, and shorter versions (*IRT* 324 b and c) are repeated on the two gable ends. There would have been room to include a Punic inscription either in addition to or instead of one or both of the Latin side inscriptions; that this was not done was evidently a deliberate choice.[33] The different treatment of the central inscription and those of the two gable ends in some way parallels the arrangement of the Latin and neo-Punic texts of the theatre inscription: the longer text across the front of the building includes the dedication to Augustus while the gable texts omit it, emphasising only the local benefactor. But even though Latin was rapidly becoming the language of choice for display, different versions of the same text on different sides of the same building might still differ in the degree of vulgarisms they exhibited: one of the side inscriptions, *IRT* 324b, exhibits perfectly standard

[33] Conceivably there could have been a neo-Punic text, now lost, from inside the building, as in the *macellum*; but this is speculation.

Latin, while the other, *IRT* 324c, has the variant spelling *calcidicum* and omits the final *-m* of *porta* and *uia*, a vulgarism of orthography reflecting everyday speech:

> *IRT* 324a
>
> numini imp(eratoris) Caesaris Diui f(ili) Aug(usti) pont(ificis) m[ax(imi) imp(eratoris) XX co(n)s(ulis) XII]I tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXXIIII calchidicum et porticus et
> porta et uia ab XVuir(is) sac(rorum) [.. *c. 7*..dedica]ta est
>
> To the divine power of Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the deified (Caesar), [chief] priest, [acclaimed victor 20 times, consul 13 times], holding tribunician power for the 34th; the calchidicum and the porticoes and
> the gate and the road were dedicated by the commitee of 15 in charge of sacred affairs [.. ? ..].
>
> *IRT* 324b
>
> Iddibal Himilis f(ilius) Caphada Aemilius d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(urauit) calchidicum et porticus et portam et uiam
>
> Iddibal Caphada Aemilius, son of Himilis, saw to the construction of the calchidicum, porticoes, gate and street at his own expense.
>
> *IRT* 324c
>
> Iddibal Himilis f(ilius) Caphada Aemilius d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(urauit) calcidicum et porticus et porta et uia
>
> Iddibal Caphada Aemilius, son of Himilis, saw to the construction of the calchidicum, porticoes, gate and street at his own expense.

Only a few years later, between AD 14 and 19, the Temple of Roma and Augustus was erected in the Old Forum at Lepcis.[34] A more Roman building, in some senses, it might be hard to imagine, but the inscription that we have is in neo-Punic only, not Latin (*IPT* 22; Fig. 11.8). The inscription runs around the *cella* doorframe, and it is almost certain that we are missing a Latin dedicatory inscription running across the entablature of the front of the porch. Indeed, the fragmentary end of a monumental *tabula ansata* originally over a metre high seems to be all that remains of such an inscription from the architrave of the temple porch.[35] Not a single letter of this inscription itself survives, so we do not know what language it was in, but it seems inconceivable that there would not have been at least

[34] The mentions of Tiberius Augustus and Germanicus in *IPT* 22 provide a dating bracket of AD 14–19.
[35] Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005: 212–214.

Figure 11.8 Detail of neo-Punic inscription (*IPT* 22) from around the doorframe of the *cella* of the Temple of Roma and Augustus in the Old Forum at Lepcis Magna, AD 19–22 (Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: Pl. 10.22.1).

one Latin text recording the erection of the temple. If the inscription *IPT* 22 around the *cella* doorframe was its neo-Punic equivalent, this would suggest a separation of display functions, with the Latin monumentally more prominent, rather than the use of visually equal bilingual texts on the same stone. The surviving neo-Punic inscription mentions not only the erection of the temple (presumably – in the missing portion) but also the statues it contained – of divus Augustus and Roma, and also of other members of the imperial family – Tiberius, Julia, Germanicus, Drusus Caesar, Agrippina the wife of Germanicus, Livia the wife of Drusus, Antonia the mother of Germanicus and Agrippina the mother of Drusus.[36] It may have been felt especially desirable to have a roll call of the imperial family in a tongue 'understanded of the people', but the inscription also highlights in detail the outlay and expenditure on the statues, *quadriga* chariot (borrowed in neo-Punic as QDRYG') and other fittings of the temple. The Latin *diuus* 'deified' is rendered simply as 'LM 'god':

1. [. . . *c. 23* . . . NSKT Š'LM 'WGS]ṬS WHRM' WṬBRY
'WGSṬS WYHLY' 'WGSṬ' WGRM'NYQS WDR'SS Q'YS*R*
W'GRYPY*N*[' 'ŠT Š]GRM'NYQS *W*[LYWY' 'ŠT Š DR']SS

[36] For the physical arrangement, and surviving portions of the statue cycle, see Di Vita and Livadiotti 2005: 231–235.

W'NṬ'NY' '[M GR]/M'NYQS W'GRYP*YN*[' 'M] DR'SS WM'SP ŠHNSKT Š'LM 'WGSṬS WKS'T ŠHNSKT L'LM 'WGSṬS
2. [. . . *c. 18 or 19* . . . ŠHNSKT L'LM] 'WGSṬS WMSWY'T ŠHNSKT ŠGRM'NYQS WŠDR'SS Q'YS[R]'YN/T ŠLṬBRY '*W*GSṬS WQDRYG' Š*L* [GRM'NY]*QS* WLDR'SS *Q*['YSR] WDLHT ŠNḤŠT WMSPN/T MḤ'*RP*[T WḤ]ṢRT HMQDŠ WŠ'RP'T NLQḤ' BTṢ'TM BMT 'T R ŠPṬM B'LYTN BN ḤN' G[ ]S'TRNYN'
3. WBDMLQRT BN BDMLQRT ṬBḤPY [. . .]RYQL'

[Was constructed and consecrated this temple with the statues of the god Augu]stus and of Roma and of Tiberius Augustus and of Julia Augusta and of Germanicus and of Drusus Caesar and of Agrippin[a wife] of Germanicus and [of Livia wife of Dru]sus and of Antonia mo[ther of Ger]manicus and of Agripp[ina mother] of Drusus. And the entirety of the statue of the god Augustus and the throne of the statue of the god Augustus.
[. . . *c. 18 or 19* . . . of the statue to the god] Augustus and the covering of the statue of Germanicus and of Drusus Caesa[r and . . .] for Tiberius Augustus and the *quadriga* for [Germani]cus and for Drusus C[aesar] and the bronze door and the soffit of the portico and the courtyard of the temple and the porticoes were offered at the expense . . . , when the sufetes were BLYTN son of Anno G. Saturninus
and Bodmelqart son of Bodmelqart Tapapi . . . RYQL'.

There is however a trilingual building inscription, in Latin, neo-Punic and Greek, relating to a shrine or temple of the emperor (Fig. 11.9; *IRT* 481; *IPT* 16; *SEG* IX 802). Since it was found on three blocks reused in the fort at Ras el-Hammam 4 km south-east of Lepcis, its reconstruction presents some problems. It came presumably from Lepcis, and possibly even from the Temple of Roma and Augustus in the Old Forum, or perhaps from the *calchidicum*. The inscription is not complete, and there is debate over the order of the blocks. Levi Della Vida reconstructs as follows:

C[a]ecil[i]us Diodorus [. . . me]dium murum [s]u[p]r[a . . .]
Caesaris delubrum e[t] a[trium addidit imperatore Tiberio t]ribunicia potestat[e . . . *c. 15* . . . pontifi]ce maxsum[o cos . . . impe . . .

[. . .]Q'YSR BN 'LM [ ]DR[ ] 'WGSṬS HY*P*'Y/M 'T[. . .]

Καικίλιος Διόδωρος ἅμα[. . . *c.* 20 . . . ἥμισυ τείχο]υς μόνος τὸν ναὸν [τοῦ θείου Καίσαρος] καὶ τὸ πρόν[αον . . .]
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εὔξατο θ[. . . *c.* 30] δεων αὐτοκράτο[ρος Τιβερίου . . .]

Figure 11.9 Trilingual building inscription (*IRT* 481; *IPT* 16; *SEG* IX 802) recording the erection of an imperial temple or shrine. Ras el-Hammam, probably reused from Lepcis Magna. Reign of Tiberius (The British School at Rome Archive, *IRT* Collection, 481, reproduced by kind permission of The British School at Rome).

Latin:

> Caecilius Diodorus [. . .] the middle wall above [. . .] added the shrine of Caesar and the *a[trium* when Tiberius was *imperator* and held t]ribunician power [. . . *pontife*]*x maximu*[*s, consul* . . . *imperator* . . .]

Neo-Punic:

> [. . .] Caesar, the son of god, Augustus [. . .]

Greek:

> Caecilius Diodorus alone (?) [. . .] the middle wall [. . .] the shrine [of the deified Caesar] and the *pro[naos* . . .] made at his own expense [. . .] when Tiberius was emperor . . .

In this case the inscription seems to have been essentially similar in the three different languages, but the Latin and Greek each take up two lines, and the Punic, more concise because of the lack of vowels, only one. The Punic letters appear smaller, less deeply carved, and thus less obvious, than the Latin and Greek texts they are sandwiched between, but conceivably the eye of a native speaker would have been drawn to the Punic, framed by the other texts above and below. Here, however, the dedication spoke to all the major languages of this port city – the official Latin, the local Punic, and the Greek of passing traders and an educated or cosmopolitan elite.

Closely contemporary is a neo-Punic inscription from Ras el-Haddagia in the Tripolitanian hinterland, recording the dedication of a statue of a bull at a shrine or temple to Ammon, between AD 15 and 17 (*IPT* 76). This gives the dating by the proconsul in the Roman fashion, with a periphrasis to express in Punic the concept of the province of Africa – 'the land of the Libyans',[37] a Punic-style genealogy, and then a phrase 'at his expense completely' which evidently renders the normal Latin formula *sua pecunia fecit*, together perhaps with a phrase like *a solo* or *a fundamentis* for 'completely'. This inscription, therefore, switches between formulae common in each language's epigraphic tradition:

> L'DN L'MN M'Š 'LM ŠP'R ST WMQDŠ BT'Y WḤRP'T 'Š B'N' W'YQDŠ
> BŠT RB T'ḤT RB MḤNT BŠD LWBYM LWQY 'YLY L'MY' N/TKSP BN
> Š'SYDW'SN/T BN N/TMRR 'Š BBN' M'SNK'W BTṢ'TM BTM

> To the Lord Ammon: this divine statue of a bull and the sanctuary of his rooms and the porticoes which has built and consecrated,
> in the year of the proconsul in the land of the Libyans Lucius Aelius Lamia, NKSP son of
> Shasidwasan, the son of NMRR, who is among the sons of Masankaw,
> at his own expense completely.

The same formula to render a proconsular dating in neo-Punic was evidently used in the recently discovered inscription from the mausoleum

[37] Cf. Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 44.

of Gasr Doga, also in the hinterland of Lepcis and dating from the first century AD. The phrase BŠT RB T'Ḥ[T RB MḤNT BŠD LWBYM], 'in the year of the proconsul in the land of the Libyans', may be reconstructed on one of the two blocks of the fragmentary inscription. The inscription itself was very finely carved and shows influence (visual 'interference', if one wishes to use a linguistic metaphor) from Latin epigraphic practice both in the possible employment of a punctuation mark to separate words (not normally a feature of neo-Punic inscriptions, but found also in the Ras al-Haddagia inscription), and in the use of faint horizontal guidelines to assist in carving the lettering.[38]

A generation later than the Ras al-Haddagia inscription, in AD 53/54, the Old Forum, in which the Temple of Roma and Augustus and other temples stood, was equipped with a colonnade and paved. Two nearly identical stelai in local limestone, erected in front of the tribunal extending from the podium of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, each recorded the work in a bilingual Latin and neo-Punic inscription (Figs. 11.10, 11.11). The Latin inscription of twenty-five lines starts with the full imperial titulature of Claudius, names the dedicating consul who is the city's patron, and gives the name of the current proconsul of Crete and Cyrene and propraetorian legate of Africa, before recording that Caius, son of Anno, paid for the construction in the name of his grandson Caius, and his adopted son Balitho carried it out. The neo-Punic text which follows is just four lines long; it gives a close rendering of the last nine lines of the Latin, but omits the entirety of the imperial titulature and the mention of the dedication by the proconsul. As with the theatre inscriptions of Annobal Tapapius Rufus (*IRT* 321 and *IPT* 24a; *IRT* 322 and *IPT* 24b), the elements of the Latin text that link the local event to a wider imperial context could simply be dispensed with in the Punic text, which focuses exclusively on the contribution by a local notable.

Latin text, bronze letters (*IRT* 338):

> Ti(berio) Claudio | Drusi f(ilio) Cae|sari Aug(usto) Ger|manico pon|[tif(ici)] max(imo) trib(unicia) | potest(ate) XIII | imp(eratori) XXVII co(n)s(uli) | V cens(ori) p(atri) p(atriae) | M(arcus) Pompeius Silua|nus co(n)s(ul) XVuir s(acris) f(aciundis) | proco(n)s(ul) patron(us) | dedicauit | Q(uinto) Cassio Grato pr(aetore) | proco(n)s(ule) Cretae et | Cyrena[ru]m leg(ato) | pro pr(aetore) Africae | C(aius) Annonis f(ilius) nomi|ne [C(ai)] Annonis f(ilii) n(epotis) | sui columnas cum | superficie et forum | d(e) s(ua)

[38] Bigi *et al.* 2009: 37–39.

Figure 11.10 Bilingual inscription (*IRT* 338; *IPT* 26a) recording the paving of the Old Forum at Lepcis Magna, AD 53/54 (photo: A. Wilson).

p(ecunia) d(edit) | Balitho Annonis | Macri f(ilius) Commodus | testamento adopta|tus f(aciendum) c(urauit)

In the reign of Tiberius Claudius Caesar, son of Drusus, Augustus Germanicus, *pontifex maximus*, endowed with tribunician power for

> the 13th time, *imperator* for the 27th time, consul for the 5th time, censor, father of his country, Marcus Pompeius Silvanus, consul, member of the board of 15 for carrying out sacrifices, proconsul, patron [of the city] dedicated this when Quintus Cassius Gratus was praetor and proconsul of Crete and the Cyreneans and propraetorian legate of Africa; Caius, son of Anno, in the name of Caius, son of Anno, his grandson, gave the columns with the paving and the forum from his own money. Balitho Commodus, son of Anno Macer adopted in his will, saw that this was done.

Cursive neo-Punic, inscribed (*IPT* 26):

> G‘Y BN ḤN’ LMBŠM G‘Y BN BNM M‘QR T‘MDM W
> T HM‘Q’M YGN WT HMḤZ RBD LMBMLKTM BTM B‘LYTN
> QMD’ ’Š ‘L’ BBNM ’T M‘QR BN G‘Y BKTBT DBR’
> HBT Š G‘Y BN ḤN’ K‘S LP‘L WḤTM

> Caius, son of Anno, in the name of Caius, son of his son Macer, had the columns and the place repaired and he had the forum paved according to their work, at his own expense. Baliton Commodus who entered as a son as a son among the sons with Macer, the son of Caius, through the means of a document concerning the affairs of the house of Caius, the son of Anno, had it made and completed it.

These texts are non-equivalent bi-versions, both idiomatic; the Latin conforms to the expected epigraphic formulae for euergetism inscriptions, while the Punic renders Latin phrases in its own idiom and simply omits the formulaic preamble with imperial and official titulatures as irrelevant to the neo-Punic reader. The concise legalistic Latin expression *testamento adoptatus* has to be rendered in Punic by a complex periphrasis: ‘who entered as a son among the sons with Macer, the son of Caius, through the means of a document concerning the affairs of the house of Caius’.

But there is another, important, difference in the presentation of the texts (Fig. 11.11). The Punic text is clearly subordinate to the Latin: not only does it follow it (almost at ground level, so one has to stoop to read it), and is much shorter, but whereas the Latin text was set into the stone in bronze letters, the Punic is simply carved into the stelai. The visual dominance of the twenty-five lines of Latin in bronze letters is such that it is easy to miss the four lines of shallowly incised Punic below it altogether. By the middle of the first century, then, although it was felt appropriate to inscribe in both languages, there was little doubt over their relative visible status in the epigraphic record. This, of course, was not the same as their relative frequency in everyday spoken currency.

Figure 11.11 Fragmentary inscription (*IPT* 26b) similar to the inscription in Fig. 11.10, showing holes for bronze letters of the Latin inscription, and the neo-Punic inscription carved into the stone (Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: Pl. 16.26b).

There are a handful of first-century AD building inscriptions which are just in neo-Punic, e.g. the dedication (*IPT* 32) of the podium of a temple near the harbour, dated on the basis of letter forms to around the middle of the first century AD:[39]

[. . .]M HBN' 'Š 'YB' T HP'MLHBṬ ST B'Y LYD[. . .]
[. . .]ḤMLKT DRYDS ṢMḤ ḤN' 'Š B'M '[LPQY]

[. . .]m, the builder, who offered (?) the podium (?) for this temple on the island of Lyd[. . .]

[39] *IPT* (*ad loc.*) suggests that 'Lyd[. . .]' was the name of one of the islets at the mouth of the Wadi Lebda, later incorporated into the Roman harbour works.

[. . .]ḤMLKT DRYDS, descendant of Hanno, who belongs to the people [of Lepcis].

This inscription shows the continued use of neo-Punic for building inscriptions in the mid first century, and, although fragmentary, it seems to have combined the information one would expect in a Latin euergetism text with idiomatic neo-Punic phraseology about the donor, 'who belongs to the people [of Lepcis]': one would not expect to find the equivalent ('Lepcitanus') in a Latin inscription as the Lepcitanian origin of a donor paying for a building at Lepcis would normally be taken for granted.

Another neo-Punic text, the dedication of an *exedra* and *portico* to the deity El (*IPT* 18), found in the eastern suburbs near the circus and amphitheatre, combines a building inscription with elements of the Punic votive epigraphic tradition: Candidus, son of Candidus, son of Anno, son of Abdmelqart, dedicated the *exedra* (a Latin loanword in the Punic text: 'KSNDR') to El 'because he heard his voice'. There is no use of the *tria nomina* but the single names do not indicate servile or freed status; this text follows the Semitic habit of listing several generations of the family, each of which is given as a single name, even though Candidus the dedicator is the second generation of his family with a Latin name:

L'DN L'L QN 'RṢ BN'W
'YQDŠ T 'KSNDR' WT'RPT ST
BTṢ'TM BTM Q'NDD' BN Q'NDD'
BN ḤN' BN 'BDMLQRT K ŠM' QL' BRK'

To the Lord El, creator of the earth, constructed
and consecrated this *exedra* and *portico*
at his own expense completely Candidus, son of Candidus,
son of Anno, son of Abdmelqart, because he heard his voice, he has blessed him.

An inscription on a sundial (*IPT* 67) has phraseology that would be equally at home in Latin, with 'at his expense' rendering *de sua pecunia fecit*:

'YDḤ 'RŠM BN B'LŠLK
HBN' BTṢ'TM BTM T HPN/T ST

Has had set up 'RŠM, son of B'LŠLK,
the builder, at his own expense completely, this sundial.

Three building inscriptions in neo-Punic only constitute names on single columns, recording that individuals had paid for the erection of a particular

column of a colonnade or portico (*IPT* 68, 73, 74). One came from the Old Forum, another from the portico of the *decumanus maximus* between the arches of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and the third is now in the mosque of Murad Agha at Tagiura, but probably originated from Lepcis. The demonstrably different findspots of at least two of these within Lepcis suggest that the practice of individual contributions to a larger project was common in several different building projects in the city:

IPT 68 (now in the Murad Agha mosque at Tagiura)

L'YLY'N'	Laelianus
P'L' BTM	made this at his own expense

IPT 73 (Lepcis, Old Forum)

SKST' BN DYDR'	Sextus the son of Diodorus
P'L' BTM	made this at his own expense

IPT 74 (Lepcis, portico between the arches of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius)

SRWY SLPQY PL'WṬ'	Servius Sulpicius Plautus

All three inscriptions record donors with Latin names, but are written only in neo-Punic. The P'L' BTM formula ('made this at his own expense') is clearly the equivalent of the common Latin formula *de sua pecunia fecit*.

A bracket of grey limestone from the *macellum* that presumably supported a statue, with a bilingual inscription in Latin and neo-Punic, in characteristically Roman fashion proclaims how much the dedication cost.[40] It was erected by Boncarth/Bodmelqart of the *quattuoruiri* of the *macellum* with money from fines exacted on traders, to which he had added a sum of his own to make up the total cost; and in accordance with Roman law the inscription specifies the total of the fines and the amount Boncarth had added from his own money. The neo-Punic is fragmentary but seems simply to have reproduced this information, with the normal equation of Liber Pater with Shadrapa and Boncarth with Bodmelqart; the Punic sufes seems to have been used to render *quattuoruir*:

Libero Patri sacr(um)
Boncarth Muthumbalis f(ilius)
Sydby IIIIuir macelli ex multis
(denariorum) LXII quibus adiecit de suo
(denarios) LIII

[40] *IRT* 294; *IPT* 25; *LPE* Lepcis Magna N17; Di Vita-Evrard 2005: 300–304.

Sacred to Liber Pater
Boncarth, son of Muthumbal
Sydby, *quattuoruir* of the *macellum*, from fines
62 *denarii* to which he added from his own (money)
53 *denarii*.

M'Š Z ṬYN' L'DN ŠDRP' *BD*MLQRT BN MTNB'L ŠDBY'
M*SPR*[ ]H*B*QR ŠPT*M* ṬN'*T*.
Ṭ[ ]WŠŠM WŠNM
[DN']*R*Y' ḤMŠM WŠLŠ

This statue has erected to the lord Shadrapa Bodmelqart, son of Mutumbal Sydby
[. . .]BQR sufetes [. . .]
[. . .] and sixty-two [. . .]
[. . . dena]ri fifty-three

Also from the *macellum* comes a bilingual Latin–neo-Punic inscription on a yellow limestone base found in the south-western portico (*IRT* 305; *IPT* 30). It is a dedication by a magistrate to Neptune, and consists of five short lines of Latin followed by a longer line of neo-Punic. Here, though, *aedilis* (or rather, *aedilicia potestate*)[41] and *quattuoruir* have become loanwords, 'YDLS and QW'ṬRBR. Within a century, the situation reflected in the Latin inscriptions from the *macellum* and theatre building dedications, which took over the Punic word sufes for a civic magistrate, has been reversed; neo-Punic is now adopting loanwords from Latin for particular posts of civic government:

Neptu[no]	Sacred to
Aug(usto) s[ac(rum)]	August Neptune
C(aius) Sossius [. . . *c.* 5 . . .]	Caius Sossius [. . .]
nus IIIIu[ir . . .]	nus *quattuoruir* [. . .]
pot(estate) de sua [pecunia posuit]	power set this up at his own expense.
[. . .]'YDLS QW'ṬRBR	aedile, *quattuoruir* [. . .] at his own
LM*B*[.]P/K*Ḥ* BT[M]	expense

A set of stone seats (Fig. 11.12), now in the Hadrianic Baths where they had probably been reused, carry inscriptions in neo-Punic recording that they were made by aediles from money received as fines (probably from market traders, as in the previous inscriptions), again enumerating in precise manner, and in accordance with Roman legal practice, how much the

[41] *IRT* 305, *ad loc.*

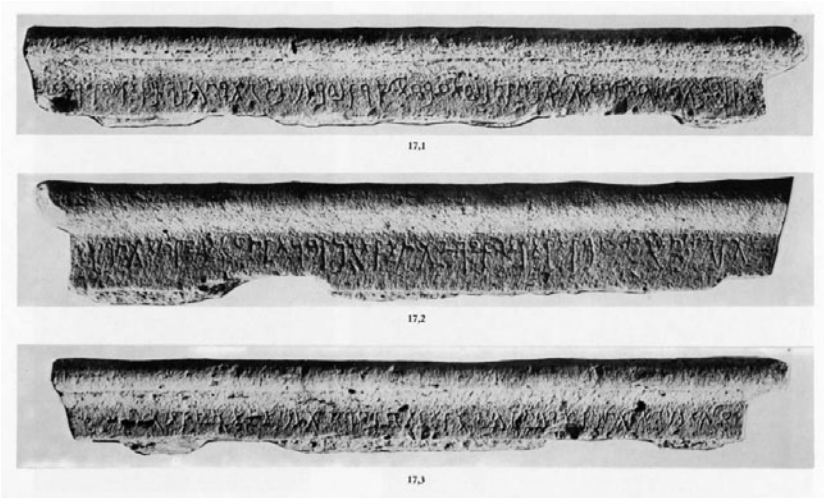

Figure 11.12 Three of the seats with neo-Punic inscriptions (*IPT* 17.1–3), found in the Hadrianic Baths, Lepcis Magna (Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: Pl. 6).

aediles had contributed from their own money, and how much from the fines received by the city (*IPT* 17):[42]

1. NP'L' ŠŠ HYŠBM 'L' BŠT ŠPṬM 'BDMLQRT ṬBḤPY W'RŠ HPRB TMNM DN'RY'
2. M'T WŠLŠM WŠLŠ BTM TMNM DN'RY' ŠMNM WKNDRM TŠ' LMB'NŠM 'Š BṢD
3. 'L HMḤZM 'Š KN' BHŠT HY WTMNM DN'RY' ḤMŠM WŠNM W[. . .]
4. [. . .]'/'K/BN/T*MQM*[. . .]
5. ['L HMḤ]ZM Q'NDD' WDNṬ' YŠBM 'RB' P'L' B'NŠM 'RKT 'Š 'L HMḤZM 'DN
6. B'L BN ḤNB'L ṢDŠMR 'DYMN WḤN' BN 'RŠM YGM'K

These six seats were made in the year of the sufetes Abdmelqart Tapapi and Arish the . . . Their price was
133 *denarii* in total: their price was 80 *denarii* and 9 KNDRM in correspondence with the fines which were paid
to the aediles who were in office in that year; and their completion cost 52 *denarii* and
[. . .] two aediles made this with the fines (*or:* contributions) according to the estimates which (were made)

[42] Cf. a later law of Antoninus Pius, stipulating that private contributions to buildings erected from public funds be separately identified on the building inscription: *Digest* 50.10.7.

under the aediles Candidus and Donatus: four seats made with the fines (*or:* contributions) according to the estimates whch were made under the aediles ʻDN
B'L son of Annobal ṢDŠMR ʻDYMN and Anno son of 'RŠM YGMʻK.

The word DNʻRY' is clearly a borrowing of *denarii*, and KNDRM, evidently some fraction of the *denarius*, may be a borrowing of *quadrans*.[43]

Another seat fragment (*IPT* 28) may have been part of a similar set:

]SʻBYN' TB*Ḥ*[PY]	Sabinus Tabah[pi]

It was probably the same person, this time recorded with his full name of Ytnbal Tapapius Sabinus,[44] who set up a dedication to his maternal aunt, which was found in the colonnaded street. The Punic inscription may render the Latin *pro beneficiis* or similar at the end (*IPT* 23):

YTNBʻL BN 'RŠ ṬBḤPY	Ytnbal son of Arish Tapapius
SʻBYN' ṬYN' L'ḤT	Sabinus set [this] up to his
'MM 'RŠT BT YTNBʻL	maternal aunt Arishat, daughter of Ytnbal
HBN' SKR KBD ʻL	the builder, in memory of honour for
PʻLT MʻŠRT.	an act of kindness.

One of the latest monumental uses of neo-Punic in the epigraphy at Lepcis dates from the reign of Domitian and is a bi-version bilingual inscription on a grey limestone architrave block, with a moulding at top and bottom. It was seen in 1806 in the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in the harbour area, before being exported to England as a gift from the Bey of Tripoli to the Prince Regent; it is now in the British Museum. As usual the Latin precedes the Punic, and the Latin occupies two lines (*IRT* 349a) against the one line of the vowelless neo-Punic (*IPT* 9):

[. . . Vespasian]*i* [[f(ili-) Dom[itian . . .]]]	Domitian son of Vespasian
[. . .]aug(?) sufe[. . .]	[*flamen* ?]*aug*(*usti*) or aug(ur) ?, sufete, . . .
[. . .]'T/N LMLKT HMQM ʻL M[. . .]	[. . .] provided for the work of the (sacred?) place above the [. . .]

The Latin gives the imperial titulature of Domitian, whose name was later erased following his *damnatio memoriae*, and seems in the second line to record the magistrate – a sufes and either a *flamen augusti* or an augur –

[43] *IPT* 17, *ad loc.* (p. 44). [44] Amadasi Guzzo 1983: 381–383.

Figure 11.13 Altar in the orchestra of the theatre at Lepcis Magna, with honorific inscription in neo-Punic (*IPT* 27), AD 92 (Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: Pl. 17).

who organised or paid for the work. The surviving portion of neo-Punic seems also to record the builder, but owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription we cannot know whether the neo-Punic originally included or omitted the imperial titulature; or how closely the texts might have paralleled each other.

The latest datable use of neo-Punic in monumental epigraphy at Lepcis occurs on an octagonal altar in the orchestra of the theatre (Fig. 11.13). This is an honorific inscription datable to AD 92 by reference to a very similar Latin text around the parapet of the orchestra. The altar has a text in neo-Punic on the left face (*IPT* 27), and in Latin on the central and right faces (*IRT* 318). The left-hand and right-hand faces seem to be equivalent, idiomatic bi-versions, but the Latin dedication by the proconsul to the emperor in the centre is not translated in the neo-Punic, which instead focuses, like the text on the right-hand side and the orchestra parapet, on the dedication to Tiberius Claudius Sestius:

Left-hand face:	*Front face:*	*Right-hand face:*
[. . .]	Augu]sto	[. . .]
BN ṬYBRY Q[L‘WDY S’STY]	[sac]rum	ornator pat[riae]
’DR ‘ZRM Z[BḤL’LM]	Asp[r]enas	amator concor
W’SP‘SY‘N’ [Š]*PṬ*	proco(n)s(ul)	diae cui primo
ZBḤ LK[L ḤY]Ṭ MḤB ’RṢ *M*	dedicauit	ordo et populus
ḤB BN’ ‘M MYŠQL ’RṢ		ob merita maio
MŠLK BN’ ‘M MḤB D‘T HTMT		rum eius et ipsius
LMY LPNY ’DR’ ’LPQY W‘M ’LPQY		lato clauo sem
LPY M’S’ ’BTM WM’SM BN/TM		per uti concessit
YTN’ L‘BD BṢP’T KL ḤYTM		aram et podi(um)
MZBḤ WP’DY		d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)
P‘L LMBMLKTM BTM		f(acienda) c(urauit)

Neo-Punic (left-hand face):

[Tiberius Claudius of the Quirina tribe Sestius]
son of Tiberius C[laudius Sestius]
lord of the ‘ZRM sacrifices, s[acrificer of the god]
Vespasian, sufete,
sacrificer for life, lover of his country,
lover of the members of the populace, ornament of his country,
saviour of the members of the populace, lover of concord,
the one to whom, for the first time, the elders of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis
for the deeds of his father and for his own deeds,
they permitted the use of the purple stripes for his whole life,
an altar and a podium
made according to the work to be done, at his own expense.

Latin (front face):

Sacred

to Augustus
Asprenas
the proconsul
dedicated it.

Latin (right-hand face):

[Tiberius Claudius of the Quirina tribe Sestius]
[son of Tiberius Claudius Sestius]
[lover of his country
lover of the citizens,]
embellisher of his country,
lover of friendship,
to whom first
the council and the people
because of the merits of
his ancestors and himself
allowed always to use
the *latus clauus*,
had made the podium and the altar
from his own money.

Around the parapet of the orchestra of the theatre ran a closely related Latin text (*IRT* 347) datable to AD 92:

imp(eratore) Caesare diui Vespasiani [[f(ilio) Domitiano Augusto Germanico pontif(ice) max(imo) trib(unicia) potest(ate) XI imp(eratore) XXI co(n)s(ule) XVI censore pe[rpetu]o patre patriae]]
Ti(berius) Claudius Quir(ina tribu) Sestius Ti(beri) Claudi Sesti f(ilius) praefectus sacrorum flamen diui Vespasiani sufes flamen perpetuus amator patriae amator ciuium ornator patriae amator concordiae cui primo ordo et populus ob merita maiorum eius et ipsius lato clauo semper uti conce[ssit]
podi(um) et aram d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(acienda) c(urauit)

In the reign of *Imperator* Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, son of the deified Vespasian, *pontifex maximus*, holder of tribunician power for the 11th time, *imperator* for the 21st time, consul for the 16th time, censor for life, father of his country,
Tiberius Claudius Sestius of the Quirina tribe, son of Tiberius Claudius Sestius, prefect of sacred rites, *flamen* of the deified Vespasian, sufes, *flamen* for life, lover of his country, lover of the citizens, embellisher of his country, lover of friendship, to whom first the council and the people because of the merits of his ancestors and himself allowed always to use the *latus clauus*,
had made the podium and the altar from his own money.

Comparison between the texts shows that P'DY is evidently a borrowing of the Latin *podium*. The Punic text on the altar imitates the normal Latin style in honouring civic benefactors, and calques specifically Latin titles (*flamen* as 'sacrificer'; *flamen perpetuus* as 'sacrificer for life') but includes five particular Punic honorific titles – 'lover of his country, lover of the members of the populace, ornament of his country, saviour of the members of the populace, lover of concord', which are found only at Lepcis, as in the theatre inscription of Annobal Tapapius Rufus. These titles would not be out of place in a Hellenistic context but are highly unusual in a late first-century AD context in the central Mediterranean, and seem very much to be a local Tripolitanian phenomenon, probably a survival from pre-Roman Punic usage.[45] Only four of these appear in the more complete of the two Latin texts, which omits 'saviour of the members of the populace' – perhaps the expected Latin equivalent, *saluator* or *seruator populi*, would have been felt to encroach too closely on the preserve of imperial titulature. Whereas the Latin uses the typically concise *ob merita maiorum eius et ipsius* ('because of the merits of his ancestors and himself'), the neo-Punic in good idiomatic Semitic fashion repeats 'deeds': 'according to the deeds of his fathers and his own deeds', which has the effect of stressing the merits of Tiberius Claudius Sestius a little more than the Latin does. Once again, the Punic version plays down some elements of Roman identity and stresses some more local elements; and omits entirely the proconsul's dedication. This is not resistance to Rome, but two faces of a double identity, rendered in their appropriate languages.

3 BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS FROM SABRATHA AND OEA

From Sabratha, in contrast to Lepcis, there are relatively few neo-Punic texts of any kind, but one is an inscription recording the construction of a cistern (*IPT* 1), which seems to use entirely Punic phraseological concepts:

> P'L MLKT MṬHQŠ' HG'Z
> WKR' T HŠ'KM BKNYDM
>
> MṬHQŠ' the mason made the work and excavated the basins with the work of his hands.

The cistern in question is barrel vaulted and on grounds of technology and construction is undoubtedly of Roman date, but the formulae of the inscription belong thoroughly to the Punic tradition. Also un-Roman is

[45] Cf. Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 51–52.

the fact that the inscription is placed on the interior of the cistern, where it is not publicly visible; it functions more as a private record of construction, perhaps even like a dedication, rather than a public advertisement of euergetism.

A neo-Punic repair inscription from Sabratha (*IPT* 2) enumerates, in 'standard' Latin fashion, exactly which bits of a building the donor repaired, but uses a typically Punic phrase to describe the donor's civic affiliation – 'who belongs to the people of Lepcis' – the same phrase occurs in the dedication of the temple by the harbour at Lepcis (*IPT* 32, discussed above):

> [. . .] *T*'Š 'DḤT 'L P'NY' WT HTLY'M '*Š*'L HPTḤ B'LŠLK 'GYZ 'Š B'M 'LPQ*Y*
>
> [Made . . . and repaired . . .] which had been knocked down in front of it (*or*: before) and the enclosure wall on the entrance (?) (*or:* with the cornice above the relief ?) B'LŠLK 'GYZ who belongs to the people of Lepcis.

A bilingual Latin–Punic inscription from Sabratha on a stone *labrum* dedicated to Saturn (misspelt *Sapurno* in the Latin) or Ba'al is interesting because the Latin is carved on the rim and the neo-Punic on the inside, thus giving the Latin greater prominence even though errors suggest it was not the dedicant's first language (Fig. 11.14).[46] The two versions each use the votive formula in the language concerned ('paid his vow' in the Latin, 'because he heard his voice' in the Punic). Although in the terminology employed in this volume these texts would be described as equivalent, idiomatic bi-versions, the physical arrangement, giving more emphasis to the Latin, is unequal:

> Domno Sapurno uico *A*[*ntistia*]no u(otum) s(oluit) Iu[nata?]hn [O]giaduris f[il]ius f(ecit)
>
> To the Lord Saturn of the *uicus* A[ntistianus?] Iunatan, son of Ogiadur, paid his vow and made it.
>
> NDR LB'L BŠ'NṬSTY [Y]*WNT*ḤN BN 'G'DR KS DḤ' [K ŠM'] 'T QLM
>
> Has vowed to Ba'al of the region of Antistius Iunatan, the son of Ogodar, a libation bowl because he heard his voice.

From Tripoli come two similar limestone bases, one found walled into the chapel of Sidi Khlifa el-Bulaghi near the Forte del Faro at Tripoli, the

[46] Jongeling 2008: 48–49 (Sabratha N16), reading *A*[*ntistia*]*no* in the Latin with Di Vita-Evrard 2005: 298–300.

Figure 11.14 Stone basin with bilingual dedication to Saturn/Ba'al, from Sabratha (Rossi and Garbini 1976–1977: Pl. 5b).

other discovered when the fort was demolished. Evidently they formed a pair, and probably came from the ruins of ancient Oea. They carry bilingual inscriptions, in Latin and neo-Punic, recording dedications, one at least to Apollo by someone calling himself Aurellius son of Epagrius in the Latin and Abdmelqart son of Mutunbal in the Punic. Evidently, as we have seen with Boncar/Bodmelqart above, both he and his father used different names in different linguistic contexts – a phenomenon well known also from Graeco-Roman Egypt:[47]

IRT 229; *IPT* 5b

Apolloni	Sacred
sacrum	to Apollo
Aurellius Epa	Aurellius
gri f(ilius) d(e) s(uo) d(edit)	son of Epagrius gave this from his own resources

[47] Calderini 1941: 257–258, 1942; Horsley 1981: 89–96.

‘*BD*ML*Q*RT BN MT/N[ ]B[. . .] [. . .]L[ ]B‘[. . . ?] [. . .]‘MY’N/T.[. . .]	Abdmelqart son of Mutunbal

IRT 246; *IPT* 5a

[. . . Aurellius] Epagri [f(ilius) d(e) s(ua)] pecunia d(edit)	[. . . Aurellius] son of Epagrius gave this from his own money
‘BDML[QRT]	Abdmelqart

4 BILINGUAL AND TRILINGUAL FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

Two funerary inscriptions from Lepcis fit the neo-Punic funerary tradition but are trilingual in Latin, Greek and neo-Punic (one line of each, in that order). The first is a limestone block found somewhere in the eastern part of the city – probably a suburban necropolis. The inscriptions are contained within a *tabula ansata*, and the different languages translate each other exactly (*IRT* 655; *IPT* 12; *LPE* Lepcis Magna N4):

Byrycth Balsilechis f(ilia) mater Clodi medici

Βυρυχθ Βαλσιαληχ θυγάτηρ μήτηρ Κλωδίου ἰατροῦ

BRKT BT B‘LŠLK ’M QL‘’ ‘Y HRB’

Byrycth, daughter of Balsilech, mother of Clodius the doctor.

Found with this block was a similar one, also with a trilingual inscription in a *tabula ansata*, although here the Latin and the Greek each occupied two lines while the neo-Punic occupied one (*IRT* 654; *IPT* 13):

Boncar Mecrasi Clodi
us medicus

Βω[*ν*χαρ Μεχρασι Κλώδι]
[ος ἰατρός]

BD‘LQRT HMQRTY QL‘’Y HRP’

Boncar [*in the Latin and Greek, or Bodelqart in the Punic*], the Mekrasi, Clodius, the doctor.

Boncar or Bodelqart Clodius the doctor thus has a mixture of neo-Punic and Latin names; he is clearly the same person as Clodius the doctor, son of Byrycth in the previous inscription. The Latin name and the use of Latin

may represent an attempt to assimilate to a Roman identity, while the use of Greek reflects and advertises his Greek medical training.[48] Indeed, his mother's trilingual epitaph, which unusually names her son (as well as her mother) and refers to him as 'the doctor', suggests a level of pride in her son's social status and social ambition in the family – or, rather, was erected by Clodius himself. Interestingly, the only other trilingual inscription in Latin, Greek and neo-Punic also involves a doctor. It is the dedication of an altar from Henchir el-Aouin in Tunisia and reads:[49]

> [HMZBḤ S]T YTN QYNṬ' M'RQY PRṬ[MQ']
> RP' ŠT ŠPṬM 'BDMLQRT W'DNB['L]

> Κουίνκτος Μάρκιο[ς Πρωτό]μαχος Ἡρακλείδο[υ ἰατρός

> Q(uintus) Marci[us] Protomacus [medicus] facta L(ucio) M(arcio) co(n)s(ule) m[ense

Neo-Punic:

> This altar gave Quintus Marcius Protomacus the doctor, in the year of the sufetes Abdmelqart and Adonibal.

Greek:

> Quintus Marcius Protomacus, son of Herakleides, [the doctor].

Latin:

> Quintus Marcius Protomacus the doctor made in the consulship of Lucius Marcius, in the month [. . .].

The three different languages differ somewhat in the information conveyed: the neo-Punic gives a dating by local magistrates, the Latin by reference apparently to a consular date, though this is incomplete, while the Greek omits the dating formula but gives instead a patronymic. Here again we see a difference between the neo-Punic and Latin versions that is by now familiar – the neo-Punic uses a more local frame of reference (the town's sufetes), while the Latin consular dating uses an Empire-wide concept. The Greek text is neutral in this respect, but the inclusion of the patronymic stresses instead the dedicant's Greek identity: not only is his cognomen Greek, but his father Herakleides was presumably Greek-speaking. The dedication thus stresses different elements of a triple identity in idioms and concepts appropriate to the culture of each language.

[48] Adams 2003: 216–217; cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 29.17.
[49] Jongeling 2008: 80–81 (Hr. el-Aouin N1); cf. Adams 2003: 217.

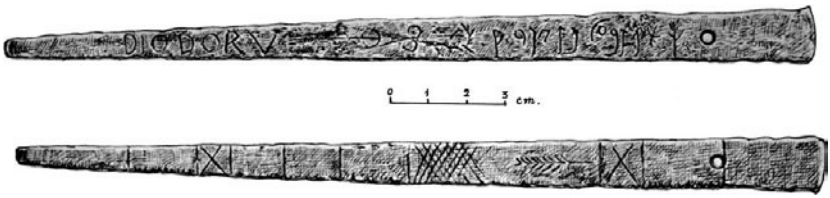

Figure 11.15 Bronze pin-beater with bilingual inscription naming Mutunbal/Diodorus (*IPT* 91), in Lepcis Magna museum (Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: Fig. 23).

While the trilingual funerary inscriptions from Lepcis illustrate simple neo-Punic-type funerary formulae transferred into Latin and Greek, with just the name and the maternal filiation, other sepulchral inscriptions show the adoption in neo-Punic of Latin-style funerary formulae. In an inscription from the mausoleum Tomb A in the Wadi el Amud, we can observe the common Roman insistence on the private property which the tomb constitutes, the fact that the builder intended it as a family mausoleum built during his own lifetime – cf. *uiuus* in Latin funerary inscriptions – and that it was built at his own expense (*IPT* 79; *LPE* Wadi el-Amud N1). Nevertheless, the filiations are in the Punic tradition and the exclamation of grief for the deceased is not a standard Latin feature. This inscription, then, while in idiomatic neo-Punic, shows cultural (rather than linguistic) interference from Latin epitaphs by the adoption of concepts common in funerary formulae, showing how the phenomenon of bilingualism may be illuminated by texts that are not themselves obviously bilingual:

> [Q]B'R MQN'T 'TM' 'Š P'LM
> M'Ṣ WKN L'BY' YMRR BN G'ṬYṬ
> HMṢLY WL'MM ZWṬ BT G'ṬYDN HN/TGLBY
> WL'BNY WL'ŠTY 'SLY'N/T BT YN/TKD'SN BN
> ṢYWK HN/TGLBY ḤŠ L'RBṮNM NPL' BTṢTY BN/TY
> BḤYTN^{M} WBḤYT BN'M 'RŠM W'Y'ṢDN
>
> [T]omb: absolute property which made
> Masaukan for his father Yamrur, son of Gatit,
> the *MṢLY*, and for his mother Zut, daughter of Gatidan, the *NGLBY*
> and for his son and for his wife Aslian, daugter of Yankedasan, son of
> Siwak, the *NGLBY*; o woe for the four of them! It was made completely
> at his own expense,
> during their life and during the life of his sons Arisahm and *'Y'ṢDN*.

Figure 11.15 shows a bilingual inscription on a domestic implement, a pin-beater used in weaving for compacting the weft on a vertical loom, and

with a suspension hole for a string to go around the weaver's neck.[50] It bears the name Mutunbal, son of Sadok, in neo-Punic (MTNB'L BN ŠDQ), equated to *Diodoru[s]* in the Latin (*IPT* 91), although only the neo-Punic gives the patronymic. The names are at the opposite ends of the pin-beater and the fact that the *ductus* of the two scripts runs in opposite directions means that each name reads from the start position in its own script, so that neither is subordinated to the other: both are 'first' in their respective scripts. As Adams has pointed out, Diodorus translates the Punic Mutunbal 'gift of God', but since Diodorus is a Greek name here written in Latin script, Adams rightly sees this as evidence for some knowledge of both Latin and Greek as well as Punic.[51] If the name was that of the object's owner (and it is difficult to see whose it might be, if not), Diodorus/Mutunbal was therefore a weaver, and although we cannot say whether he was slave or free, this puts him further down the social scale than Clodius the doctor.

The building inscriptions and other dedications from Lepcis therefore show the rapid adoption of Latin habits and formulae in monumental epigraphy in the Augustan period and first century AD, while the earlier inscriptions retain Punic phrases or concepts, and the bilinguals up to the mid first century AD emphasise different parts of the text, with the Punic often omitting titulature or formulae with a relevance beyond Lepcis itself. In the Augustan inscriptions the Punic texts include calques on Latin formulae, but the Latin texts also include some calques on Punic phrases. By the later first century AD, though, the bilinguals, so far as we can judge, look more like straightforward translations of the Latin, while the inscriptions in neo-Punic alone seem thoroughly to have adopted Latin-style formulae. Latin is throughout the more visually dominant language in the bilinguals, and ousts Punic completely by the start of the second century AD as far as monumental epigraphy is concerned.

But this is true only as far as the epigraphy is concerned, and not for the spoken language, for the anecdotal evidence from other written sources indicates that Punic remained alive and well, at all levels of society, including the North African elite.[52] Septimius Severus' sister is said (by an admittedly unreliable source) to have spoken so little Latin, and so badly,

[50] This object was published in *IPT* as a spatula (?), but comparanda show that it is clearly a pin-beater – cf. Tébar Megías and Wilson 2008.

[51] Adams 2003: 219–220.

[52] Millar 1968: 130 conveniently collects the literary evidence for the use of Punic between the first and sixth centuries AD.

that she was an embarrassment at Rome and had to be sent home again.[53] Apuleius alleged that his stepson spoke Punic and could not and did not want to speak Latin;[54] since his mother Quartilla was extremely wealthy and had 400 slaves this must have been one of the leading families of Oea. There is therefore a considerable mismatch between the epigraphic landscape of towns like Lepcis, Sabratha and Oea, dominated by Latin monumental inscriptions erected by the elite, and what those elites were actually speaking at home and, depending on the context, in public.

5 NEO-PUNIC BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS OUTSIDE TRIPOLITANIA

Outside Tripolitania the practice of inscribing in neo-Punic script survived longer. In the Tell of Tunisia and Algeria extended neo-Punic inscriptions appear during the first century AD, and short formulae up to the start of the third century AD.[55] However, the overwhelming majority of inscriptions on stone are votive or funerary texts, and most other texts are graffiti on pottery, or ostraca. Jongeling's *Handbook* gives only nine building inscriptions in neo-Punic from outside Tripolitania.[56] Significantly, these all relate to the construction of temples, or in one case (Bir Tlelsa) an altar; and the majority – six of the eight – are collective dedications. Of the two recording activity by individuals acting alone, the altar from Bir Tlelsa might in fact be a simple, small votive offering. Only the dedication of a temple at Aïn Youssef (Algeria) by one Azrubal is an act of euergetism by an individual, *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*, and here the inscription is a bi-version bilingual, with the Latin first and in larger letters than the neo-Punic.[57] A temple dedication from Mactar belongs to the first century AD, but it is not at all certain that a second inscription from there relates to a repair of this same temple and is thus substantially later.[58] The remaining inscriptions are not well dated, though bilingual texts or the inclusion of Latin names place most of them firmly within the Roman period.

[53] *Historia Augusta Septimius Seuerus* 15.7; see also Clackson, this volume.

[54] Apuleius, *Apologia* 98.8–9.

[55] Picard 1957: 67; Millar 1968: 131.

[56] Jongeling 2008 (all except one from modern Tunisia): Bir Bou Rekba N1 (Thinissut); Bir Tlelsa N1; Hr Kasbat N2 (Thuburbo Maius; bilingual, neo-Punic–Latin); Hr Maktar N64, N65, N76 (Mactaris); Hr Meded N26 (Mididi); Hr Medeine N2 (Althiburos; bilingual, neo-Punic–Latin); Aïn Youssef N1 (in Algeria; bilingual, Latin–neo-Punic).

[57] Derenbourg 1876; Jongeling 2008: 191 (Aïn Youssef N1).

[58] Février 1956; Février and Fantar 1965. Cf. Picard 1957: 58–60. The claim that one of the building inscriptions from Mactar must date to the late first or even the second century AD rests on J.-G. Février's interpretation of it as a repair inscription (Février and Fantar 1965), which is not followed by Jongeling (2008: 126–127).

Nevertheless, despite the length and importance of the Mactar building inscriptions, the striking thing is the relative absence outside Tripolitania of building inscriptions in neo-Punic at any date, in contrast to the abundance of Latin building dedications in Roman North Africa, which number well into the hundreds. This confirms the impression we have already gained from Lepcis, that, while Punic continued to be spoken, the commemoration of euergetism was effective in Latin in a way that it was not in neo-Punic; the Latin-reading audience of visiting administrators, dignitaries and other travellers mattered. These were messages intended not just for the locality, but for an extended, connected audience of the Empire.

6 LATINO-PUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

Although the use of the neo-Punic script in monumental epigraphy did not continue beyond the end of the first century in Tripolitania, and the second century elsewhere, the Punic language remained in use throughout the Maghreb. Saint Augustine refers to people in and around Hippo Regius who spoke Punic in the fifth century AD (*Ep*. 66.2; cf. *Ep*. 16.2) – consistent with the evidence of Apuleius and the *Historia Augusta* discussed above for its use in Tripolitania in the second and early third centuries. Indeed Punic continued to be inscribed in Tripolitania, but now in Latin letters as literacy in neo-Punic declined, especially at social levels below the elite. The earliest surviving occurrence of this Latino-Punic epigraphic practice is a brickstamp from the Hadrianic Baths at Lepcis, whose construction dates between AD 123 and 137.[59] The practice of stamping bricks is a particularly Roman phenomenon, most fully developed around the city of Rome and in the Tiber Valley. The stamps were of course not visible after the bricks had been used in construction, and they must therefore relate in some way to the organisation of production within the large brickyards. They typically record the names of estates or their owners, plus the name of a workshop manager (*officinator*), possibly identifying material made under contract. Not all bricks are stamped, and it may just have been the top brick of a stack left in the drying shed before firing that was stamped.[60]

Bricks produced in the Tiber Valley during the second century AD are found as imports at nearly all the major North African ports from Iol Caesarea to Lepcis, where they probably arrived as return cargoes from

[59] Bartoccini 1929: 77 n. 1, nos. 5, 7–8, and pp. 186–187; *LPE* Lepcis Magna LP1.
[60] On brickstamps, see, for example, Bloch 1938–1939; Helen 1975; Steinby 1993.

Figure 11.16 Latino-Punic brickstamp from the Hadrianic Baths at Lepcis Magna (Bartoccini 1929: Fig. 205).

Portus, on ships that had carried cargoes of grain or olive oil to Portus for Rome.[61] They were used mainly in the construction of large bath buildings, and indeed six different stamps of Tiber Valley production are attested in the Hadrianic Baths at Lepcis.[62] Second-century brickstamps such as those found in the Hadrianic Baths are frequently circular with an *orbiculus* at the top and text in two or three lines. They typically start with one of the phrases *opus doliare*, *ex officina* or *ex figlinis*, followed by the name of the estate owner and or the workshop manager.

The Latino-Punic brickstamp in Fig. 11.16 clearly imitates this pattern; the shape is similar, with a partial *orbiculus*, and the Punic text FELIOTH IADEM LYRO|GATE YMMA|NNAI looks like a calque on the common Latin formulae: *felioth iadem* 'work of his hands' would equate to *opus doliare*, and the description of Rogatus as 'a skilled craftsman' might be a calque on *officinator* 'workshop manager', implicit in the *ex officina* formula and explicit on a second-century brickstamp from Ostia (*CIL* XIV 5308.27). So the Latino-Punic looks like a corresponsion of *opus doliare*

[61] Wilson 2001: 27. [62] Bartoccini 1929: 77 (= *CIL* XV 1029c, 1066, 847, 244, 2000, 124).

Rogati officinatoris. This level of calquing, together of course with the use of the Latin alphabet, suggests that Rogatus (a common Latin name in North Africa), or whoever carved the die for the stamp for him, was bilingual in Latin and Punic and understood the Latin on the stamps he had seen well enough to render the ideas in Punic. We can only speculate about the circumstances of the production and stamping of the local bricks; my guess is that they were commissioned to meet the total requirements for the construction of the baths over and above the imported material, but we cannot fully know whether the stamps had a functional relation to production as they must have had in the much larger Tiber Valley brickyards, or whether Rogatus' operation was given a set of imported models to imitate and decided that because (some of) the models had stamps, they should stamp their bricks too. Since the brickstamp would have been invisible once the brick had been used in construction, the expected readership must have been able to understand the Latin script and Punic language, and the stamp is thus evidence for some degree of bilingualism within the construction industry at Lepcis beyond Rogatus himself.

The other Latino-Punic inscriptions are on stone, and although a few come from Lepcis, the majority are from the pre-desert zone of Tripolitania (Fig. 11.17). They are relatively late; where datable (from context) they belong largely to the fourth and fifth centuries AD. Many are tombstones; those of the cemetery of Bir ed-Dreder marked the graves of Roman auxiliary troops[63] and here the use of Latin script would be compatible with the model Adams has proposed for the teaching of Latin to Punic-speaking recruits at Bu Ngem.[64] The personal names are Latin and Punic, and Latin titles such as *tribunus* appear as loanwords, e.g. *LPE* Bir ed-Dreder 1:

> flavi saich | am bn ma | carcum | σonmo | n tribyn | us bymy | ft yrirab | an machruʒ v | šeb
>
> Flavi[us] Saicham son of Macarcum (?the) sonmon (the) tribune. Erected by Machrus during the tenure of Yriraban.

Here the loanword *tribynus* is spelt with a *y*. 'Sonmon' remains unexplained; it might either be Macarcum's second name, or a title; interestingly, it is spelt with an initial sigma, suggesting interference from Greek.

[63] *LPE* Bir ed-Dreder 1, 2, 4, 9, 14. [64] Adams 1994.

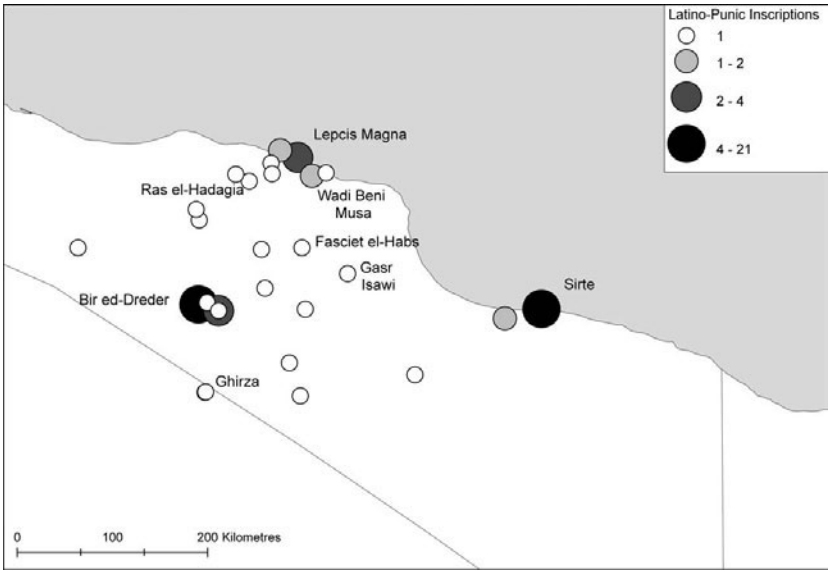

Figure 11.17 Distribution of Latino-Punic inscriptions in Tripolitania (A. Wilson/H. Friedman; data from *LPE*).

Other tombstones code-switch into Latin formulae such as *DMS*, and translate *uixit annis* by *avo sanu*, with Latin numerals, for example, a tombstone from Fasciet el-Habs:[65]

> dms | nabor | surnia | avo | sanu | n LXXX | ny sath fo |[. . .]milim e |[. . .]dvo |[. . .]s
>
> *d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum)*. Nabor Surnia lived 80 years. [*Insufficient sense can be made of the last four lines*.]

Other loanwords also appear: *memoria* in a funerary inscription from Ghirza;[66] and, from fortified buildings in the pre-desert zone, *castrum* in an inscription from Wadi Beni Musa built by one Birich[67] and

[65] *IRT* 894; Levi Della Vida 1963: 86; Vattioni 1976: 552, no. 60.

[66] *LPE* Ghirza LP1: mmemoria mv | fela thval | ath byth n | asif mv fela | lyrvthi [a]bi linema, 'Memorial which Thaualath the daughter of Nasif made, which she made for (her) father's house for his good'; Adams 2003: 232.

[67] Brogan and Reynolds 1964: 45 and pl., 29b; Vattioni 1976: 553, no. 68: palmam(?)| e.lva | castrum | mv ta | fel bi | r(?)ich, '. . . castrum which Birich built'. This may be the same name, Byrycth (but not the same person), as the mother of Clodius the doctor in the funerary inscription discussed above (*IRT* 655; *IPT* 12; *LPE* Lepcis Magna N4).

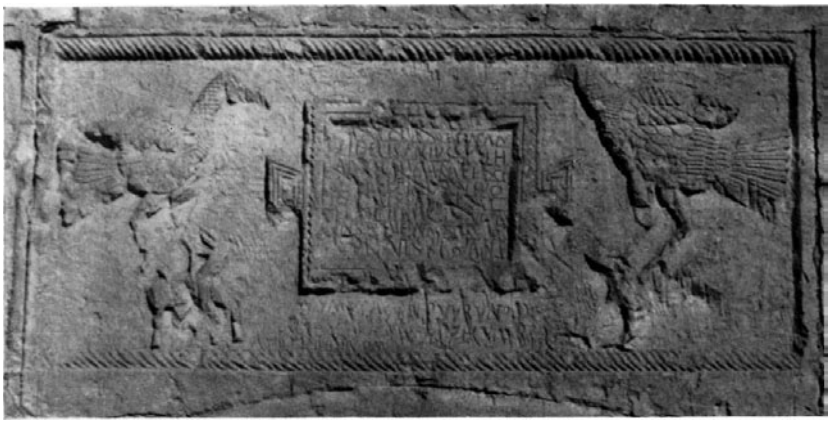

Figure 11.18 Gasr Isawi, Libya: Latin building inscription in *tabula ansata*, with Latino-Punic inscription following (Brogan and Reynolds 1960: Pl. 19, reproduced by kind permission of the British School at Rome).

centenarium from Ras el-Haddagia.[68] As Adams has recently argued, *centenarium* probably means a fortified granary, rather than a fort commanded by a *centenarius*,[69] and this would fit both with the unofficial nature of the inscription and with the fact that the Tripolitanian *gsur* or fortified farms on which such inscriptions are found look, archaeologically, just as one might expect a fortified granary to look, with thick walls and a series of storerooms around a small internal courtyard.[70] While the Bir ed-Dreder cemetery inscriptions seem to be those of auxiliary troops, the context in which these other Latino-Punic inscriptions were erected, then, was not that of official or semi-official frontier forts, but the fortified farms and storebuildings of the pre-desert farming communities.

One such *gasr* is Gasr Isawi in the Wadi Migdal, where the construction of the building in the fourth or fifth century AD is commemorated in a Latin inscription (Fig. 11.18) carved in a *tabula ansata* between two birds of prey, probably eagles, within a rectangular panel over the door to the *gasr*:[71]

> Marcius Metasan
> Fidelis filius et Fl(abi?) H
> anochulam et Sei

[68] *LPE* Breviglieri LP1: centenari | mv felthi a | na marci ce | cili bymv | pal fesem a | pero y nban | em bvcv bvo | ms ayo nema, '*Centenarium* | which Thi|ana Marci(us) Cae|cili(us) . . . made'.
[69] Adams 2007: 550–554. [70] Cf. Barker 1996: 127–133. [71] Brogan and Reynolds 1960: 53.

c[. . .] et Fidel[is] nepo
t[es.]SSIPSA Flabiae (?)
et PVII hanc I[..]ulam
instituerunt [..] V [.]et
SDP[.]VIS bibant

NYMYSAGENPVV BYNOM
MRAVSYN AV[R]YS FELV TABVL-
A Y BVD BANNOM

The eight lines of Latin, inscribed within the *tabula*, record the building's construction by Marcius Metasan, Flavius Hanochulam and one or more others. Below the *tabula*, carved in a rougher fashion and without guidelines, are three lines of Latino-Punic which translate as 'Their son Mrausyn is the engraver. This tablet was made by their son.' It seems at first sight curious that the text recording the engraver, proudly advertising his handiwork, should be shoddier than the tablet and should intrude into the composition of the decorative panel; but this apparent paradox might indicate that code-switching could go beyond linguistic formulae. When carving in Latin it was felt important to use visual conventions like the *tabula ansata* and set the text in neat lines. When operating in the Punic language, even in Latin script, such rules need not apply.[72] It is significant that the building inscription is in Latin and the signature of the engraver in neo-Punic, as though the different types of message were felt to have different audiences. The suggestion that the visual packaging of Latin inscriptions was felt to be more important than that of neo-Punic inscriptions is perhaps supported by some of the bi-version bilingual inscriptions discussed earlier – the short inscribed text following a longer Latin text set in bronze letters recording the paving of the forum at Lepcis (*IRT* 338; *IPT* 26), or the stone bowl from Sabratha dedicated to Saturn/Ba'al with the Latin inscription on the rim and the neo-Punic inside.

7 CONCLUSION

The epigraphic trajectory of neo-Punic under Roman rule offers an interesting example of an established language competing with a new and more administratively powerful rival, initially being used in a wider range of contexts than before and adopting new modes of expression, before yielding

[72] Cf. *RIL* 151 = *CIL* VIII 5220 + 17395, *ILAf* 147, a bilingual Latin and Libyan inscription where the Latin text is in a *tabula ansata* and the Libyan text is not.

to the reality that Latin was a more influential way of expressing the messages inscribed on buildings to an audience with a wider range of political power. In the Augustan period in Tripolitania, and especially at Lepcis, bilingual neo-Punic and Latin inscriptions appear, commemorating acts of euergetism in generally Roman fashion adopted from the Latin epigraphic habit (typically a record that somebody had something built and paid for it with his own money), but with some editing for the local Punic-reading audience, with the omission of imperial titulatures, and the retention of Punic honorific phrases for local notables. In this early phase, such honorifics are calqued from Punic into Latin in the Latin versions of the texts (*ornator patriae*, *amator concordiae*), and there may be code-switching or loans of Punic civic titles (sufes). But at the same time, Latin titles (*imperator*, *consul*) are calqued into Punic. In terms of linguistic vitality, this is a phase of give-and-take between the two languages, although already the Latin is dominant in terms of visual display (on the outside of buildings; in larger letters; placement first in bilingual inscriptions). Indeed, semantically equivalent, idiomatic bi-versions may be visually unequal, and priority or dominance or impact of individual languages in a bilingual inscription may be determined by other means than linguistic treatment.

During the course of the first century AD, however, more influence went from Latin to Punic than vice versa. We see the appearance of more Latin loanwords in the Punic texts, and the texts to a considerable degree follow Latin formulae. While some of the loanwords relate to architectural elements ('KSNDR' = *exedra*; P'DY = *podium*), others referring to denominations of coinage or the title of civic officials (DN'RY' = *denarii;* KNDRM ? = *quadrans*; 'YDLS = *aedilis*; QW'ṬRBR = *quattuoruir*) suggest the extent to which neo-Punic speech communities were unable to escape infiltration by the concepts and language of the Empire of which they now formed a part. Nevertheless, the use of honorific phrases in the Punic tradition to describe benefactors persists until the last datable neo-Punic inscription of Lepcis, the text from the theatre of AD 92. So too does the selective omission of elements principally relevant outside Lepcis, although this serves also to make the neo-Punic texts less striking, as they become necessarily shorter than the Latin versions. Double names (e.g. Aurellius, son of Epagrius = Abdmelqart, son of Mtunbal in *IRT* 229; *IPT* 5b) indicate social ambition, but suggest the inferior social status of neo-Punic in comparison with Latin.[73]

[73] Cf. MacMullen 1966: 9–11 for double names (Coptic and Greek) in Egypt.

Tripolitania behaved somewhat differently from the rest of the Maghreb in its neo-Punic epigraphic habit: it exhibits a greater use of neo-Punic in monumental epigraphy, but the use of neo-Punic in inscriptions ceases earlier. However, it was this region alone (on current evidence) which developed Latino-Punic, apparently as a result of declining literacy in the neo-Punic script but continued use of the language into at least the fifth century. Ramsay MacMullen's view that the Christian religion was behind the appearance of written Latino-Punic in the late Roman period has little to recommend it.[74] Adams notes that transliteration occurs in bilingual communities where literacy is only partial,[75] and the phenomenon here is likely to be largely a result of Roman military training – neo-Punic-speaking recruits, probably illiterate in any language, were taught to speak, read and write Latin.[76] If they wanted to write their own Punic language, they knew only the Latin script to do it in. That explanation would certainly account for the military cemetery at Bir ed-Dreder, but the other uses of Latino-Punic for civilian tombstones and building inscriptions on fortified farms demonstrate that its use spread to the non-military communities of the Tripolitanian pre-desert too.

Elsewhere in the Maghreb neo-Punic was used much more rarely as a language for public building inscriptions, but seems to have persisted for longer, into the second or perhaps even the third century, for funerary inscriptions. Maurice Sznycer's analysis which sees a 'bilinguisme punico-latin' (in which Punic is the first or 'base' language) in Tunisia and Algeria and a 'bilinguisme latino-punique' (in which Latin is the base language) in Tripolitania is thus too schematic, although he acknowledges that the phenomenon is cultural as well as linguistic. His distinction between Latin as a 'langue de culture' and Punic as a 'langue d'usage' is perhaps a little closer, but as he himself admits, involves a possibly problematic retrojection from the French colonial experience in Algeria, and indeed ignores the very real evidence for Latin also as a 'langue d'usage' in North Africa. Moreover, it misses the nuances of the variation in information in the different versions of the Tripolitanian inscriptions analysed above.[77]

The pattern evident in monumental inscriptions is traceable in other public documents too: the use of neo-Punic on coin legends also ceases after the mid first century AD.[78] Documentary evidence, however, may be quite different: further study of neo-Punic graffiti on pottery and the

[74] MacMullen 1966: 14. [75] Adams 2003: 231. [76] Adams 1994.
[77] Sznycer 2004. [78] Millar 1968: 131.

publication of ostraca may help fill the gap between first-century neo-Punic inscriptions and the late Roman Latino-Punic texts.[79]

The epigraphic record is illuminating in suggesting a degree of instability in the neo-Punic–Latin bilingualism of Roman North Africa, as over the course of the first century AD Latin loanwords were increasingly used in preference to calquing. Nevertheless, there remain difficulties with extrapolating from the inscriptions to the bilingualism of the speech communities that erected them, and it is even less straightforward to extrapolate from the inscriptions to the ethnolinguistic vitality of Punic communities under Roman rule. The evidence from Apuleius, the *Historia Augusta*, Saint Augustine and the late survival of Latino-Punic consistently points to the continued use of spoken Punic centuries after it had ceased to be used for monumental epigraphy; the epigraphic and spoken use had different chronologies and currencies. The early and rapid adoption of Latin for most building inscriptions in North Africa (the bilinguals discussed here are a minority, both in Lepcis and elsewhere) was a result of the developed use of Latin for monumental building inscriptions, dedications and public commemoration elsewhere in the Roman Empire, and the need for such commemoration to speak to a readership that transcended the purely local. Given this larger context, and that prior to the Roman period neo-Punic inscriptions in North Africa were nearly all funerary or votive, it should be no surprise that neo-Punic inscriptions never supplanted Latin ones for the purpose of monumental display. What is perhaps surprising is that neo-Punic competed successfully for so long – a century at Lepcis, and longer, though less intensively, at Mactar – in the arena of public display. Focusing on the continued use of neo-Punic as a spoken language until at least the fifth century rather than its ultimate disappearance actually argues for a reasonably high degree of ethnolinguistic vitality for neo-Punic communities in the face of Latin, the far more dominant language of power. In terms of the matrix of determinants of ethnolinguistic vitality presented in the Introduction to this volume (Table 1.2), neo-Punic speakers should have scored relatively highly, if one considers the situation *within* North Africa, on nearly all of them; where they would have scored lower is in terms of language status *outside* the region. And ultimately it was this that proved decisive: in the wider relationships between North Africa and the rest of the Empire neo-Punic was trumped by Latin as a lingua franca and language of administration and political power. It is for this reason that it disappeared from the monumental epigraphy centuries before it died

[79] Cf. Millar 1968: 133.

out as a spoken language (possibly not until after the Arab conquest). The different content of the non-equivalent bilingual inscriptions, where the Latin has a wider frame of reference in the titulature or dating formulae, confirms this, and points up the importance of long-distance connections in the multilingual Roman Empire.

CHAPTER 12

Cultures as languages and languages as cultures

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No one flinches at talk of the language of architecture, the language or languages of art, the language of ballet, the language of blood, the language of clothes, the languages of dress – to cite only what is revealed by an A to D survey of book titles. The study of verbal language has, however, developed a far more sophisticated framework of analysis than any of these non-verbal languages. Do the more subtle distinctions in language use made by those who work in verbal languages offer anything to those who work with other forms of cultural communication? In this chapter I want to ask what we can learn, both about other means of communication and indeed about verbal language, by considering how the combinations of other 'languages' measure up against linguists' analysis of the ways in which different verbal languages are found to interact.

Although there is no agreed terminology, those who take an interest in the simultaneous use by individual speakers or writers of more than one language attempt to distinguish a number of different scenarios. They divide the use of different forms of the same language from the use of two languages of different origin. They distinguish the borrowing of words and phrases by one language from another from switching from one language into another for particular purposes at particular moments of communication ('code-switching'). And they divide between what language users do intentionally ('borrowing', most 'code-switching', etc.) and what they do unintentionally ('interference').

These models of verbal language use have immediate attractions for thinking about other forms of cultural communication. People deploy elements of various verbal languages, discretely or in some type of mixture, in an extraordinarily wide range of circumstances and for an equally

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wide range of purposes. Other forms of communication are used in similarly wide-ranging ways: think only of clothes. Formal uniforms constitute one sort of language, the deployment of which may be regulated by law. Prevailing local practice constitutes another sort of language – of which 'traditional dress' or 'national dress' may constitute a 'high' variant. We can observe, even in daily practice, the borrowing of items from other languages, whether in the form of 'borrowing' the very items (purchased at Army Surplus Stores) that otherwise would constitute part of a different language, or in the form of imitating a feature that marks a particular language (the unavoidable overtone of the uniform of an organised body that comes from epaulettes). And in the midst of all this we also have 'nonsense languages'.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the categories of analysis of verbal multilingualism have increasingly been looked to to provide models for cultural interaction more generally. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's recent *Rome's Cultural Revolution* is only the most high-profile case of someone who works with material culture and with historical questions looking to the categories of verbal linguistic studies to enable them to understand the interaction of cultures.[1] But as soon as cultural historians home in on a particular verbal analogy, as Wallace-Hadrill homes in on linguistic code-switching, the issue of how exactly the analogy works becomes pressing. If code-switching is sensibly used to describe only part of the phenomenon of multilingualism, should it play a privileged role in our understanding of cultural interaction more generally? What does it say about other forms of cultural communication, if code-switching is the only mode of verbal multilingualism that applies? If language is to be our model, then we need both a copious enough concept of what is happening with language, and a fine enough sieve to distinguish the different things that might be happening in cultural communication.

In this short chapter, I use one particular example of a culturally mixed communication in the visual as well as the verbal sphere to reflect on the implications of how we model verbal multilingualism for visual culture. In particular I want to suggest that if we are properly to understand multilingualism as an historical – and not merely a linguistic – phenomenon we need to take seriously what might be taken at first sight as a merely philosophical problem. The problem is this: among the many who are multilingual, is there anyone who is multilingual?[2] That is, among the

[1] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 6, 13, 63–64.

[2] I owe the form of my question to the philosopher Jonathan Lear and the seminars he gave at King's College Cambridge in May 2009.

many people whose verbal communications derive from more than one linguistic source, is there anyone who can be said to have more than one language? Or are all whom we are inclined to reckon multilingual actually not simultaneous users of two (or more) languages but users of a single language – albeit one made up of elements acquired from different sources?

I take as my prime example an extraordinary grave stele from third-century BC Athens (Fig. 12.1). This is a piece which combines verbal bilingualism (in the sense that it has inscriptions in both Greek and Phoenician) with a composite imagery which owes something to Greek and something to Phoenician imagery. I ask how what is going on in visuality and the visual might compare with what is going on in language use.[3]

A man lies on a sturdy bed or couch, with a thick draped mattress. A lion leans forward over him, standing on its hind legs, head turned towards the viewer and forepaws on either side of the man's head. At the foot of the bed a naked male figure leans over the corpse, arms apparently stretched forward to push against the lion. Whether or not there is a head behind these outstretched arms has been much disputed; what we can see where we would expect to find his head is the prow of a ship.[4] This scene is the relief on a gravestone found in the Dipylon Cemetery at Athens, a cemetery in which a great many gravestones were erected. In formal terms this stone is recognisable as what scholars have come to call a *Bildfeldstele*, that is a stele with a small squarish recessed picture space containing a low relief.[5] But this is a unique gravestone, like no other – so, and let me admit from the beginning, a hard case. What is going on here?

The stone is headed by a Greek inscription which records the name 'Antipatros, son of Aphrodisias of Askalon' and goes on, 'Domsalôs, son of Domanô of Sidon, dedicated this'. This same information is then repeated in Phoenician. Bilingual inscriptions are not common at Athens, either among gravestones or more generally, but those as we have are dominated by bilingual Greek and Phoenician inscriptions. There are in total nine bilingual Greek–Phoenician gravestones and also one third-century decree with the main text in Phoenician and a concluding line in Greek which identifies the resolution as being by the 'community of the Sidonians' (probably, in fact, a cult association worshipping Ba'al).[6] They variously translate, replace, or transliterate the Phoenician names: here Aphrodisias

[3] I discuss this stele further in a different context in Osborne 2011: 124–129, 130, 156, 157.

[4] *CAT* III 410; Stager 2005 is the fullest description; compare Bäbler 1998: 136–137 (not known to Stager) on exactly what we should reckon to be visible here.

[5] Scholl 1996.

[6] Bäbler 1998: 131 and 240–250. The decree is *IG* II² 2946: Bäbler 1998: 125–127; Amelung 1990.

Figure 12.1 Funerary stele to Antipatros (reproduced by kind permission of Marie Mauzy).

is a Greek version of Abdashtart (i.e. it employs the name of an equivalent goddess to form a parallel theophoric name), but Antipatros is simply a Greek name in place of Sem, while Domsalôs' names are essentially transliterated: three strategies in the same time and place.[7] This alone warns us that over-rigid categorisation of linguistic behaviour may not be at all helpful here.

These inscriptions certainly suggest that the deceased should be reckoned to be a Hellenising Phoenician, but what sort of communication are they trying to make with whom? The plot thickens with the further Greek inscription below the scene. Here we find an epigram in verse, of which the first two lines and last two lines are hexameters, the third is a pentameter and the fourth two half lines which do not metrically fit together. Metrical irregularity is not unparalleled on gravestones,[8] but here the Greek too is full of oddities of spelling and usage, although the sense is more or less clear. It says:[9]

> μηθεὶς ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζέτω εἰκόνα τήνδε
> ὥς περὶ μέν με λέων, περὶ δὲγ πρῶιρ' ἰγκτετάνυσται.
> ἦλθε γὰρ εἰχθρολέων τἀμὰ θέλων σποράσαι.
> ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ' ἤμυναν καί μου κτέρισαν τάφον οὔτηι
> οὓς ἔθελον φιλέων, ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες.
> Φοινίκην δ' ἔλιπον, τεῖδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυνμαι.

> Let no one of men wonder at this image, that a lion and a prow stretch against me. For a hostile lion came wanting to tear me apart, but my friends defended me and provided me with a tomb here, friends whom in my love I wanted, coming from a sacred ship. I left Phoenicia; I have concealed my body in this land.

The link between text and image is direct, with the text explicitly seeking to explain the image. But what are we to make of this story of a man attacked by a lion, whose body is saved for burial by friends on a sacred ship? The image presents in graphic form the struggle for the body of Antipatros between the lion and his friends with their ship. Most commentators have taken the story literally, looking for the place closest to Attica where a lion is plausible (North Africa? Asia Minor?) and supposing that Antipatros was attacked, mauled, rescued, taken away (either dead or dying) by his friends and given burial in Athens on arrival.

Since lions were hard to come by around the Mediterranean at this time, some have supposed, disregarding the picture, that the beast must really

[7] Herzog 1897; Bäbler 1998: 123. [8] Tsagalis 2008: 297–299.
[9] *CEG* 596; *GVI* 1601 (omitting the Phoenician); cf. Tsagalis 2008.

have been a panther. Balbina Bäbler, however, has insisted, following a suggestion made a century ago, that the image can only be understood 'in the light of Semitic pictorial symbols', and in particular the Near Eastern portrayal of underworld demons as lions, and Jennifer Stager thinks that both prow and lion figure the Phoenician goddess Astarte.[10] On these interpretations Antipatros was 'saved from the lion's mouth' of death demons or the goddess Astarte by being buried by his friends, and the prow-headed man has been thought to refer to Phoenician ships carrying protecting statues.[11]

The difficulty that modern scholars have had with this image comes from their not knowing what language it is using. Should we interpret these figures as we would in a Greek image? Or do they relate to Phoenician imagery? Do they refer primarily, like the figures in most other small relief stelai, to observed life? Or do they use a figurative language, as some stelai do which simply bear, for example, a lion's head? And if the relief is to be seen figuratively, should we think of it as a sort of code, with each element standing for something, or should we imagine that there is an overall interpretation? Should we, for instance, take the story and image to allude to the risk a dead foreigner faced of not being given an adequate burial, but simply being thrown overboard from a ship for wild creatures to devour, a fate from which Antipatros on his death has been saved because he has friends who have buried him?

If we are puzzled by this relief and its inscription, would an Athenian viewer have made any more sense of this stele? In formal terms the stele as a whole conforms closely to Attic practice – so much so that we can put it into a class with a German technical name, *Bildfeldstele*. The shape of the stele with its pediment is a standard one. The combination of recessed image and inscription above and/or below is regular. Although epigrams are not found on most Attic gravestones, they are not rare, and some are found placed on the stone very much as this one is. But for an Athenian, as for us, this formal ticking of classificatory boxes would not render this stele any less puzzling. An Athenian who looked at all closely at this image and read its epigram would find it strange in all its details.

What looks like a standard stele proves on examination to be odd both in image and text. The use of the verb 'dedicated' for the putting up of a gravestone for someone else is unattested on other stelai. All other stelai for Phoenicians, whether offering a bilingual text or not, limit their identification of the deceased to a patronymic and city ethnic.[12] Only here

[10] Bäbler 1998: 138–142 following Usener 1914: 449; Stager 2005 : 439–443.
[11] Cf. Herodotus. 3.37.2. [12] Bäbler 1998: 51–68.

do we have an epigram as well as an identificatory inscription. Only here do we meet Phoenicians being quintessential sailors from lands of exotic animals. And then there is the image.

The easiest element in the image to parallel is the ship's prow, which featured prominently on the famous early fourth-century stele of Demokleides, where a young warrior, his helmet and shield behind him, sits on the deck of a ship behind the prow.[13] But to parallel the element is not to understand its place here. So too lions can also be paralleled in an Athenian funerary context.[14] The element that is most strange is the naked body lying on the couch.

Naked bodies of beardless youths are common enough on grave stelai, but the presence of a dead body is quite foreign. For, although, from the earliest figure scenes on Athenian pottery and from the great Geometric funerary markers put up in this cemetery onwards, scenes of mourners gathered around the body of the deceased at the laying out of the corpse have been regularly shown on painted pottery, and although they were shown on painted plaques associated with burials in the sixth century and continued to be shown in the Classical period on certain shapes of pot associated with funerary ceremonies, such scenes have never been sculpted on Athenian grave reliefs.[15] Grave reliefs do not show the state of the body after death; they variously show the body as it was in life, or shortly before death.[16]

The decision to show the corpse goes together with the decision to show and tell, in however allegorical a form, the fate of the dead person. This too sets this epigram apart from others. Grave epigrams certainly may have a riddling relationship to an image.[17] Grave epigrams also regularly refer to the way in which death has snatched the deceased from life and from family, often referring to fate, Hades, Hermes, and other metaphysical paraphernalia; but, unlike some Archaic personal epigrams and Classical epigrams for the war dead as a whole, Classical personal epigrams do not tell the events leading up to the burial. The closest we get to that is epigrams which indicate age at death.[18] This epigram does not fit comfortably into the genre as practised in Classical and Hellenistic Athens.

[13] *CAT* 1 330.

[14] They are prominent in Archaic Attic funerary iconography, but can also be found in some Classical monuments, see *CAT* 1 1 (stele for Leon of Sinope, first half of the fourth century), 3.1a–b (from Dipylon Cemetery, mid-fourth century).

[15] Kurtz 1984; Oakley 2004: 76–87. While no clothing is shown on male corpses in Geometric images, later Archaic and Classical paintings show the dead clothed or covered with a sheet.

[16] See Bergemann 1997.

[17] Goldhill 1994.

[18] Clairmont 1970: nos. 55bis, 56, 58, 72, 73 (= *CEG* –, 590, 531, 554, 580); the ages respectively are 100, 24, 90, 70, 21. Cf. Tsagalis 2008: 198–208.

Notwithstanding the opening injunction of the epigram ('Let no one of men wonder at this image . . . '), and indeed encouraged by it, Athenians would surely have wondered at this scene, and more so, rather than less, after they had read the verses. For an Athenian, there would throughout be a sense that, although this appeared to be a monument largely in their own language, this was not the way anyone used the language – whether at the level of vocabulary and syntax or at the level of ideas.

We have very little evidence for the process that led to gravestones and grave epigrams taking the form that they do in any particular case. We have to imagine a whole spectrum of possibilities, from the person responsible for setting up the monument handing over the choice of scene and of words entirely to others (the sculptor, an epigrammatist), to the person responsible taking charge of every aspect of the stele.[19] This stele is actually one of the clearer cases, in as far as the choice of text and image here must have been set up by someone with exactly the knowledge and skills possessed by Domsalôs, and it is economical to think that that person was Domsalôs himself.

If this hypothesis is correct, Domsalôs, in setting up this memorial to Antipatros, himself chose, after whatever discussions he may have had with friends or with stonemasons, to use an Athenian form of monument – and presumably an Athenian sculptor – and to inscribe upon it both in Phoenician and in what I assume to be his own idiosyncratic usage of Greek. He chose to present in his verse and in the sculpted panel an image which tied in to a way of thinking about the world which was not Athenian. But both in terms of the treatment of the figures in the sculpted image and in terms of the epigram, this is also not a Phoenician monument, but one within the range we recognise to be Greek. And if the expert in the field is right about the date of the letter forms, Domsalôs chose to take advantage of his foreign status to put up a sculpted funerary stele during a period, after the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron, when Athenians were banned from putting up such monuments.[20] This is neither a case of a foreigner bringing his own practices to a city in which he is temporarily resident, nor of a foreigner choosing to adopt the practices of his city of temporary residence. This is a foreigner who chooses to display his identity by introducing into a monument, whose form and whose forms conform

[19] See Mullen, this volume.

[20] Stephen Tracy's dating is quoted at Stager 2005: 427. For Demetrios of Phaleron's ban on elaborate grave monuments, see Cicero, *De legibus* 2.26.66, and for the continued presence of some elaborate monuments to non-Athenians, see Bäbler 1998: 205–206.

to local tradition (though not current practice), conceptions and manners of expression which are quite alien.

How do we describe what is happening here? How helpful is it to analyse what is happening in the terms employed by those interested in verbal multilingualism? Among the many who were multilingual in Hellenistic Athens, is this man multilingual?

If we start with the texts themselves, we are faced, above the relief, with a bi-version bilingual text. The Phoenician text seems to be idiomatic. The Greek text, with its jarring use of 'dedicated', is not. But it is not simply a word-for-word translation of the Phoenician. At least as far as the names are concerned, translation is only one of the various options used to produce a Greek version. Below the relief, the epigram is given in only one script, but how do we describe its language? It includes all sorts of unexpected forms. It uses otherwise unexampled constructions and what seem to be straightforward grammatical errors. None of the linguists' terms seem much help here. Is this a mixed-language text? Well, not in the sense of mixing Phoenician and Greek in such a way as to have no primary language – in one sense the primary language is certainly Greek. Does it switch codes? Well, some of the oddities may be due to the adoption of Phoenician structures, but that will certainly not explain them all. Is this a matter of borrowing or interference? 'Interference' is indisputable, in as far as it is highly unlikely that the anomalous features were all intentional, or even conscious. But 'interference' is happening in such a range of ways that lumping them all together because they are all unintentional is not obviously a helpful way of describing the phenomena.

Domsalôs was almost certainly trying to do something in this text, as in this monument more generally, which had never been done. Not done in Greek. Not done in Phoenician either. Whatever we take the peculiar circumstance to have been that led up to this monument, Domsalôs was attempting to capture something about a unique series of events in a unique monument. Should we think that the language of the epigram, as of the inscription above the relief, was a product of ignorance? Would Domsalôs, if told that no Greek would ever use 'dedicated' of a grave stone, have exclaimed, 'Oh! Of course! Silly me! I must have got confused. I'll change that right away!'? Or did he know, at some level at least, what he was doing? Did he know that he was taking the language of the sanctuary and moving it into the cemetery? Did he positively want the contamination that leads to the dead Antipatros, the 'Aphrodisian' Antipatros, being treated as a god? Would he have reacted similarly to being told that κτερίζειν takes a

person and not a thing as its direct object, and that 'tomb' needs to be the indirect object?

The categories of linguistic analysis are certainly helpful here in making us pose some particular questions. They make us ask whether the words used were chosen deliberately or not, they make us ask whether the choice of verbal expression is determined by linguistic factors (by how Domsalôs would have expressed himself in Phoenician) or by other factors. They make us ask whether we should think of Domsalôs as a man 'switching' in and out of idiomatic Greek. But it is not clear that these are questions which in this case we can answer, or indeed what evidence we would need to come up with an answer.

If we start not with the texts but with the relief, then the terms and questions that are posed are rather different. Post-colonial studies have made fashionable the term 'hybridisation'. Objects which manifest some features owed to one cultural source and others owed to another are reckoned to be hybrid, or hybridised. 'Hybridity' was introduced as an alternative to models of influence which treated those who adopted features of another culture as somehow overwhelmed by that culture,[21] and which more or less explicitly regarded the traits being adopted from another culture as superior to the traits of the adopting culture. Hybridisation has tended to replace hybridity to make more apparent the agency of the people who are combining traits from different cultures.

In the case of Antipatros' stele, we do not have a straightforward hybrid. That is, we cannot identify a single Phoenician model that has been interbred with a single Athenian model. Instead what we seem to have is possible Phoenician motifs and approaches interacting with an Athenian material form. This is a case where hybridisation seems very much more helpful than hybridity, in as far as what we seem to observe is the impact of the ideas of one culture upon a form of expression belonging to another culture. Antipatros' stele is the product of this impact.

The trouble with both these approaches is that at best what they do is make us redescribe what is going on in particular terms. And all those particular terms are both tendentious and politically charged. Behind 'borrowing' we hear debt, the need for gratitude, the impossibility of managing without. Behind 'interference' we hear 'just go away!', we hear allegations that it would all have been better without outside intervention, that what has come from outside has somehow distorted the results. Behind 'hybridity' we hear plant breeding and the creation of an artificial but organic

[21] Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 356–440.

product to satisfy a particular need. Behind 'hybridisation' we hear the action of the breeder, doing things to the two cultures to meet a demand. Hybridisation puts the agent responsible for creating the product which displays features of more than one culture in command, which is why it meets current political favour. But like all the terms it takes for granted that what is being dealt with are two distinct and identifiable 'strains' that are being hybridised.[22]

It is striking and, I think, revealing that discussions of ancient multilingualism get very tied up with what sorts of relations there might be between languages, but they rarely concern themselves with what constitutes a language. So James Adams begins *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* with the statement that 'it is thought that bilingualism is more common than monolingualism . . .'[23] Two pages later he discusses various definitions of bilingualism, definitions such as 'having or using two languages', which have in common that they take it for granted that we know what a language is. There are no doubt good reasons for not getting involved in the question of what a language is. *An Encyclopaedia of Language* offers successive chapters on 'Language as available sound', 'Language as organised sound', 'Language as form and pattern', 'Language as mental faculty' (and so on).[24] Languages are clearly many things, and the attempt to answer the question 'What is a language?' would distract impossibly from the task of actually tracing historic language use. After all, no reader of Adams has any problem following what he is talking about despite his not defining 'language'.

But to follow a line of exposition that is fundamentally descriptive and to understand historically what was happening to produce the material described are two different things. If we are to understand what is happening in cultural terms on Antipatros' stele we need to think further about what a language is. Much of the literature on bilingualism seems to presuppose a notion of language which in other circumstances linguists would ridicule. How can a notion of 'code-switching' be appropriate as a model for the use of resources from more than one language unless languages are 'codes'? But the first lesson that children have to learn about languages is that they are not codes, that there is no one-to-one equivalence between languages at any level (whether of letters or words). If they were, then we could not contemplate talking of the language of clothes. Languages do not provide us with a code in which we can encrypt our ideas, they are at least part of the process by which we have ideas in the first place. Indeed,

[22] For the necessity of triangulation, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 5, 7, 11–12, 27 and 76 with further discussion in Osborne and Vout 2010.

[23] Adams 2003: 1. [24] Collinge 1990.

the very use by those involved in linguistics of 'code-switching', in a way that gives 'code' a special meaning, is itself proof that languages are not codes.

Even when we set aside the terminology of 'code-switching', the model that lies behind the terminology seems barely less problematic. Languages provide frameworks within which we operate to make communication by vocal means, or its graphic representation, understood. But what is possible and what is not possible within a language cannot be defined outside practice. 'Knowing a language means being able to produce new sentences never spoken before and to understand sentences never heard before.'[25] It is not simply that sentences that happen never to have been previously formulated are constantly formulated, but that ways of using words never previously tried are constantly being offered for the first time. And what is tried is not just new vocabulary, or the application of old vocabulary to new circumstances, it is ways of combining words that defy what have previously been regarded as rules. New words and new grammatical and syntactical structures are constantly being tried. Provided that enough of the surrounding vocabulary, grammar and syntax follows familiar patterns, those innovations do not endanger understanding. Languages can not only accommodate invention, they depend upon it – linguistic innovation is the outward and visible sign that a language remains the language of thought.

In the face of this, the idea that when one reads Domsalôs' epigram on Antipatros' stele the sensible way to understand it is as the product of two language strains or streams mixing together looks far-fetched. The very juxtaposition of epigram and relief emphasises that what we are dealing with cannot be simply two streams of verbal language (or two strains of visual language). Domsalôs was not trying to write in the Greek language and occasionally borrowing from Phoenician in order to express himself. Nor was he writing Greek but suffering from occasional interference from his Phoenician. Taking over the terminology of the archaeologist hardly improves matters. Domsalôs is neither taking advantage of a hybrid developed by others, nor is he creating a hybrid for his own use. That this relief is unique, that no one takes up this way of using κτερίζειν or finds a use for the verb σποράζειν, does not show that Domsalôs was a failure, that his hybrid failed to 'take'.

Domsalôs, when he commissioned this grave stele, was doing what all who commissioned grave stelai in Athens were doing: he was trying to

[25] Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams 2007: 81.

communicate something that he thought was important in connection with the death of the person the stele would commemorate. Like all who commissioned stelai, he had to decide what he wanted to say and how to say it. He had, as all others did also, both verbal and visual language at his disposal. The decisions about visual communication started with the nature of the monument, and, once one monument type had been decided upon, proceeded with the question of the iconography of the relief. The decisions about verbal communication included decisions about how many scripts to employ and what to write in each script. Domsalôs' decision to use both Phoenician and Greek script was a decision to signal both to those who read only Greek and to those who read only Phoenician that they could not understand the full force of this monument. To those Greeks who found the image hard to read, or the epigram curious in expression, he offered a strong signal about the sort of cultural education that they might require in order to understand. To any Phoenicians unable to read the Greek he signalled that they were in no position to understand Antipatros' cultural position.

There can be no denying that this stele is unusual, and no denying that the use of Phoenician as well as Greek is one of the main things that makes it unusual. But this is to say that, both in terms of visual and of verbal language, Domsalôs had an unusual range of resources to draw upon. The fact that those resources included more than one script and more than one linguistic source helps us understand more clearly than we might in other cases what was going on when this stele was created. But what was going on in this case was not in principle different from what was going on in other cases. Domsalôs was creating a monument which employed his own language – his own visual language and his own verbal language. To analyse this language as if what Domsalôs said and showed was either a product of the interaction of two different (verbal or visual) language streams in his brain interfering with each other or borrowing from each other, or a product of his deliberately mixing those language streams, does not allow sufficiently for this individual's creativity.

In order to understand why Domsalôs' creativity takes the form that it does we do not need a better understanding of Attic and Phoenician vocabulary, grammar and syntax or of Attic and Phoenician artistic style or iconography. What we need is a sufficient grip on the historical situation in the third-century Mediterranean so that we can understand why it is that when this Phoenician came to Athens he picked up some cultural practices, whether linguistic or visual, and not others, defied some conventions but observed others punctiliously.

The chapters in this volume have offered us a set of questions which we should ask and issues which we should explore in relation to such extraordinary objects as Antipatros' stele. Blom's chapter, for example, points to the peculiar tendency of those who employ a language not native to them to take up the performative phrases of ritual. The outside observer of another language, we might suggest, need know little or nothing at all about what is being said, in order to observe the effects of what is said. It is even more obvious with another language than with one's own that words *do* things. So when one needs to do things, and in particular do things to people or powers whose language one does not know whether one knows or not, making sure that it is the performative speech acts and more generally the powerful phrases that stick makes sense. This is not a matter of particular linguistic forms but of particular historical uses. Even within the same language, ritual phrases are peculiarly available for redeployment. Antipatros' stele illustrates the attractions of elements that are strongly ritualised: Domsalôs choice of the *Bildfeldstele* is comprehensible in these terms from one side, lions comprehensible in these terms from the other.

Clackson and Papaconstantinou discuss stable and unstable bilingualism and the domains of language use. Greek–Phoenician bilinguality may well have been stable in some communities, most plausibly in Cyprus, but it is very doubtful whether it was stable in Athens. Nevertheless, domain theory helps us see how Athens has the public language here – the language of the form of the monument. Phoenician has the private communication, the communication about the death of the individual. There is an interesting comparison to be made here with Wilson's Latin inscriptions that proclaim function on the outside of a building and the Punic inscriptions which translate that function on the inside.

Thinking about why culture contact leads to cultural borrowing in some cases, cultural lending in others, and determined cultural independence in yet others, compels us to think about the precise historical circumstances, in the way that Bucking encourages us to think about the precise archaeological circumstances in which supposed 'school texts' are created. With many of the examples discussed in this volume we are somewhat deficient in contextualising detail. Even in terms of understanding purely textual contexts,[26] sorting out precise expectations with regard to register and standard practice is hard enough, as emerges in different ways from

[26] Russell and Moran (this volume) draw our attention to the problems of understanding the significance of multilingual educational contexts. Russell notes with regard to diagnosing language contact generally: 'we can observe numerous situations where we strongly suspect that our speakers were operating in more than one language. The problem, as has been observed several times in this

the chapters of Evans, Langslow and Russell. But the sort of mapping of linguistic relationships in time and space variously offered by Clackson, Papaconstantinou, Russell and Simkin, and the social situation of particular classes of documents offered by Evans, must be the right way to proceed – though the more we can use archaeological data, as several contributors do, in various ways and to various degrees, the more confident we can become.

In the case of the Antipatros stele, we know that Phoenicians were well integrated into Athenian society long before this monument was put up. The Phoenician merchants of Cypriot Kition were granted, albeit hesitatingly, permission to acquire land and build a temple of Aphrodite in the late fourth century.[27] Still earlier we find that Athenian banking was strongly Phoenician. We know that a Phoenician Pythodoros effected introductions to the banker Pasion, and that other Phoenicians, Theodoros and an Antipater of Kition, were creditors of the bank.[28] We are almost certain that the banker Pasion himself and his slave protégé Phormio were Phoenicians too.[29] And Pasion and Phormio are the only clear examples we have of men who began life at Athens as slaves and ended as citizens.[30] Plausibly one of the advantages the Phoenicians enjoyed was having bodies indistinguishable in physical features, if not in circumstances, from the bodies of citizens. Antipatros' monument would be a perfect example of the way in which those who appeared to be completely absorbed within Athenian society still felt the need to call upon something not simply outside the normal Athenian's linguistic usage and visual range but outside their own normal linguistic and visual registers.

For, given how well integrated Phoenicians had become, the sheer 'foreignness' of this monument is something of a shock. It is as if those who have learnt all the rules, and come to be able to operate them and win (whether win a plot of land for a temple or win freedom and citizenship for themselves), nevertheless realise, as they approach death, that they neither themselves belong to nor have become indistinguishable from the rest of the citizen body as far as other Athenians are concerned. What is more,

chapter, is that it is very difficult to take things further unless there is the right kind of evidence to hand' (p. 223).

[27] Rhodes and Osborne 2003: no. 91.

[28] For Pythodoros, see Isocrates 17.4; for Theodoros, see Demosthenes 34.6; for Antipater of Kition, see Demosthenes 35.32–33.

[29] Trevett 1992: 1; the evidence for the Phoenician origin is circumstantial: Phormio was non-Greek (Demosthenes 45.73, 81), which makes it highly likely that Pasion was too, and since Phoenicians are the non-Greeks most closely associated with the bank, Phoenician is the most likely non-Greek origin. Apollodoros, son of Pasion, like Pythodoros, bears a name typical in form of Greek versions of Phoenician names (and cf. Antipater); cf. Diller 1937: 197–198; Bäbler 1998: 120–121.

[30] On the origins of slaves indicated in Athenian sources, see Miller 1997: 82–83.

given the third-century date of the stele, we would have an example here of the Athenians being happy for Phoenicians to do things, to talk a talk, that citizens could not.

In order to understand this Phoenician intervention in Athenian culture, however, we need to understand the relationship that the Athenians cultivated with non-Greek cultures. For the Athenians seem to have liked playing with the foreign in the context of death. Along with nine other grave stelai of Persians, several bearing reliefs indistinguishable from reliefs commemorating Athenians, there is one stele with entirely Achaemenid iconography.[31] We do not know whether this stele, with its Attic workmanship as well as find-spot, in fact commemorated a Persian, since the stele bears no name. The lower scene on the stele is paralleled by the reverse of an Athenian red-figure pot painting of late fifth-century date, showing a fleeing man in Persian dress.[32] Athenian artists played with Persian imagery in a variety of circumstances. As many other pots show, there is no reason to think that the fragment of a torso wearing items of Persian dress, which comes from a grave terrace in the Kerameikos, in fact commemorated a Persian.[33] A stele showing a figure in a *kandys* who bears the name 'Myttion' appears to commemorate a slave, but not one for whom there is reason to postulate Persian origin.[34]

Looked at in this light, Domsalôs' choice to use a 'language' foreign to the Athenians in the context of death looks to be highly resistant to being understood on any model of bilingualism. Many of the cultural markers of being foreign, and in particular the markers of dress and *instrumenta domestica*, had already been adopted by native-born residents of Attica to express aspects of their relations to each other and aspects of their understanding of the world. Pseudo-Xenophon notes the easy assimilation of non-Attic linguistic elements to be one of the peculiar characteristics of the Athenians.[35] The closer he observed Athenian behaviour the more Domsalôs might reckon that there were not at Athens simply Athenians and foreigners, there were many different ways of being in the community. The framework of civic life was like the framework of the stele with small recessed relief panel (*Bildfeldstele*), there were broad conventions which

[31] Bäbler 1998: catalogue nos. 41–50; for standard Attic iconography, see 44, 45, 47, 48. The Achaemenid iconography appears on the 'Kamini' stele, Bäbler 1998: 109–111 and no. 41; Miller 1997: 56 and Fig. 13.

[32] Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 473 (Miller 1997: Figs. 14–15).

[33] See Miller 1997: 153–187.

[34] Bäbler 1998: 26–32; *CAT* 1 224.

[35] Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians* 2.8: 'Again, they listen to every kind of dialect, and take something from one, something from another. The Greeks in general tend to keep to their own dialect, way of life, and dress, whereas the Athenians mix theirs from all the Greeks and barbarians.'

one had to accept to count as a member of the community at all, but once those conventions were accepted, it was possible to combine elements in ways that were quite new, to create a life which was unique, even to make others realise aspects of life which they had systematically repressed. Within the conventions of the symposion, with its careful regulation of the consumption of wine mixed in due proportion with water, the master of ceremonies who donned the Scythian bonnet, or introduced animal-head drinking horns in place of *kylikes*, raised the question of whether unmixed wine should (or should not) be substituted.[36] Within the conventions of a festival, the Anthesteria, at which infants were socially recognised for the first time as persons in their own right, the Persian *kandys* asked what guarantees there were that this infant would observe local conventions.[37] Within the conventions of the standard Athenian gravestone which might show a couch, naked young men, an animal, a ship's prow, but would never put on display the circumstances of death or the way a man met his fate, Domsalôs created an image which forced the Athenians to confront those very things.

For the historian the challenge remains not just to expose and classify products of cultural contact but to explain why particular cultural elements get adopted or adapted and others neglected or abused. Using Plato's science of division to classify types of relations between language use and language users sharpens our perception of the variety of situations in which linguistic features get passed from one language to another. But as soon as we face up to the broader patterns of cultural encounter, the characterisations of what happens when cultures rub up against each other as borrowing, interference, code-switching and the like, on the one hand, or as influence, hybridity, hybridisation or any other sort of -isation (Orientalisation, Hellenisation, Romanisation), on the other, all seem unhelpfully crude. Languages, whether they take verbal or other cultural forms, offer sets of modifiable conventions that individuals employ as they present themselves to a wider world. Whether we think of individuals employing many languages – a different language for every occasion of communication – or as employing one language, variously inflected depending upon whom the language is being used to relate to, is in the end not worth debating. What historical understanding requires is not the dissection of communications to trace their genetic origin, but taking seriously the evident fact that these communications *were* communications. We may regard Domsalôs' choice

[36] Lissarrague 1990: 11–13, 90–91; Miller 1991.

[37] Exactly what happened at the festival of the Choes is much disputed (see Hamilton 1992 for a view that writes children out of the picture). For the view taken here, cf. Parker 2005: 297–301.

of words and image as idiosyncratic, but he believed himself to be making a communication, and our understanding of third-century Athens displays only its inadequacy until we can make sense of that belief. Life in Athens, like life today, whether at the level of linguistic or of material culture, was sustained by a curious *bricolage*. This *bricolage* returns to being so much collecting flotsam and jetsam unless we can reconstruct the nature of this world of cultural interaction in which what the beachcombers picked up makes sense.

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General index

Index of linguistic entities

Index locorum