THE COLLOQUIA OF THE HERMENEUMATA PSEUDODOSITHEANA

VOLUME I

COLLOQUIA MONACENSIA–EINSIDLENSIA, LEIDENSE–STEPHANI, AND STEPHANI

ELEANOR DICKEY

49

THE COLLOQUIA OF THE HERMENEUMATA PSEUDODOSITHEANA

The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana

COLLOQUIA MONACENSIA–EINSIDLENSIA, LEIDENSE–STEPHANI,
AND *STEPHANI* FROM THE *HERMENEUMATA PSEUDODOSITHEANA*

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION,
AND COMMENTARY

BY

ELEANOR DICKEY

Associate Professor of Classics, University of Exeter

Dedicated to
Philomen Probert
with love and gratitude

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

PLATES

FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Part One

Introduction

THE COLLOQUIA AND THEIR CONTEXT

I got up in the morning, having been woken up, and I called a slave boy. I told him to open the window; he opened it quickly. Having gotten up, I sat on the frame of the bed. I asked for shoes and leggings, for it was cold. So then having been shod I received a linen towel. A clean one was handed to me. Water was brought for my face in a little jug. Doused by which water, first as to my hands, then onto my face, I washed myself; and I closed my mouth. I scrubbed my teeth and gums. I spat out the undesirable stuff as it accumulated, and I blew my nose. All these things were expelled. I dried my hands, then also my arms and my face, in order to go out clean. For thus it is fitting for a freeborn boy to learn. After this I asked for a stylus and my book; and I handed over these things to my slave boy. So having been prepared for everything, I went forth with a good omen, with my paedagogue following me.

(S 3a–8a)

So begins a bilingual description of a child's day found in a sixteenth-century collection of glossaries. What is this work? Is it an original essay by a schoolboy, an easy reader for small children just learning their letters, a text for Latin speakers to learn Greek on, or a text for Greek speakers to learn Latin on? Is it a product of the first century AD, the early third century, late antquity, or the Renaissance? If ancient, does it come from the Western empire or from the East? Is it in its original form, or has it been damaged in transmission – for example, why does the child take such care over personal hygiene and then, on a cold day, go off to school apparently naked from the knees up?

This work is not unique, but rather one of a set of six such descriptions of daily life in the ancient world, with parallel text in Latin and Greek, that are cumbersomely known as the colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana. Some of the other colloquia are attested much earlier than the sixteenth century – the earliest colloquium fragment so far known comes from a papyrus of the fourth or fifth century – but for the most part they raise the same questions of purpose and origin. Despite these uncertainties, the colloquia have played a major role in forming our understanding of a wide variety of elements of daily life during the Roman empire, especially the lives and schooling of children, who feature prominently in the colloquia. At the same time, much of their potential value to scholars has so far been lost, because so little is known about them and because the colloquia are very difficult to use: they have never been translated into a modern language, most do not even have adequate editions, and the essential information about them is often difficult to find.

The goal of the present work is to allow the potential value of the colloquia to be realized, by providing editions and translations to make them accessible and comprehensible to scholars in a wide range of disciplines, and by presenting those editions and translations in the context of information about the origins of the colloquia and explanation of their peculiarities. The gist of my conclusions about those origins will be that the colloquia are composite works made up of material composed mostly between the second and the fourth centuries AD, some of it from the Eastern empire (designed to help Greek speakers learn Latin), and some from the West (helping Latin speakers learn Greek).

The six colloquia are very different from each other but show signs of common ancestry. They are part of a much larger collection of bilingual teaching materials known as the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana (because in some manuscripts it is attached to the bilingual grammar of Dositheus). The Hermeneumata also occur in a variety of different versions; essentially each colloquium goes with a different Hermeneumata version, though there are some complications.

The Hermeneumata survived the Middle Ages exclusively in the West – there is no trace of them in the Byzantine world – and did so because of their usefulness to Latin speakers learning Greek. Numerous papyrus fragments, however, testify to the fact that much of the Hermeneumata material was used in antiquity by Greek speakers learning Latin, and many scholars believe that the colloquia at least were also used in antiquity by Latin speakers learning Greek. The texts therefore have a very complex tradition that needs to be understood before they can be properly edited or studied, and unfortunately that tradition has never been fully worked out. The last major attempt, that of Goetz (1923), came at a time when much of the relevant evidence had not yet been assembled nor, in the case of many papyri, even excavated. Now,

armed both with additional primary evidence and with the results of ground-breaking analyses more recently conducted by a wide range of scholars,[1] we are at last in the position to piece together the history of the colloquia.

1.1 LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ANTIQUITY

The Roman empire was multilingual,[2] and learning of second languages was common, particularly in situations that produced extensive contact between speakers of different languages. The ancient language learning best known today is that which took place between native speakers of Greek and Latin, but large numbers of native speakers of other languages also learned both Greek and Latin. Sometimes such students learned one of the empire's main languages through the medium of the other, because better materials were available that way than in their own languages (as, until recently, a similar situation caused modern English speakers learning Akkadian or Hittite to do so through the medium of German). Our evidence rarely allows us to distinguish these non-native-speaker learners from the (presumably) larger group of learners who were native speakers of one of the empire's main languages and learned the other. In what follows, therefore, I shall use the terms 'Greek speakers' and 'Latin speakers' to refer not only to native speakers, but also to anyone who had acquired enough of either of those languages to be able to use it as the medium for learning the other.

1.1.1 Greek learning by Latin speakers

The best-known type of ancient language learning is that of Latin speakers who learned Greek.[3] The importance of Greek culture and literature was such that Roman literature was heavily dependent on it; indeed much early Latin literature consists of translations and adaptations from the Greek. It is clear that many Latin speakers were already learning Greek

before the Roman conquest of Greece in the middle of the second century BC, and the learning of Greek became even more widespread thereafter. In the late Republic and for most of the empire educated upper-class Romans began Greek at a very early age, often before starting school, and used the language frequently thereafter.[4] Greek was for the Romans the language of high culture, one of the most important marks of a truly cultivated and literate citizen (though knowledge of Greek could also be associated with decadence and lack of the historically Roman virtues), and was closely associated with appreciation of Greek literature.[5]

We know more about the educated elite than about other elements of Roman society, but the evidence we have suggests strongly that bilingualism was common at lower social levels as well, in part because throughout the historical period the lowest levels of Roman society included large numbers of native Greek speakers. At these levels too Latin speakers seem to have learned the Greek language as children (probably often without formal instruction) rather than later in life.[6]

1.1.2 Latin learning by Greek speakers

More likely to be overlooked today are the Greek speakers who learned Latin. The Greeks of the fifth century BC were conspicuously monolingual, but half a millennium and more later the Greek speakers of the Eastern Roman empire had a very different attitude. Most of those Greek speakers, of course, were not Greeks, in the sense that they neither lived in Greece nor were descended from people who had once lived in Greece. The adoption of the Greek language was perfectly compatible with the maintenance of a distinct cultural identity, as for example in the case of Jewish authors who wrote in Greek, and many of the groups that learned Greek when knowledge of Greek was advantageous were equally happy to learn Latin when knowledge of Latin became advantageous. Even among actual Greeks living in Greece, however, Latin

---

[1] E.g. Dionisotti, Ferri, Kramer, Rochette, Korhonen, Tagliaferro.
[2] On ancient multilingualism see e.g. Adams (2003a), Adams, Janse, and Swain (2002), Rochette (1996b, 1997a, 1998, 2007), Neumann and Untermann (1980), Müller, Sier, and Werner (1992).
[3] On this subject see e.g. Kaimio (1979a), Adams (2003a), Weis (1992), Dubuisson (1992); cf. Fögen (2000) on the Romans' view of Greek as inherently superior to Latin.

[4] See Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.12; Kaimio (1979a: 195–207, 317), Bonner (1977), Clarke (1971: 11–45), Rawson (2003: 146–209); cf. Rochette 2008: 82–5.
[5] Cicero, for example, was fluent in Latin and Greek and able to switch between them at will; when writing to people who were also fluent in both languages he used Greek particularly for its terminology of literary criticism (Adams 2003a: 323–9).
[6] Cf. Adams (2003a: esp. 14–15) and Kaimio (1979a: 317, 322–3).

appears to have made considerable headway once the Romans had been in control for several centuries; for example Plutarch (*c.* 50–*c.* 120 AD) refers to Latin as 'the language of the Romans, which now almost all men use'.[7] There is nothing surprising in such a shift in language-learning practices, as changes of this type are well paralleled in modern times: for example, half a century ago it was unusual for French speakers to learn a modern foreign language, and now the French learn English in large numbers.

In a work that deserves to be better known in the English-speaking world, Bruno Rochette (1997a, see also 1996b, 2008: 85–9) has studied the role of Latin in the Greek East. His exhaustive work examines evidence for official use of Latin, Latin teaching, and knowledge of Latin on the part of named individuals of Greek origin; the conclusion is that while knowledge of Latin in the East was less common than knowledge of Greek in Rome, it was nevertheless fairly widespread, particularly from the third century AD onwards. Other scholars have corroborated these results: for example in Egypt, much of the communication in the army, the courts (when dealing with certain types of case), and the highest levels of the civil administration took place in Latin.[8] Numerous scholars have documented the Latin loanwords that entered the Greek languages via Greeks using Latin,[9] and other, more subtle, types of Latin influence on Greek have also been detected.[10] In the fourth century Libanius complained that people were no longer interested in studying at a traditional school of Greek rhetoric because everyone was learning Latin (*Oration* 43.4–5; cf. Rochette 1997a: 133–4).

There were, however, some significant differences between Greek learning and Latin learning: the ages of the students, the goals of the process, and the historical period at which it began. Latin never became part of the elementary school curriculum

for Greek speakers as Greek was for Latin speakers; Greek speakers who learned Latin did so as adults (Rochette 1997a: 210). The different ages of language learning were closely linked to the different goals for the process in the two halves of the empire: whereas Latin speakers learned Greek in order to gain access to Greek literature and culture, Greek speakers learned Latin because it was useful.[11] This utility was largely limited to certain areas, such as service in the Roman army, travelling to the West, and practising law, and therefore Greek speakers normally learned Latin only once they had embarked on a career choice that caused them to need it. Greek speakers had little interest in Latin literature, and the social cachet attached to knowledge of the other language was much higher in the West than in the East. In both halves of the empire it was knowledge of Greek and familiarity with Greek literature that particularly marked a well-educated citizen (at least until a very late period – there is some evidence that in the sixth century, just as Latin was disappearing altogether in the East, it developed social cachet there).

It also makes a difference that the tradition of language learning began much earlier among Latin speakers than among Greek speakers:[12] Greek teaching evolved in a different world from that which produced Latin teaching, one in which the scholarly tradition was more developed. In particular, the time lag means that bilingual language-learning materials developed by the Romans were available to be used by Greek speakers. It is likely that glossaries in particular were recycled between Latin and Greek speakers: the Romans must have had bilingual glossaries before Greek speakers felt a need for them,[13] and as those

---

[7] *Moralia* 1010d: ὁ Ῥωμαίων, ᾧ νῦν ὁμοῦ τι πάντες ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται (though this is a restoration of a corrupt text that actually has ὁρῶ μέλλω for ὁ Ῥωμαίων ᾧ); the context is a discussion of the paucity of prepositions in Latin as compared to Greek.

[8] Adams (2003a: 527–641), Kramer (2001a: 9–10), Kaimio (1979b); cf. Millar (2006: 84–93).

[9] See e.g. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser (1996–), Daris (1991), Dickey (2003, 2012), Filos (2009), H. Hofmann (1989), Kahane and Kahane (1982), Kramer (1992, 2011), Meyer (1895), Viscidi (1944).

[10] See e.g. Cuvigny (2002), Dickey (2004, 2009), Dubuisson (1985), Famerie (1998), Freyburger-Galland (1997), García Domingo (1979), Hering (1935), Kramer (2011: esp. 55–80, Mason (1974), Ward (2007)).

[11] Cf. Rochette (1996a: esp. 66, 1997a: 165–210) and Gaebel (1970: 290–6).

[12] The precise point at which Greek speakers began to learn Latin is debated; clearly the process began on a small scale no later than the first conquests of Greek-speaking areas by Romans, but equally clearly it grew as time went on, so that Latin learning was more common in the fourth century AD than in the first. Many scholars believe that the reforms of Diocletian (end of the third century AD) increased the use of Latin in the East (see Rochette 1997a: 116–26), but Adams (2003a: 635–7; cf. Rochette 2008: 87) finds little evidence that official policy had an actual impact on language use. For somewhat differing assessments of the role of Latin in the East in the fifth and sixth centuries see Averil Cameron (2009) and Millar (2006); cf. Zilliacus (1935); further bibliography in Averil Cameron (2009: 22 n. 40). For the numbers and names of Latin teachers known in different places at different periods see Kaster (1988: 463–78).

[13] We have no unambiguous examples of such glossaries, but that is inevitable: a bilingual glossary surviving via the manuscript

glossaries would have been useful to speakers of either language, it would have been uncharacteristic of the ancients to create new ones instead of using the available materials. In some cases we can actually trace the development of bilingual materials, as texts used by Latin speakers to learn Greek were adapted for Greek speakers learning Latin (cf. text 10 in figure 1.1; for details see Dickey 2010a).

Our evidence for language learning is also very different in the cases of Latin and Greek. Although the Romans' learning of Greek has left numerous traces in literature, we have very little in the way of actual primary documents: the tablets and rolls used by Roman schoolchildren are now lost, and we have little to go on when trying to reconstruct the actual process of instruction in Greek. By contrast the process of Latin learning by Greek speakers is exceedingly well documented in Egyptian papyri.[14] This disparity is of course an accident of survival – Egypt, which was a Greek-speaking province, happens to be the only place in the empire where large quantities of original ancient documents have been preserved – but this accident is a very handy one for our purposes, as it gives us considerable insight into a language-learning process that would otherwise be buried in obscurity.

1.1.2.1 Surviving Latin-learning materials

Figure 1.1 lists all the ancient Greek-medium Latin-learning materials known to me.[15] There is of course a certain difficulty in identifying language-learning materials: today, for example, a copy of a French newspaper might be language-learning material in an English classroom, but in the hands of a Frenchman the same newspaper would be something else entirely. Similarly a work of Latin literature found in Egypt could have been used by a Greek speaker as a vehicle for practising Latin, but it might also have been used

by a Latin speaker. The list in figure 1.1 includes texts produced before 600 AD that fall into at least one of the following categories: (1) texts that show evidence of a Greek speaker who was less than fully comfortable with Latin engaging with a work of Latin literature (e.g. a Latin papyrus with Greek translation, glosses, or commentary, or a Latin papyrus with accents and/or macrons, since the use of these reading aids on Latin texts was characteristic of Greek speakers[16]); (2) bilingual glossaries that were evidently designed for Greek speakers or whose audience cannot be securely determined,[17] but not bilingual glossaries evidently designed for Latin speakers; (3) Latin alphabets with annotations in Greek script, but not other Latin alphabets or elementary writing practices, since these might have been used by Latin-speaking children learning to write their own language; (4) Latin grammatical texts known to have been composed in Greek-speaking areas, containing Greek glosses, and/or evidently oriented towards Greek speakers.[18]

While all the materials listed seem to have been used by Greek speakers, they were not all used by *native* Greek speakers. Several papyri show signs of having been designed by and/or for speakers of Aramaic or Coptic who were learning Latin through the medium of Greek. Usually, however, we cannot tell whether the learners were native Greek speakers or not.

This is, of course, a large and diverse collection of material, but most of what it contains belongs to three

---

tradition could never be shown conclusively to come from the West rather than the East, and literary, scholarly, and educational materials do not survive as original ancient documents in the West. Sometimes, however, traces of the Romans' glossaries can be detected in materials adapted for use by Greeks: see Dickey (2010a).

[14] Strictly speaking, some of the ancient materials have been found not on papyrus, but on parchment, wood, or ostraca. For convenience I use the cover term 'papyri' for all the original ancient fragments except those on stone, regardless of the actual substance on which the letters are written.

[15] Further discussion of these materials and how they were used, with examples of each type, can be found in Hamdy Ibrahim (1992) and Dickey (2013).

[16] Cf. Rochette (1997b), Gaebel (1970: 311–16).

[17] This latter group is included on the grounds that since Greek speakers were far more numerous than Latin speakers in Egypt, a glossary equally useful for both groups is far more likely to have been used by Greek speakers than by Latin speakers.

[18] The following have therefore been excluded: Latin papyri containing no indications that they were used by Greeks, Greek literary texts with Latin translations, glosses, etc. (unless there is some evidence that they were used for Latin-learning purposes), bilingual texts other than glossaries where the intended readership is unclear, and transliterated or bilingual documentary texts. Note in particular the following papyri, which have been excluded but fall on the borderline: $M–P^3$ 3003 (glossary of travel terminology with the Greek transliterated), $M–P^3$ 1251.02 (Isocrates with Latin translation), $M–P^3$ 2117 (model letters in Latin and Greek), $M–P^3$ 3004.01 (bilingual text of uncertain nature). For Latin papyri in general see e.g. Cavenaile (1958, texts of Latin papyri), Parker (1992: 52–65, lists of bilingual papyri and manuscripts), Kramer (1996a, list of bilingual papyri, reprints of selected texts, and discussion), Rochette (1996a, list of bilingual literary papyri with discussion), and J. D. Thomas (2007, list of Latin papyri from Oxyrhynchus). On methods of determining which papyri were used by Greek speakers and which by Latin speakers see Bataille (1967: 165–7), Kramer (1984), Rochette (1996a: 76), cf. Gaebel (1970: 285–6).

	Text	Date[*]	Reference[†]
1	Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana	various	Goetz 1892 + Dionisotti 1982; this volume
2	Greek–Latin glossary with grammatical information, principle of ordering uncertain (Latin is transliterated)	I BC	*BKT* IX.150 = Kramer 1983: no. 1 (*M–P³* 2134.5, *LDAB* 6764)
3	Latin alphabet with Latin letter names in Greek script	I–II AD	O.Max. inv. 356 = Fournet 2003: 445 (*M–P³* 3012.01, *LDAB* 10791)
4	Greek–Latin classified glossary, sections on vegetables and fish (Latin is transliterated)	I–II	*P.Oxy.* XXXIII.2660 = Kramer 1983: no. 6 (*M–P³* 2134.1, *LDAB* 4497)
5	Latin–Greek classified glossary, sections on zodiac signs and winds (Latin is transliterated)	I–II	*P.Oxy.* XLVI.3315 = Kramer 1983: no. 8 (*M–P³* 3004.2, *LDAB* 4498)
6	Latin–Greek classified glossary, section on words for animals (Latin is transliterated)	II	*P.Lund* I.5 = Kramer 1983: no. 9 (*M–P³* 3004, *LDAB* 4741)
7	Greek–Latin glossary in alphabetical order (Latin is transliterated)	II	*P.Oxy.* XLIX.3452 = Kramer 2001a: no. 7 (*M–P³* 2134.7, *LDAB* 4812)
8	Latin–Greek glossary (type unknown)	II	unpublished; on back of *P.Oxy.* XXXII.2624 fr. 28–56 (*M–P³* 3004.1, *LDAB* 4876)
9	Greek-Latin classified glossary, section on names of gods and goddesses (Latin is transliterated)	II–III	P.Mich. inv. 2458 = Kramer 1983: no. 12 (*M–P³* 2685.1, *LDAB* 5062)
10	Latin–Greek glossary of Latin words with multiple Greek translations, with grammatical notes, in alphabetical order	III	P.Sorb. inv. (= P.Reinach) 2069 = Kramer 1983: no. 2 = Dickey and Ferri 2010 (*M–P³* 3006, *LDAB* 5438)
11	Latin–Greek glossary in alphabetical order	III	*P.Sorb.* I.8 = Kramer 1983: no. 3 (*M–P³* 3008, *LDAB* 5439)
12	Greek–Latin classified glossary, sections on vegetables and fish (Latin is transliterated)	III	*P.Oxy.* XXXIII.2660a = Kramer 1983: no. 7 (*M–P³* 2134.2, *LDAB* 5382)
13	Greek–Latin classified glossary, section on fish names (Latin is transliterated)	III	*P.Laur.* IV.147 = *SB* XIV.12137 = Kramer 1983: no. 5 (*M–P³* 2134.3, *LDAB* 4675)
14	Aesop, fable 349 with Latin translation	III	*P.Yale* II.104 + *P.Mich.* VII.457 (*M–P³* 2917, *LDAB* 134)
15	Latin–Greek classified glossary, section on tavern terminology	III–IV	P.Vindob. inv. L 27 = Kramer 2001a: no. 4 (*M–P³* 3004.21, *LDAB* 5755)
16	Greek–Latin classified glossary, sections on merchandise and on military terminology (Latin is transliterated)	III–IV	P.Strasb. inv. G 1173 = Kramer 2001a: no. 6 (*M–P³* 2134.61, *LDAB* 9218)
17	Babrius, fables 16–17 with Latin translation done by Greek speakers	III–IV	*P.Amh.* II.26 = Kramer 2007a: no. 10 (*M–P³* 172, *LDAB* 434)
18	Greek–Latin table of verb conjugations in alphabetical order (Latin is transliterated)	III–IV	P.Strasb. inv. G 1175 = Kramer 2001a: no. 3 (*M–P³* 2134.71, *LDAB* 9217)

[*] Dates are given in centuries AD unless otherwise noted.
[†] *M-P³* refers to the third edition of the Mertens-Pack list of literary papyri, available online at http://www2.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/pages/mp3anglais.htm; *LDAB* refers to the Leuven Database of Ancient Books, available online at http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/index.php. Further bibliography can be found on both sites; in this column I have given only one or two names, numbers, or editions that are likely to be most useful in identifying the text concerned.

Figure 1.1 Surviving Greek-medium Latin-learning materials

	Text	Date*	Reference†
19	Latin–Greek classified glossary, section on human characteristics	IV	Kramer 1983: no. 10 (*M–P³* 3007, *LDAB* 5631)
20	Latin–Greek classified glossary, section on month names (Latin is transliterated)	IV	*P.Fay.* 135v descr. = Kramer 1983: no. 11 (*M–P³* 2013.1, *LDAB* 7680)
21	Latin–Greek glossary, ordering principle uncertain (Latin is transliterated)	IV	*P.Lond.* II.481 = Kramer 1983: no. 13 (*M–P³* 3005, *LDAB* 5678)
22	Latin-Greek conversation manual	IV	P.Berol. inv. 21860 = Kramer 2001a: no. 9 (*M–P³* 3004.02, *LDAB* 8897)
23	Aesop, fable 264, with Latin translation (Latin is on the left)	IV	*PSI* VII.848 = Kramer 2001a: no. 10 (*M–P³* 52, *LDAB* 138)
24	Virgil, parts of *Aeneid* 1 with Greek translation	IV	*P.Ryl.* III.478 + *P.Mil.* i.1 + P.Cairo inv. 85644 A-B (*M–P³* 2940, *LDAB* 4146)
25	Virgil, parts of *Aeneid* 1 and 2 with Greek translation	IV	*P.Congr.XV* 3 = *BKT* ix.39 (*M–P³* 2939.1, *LDAB* 4149)
26	Terence, parts of *Andria* with Greek glosses	IV	*P.Oxy.* XXIV.2401, cf. McNamee 2007: 490–1 (*M–P⁸* 2934, *LDAB* 3982)
27	Seneca, *Medea* 663–704 with Greek marginalia	IV	Markus and Schwendner 1997 (*M–P³* 2933.01, *LDAB* 3907)
28	Charisius, Latin grammar (in Latin)	IV	Keil 1857–80: i.1–296 = Barwick 1964
29	Dositheus, Latin grammar (in Latin with partial Greek translation)	IV	Keil 1857–80: VII.363–436 = Bonnet 2005
30	Bilingual commentary on Roman law	IV	unpublished (*M–P³* 2982.1, *LDAB* 9080)
31	Latin alphabets with Latin letter names in Greek script	IV-V	*P.Ant.* I fr. 1 = Kramer 2001a: no. 1 (*M–P³* 3012, *LDAB* 5832)
32	Latin–Greek conversation manual (fragment of *Colloquium Harleianum*)	IV-V	*P.Prag.* II.118 = Kramer 2001a: no. 8 = Dickey and Ferri 2012 (*M–P³* 3004.22, *LDAB* 6007)
33	Cicero, portions of *In Catilinam* 1 with Greek translation	IV-V	*P.Rain.Cent.* 163 = Cavenaile 1958: no. 21 (*M–P³* 2922, *LDAB* 554)
34	Virgil, portions of *Aeneid* 1 with Greek translation	IV-V	Ambrosian Palimpsest = Kramer 1996b = Scappaticcio 2009 (*M–P³* 2943, *LDAB* 4156)
35	Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.444–68 with Greek translation	IV-V	*P.Fouad* 5 = Cavenaile 1958: no. 6 (*M–P³* 2948, *LDAB* 4154)
36	Virgil, selected vocabulary from *Aeneid* 2.443–537 with Greek translation	IV-V	*PSI* VII.756 = Cavenaile 1958: no. 4 (*M–P³* 2946, *LDAB* 4155)
37	Terence, parts of *Andria* with Greek glosses	IV-V	P.Vindob. inv. L 103 = Danese 1989, cf. McNamee 2007: 490 (*M–P³* 2933.1, *LDAB* 3983)
38	Sallust, parts of *Bellum Catilinae* with Greek glosses	IV-V	*PSI* I.110 = Funari 2008, cf. McNamee 2007: 490 (*M–P³* 2932, *LDAB* 3877)
39	Diomedes, *Ars grammatica* (in Latin)	IV-V	Keil 1857–80: i.297–529
40	Legal definitions and maxims, Greek and Latin	IV-V	*PSI* XIII.1348 (*M–P³* 2982, *LDAB* 5796)
41	Ulpian, *Ad Edictum* 32 with Greek scholia	IV-V	*PSI* XIV.1449, cf. McNamee 2007: 503 (*M–P³* 2960, *LDAB* 4131)

Figure 1.1 (*cont.*)

	Text	Date*	Reference†
42	Gaius, parts of *Institutiones* 3 and 4 with Greek glosses	IV–VI	*PSI* XI.1182 = Cavenaile 1958: no. 78, cf. McNamee 2007: 493–6 (*M–P³* 2953, *LDAB* 1068)
43	Greek–Latin classified glossary, section on human characteristics	V	P.Vindob. inv. L 150 = Kramer 2001a: no. 5 (*M–P³* 2134.6, *LDAB* 6053)
44	Cicero, *In Catilinam* 2.14–15 and III.15–16 with Greek translation	V	*P.Ryl.* I.61 + *P.Vindob.* L 127 (*M–P³* 2923, *LDAB* 559)
45	Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.5 with Greek translation	V	*PSI Congr.XXI* 2 (*M–P³* 2921.01, *LDAB* 556)
46	Cicero, *Div. Caec.* 33–7 and 44–6 with Greek scholia	V	*P.Ryl.* III.477 = Cavenaile 1958: no. 23, cf. McNamee 2007: 473–8 (*M–P³* 2919, *LDAB* 558)
47	Virgil, *Georgics* 1.229–237 with Greek translation	V	Husselman 1957 (*M–P³* 2936, *LDAB* 4159)
48	Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.615–28 with Greek translation	V	*P.Oxy.* L.3553 = Fressura 2009a (*M–P³* 2943.1, *LDAB* 4160)
49	Virgil, *Aeneid* 5. 671–4, 683–4 with Greek translation	V	P.Vindob. inv. L 24 = Kramer 1990 (*M–P³* 2951, *LDAB* 4161)
50	Virgil, selected vocabulary from *Aeneid* 4.661–5.6 with Greek translation	V	*P.Oxy.* VIII.1099 = Fressura 2009a (*M–P³* 2950, *LDAB* 4162)
51	Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.66–8 and 99–102 with accents and macrons	V	*PSI* I.21 = Cavenaile 1958: no. 11 (*M–P³* 2949, *LDAB* 4158)
52	*Anonymus Bobiensis* Latin grammar (in Latin)	V	Keil 1857–80: I.531–65 = De Nonno 1982; cf. Dionisotti 1984: 203–5
53	Cledonius, treatise on Donatus (in Latin)	V	Keil 1857–80: v.1–79
54	Legal text with Greek scholia	V	*P.Ant.* III.153, cf. McNamee 2007: 508–11 (*M–P³* 2979.2, *LDAB* 6326)
55	Latin alphabets with Greek equivalents and line of Virgil	V–VI	*P.Oxy.* X.1315 descr. = Kramer 2001a: no. 2 (*M–P³* 3013, *LDAB* 4163)
56	Latin transcription of Greek alphabet	V–VI	Feissel 2008, cf. Clarysse and Rochette 2005 (*M–P³* 2704.06, *LDAB* 9949)
57	Juvenal, *Satires* 7.149–98 with Greek scholia	V–VI	Roberts 1935, cf. McNamee 2007: 479–90 (*M–P³* 2925, *LDAB* 2559)
58	*Fragmentum Bobiense de nomine et pronomine* (in Latin)	V–VI?	Keil 1857–80: v.555–66 = Passalacqua 1984: 3–19; cf. Dionisotti 1984: 207–8
59	*De verbo* (treatise on Latin verb, in Latin)	V–VI	Keil 1857–80: v.634–54 = Passalacqua 1984: 21–60; cf. Dionisotti 1984: 206–7
60	Table of Latin noun declensions with Greek glosses and page numbers	V–VI	Wessely 1886: 218–21 (*M–P³* 2997, *LDAB* 6148)
61	Greek commentary on legal texts	V–VI	Fragmenta Sinaitica = Dareste 1880 (*M–P³* 2958, *LDAB* 3526)
62	Latin and Greek legal work with Greek marginalia	V–VI	*P.Ant.* iii.152 = Amelotti and Migliardi Zingale 1985: no. 4, cf. McNamee 2007: 507–8 (*M–P³* 2979.1, *LDAB* 6136)
63	Legal fragments with Greek commentary	V–VI	P.Vindob. inv. L 101 + 102 + 107, unpublished (*M–P³* 2993.5, *LDAB* 6193)

Figure 1.1 (*cont.*)

	Text	Date[*]	Reference[†]
64	Large Latin–Greek and Greek–Latin dictionary, largely in alphabetical order	VI	Fragmenta Helmstadiensia + Folium Wallraffianum = Kramer 1983: no. 4 (*M–P*³ 2134.4, *LDAB* 6279)
65	Latin–Greek–Coptic conversation manual (Latin is transliterated)	VI	P.Berol. inv. 10582 = Kramer 1983: no. 15 = Kramer 2010 (*M–P*³ 3009, *LDAB* 6075)
66	Virgil, portions of *Aeneid* 1 and 2 and selected words from part of 4, with Greek translation	VI	*P.Ness.* II.1 (also called *P.Colt* 1) = Cavenaile 1958: no. 8 (*M–P*³ 2939, *LDAB* 4166)
67	Virgil, portions of *Aeneid* 2 with Greek translation	VI	P.Vindob. inv. L 62 = Fressura 2009b (*M–P*³ 2944.1, *LDAB* 6194)
68	Virgil, portions of *Aeneid* 2–6 with macrons	VI	*P.Ness.* II.2 = Cavenaile 1958: no. 16 (*M–P*³ 2945, *LDAB* 4164)
69	Bilingual grammatical exercises	VI	P.Louvre inv. E 7401, unpublished (*M–P*³ 2997.1, *LDAB* 10635)
70	Priscian's Latin grammar (in Latin)	VI	Keil 1857–80: vols ii and iii
71	Eutyches, treatise on the verb	VI	Keil 1857–80: v.447–89
72	Justinian, Greek index to portions of *Digesta*	VI	*PSI* i.55 (*M–P*⁸ 2965, *LDAB* 2553)
73	Justinian, portions of *Digesta* with Greek glosses	VI	P.Sorb. inv. 2173 = de Ricci 1912 (*M–P*³ 2966.1)
74	Justinian's code, portions with Greek glosses	VI	*PSI* XIII.1347 = Amelotti and Migliardi Zingale 1985: no. 3, cf. McNamee 2007: 499 (*M–P*³ 2970, *LDAB* 6272)
75	Justinian's code, portions with Greek glosses	VI	P.Sorb. inv. (= P.Reinach) 2219 + 2173 = Amelotti and Migliardi Zingale 1985: no. 2 (*M–P*³ 2971, *LDAB* 2555)
76	Latin index to Justinian's code with Greek numbers and some other Greek material	VI	*P.Oxy.* xv.1814 = Amelotti and Migliardi Zingale 1985: no. 1 (*M–P*³ 2969, *LDAB* 6324)
77	Justinian, Greek scholia to portions of *Digesta*	VI–VII	P.Heid. inv. L 4 = Cavenaile 1958: no. 87, cf. McNamee 2007: 497–9 (*M–P*³ 2966, *LDAB* 2557)
78	Ps–Philoxenus, large Latin-Greek dictionary	various	Goetz and Gundermann 1888: 1–212
79	Ps–Cyrillus, large Greek-Latin dictionary	various	Goetz and Gundermann 1888: 213–483
80	Idiomata (bilingual lists of words with grammatical information)	various	Goetz and Gundermann 1888: 485–597

Figure 1.1 (*cont.*)

categories: glossaries, grammatical materials, and texts. Cutting across those categories is a group of thirteen transliterated papyri with the Latin in Greek script (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18, 20, 21, 65). It is notable that Latin-learning materials from the earlier centuries of the empire are almost all transliterated, and that transliteration then became much less common, ceasing to be the rule in the third century and almost ceasing to appear at all after the fourth century. This shift is no doubt linked to the fact that literary texts do not appear among the language-learning materials until the fourth century AD: the focus of Latin learning in Egypt evidently changed from oral proficiency to literacy.[19]

There are also four alphabets (3, 31, 55, 56). The method of learning the Latin alphabet seems to have been copying out the letters, in order (in both capitals and cursive scripts, just as modern English-speaking children learn capital and lower-case letters together),

[19] On the transliterated texts see Brashear (1981), Kramer (1984), and their editions cited in figure 1.1.

while reciting either the Latin letter names or the Greek equivalents of the Latin letters; sometimes a line of Latin verse was also copied to illustrate the use of the letters in combination. Learners' alphabets therefore tend to have either the Latin letter names or the Greek equivalents of the Latin letters written over the letters of the Latin alphabet;[20] the letter names, if present, are written in the Greek alphabet, since the learner needed them at a stage when he or she had not yet mastered the Latin one.[21] Often the remains of these alphabets do not allow us to know whether what we have is the model written by the teacher or the copy written by the student; mistakes (both in the Latin alphabets themselves and in the Greek equivalents) are frequent, a fact that might suggest the work of learners, but since we have very little evidence about the standard of language instruction in antiquity it is not impossible that ancient teachers made mistakes even in elementary material. None of the alphabets, even those manifestly the work of students, are in 'school hands'; that is, they were clearly written by people who knew how to hold a pen and were familiar with the physical process of writing (Cribiore 1996: 30). Evidently Egyptian Greek speakers did not learn Latin at a very early age (cf. 1.1.2 above).

1.1.2.2 Glossaries

Glossaries are common among the Latin-learning materials;[22] in addition to the numerous glossaries in the Hermeneumata (1 in figure 1.1) and the very large lexica known as Ps.-Philoxenus and Ps.-Cyrillus (78, 79),[23] which were preserved via the medieval manuscript tradition, eighteen glossaries survive

in ancient copies (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 43, 64); in the earlier period the glossaries represent the vast majority of the Latin-learning materials, but they become (proportionately) rarer from the fourth century. Most of the ancient glossaries are classified word lists (the type of works known to medievalists as 'class glossaries' and to Hermeneumata scholars as 'capitula'), giving the most important vocabulary (usually, but not exclusively, nouns) on a particular topic or topics.[24] The topics chosen for such glossaries tell us something about the sort of Latin words an Egyptian Greek speaker was likely to want. Foodstuffs, in their unprepared state, figure prominently: these words would be useful both for Greek speakers travelling abroad and, perhaps more relevantly, for Greek speakers wanting to communicate with visiting Latin speakers, such as army personnel. The Roman army was a major purchaser of food and drink in areas around its bases and outposts, so local producers would no doubt have been eager to communicate with the soldiers. Not surprisingly, Roman army vocabulary is also represented in the classified glossaries. Words useful for dealing with the ancient equivalents of hotels, restaurants, and pubs also occur; these were presumably of use primarily to travellers. Religious vocabulary also makes several appearances; as religious ceremonies were public and sometimes obligatory affairs in the Roman empire, this information too would have been of practical value.

Words in these classified glossaries were not arranged in alphabetical order; often related concepts were put next to one another (thus for example in a list of goddesses Proserpina follows Ceres and Latona follows Diana), and more important concepts frequently appear before less important ones, but sometimes the order seems to be largely random; as each section in such glossaries tended to be small, organization within the classifications was not really necessary. Unclassified glossaries also existed, however, and these tended to be arranged in alphabetical order (which, for the ancients, often meant simply grouping together words that began with the same first letter; in longer texts the first two or three letters might be used, but full alphabetization in the modern sense, where

---

[20] In accordance with the policy outlined above, Latin alphabets containing neither of these features have been excluded from the corpus on the grounds that we cannot be sure they were used by Greek speakers: they might have been used by Latin-speaking children learning to read their own language.

[21] The letter names used in these alphabets are not always the ones we would expect and can be very interesting in themselves; see Kramer (1999: 35–7, 2001a: 34–5).

[22] On the glossaries see Kramer (1996a, 1983: 7–18, 2001a: 1–31, 2004b), Rochette (1997a: 181–8), Bataille (1967), Brashear (1981), Radiciotti (1998: 110–20), Wouters (1988: 101–6), and the editions cited in figure 1.1. Kramer divides the surviving glossaries (including some not listed in figure 1.1 above) into two groups, scholarly and popular (those designed for travellers or other adults needing Latin for everyday life); cf. Goetz (1923: 13).

[23] Ps.-Philoxenus and Ps.-Cyrillus do not seem to be related to the Hermeneumata glossaries; cf. Kramer (2001a: 18). For the idiomata see below, 1.1.2.3.

[24] When only a small fragment of the text survives, containing only one section, it is impossible to know whether other sections also existed; many classified glossaries are usually presented as single-section works, but we do not know whether such single-section works actually existed.

the place of every single word in a list is determined by the alphabetical order of all its letters, was rare in antiquity).[25]

In the monolingual Greek lexicographical tradition classified word lists were the older format, going back to the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium in the late third and early second centuries BC, but as time went on alphabetical lists became more and more common, so that by late antiquity nearly all monolingual Greek lexica were arranged alphabetically rather than by topic. A similar diachronic progression is not clearly identifiable in the bilingual glossaries, which seem to make more use of arrangement by topic at a later date than the monolingual lexica. This difference is likely to reflect the particular needs of foreign-language learning: even today, when dictionaries are almost universally in alphabetical order, phrasebooks for travellers often group together airport vocabulary, hotel vocabulary, restaurant vocabulary, etc.

Language learners turn to vocabulary lists in three types of situation: when they are simply learning vocabulary, when they need to understand an utterance in a foreign language, and when they need to produce one. In the first situation any arrangement of the words will do, but in the second they need a glossary arranged so that they can look up words in the foreign language, and in the third they need an arrangement allowing them to look up words in their own language. An alphabetically arranged lexicon can provide only one of these resources at a time, which is why modern bilingual dictionaries usually have two sections – English–French and French–English, for example – giving largely the same words in two different arrangements. The ancients as well had to give the information in alphabetically arranged dictionaries twice, once with the Latin in the left-hand column (and therefore serving as the basis of the alphabetization) and once with the Greek on the left. Glossaries arranged by topic, however, did not have this drawback: regardless of which language was in the left-hand column, the vocabulary could be used in either direction. This efficiency allowed the same usefulness to be provided with half the expenditure on papyrus and copying time.

Papyrus glossaries are about equally divided between those with the Latin on the left and the Greek

on the right, and those with the opposite order;[26] in the ancient world there seems to have been no connection between the ordering of a glossary and the linguistic orientation of its users. Partly this lack of connection is due to the rarity of alphabetical glossaries, but partly it is due to the fact that since ancient Latin learners were interested in active as much as in passive competence, even in an alphabetical glossary they were as likely to want to look up words in Greek as in Latin. In this respect the glossaries are notably different from the bilingual texts preserved on papyrus, which usually have the Latin on the left.

The ancient bilingual glossaries found on papyrus are sometimes related, both to each other and to glossaries that survive via the medieval manuscript tradition (cf. Kramer 2001a: 25–6), and in such cases the relationship is one of adaptation rather than simple reproduction. Although in the past, when fewer glossaries were known, scholars sometimes used to consider them the individual notes of travellers, it is now clear that many ancient bilingual glossaries have a considerable history of transmission and adaptation (cf. Dickey 2010b: 20–1). In fact the normal ancient method for acquiring a bilingual glossary was apparently to copy or adapt an existing work, rather than to create a new one *ex nihilo*, and this makes good sense in terms of efficiency and of ancient practice. Monolingual lexica, about which we have much more information than about the bilingual ones, were clearly often copied, and in most circumstances copying or adaptation would have been the easiest way to acquire a bilingual lexicon: the number of surviving papyrus fragments suggests that Latin–Greek glossaries circulated widely and would not have been hard to find.

1.1.2.3 Grammatical materials

Among the Latin-learning materials grammatical texts (numbers 2, 10, 18, 28, 29, 39, 52, 53, 58, 59, 60, 69, 70, 71, and 80 in figure 1.1) have a special status. Unlike the rest of these materials, they often survive via the manuscript tradition under the names of identifiable, datable ancient writers. In the context of ancient foreign-language learning, however, such survivals are sometimes overlooked, because ancient

---

[25] For the history of alphabetization, which is complicated, see Daly (1967).

[26] Figure 1.1 numbers 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13, 16, and 43 have the Greek on the left; 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 19, 20, and 21 have the Latin on the left; 64 includes sections in both directions.

grammars were traditionally written in the languages whose grammar they described rather than in the language of the intended readers. All ancient grammars of Latin, therefore, are written in Latin, and we think of them simply as the Latin grammatical tradition, often without making a distinction between grammatical works written for Latin speakers and those written for Greek speakers. For example, Varro was clearly a native speaker of Latin addressing other native Latin speakers, and he discussed Latin in a way calculated to interest and inform those native speakers. The works of Varro are fascinating troves of tantalizing information, but to someone who does not already know Latin well, their practical utility is essentially nil – even if translated into the learner's own language they would not convey the information that he or she actually needed.

Grammars written for non-native speakers, on the other hand, are much more useful for non-native speakers. For this reason they have had a disproportionate survival rate among the corpus of Latin grammatical texts: once Western Europe was inhabited by people who had to learn Latin as a foreign language (either because they spoke Germanic languages or because they spoke Romance languages that had evolved to the point of being clearly different languages from Latin), the grammars that had originally been written for Greek speakers proved more helpful than those originally written for Latin speakers (cf. Dionisotti (1984: 204–5) and, from a very different perspective, the arguments of Law (1982: esp. 53–80) on the problems facing medieval users of grammars written for native speakers of Latin). Consequently, a high percentage of the texts in Keil's *Grammatici Latini* (1857–80) come originally from the East: Priscian, Charisius, Diomedes, Cledonius, Eutyches, Dositheus, and various anonymous works (numbers 28, 29, 39, 52, 53, 58, 59, 70, and 71 in figure 1.1).

These works survive via the Western manuscript tradition, not via the Byzantine tradition, which preserves almost no Latin material. As the grammars were originally created in the East, copies must have been brought to the West, and this transfer probably did not occur very late in their history: after the sixth century the Greek-speaking world lost interest in Latin, and communication between East and West became more difficult. Most likely the grammars came West soon after they were written, brought by Greek-speaking travellers and/or imported for use by the numerous Greek speakers in Italy.

Most of these grammars, of course, could not be used the way a modern student uses a Latin grammar, for one had to know Latin in order to be able to read them. (In the case of Priscian, which is a very advanced work, one also had to know a considerable amount of Latin in order to care about the kind of questions posed; Priscian's work was clearly not intended for beginners, though the fact that its author taught Latin in Constantinople makes it virtually certain that the grammar was intended for Greek speakers. On the effect on Priscian's work of his Greek environment see e.g. Maltby 2009.) It is likely that when these works were used in actual language teaching, the teacher provided an oral translation, at least at the more elementary levels. This process, of course, meant that the author's communication with his audience was at the mercy of the linguistic competence of the teacher, a less than desirable situation.

In one Latin grammar, that of Dositheus (29), this problem was addressed by the provision of a running Greek translation. The translation is complete at the beginning of the work and fades out as it progresses, perhaps on the assumption that students who got that far would be able to read the original for themselves or perhaps as a result of fatigue on the part of a copyist. It is clearly designed to help readers to understand the original, rather than to be read in place of the Latin, for it often omits the examples, which are necessary for comprehension of the argument. The provision of this translation had an unanticipated side effect: in the medieval West, where grammars of Greek were difficult to obtain, the Greek translation of Dositheus' grammar was used by Latin speakers who wanted to learn Greek. It was grossly inadequate for this purpose, of course, but the fact that such use was possible at all is largely responsible for the work's survival.

The Latin grammars survive only via the manuscript tradition; no fragments have been found on papyrus, which suggests that their use in classroom teaching was very limited. This fact has led some scholars to conclude that ancient language teaching did not involve formal grammatical instruction until students reached an advanced level.[27] However, there is a significant number of papyri containing bilingual grammatical material (cf. Rochette 1997a: 179–81),

---

[27] Morgan (1998: 162–9). In this context it is worth noting that the school scenes in the colloquia show children learning grammatical paradigms; see ME 2r, S 23–5, C 34–6.

even if there is no detectable overlap between this material and the grammars that survive via the manuscript tradition. Three bilingual papyri are entirely grammatical, and two others are glossaries that include some grammatical information (mostly, but not exclusively, inflectional). It is notable that both the papyri in the latter category are early (2 and 10 in figure 1.1), while the exclusively grammatical ones are later (18, 60, and 69): there may have been a process of refinement and specialization of bilingual material over time, leading to the idea that grammatical and lexical information should be separately presented.

The 'idiomata' preserved via the medieval manuscript tradition (80), however, show a mixture of grammatical and lexical information similar to that found in the earlier papyri. The classification 'idiomata' is based on definitions given by Charisius,[28] who says in essence that *idiomata* are grammatical differences between Latin and Greek, for example when a Latin noun has a different gender from its Greek translation, a verb is deponent in one language but not in the other, or a verb takes different cases in the two languages. The term is now used to refer to lists of such differences, for example lists of Latin nouns that have different genders from their Greek translations. The boundaries of the category are somewhat fluid, but Goetz grouped into it texts with a range of grammatical information, such as lists of nouns with their genders.

The medieval idiomata are distinct from the Hermeneumata and show no clear signs of relationship to them, so Goetz segregated the two types of text, with the idiomata in one volume and the Hermeneumata in another (1923: 12–23). Nevertheless the distinction is not entirely clear-cut, given the fluid boundaries of the 'idiomata' category. Some Hermeneumata glossaries contain grammatical information; this is the case not only with the beginning of the alphabetical glossary in the Hermeneumata Leidensia (see 1.1.2.2 above and cf. Tagliaferro 2003: 57), but also with the classified glossaries in the Einsidlensia version, which regularly supply inflectional information for the Greek words.[29]

In the latter case this information must be a late addition to the tradition – there is no trace of it in the Monacensia version –, but that fact illustrates the ease with which a pure glossary could become a repository of grammatical as well as lexical information. Indeed modern Latin dictionaries, even the very smallest, all contain a minimum of grammatical information, and this information is largely the same as that provided by the idiomata (e.g. genders and genitives of nouns), because such information is very useful to readers (and even more to writers or speakers) of Latin. In some ways, therefore, what is peculiar is not the idiomata themselves, but the lack of grammatical information in the vast majority of ancient and medieval bilingual glossaries.

1.1.2.4 Texts

The largest group of ancient language-learning material is the texts, which account for well over half the surviving material.[30] No-one can learn a language simply by memorizing vocabulary and grammar; it is essential to experience the language in use, with the grammar and vocabulary in context. Such experience can be provided by oral conversation, and it is quite likely that many Latin learners in the Greek East had access to Latin speakers with whom they could practise in this way. But the prevalence of texts among surviving learners' materials suggests that often an important way in which context was provided was through reading.

The texts fall into three groups: conversation manuals, literature, and legal texts. The conversation manuals, which provide short dialogues and phrases for use in common situations, are the easiest type of text and would probably have been read first; indeed students who were interested only in oral proficiency might never have moved on to literature. The most important conversation manuals are the colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana themselves, but a number of papyri also fall into this category.[31] These include one from the fourth century with

---

[28] Charisius p. 379.3–380.29 Barwick, cf. Kramer (2004b: 55–6, 2001a: 13–15), Cribiore (2002).

[29] This fact is not apparent from Goetz's edition, as he omitted this information from his text (cf. Goetz 1892: xxiii), but in fact it is present not only in manuscript D (the basis of Goetz's edition) but also in A; it must therefore have been part of the archetype of the Einsidlensia version (see section 2.1.2.5 below).

[30] Much has been written on these materials; for more information see e.g. Axer (1983), Fressura (2007), Gaebel (1970), Maehler (1979: 36–41), Moore (1924), Radiciotti (1998: 120–7), Reichmann (1943), Rochette (1990, 1997a: esp. 188–200, 1999), and the editions listed in figure 1.1 above.

[31] There is also a Greek conversation manual in Armenian script (with no Latin, nor Armenian, just Greek words and phrases in Armenian script); this text seems to be distantly related to the Hermeneumata colloquia. See Clackson (2000, 2001).

sections on eating and bathing (number 22 in figure 1.1), one from the fourth or fifth century that is clearly related to an extant Hermeneumata colloquium (32), and one from the sixth century containing a Coptic translation and with the Latin transliterated (65); this last text suggests that Coptic speakers learned Latin through the medium of Greek.

Literary texts are much more numerous among papyrus finds. By far the most numerous are texts of Virgil (24, 25, 34, 35, 36, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 66, 67, 68), followed by Cicero (33, 44, 45, 46); other Latin authors apparently read by learners are Terence (26, 37), Juvenal (57), Sallust (38), and Seneca (27). Many of the Virgil and Cicero papyri belong to a group variously described as bilingual versions or as glossaries; these consist of either all or a selection of the words in the portion of text concerned, with literal translations into Greek.[32]

These works, like nearly all ancient bilingual texts, are arranged in two narrow columns, each column one to three words wide. The Latin is on the left and the Greek on the right, and each line of Greek is a literal translation of the corresponding line of Latin. Some of these works contain all the words in a selection of text, so that one can read down the Latin column and get the *Aeneid*, or read down the Greek column and get a (literal, and not always comprehensible) translation of the *Aeneid*. Others contain only a selection of the words. Sometimes the Latin words have been reordered to make the Latin easier to follow. Opinions differ on exactly how these materials were used: they may have been prepared by teachers to help students read the text, or by students themselves, who looked up words in lexica[33] and wrote them down in the order in which they occurred. The partial versions would have been used in conjunction with a separate copy of the text, and the complete versions could have been used either in conjunction with or instead of such a copy. We have a significant number of such materials, covering much of the first five books of the *Aeneid* (ancient students clearly began

at the beginning), part of the first *Georgic*, and parts of Cicero's *Catilinarians*.

At a more advanced stage Greek-speaking readers used monolingual Latin papyri but wrote interlinear or marginal Greek glosses and/or scholia. Greek speakers also had a tendency to mark the quantities of some Latin vowels, a procedure that suggests that they wanted to be able to read the Latin text aloud as well as translate it (cf. Scappaticcio 2010). There is, however, no indication of any concern with metre.[34]

A few pieces of Greek literature are also found in bilingual versions with Latin translation. We might expect that such texts would have been used by Latin speakers learning Greek, but in some cases there is evidence that their use actually went in the other direction; one papyrus of Babrius (17) seems to preserve the results of an exercise in Latin prose composition, and the prominence of fables in the Hermeneumata raises questions about the two bilingual papyri of Aesop (14, 23). Because of their more direct connection to the Hermeneumata these papyri will be discussed in more detail below (section 1.2.4).

Many of the Latin texts used by Greek speakers were legal works (30, 40, 41, 42, 54, 61, 62, 63, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77). It is of course uncertain to what extent these texts were read specifically in order to improve the reader's Latin, and to what they were simply read by Greek speakers not entirely comfortable with Latin; indeed no firm division can be made between these two activities on the part of a language learner. Roman law was one of the strongholds of Latin in the Greek East; although surviving documents make it clear that much legal work was in fact conducted in Greek, knowledge of Latin was very useful for Greek speakers entering the legal profession, and this utility was one of the major causes of Latin learning in the East. Law schools offered training in Latin, and it is likely that some of the surviving Latin legal texts with Greek annotations come from such an environment.[35]

---

[32] On these see especially Gaebel (1970), Rochette (1990, 1997a: 302–15), Scappaticcio (2010), Maehler (1979: 36–41), Axer (1983), and Reichmann (1943: 28–57).

[33] Similarities between the translations found in these texts and in preserved bilingual glossaries demonstrate that lexica must have been used in their preparation (either directly or as the source of stock translations that were memorized); see Gaebel (1970: 309–10) and Maehler (1979: 37–8).

[34] There is some debate about the purpose of the study of Latin literature from the perspective of the Greek-speaking student: Kramer (2001a: 28) claims that a major goal of Latin study was the ability to master higher literature, but other scholars (e.g. Gaebel 1970: 322–3, Maehler 1979: 39, 41) argue that Greek speakers saw Latin literature not as an end in itself but as a means of mastering Latin for practical purposes.

[35] For the use of Latin (and Greek) by the legal profession in the East, and the provision of Latin courses in law schools in the East, see e.g. Rochette (1997a: 83–144, 166–77), Adams (2003a: 561–71), Kaimio (1979a: 143–53), and Millar (2006: 84–93).

1.2 THE HERMENEUMATA AND THEIR CONTENTS

The Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana are a diverse collection of material with no clear boundaries or definitions; generally the term is used to refer to material published in a collection entitled *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* by Georg Goetz in 1892,[36] together with other materials that seem to be related to the ones published there. What these materials have in common is that they are bilingual in Latin and Greek and were used for language learning; bilingual versions of religious and literary texts are not considered to belong to the Hermeneumata, nor are monolingual language-learning materials. On the other hand Dositheus' grammar, which is also bilingual (see above), is not considered Hermeneumata material either, though it is found with the Hermeneumata in some manuscripts and has given its name to the collection.[37]

1.2.1 Surviving materials: overview

The colloquia are probably the best-known elements of the Hermeneumata collection, but they make up only a tiny portion of its considerable bulk, which consists chiefly of bilingual glossaries and also includes some other easy texts evidently used as reading material for language learners.[38] The different elements of the Hermeneumata, as they appear in manuscripts and in Goetz's collection, are:

(1) Colloquia: see 1.2.2 below.
(2) Greek–Latin glossaries arranged in (some approximation of) alphabetical order; many of these have the Greek on the left and the Latin on the right and are alphabetized on the Greek, but some have the Latin on the left and are alphabetized on the Latin. See 1.2.3 below.

(3) Classified glossaries arranged by topic; in the medieval context these are known as 'capitula' and consist of a series of separate chapters, each with its own heading. Again these usually have the Greek on the left, but there are exceptions. See 1.2.3 below.
(4) Bilingual texts: fables from Aesop, a prose narrative of the Trojan War, tales of wise decisions and sayings attributed to the emperor Hadrian (*Hadriani sententiae*), a short mythological handbook (*Hygini genealogia*), Delphic precepts, several sets of hard philosophical questions with clever answers (*Responsa sapientium*, *Interrogationes et responsa*), and a work on Roman law (*Tractatus de manumissionibus*). See 1.2.4 below.

The Hermeneumata are found in a large number of manuscripts ranging in date from the eighth century to the Renaissance. These manuscripts resemble each other to varying degrees; some contain a unique version of the Hermeneumata that seems only distantly related to those in other manuscripts, while others are virtually identical to each other, the only differences being ones that arose inadvertently during transmission. It is therefore customary to divide the Hermeneumata into different versions, some of which are attested in a single manuscript and some in a large number of manuscripts. These different versions are named after what early editors considered to be the most important manuscript of each version: thus the Monacensia version is named after codex Monacensis Latinus 13002 and the Einsidlensia version after codex Einsidlensis 19, though both those manuscripts have now been supplanted from the positions once accorded them.

Goetz (1892) classified the Hermeneumata material into six versions: Leidensia (pp. 3–116), Monacensia (pp. 119–220), Einsidlensia (pp. 223–79), Montepessulana (pp. 283–343), Stephani (pp. 347–90), and Varia (pp. 393–531).[39] Some of these versions, such as the Montepessulana, are clearly unified entities distinct from the others, but in most cases the divisions are murkier. Some of the versions overlap:

---

[36] This collection forms the third volume of the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* by Goetz and Gustav Loewe; for a knowledgeable and sympathetic explanation of what this corpus is and what it achieved see Dionisotti (1996).

[37] In fact the grammar used to be considered part of the same work as the Hermeneumata, hence their original epithet 'Dositheana', but once Dositheus had been dated to the fourth century it was clear that his work could not have a very close connection to the Hermeneumata, which originated considerably earlier.

[38] General introductions to the Hermeneumata can be found in Dionisotti (1982: 86–92) and Debut (1984).

[39] Goetz also includes a group of *Hermeneumata medicobotanica vetustiora* (1892: 535–633), which are bilingual glossaries of medical and botanical terminology. These, however, have always been acknowledged to be a separate group from the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana and were included in the same volume only for convenience of arrangement within the larger work of which Goetz's Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana volume forms a part, the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*.

for example some of the Leidensia material is essentially the same as part of the Stephani material (Goetz 1892: 69–71, 376–8), and the same is true of some of the Monacensia and Einsidlensia material (Goetz 1892: 119–22, 210–20, 223–35) – though in both cases other elements of these Hermeneumata versions are very different from each other. Other versions are loose groupings of manuscripts containing largely non-overlapping material: thus the Leidensia are subdivided into the Hermeneumata Leidensia proper (pp. 3–72), the Hermeneumata Amploniana (pp. 72–94), the Fragmentum Parisinum (pp. 94–108), and the colloquium Harleianum (pp. 108–116). The Hermeneumata Varia section includes the Fragmentum Bruxellense (pp. 393–8), Glossarium Leidense (pp. 398–421), Hermeneumata Vaticana (pp. 421–38), Glossae Stephani (pp. 438–74), Glossae Loiselii (pp. 474–87), Glossae Bernenses (pp. 487–506), and Glossae Vaticanae (pp. 506–31).

Dionisotti (1982: 87) produced a more coherent classification into eight Hermeneumata versions that is often followed today: Leidensia (Goetz 1892: 3–72), Amploniana (Goetz 1892: 72–94), Bruxellensia (Goetz 1892: 347–79, 393–421), Stephani (Goetz 1892: 94–108, 347–90), Montepessulana (Goetz 1892: 283–343), Monacensia (Goez 1892: 119–220), Einsidlensia (Goetz 1892: 223–79), and Celtis. The last of these versions, whch was discovered after Goetz's day, is additional to what is fundamentally a seven-group classification of Goetz's material. Essentially Dionisotti left out of consideration much of the material in Goetz's Varia section (the Hermeneumata Vaticana, Glossae Stephani, Glossae Loiselii, Glossae Bernenses, and Glossae Vaticanae), elevated the Amploniana and Bruxellensia material to the status of independent versions, and reclassified a few other manuscripts (for example, the Fragmentum Parisinum was moved from Leidensia to Stephani).

Subsequently Dionisotti published additional analysis of parts of the Hermeneumata tradition (1985: esp. 305–19, 327–30, 1988: 26–31), and partly on the basis of this Korhonen (1996: 103, followed by Kramer 2001a: 15–16) produced a classification into nine versions: Leidensia (Goetz 1892: 3–72, 94–108), Hygini (Goetz 1892: 72–94), Bruxellensia (Goetz 1892: 393–421), Stephani (Goetz 1892: 347–90, 438–87), Montepessulana (Goetz 1892: 283–343, 487–31), Monacensia (Goetz 1892: 119–220), Einsidlensia (Goetz 1892: 223–79), Celtis (Dionisotti 1982), and Vaticana (Goetz 1892: 421–38).[40] This classification accounts

for all the material in Goetz's volume while adding only one extra version (Hermeneumata Vaticana) to Dionisotti's original eight; the Hygini is simply a renaming of the Amploniana (cf. Dionisotti 1985: 327–30), and the Montepessulana have been expanded to include the Glossae Bernenses and Glossae Vaticanae, while the Hermeneumata Stephani have picked up the Glossae Stephani and Glossae Loiselii but lost the Fragmentum Parisinum, which has gone back to the Hermeneumata Leidensia.

Some of these changes reflect genuine discoveries that have enhanced our understanding of the Hermeneumata tradition, such as the reconstruction of the Hermeneumata Bruxellensia and disentangling of the sources of the Hermeneumata Stephani. Others are less meaningful, such as the repeated shuffling of the Fragmentum Parisinum. In general the more recent classifications have the advantage of producing individual versions that are more or less coherent: there are no longer composite versions made up of manuscripts that do not significantly overlap in content and among which no real relationship can be demonstrated. But the problem of overlaps between different versions remains and indeed is exacerbated by some of the changes: they produce overlaps not only between the Leidensia and Stephani versions and between Monacensia and Einsidlensia, but also between the Leidensia version and the Amploniana and between Leidensia and Bruxellensia. The colloquium Harleianum also remains a problem: so far no classification has dealt well with the fact that codex Harleianus 5642 on the one hand contains some texts that are essentially the same as those in the main Leidensia manuscript, but instead of the colloquium in that manuscript the Harleianus has a completely different one. Indications that a lost manuscript combined the colloquium Harleianum with capitula from the Amploniana version do not improve this situation.

The current understanding of the different versions of the Hermeneumata and what is found in each can be summarized as follows:

Hermeneumata Monacensia (M) (Goetz 1892: 119–220): This version contains an alphabetical glossary, capitula, and two colloquia (one at the beginning and one at the end);

---

[40] Dionisotti has also made a nine-version classification (1988: 27–8), which is slightly different from Korhonen's (the Fragmentum Parisinum is classed with the Stephani version) and on which my own classification given below is partly based.

the colloquia are very similar to those in the Einsidlensia version, and the capitula, though much more different than the colloquia, also seem to share a relationship with the Einsidlensia closer than that to other versions (see 1.2.3 below). The version is found in eight manuscripts, one of which also has some material from the Einsidlensia version. The Greek is transliterated, and most of the manuscripts are incomplete; they range in date from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. For more information see sections 2.1–2.4 below.

Hermeneumata Einsidlensia (E) (Goetz 1892: 223–79): This version contains two colloquia followed by capitula; it is related to the Monacensia version (see above). The version is attested in six manuscripts (plus a few others not useful for an editor) and an early edition; all these sources come from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and most are missing the capitula. One of the manuscripts has some Monacensia material as well. For more information see sections 2.1–2.4 below.

Hermeneumata Leidensia (L) (Goetz 1892: 3–72): This version is complicated. The main manuscript (Leiden Voss. Gr. Q. 7)[41] contains an alphabetical glossary, capitula (closely related to those of the Amploniana version, see 1.2.3 below), a large group of texts (*Hadriani sententiae*, fables, *Tractatus de manumissionibus*, *Hygini genealogia*, and a Trojan War narrative), and a colloquium. This is the only Leidensia version manuscript to contain the colloquium, but the same colloquium is also found in the Hermeneumata Stephani; it is therefore known as the colloquium Leidense–Stephani. Two other manuscripts[42] contain portions of the capitula and of the other texts (the *Hadriani sententiae* and, in the Sangallensis only, the beginning of the fables), but not the alphabetical glossary or the colloquium. A fourth (Harleianus 5642)[43] contains a confused collection of material

that includes parts of the capitula and of the *Hadriani sententiae* and the beginning of the fables. This manuscript also has an alphabetical glossary that resembles the one in the Leidensia version but is more distantly related than in the case of the capitula and texts; this glossary can also be found in Harleianus 2688.[44] Harleianus 5642 also has a colloquium which is not the one in the Leiden manuscript but rather a different one known as the **colloquium Harleianum (H)** (Goetz 1892: 108–16); this colloquium, like the Leidensia capitula, has a connection to the Amploniana version (see below), and a fragment of it survives on papyrus (number 32 in figure 1.1 above). Additionally, Harleianus 5642 intersperses with these Hermeneumata elements some other material that is traditionally considered not to be part of the Hermeneumata. The Leidensia version has recently been re-edited by Flammini (2004).[45]

Hermeneumata Stephani (S) (Goetz 1892: 347–90, 438–87): This version includes capitula, two colloquia, texts (*Interrogationes et responsa*, *Responsa sapientium*, Delphic precepts, and *Hadriani sententiae*), and two alphabetical glossaries. One of the colloquia is essentially identical to the Leidensia version colloquium but continues where the Leidensia one breaks off; the other colloquium is found nowhere else. The version of the *Hadriani sententiae* is similar to the Leidensia version of that text, but not nearly as similar as is the first colloquium to the Leiden colloquium; the relationship of the Stephani and Leidensia versions is probably not the same for these two texts. The alphabetical glossaries, which were segregated by Goetz as the **Glossae Stephani** (1892: 438–74), may have different sources from the rest of the material. Our main source for the Stephani version of the Hermeneumata is a sixteenth-century printed book (Stephanus 1573), which was based on several lost manuscripts; one of these manuscripts belonged to the Bruxellensia family, and a relative of another is represented by material that Goetz prints separately as the

---

[41] Ninth century, no. 2182 in Bischoff (1998–2004); for more information see section 3.1.1 below.

[42] Sangallensis 902 (ninth/tenth century, in the monastery of St Gallen in Switzerland) and codex Latinus Monacensis 601 (ninth/tenth century, in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, no. 2929 in Bischoff 1998–2004).

[43] Ninth/tenth century, in the British Library in London, no. 2489 in Bischoff (1998–2004) and discussed in vol. ii, section 1.1.1 of this work.

[44] Ninth century, in the British Library in London, no. 2448 in Bischoff (1998–2004).

[45] For further information about the manuscripts see Flammini (2004, 1990: 9–43), Rochette (2005: 588–90), Dionisotti (1988: 28), Bischoff (1998–2004), and sections 3.1 below and vol. ii, 1.1.

Glossae Loiselii (1892: 474–87, from codex Bernensis 450[46]). Probably also to be placed in this version (though not discussed by Dionisotti 1985: 313–18) is the **Fragmentum Parisinum** (Parisinus Llatinus 6503),[47] which contains a version of the fables and the *Tractatus de manumissionibus* that must be related to the Leidensia version of these texts, though there are some significant differences in wording and arrangement of the texts. For more information see Dionisotti (1985: 313–18, 1988: 28) and sections 3.1–3.2 and 4.1–4.4 below.

Hermeneumata Montepessulana (Mp) (Goetz 1892: 283–343): This version contains a colloquium, capitula, and an alphabetical glossary, all in a unique version; there is evidence that the *Hygini genealogia* once belonged to it as well, since material from that text can be found in the Montepessulana capitula (cf. n. 87 below). The version is fully attested in only one manuscript (Montepessulanus 306,[48] printed by Goetz), but extracts can also be found, rearranged into alphabetical order, in two glossaries known as *abscida lucida*, which are preserved in numerous manuscripts.[49] A transcript of one manuscript of the first *abscida lucida* glossary is published in Goetz's edition as the **Glossae Bernenses** (1892: 487–506), and the second is published there as the **Glossae Vaticanae** (1892: 506–31). For more information see vol. II, section 2.1.2.

Hermeneumata Amploniana or Hygini Hermeneumata (Goetz 1892: 72–94): The main manuscript of this version (Erfurt, Ampl. 2° 10)[50] contains an alphabetical glossary followed by capitula. But excerpts in a manuscript not published by Goetz (Paris Lat. 7683, the notebook of the seventeenth-century scholar Claude Saumaise/Claudius Salmasius) seem to have been taken from another manuscript of this version, one that combined these glossaries with the colloquium Harleianum and with the *Hygini genealogia*, the latter in a more complete version than that in which it is preserved in the Leidensia version. Two other manuscripts[51] are believed to contain excerpts from this version, at a stage when it included the Hyginus and the colloquium Harleianum. For more information see vol. II, section 1.1.3 and Dionisotti.[52]

Hermeneumata Bruxellensia (Goetz 1892: 393–421): This version once contained an alphabetical glossary and capitula but is now in a very fragmentary state. Dionisotti has reconstructed it from two texts Goetz called the **Fragmentum Bruxellense** (Goetz 1892: 393–8)[53] and **Glossarium Leidense** (Goetz 1892: 398–421),[54] plus three manuscripts not used by Goetz.[55] Another Bruxellensia manuscript, now lost, seems to have been one of the sources of the Hermeneumata Stephani; it appears to have contained the Leidensia version colloquium as well as the Bruxellensia version capitula. For more information see Dionisotti (1985: 305–13, 315, 1988: 27–8).

Hermeneumata Vaticana (Goetz 1892: 421–38): This version contains only capitula and is notable for its Christian orientation: the early sections of the capitula, which in other versions contain lists of pagan gods, here have epithets of the Christian deity. Evidently it was substantially reworked after the advent of Christianity. The version survives in only one manuscript (Vaticanus Lat. 6925, tenth century); it has recently been re-edited by Brugnoli and Buonocore (2002).

---

[46] Sixteenth century; in the Burgerbibliothek in Berne.

[47] Ninth century, published by Goetz (1892: 94–103.7), with continuation (to p. 108) taken from a sixteenth-century copy by Scaliger. This copy (Leiden Scaligeri 61) includes only the *Tractatus de manumissionibus*. See Goetz (1892: xii–xiii, 1892–3: 6–7).

[48] Ninth century, in the Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine in Montpellier, France; no. 2857 in Bischoff (1998–2004).

[49] Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 1773 (ninth century), Bruxellensis 10066–77 (tenth century, in the Bibliothèque royale), Trier 40/1018 (tenth/eleventh century), Bernensis 688 (thirteenth century), Trinity College Cambridge O.5.34 (twelfth/thirteenth century), Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 1774 (thirteenth century), and Balliol College Oxford 155 (fourteenth century). See Goetz (1892: xxix–xxx), Silvestre (1951), and Dionisotti (1988: 27, 31, 44 n. 80).

[50] Ninth century, no. 1174 in Bischoff (1998–2004).

[51] Leiden Voss. Lat. F. 24 (ninth century, no. 2187 in Bischoff 1998–2004) and Bernensis 236 (tenth century).

[52] Dionisotti (1982: 87, 1985: 327–30, 1988: 27); cf. Goetz (1892: xi–xii).

[53] Bruxellensis 1828–30, tenth century, in the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels.

[54] Leiden Voss. Lat. F. 26 (ninth century, no. 2188 in Bischoff 1998–2004).

[55] Angers 477 folios 1–8 (ninth century, no. 68 in Bischoff 1998–2004, published by Omont 1898), Cambridge University Library Add. 3166 (tenth/eleventh century), and Heidelberg Salem 9.39 (twelfth century).

Hermeneumata Celtis or Hermeneumata Vindobonensia (C): This version now survives in a single manuscript (Vindobonensis suppl. Gr. 43)[56] that contains (of relevant material) only capitula and a colloquium, both in a unique version; there is evidence, however, that the version once included a large alphabetical glossary as well. It takes its name from the Renaissance scholar Conrad Celtes, who made the only surviving copy in 1495. The material from this version is not included in Goetz's edition; the colloquium has been published by Dionisotti (1982), and the capitula remain largely unpublished, though a few have been edited piecemeal[57] and an edition of the whole is in preparation by Rolando Ferri. For more information see vol. II, sections 3.1–3.3, Dionisotti (1982) and Ferri (2011).

Thus of these nine versions, six contain colloquia, and four of those contain two colloquia each, for a theoretical total of ten colloquia. But because the Monacensia and Einsidlensia colloquia are essentially the same, and the colloquium Leidense is essentially the same as the first of the colloquia Stephani, there are effectively seven distinct colloquia in six different versions: the two colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia (known as ME), the colloquium Leidense–Stephani (LS), the second colloquium Stephani (S), the colloquium Harleianum (H), the colloquium Montepessulanum (Mp), and the colloquium Celtis or Vindobonense (C). For full discussion of the similarities and differences between the colloquia that are essentially the same, see the sections 2.3 and 3.1–2 below.

We shall return to the issue of the classification of versions after examining the relevant information; see the end of section 1.2.5 below.

1.2.2 Colloquia: preliminaries

The colloquia are composite works containing material composed at different times and places. The process by which different scenes were put together can be observed in the colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia, which in the earlier manuscripts are two distinct colloquia and in the later ones have been joined together as a single work. Often some of the units of which a particular colloquium is composed can be distinguished linguistically: some sections display numerous errors indicating a certain type of origin (e.g. composition by a Greek speaker with limited Latin or composition after a particular date), while other sections contain no such errors. In other places abrupt shifts in content (e.g. from first- to third-person narration or from describing the day of a child to describing an adult) make a join obvious.

The different colloquia are related not only in their general outlines – most of them include a preface, a morning scene, school, lunch, bathing, etc. – but also in having parallel passages that appear to be related. There are many parallels, and while some of them could be due to coincidence, a fair number contain wording that must go back to a common origin. The most significant parallel passages are listed in figure 1.2; for more information on them see the commentaries on the passages concerned.

These parallels provide some important information. All the extant colloquia are linked in this fashion – none is a purely independent creation – but the parallels are limited to a few scenes, most of which occur near the beginning of the colloquia. Most of the scenes in the various colloquia could be entirely unrelated to each other. Moreover, some colloquia are involved in many more parallels than others. The Monacensia–Einsidlensia and Celtis versions are each involved in eighteen of the twenty-three parallels, but the Stephani and Harleianum versions appear only four and three times respectively.

In addition, two papyri provide clues to the dating of different versions. One from the fourth or fifth century (number 32 in figure 1.1 above) contains material that is recognizably part of the colloquium Harleianum, though not identical to the version of that colloquium preserved in manuscripts. Another, from the sixth century (number 65 in figure 1.1 above), contains material related to the colloquium Montepessulanum.

More detailed exposition of the history of the colloquia is best conducted against the background of an understanding of the rest of the Hermeneumata, so we shall return to this topic in section 1.3 below.

1.2.3 The glossaries

The glossaries make up the vast majority of the Hermeneumata material, so that study of the

---

[56] Fifteenth century, in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

[57] Kramer (2001b, 2004a), Gatti (2006); cf. also Ferri (2008b).

Scene	Related passages
Title	ME 3a, LS title A, H title, C title
Preface	ME 1n, LS title B, Mp 1d, C 2a
Preface	ME 1o?, ME 3b, C 1a–b
Morning: waking	ME 2a, LS 1c, S 3a?, C 4a–b
Morning: servant	S 3b, C 6a–b
Morning: dressing	ME 2c–d (= 3e), C 5, C 9a, C 13
Morning: dressing	LS 1e, C 10
Morning: greetings	S 8c, C 16
School: entrance	ME 2g, LS 2f–3d, S 10a?, C 19, C 21a–c
School: request	H 4, Mp 2
School: utensils	ME 2h, LS 8a, C 22
School: erasing tablet	ME 2i, C 27a
School: reading aloud	ME 2j, C 20
School: quarrel	ME 2k–l, C 28a
School: elementary work	ME 2m, S 21?, C 34a, C 40a
School: nouns and verses	ME 2n, S 20a, C 40b–c
School: classes	ME 2n–o, LS 8b–c, C 40b–41b
Debtor apprehension	H 23b–c, Mp 19c–d
Bathing: sweat room	ME 1om, Mp 16b
Bathing: drying	ME 1op–q, Mp 16c, C 61a–c
Bathing: acclamation	ME 1ou, Mp 16e, C 63
Meal preparation	ME 9b, Mp 11b
Dinner: servants	ME 11m, Mp 19a

Figure 1.2 Most significant parallel passages

Hermeneumata has largely been study of the glossaries;[58] it is no accident that Goetz published the Hermeneumata as part of a corpus of Latin glossaries. Scholars are agreed in placing the origin of the bulk of the glossary material somewhere in antiquity, for the language is conspicuously ancient rather than medieval, and the content is conspicuously pagan

rather than Christian. The capitula usually begin with pagan gods, while vocabulary associated with the Christian deity is either absent or, occasionally, attached to the end in what is clearly a later addition (Dionisotti 1982: 90–1).

The division of the Hermeneumata glossaries into alphabetical glossaries and capitula clearly goes back to the two types of ancient glossary (see 1.1.2.2 above). Moreover, there is a notable resemblance between the particular sections that appear in the ancient classified glossaries and those found in the Hermeneumata (cf. Kramer 2001a: 25–6). Some of the papyri to which the Hermeneumata glossaries seem to be related can be dated to the second century AD and others to the first/ second century, a fact that has led Kramer to argue (2001a: 30) that the Hermeneumata collection itself should be dated to the first century AD. Of course, some entries in the glossaries must have been added or altered in later centuries – ancient and medieval lexica were fluid entities that readily accepted additions and changes – but with that caveat there is no reason why the glossaries could not date to the first century, or even earlier.

In most Hermeneumata versions there is a difference in content between the alphabetical glossaries and the capitula: the alphabetical glossaries consist primarily of verbs and the capitula of nouns (or, for certain capitula sections, adjectives) (cf. Dionisotti 1982: 86, 1985: 306). The extent to which this rule applies varies in the different versions of the Hermeneumata: verbs are consistently rare in the capitula, but the percentage of verbs in the alphabetical glossaries varies. In the Leidensia and Monacensia versions 60 per cent of the words in the alphabetical glossaries are verbs, but verbs make up only 25 per cent of entries in the Montepessulana version and even less in some of the shorter glossaries (e.g. 15 per cent in the Glossae Stephani).[59]

The directly preserved fragments of ancient glossaries show a pattern that must be related. The classified glossaries consist mainly of nouns (or, in certain sections, adjectives), and verbs are largely confined to the alphabetical glossaries. The prevalence of verbs in

---

[58] For this work see above all Dionisotti (1982, 1988, and especially 1985), but also earlier authors, especially Goetz (1892, 1923) and Krumbacher (1883).

[59] These figures were calculated using two-page samples from the middle of each glossary in Goetz's edition; infinitives and participles were counted as verb forms. By this calculation the Glossarium Leidense is 52 per cent verbs, but Dionisotti (1985: 305–10) has shown that this glossary was formed by adding elements from capitula to an alphabetical glossary; originally, therefore, its percentage of verbs would have been significantly higher.

these alphabetical works is most obvious in the Folium Wallraffianum, the Greek-to-Latin fragment of the sixth-century alphabetical lexicon listed in figure 1.1 as text 64.[60] On this leaf forty-three of seventy-six preserved entries consist of verb forms, yielding a figure of 57 per cent verbs that is strikingly close to the 60 per cent figure for the Leidensia and Monacensia glossaries. Moreover P. Sorb. inv. 2069, the third-century glossary of homonyms listed as item 10 in figure 1.1, has verbs for 47 per cent of its grammatically classifiable entries.[61] In this context one might also want to consider P. Strasb. inv. G 1175 (number 18 in figure 1.1), an alphabetically ordered list of conjugated verbs (present indicative active or deponent, singular only) from the third or fourth century. In many ways this is of course a grammatical text rather than a glossary, but as both the ancient alphabetical glossaries and those in the Hermeneumata often include multiple conjugated forms of verbs (particularly present indicative active forms), it is easy to see how something like this papyrus could have become a source for a larger glossary (cf. Rochette 2005: 590). The beginning of the Leidensia version alphabetical glossary, for example, contains a set of conjugated verbs;[62] these verbs are clearly separate from the rest of the glossary, as they are alphabetized on the Latin rather than the Greek like the majority of this glossary, and could easily have come from a list or table

of conjugated Latin verbs. The chunks of conjugated verbs in the Monacensia version alphabetical glossary, which are integrated into the rest of the glossary, could easily have come from taking such a list or table and alphabetizing it by the Greek along with whatever other words the glossary contained. It thus seems likely that the tendency for alphabetical glossaries to contain more verbs than classified ones originated in antiquity, and that this feature of certain Hermeneumata versions is an inherited one.

The Hermeneumata glossaries, like the other Hermeneumata material, generally have the Greek on the left and the Latin on the right; the alphabetical glossaries are therefore usually alphabetized on the Greek.[63] This feature, however, is probably not always ancient (for the orientation of papyrus glossaries see 1.1.2.2 above): the medieval scribes who copied the extant Hermeneumata manuscripts were much more interested in reading Greek than in actively producing it, and they were perfectly capable of reversing (and where relevant realphabetizing) lexica. A glossary preserved only in Greek-to-Latin format may therefore have had the opposite orientation in antiquity. Unfortunately, the same is true of glossaries preserved only in Latin-to-Greek format: although the desire for this order was much less common in the Middle Ages, we have at least one glossary that was clearly reversed from Greek–Latin to Latin–Greek, with subsequent realphabetization, in the Carolingian period (Glossarium Leidense; see Dionisotti 1985: 305–8).

The relationship of the different alphabetical glossaries to one another is difficult to assess, but the capitula, because they have more structure, show their relationships fairly clearly (cf. Schoenemann 1886, Goetz 1923: 21). Some Hermeneumata versions have very similar capitula that are evidently closely related: the Amploniana capitula consist of almost precisely the same headings in the same order as the first part of the Leidensia capitula, and most of the words classified under those headings are also shared (Goetz 1892: 8–30, 82–94; cf. Dionisotti 1988: 28). The Monacensia and Einsidlensia capitula are also related (Goetz 1892: 167–210, 236–79; cf. Dionisotti

---

[60] The Fragmenta Helmstadiensia, which comes from the Latin-to-Greek half of the same glossary as the Folium Wallraffianum, contains only nouns, but this work was arranged by inflectional category as well as alphabetically (we have portions containing nouns in *-is* and in *-tas*, with the words listed alphabetically in each section), so presumably the verbs were in a portion that has not survived. On glossaries arranged by gramatical category, a type better known from the Middle Ages than from antiquity, see Dionisotti (1985: 318–19) and cf. Kramer (2001a: 23).

[61] As this text is a glossary of homonyms, many of the entries are ambiguous forms like *turbo* or *vitio* that can function as either nouns or verbs; such entries have been excluded from the total for the purpose of this calculation, but if they were counted as verbs the percentage of verbs would rise to 55 per cent. Two small fragments produce figures that have little meaning: another third-century glossary (11 in figure 1.1) seems to have 41 per cent verbs out of seventeen reconstructible entries, and *P. Oxy.* XLIX.3452, from the second century (7 in figure 1.1), seems to have 12 per cent verbs out of seventeen reconstructable entries.

[62] Πράσσω/*ago*, κατηγορέω/*accuso*, πίνω/*bibo*, ᾄδω/*canto*, χαρίζομαι/*dono*, conjugated in various (by no means all) active forms of the present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect indicative, the present subjunctive, and the second-person present imperative (Goetz 1892: 3.29–4.25 = Flammini 2004: lines 29–87).

[63] But some Hermeneumata materials, most notably the Hermeneumata Stephani, have the Latin on the left. Moreover, a glossary's alphabetization is not always based on the left-hand column: part of the Bruxellensia version manuscript Angers 477 is alphabetized on the Latin, which is in the right-hand column (Omont 1898), and the same is true of the set of conjugated verbs on folios 1–4r of Harleianus 5642.

1988: 28), though not as closely as the Leidensia and Amploniana: not only do most of their sections have the same headings in the same order, but these versions share some sections not found in any other versions of the capitula.[64] These two pairs of versions are evidently more closely related than are most versions, indicating that the glossaries went on evolving over a long period, with versions continuing to split off and diverge from one another at different times.

But even the other versions show enough similarities to make it clear that they are ultimately all related (see Appendix).[65] Effectively we have six different versions of the capitula: Leidensia–Amploniana, Monacensia–Einsidlensia, Montepessulana, Stephani,[66] Celtis,[67] and Vaticana. Thirty-three sections are common to at least five versions,[68] and a further five sections are common to four versions; most of the rest are found only in one version and are clearly independent developments in that version, such as the sections on cows and pigs in the Vaticana, the replacement of a single section on shows with four sections on theatrical performances, athletic games, shows in the amphitheatre, and horse races in the Monacensia–Einsidlensia, and the insertion of a section on hunting after the section on animals in the Monacensia–Einsidlensia. As these examples suggest, the vast majority of the additions are in the Vaticana and Monacensia–Einsidlensia versions; the others contain few sections not well attested in other versions.

It is sometimes claimed (e.g. Dionisotti 1982: 88) that similarities between capitula do not prove a genetic relationship, for when classifying basic

vocabulary it would be relatively easy for different people to produce the same sections independently and to put much of the same vocabulary in those sections. The sections commonly found in the Hermeneumata capitula, however, are not a self-evident selection, as one can tell by looking at the sections that the revisers of the individual versions felt the need to add. These additions (i.e. sections found in only one version) include sections on terminology for people of different ages, on legal terminology, on weather, on music, on metre, and on numbers, in addition to the ones already mentioned; these are all things we would expect to find included, but the original writers omitted them. Moreover, some of the sections that must have been part of the original version of the capitula are rather surprising: for example there is both a section on food and separate sections on meat, fish, vegetables, dessert, and drinks; animals are divided into quadrupeds, birds, fish, and snakes, leaving bees and other insects without a good category (some later writers tried to fix this by changing the section on birds to one on flying creatures); and objects are partially divided by the materials of which they are made, into gold, silver, bronze, iron, clay, and leather – but wood, stone, and glass do not get categories, and the material categories have an uneasy relationship with some other sections, such as 'household goods'.

The order of the sections in the different versions also seems to be related (see Appendix). The capitula begin with the names of gods and goddesses, then move on to matters connected with the gods (the sky, the constellations, temples, and festivals). We then move on to human beings (parts of the body, human nature, relatives). Arriving at food and drink, we usually find the order food, drink, dessert, meat, vegetables, fish, birds; the objects are normally in the order gold, silver, bronze, iron, clay, leather. Navigation and medicine are grouped together.

Some striking similarities in wording are also apparent. The section headings tend to use the same words in the different versions, for example περὶ ὀστρακίνων for the clay objects (if the different headings were not related one would expect at least one version to use another word such as κεραμίων or πηλίνων), περὶ ἱματίων for the clothing (never ἐσθήτων), περὶ βρωμάτων for foods, the abstractions περὶ οἰκήσεως and *de habitatione* for words having to do with houses (in contrast to the concrete nouns used to head most sections), the phrase 'second table'

---

[64] On sacrifices, theatrical performances, athletic competitions, shows in amphitheatres, horse races, hunting, legumes, smells, and the names of the months in various cultures (Goetz 1892: 171–4, 189, 193, 194–5, 210, 238–41, 243, 259, 266–7, 273–4).

[65] The Appendix provides a table showing the capitula sections in the different versions and the Goetz page numbers to support the assertions made in this section.

[66] This version is of course composed from two different sources, but it is not possible to disentangle them fully as regards the capitula. Although we know that one resembled extant Bruxellensia manuscripts, it is clear (from the fact that he often prints two versions of a capitula section that does not appear in our extant Bruxellensia materials at all) that Estienne had access to a fuller version of those materials than we now possess, so when a section appears only once in Stephanus 1573 there is no way to decide whether it belonged to the Bruxellensia source or to the other one.

[67] I am grateful to Rolando Ferri for allowing me to use a draft of his edition of the Hermeneumata Celtis for this analysis.

[68] Only eight are common to all six versions, largely because of alterations to the Vaticana version, whose Christian orientation indicates serious rewriting in the post-antique period.

for dessert, *de aedibus* for 'about temples', and the use of θεῶν ὀνόματα/*deorum nomina* for the first section, instead of a phrase with περί/*de* as in almost all the other sections.[69] It is not possible that such similarities could have developed by coincidence: the capitula all have a common ancestor.

Ferri (2011: 154–9) has pointed out that many of the Greek words in the glossary of the Celtis version of the Hermeneumata are not words that would have been used in the conversational language of the imperial period, but Attic or Homeric words that had become archaic. He therefore argues that one of the sources of this glossary was a monolingual Greek lexicon, an Atticist one resembling the *Onomasticon* preserved under the name of Pollux. Latin translations of the Greek lemmata were added, making the lexicon bilingual; in some cases the original Greek gloss on the Greek lemma also survives. Ferri makes the point that the type of lexicon drawn upon here normally did not exist in the medieval West, and that therefore the use of the Atticist material must have occurred before the Hermeneumata Celtis left the East.

1.2.4 THE TEXTS

The texts found with the Hermeneumata materials are of diverse origins and were composed at a wide variety of dates, some in the Greek world and some in the Roman one. Most of them were used in educational settings in antiquity, and this use was probably relevant to their inclusion in the Hermeneumata.

One of the oldest Hermeneumata texts is the **Aesopic fables**,[70] which are found in the Leidensia version and (in a somewhat different form) in the Fragmentum Parisinum;[71] there is no title, but the preface attributes the fables to Aesop. Aesopic fables are a very old, very well attested genre with an extremely complex history:[72] there are a number of different surviving collections in both Latin and Greek, some under the name of Aesop and others attributed to later writers such as Babrius or Phaedrus, some in prose and some in verse, and many of disputed or heterogeneous date. The Hermeneumata collection is composed of eighteen fables; most of these are in prose in both languages, but two (numbers 16 and 17 in the Leidensia version) have the Greek in iambic trimeters and the Latin in prose.

Most of the fables in the Hermeneumata version are common in other surviving fable collections, but some are rare and at least one is found only in the Hermeneumata.[73] Getzlaff (1907), Thiele (1910: lxv–lxix), and Nøjgaard (1967: 398–403) have investigated the connection between the Hermeneumata and other versions of the fables and found the Hermeneumata group to be heterogeneous. The two verse fables (16 and 17) are essentially identical to fables preserved under the name of Babrius (Babrius 84 and 140) and must derive from the Babrius collection itself. The others form a distinct branch of the fable tradition, related both to Babrius and to the Latin fables attributed to Romulus but not descended directly from either collection, rather from their ancestors. The wording of the Latin in the Hermeneumata version is clearly related to the Romulus version (cf. parallel texts given by Thiele), even in the case of fable 17, where the Greek must come from Babrius.

The Hermeneumata version of the fables is also found on a papyrus from the fourth century AD, *PSI* VII.848 (number 23 in the list in figure 1.1). The preserved fragment is bilingual, with the Latin on the left and the Greek on the right; it contains the very end of Hermeneumata fable 14 (Aesop 262) and most of Hermeneumata fable 15 (Aesop 264). The wording of the papyrus is very similar to the wording of the Hermeneumata version, in both Latin and Greek;

---

[69] Goetz 1892: 24.2, 193.60, 270.41, 326.27, 369.8 (περὶ ὀστρακίνων), 21.16, 92.48, 192.55, 272.11, 322.28, 369.51 (περὶ ἱματίων), 14.18, 87.9, 182.61, 254.32, 313.65 (περὶ βρωμάτων), 19.25, 91.17, 190.14, 268.20, 312.29, 364.73 (περὶ οἰκήσεως/*de habitatione*), 15.34, 87.79–80, 184.64, 256.1, 315.70 (περὶ δευτέρας τραπέζης/*de secunda mensa*), 9.68, 83.47, 170.29, 238.29, 301.26, 362.5 (*de aedibus*), 82.51, 167.25, 236.22, 289.60–1, 348.8 (θεῶν ὀνόματα/*deorum nomina*); the unpublished Celtis version of the capitula also has περὶ ὀστρακίνων, περὶ ἱματίων, περὶ βρωμάτων, περὶ ὀρνέων, *de (sacris) aedibus* and a version of θεῶν ὀνόματα/*deorum nomina*.

[70] Texts can be found in Goetz (1892: 38.30–47.57, 94.1–102.7) and Flammini (Leidensia version only, 2004: 77–91).

[71] Specifically, they are found in the main Leidensia version manuscript (Voss. Gr. Q. 7), with the very beginning also preserved in two other Leidensia version manuscripts (Sangallensis 902

and Harleianus 5642); Flammini (2004: xxiii) states that this text is also found in Monacensis 601, but it is not (cf. apparatus to Goetz 1892: 37.55 = Flammini 2004: 76.1935, 1944). The Fragmentum Parisinum version (which is missing one of the fables found in the Leidensia version and has the others in a different order: see Flammini 1990: 17) is found only in Parisinus Lat. 6503 itself; Scaliger's copy of this manuscript (see n. 47 above) does not include the fables.

[72] See e.g. Holzberg (2002) and Adrados (1999–2003).

[73] Flammini (2004: 79–91) gives references to the other collections in which each fable occurs, but for fable 5 has omitted a reference to Romulus no. 85; see also Perry (1952).

the two must be related, and indeed the relationship is close enough to allow one to ascertain that the papyrus is closer to the Leidensia version than to the Fragmentum Parisinum version of the fables.[74] There are two other papyri that have been claimed to have a relationship with the Hermeneumata version of the fables: from the third century, *P. Oxy.* XI.1404 (*M–P³* 3010, *LDAB* 136) contains a Latin version of Aesop fable 339 with wording that may be related to that of the Latin of Hermeneumata fable 11 (Della Corte 1966: 542), and from the third or fourth century we have *P.Amherst* II.26 (number 17 in figure 1.1). This papyrus contains fables that are not actually found in the Hermeneumata, so its relationship with our text is clearly tenuous, but Della Corte argues for a connection because the papyrus is bilingual, containing two verse fables from Babrius with Latin prose translations evidently done by two different people, both Greek speakers with imperfect Latin.[75] Even if one does not connect these last two papyri directly to the Hermeneumata fables (the Latin version of which is much better than that in the Amherst papyrus), they are evidence for the circulation of Latin versions of the fables in the Greek East and for the role fables played in the learning of Latin (cf. Quintilian 1.9.2).

The implications of all this for the date of the Hermeneumata fables are complex. Babrius can be dated to the second century AD or earlier, since there is a second-century papyrus containing several Babrius fables.[76] The two fables in the Hermeneumata collection that come from Babrius must have been added

to the collection after that date, but the others come from a source that ultimately (though not necessarily in its current form) predates Babrius. As the fables ultimately came to the Romans from the Greeks, their original language must have been Greek, but the Latin version was clearly well established in its own right, and the same bilingual version found in the Hermeneumata was circulating on papyrus by the fourth century AD. In the Leiden manuscript the titles of the individual fables are given only in Latin, not Greek, suggesting that Latin was viewed as the primary language.

Another Hermeneumata text with very ancient origins is the **Delphic precepts**.[77] Within the Hermeneumata these precepts are found only in the Stephani version, but they are well attested outside the Hermeneumata tradition. They consist of a list of the pithy maxims ('know thyself', etc.) inscribed on the temple at Delphi and/or attributed to the Seven Sages. These maxims survive in a number of collections (see Dittenberger 1920: 393–4); the oldest dates to *c.* 300 BC, and the largest is that transmitted by Stobaeus under the name of Sosiades, which includes 147 precepts (Schmidt 1940; cf. Dittenberger 1920: 392–7). There is considerable variation as to which precepts are included, so that the shorter collections sometimes contain ones not found in the longer collections. Two collections are in Latin (attached to the *Disticha Catonis* and the works of Phaedrus), the rest in Greek.

The Hermeneumata version contains thirty-two precepts; the Latin wording has no connection to that of other Latin versions, and with the notable exception of γνῶθι σεαυτόν itself the same is largely true of the Greek. Dittenberger (1920: 393) has argued that the Greek of the Hermeneumata version of the precepts is a translation of the Latin; this explanation for the loss of the original Greek is the obvious one and may well be right.[78] From Hellenistic times collections of the Delphic precepts were used for educational purposes (Schmidt 1940), making this text an obvious

---

[74] For discussion of this papyrus and its relationship to the Hermeneumata see Della Corte (1966: 544–6) and Kramer (2001a: 100–04), but note that Della Corte's statements about the layout are incorrect: the text is in two continuous columns, with the Latin on the left and the Greek on the right.

[75] Della Corte (1966: 546–9); see also Adams (2003a: 725–41), Rochette (1996a: 62, 2008: 103–7), and Kramer (2007a: 137–44, 2007b). Most scholars other than Della Corte treat the translations as done by a single person, but Della Corte's arguments for two translators have not been not directly refuted. Although this papyrus has been much studied (for further bibliography see *M–P³* and Kramer 2007a: 137), a satisfactory understanding has not yet been achieved, because (as is often acknowledged, esp. Kramer 2007b) the work has a textual tradition: the papyrus contains transmission errors in the Greek that must have arisen after the Latin translations were made. Moreover it has a layout different from that of other bilingual papyri. A proper understanding of this papyrus needs to explain not only the work's original creation, but also its copying in this form.

[76] *P.Oxy.* X.1249 = *M–P³* 173, *LDAB* 432. Perry (1965: xlvii) dates Babrius to the second half of the first century AD, but Luzzatto (1997: 384) puts him no earlier than the second century.

[77] A text can be found in Goetz (1892: 386–7).

[78] On the other hand, the Greek of the Hermeneumata precepts bears a notable resemblance to a version of the precepts preserved (under the names of the Seven Sages, to whom versions of these precepts are often attributed) from an unknown source in a work published by Aldus Manutius in 1495 (Mullach 1860: 215–16). If this source is considered a legitimate ancient one, the following Hermeneumata precepts have parallels in other ancient sources: γνῶθι σεαυτόν (common in classical sources with this wording, but appearing in Stobaeus as σαυτὸν ἴσθι

choice for incorporation in language-learning materials, but there is little to suggest when or how they became connected to the Hermeneumata.

The **Responsa sapientium** is also confined to the Stephani version of the Hermeneumata[79] but is well attested outside the Hermeneumata tradition. It consists of the questions Alexander the Great is said to have put to the Indian Gymnosophists when he intended to execute them, and the answers by which they escaped death. In other traditions these questions are set in a narrative framework explaining the background to Alexander's interrogation of the Gymnosophists and including the final negotiations by which they won their lives, and the removal of that framework (and indeed of any mention of either Alexander or the Gymnosophists) turns the text from a story of the triumph of wit over power into a sort of general philosophical catechism.

The episode of Alexander and the Gymnosophists is recounted in Plutarch, *Alexander* 64 and was also incorporated into the Greek Alexander romance.[80] The tale was evidently used as a school text in antiquity, for it is found in a papyrus of *c.* 100 BC that Cribiore (1996: 270) identifies as a teacher's copy; this papyrus (P. Berol. inv. 13044, *M–P*[3] 2099, *LDAB* 6897) is actually the earliest attestation of the story. Part of the story also appears on another papyrus, *PSI* VII.743 (*M–P*[3] 2100, *LDAB* 4445), from the first or second century AD, which is written in Latin transliteration (i.e. the language is Greek, but the alphabet Roman). Greek papyri in Latin transliteration are far less common than Latin papyri in Greek transliteration, so there is not a large number of comparanda to help one interpret this text, but the latest editors make a plausible case that the papyrus was used by Latin speakers to learn Greek (Ciriello and Stramaglia 1998: 227, cf. Stramaglia 1996: 113–19). Both the papyri of this story, therefore, come from educational contexts, one of them a language-learning context. The story of Alexander and the

Gymnosophists is also transmitted in Latin, as part of a Latin epitome of the Alexander legend made around the first century BC.[81]

The version of the questions found in the Hermeneumata differs from all the others, both in content and in language. Some questions have been altered,[82] and many answers have been shortened; these changes are the same in both languages and are therefore likely to have occurred at a relatively early phase of transmission, probably before this version of the text became bilingual. In terms of wording, the Latin Hermeneumata version clearly has no relationship to the separately preserved Latin version; the Hermeneumata Greek, however, seems to have some connection to the other Greek versions, though only a distant one.[83] It therefore seems likely that the Greek version of this text is the original and the Latin a translation. The date cannot be determined, beyond a *terminus post quem* of *c.* 100 BC.[84]

The **Interrogationes et responsa** is a very similar text. It too is found only in the Stephani version of the Hermeneumata[85] but has a relationship to material transmitted outside the Hermeneumata tradition. The work consists of two parts, the first with the title *Niciarii interrogationes et responsiones*/Νικιαρίου ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις and the second with the title *Carfilidis interrogationes et responsa*/Καρφίλιδος ἐπερωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις. They belong to the same genre as the *Responsa sapientium* (especially in the impersonal format in which this piece appears in the Hermeneumata): tricky philosophical questions with

and thereby indicating that Stobaeus' wording is not always original), τύχην νόμιζε (= Stobaeus etc.), θεὸν σέβου (= Solon, Seven Sages), αἰσχρὰ φεῦγε (= Chilon, Seven Sages), νόμοις πιθοῦ (Solon, Seven Sages, has νόμοις πείθου, which in Roman-period spelling is the same thing).

[79] A text is given by Goetz (1892: 385–6).

[80] Merkelbach (1977: 141); texts of the Alexander-romance version of this tale can be found in Merkelbach (1977: 159–61) and Kroll (1926: 104–5). This version is radically different both from the version found in the Hermeneumata and from the other ancient versions.

[81] Edition by P. H. Thomas (1966); cf. van Thiel (1972: 346); the questions posed to the Gymnosophists are sections 79–82. Van Thiel (1972: 354–8) has provided an edition of the story with parallel texts from this Latin version, the Berlin papyrus, and Plutarch.

[82] In the original version question 6 is how to be generally liked, to which the answer is that when powerful one should not inspire fear; question 7 is how to become a god, to which the answer is that one should do what no human can do. In the Hermeneumata version the answers to these two questions have been inverted, and question 7 has been replaced by the question of how to become a good man. It is conceivable that Christian doctrine motivated a deliberate removal of the reference to humans becoming gods, but given the inversion of the answers inadvertent corruption is more likely.

[83] In general none of the four Greek versions is verbally very close to any of the others, but the two papyri and the Hermeneumata version have certain resemblances that Plutarch's version does not share; it looks as though Plutarch may have recast a vernacular tale in more literary Greek.

[84] For further information on this piece see the study by Stramaglia (1996: 113–19).

[85] Text in Goetz (1892: 384–5).

short, clever answers. The first part consists of six questions and the second of thirty-nine, fourteen of which are also found among the set of twenty questions that the emperor Hadrian asked the philosopher Secundus in the Greek *Life of Secundus* (Perry 1964: 5–6). This set of twenty questions, like the *Responsa sapientium*, had a life of its own and is often found in manuscripts that do not contain the rest of the Secundus story (Perry 1964: 14–15). The relationship of the Hermeneumata version to the Secundus story is complicated, however, by the fact that the answers are much less similar than the questions. The Hermeneumata version normally provides one short answer to each question, whereas the Secundus story gives longer answers, often composed of a string of short ones. Often, but by no means always, the response found in the Hermeneumata version is one of those in the Secundus version.

The *Life of Secundus* has been dated to the second half of the second century AD (Perry 1964: 1). If the questions and answers were composed specifically for that work (which cannot be certain but is normally assumed), this date provides a *terminus post quem* for the Hermeneumata version. The fact that the *Life of Secundus* is in Greek would also suggest that Greek is the original language of this part of the Hermeneumata, though the issue has not been specifically studied.

The ***Hygini genealogia*** is now found only in the main Leidensia manuscript (Leiden Voss. Gr. Q. 7),[86] but a fuller version of it (the text has certainly lost substantial portions, for its table of contents lists numerous stories that do not actually appear) was once part of the Amploniana version, and there is evidence that it may have been part of the Montepessulana version as well, since material from it can be found in the Montepessulana capitula.[87] The text is clearly an abridged reworking of an independently transmitted work, the Latin *Fabulae* of Hyginus (Boriaud 1997: xv–xvi; cf. Rose 1929: 96). The *Fabulae* is a mythological handbook for Greekless Romans based on a Greek source or sources, giving short summaries and explanations of myths; its original date is disputed and might be in the Augustan period (Boriaud 1997: vii–xiii), but in the course of transmission the work has suffered considerable abridgement (Alan Cameron 2004: 33).

The actual words of the Hermeneumata Latin text have no connection to Hyginus' Latin,[88] and in the Hermeneumata the Latin seems to be a translation of the Greek (Alan Cameron 2004: 36). On the other hand the Greek does not look like the original text either, for it is full of Latinisms (van Krevelen 1966: 315–16); Hyginus probably based his work on a Greek original, but it is generally agreed that the Hermeneumata version does not reflect that original. Alan Cameron's conclusion (2004: 36) is that Hyginus' Latin work was probably translated into Greek, and that the person who added it to the Hermeneumata was using this Greek version rather than the original Latin.

The *Hygini genealogia* has a preface with a date, AD 207; on this see 1.2.7 below.

The **narrative of the Trojan War** is found only in the Leiden manuscript (Voss. Gr. Q. 7).[89] It is a book-by-book summary of the *Iliad* (books 1–6 are missing, but 7–24 are each allocated a paragraph). This type of summary or collection of 'hypotheses' was common in antiquity; we have numerous papyri containing Homeric hypotheses, and others survive via the manuscript tradition, most in Greek but some in Latin (see van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998: esp. 67–72). The Hermeneumata version does not appear to be related to any of them, a fact that is not as surprising as it seems, for the different surviving ancient summaries are mostly not related to each other either. Evidently summarizing books of Homer was a common process in antiquity, done independently on many occasions.

Rose (1929; cf. van Krevelen 1966: 316) has argued that the Trojan narrative should be considered part of the *Hygini genealogia*, which immediately precedes it in the Leiden manuscript, and that it derives from

---

[86] The text can be found in Flammini (2004: 103–8), Alan Cameron (2004: 317–18, extracts with their parallels in the separately transmitted text of Hyginus), Boriaud (1997: 181–93), Goetz (1892: 56.30–60.20), and Rose (1933: 172–6, Greek only). Further discussion in Flammini (1990: 24–6) and Breen (1991: 24–6).

[87] Περὶ τῶν ιβ΄ ζῳδίων/*De duodecim signis* (Goetz 1892: 291.54–292.45) is narrative rather than glossary and largely matches part of the Hyginus extract (Goetz 1892: 58.31–59.12); cf. Dionisotti (1982: 88).

[88] The only parts that can actually be directly compared are portions of Hyginus fables 138, 141, and 144 (versus Flammini 2004: portions of lines 2695–9, 2713–17, and 2728–33); cf. Alan Cameron (2004: 317–18).

[89] The text is given in Flammini (2004: 109–21, with the titles Τρωικά and *Belli Troiani enarratio*; there is no title in the manuscript), Goetz (1892: 60.21–69.38), Rose (1933: 176–81, Greek only), and Jahn (1873: 97, 102–11, with parallel texts of some other *Iliad* summaries). Further discussion in Flammini (1990: 26–7).

Hyginus' *Fabulae*. In their current form the *Fabulae* do not contain a summary of the *Iliad*, but as they contain a summary of the *Odyssey*, and as they are clearly abbreviated, there might well have been a summary of the *Iliad* that is now lost. In Rose's view[90] the Latin of the Trojan narrative is a translation of the Greek, and the Greek is a translation of different Latin, now lost – which may in its turn be Hyginus' translation of still other Greek.

Rose's arguments are not entirely compelling. The *Hygini genealogia* has clearly been severely abridged, so that most of it is cut down to the bare bones or missing altogether: the preface promises a series of stories about the gods, but what is left consists largely of lists, with only three paragraphs that contain any semblance of narrative, and these not really about the gods. There are numerous fragmentary portions, some breaking off in mid-sentence. In contrast the Trojan War story is fairly complete; apart from the loss of six books at the start and part of the last book at the end, which is probably accidental, it does not seem to have suffered abridgement beyond what is normal in constructing a summary of a book of the *Iliad*. Moreover, the Trojan War narrative has book numbers in the Greek but not the Latin, a fact that suggests that the Greek was seen as the main text and the Latin a translation; the *Hygini genealogia* has titles in both languages. These differences suggest a different transmission history, which is hardly compatible with a common source for the two works.

At the same time Rose makes a valid point about the language: each language shows clear signs of being a poor translation of the other, and the Latin does appear to be worse than the Greek. It may also be relevant that the Latin breaks off at the end before the Greek: gaps in the Hermeneumata, including all those in the Hyginus, normally occur in the same places in both languages, but at the end of this text the Latin column stops nine lines before the end of the Greek column. Van Krevelen observes that the language of the narrative has elements from the fourth century and may in any case not be in its original form (1966: 316).

If Rose is correct in his identification of this work, the dates of its composition and of its addition to the Hermeneumata must match those of the *Hygini genealogia*. If he is not, very little evidence can be applied to

date the Trojan War narrative; all that can be said is that it belongs to a genre which flourished particularly in the second and third centuries AD (van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998: 65).

The **Hadriani sententiae**, which is also found with the fuller and perhaps older title *Divi Hadriani sententiae et epistulae*, is a record of legal judgments delivered by the emperor Hadrian. The work is found in four manuscripts of the Leidensia version and in the Stephani version; it is not preserved outside the Hermeneumata tradition.[91] The content bears a certain general resemblance to tales of the wise judgments of Solomon, so the work was for a long time considered to belong to a fictional genre (see Schiller 1971a: 717–18), but it was rehabilitated as an authentic source of information on Hadrian's judicial practice, derived from contemporary archives, by Arthur Schiller (1971a, 1971b; cf. Goetz 1892–3: 8). The text is now used by reputable scholars to reconstruct that practice (e.g. Millar 1992: 532), though it is conceded to be significantly corrupt (Lewis 1991: 280). Since Hadrian was emperor from 117 to 138, the *Hadriani sententiae* cannot have been composed earlier than the second century; if they are authentic records of his judgments, they cannot have been composed very long after his death. The middle to late second century is thus a very likely chronological span for the basis of the material, though the extent of the corruption suggests a period of fluid transmission, and Rochette (forthcoming) would date the text to the third or fourth century on linguistic grounds.

The language in which Hadrian delivered judgments was certainly Latin, and any immediate record taken of them would also have been in Latin. A detailed study of the language of the *Hadriani sententiae* by Rochette (forthcoming; cf. Flammini 1990: 13–16) concludes that the original language of this work is indeed Latin, even though in places (which could be additions to the original) the extant Latin must be a translation of the Greek; clearly some alterations and/or additions were made to the piece by someone who worked from Greek to Latin, either after the Greek translation was made or during that process.

The **Tractatus de manumissionibus**, an explanation of the different types of manumission possible in different circumstances, is found in the Leidensia

---

[90] Rose (1929: 97–8); for a history of this debate with some counterarguments see Reeve (1983: 190 n. 7).

[91] The text can be found in Goetz (1892: 31.24–38.29, 387.10–390.33) and Flammini (Leidensia version only, 2004: 67–77).

version and in the Fragmentum Parisinum.[92] It does not survive elsewhere but has close parallels with legal texts transmitted in other ways, so it is clearly a genuine work of Roman law, albeit an elementary one (Honoré 1965; Nelson 1981: 360–72; cf. Flammini 1990: 18–24). The treatise cites two jurists known to have lived in the middle of the second century AD (Nelson 1981: 368, cf. Honoré 1965: 306–9) and therefore cannot have been written earlier than that period; Honoré (1965: 309–11) finds a number of arguments based on the work's legal content for concluding that it was composed before AD 200.

Opinions differ sharply on the work's language: a work of Roman law should originally have been written in Latin, but the Latin of the *Tractatus* contains Grecisms. On the basis of these it has been argued that the Latin must be not the original version but a retranslation of the Greek: the original Latin was translated into Greek for the benefit of Romans learning Greek, and a literal rendering in their own language was provided to help them.[93] This scenario

seems unlikely, both in view of the fact that Roman legal texts are known to have been a focus for the study of Latin by Greeks (see 1.1.2.4 above) and in view of Honoré's detailed analysis of the treatise's Latin style, on the basis of which he is able to establish which known jurists are most likely to have written it (1965: 313–23; Honoré's top candidates are Gaius, Ulpian, and Paulus, though an unknown author is an acknowledged possibility). Honoré argues (1965: 313; cf. Lachmann 1837) that the work was probably transmitted through students, and the text (in both languages) has no doubt suffered as a result; the Grecisms in the Latin could have arisen at any point in the transmission and are not grounds for claiming that the entire original Latin version has been replaced by a literal retranslation.

Honoré (1965: 323) makes the interesting claim that the *Tractatus* was composed (by Gaius) in Beirut, which was a centre for the study of Roman law and of Latin by Greek speakers (Rochette 1997a: 166–74). If he is right on this point, the work could have been bilingual from the start: it might have been composed specifically for the use of Greek speakers beginning their training in Roman law. Otherwise the original language must have been Latin, whatever happened later. In any case it seems safe to conclude that the *Tractatus* was composed in the latter part of the second century AD as an introductory work for students of Roman law, that it was used by Greek speakers learning Latin in the context of studying Roman law, and that the Greek version was provided for the benefit of such students (though this does not mean that the

---

[92] Specifically, it is found in the main Leidensia manuscript (Voss. Gr. Q. 7), the Fragmentum Parisinum itself (Paris Lat. 6503, which is missing the beginning and end of this text), and a copy made by Scaliger of something closely resembling the Fragmentum Parisinum but with less missing at the end (Leiden, Scaligeri 61); the other Leidensia version manuscripts do not include this text. All three versions can be found in Goetz (1892: 47.58–56.29, 102.8–108.13), but Flammini gives only the first (2004: 92–103); there are also other editions as part of legal collections, but these are inadequate (cf. Honoré 1965: 304).

[93] The most recent exponent of this view is Nelson (1981: 362–3), but it was criticized already by Lachmann in 1837 (see Lachmann 1876: 197, 199–200).

Text	Date	Original language	Direction of translation	Hermeneumata versions where found
Aesopic fables	after 100 BC	Greek	?	Leidensia, frag. Par.
Delphic precepts	after 300 BC	Greek	Latin > Greek?	Stephani
Responsa sapientium	after Alexander	Greek	Greek > Latin	Stephani
Interrogationes et responsa	second cent. AD or later	Greek	Greek > Latin?	Stephani
Hygini genealogia	first cent. AD or later	Latin	Greek > Latin	Leidensia, Amploniana, Montepessulana?
Trojan war narrative	?	Greek	Greek > Latin	Leidensia
Hadriani sententiae	second cent. AD and later	Latin	largely Latin > Greek	Leidensia, Stephani
Tractatus de manumissionibus	second cent. AD	Latin	?	Leidensia, frag. Par.

Figure 1.3 Hermeneumata texts

Greek words we now have are in every case translations of the Latin words we now have).

The basic facts about the texts are summarized in figure 1.3. Clearly this information, like that gathered above for the colloquia and glossaries, is relevant to an understanding of how the Hermeneumata collections developed, but equally clearly it does not provide a simple answer to that question. In fact theories about the origins of the collection – whether all the different versions go back to a single archetype, and if so, what were the date, purpose, and original contents of that archetype – depend to a large extent on information given in the titles and prefaces found in the various manuscripts. As some of these pieces of information pose complex problems, they require fairly detailed examination. The frequency with which various elements occur in different versions, and the order in which they occur, is also relevant.

1.2.5 Incipit hermeneumata id est libri xii

In the main manuscript of the Leidensia version (Leiden Voss. Gr. Q. 7) the colloquium, which is the last element in the Hermeneumata, is preceded by a title (in Latin only): *Incipit hermeneumata id est libri xii* 'Here begin the Hermeneumata, that is, 12 books'. In the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century this sentence was interpreted as meaning that the colloquium was originally part of a collection in twelve books.[94] The material preceding the colloquium in the Leiden manuscript consists of two glossaries (one alphabetical and one arranged in capitula) and five texts (*Hadriani sententiae*, fables, *Tractatus de manumissionibus*, *Hygini genealogia*, and the Trojan War narrative). The Stephani version of the Hermeneumata, which seems to be related to the Leidensia because it contains the same colloquium and a similar version of the *Hadriani sententiae*, contains what could be seen as four additional texts: *Responsa sapientium*, two versions of *Interrogationes et responsa*, and the Delphic precepts. When added to the eight items in the Leiden manuscript, these four could make up the stated twelve books (Goetz 1923: 18, 1892: xvi), and for a long time this reconstruction of an original twelve-book work was accepted.

More recently the twelve-book reconstruction has been generally rejected, on the grounds that most of the texts concerned are far too short to be independent books (one, the first part of the *Interrogationes et responsa*, is only eight lines long; even if one assumes that this text and some others were originally longer, it is difficult to imagine that many of the texts now found in the Hermeneumata could ever have been long enough to count as books in their own right), and that elsewhere there are numerous references to the Hermeneumata as being a three-book work (see 1.2.6 below).[95] The reference to twelve books, in contrast, is found only here.[96]

The rejection of the twelve-book theory is certainly an advance in understanding, but it has led to a loss of interest in this title and a continued failure to notice that it has something else to tell us. Even if the book number is wrong, the title was clearly intended to stand at the head of the whole work, not near its end.[97] What is it doing in its current position?

In the Leiden manuscript (the only manuscript in which it is found) this title begins the work of a second scribe: the rest of the text until this point is all in one hand, but the colloquium and its title are in a different one (see 3.1.1 below). The second scribe must have added the title with the colloquium to the rest of the Leidensia material, which had already been copied by someone else. He probably took the new

---

[94] The most important exponent of this view was Goetz (1923: 18), but it goes back long before his day; see the history of the question given by Honoré (1965: 303) and note also the tentative suggestion of this interpretation by Böcking (1832: 89).

[95] Cf. Korhonen (1996: 102) and Flammini (1990: 42 n. 83).

[96] The standard view (cf. Korhonen 1996: 102) is that Goetz privileged this reference to twelve books over the more frequent three-book references because he saw the Leidensia version as being closest to the original; this can be reconciled with what he says when discussing the twelve books (1923: 18–19), but in that section he is discussing only the history of the Leidensia version. Elsewhere Goetz states clearly that in his view the original Hermeneumata did not contain the texts, which were added only by the ancestor of the Leidensia version (which must therefore have separated from the others before that addition): *Quas recensiones qui diligentius inter se comparaverit, fundamenta fuisse tria cognoscet: glossarium, capitula, colloquium; his adiecit solus auctor hermeneumatum Leidensium fabulas, epistulas et sententias Hadriani, tractatum de iure, alia, ut haberent discipuli quae legerent, verterent, discerent; in ceteris recensionibus haec omnia desunt* (1923: 20). Krumbacher, on the other hand, did consider the Leidensia version to be prototypical (1883: 13).

[97] In theory one could argue that this title belongs only with the colloquium, by translating *Incipit hermeneumata id est libri XII* as something like 'here begins the twelfth book of the Hermeneumata' or 'here begin the Hermeneumata [i.e. colloquium], that is, the twelfth book'. But these are not viable interpretations of the Latin: the title announces not the twelfth book, in the singular, but twelve books, in the plural, and *hermeneumata* does not mean 'colloquium' (cf. its use e.g. in Goetz 1892: 506.1, 398.1, 421.1, 81.51).

material from a different source, and if in that source the overall title was followed by the colloquium, the source had the colloquium at the beginning of the Hermeneumata.

If the colloquium in the Leiden manuscript comes from a different source from the rest of the material in that manuscript, there is no particular reason to believe that it had any connection to the Leidensia version until the moment the second scribe added it to that manuscript. The Leiden manuscript is the only one in which this colloquium is associated with the Leidensia version glossaries; of the three other manuscripts normally classed with the Leidensia version, two (Sangallensis 902 and Monacensis 601) have no colloquium at all, and the third (Harleianus 5642) has a different colloquium. In fact if one looks again at the evidence for the different versions of the Hermeneumata without the assumption that the colloquium Leidense must go with the Leidensia version, the whole tradition starts to make much more sense. The colloquium that properly belongs to the Hermeneumata Leidensia is the colloquium Harleianum: in comparison to the one manuscript linking the colloquium Leidense to the Leidensia glossaries, there are four manuscripts that associate the colloquium Harleianum with those glossaries (three of them connect it with the Amploniana version capitula, but as the Leidensia and Amploniana versions are very closely related (see 1.2.3 above) this is essentially a connection with the Leidensia glossaries). And the glossaries to which the colloquium Leidense

properly belongs are the Bruxellensia ones with which it appears in the Stephani version.

In fact, with the removal of the colloquium Leidense–Stephani from the Leidensia version and with the merger of the Leidensia–Amploniana and Monacensia-Einsidlensia versions as study of their glossaries suggests, there emerges an almost perfect one-to-one correspondence between different versions of the colloquia and the different versions of the Hermeneumata glossaries with which they appear. The Monacensia and Einsidlensia Hermeneumata versions, which were originally one version, have the colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia. The Leidensia and Amploniana versions, which were originally one, have the colloquium Harleianum. The Celtis version has the colloquium Celtis, the Montepessulana version has the colloquium Montepessulanum, the Bruxellensia version had the colloquium Leidense–Stephani, and the Stephani version had the colloquium Stephani; the only anomalies are that the Vaticana version has no colloquium and that the Stephani version seems to have had the colloquium Leidense–Stephani as well as the colloquium Stephani. This last could easily be explained in the same way as the second of the Monacensia–Einsidlensia colloquia: a version that already had one colloquium picked up a second one. In fact, the different versions of the Hermeneumata can now be fitted into the table given in figure 1.4 (with a slight anticipation in the matter of the preface, which will be discussed in the next section).

Version	Reconstructed contents
Monacensia–Einsidlensia	Preface + ME colloquium 1 + ME glossaries, to which ME colloquium 2 later added; M and E glossaries later diverge
Leidensia–Amploniana	Preface + H colloquium + LA glossaries + texts (at least *Hadriani sententiae*, fables, *Tractatus de manumissionibus*, *Hygini genealogia*, Trojan war narrative); L and A glossaries later diverge (slightly), and LS colloquium later added to one manuscript that had lost H colloquium
Bruxellensia	Preface + LS colloquium + B glossaries (and perhaps texts; either this or the Stephani version must have had at least the *Interrogationes et responsa*, *Responsa sapientium*, Delphic precepts, and *Hadriani sententiae*)
Stephani (i.e. Estienne's non-Bruxellensia source)	(Lost preface?) + S colloquium (to which LS colloquium added later?) + S glossaries (and perhaps texts, see Bruxellensia)
Celtis	(Lost preface?) + C colloquium + C glossaries
Montepessulana	Preface + Mp colloquium + Mp glossaries (and *Hygini genealogia*?)
Vaticana	Preface + Vaticana capitula (other material very likely lost)

Figure 1.4 Reconstructed contents of Hermeneumata versions

1.2.6 The three books

The preface to the Monacensia and Einsidlensia versions of the Hermeneumata declares 'Since I see many people desiring to converse in Latin and in Greek, and that they cannot easily do so on account of the difficulty and the multitude of the words, I have not spared my suffering and hard work (and refrained from doing it), so that in three books of Hermeneumata I might write all the words' (ME 1b–e). The preface to the Montepessulana version is almost identical, and an expanded version of what is clearly the same preface also occurs at the start of the Hermeneumata Vaticana.[98] An additional version of this preface, in severely mutilated form but still preserving the reference to three books, can be found at the start of the Leidensia version manuscript Harleianus 5642; it also appears in completely dismembered form (but still apparently with the reference to three books) in the Bruxellensia version.[99] The preface is thus found in six of the nine Hermeneumata versions, a very widespread distribution. The striking similarities between the prefaces of these different versions cannot be explained except by a common inheritance; resemblances between two versions might be due to borrowing or coincidence, but resemblances between six versions have to be due to shared ancestry.[100]

Shared ancestry for the preface implies shared ancestry for the Hermeneumata: there must once have been a single identifiable work to which this preface was attached, and the different Hermeneumata versions we now have must be in some sense descendants of that work. We cannot, however, assume that everything found in our Hermeneumata manuscripts goes back to that original work; the differences between the different versions show that there have been major alterations since the days of the single work, and it is perfectly possible that those alterations included the addition of entire texts that were not originally part of the Hermeneumata. On the other hand, a statement that is actually part of the preface itself and appears in all six versions does have to come from the original work. The reference to three books falls into that category: it is likely to go back to the formation of the collection and needs to be taken very seriously when considering that collection's original format.

What are the three books referred to in this preface? The standard answer to this question is that the first book is the alphabetical glossary, the second the capitula, and the third the colloquium and other texts.[101] A distinct but closely related view is that the third book was only the colloquium, the other texts having been added later (Flammini 1990: 7). Two types of evidence are invoked in favour of these views: the actual order of elements in the existing manuscripts and statements in prefaces about the contents of specific books.

The order of the various Hermeneumata components in the main Leidensia manuscript (Voss. Gr. Q. 7) fits the standard explanation of the three books beautifully: the alphabetical glossary comes first, then the capitula, and then the texts and colloquium, all grouped together and easily big enough to form a book. What is never discussed by exponents of this theory,[102] however, is that this is the only one of the dozens of Hermeneumata manuscripts to contain all three of those elements in that order: indeed the situation in other manuscripts (most of which lack one or more of the three elements, and many of which use a different order for the elements they do contain) is so disparate that Dionisotti sees no original order at all (1982: 88–90). In fact an original order can be discerned, but it does not fit well with the standard theory.

For the glossaries there is considerable evidence suggesting that the alphabetical glossary and the capitula

---

[98] Parallel texts of these three versions are given below in the commentary to ME 1b–e. In the Vaticana version the reference is to 'three or four books' rather than three; as the Vaticana is a reworked version of the Hermeneumata consisting only of capitula divided into four books, the 'three or four' of the preface must be a compromise between the 'four' dictated by the reality of what followed and a 'three' inherited with the preface itself.

[99] The text of the Harleianum version is given below in the commentary to ME 1b–e. In the Glossarium Leidense the preface has been reconstructed by Dionisotti (1985: 307); its remains can also be seen in Angers 477 (Omont 1898: esp. 675).

[100] Dionisotti (1982: 90) suggests that the resemblances might be coincidental, due to the prefaces all belonging to a highly formulaic genre of school prefaces, a genre of which we would have no other examples, but Korhonen's detailed study of the prefaces (1996: 109–13) makes it clear that the resemblances are real.

[101] Korhonen (1996: 102, 109–19), Kramer (2001a: 17–18, 29), and Tagliaferro (2003: 55).

[102] Cf. the grossly misleading, and often followed, assertion of Marrou (1965: 386): 'Nous en possédons au moins six recensions diverses: ils commencent avec un vocabulaire grec-latin, d'abord par order alphabétique, puis rangé selon le sens en *capitula* . . . Viennent ensuite de petits texts . . .'

belong together and in that order. The Monacensia, Leidensia, Bruxellensia, and Amploniana/Hygini versions of the Hermeneumata not only have the two types of glossary in this order, but have prefaces or notes at the start of the capitula indicating that the preceding first book was the alphabetical glossary and that the capitula form the second book;[103] the Celtis version, although it does not contain an alphabetical glossary, includes a note indicating that a long alphabetical glossary originally preceded the capitula (Dionisotti 1982: 92). The Montepessulana version, although it has the alphabetical glossary after the capitula, contains two prefaces with statements indicating that the alphabetical glossary originally came first.[104] The Stephani version, as found in the 1573 edition, puts the alphabetical glossary after the texts, which themselves follow the capitula; this arrangement is unique among Hermeneumata versions and is unlikely to derive from Estienne's sources. Rather it seems that he drew on at least some different manuscripts for the alphabetical glossaries, which Goetz accordingly separates from the rest of this version and puts in his 'Hermeneumata varia' section (see Dionisotti 1985: 314–17). The Einsidlensia and Vaticana versions have lost their alphabetical glossaries.[105] The chances are thus excellent that the glossary material now in the Hermeneumata derives from an original version that included both types of glossary, with the alphabetical glossary preceding the capitula.

The colloquium normally precedes the glossaries in manuscripts. It comes at the beginning of the Einsidlensia, Montepessulana, and Celtis versions, as it did in one of the source manuscripts for the Stephani version. Although the main Leidensia version manuscript now has the colloquium at the end of the Hermeneumata, as we have seen (1.2.5 above) that colloquium was probably taken from a different source, where it stood at the beginning of the Hermeneumata. The exemplar from which the bulk of the Leiden manuscript was copied apparently contained no colloquium at all, though we might have expected it to contain the colloquium Harleianum, since there is good reason to believe (see 1.2.5 above) that the colloquium Harleianum was associated with the other Hermeneumata material found in that manuscript. The Leiden manuscript is full of prefaces; there is one at the start of the capitula, one at the start of the *Hadriani sententiae*, one at the start of the Aesop, one at the start of the *Tractatus de manumissionibus*, and one at the start of the *Hygini genealogia*. Under these circumstances it is striking that there is no preface at the start of the whole work, which begins abruptly with the alphabetical glossary. Probably some material has been lost from the start of the copy of the Hermeneumata preserved in the Leiden manuscript, perhaps by the disappearance of pages at the beginning of a manuscript at some point in the transmission process. So if a colloquium has also been lost from this version, as seems likely, it probably originally stood at the beginning of the work.

The only Hermeneumata version that seems originally to have contained a colloquium at the end is the Monacensia version, which has two colloquia, one at the end and one at the beginning. This situation suggests that the Monacensia version originally had one colloquium at the beginning and later added a second one at the end, a theory that is confirmed by analysis of the Greek of the two colloquia: alterations to the second made by someone acquainted with medieval spoken Greek are not found in the first, indicating that the two did not become part of the same text until the ninth century or later.[106] Two manuscripts, Harleianus 5642 and one of the lost exemplars of the

---

[103] Goetz (1892: 7.65–8.19, 81.1–82.7, 166.10–29, 393.1–3); for the Bruxellensia situation see Dionisotti, who has argued convincingly (1985: 305–7) that the Glossarium Leidense, which is now a single alphabetized list of words, derives from a prototype with an alphabetical glossary followed by capitula. She even identifies the scattered remains of the preface to the capitula mentioning it as the second book (at Goetz 1892: 402.81, 405.76–8, 407.42, 408.45, 415.64–5, 418.6; cf. Dionisotti 1985: 307 n. 4). The Leidensia and Amploniana versions of this preface are related, but the Monacensia version does not seem to have a common ancestor with them; rather it seems to be related to the preface to the capitula in the Montepessulana version (Goetz 1892: 289.21–43). The preface to the capitula in the Hermeneumata Celtis is very similar to that in the Monacensia, though the capitula themselves are different (cf. Ferri's forthcoming edition; Dionisotti (1982: 92) states that the two are identical, but this is not entirely accurate).

[104] One at the start of the whole work, Mp 1d (= Goetz 1892: 283.19–22) and one at the start of the capitula (Goetz 1892: 289.21–43).

[105] The Vaticana has no trace of them, but the Einsidlensia includes a preface suggesting that an alphabetical glossary should appear as a second book after the capitula (see apparatus to ME 1l); this statement seems to be a Renaissance alteration intended to go with a reorganized version of the Hermeneumata (cf. 2.3.1 below) and therefore tells us nothing about the original location of the Einsidlensia glossaries.

[106] See section 2.4.1 below. For this reason the note *explicit sermo tercius* added in manuscript T (only) at the end of this second colloquium has no relevance to the question of the three books.

Stephani version, have the colloquium in the middle. The position in the Harleianus is probably irrelevant, as there is other evidence that that manuscript does not preserve the order of its sources: the capitula are divided into two parts, with the colloquium, several texts, and some grammatical material in between, and Dositheus' grammar is also divided into two parts, with capitula, colloquium, texts, and other grammatical material in between. The position in the other manuscript cannot now be ascertained for certain; Estienne tells us (Stephanus 1573: 235) that one of his sources had the colloquium *circa medium*, and in his edition he prints it after the capitula and before the other texts, a position that could follow this source but need not do so. Little weight can be attached to this ordering, particularly given the anomalous position of the alphabetical glossary in the Stephani version (see 1.2.3 above).

The evidence of its position in the manuscripts, therefore, suggests that the colloquium originally came at the beginning of the Hermeneumata, after the preface and before the alphabetical glossary. But this evidence runs contrary to the prefaces to the capitula, which specify that the alphabetical glossaries formed the first book (see above); it is also opposed to several prefaces at the start of the Hermeneumata, which specify that the first book is the alphabetical glossary. For example the Monacensia version preface states 'but I want to make it clear to everyone that no-one has given better nor more meticulous translations than I have in the three books that I have written, of which this will be the first book of our explanation. In this book I have written all the words in the order of the letters, from the first letter to the last letter' (ME 1j–m). Similar statements occur in the Montepessulana (Mp 1d) and Einsidlensia (ME 1j–m) prefaces, both of which, like the Monacensia preface just quoted, are in fact followed by colloquia rather than by glossaries. Harleianus 5642 also begins with a preface saying that the first book will be the alphabetical glossary (see commentary on ME 1b–e), and that preface is actually followed by something that is sometimes considered to be an alphabetical glossary,[107] but the organization of this manuscript is so chaotic (see

above) as to make one wonder whether that arrangement is necessarily a continuation of the original one.

This discrepancy between the statements in the prefaces and the actual position of the colloquium in manuscripts indicates that the colloquium did not originally appear where the manuscripts position it; it has been added after the preface. Where was it before that occurred? Probably not after the glossaries, for if the original structure was two glossaries followed by a colloquium, there is no explanation for the movement of the colloquium to the start of the work. And if the original structure included other texts as well, grouped with the colloquium at the end of the Hermeneumata, it becomes almost impossible to understand why the colloquium alone would have been moved to the beginning. It is much more likely that the colloquium was not originally part of the Hermeneumata at all, and was added from another source rather than being moved. The initial preface, being bilingual, would have been usable as reading material for language students, and therefore the end of the preface would have been a logical place to add more bilingual reading material.

The situation with the other texts is much less certain, because they are entirely missing from most versions of the Hermeneumata (indeed no version has more than about half of them) and their position varies in the few versions that contain them.[108] In the Leidensia version a set of up to five texts comes after the capitula,[109] and in the Stephani version a set of four or five texts, only one of which is shared with the Leidensia version, appears after the colloquia (which themselves follow the capitula) and before the alphabetical glossaries; if the Fragmentum Parisinum belongs to this version, two other texts were originally shared between the Stephani and Leidensia versions, but the location of those texts cannot be determined. One text known from the Leidensia version may also have been associated with the Montepessulana and Amploniana versions (see 1.2.4 above), but its location is unknown.[110]

---

[107] The work concerned is a set of conjugated verb forms and declined noun forms; the verbs are given in alphabetical order and begin with those appearing at the start of the alphabetical glossary in the Leiden manuscript, so this work can be called an alphabetical glossary (e.g. Flammini 2004: xx), but it is also, and probably more fairly, called a grammar (Ferri 2011: 147 n. 3).

[108] See the list in 1.2.1, pp. 000–000 above: the contents of each version are listed in the order in which they appear in the main manuscript(s).

[109] In Leidensis Voss. Gr. Q. 7 there are five texts after the capitula at the end of the work, in Sangallensis 902 two texts in this position, in Monacensis 601 one text in this position, and in Harleianus 5642 (whose order is probably not relevant; see above) two texts partway through the capitula.

[110] The evidence for the association of Hyginus with the Amploniana version is a set of extracts in Salmasius' notebook (Dionisotti 1985: 328); the order of the extracts as they appear

As for the order of the texts in relation to one another, the advocates of an original work in twelve books order the texts so that the four from the Stephani version simply follow the six from the Leidensia version.[111] But since the *Hadriani sententiae* is both the last text in the Stephani version and the first text in the Leidensia version, it would make more sense to put the Stephani version texts before rather than after the Leidensia version ones. In this way one can reconstruct an order that matches all the manuscript evidence: *Interrogationes et responsa* (Stephani), *Responsa sapientium* (Stephani), *Delphic precepts* (Stephani), *Hadriani sententiae* (Stephani, Leidensia), fables (Leidensia, Fragmentum Parisinum), *Tractatus de manumissionibus* (Leidensia, Fragmentum Parisinum), *Hygini genealogia* (Leidensia), Trojan War narrative (Leidensia). The fact that an order can be reconstructed at all is a point in favour of the texts' early association with the Hermeneumata, but not a very strong one in view of the fact that half the texts are attested in only one manuscript and that the Fragmentum Parisinum clearly belongs either to the Leidensia or to the Stephani version.

Dionisotti has argued (1982: 90, 1985: 330) that there was never an ancient Hermeneumata collection containing all the texts now associated with the Hermeneumata. She sees the Leiden manuscript not as a remnant of such an ancient collection, but rather as a later agglomeration of texts from different sources, put together perhaps as late as the end of the Carolingian period. The same could easily be said of the Stephani version, about the history of whose texts before 1573 we know almost nothing. After all, while the texts are sometimes found with Hermeneumata material in the manuscripts, many of them are also found elsewhere, and some other materials are also found with the Hermeneumata in manuscripts but not considered to belong to the collection. For example, many Hermeneumata manuscripts contain grammatical texts: the association of Dositheus' grammar with the Hermeneumata is significant enough to have given the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana their name (although there are Hermeneumata manuscripts that do not contain Dositheus, no known manuscripts contain Dositheus without Hermeneumata material), and Hermeneumata manuscripts often have other grammatical material in addition to or instead of Dositheus.[112] It is now universally agreed that the grammars have no original association with the Hermeneumata; they simply tend to be grouped together because a reader who needs the Hermeneumata material is likely to need a grammar as well, and vice versa.

A similar tendency to group language-learning material together could easily account for the accretion of texts to the Hermeneumata. The association of most of the 'Hermeneumata texts' with the Hermeneumata glossaries is less strong than that of Dositheus' grammar: very few manuscripts actually contain them, and in most cases their main transmission is outside the Hermeneumata tradition (see 1.2.4 above). Therefore if Dositheus' grammar is not considered to be part of the original Hermeneumata collection, there is no real reason why Aesop's fables or the *Responsa sapientium* should be so considered. The texts have a far less close association with the glossaries than do the colloquia, and as we have seen the colloquia were probably not part of the original Hermeneumata collection.

Thus while one could reconstruct a third book of texts, originally appearing after the capitula, it is probably better not to do so but to conclude that the texts, like the colloquia, are later additions to an original core of glossaries. But in that case, what was the third book mentioned in the preface? It is largely this question that has prompted scholars to assume, in spite of the evidence to the contrary, that the colloquium and texts must originally have been grouped together as a third book. But in fact, as Korhonen points out (1996: 111), there are other possible solutions to the question of the third book. For one thing, the capitula

---

in the notebook suggests that the text came first, followed by the colloquium and then the glossaries, but Dionisotti provides evidence that the pages in the notebook have been bound in the wrong order and that the original arrangement was glossaries, text, and then colloquium. See also vol. II, section 1.1.3.

[111] Cf. Goetz (1923: 18), who has: 1. alphabetical glossary, 2. capitula, 3. *Hadriani sententiae*, 4. fables, 5. *Tractatus de manumissionibus*, 6. *Hygini genealogia*, 7. Trojan War narrative, 8. colloquium, 9. *Niciarii interrogationes et responsiones*, 10. *Carfilidis interrogationes et responsa*, 11. *Responsa sapientium*, 12. Delphic precepts.

[112] The Leidensia version manuscripts Sangallensis 902, Monacensis 601, and Harleianus 5642 all contain Dositheus; Harleianus 5642 also has other grammatical works (cf. Flammini 2004: xx–xxi). The Montepessulana manuscript contains several grammatical works (Goetz 1892: xxv), and there is one in the Fragmentum Bruxellense (Goetz 1892: xxvii). The extant manuscript of the Celtis version contains a grammar (clearly one added to the original material by Celtes himself, and thus illustrating the point that copyists felt the need to add grammars rather than the point that some grammars had a long association with the Hermeneumata; see Wuttke 1970 and Dionisotti 1982: 83).

might have been divided into two books; indeed in the Monacensia version they are so divided, and book divisions within the capitula are found in manuscripts of some other versions as well.[113]

Alternatively there might have been two alphabetical glossaries, one Latin–Greek and one Greek–Latin. In order to function effectively in a foreign language, learners regularly need to access vocabulary in both directions; that is why it is still common today for dictionaries of modern languages to have two sections. Therefore it would have made excellent sense for works designed to allow active command of a foreign language, which ancient language teaching materials clearly were, to include alphabetical vocabularies going in both directions. This fact was recognized in antiquity, for we have fragments of an ancient lexicon that had both a Latin–Greek and a Greek–Latin section (text 64 in figure 1.1 above). No extant Hermeneumata version has more than one alphabetical glossary, but Kramer has argued (2001b: 252, 2004a: 43–6) that the ancient lexicon fragments just mentioned originally belonged to the lost alphabetical glossary of the Hermeneumata Celtis. It is not certain that Kramer is right on this point (see Ferri 2010: 241, 2011: 143–6), but if he is, there was in the sixth century a version of the Hermeneumata containing two alphabetical glossaries. Kramer (2001a: 22–3, 29) therefore argues that the original Hermeneumata contained two such glossaries, with a significant grammatical component to the Latin-to-Greek one.

If there was originally a second alphabetical glossary, it is easy to see why it does not survive. As is customary for alphabetical glossaries, the Greek–Latin and Latin–Greek glossaries would have contained largely the same words in different arrangements, offering a tremendous temptation to scribes to economize by

copying only one or the other.[114] Active use of Greek was not a high priority in the West during the Middle Ages, so a copyist would not have wanted lexica going in both directions and would have either selected the more useful one (Greek to Latin) or simply copied the first and skipped the second. In general the alphabetical lexica have fared badly in the Hermeneumata tradition compared to the capitula: the Einsidlensia, Vaticana, and Celtis versions all seem to have lost their alphabetical glossaries while retaining their capitula, a fact that suggests that copyists were more interested in the capitula than in the alphabetical glossaries. Under these circumstances it would not be surprising if they had drawn a line at the prospect of copying two such glossaries.

Where would the second alphabetical glossary have been located? The prefaces at the start of the capitula, identifying the capitula as the second book, suggest that it would have had to be the third book. Although that is the simplest solution, it is also worth considering another possibility: that the two alphabetical glossaries formed the first two books and the capitula the third. This possibility is suggested by a preface in the Leiden manuscript, which is now found at the start of the texts section, immediately before the *Hadriani sententiae*. It reads in part 'for before this I wrote in two books all the words [or 'verbs'; cf. Korhonen 1996: 110 n. 40] that I could in our translation, as many as I consider necessary and certainly as many as are useful for lovers of Latin speech. I have not hesitated to add [more material?] in this book as well, so that you might have something with which to give yourself practice, and which you may auspiciously leave to your children as a souvenir and a sample of your studies. Therefore now let us begin to translate, as best we can teach, the capitula of nouns and verbs, every one.'[115] The wording of the last part of this preface matches

---

[113] Most manuscripts of the Monacensia version (Z, W, Q, X) have *explicit* 'the end' at the end of the capitula section *De leguminibus* (i.e. after Goetz 1892: 193.59; this feature has not previously been noticed because it is absent from T and hence from Goetz's edition). These manuscripts and R also have *eplerodi logos / explicit sermo secundus* (or *explicit sermo II*) 'end of the second part' at the end of the whole capitula, where T has simply *eplerodi logos / explicit sermo*; the second part referred to is probably the second half of the capitula. But because this division is marked only in Latin, not in Greek, it is unlikely to go back to the earliest phase of the Hermeneumata tradition. For book divisions in the capitula of other Hermeneumata versions see Goetz (1892: 395.63–5, 409.72), Dionisotti (1985: 307 n. 1), and Korhonen (1996: 111).

[114] The capitula, which might be thought to be a third arrangement of the same vocabulary, in fact contain different words; see 1.2.3 above.

[115] πρὸ τούτου γὰρ δυσὶν βιβλίοις συνέγραψα πάντα τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἠδυνήθην τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἑρμηνείᾳ, ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα ὑπολαμβάνω, καὶ ὅλως ὅσα ὠφελεῖ ἀνθρώποις φιλητᾶις τῆς λαλίας Ῥωμαικῆς· οὐκ ἐδίστασα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ προσθεῖναι, ἵνα ἔχῃς ὅπου σεαυτὸν γυμνάσῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐτυχῶς τέκνοις σοῖς καταλίπῃς μνημόσυνον καὶ ὑπόδειγμα φιλοπονιῶν σῶν. ἤδη οὖν ἀρξώμεθα ἑρμηνεύειν, καθὼς δυνάμεθα διδάσκειν κάλλιστα· ἀλλὰ τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥήματων ἑνὸς ἑκάστου/*ante hoc enim duobus libris conscripsi omnia verba, quae potui nostra interpretatione, quae necessaria arbitror, et omnino quae prosunt hominibus amatoribus loquellae Latinae; non dubitavi et in hoc libro adicere, ut*

that of the preface to the capitula in the Monacensia and Montepessulana versions,[116] so it must be an old remnant of an authentic capitula preface. It is certainly garbled, and it no longer appears at the start of the capitula – but nevertheless what it seems to point to is an earlier arrangement in which two books of alphabetical glossary preceded the capitula.[117]

The prefaces in the Hermeneumata normally refer to learning both Latin and Greek; the passage just quoted is the only one that mentions only one language (cf. 1.2.8 below). The reference to Latin alone could indicate considerable antiquity, a passage unaltered by the shifts in usage of the Hermeneumata over time: whatever the original orientation of the work, in its latest incarnation it was clearly used to teach Greek, and at the very least this preface was not altered as part of that process. So there is some reason to believe that this preface retains an older form than the others, and perhaps its implication that the capitula originally formed the third book is worth paying attention to. If that is the case, of course, the other capitula prefaces must have been altered, for they name the capitula as the second book. Such alterations could not have occurred at a late phase of the transmission, as they are found in both the Greek and the Latin, but if the second alphabetical glossary was removed at a stage when the text was still being transmitted by copyists who knew both languages, it is very likely that they

would have made the alteration: the capitula preface would have been the next thing they copied immediately after omitting a book of glossary, and therefore the need for adjustment would have been obvious. On the other hand they would not have altered the initial preface with its announcement of three books, because they would already have copied that before deciding to cut out a book. The one capitula preface that escaped alteration would have done so because it had already become dislocated so that it no longer appeared right after the place where the cut was made.

The reference to twelve books at the start of the colloquium Leidense can also be explained by the loss of a book of glossaries. If the phrase that now appears as *Incipit hermeneumata id est libri XII* was originally something along the lines of *Incipiunt hermeneumata, id est interpretamenta, libri III*, someone might have noticed that the removal of a book of glossaries had made the number of books incorrect, and might have tried to change the number from three to two by crossing out the first *I*. Such an attempt could easily have resulted in something that would be read as *XII* by a subsequent copyist.

It is thus possible, though by no means certain, that the original form of the Hermeneumata was two books of alphabetical glossaries followed by one book of capitula; the other viable possibilities are two books of alphabetical glossaries sandwiching one book of capitula, or one book of alphabetical glossaries followed by two books of capitula. In any case the references to three books in the Hermeneumata prefaces are no reason to assume, in the face of evidence to the contrary, that the colloquia or other texts were included in the original collection.

Of course, this conclusion leaves us with the need to find out when the colloquia were added to that original collection. Some of the texts might have joined the glossaries as late as the Carolingian period, as Dionisotti suggests, but the colloquia have a much closer relationship to the glossaries than do the other texts and therefore are likely to have become attached to them considerably earlier. But before addressing this problem it is necessary to consider the evidence for the date of the collection.

habeas, ubi te ipsum exerceas, sed et feliciter liberis tuis relinquas memoriam et exemplum studiorum tuorum. iam ergo incipiamus interpretari, sicut possumus docere optima; sed capitula nominum et verborum unius cuiusque (text after Flammini 2004: 67: cf. Goetz 1892: 30.21–31.1).

[116] Goetz (1892: 166.20–7, spelling and diacritics normalized): ἐν τούτῳ βιβλίῳ ἔσονται γεγραμμ(έν)α περὶ πάντων πραγμάτων καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια αὐτῶν καὶ προσηγόρι(α αὐτ)ῶν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου/*in hoc libro erunt scripta de omnibus rebus et capitula eorum et vocabula eorum unius cuiusque*; 289.30–5 ἔσονται γεγραμμένα περὶ λοιπῶν πραγμάτων ἅμα καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ προσηγοριῶν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου/*erunt scripta de reliquis rebus simul et capitulinum nominum et vocabulorum unius cuiusque.*

[117] Dionisotti (1982: 89) and Korhonen (1996: 112) deal with this preface by assuming that the statement about the capitula is an intrusion from a different source and that the rest has not been dislocated, so that the two books referred to are the alphabetical glossaries and the capitula. The difficulty with this interpretation is that references to 'verbs' in the prefaces consistently mean the alphabetical glossaries rather than the capitula, as the former consisted largely of verbs and the latter almost entirely of nouns (see 1.2.3 above). Moreover, the movement of a single sentence a long way in the text would be difficult to parallel in the history of the colloquia (leaving aside cases where lines of preface were slotted into alphabetical order, which clearly has not occurred here), while movements of larger units are more common.

1.2.7 THE DATE OF AD 207

One of the texts in Leidensis Voss. Gr. Q. 7, the *Hygini genealogia*, has a preface with a date: 'In the consulship of Maximus and Aper, on the third day before

the Ides of September, I transcribed the genealogy of Hyginus known to all . . .' The consulship of Maximus and Aper was in 207, so we have here an exact date: 11 September, AD 207. Since the eighteenth century (cf. Honoré 1965: 303 n. 15; Goetz 1923: 18) the dating of the Hermeneumata has been pinned on this statement, but there is more than one way to do the pinning. Many scholars (e.g. Nelson 1981: 360; Millar 1992: 532) have taken 207 as the date of the formation of the Hermeneumata collection (i.e. a version of the collection that includes the texts), with the implication that all the texts found in any version of the Hermeneumata must have been composed before 207. On the other hand scholars concerned specifically with Hyginus take this statement as giving the date on which this text was translated from Latin into Greek (e.g. Boriaud 1997: xv; van Krevelen 1966: 315).

The dispute turns largely on the interpretation of the references to various books that follow the date in the preface. The text reads:

Μαξίμῳ καὶ Ἄπρῳ ὑπάτοις πρὸ γ΄ ἰδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων Ὑγίνου γενεαλογίαν πᾶσιν γνωστὴν μετέγραψα, ἐν ᾗ ἔσονται πλείονες ἱστορίαι διερμηνευμέναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ. θεῶν γὰρ καὶ θεάων ὀνόματα ἐν δευτέρῳ ἐξεπλέξαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσονται τούτων ἐξηγήσεις, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι, τούτων μέντοιγε, ὧν ἐν τοσούτῳ δύναμαι.

Maximo et Apro consulibus tertio Id. Septembres Hygini genealogiam omnibus notam descripsi, in qua erunt plures historiae interpretatae in hoc libro. deorum enim et dearum nomina in secundo explicuimus, sed in hoc erunt eorum enarrationes, licet non omnes, eorum tamen, quorum interim possum.[118]

Those who see the date as a reference to the compilation of the Hermeneumata collection (e.g. Flammini 1990: 26) would translate the preface so that the books referred to are the capitula (book two of the collection) and the one containing the Hyginus (whether this is book 6 of a twelve-book work, or part of book 3 of a three-book work, or something else – it is notable that the book number of the Hyginus is not specified), along the following lines:

In the consulship of Maximus and Aper, on the third day before the Ides of September, I transcribed the genealogy of Hyginus known to all, in which there will be rather many translated stories in this book [i.e. the one we are now in]. For we explained the names

of the gods and goddesses in the second book [i.e. the capitula], but their tales will be in this one [i.e. the one we are now in], even if not all the tales, at least the ones I can manage in the time.

But those who see the date as a reference to the translation of the Hyginus interpret the preface so that the books referred to are a three-book division of Hyginus' work. Rose, for example, translates the preface as follows (1929: 96):

In the consulate of Maximus and Aper (AD 207) I (some unknown *grammaticus*, not Dositheus Magister, to whom the *Hermeneumata* are supposedly due, and who lived in the fourth century) made a copy of the universally known *Genealogiae* of Hyginus. In it are contained several tales which will be found in translation in this book (i.e. book I, as it would appear to have been, of an original work on mythology; the distribution of subjects seems to correspond to nothing in Hyginus); for in Book II I have given an explanation of the names of the gods and goddesses (presumably a series of etymological speculations, of a sort familiar enough from the *Cratylus* of Plato onwards); next there shall follow narratives (interpretations?) concerning them (the deities, as I suppose), if not all, at any rate, as many as I can give in a work of this size.

Rose's translation relies exclusively on the Greek, on the grounds that Greek seems to be the original language of the Hyginus text that follows (see 1.2.4 above); this allows him to get a reference to a third book of Hyginus out of ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσονται τούτων ἐξηγήσεις 'next there shall follow narratives [interpretations?] concerning them'. The Latin here reads *in hoc erunt eorum enarrationes*, and *in hoc* cannot possibly mean 'next' in the sense of 'after book 2, which we haven't reached yet', so Rose's interpretation is only viable if the Latin can be ignored. And while Rose seems to be right about the dependence of the Latin on the Greek in the Hyginus extract itself, there is no reason to believe that the person who wrote this preface was the same as the one who produced either the Latin or the Greek of the Hyginus extract.[119] The Greek of the preface reads like a translation of the Latin – the consular date is expressed with a dative absolute, and

---

[118] Text from Flammini (2004: 103–4); cf. Goetz (1892: 56.30–46). The manuscript has *Septēber*, not *Septembres*.

[119] One can, of course, make this connection by interpreting μετέγραψα/*descripsi* as 'I translated', but very few scholars are unwary enough to do so; note that even Rose translates this verb with 'made a copy'. The rendering 'I translated' is indefensible; see Dionisotti (1982: 89), McDonnell (1996: 482–6), and Alan Cameron (2004: 35).

θεῶν γὰρ καὶ θεάων is clearly an attempt to render *deorum et dearum* – though of course the Latin is not exactly above reproach itself.

Dionisotti (1982: 89) relied partly on Rose's interpretation to argue that the date was irrelevant for the history of the Hermeneumata as a collection, on the grounds that the preface was simply a preface to an epitome of Hyginus and so dated the formation of that epitome rather than the compilation of the collection. But in addition to the linguistic problems just mentioned, Rose's interpretation of the references to books is very implausible: the *Hygini genealogia* that follows this preface has no trace of a division into three books, and while the *genealogia* has clearly been reduced in size since the preface was written, a table of contents survives, and that too has no sign of an original threefold division. The *Hygini genealogia* takes up six pages of Flammini's small Teubner text, or four pages in Goetz's edition: this is not long enough for one book, let alone three, even if we allow extra space for everything listed in the table of contents that has subsequently disappeared. Moreover, Hyginus' work is independently preserved in a much longer version (see 1.2.4 above), and there is no trace in that version of the division allegedly outlined here. In other words, Rose's interpretation requires one to invent a three-book arrangement of Hyginus, for which there is no other evidence, and to ignore the Latin of the preface in favour of the Greek, which shows clear signs of being a translation of the Latin.

The majority interpretation, taking the books referred to as books of the Hermeneumata, is certainly preferable. But on that interpretation, what does the date really tell us? The author of the preface speaks as if he is responsible for both the capitula and the stories from Hyginus ('we explained . . . in the second book', 'at least the ones I can manage'), but this responsibility must be one of presentation rather than composition, since the genealogy is attributed to Hyginus and is said to be already 'known to all': the writer claims credit for gathering materials together and making them available in this format, not for actually creating them. The date of 207 must therefore apply to the attachment of the *Hygini genealogia* to the capitula, and to any other portions of the Hermeneumata that were already attached to the capitula by that date. But Dionisotti (1982: 89; cf. Flammini 1990: 5) is clearly right to reject the further inference that the entire Hermeneumata collection, containing all the texts now associated with

it, must have been put together by this same writer in AD 207: this preface mentions only the capitula and the Hyginus, and other texts could easily have been added separately at different times.

Dionisotti also points out (1982: 89) that a preface occurring four-fifths of the way through a work is a very strange place to put a date, and raises the possibility that the date might be an interpolation. But the location is only strange if one assumes that the writer had a good opportunity to insert the date earlier. If the writer of 207 had actually composed the earlier parts of the text, or even rewritten them, he ought indeed to have put the date earlier. But if those portions were taken over unaltered, and the *Hygini genealogia* was the first or the only material added to them by the writer of 207, this preface would be the first section actually composed by that writer, under which circumstances the insertion of a date at this point makes perfect sense.

Perhaps, therefore, the location of the date implies that the texts located before the *Hygini genealogia* (everything except the Trojan War narrative, if the original order suggested above is accepted) were already part of the Hermeneumata before 207. Unfortunately, however, such an inference can only be very tentative. As we have seen, the various components of the Hermeneumata sometimes moved around in the course of transmission, and the original location of the texts is particularly uncertain, so we cannot be sure exactly what preceded this preface in AD 207 – though we can be reasonably certain that the capitula and alphabetical glossaries were among that material.

1.2.8 PLACE OF COMPOSITION

Scholars are divided on the question of whether the Hermeneumata were originally created in the East (to teach Latin) or the West (to teach Greek). Dionisotti (1982: 91, 1988: 29) has argued that they come from the West, but Kramer (2001a: 20) advocates a return to the traditional view that they are a product of the East. As Dionisotti's argument was based in part (but only in part) on the scarcity of papyrus and manuscript evidence for Hermeneumata material in the Greek-speaking portions of the empire, Kramer points to the additional papyrus evidence that has been discovered in the past few decades to make the case that now the ancient evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of an Eastern origin. In fact the papyrus evidence is less than conclusive: the papyri tell us only that the

Hermeneumata material was used in Greek-speaking areas, not that it originated there. We have no equivalent of the papyri from the Latin West, and it is distinctly possible that if we had such an equivalent, we would find ancient Hermeneumata fragments in the West as well as the East. Indeed the papyrus evidence is compatible with a completely Western origin for the Hermeneumata: they could easily have spread to Egypt from Western sources.

Kramer is right, however, to point out that the lack of attestation of Hermeneumata material in Byzantine manuscripts is not evidence that they originally came from the West. The Greeks lost interest in Latin after the sixth century, and in general Latin was neither taught nor transmitted as part of Byzantine literature. The Latin grammars of Charisius, Dositheus, and Priscian are preserved only in Western manuscripts, but there is no question about their origins: they came from the East. Therefore the lack of evidence for the Hermeneumata in Eastern manuscripts would be expected no matter where they originated. All the manuscript situation tells us is that the Hermeneumata must have been known in the West by the end of the sixth century at the latest; had they not been, they would not have been transmitted via Western manuscripts. In fact the manuscript evidence is as compatible with a completely Eastern origin for the colloquia as the papyrus evidence is for a completely Western origin: the nature of our sources simply does not tell us anything about the origin of the Hermeneumata.

Fortunately, there is a better source of information, namely internal evidence from the material in the Hermeneumata. Of course, not all that material was added to the Hermeneumata at the same time, and therefore it is possible that not all of it was added in the same place. Nevertheless each portion of the Hermeneumata can give us some information on the likely users of the work at each stage.

Two of the texts, the *Hadriani sententiae* and the *Tractatus de manumissionibus*, are works of Roman law originally written in Latin. This is exactly the type of material that Latin learners in the East studied, and it is not something that Greek learners in the West studied. These two texts must come from the Eastern language-teaching tradition. The other texts all, in one way or another, reflect Greek literary culture and therefore constitute material that might have been used for Greek teaching in the West; on the other hand they are also the type of material

that was used in monolingual education in the East. Such monolingual educational materials could easily be translated into another language for use in language teaching, and we know that this occurred in the case of at least one of these texts, the Aesopic fables. Several texts show evidence of repeated translation between the two languages: the *Hygini genealogia* seems to have lost its original Latin, and the Delphic precepts seem to have lost their original Greek. This fact suggests that the process of adaptation of these texts to the Hermeneumata was not a simple or straightforward one: the person who added them to the Hermeneumata took them from a source where they had already changed languages, probably because of use in language learning. The texts could therefore all come from the East – but if they do, it is surprising to find such a predominance of originally Greek works and a total absence of Virgil and Cicero, which were clearly used in a Hermeneumata-like bilingual format by Latin learners in the East. The only conclusion one can really draw about the texts, therefore, is that at least some of them come from the Latin-learning tradition of the East; the others could come either from the East or from the West.

The glossaries consist to a large extent of the vocabulary of everyday life. Capitula sections include a heavy emphasis on practicalities such as food, drink, animals, plants, parts of the body, crafts, buildings, household goods, clothing, and tools; the few professions that are singled out for individual sections include farming, sailing, medicine, and the army. The vocabulary given includes many words for specifically Roman-period objects and activities: clothing, architecture, food, dining customs, gladiatorial shows, etc. What we know of the differences between the purposes of Romans who learned Greek and Greek speakers who learned Latin (cf. 1.1.2 above) indicates that the everyday vocabulary associated with the contemporary world would have been more interesting to the Latin learners than to the Greek learners, whose language learning was more focused on literary culture. On the other hand, our evidence for the Romans' attitudes to Greek is biased towards the literate, highly educated elite; we know much less about Romans further down the social scale who travelled to Greek-speaking areas as soldiers, sailors, merchants, or the staff of Roman officials. It seems almost impossible that there would not have been a demand on the part of such people for knowledge of the everyday language of the eastern half of the empire. Therefore

the fact that the glossaries are concerned primarily with everyday terminology need not mean that they come from the East, though it does point in that direction.

Stronger evidence is provided by the capitula section on magistrates, which in most versions of the Hermeneumata (and therefore probably in the original) consists almost entirely of Roman magistrates.[120] Greek speakers in the Roman empire might well have wanted to talk in Latin about emperors, consuls, and tribunes, but our understanding of Roman bilingualism suggests that such topics are not what the average Roman would have wanted to discuss in Greek.

Romans would have wanted vocabulary related to philosophy, sculpture, painting, literature, literary criticism, scholarship, and the history and culture of Athens and Sparta in the archaic and classical periods; these are all topics that a Greek speaker would have had little interest in discussing in Latin. In fact vocabulary related to most of these topics appears in the Hermeneumata, but it is limited: there are no separate sections for any of these topics, but the most important dramatic vocabulary appears in the section on shows, and there are several sections on education.[121] These sections contain a considerable amount of vocabulary related to oratory, grammar, and the practicalities of a school ('teacher', 'tablet', 'payment', etc.), but those are all topics that both Greeks and Romans might have wanted to discuss in their second language. Some specifically literary terminology also appears, suggesting a Greek-learning audience, but legal terminology also occurs in these sections, suggesting a Latin-learning audience.[122]

In a number of capitula sections vocabulary most likely to be desired by Greek speakers learning Latin appears in a group, after vocabulary more likely to be desired by Romans learning Greek. This is the case with the sections on temples and on performances in the Leidensia–Amploniana version, the section on studies in the Monacensia version, the section on

performances in the Montepessulana version, and the section on studies in the Stephani version.[123] Such an ordering suggests that a glossary originally designed for Romans may have been adapted for use by Greeks. Because the relevant portion of the section on performances is very similar in the Montepessulana and in the Leidensia–Amploniana versions, the ordering in question seems to go back to the original version of the glossaries, before they diverged into different versions. This evidence therefore suggests that the original version was created in the East using material derived from the West.

In many places in the glossaries a single word in one language is equated to a longer phrase in the other language. Such entries often give a strong impression of having been written to define the single word by means of the longer phrase. Often the single word is Latin and the apparent definition is Greek: thus for example in the sections on kinship terms *germanus* 'full brother' and *germana* 'full sister' are equated with ἀδελφὸς γνήσιος 'genuine brother' and ἀδελφὴ γνησία 'genuine sister' respectively, *amita* 'paternal aunt' is equated with πατρὸς ἀδελφή 'father's sister' and θεία πρὸς πατρός 'aunt on the father's side', *matertera* 'maternal aunt' with θεία πρὸς μητρός 'aunt on the mother's side', *patruus* 'paternal uncle' with πατρὸς ἀδελφός 'father's brother' and θεῖος πρὸς πατρός 'uncle on the father's side', *avunculus* 'maternal uncle' with θεῖος πρὸς μητρός 'uncle on the mother's side', *postumus* 'posthumous child' with ὁ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθείς 'one born after his father's death', *maritus* with ἀνὴρ γυναικός 'husband of a woman', *stirps* with γένους ῥίζα 'root of the family'.[124] Such periphrases are also found in other sections, for example *cervesia* 'beer' equated with πόματος [*sic*] ἐκ πυρῶν 'drink from wheat', ἀνηλεήμων 'pitiless' with *sine misericordia* 'without pity', and *ganeo* 'glutton' with ὁ ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις 'the one in the taverns' (Goetz 1892: 315.69, 177.41, 250.78). These seem to come from a period when the glossaries were used by Greek speakers learning Latin. But there are also many instances of the reverse phenomenon, where a single word in Greek is glossed by a phrase in Latin. Such entries are particularly common in the later versions of the Hermeneumata,

---

[120] Goetz (1892: 28, 182, 275–6, 297–8, 362).

[121] περὶ φιλοπονιῶν/*de studiis*, περὶ γραμματοδιδασκαλείου/*de ludo litterarum*, περὶ εἰσαγωγῆς/*de instructione* (Goetz 1892: 24–5, 198–9, 277–8, 327–8, 351–2, 375–6; the first two of these sections are also found in the unpublished capitula of the Hermeneumata Celtis).

[122] E.g. διόρθωσις/*emendatio*, κωμῳδία/*comoedia*, μεταφορά/*translatio*, ποιητής/*poeta*, σχῆμα/*figura*; ἀπόφασις/*sententia quae reis datur*, δίκη/*causa*, κρίσις/*iudicium*, ἀσφαλίσματα/*instrumenta*, νομικός/*iuris peritus* (Goetz 1892: 328.7, 375.69, 25.11, 352.35, 352.34; 24.41, 25.12, 25.13, 199.6, 199.7).

[123] Goetz (1892: 10.10–15, 11.11–15, 199.6–8, 302.71–303.4, 351.76–7).

[124] Goetz (1892: 303.55, 303.56, 28.34 (= 303.63), 254.1, 253.73 (= 303.64), 28.48, 254.2, 181.45 (= 303.62, 254.3), 181.50–1, 304.6, 303.16).

such as the Einsidlensia, and often seem to date to the medieval period or even the Renaissance, when the Hermeneumata were used as a vehicle for learning Greek. It is possible that some of them may date to an early period of antiquity, but it would be extremely difficult to distinguish these from the later additions. The wording of entries, therefore, confirms the existence of a phase in which the capitula were used by Latin learners and is compatible with the existence of an earlier phase in which they were used by Romans learning Greek.

The prefaces, which specify the purpose of the Hermeneumata, generally say that the work is designed to help with the learning of both Latin and Greek (ME 1b, Mp 1a, cf. 1.2.6 above). But the original version probably did not mention both languages, for the Hermeneumata are clearly foreign-language textbooks rather than general educational tools. Their long, complex glossaries are unsuited for initial literacy training, as are many of the texts: although one can easily imagine the colloquia being used by children learning to read for the first time, the Hermeneumata as a whole would be far too difficult for small children. Moreover the Hermeneumata make no effort to provide information on topics other than language: subjects like mathematics, grammar, oratory, and literature are mentioned in the colloquia as subjects of study but are not actually taught by the Hermeneumata, which focus completely on language. The teaching of a foreign language to pupils who had already mastered their own language would have been signalled by mention of the foreign language alone in the preface; mention of the pupils' native language would not make sense. The presence of both languages in the preface is best explained by adaptation as the Hermeneumata moved between East and West: just as the preface to the Hermeneumata Vaticana mentioned a work in 'three or four' books, when three was the number in the original version of the preface and four was the actual number of books in the reworked version to which the preface was attached (see n. 98 above and commentary on ME 1b–e), so a mention of Latin and Greek probably grew out of the addition of one language to a preface that originally mentioned only the other.

Which language was original and which was added? The Montepessulana and Monacensia–Einsidlensia versions of the preface have the languages in a different order: Greek and Latin in the Montepessulana version, Latin and Greek in the Monacensia–Einsidlensia version. As we have seen (cf. 1.2.6 above and commentary to ME 1b–e), these two prefaces are strikingly similar in wording; they must come from a common source and must have deviated very little from that source. It is therefore unlikely that a copyist or adaptor reversed the order of the languages in one version: the second language was probably added independently in the two versions. In that case, the second language was added after these two versions had separated. The separation into different versions must have occurred after the Hermeneumata had acquired all the features that are common to the different versions – in other words after a phase in the East, since as we have seen there are Eastern features shared by the different versions. The second language must therefore have been Greek, added when these Eastern versions returned West (as we know they must have, since we have them via the Western manuscript tradition). So the original language was Latin.

Two prefaces refer only to one language. The preface to the Hermeneumata Vaticana mentions only Greek (Goetz 1892: 421.11), but as this version of the Hermeneumata was drastically reworked in the Middle Ages, when it was indeed used only to learn Greek, it is likely that reference to Latin was removed at that time. The preface to the texts in the Leidensia version, which as we have seen may originally have been a preface to the capitula, mentions only Latin (Goetz 1892: 30.35; cf. 1.2.6 above). This last may be an older survival; if all the prefaces originally stated that the purpose of the Hermeneumata was to help learners of Latin, the prefaces at the beginning of the work could easily have been changed later when they were used to learn Greek, while the one buried in the middle survived in its original form.

The preface at the beginning of the work is linguistically striking, opening with a sentence of great length and complexity that seems to be a display piece (and that is notably different from the short, simple sentences of the colloquia). Some features of this sentence suggest that it was more impressive in Latin than in Greek (see commentary on ME 1b–e); this fits with the other evidence suggesting that the preface was composed in the East for a version of the Hermeneumata designed to teach Latin.

The colloquia themselves, of course, provide considerable information on the places where they were composed, and in fact scholarly debate about the formation of the Hermeneumata has focused on the

complex and often contradictory evidence they offer. The evidence from the colloquia needs its own discussion (see 1.3.1 below); for now we can only say that both the other major portions of the Hermeneumata, glossaries and texts, contain material that must have originated in the East, but most of the material in them could have originated anywhere, so a major contribution from the West cannot be ruled out. The arrangement of vocabulary within the capitula suggests that the Hermeneumata glossaries have a nucleus of material from the West to which was added additional material in the East before the different versions began to diverge from one another.

1.2.9 Conclusions

The various Hermeneumata versions seem to go back to a single original composed of a preface and three books, all three of which were probably glossaries; to this core were added first the colloquia (immediately after the preface) and then the texts (at the end). The glossaries can be traced as far back as the first century AD, and at least one of the texts was added in 207. The texts were not composed specifically for the Hermeneumata but rather selected (perhaps with some rewriting, translating, and/or editing) from materials that were already widely used for educational purposes.

At some point the original Hermeneumata started to diverge into the different versions known today. The process of divergence must have been gradual – clearly the Leidensia and Amploniana versions diverged from each other later than their common ancestor diverged from the other versions, and the same is true of the Monacensia and Einsidlensia versions – but nevertheless there must be a point at which it started. Where was that point in relation to the addition of colloquia and texts to the glossaries?

The different versions of the Hermeneumata nearly all have their own colloquia versions (see figure 1.4 above), and all these versions seem to go back to a common ancestor (see 1.2.2 above). Therefore the colloquium was probably already part of the Hermeneumata when the different versions started to separate; if it had been added later it is difficult to imagine that such a distribution would have been achieved. On the other hand the texts are largely confined to two of the Hermeneumata versions, and these two do not even have the same texts. It is therefore likely that the texts were added after the splitting

of Hermeneumata versions had begun, but before the versions that share texts had divided.

The most likely scenario, then, is that the process of divergence into different versions began after the colloquium was added to the glossaries but before the texts were added. At least one of the texts was added in AD 207, so the splitting of the Hermeneumata into different versions probably began in the second century; the original colloquium must have been composed before that date. The stemma in figure 1.5 illustrates how the different Hermeneumata versions may have developed.

1.3 THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLOQUIA

We have seen that the different colloquia probably share a common ancestor that was starting to break up into the versions we have in the second century AD. But the colloquia we actually possess are very different from one another; there are enough shared passages to indicate a common ancestor, but nothing like enough passages to allow one to reconstruct that ancestor. In fact the vast majority of the words in each colloquium have no parallels in the other colloquia. Therefore the colloquia have undergone major reworking since that break-up occurred, including the addition of scenes not present in the original version. Under these circumstances one cannot say that the colloquia date to the second century AD: since the majority of the material in them seems to come from after their division into separate versions, if they started to divide in the second century the bulk of their contents must come from after that date. It is now time to examine in more detail the internal evidence of their origins provided by the colloquia themselves.

The most obvious feature of the colloquia is their composite nature: content, narrative style, and language all shift within individual colloquia, indicating that most of them were compiled from material with different origins (cf. 1.2.2 above). Clearly the original common source was only one of the ingredients that went into making the colloquia we now have. Korhonen (1996: 105–9) has demonstrated that the main division within the individual colloquia is between the morning and school sections, which depict the day of a child, and the other sections, most of which depict the day of an adult; he refers to the first part, which always has a more or less coherent

Preface + glossaries

Preface + colloquium + glossaries

AD 207? Pref. + coll. + gloss. Pref. + coll. + gloss. + texts

x

M–E *c1* *c2* S B Mp L–A

M E C Stephanus 1573 Mp L A
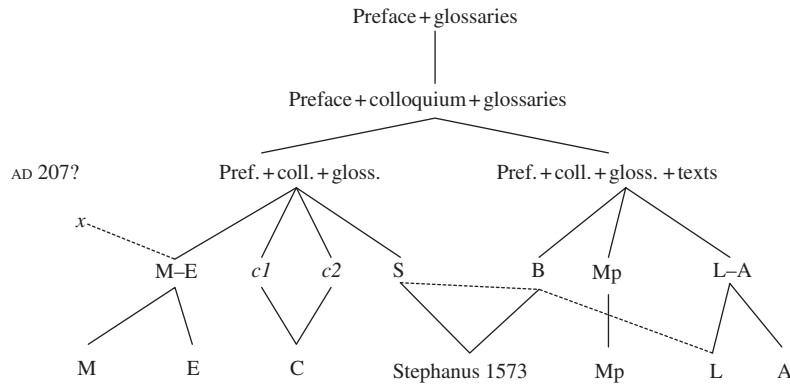
Sigla
A Hermeneumata Amploniana
B Hermeneumata Bruxellensia (placement tentative, as it may not have included texts)
C Hermeneumata Celtis (a composite version; see Dionisotti 1982: 92, 94)
c1, c2 Hermeneumata versions from which Hermeneumata Celtis was compiled
E Hermeneumata Einsidlensia
L Hermeneumata Leidensia
L–A ancestor of Hermeneumata Amploniana and Hermeneumata Leidensia
M Hermeneumata Monacensia
M–E ancestor of Hermeneumata Monacensia and Hermeneumata Einsidlensia
Mp Hermeneumata Montepessulana
S non-Bruxellensia source of Stephanus 1573 (placement tentative, as it may have included texts)
Stephanus 1573 actual Hermeneumata Stephani as it exists today
x source of second ME colloquium

The Vaticana version is excluded because owing to extensive medieval reworking its position can no longer be determined.
Dotted lines indicate the transfer of a colloquium without (as far as we know) other Hermeneumata material.

Figure 1.5 Possible development of the Hermeneumata versions

story line, as the 'schoolbook' and to the second part, which is often coherent but can also consist of sets of disconnected phrases, as the 'phrasebook'. In the colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia the division between schoolbook and phrasebook occurs (roughly) at the division between the two colloquia, in the colloquium Stephani there is no phrasebook, and in the other four versions the division occurs (more or less) at the end of the school scene(s). In Korhonen's view the schoolbook was designed for children, who could have used it to learn to read their own language as well as to acquire a second language, and the phrasebook for adults, who could have used it only to learn a second language. Korhonen's perceptive division is borne out by numerous other distinctions between these two parts of the colloquia.

1.3.1 PLACE OF COMPOSITION: EVIDENCE FROM CONTENT

If we look first at the phrasebook sections, that is the material after the school scenes, we find a significant amount of information about the place of composition, all pointing in the same direction. Although actual place-names are very rarely mentioned in the colloquia, the Tigilline baths (which appear in the colloquium Montepessulanum, 14a) were in Rome.[125] The culture described is identifiably Roman; of course by the late empire this culture had spread throughout the

[125] Some other passages, however, suggest a setting in a large provincial town rather than in Rome itself (ME 4e and C 71c refer to a provincial governor, H 9a to a praetorium); such a town could of course have been anywhere in the empire.

Mediterranean world and could be found anywhere (or at least in any reasonably large urban centre), but in the East Roman culture was combined with other traditions, and such other traditions are conspicuously absent from the colloquia. The system of government is entirely Roman: there are emperors (H 9b, 9d), a quaestor (ME 4d), a proconsul (ME 4e), a prefect (C 71c, 72b), a governor (ME 4e, C 71c, 72c, 74b), and a whole set of lesser officials (C 71c–72e). The only god specifically named is Jupiter Capitolinus (Mp 6a, Ζεὺς Καπιτωλῖνος in Greek), time is measured in Roman hours (Mp 13g, C 73a), punishments include crucifixion (H 18a), money is measured in denarii and sesterces (ME 4k, 5b, 8b, Mp 13b–f), and entertainment consists of a circus and a gladiatorial show (H 22). The characters frequently spend their afternoons at the public baths (ME 9g, 10, LS 8d–9b, Mp 8a, 14–16, H 21a, 21g, 22b, 28a–b, C 55–64), and at least one of them lives in a multi-storey apartment block or *insula* (ME 6g). The dining rituals are distinctively Roman (mixing of individual drinks at particular temperatures: ME 11b–d, LS 11a–b; constant consumption of garum: ME 9d, 11f, 11g, LS 11i, Mp 17a–b, C 49), a character going out to support a friend puts on his toga (Mp 4e), and a nobleman is described as being a 'senator of the Roman people, who traces his lineage from Romulus, from the Trojan descendants of Aeneas' (Mp 4g).

At first glance this evidence might seem to suggest that the phrasebooks were composed in the West, but in fact it suggests the opposite. The phrasebooks are manifestly foreign-language textbooks, and foreign language textbooks need to present a language in the context of the culture in which it is spoken: setting the scene in the readers' own culture does not allow one to introduce the vocabulary associated with the distinctively foreign aspects of that culture, which are often the ones the learner most needs to grasp. Thus a modern French textbook might set scenes in Paris or in a smaller French town, and a phrasebook for travellers to Russia might focus on places and activities peculiar to Moscow or might present a broader view of Russia, but neither would discuss the culture or political world of London. Setting the scenes of a French textbook in France provides verisimilitude (after all, people do speak French in Paris, but on the whole they do not speak it in London), non-linguistic interest value (people who learn French often do so because they have an interest in some aspect of French culture or literature), and usefulness for travellers (those who learn French are often intending to

travel to France). All these factors were just as true in antiquity as they are today and would have favoured the setting of a foreign-language text in the culture of the language being learned.

The Romanness of the setting thus suggests that the actual place of composition was the East. If the phrasebooks had been intended for Roman children like those described by Quintilian, whose goal in learning the Greek language was immersion in classical Greek literature, they should have had a very different setting. Characters would go to the prytaneion rather than the praetorium, watch dramatic festivals or athletic competitions rather than gladiatorial shows, worship Athena rather than Jupiter Capitolinus, and speak of government by archons and the assembly rather than by emperors, provincial governors, quaestors, etc. There would be symposia in the style of Plato rather than Roman banquets, we would meet at least one philosopher (the absence of philosophy from the colloquia is striking), and a nobleman would trace his lineage from Erechtheus, Agamemnon, or at least Solon rather than Romulus and Aeneas.[126] Even if we imagine an audience of Latin speakers who were learning Greek purely to deal with the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean world and had no interest in classical Greek literature, we would still expect some references to specifically Eastern Mediterranean cultural features rather than the emphatically Roman setting we actually find in the colloquia.

The same conclusion can be drawn from the fact that all the named characters in the colloquia have Roman names. The Monacensia–Einsidlensia colloquia have two characters named Gaius (4a, 9g) and two named Lucius (4b, 6b), the colloquium Montepessulanum has a Gaius (4a), a Lucius (4a), and a Julius (15a); and the colloquium Harleianum has a Lucius (23a) and an Aurelius (19a).[127] Again, a French

---

[126] In such circumstances we would also expect Greek units of currency such as the drachma, rather than the denarii and sesterces the colloquia actually contain (ME 4k, 5b, 8b, Mp 13b–f); although documentary texts show that Greek speakers regularly measured money in denarii during the empire, they would have been well aware that this type of currency was unsuited to a classicizing context.

[127] In the later empire many Greek speakers were Roman citizens and therefore in theory had Roman names, but as documentary texts make clear, for ordinary purposes Greek speakers simply went on using Greek names. Indeed, blanket grants of citizenship that invested everyone in a particular region with a name like Aurelius made that name useless for any kind of individual identification and therefore did nothing to promote the actual use of Roman names.

textbook for English students might have characters named Pierre and Marie, and a German textbook might have Hans and Astrid, but neither would be at all likely to have Dick and Jane: the use of Roman names points to composition in the East.

Another piece of evidence pointing in the same direction is the prominence in the colloquia of the legal profession. Three colloquia have court scenes (ME 4, Mp 10, C 73–7), and it is notable that in all three scenes a protagonist wins his case, and in two of them there is conspicuous reference to the legal team being well paid. There seems also to be a fragment of a scene from a law school (Mp 5). Since one of the main reasons why Greek speakers studied Latin was a desire to enter the legal profession (cf. 1.1.2 and 1.1.2.4 above), the prominence of law and its favourable depiction in the colloquia is probably connected with the aspirations of the students for whom the texts were designed.

All the evidence from internal content, then, indicates that the phrasebook portions of the colloquia come from the East. If we turn to the schoolbook sections, however, a different picture emerges. There are no personal or place names, no magistrates, and virtually no objects or activities that could locate the texts in either East or West. We can, however, learn something about the place of composition from the language(s) taught in the school scenes.

The student in the colloquium Harleianum is clearly learning Latin; Latin is mentioned three times and Greek not at all (H 1e, 3b, 4c). But the student in the colloquium Stephani seems to be learning Greek: although this is not specifically stated, the only author he reads is Demosthenes (S 38b), the grammar lesson seems originally to have contained Greek grammar (S 23–4), and the teacher focuses at length on the heroes of the Trojan War 'about whom we read in Homer' (S 26–36). The narrative of the Trojan War gives a prominent place to Aeneas and his position as ancestor of the Romans (S 34a–b); this is a Roman perspective and is more at home in a text designed for Romans learning Greek than in one designed for native Greek speakers.[128] The school scenes of the other colloquia are more ambiguous: the Monacensia–Einsidlensia gives no hint of which language or languages are being learned, the Leidense–Stephani refers to both languages (LS 5b), and the Montepessulanum first

mentions both languages (Mp 2a) but then only Latin (Mp 2c, where Latin is referred to as a dialect, i.e. of Greek).[129] The colloquium Celtis refers to both Latin and Greek (C 18, 28c, 29, 30a) and mentions both Greek and Roman authors (C 37–8), but at two points Greek seems to be taught by a Greek teacher and Latin by a *grammaticus* (C 28c, 30a), a distinction that suggests a Roman perspective.

The schoolbook scenes, therefore, present an ambiguous picture which contrasts sharply with the consistently Eastern content of the phrasebook scenes. Moreover, it has been argued that their very nature as bilingual schoolbooks suggests a Western origin: only a culture where children learned a foreign language in primary school could have produced the school scenes of the colloquia, and only the Romans had such a culture (Dionisotti 1982: 91, 1988: 28–9). This argument is compelling, but there is a complication: we cannot be sure the schoolbooks were bilingual from their very beginnings. They might originally have been monolingual texts designed to teach children to read their own native language, and the second language might have been added at a later date. When the colloquia have titles, the title is normally something like 'Daily conversation', not anything relating to a particular language. Two colloquia have their own prefaces (distinct from the preface to the Hermeneumata as a whole, though this too is often positioned just before the colloquium). The one at the start of the colloquium Celtis states: 'Conversation, everyday usage, ought to be given to all boys and girls, since they are necessary for both younger and older children, on account of ancient custom and learning' (C 1a–b). The preface to the colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia states: 'Since I saw that for little boys beginning to be educated, the hearing of hermeneumata of daily speech is a necessary thing, through which they may be very easily taught to speak Latin and Greek; for this reason I have written briefly about daily conversation the words that are below' (ME 10–q). The first of these prefaces could have come without alteration from a monolingual schoolbook; the second could have been changed from introducing a monolingual work to announcing a bilingual one by the addition of only a few words.

---

[128] The Trojan War narrative may, however, be a later addition to the colloquium Stephani; see 4.3 below.

[129] Later, in what seems to be not a school scene but a discussion of more advanced education, the Montepessulanum refers to learning the Attic dialect (Mp 5a) – but this is probably Attic as opposed to koiné Greek, rather than Greek as opposed to Latin.

As for the schoolbook that follows, the Monacensia–Einsidlensia version has no references to either language and would work fine as a monolingual easy reader; in other colloquia only a few changes need to be assumed as a result of transition from monolingual to bilingual format.

Although we cannot completely rule out the possibility that the schoolbooks were originally monolingual, this uncertainty makes little difference in practical terms. The papyri tell us a good deal about elementary education in the Greek-speaking world (e.g. Cribiore 1996, 2001), and it manifestly did not include material like the colloquia; Greek-speaking children learned to read on Homer (cf. Cribiore 1996: 46, 49), no matter how absurd that may seem. So even if the colloquia were originally monolingual, they do not come from the East: they must come from the West. The monolingual phase, if it existed, would simply be a possible earlier layer beyond the ones we can reconstruct with more or less confidence for the bilingual text.

With this caveat, then, Dionisotti's argument stands: the schoolbook format itself indicates an origin in the West. The ambiguous picture presented by the extant schoolbook scenes is best explained by their having been adapted by Greek speakers, who appreciated that even if originally composed for children, these works could also be used to great advantage in teaching older students.[130] If we consider the individual versions, the colloquium Harleianum shows the clearest signs of its path of development. It must have originated in the West, because of its schoolbook format, and it must have ended up in the West, because we find it in a Western manuscript. But in between these two points the text must have gone to the East and returned, because the schoolboy is a Greek speaker learning Latin, because the school scene is joined to a phrasebook of Eastern origin, because the colloquium is part of a version of the Hermeneumata that contains other Eastern material (e.g. the *Hadriani sententiae*), and because we have a papyrus fragment of this colloquium from Egypt (number 32 in figure 1.1 above). On the other hand the colloquium Stephani shows no trace of Eastern influences: it depicts only the teaching of Greek at school, it does not have a phrasebook, and because of the conflation of two Hermeneumata versions in the work that is our only

source for this colloquium, we cannot tell what sort of Hermeneumata material originally accompanied it or whether any of that material came from the East. Perhaps this colloquium simply remained in the West.

The colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia were joined to each other at a late date, after the end of antiquity (see 2.4 below); originally this version of the Hermeneumata included only the schoolbook. The fact that the ME phrasebook comes from the East is therefore not relevant to the origin of the ME schoolbook, but the fact that the ME glossaries show clear signs of Eastern influence (see 1.2.3 above) suggests strongly that the colloquium went through a phase in the East.

The other three schoolbooks (Leidense–Stephani, Montepessulanum, Celtis) are all joined to phrasebooks, making it virtually certain that they, like the colloquium Harleianum, spent some of their history in the East. We would in any case expect all the colloquia to share the same path of development at an early period, since they all have a common ancestor: the different versions of the Hermeneumata share Eastern elements in the glossaries (see 1.2.3 above), and therefore the Eastern influence must already have been present when the Hermeneumata split up into different versions. Had it not been, the transfer of material between East and West would have had to take place independently in each different version, which is not plausible. Therefore all the colloquia that can be shown to have been part of the Hermeneumata at the time of that split (i.e. all except the colloquium Stephani) must have had some Eastern influence.

These three schoolbooks all mention the learning of both Latin and Greek, thus raising a difficult question. Are the references to both languages original, or has a second language been added, as in the case of the prefaces to the Hermeneumata as a whole (see 1.2.8 above)? It is easy to see how a second language could have been added as a colloquium was adapted to a new use: a work that depicted the teaching of the wrong language would have cried out to be updated. The problem could be fixed, without removing any existing text, simply by adding the second language, just the way the Hermeneumata Vaticana preface's statement about three books, incorrect once the work to which it was prefaced had four books, was fixed by changing 'three books' to 'three or four books' (see n. 98 above). On the other hand, if these colloquia were designed by Latin speakers not merely as Greek-teaching materials but as bilingual schoolbooks to

---

[130] The value of the colloquia for teaching older students has also been praised in modern times, e.g. by Debut (1984).

teach children to read for the first time, as suggested by Dionisotti (1982: 91, 1988: 28–9), the references to two languages could have been present from the beginning.

1.3.2 Linguistic evidence

The language of the colloquia is obviously not the classicizing literary language, in either Latin or Greek. Since the titles and prefaces indicate that the colloquia are useful for learning to 'speak' the languages and provide examples of 'daily conversation',[131] it is generally believed that they were composed in the spoken idiom of their day, free of the classicism that exerted such a restrictive influence on the literary language of the empire.[132] Indeed much contemporary conversational language can be found in the colloquia, but they are far from pure examples of non-literary Latin and Greek, for they contain literary features like Greek optatives, Atticizing spellings, and Latin *sis* with imperatives.[133] Some of these features were so archaic that they might have been incomprehensible if actually used in a casual conversation in the later empire; clearly some of the writers involved in the production of the Hermeneumata had an interest in archaic literary language that occasionally trumped their interest in the contemporary conversational idiom. But the archaic features involved are all ones that would have been part of ordinary conversational language at some period; features that were always elevated or poetic do not occur in the colloquia. Perhaps (some of) the writers aimed to teach the classical colloquial language rather than, or in addition to, the contemporary one – or perhaps they were merely interested in displaying some more recherché knowledge. In any case, the mixed nature of the resulting language means that great care must be taken in making generalizations based on it.

Because both Latin and Greek changed over time, the post-classical features in the colloquia provide vital information on the dating of the text. A word or usage occurring in the colloquia can normally be dated to a time not significantly earlier than its first

attestation elsewhere. Particularly useful are the spellings of Greek vowels, because Greek vowels are omnipresent in the colloquia. The large number of sound changes that the Greek vowel system underwent after the end of the classical period meant that spelling became very difficult, and all but the most educated writers made mistakes. A Greek text with phonetic spelling errors can be dated with reasonable accuracy by those errors: it must have been written after the sound changes responsible for the mistakes the writer makes, and before the sound changes responsible for the mistakes the writer does not make.[134] Unfortunately, some writers were very well educated and did not make spelling errors, so that their works are difficult to date, but mercifully the writers of the colloquia rarely fall into this category. (The major exception is the colloquium Stephani, whose spelling was corrected by Estienne in the sixteenth century and which has therefore lost the information that the original spelling errors would have conveyed; colloquia whose Greek spellings have been extensively interfered with by Latin speakers, such as the Monacensia and Harleianum, are also difficult to date by spelling errors.) Spelling errors in the Greek are therefore crucial in identifying the dates of different portions of the colloquia (see 1.3.3 below).

Scholars frequently raise the question of the original language of the colloquia, or to put it differently, which language is the translation (cf. Ferri 2008a: 114–20). This question is not necessarily the same as that of where the colloquia were composed, for there are two different ways that one language could come to be a translation of the other: a writer with limited competence in one of the languages might compose the text first in his native language and then translate it unidiomatically into the other language, or a writer with any level of competence might find or compose an idiomatic text in a foreign language and then produce a literal crib in his native language. For example, the English translations of the colloquia provided in this volume fall into this latter category: analysis of the English would certainly reveal it to be a literal translation of the Latin and Greek, but it

---

[131] ME 10–p, 3a–b, LS titles A and B, H title, 4c, 25e, Mp 2a, C title, 1a.

[132] Cf. Rochette (2008: 91–4), Korhonen (1996: 104), Dionisotti (1982: 91, 95–6), and Zgusta (1980: 124–5).

[133] See sections 3.2.3 and 4.2 below and commentary on ME 1b διαλέγεσθαι/*disputare*, 4b καλῶς ζήσαις, 4b τί πράττεις, 6d *sis*, H 1f ποιήσειας, Mp 9b, C 46c γένοιτο.

[134] Spelling mistakes can of course be introduced in transmission as well as at the time of composition; texts transmitted by dictation are particularly liable to such changes, and dictation was practised in ancient schools. The errors can therefore only be used with certainty to establish a *terminus ante quem*, but the early dates of many of the termini thus established for the colloquia suggest that in practice the spelling errors in the colloquia are unlikely to come from a time significantly after the original composition.

would be unwarranted to infer from that that I am a native speaker of Latin and Greek with limited knowledge of English. Therefore even if one can determine which language is the 'original' and which the translation, that information does not necessarily reveal the linguistic orientation of the writer or which language he was trying to teach; conversely, establishing the place of composition does not tell us which language is likely to be the original.

The question of the original language can be addressed by looking for instances of translationese in each language, taking into account the post-classical and non-literary nature of the colloquia. Identification of errors and infelicities due specifically to translation is not always straightforward, for Greek and Latin were in close contact during the Roman empire and had considerable influence on each other. In the case of Greek the Latin influence mostly occurred at a subliterary level, for the literary language was fiercely archaizing, and therefore it may be poorly documented. At this remove it can sometimes be hard to distinguish Greek that is simply translationese from Greek composed at a time and place where normal spoken Greek was influenced by Latin.

That said, many of the colloquia contain passages where one language appears to translate the other, and in such passages the direction of translation can be either Greek to Latin or Latin to Greek; it is clear that there is no consistent original language for the colloquia as a whole, though some sections of individual versions have a consistent direction of translation.[135] This effect clearly arises in part from the composite nature of the colloquia (sometimes a shift in the direction of translation occurs at a point where a change of authorship can be identified on other grounds; cf. 3.2.3 and 4.3 below and vol. II, 3.3.7), and in part from their complex transmission history (when corruptions arose they were often sorted out by translating the column that seemed to make more sense into the other language). A few of the translations are very poor and show only a minimal understanding of the language being used, and those sometimes colour one's view of the colloquia, but it is important to keep them in perspective: such passages are rare and can usually be shown on other grounds to be later additions or alterations (cf. e.g. 3.2.3 below and vol. II, 1.2.2).

In fact, most sections of most colloquia are idiomatic and show no signs of translation in either direction; they may not conform to the literary standard, but as examples of the conversational language their writers were aiming at, they are really rather good, far more graceful than my English translation. This fact is surprising, because the format in which the colloquia were composed is a very demanding one for a translator: each individual line must have the same meaning in both languages, and the lines are rarely more than three words long, so the scope for variation in syntax or word order is very limited. Greek and Latin, despite their often flexible word order and despite being closer to each other than either is to English, are not similar enough to make it at all easy to produce a translation that fits these restrictions and does not sound stilted; all one has to do to see how bad the results of attempting such a translation can be is to look at the ancient bilingual texts of Virgil and Cicero, where the Greek is always stilted and sometimes wholly unintelligible. And trying to produce for oneself a translation that fits the ancient rules, as I have done in producing the English version of the colloquia, makes it abundantly clear that it is almost impossible to make a translation graceful or idiomatic under those circumstances, even when operating in one's native language.

Despite all this, both Greek and Latin in the colloquia are frequently graceful and idiomatic. Such a level could not have been achieved in a translation made in the restrictive format the colloquia required: if either language were a translation of the other, one of them would look much worse than it does. Many portions of the colloquia must have been composed bilingually from the start, with the writer(s) choosing words and constructions in each language to harmonize well with the other. Indeed one can see by looking at the syntax of the colloquia how this process worked: in each language there is a systematic avoidance of features that would cause trouble in the other language.[136] So the Greek generally avoids participles of the verb 'be', articular infinitives and other infinitives without a Latin equivalent (such as πρίν + infinitive), phrases whose meaning depends on the article,

---

[135] See sections 2.4.1, 3.2.3, 4.2, and 4.3 below and vol. II, 1.2.2, 2.3, and 3.3.7.

[136] Features that are different in the two languages but do not cause trouble are not avoided: thus for example a Latin ablative absolute can be equated to a Greek genitive absolute without difficulty, even in the restrictive format of the colloquia, and the same is true of verbs that take an object in the dative in one language but in the accusative in the other.

and aorist active and present passive participles, which were common stumbling blocks for translation into Latin (cf. Adams 2003a: 729–30). Similarly the Latin generally avoids gerunds, gerundives, ablatives absolute where the participle is the verb 'be' understood (the *me consule* construction), constructions with *quin*, etc. Verbs that are normally impersonal in one language but not in the other are also avoided. Most of these omissions cannot be explained by the post-classical date or conversational register of the colloquia: they must be deliberate strategies brought about by bilingual composition in the restrictive format of ancient parallel texts, and they indicate an attempt to make both languages fit together from the beginning.

1.3.3 DATE OF COMPOSITION

The content of the colloquia, both schoolbook and phrasebook portions, dates them clearly to the imperial period. There are no references to objects or cultural features positively datable to earlier than the first century AD or later than the third, and a significant number of points are incompatible with a Republican or medieval date: government by emperors and the absence of Christianity are only the most obvious.[137] More precise chronological markers, however, are rare. In the phrasebooks the best content-based indications of date are a reference to the Tigilline baths (Mp 14a), which dates the composition of that scene to after the middle of the first century AD),[138] a price one-thirtieth of the price for the same object on the *Edict of Diocletian*, which dates that passage probably to the first half of the second century AD amd certainly to no later than the middle of the third century (Mp 13b–c), mention of emperors in the plural (H 9b–d), which dates that portion of text to after AD 160,[139] and

the pagan rather than Christian orientation (e.g. H 13a, 23g, 26a), which suggests a date before the fourth century. The schoolbooks are harder to place in time as well as space, but they too are pagan rather than Christian (C 14a).

The language presents a much more complicated picture. First, a few linguistic features are datable to before or after the imperial period. The early features are clearly literary archaisms, as we have seen (1.3.2 above); they are too distinctive and too rare to warrant the suggestion that the colloquia were originally composed in classical Greek and Plautine Latin. The post-antique linguistic features are also rare and seem to have arisen in the course of transmission of individual colloquia.[140] They provide useful information about the colloquia's transmission history, including the interesting fact that people with a knowledge of contemporary (Byzantine) spoken Greek were sometimes involved in that transmission, but because they are rare and tend to be limited to small sections of individual colloquia, they tell us very little about the origins of the vast majority of the text.

Second, and more importantly, the linguistic evidence allows us to make more precise divisions within the imperial period, and in particular to detect chronological differences between different portions of the colloquia. In general the schoolbooks appear to be earlier than the phrasebooks, and the phrasebooks themselves are often composites made up of different scenes composed at different periods. Most of the schoolbooks contain few elements datable to later than the second century AD and none later than the third,[141] but nearly all the phrasebooks have elements from the fourth century or later. The latest elements are usually found in the final sections of the phrasebooks, suggesting that new sections were often added at the end. For example, the colloquium Leidense–Stephani seems to have four linguistically distinct phases: sections 1–9 (second or third century), section 10 (fourth century or later), section 11a–f (sixth century or later), section 11g–p (ninth century or later).[142]

Sometimes the organization of a colloquium preserves clear signs of such additions and other internal divisions. The colloquium Harleianum has a number

---

[137] For the education system of the early medieval period, which differs in some important respects from that described in the schoolbooks, see Riché (1976: esp. 458–77).

[138] See Korhonen (1996: 118).

[139] There were joint emperors in 161–9, 177–80, 198–211, 238, 251–60, and most years from 283 onwards. Korhonen (1996: 117) suggests that the use of the title *dominus* for the emperors dates this reference to the third century or later, but in fact that title was used much earlier, as indicated by the sources Korhonen cites. He also suggests that the name Aurelius in H 19a could not be earlier than the third century; while it is certainly true that the name Aurelius became very widespread after AD 212 (when Roman citizenship was extended across the empire by an emperor with this gentilicium and all the new citizens therefore took the name Aurelius), the name was by no means unknown before that date.

[140] See sections 2.4.1, 3.2.2, and 3.2.3 below and vol. II, 1.2.2 and 3.3.8–9.

[141] See sections 2.4.1, 3.2.3, and 4.4 below and vol. II, 1.2.2, 2.3, and 3.3.9.

[142] See below, sections 3.2.3 below; for a similar situation in C see vol. II, 3.3.9.

of phrases indicating its original organization: after the schoolbook, at the start of the phrasebook section, we find 'Again, I shall say assorted useful phrases. These, however, are the greeting portion of conversations, questions, insults, and many other things' (11a–b). Towards the end of the colloquium, but not actually at its end, stands 'I have written fortunately about daily speech' (25e); this is evidently intended to signal the end of the work, and therefore the vignettes that follow this statement are probably later additions. The colloquium Celtis, which is a conflation of two originally distinct colloquia, has two scenes where the servants are instructed to prepare the house for the night and go to bed (65, 69), and these must once have stood at the end of their respective colloquia, but in the version we have a substantial epilogue follows the second of these bedtime scenes, beginning with what appears to be a scene heading: 'About wakefulness at night and business in the forum' (70a). Linguistically, this epilogue is later than (most of) the rest of the text (cf. vol. II, 3.3.9). The phrasebook of the colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia seems to be made up of a number of distinct scenes composed in somewhat different styles, though these cannot be assigned to different dates (see 2.4.1 below).

The relatively early language of the schoolbooks has some important implications for the dating of the Hermeneumata as a whole. Since the different Hermeneumata versions have significantly different school scenes, these scenes must have undergone considerable evolution after the separation of the different versions. But that evolution, at least as it affected the schoolbooks, must have been largely complete by the end of the second century and entirely completed in the third, since these sections of the colloquia almost never contain linguistic features datable to later than the third century. The different versions of the Hermeneumata must therefore have begun to split apart no later than the early second century. It is notable that such a dating would suggest the formation of the Hermeneumata in the first century AD, a date that is likely on other grounds (cf. Kramer 2001a: 30).

It is clear, as we have seen, that the schoolbook was attached to the glossaries before the different Hermeneumata versions began to divide; the origin of the phrasebook is much less clear. The Monacensia–Einsidlensia version seems to have had the schoolbook from an early period and to have acquired a phrasebook only after the end of antiquity; the Stephani

version has a schoolbook but never acquired a phrasebook at all (or at least not until it acquired the LS colloquium in addition to the one it originally had). And the phrasebooks, though they share enough material to suggest that they have a common ancestor, are far less closely related than the schoolbooks (see list of parallels in figure 1.2 above, keeping in mind that in most versions the phrasebooks are much longer than the schoolbooks); one of them, the Leidense–Stephani phrasebook, has no parallels with the others at all. If the phrasebook was attached to the Hermeneumata at the same time as the schoolbook, these differences are hard to understand. It is more likely that the original colloquium consisted only of the schoolbook, and that phrasebooks – usually descendants of a common ancestor, but having had a more fluid transmission than the schoolbook – were added separately at a later stage.

1.3.4 CONCLUSIONS

When combined, these findings produce the following tentative history of the colloquia. A bilingual schoolbook with a connected story line describing the day of a boy was created in the West for Roman children, and in the first or early second century AD this work was adapted by one or more Greek speakers, who attached it to a set of bilingual glossaries that had also been adapted from the West (perhaps independently, since the preface to the glossaries, written before the colloquia were attached to them, seems to come from the East – see 1.2.8 above). The resulting work was very successful, being not only copied and used but also adapted and expanded by a variety of teachers, with the result that it soon split into a number of distinct versions.

Meanwhile a phrasebook(s), consisting of largely disconnected phrases useful for getting around in Latin, was created somewhere in the Greek-speaking world; the phrases were sometimes grouped so as to form little scenes, as in surviving papyrus phrasebooks, but there was no continuous story line. For this reason the text was fluid, like that of a glossary, and material was easily added, subtracted, and altered. Because the phrasebook material was in many ways similar to the schoolbook material, phrasebooks were often added to the colloquia in the Hermeneumata; this process, which probably began relatively soon after the different Hermeneumata versions had begun to

Date	Place	Activity
I AD or earlier	West	Original version of schoolbook created
I–II AD	East	Schoolbook attached to Hermeneumata preface and glossaries
II AD?	East	Phrasebook(s) created
II–III AD	East	Hermeneumata versions divide; schoolbook evolves in various versions; phrasebooks evolve
III AD onwards	East	Phrasebooks attached to schoolbooks (except in ME and S versions)
III–IV AD	East and West	Further additions and alterations to phrasebooks; schoolbook remains largely fixed
V AD onwards	largely West	Occasional further additions and alterations to phrasebook
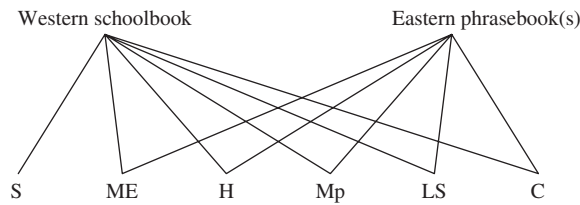
Figure 1.6 Development of the colloquia

split, probably led to the phrasebook being reworked to have more of a connected story line like the schoolbooks. The evolution of the phrasebooks was essentially complete by the fourth century, to judge from the linguistic evidence, but material continued to be added sporadically, especially at their ends, for several more centuries; two even show evidence of interventions in the ninth century.

Communication between East and West remained strong throughout much of the imperial period, and copies of several different versions of the Hermeneumata, containing the colloquia as they had evolved in the East, made their way back to Western libraries before the end of antiquity. Our manuscripts are ultimately descended from those copies, with the possible exception of the colloquium Stephani, which might be a descendant of a version of the original schoolbook that stayed in the West. These findings are summarized in the table and stemma in figure 1.6.

1.4 HOW THE COLLOQUIA WERE USED

We do not know for sure how the colloquia were actually used in antiquity, and probably their role fluctuated over time and from place to place. The phrasebooks, when they were separate from the rest of the Hermeneumata, may have been used for reference like modern phrasebooks, or they may have been collections of material that a learner memorized before needing it. Once they were joined with the schoolbooks, however, the phrasebooks and schoolbooks must have been used together.

It is sometimes suggested (e.g. Tagliaferro 2003: 68–70) that we can tell how the colloquia were used from looking at the activities described in their school scenes. These scenes mention a wide variety of types of exercise that could be relevant, including reading aloud, writing, memorization and recitation, translation, paraphrase, dictation, reading at sight, and preparing a text in order to be able to answer grammatical and comprehension questions on it. On two occasions they specifically mention ἑρμηνεύματα/interpretamenta: in ME 2j the narrator child says 'I learn the Hermeneumata thoroughly, I produced them', and in C 34 we find 'The smaller children practise Hermeneumata and syllables, the inflection of the verb, the whole grammar-book, conversation in front of the teacher's assistant . . .' Unfortunately ἑρμηνεύματα/interpretamenta is a cover term referring to a wide range of bilingual materials, not only to the colloquia, so we cannot be certain that either of these passages refers specifically to the

colloquia.[143] (The fact that a text referred to in this fashion was memorized does not prove that it was not a glossary, for there is good evidence that classified word lists were memorized in ancient schools; cf. Debut 1983).

Nevertheless, one can suggest on the basis of these passages that the schoolbook sections of the colloquia could have been used by young children to 'practise'; if these were bilingual children first learning to read, such students could have employed the text as an easy reader, trying to sound out words that would be familiar once they were audible and practising reading a text aloud. Older children, like the narrator in the first passage, might have memorized the colloquia for recitation, either individually or in pairs as a dialogue. Such memorization makes more sense if the children were not fully bilingual and used the colloquia to improve their conversation skills in a foreign language; they might have memorized only one column, the one in the language they were learning, and used the other as a way to make sure they understood what they were saying. Alternatively they could have been given one column on its own and asked to translate it.

During their time in the East, of course, the colloquia were probably not used in schools at all, for foreign languages were not taught at that level in Greek-speaking areas (cf. 1.1.2 above). Since the schoolbooks seem to have evolved for some time in the East, we cannot be sure that the description of classroom practice found in the schoolbooks is in every respect concerned with actual schools; descriptions of the higher-level classes in which they were employed there might have mingled with the original descriptions of schoolrooms.

Gwara (2002: 113–17) has produced an interesting study of the morphological and syntactic knowledge

required by different sections of the colloquium Leidense–Stephani and colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia. He concludes that the colloquium Leidense–Stephani 'almost certainly represent[s] elementary language instruction' in Latin, because of its restriction of morphology to simple forms (the Latin nominal morphology, for example, avoids the third declension and cases other than nominative and accusative) and its division into sections with increasing syntactic complexity as the reader progresses. In Gwara's view the colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia is 'a manual of intermediate Latin learning', with more complex morphology and syntax than the colloquium Leidense–Stephani. From these works 'we can actually observe how a medieval student learning Latin would have been introduced to the subject'.

If Gwara's methodology could be proven to give reliable results, it would be able to tell us a great deal about the use of the colloquia – but more research would be needed to find out whether the method can be relied upon. My own count of the same sections of the colloquium Leidense–Stephani as Gwara used (1a–8e) found in Latin fourteen nouns of the first declension, fifteen of the second, twelve of the third, two of the fourth, and one (the first word of the colloquium) of the fifth declension. The presence of nouns of the fourth and fifth declensions (including in forms that would be difficult for any learner, such as the accusative plural of the fourth declension) is difficult to reconcile with Gwara's theory that nominal morphology has been deliberately restricted to the first two declensions; moreover the number of third-declension nouns is only two fewer than the number of first-declension nouns. An additional complication is provided by the issue that, as we have seen, the schoolbook scenes of the colloquia were probably originally written to teach Greek rather than Latin; perhaps it should be the Greek rather than the Latin that has the elementary morphology, at least in those places where parallel passages suggest a common original for the colloquia. Examining the Greek nouns in the sample used by Gwara I found ten of the first declension, seventeen of the second, sixteen of the third, and one of the Attic second declension.

Jahn argues that at least some portions of the Hermeneumata were originally illustrated.[144] There

---

[143] Etymologically both the Greek and the Latin mean 'interpretation' (cf. *OLD* and LSJ *s.vv.*), but in the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana the terms are used to refer to the collection as a whole or a part of it, especially a glossary (see Goetz 1892: 7.62, 7.72 (= Flammini 2004: lines 355, 365), 81.1, 81.11, 119.26 = 223.17 (= ME 1e), 120.24 = 224.25 (= ME 10; here the term seems to refer to colloquia, but in order to have that meaning it has to be qualified with 'of daily speech'), 166.11, 283.1 (= Mp title), 283.16? (= Mp 1c), 289.24, 421.37?; cf. Tagliaferro 2003: 54). The elder Seneca mentions the term in an educational context, but it is unclear exactly what he means by it: *dixit Haterius quibusdam querentibus pusillas mercedes eum accepisse cum duas res doceret: numquam magnas mercedes accepisse eos qui hermeneumata docerent* (Sen. *Con.* 9.3.14; the context is a discussion of people who declaimed in both Latin and Greek, so the *duas res* mentioned here must be Latin and Greek language or Latin and Greek declamation).

[144] Jahn (1873: 86–7, 89–90, 97); there are references to pictures in the prefaces to two of the Leidensia version texts (Goetz 1892: 39.55, 56.47 = Flammini 2004: lines 1982, 2006, 2592, 2617), but cf. von Rothenburg (2009: 21, 25–8).

is, however, no evidence for illustrations in the colloquia themselves.

However the colloquia were actually employed, they must have been considered highly satisfactory, for they remained in use for many centuries and were repeatedly revived as language-learning tools in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. They also have many descendants, that is, later works based on, inspired by, or in the tradition of the Hermeneumata colloquia; some of these are monolingual works in Latin and others are bilingual, including either Greek or a vernacular language such as Anglo-Saxon as well as Latin. Such works are first attested in Anglo-Saxon England (especially *De aliquibus raris fabulis*, which could be as early as the fifth century, and the tenth- and eleventh-century colloquies of Aelfric of Winchester and of Aelfric Bata) and continued through the Renaissance (including works by Erasmus and Reuchlin) and into modern times.[145]

1.5 THE NATURE OF THIS EDITION

Editions of classical texts normally try to reproduce the original version of those texts, but in the case of the colloquia it is not practical to try to reconstruct the original ancestor of the different versions we have today: too little remains of that original, and the vast majority of what we have postdates it. I have therefore produced six separate texts, each with translation and commentary, and noted in the commentaries how the different versions relate to one another. These texts are all editions, i.e. different manuscripts are considered and their errors corrected in order to end up with a text as close as possible to the one in the archetype of all those manuscripts.

As such they mark a departure from the transcripts of individual manuscripts or manuscript groups presented by Goetz (1892). Goetz provided transcripts not because he did not appreciate the value of an edition, but because he recognized that the archetype of each version had contained linguistic errors, and felt that in an edition he could neither correct these nor leave

them standing.[146] This problem is a real one, but now that non-standard versions of both Latin and Greek have become more acceptable as objects of study in their own right, it is less of an obstacle than it was 120 years ago. I have simply allowed non-standard syntax and morphology to remain in the editions when there is reason to believe they were present in the archetype. At the same time, I have standardized spelling in both languages (the original spellings are given in the apparatus) and added diacritics to the Greek (as well as word divisions, capitalization, and punctuation where necessary), on the grounds that the main goal of this edition is to make the colloquia accessible, and an edition retaining the original spellings and lacking diacritics in the Greek would be extremely difficult to read.

In recognition of the obstacles to comprehension posed by a transcript, Goetz also provided an appendix with restored versions of four of the colloquia (1892: 637–59; cf. xxxiv–xxxvi). The texts in this appendix have been for over a century virtually the only resource for readers needing a comprehensible version of the colloquia, but because Goetz provided no apparatus and gave little indication of the basis of the restorations, there has been considerable uncertainty about what the texts in the appendix actually are. In fact they are editions produced by earlier scholars (or, in one case, by Goetz himself in another publication); Goetz removed the apparatus from each and made a few textual changes, but basically each of these versions was taken almost without change from a previously published edition.[147] As the editions in this appendix are often significantly different from the manuscript sources, and no indication of the grounds for those differences is provided, they are dangerous to use.

There are currently two ways of referring to passages in the colloquia: by page and line number of Goetz's transcript, or by paragraph number of his

---

[145] On these later works see especially Stevenson (1929), Gwara and Porter (1997), Lapidge (2010), Garmonsway (1959, 1978), Gwara (1996, 2002, 2004), Orme (2006: esp. 44–6), Lendinara (1999: esp. 207–87), Wyss (1970), Halkin *et al.* (1972), Gutmann (1968), A. Bömer (1897–9), and Streckenbach (1970, 1972, 1975).

[146] Goetz 1892: xxiii (in the context of discussion of the Hermeneumata Einsidlensia): *Potui librorum scripturam repraesentare emendatione adhibita nulla; potui emendatam formam cum apparatu proponere. Hoc quominus facerem eo impeditus sum, quod saepissime non modo ipsius anonymi scriptura corrigenda fuisset, sed etiam ipsorum fontium. Quid enim facerem eis mendis quae ex* Pseudocyrillo *vel ex fonte principali recepta sunt? Talia corrigere ars me vetuit. At non magis potui a me impetrare, ut omnes errores velut menda per pronuntiationem procreata, accentus male positos vel omissos, alia levidensia in hoc novicio opusculo propagarem. Qua difficultate permotus mediam quandam viam ingressus sum . . .*

[147] Cf. Goetz (1892: xxxiv–xxxvi); also sections 2.1.3 and 3.1.3 below and vol. II, 1.1.4 and 2.2.

appendix. As the latter is more widespread, I have retained Goetz's paragraph numbers in this edition, subdividing them with letters to allow for more precise reference. It was not possible to maintain both those numbers and the other reference system, but a concordance is provided to enable references using the page and line system to be converted.

The colloquia have never been translated into any modern language (apart from isolated versions of particular passages, e.g. Cribiore 2001: 15; Joyal, McDougall, and Yardley 2009: 169–70), in part because in many places they are easy enough for anyone with a year or so of Latin to understand, and in part because in other places they are completely incomprehensible. I offer a translation in the belief that it will make a significant difference to the accessibility of these texts: a century ago anyone who was interested in their contents might possibly have been able to read them in the original (though I doubt that anyone ever found certain portions of these texts readable), but now there are many whose access to this material is severely reduced by the lack of a translation, and those scholars should have the opportunity to use the colloquia.

The translation is as far as possible a literal one; I have not aimed for elegance. In part this decision was based on the belief that readers of this work will prefer to know exactly what the colloquia actually say than to be given something more attractive that has less of a relationship to the original. But in part I chose a literal translation in order to allow modern readers to experience first-hand the way the ancient narrow-column layout functions. So in producing the translation I have tried to adhere to the rules of the ancient format and offer line-for-line equivalents; of course since English has a fixed word order that sometimes does not match the order of the original, it has not always been possible to achieve perfect line-by-line equivalence, but I have done so whenever possible.

Since the Renaissance, readers have found the ancient narrow-column format uncomfortable; we are trained from early childhood to read across longer lines and find it awkward to go down a narrow column. However, after working extensively with this layout I have come to believe that it is actually a very good one for bilingual texts, preferable to our own system of interlinear translation and far superior to the more common facing-page translation, at least for readers who actually want to use the two languages

together. With facing-page translations it can be very difficult to find the bit of one language that corresponds to a given word in the other language, and even with interlinear translations uncertainty arises whenever word-for-word equivalents are impossible. But with a narrow-column layout it is possible to make it clear when, for example, a single word in one language is translated by two or more in the other language. It is my hope that modern readers, in the course of using my translation to understand the originals, will share some of the experience of ancient users and come to appreciate the merits of this format. This in turn should make it possible for readers to use the line breaks in the original text to understand better why the ancient writers said what they did.

Sometimes the Latin and the Greek may not, or definitely do not, mean exactly the same thing as each other. Whenever there is room for doubt as to whether the two languages match – for example when the Latin contains a word that could have the same meaning as the Greek word but could also have a different one – I have operated on the assumption that they do match, interpreting each in the light of the other, and produced a translation that can apply to both. This assumption may not always be correct, unfortunately, and therefore my translation is no substitute for careful attention to the original. When the two languages certainly do not match I have taken the reading that I find more plausible as the main reading and put the other after it in brackets, with an indication of which language provided which reading.

Each colloquium has been provided with a separate introduction and commentary, for each has a substantially different transmission history from the others. These introductions discuss the manuscript sources for the colloquia, previous editions, and the history and transmission of each colloquium after the initial division of the Hermeneumata. The commentaries provide the specific details necessary to support assertions made here and in the introductions to individual colloquia; despite their considerable bulk they include only a small percentage of the remarks that could usefully be made about each colloquium. A great deal has been written on these texts, particularly with respect to their language, and most of that material is not repeated here, as to do otherwise would have resulted in a work that was far too big to publish. No doubt most readers will find plenty of puzzling points

that they wish I had clarified, and to them I can only apologize for the space restrictions and encourage them to pursue their own studies of this material.

This work is in two volumes. The present volume contains editions of three of the six colloquia: the Monacensia–Einsidlensia (ME), Leidense–Stephani (LS), and Stephani (S). Volume II (forthcoming) contains the other three (Harleianum (H), Montepessulanum (Mp), and Celtis (C)), as well as the most relevant papyrus fragments.

Part Two

Colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia

INTRODUCTION TO THE COLLOQUIA MONACENSIA–EINSIDLENSIA

This piece is often viewed as two separate entities because the two main branches of its manuscript tradition differ from one another significantly. Unable to reconcile the two successfully, in the main body of his work Goetz (1892) printed them as two separate texts, Monacensia and Einsidlensia, each with its own apparatus. In the appendix containing restored versions of the various colloquia, however, Goetz provided only one version of this piece. Although entitled 'Colloquia Monacensia', that version is in fact a combination of the two, based on an edition by Karl Krumbacher (1891) that drew heavily on sources from the Einsidlensia family. Goetz's failure to explain the nature of this restored version or provide an apparatus for it has often confused readers into thinking that readings drawn from the Einsidlensia version were either attested in the Monacensia manuscripts or invented by Goetz.

The Monacensia or M version is the older and more important branch of the tradition, attested from the twelfth century onwards. The Einsidlensia or E version is attested only from the fifteenth century; the later date makes it in many ways less useful for restoring the original text, but nevertheless it cannot be dispensed with. The M version has its Greek entirely in a transliterated and then corrupted version (apart from one very late manuscript in which a highly corrupt version of that transliteration has been transliterated back into Greek script), and the untransliterated Greek of E is essential for making sense of the M version.

2.1 SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

The M version is represented by seven manuscripts, four of which are incomplete, and the E version by ten manuscripts (only six of which are useful) and an early edition. The relationship between the major manuscripts is indicated in figure 2.1.

2.1.1 MANUSCRIPTS OF THE M VERSION

2.1.1.1 *Z/R/Y branch*

This branch of the M tradition contains the best manuscripts, Z and R; unfortunately these are both incomplete, but as one is missing the beginning and the other the end, between them they cover the entire text. There is also a third manuscript in this branch, Y; this copy contains the whole text but is of very poor quality and therefore rarely useful.

Z: codex Zwettlensis 1 in the library of Zwettl monastery in Austria (see plate 1), written between 1173 and 1180 (Rössl 1974: 97, cf. 1981: 229 and Ziegler 1992: 1) and containing the second colloquium on folios 10v–12r. Z, which was unknown to Goetz and Krumbacher, is the best manuscript of those portions of the text that
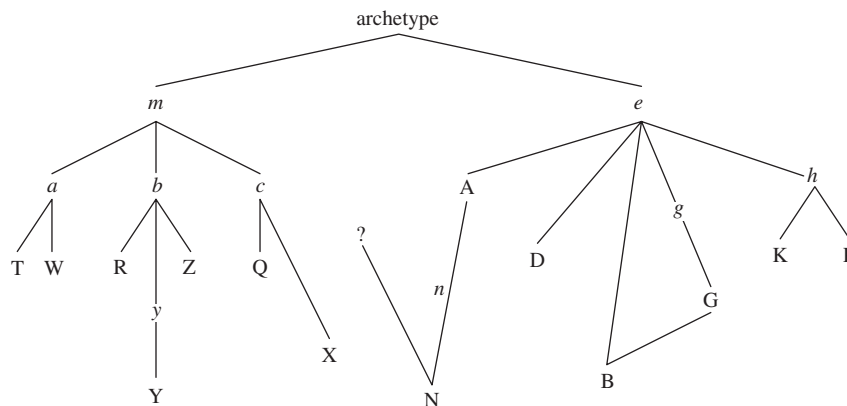
Figure 2.1 ME colloquium stemma

it includes, but it lacks the first colloquium. The text is enclosed in a decorated frame, which caused some trouble with the longer lines; the scribe clearly did not consider it an option to change the line divisions, which match those of T and R and must therefore have been inherited from the M archetype. When the ends of lines do not fit the frame, continuations are to be found near by and are always clearly marked; in general the text is clearly and carefully written. The first letter of each line is capitalized in both Greek and Latin. The manuscript begins (folio 1r) partway through the letter A in the alphabetical glossary (with *anechete/sustinet*, Goetz 1892: 126.35); if it originally contained all the material in R with the same line breaks, there are 480 lines missing at the beginning, and since Z's layout has 240 lines per page (four pairs of columns, each sixty lines long), most likely the manuscript is missing its original first leaf, which would have contained a one-line title (*Logos/Liber*, the title found in all other M manuscripts except T), the first colloquium, and the beginning of the glossary. I have examined the manuscript both in the original and via photographs and report all its readings in the apparatus.

R: codex Sancrucensis 17 in the Austrian monastery of Heiligenkreuz (see plate 2), written in the twelfth century (Gsell 1891: 132) and containing the colloquia on folios 1r–1v and 21r–22v; at the bottom of 22v the text breaks off shortly before the end of the second colloquium, at line 11k7. This manuscript is almost as good as Z; it was unknown to Krumbacher and ignored by Goetz because a description by Arthur Goldmann led him to the erroneous belief that it was closely related to W.[1] The text is unostentatiously presented, though clearly and carefully written; double red lines separate the columns, but the longer lines of the text are simply written across these, enabling almost every line to be accommodated where it belongs. The line divisions match those in T and Z, and the first letter of each line is capitalized in both Greek and Latin. I have examined the manuscript both in the original and via photographs and report all its readings in the apparatus.

There are a number of shared errors in Z and R that are peculiar to this branch of the tradition (see

below under Y for a list), so they must be copies not of the M archetype but of an intermediary. Neither can be a copy of the other, as each has some unique errors. In Z these unique errors are very few but include *charas* for χεῖρας at 3d3, *anylth* for ἀνῆλθεν at 9a3, *aperui* for *apparatum* at 9d3, *gavium* for *Gaium* at 9g3, *synecraston* for *synceraston* at 11b2, and *oxubasyon* for *oxubafion* at 11g2. Unique errors in R include omissions at 5c3, 9c4, and 9d2, a displacement at 6j2, *sfargyson* for σφράγισον at 5d3, and *syon-* for συν- at 4c3.

The history of the Zwettl manuscripts and their relationship to those of Zwettl's mother house Heiligenkreuz has been investigated by Rössl, who assigns Z to a group of texts copied very early in the history of the scriptorium in Zwettl, *c.* 40 years after its foundation (1974: 97). Rössl argues that the early products of the Zwettl scriptorium were copied from manuscripts of the ninth to eleventh centuries that had originated in France; these would have come from Morimond in Burgundy (the mother house of Heiligenkreuz) with the original founders of Heiligenkreuz as their core library. At Heiligenkreuz new copies were made, and the originals were therefore available to be taken to Zwettl by the monks who founded that abbey in 1138 (1974: 49–51, 96–8). If Rössl's theory is correct, R should be datable fairly precisely to between 1133 (the date of the foundation of Heiligenkreuz) and 1138. It is, however, difficult to imagine that the monks of Heiligenkreuz sat down to copy long Greek dictionaries at a stage when they had only just started to construct the monastery buildings, so perhaps more latitude in dating should be allowed. In any case the exemplar, like most of the books brought from Morimond, has been lost – though it must have survived long enough for at least one other copy to be made, the ancestor of Y.

Y: codex Graecus Monacensis 323 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, written in the sixteenth century and containing the colloquia on folios 202r–204v and 208r–214r (Krumbacher Md). This manuscript is the only member of this branch to contain the complete text of the colloquia, and it seems to be an independent witness to the ancestor of this branch of the tradition, since it lacks the unique errors of R and Z. Nevertheless it is of little use, because it is highly corrupt. The Greek is in Greek script, but it is clearly a retransliteration of the transliterated Greek found in the other M manuscripts (see below and cf. Krumbacher 1883: 67–8). Y was known to both Krumbacher and Goetz but not used by them;

---

[1] Goetz (1892: xix). The feature that led to this impression must have been the title *Logos/Liber*; this is found in all the M manuscripts except T (and Z, which is missing the beginning, but as indicated above the number of missing lines suggests that Z originally had the title as well) and must go back to the M archetype, so it is not relevant for determining affiliation.

Plate 1 Z (Zwettl Abbey, Austria: codex 1), folio 11r. Printed by kind permission of Zisterzienserstift Zwettl.

Plate 2 R (Heiligenkreuz Abbey, Austria: codex 17), folio 1r. Printed by kind permission of Heiligenkreuz Abbey.
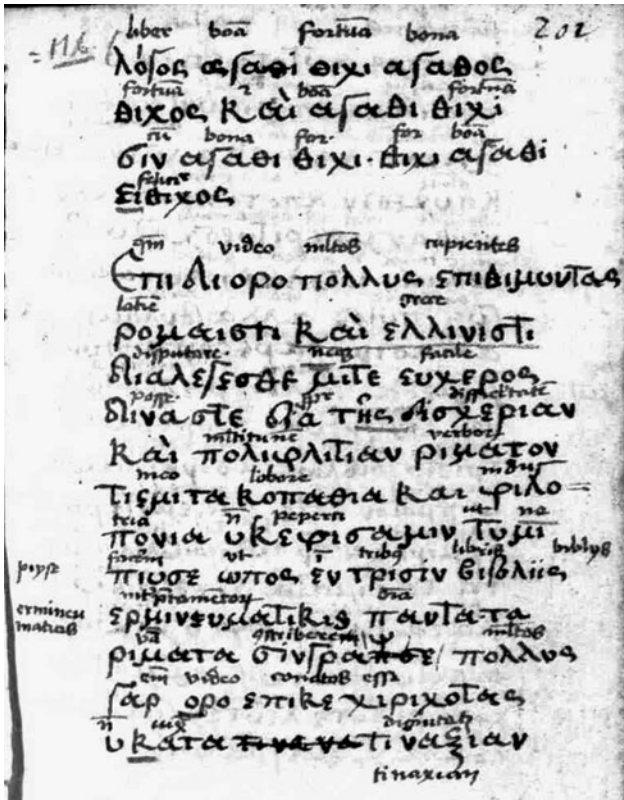
Plate 3 Y (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: codex graecus 323), folio 202r. Printed by kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Goetz justified this decision from the manuscript's poor quality (1892: xx) and Krumbacher, although he expressed excitement about the manuscript in 1892 (1892: 67–8), ignored it without explanation in his 1891 edition. I have examined the manuscript both in person and via photographs and, owing to the very high number of unique errors, report its readings only when they are of particular interest. For an illustration see plate 3; photographs of the whole manuscript are available online at http://daten.dig-itale-sammlungen.de/0005/bsb00050040/images/.

The manuscript is clumsily written, in the hand of someone more practised in writing Latin than Greek (not only is the Greek especially clumsily written, but *ps* is frequently written πσ rather than ψ), and the text has been rearranged from the two-column format of the other M manuscripts, so that it runs in long lines across the page. On some pages high points are regularly found at the places where line divisions occur in Z, R, and T, suggesting that the text was copied from an exemplar with those line divisions. The Greek is treated as the main text, with

the Latin written in smaller letters as glosses over the Greek or omitted altogether; abbreviations are very frequent in the Latin but almost entirely absent from the Greek. Accents, breathings, and capitalization are largely absent; there is some punctuation, but only in the Greek. In the second half of the text (from 6g onwards) two alternatives are sometimes given for a Greek word, separated by *at* or *alibi*; in those cases both are often corrupt, and neither shows consistently more affinities than the other with any other manu-scripts. It looks as though the scribe may have had access to two exemplars when making his copy, but that both belonged to the same family.

Spellings demonstrating that the Greek has been retransliterated from a text that had undergone cor-ruptions in Latin script include διινεκιαν for R *diinecian* (δι' ἣν αἰτίαν) at 1i1, δινις for *dinis* for *clinis* (κλίνης) at 2a5, δεκιοκα for *decioca* (δέδωκα) at 2j4, σισιν for *sisin* (φησιν) at 2k4, οκκαπτεδικυντ for *oteapte dicunt* (ὅτε ἀπεδίδων) at 2l3, λαλεθιλεγις ανακλικομε for *lalethi-legis anaclicome* from *ialithilegis anadidome* (εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγεις ἀναδίδωμι) at 2l9–10, επαναγινοσκοντρα for *epanaginos contra* (ἐπαναγινώσκοντα) at 2u7, τιφιγιας for *tifigias* (τῆς ὑγιείας) at 6f4, and κλινιθυμεν for *clynithumen* (δυνηθῶμεν) at 8c3. On the first page some of the original transliterated forms appear in the margins, as if the writer was unsure how to repre-sent them and wanted to record the original reading for reference. Sometimes a small Roman *c* is written above a Greek kappa, apparently to distinguish kappas written *c* in the exemplar from ones written *k*, and at the beginning of the text a small Roman *y* is sometimes written above a Greek upsilon in the same way (presumably distinguishing upsilons written *y* in the exemplar from those written *u*, which ought really to have been retranscribed with ου). Later in the text a diaeresis is used over upsilon to indicate *y* in the exemplar.

Errors unique to Y are omnipresent; they include omissions at 1n1, 5d1, 10n5, and 10o2, displacements at 5d6, 6j3, 10k1, and 11l1, τακοπαθια for *cacopathia* (κακοπαθεία) in 1d1, κενιμ for *cenin* (κενήν) in 1h1, υτολινο for *utolmo* (οὐ τολμῶ) in 1i2, φελτιον for *veltion* (βέλτιον) in 1j4, αχομε for *archome* (ἄρχομαι) in 1n2, δισευχερεσχερον for *diiseucheresteron* (δι' ἧς εὐχερέστερον) in 1p1, εκκανισα for *ettenisa* (ἐκτένισα) in 2c6, κροφο for *trofo* (τροφῷ) in 2e4, and εκτισα for *etisa* (ἤτησα) in 3d1.

Examples of alternatives given in the Greek include οδεηχετο *at* οδεηρερετο for ὧδε ἤρχετο at

902, δυγεσομε συ *al* διργεσομε for διηγήσομαί σοι at
10d3, and τιχλας *al* κιθλας for κίχλας at 11h7.

Common errors indicating the relationship of Z, R,
and Y include displacements at 9f7 and 10d1, *miozosin/*
μοζοσιν for μείζοσιν at 3b8, *patan/*πατα for πάντας at
3f5, *sin/*σιν for σοι at 4c3, *allatpu/*αλλατπυ for ἀλλὰ
ποῦ at 4e1, *utrite/*υτριτε for οἱ κριταί at 4g3, *poto/*ποτο
for τόπῳ at 4i3, *domiticon/*δομιτικον for τιμητικόν
at 4k6, *selthin/*σελεθνι for εἰσελθεῖν at 6e3, *graticulam*
for *craticulam* at 9f5, *pastillum* for *pistillum* at 9f8, *bale-
somen/*βαλεσαμεν for παλαίσωμεν at 10i3, *protoncon/*
προτονκον for πρῶτον οἶκον at 10k3, *de* for *da* at 10l1,
*therimon/*τεριμον for θερμόν at 11d2, *ydrogarx/idrogarx*
for *hydrogaron* at 11f1, *unguellas* for *ungellas* at 11g3, and
*epibapto/*επιβαπτο for ἐπίβαπτε at 11h2.

2.1.1.2 T/W branch

This branch contains the most famous manuscripts,
from which the Monacensia version takes its name:
Monacensis 13002 (T) and 22201 (W). These were the
first manuscripts of the M version to be discovered
and the only ones that have until now been used in
editions of it. As it turns out, they are closely related
to one another and both represent one branch of the
M tradition, while the other M manuscripts all rep-
resent other branches. T and W are thus now less
important than they once were, but they continue to
have two significant advantages: they are early and
they are complete.

T: Clm (= codex Latinus Monacensis) 13002 in the
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, written in
1158 and containing the colloquia on folios 209r and
217r–218r (Krumbacher Ma, Pintaudi 'cod. Monac.').
This was considered the primary manuscript for the
past century, since Krumbacher characterized it as
a faithful if unintelligent copy of the M archetype
(1892: 29); now that the readings of other manuscripts
are available, however, one can see that T diverges
from the M archetype more than Krumbacher real-
ized. Krumbacher (1891: 312–51) and Goetz (1892:
119–22, 210–20) both give transcriptions of T's text
of the colloquia in full. I have examined the manu-
script both in person and via photographs and report
all its readings in the apparatus; in almost all cases
these are the same as the T readings reported by
Krumbacher and Goetz. For an illustration see plate
4; photographs of the whole manuscript are avail-
able online at http://mdz1.bib-bvb.de/~db/0003/
bsb00036887/images/.

The text is clearly and carefully written, with few
abbreviations or ligatures. The words are fitted into
an elaborately decorated frame that was evidently
drawn first; sometimes this caused difficulty with the
longer lines, but because there is generous spacing
between the lines overruns could be fitted in directly
above the lines they continued. Line divisions are
almost always the same as in R and Z and were evi-
dently inherited from the archetype. The first letter
of each line is capitalized in both Greek and Latin;
the Greek capitals, but not the Latin ones, are drawn
in red. Sometimes short lines are doubled up, so that
both Latin and Greek appear in the left-hand column
and then both halves of another line in the right-hand
column; when this occurs the use of capitalization
and red ink generally follows the sense rather than the
layout and thus indicates that the scribe knew what he
was doing (cf. below on this phenomenon in W).

There is a significant number of errors unique
to T, which demonstrate that none of the other M
manuscripts is a copy of it; for example the omission
of the title, of γλώσσας at 205, and of *eum* at 6b6,
eicechiricotas for *epicechiricotas* (ἐπικεχειρηκότας) at 1f2,
veltionem for *veltion* (βέλτιον) at 1j4, *ipercome* for *apercome*
(ἀπέρχομαι) at 2g1, *isolthon* for *isilthon* (εἰσῆλθον) at
2g2, *gechinin* for *techinin* (τέχνην) at 206, *geniomato* for
genionomato (γένη ὀνομάτων) at 2r2.

W: Clm (= codex Latinus Monacensis) 22201 in
the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, written
in 1165 and containing the colloquia on folios 223r–
223v and 234r–235v (Krumbacher Mb, Goetz *a*). This
manuscript has a close affinity to T and was prob-
ably copied from the same exemplar, but by a scribe
both sloppier and more prone to emendation than the
scribe of T (Goetz 1892: xviii; Krumbacher 1883: 29).
Krumbacher (1891: 312–51) and Goetz (1892: 119–22,
210–20) both report the readings of W in the appara-
tus to their transcriptions of T, omitting some minor
spelling differences. I have examined the manuscript
both in person and via photographs and report in the
apparatus all its readings, including those omitted by
previous editors. For an illustration see plate 5; photo-
graphs of the entire manuscript are available online at
http://mdz1.bib-bvb.de/~db/0003/bsb00036880/
images/.

W is on the whole clearly written, but with less care
than T and with more abbreviation. Line divisions are
usually, but not always, the same as in T and R. The
initial letters of each line are capitalized in Greek but
not in Latin and picked out with a vertical red line in

Plate 4 T (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: clm 13002), folio 209r. Printed by kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

both languages, though the distribution of the red can be somewhat erratic. As there is no firm frame for the text, and less space is left between the columns than in T or R, the scribes had difficulty with the longer lines and the Latin and the Greek sometimes run into one another. Sometimes a long line is simply written across both columns, and sometimes a long line is split into two normal-sized lines; when this occurs the new line break may not come at the same point in both languages, and the new line beginning is not capitalized or marked in red like the old one. Another common solution to long lines is that overruns are carried over into an earlier line that happened to have extra space at the end; although signs are used to mark these continuations they can be difficult to find, and it is likely that a similar system in the M archetype or one of its ancestors is responsible for the occasional loss of the ends of words apparent in the tradition. Particularly short lines are sometimes doubled up, so that both the Greek and the Latin appear in the left column and then both halves of the next line appear in the next column; this practice is found occasionally in other M manuscripts and in a few places probably goes back to the archetype, but it is noticeably more common in W than elsewhere. The use of capitals and red ink generally follows the actual sense of the line division, rather than the words' location on the page, and thus guides the reader to understanding the sense despite the unpredicable layout. Some (but not all) of the places where the use of capitals and red ink departs from the sense are ones in which dislocations occur in other manuscripts as well and thus were probably present in the M archetype (e.g. 9d1–2).

The text of W was corrected by several hands. One occasionally inserted Greek rough breathings after consonants originally written without aspiration; these added aspirations are usually correct (unlike those written by the first hand), but not always.[2] Another corrected W by reference to either T or a close relative of T; these corrections are rather mechanical and sometimes introduce rather than correct errors (see Krumbacher 1883: 30).

There are a large number of errors unique to W, for example material omitted at 4d3 and 4l2–4m1, *kimathon* for *rimat(h)on* (ῥημάτων) at 1c5, *ermineumaticus*

for *ermineumaticis* (ἑρμηνευματικοῖς) at 1e3, *pueris parvulis* for *parvulis pueris* at 1o1, *sermones* for *sermonis* at 1o7, *dusehucheresteron* for *diiseucheresteron* (δι' ἧς εὐχερέστερον) at 1p1, *singraspa* for *singrapsa* (συν(έ)γραψα) at 1q5, *eslabon* for *elabon* (ἔλαβον) at 2a7, *encymitrant* for *encimitran* (ἐγκοιμήτραν) at 2c1, *reddisti* for *reddidisti* at 2l7, *iilithilegis* for *ialithilegis* (εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγεις) at 2l9, and *colin* for *scolin* (σχολήν) at 2u4.

There are also a number of passages where W has a correct reading that is not in the other M manuscripts; these occur more often in the Latin than in the Greek and are likely to be due to emendation in W. For example: *todidascalo* for *totidascalo* (τῷ διδασκάλῳ) at 2i8, *reddidi* for *reddi* at 2j7, *quanti* for *quantum* at 8b2, *ludamus* for *laudaumus* at 1oh2, *luctari* for *luctare* at 1oj3, and *sitio* for *sicio* at 11b4.

Errors common to T and W but absent from the other M manuscripts demonstrate that the two have a common ancestor later than the archetype of the M branch of the tradition. These include: *aro* for *oro* (ὁρῶ) in 1f1; *urata* for *ucata* (οὐ κατά) in 1f3, *cupiditates* for *cupiditatis* in 1g2, *prodt(h)on* for *proelthon* (προῆλθον) in 2e1, *cen* for *en* (ἐν) in 2s5, *anagceasin* for *anagceaisin* (ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν) in 3b9, *foro* for *foron* (φόρον) in 4i4, *elilytham/elylythani* for *elylithamen* (ἐληλύθαμεν) in 6f5, *eme* for *emere* in 8c5, *mustus* for *mustum* in 9e3, *filiolam* for *phialam* in 11n4.

2.1.1.3 Q/X branch

The manuscripts in this branch are missing most of the text of the colloquia and therefore have limited value for reconstructing the original readings. They are however interesting in that they clearly represent another line of direct descent from the M archetype, without the characteristic errors of either of the first two branches.

Q: codex Admontensis 3 in the Austrian monastery of Admont (plate 6), written in the twelfth century and containing small portions of the colloquia on pages 518 (beginning to 1j1 in Greek, to 1j3 in Latin) and 563–4 (3a–4h2). Q was unknown to Goetz and Krumbacher; its readings are generally good where they exist. The text is arranged in a decorated frame of considerable artistic value in its own right (cf. Buberl 1911: 69–74); at the beginning the frame separates each pair of columns, leaving the Latin and Greek together, but in the second colloquium, which was produced by a different scribe

---

[2] Correct at 1b5 *dialegest'e* (διαλέγεσθαι), 1d1 *cacopat'ia* (κακοπαθεία), 2q3 *apetrit'in* (ἀπεκρίθην), 3e1 *apet'ica* (ἀπέθηκα), 3e3 *proilt'on* (προῆλθον), 3e5 *aspasast'e* (ἀσπάσασθαι), etc.; incorrect at 2t2 *art'on* (ἄρτον) and 11d3 *zest'on* (ζεστόν).

Plate 5 W (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: clm 22201), folio 223r.
Printed by kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Plate 6 Q (Admont Abbey, Austria: codex 3), page 563. Printed by kind permission of Admont Abbey.

Plate 7 X (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: clm 27317), folio 1r. Printed by kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

and a different illuminator (the changeover occurs in the glossaries), the frame divides the two languages. Lines too long to be accommodated within the frame are usually split so that the second part goes on the line below. In the second colloquium, where the first letter of each line is capitalized in both languages, such continuations are clearly marked by indentation and lack of capitalization. In the first colloquium, where capitalization is less regular (especially in the Latin), continuations are not indented and thus not always recognizable as continuations. Spacing is generous and the writing is clear and legible, with few abbreviations.

The two gaps in the text of Q arose in different ways. The missing material after 4h2 was never part of this manuscript (probably it was already missing in the exemplar from which Q was copied), for the text breaks off in the middle of a page and other material fills the second half of that page. The gap in the first colloquium, however, was caused by the cutting out of two pages[3] after the manuscript had been bound: the stubs of the lost pages are clearly visible, as is damage to the preceding and following pages caused by the cutting. The damage evidently predates the eighteenth- or nineteenth-century page numbers, which have no gap. The lost pages contained not only the rest of the first colloquium, but also the start of the alphabetical glossary, which is missing up through *agrypni* (Goetz 1892: 126.55).

I have examined the manuscript both in person and via photographs and report all its readings in the apparatus.

X: Clm (= codex Latinus Monacensis) 27317 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, written in the late fifteenth century and containing the colloquia on folios 1r–1v and 20v–21r (Krumbacher Mc). This manuscript too is incomplete, containing the colloquia only up to 4h2. It is potentially important, in that it is the only witness to this branch of the M tradition from 1j2 to the end of the first colloquium, but in practice its value is minimal as it is full of errors of its own. The text is written without a frame

in a cramped format that often, particularly towards the end, leads one language to encroach on the other and to general scrambling of the words; some of the scrambling looks as though it was present in the exemplar from which X was copied. This manuscript was known to both Krumbacher and Goetz, but neither used it in his edition; Goetz justified this omission on the grounds of the manuscript's errors and general sloppiness (1892: xviii–xix) while Krumbacher, who in 1883 gave the impression that he intended to use X in his edition, simply makes no mention of it in the edition itself (1891). I have examined the manuscript both in person and via photographs and report its readings only where they are of interest. For an illustration see plate 7; complete photographs are available online at http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00040809/images/.

The common ancestry of Q and X is demonstrated most obviously by their shared incompleteness, as both break off at 4h2; in both manuscripts the end of the text comes in the middle of a page, so their archetype must already have been missing the majority of the second colloquium. They also share a lengthy misalignment of the Latin text versus the Greek, which develops gradually as a result of two Latin words occasionally being copied onto the same line when their Greek equivalents were on two lines, so that the Latin is sometimes as much as three lines ahead of the Greek. The problem begins at 1b2 and continues to 1l4 in X; in Q its end falls within the lacuna that starts at 1j2. There are a few common errors in the Greek as well, including *chras* for *chiras* (χεῖρας) at 3d3, *aspasalthe* for *aspasast(h)e* (ἀσπάσασθαι) in 3e5, and *cecin* for *cetin* (καὶ τήν) at 3e7.

Given these features it is tempting to assume that X is a copy (or more distant descendant) of Q, but this appears not to be the case, as Q has a number of unique errors not found in X, including *dianeste* for *dinast(h)e* (δύνασθαι) at 1c2, *pysie* for *pyise* (ποιῆσαι) at 1d4, *cahtos* for *c(h)athos* (καθώς) at 1f4, *pilnthon* for *proilthon* (προῆλθον) in 3e3, *ucei* for *uceti* (for *uceci*, i.e. οὐκ ἐκεῖ) at 4d5, and *imiran* for *imeran* (ἡμέραν) in 4g4.

X has many unique errors; these include omissions at 1h2, 1m3, 1p2–3, and 4a5, misalignment of the Greek and the Latin from 1n1 to 1q6, from 2b1 to 2d3, and from 2i2 to 2j1, *gathi* for *agathi* at 1a1, *udefisamin* for *ucefisamin* at 1d3, etc.

---

[3] Q regularly contains two columns per page side in each language, with sixty-two lines per column; the missing two pages would therefore have contained 498 lines. The material that would have been on those pages covers 452 lines in Goetz's edition (1892: 120.1–126.55), which is based on the line divisions of T. There could therefore have been up to forty-six lines divided in two, though some space may have been taken up with a decorated initial signalling the start of the alphabetical glossary.

2.1.2 MANUSCRIPTS OF THE E VERSION

The Einsidlensia or E version is represented by more manuscripts than the M version, and they are all complete (as regards the colloquia). None is earlier than the fifteenth century, however, and all show signs of scribal emendation, making this branch of the tradition in general less reliable than the M branch. The E family is characterized by having the two colloquia joined together, rather than separated as in the M version, and by a large number of common omissions; there are also many passages in which the shared wording of the E version differs from that of the M version, and in some of those the E version appears to be older (see section 2.3 below). Individual innovations are also common in some of the manuscripts.

The family takes its name from D, found at the monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, but it was known long before the first publication of this manuscript by Goetz (1892); all the early editions of the ME version of the Hermeneumata were based on manuscripts of this family until Krumbacher (1891). In more recent times attention has turned from D to A, which has been claimed to be the archetype of the entire E family (see 2.1.2.1 below). Because of the tendency to emendation visible in all the manuscripts of this family, a reading found in only one E manuscript is rarely of value. In the apparatus I have therefore recorded readings from manuscripts of this family less exhaustively than readings of the M manuscripts; normally I have used the symbol E to indicate the agreement of all or most of the manuscripts in this family, and only when there is a noteworthy division within the E tradition have I given the readings of the individual manuscripts.

2.1.2.1 A/N branch

A: codex Florentinus Ashburnhamensis 1439 in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (plate 8), written probably between 1456 and 1462[4] by Marsilio Ficino[5] and containing the colloquia on folios 1v–17r (Pintaudi A, Sicherl A). This manuscript was known

to Goetz but not available to him (1892: xx–xxi); it has since been published in full by Pintaudi (1977) and has become the subject of considerable debate, with Pintaudi and Sicherl (1892) both arguing that it is the archetype of the entire E family. For reasons that will be explained in 2.1.2.5 below I do not think that A is the E archetype, but it is certainly the oldest and arguably the best of the E manuscripts, so it deserves special consideration nevertheless.

The text of the colloquia is arranged in medium-length lines, longer than those of the M version but not stretching all the way across the page; the line divisions (generally) match those of N, K, and P. The Greek and Latin are on facing pages, and each page contains thirty lines of text. The margins are generous (perhaps in order to leave room for marginal notes, though there are very few of these). Both Greek and Latin are carefully written in an elegant yet clear hand; the Latin hand is securely identifiable as Ficino's and the Greek, though in a more archaic type of script than Ficino employed in his later productions, is generally agreed to be in his hand as well, with its unusual features caused by imitating the script of a somewhat earlier exemplar.[6] The Greek is equipped with a full set of diacritics, usually correct. The text of A is on the whole good, with fewer errors than most E manuscripts. Nevertheless it contains, in addition to the innovations and omissions common to the entire E family, a small number of individual errors not found in the other manuscripts; for a list and discussion of these see 2.1.2.5 below.

The Latin of folio 12r (sections 9a4–9n2) is repeated on folio 13r, but the Greek is not repeated, so that 12v is blank apart from a note in Ficino's handwriting (Gentile *et al.* 1984: 24) saying *nihil deest* 'nothing is missing'. This odd feature must have arisen from copying the Latin first and then adding the Greek (a practice not infrequently followed in the Renaissance, e.g. in Celtes' copy of the C colloquium); Ficino must have come back to his work after a pause and inadvertently copied a page of Latin for the second time, but then when copying the Greek he noticed the problem and added Greek only to the first of the duplicate pages of Latin.

This slip allows us to observe the consistency of Ficino's copying. Folios 12r and 13r resemble each

---

4 Gentile *et al.* (1984: 24), Sicherl (1892: 186); cf. Kristeller (1956: 52, 200). The copying is generally agreed to have been part of the process by which Ficino learned Greek and should therefore have been completed before he published his first translation of Plato in 1462; cf. Gentile (1990).

5 Folio 50r: *Marsilius Ficinus scribebat Florentiae.*

6 Gentile *et al.* (1984: 24), Sicherl (1892: 186). Gentile (personal communication) is of the opinion that the exemplar imitated belonged to the earlier part of the fifteenth century.

other very closely (cf. Gentile *et al.* 1984: 24): the line divisions (including word divisions at the ends of lines) are identical and the punctutation, which makes little sense and appears randomly sprinkled, is almost identical on the two pages and must therefore have been deliberately copied.[7] Moreover, most of the abbreviations are the same. On both pages Ficino wrote out the word *et* four times and used an ampersand for it seven times, in exactly the same places on each page. Ten other abbreviations are the same on both pages, but eight appear only on the first page and four only on the second; the abbreviations that occur only once are nearly all very simple (nine of them are just an omitted nasal indicated by a horizontal line), while the less transparent abbreviations ($p^1m\bar{u}$ for *primum*, $v\bar{o}$ for *vero*, $om\bar{s}$ for *omnes*, and *neq:* for *neque*) are identical on both pages and were probably copied from the exemplar. The Greek word χύτραν, which exceptionally appears in the Latin text on this page, is identically written both times, with precisely the same ligatures. One can see from this consistency that Ficino followed his model closely, departing from it only in the matter of some fairly transparent abbreviations.

The overall layout of the manuscript also gives the impression of careful fidelity to an exemplar. The Greek and Latin on each line always match exactly; if words are divided at the end of lines (as often occurs), the Greek and the Latin divide in equivalent places. With such readiness to divide words it would have been possible to achieve columns of regular width, but Ficino has not done so. The width of the Latin column is extremely variable, and even the width of the Greek column, which seems ultimately to have been the regulating factor behind the word divisions, fluctuates much more than necessary. On folio 9v, to take an example at random, the shortest line (συγχαίρομεν·) is less than half the length of the longest line (ἀναβάτε· πόσας κλίμακας?), and although it would have been both natural in terms of syntax and easy in terms of spacing to put the object of συγχαίρομεν on the same line as its verb, αὐτῷ is nevertheless on the next line. (The Latin layout here is equally uneven, with *gratulamur* on an unusually short line by itself and *ei* on the next line.) A few lines above, the words δαφνῶ|να and *laure|tum* are divided

between lines even though the last few letters would easily have fitted on the same line as the rest of the words. In a few places Ficino has crossed out the end of a word and rewritten it at the start of the next line: thus in 2i5 he originally wrote *exemplar* on one line and then changed it to *exem|plar*, and in 4n3 (at the very end of a page) he changed ἐμαρτυρο- to ἐμαρτυ- (the next page has ροποίησας). The clear implication of this practice is that Ficino was following the layout of an exemplar very closely.

In some places Ficino seems to have reproduced signs and abbreviations that he did not understand. In section 2l3 he wrote επεδίδο, with a zigzag line (somewhat like a xi, but smaller) underneath the final letter to indicate an abbreviation. That abbreviation appears nowhere else in A (neither in the colloquia nor in the glossaries), and modern scholars have been consistently unable to decipher it (cf. Sicherl 1892: 187): it is not Ficino's own abbreviation, but one he copied from his source. In fact, comparison with D suggests that Ficino copied many ligatures, abbreviations, and even some corrections – including crossed-out accents – exactly as he found them (see 2.1.2.2 and 2.1.2.5 below).

Pintaudi (1977: ix–xxix) believed that Ficino was the person who adapted the E version of the Hermeneumata and that A was the original autograph manuscript on which he composed that version. This hypothesis is untenable, however, as regards A, which is clearly an exact or nearly exact copy of another manuscript, not the free adaptation that would be entailed by its being the original text of the adapted version (cf. Dionisotti 1979: 342). In theory A could be the adapter's own fair copy of his work, but the fact that the Greek script differs from Ficino's usual hand because of his imitation of an exemplar indicates that the exemplar was not written by Ficino. Moreover, at the time he copied A Ficino had only been studying Greek for a short time and would not have been capable of the fairly sophisticated work done by the adapter (Dionisotti 1979: 342). Nevertheless it is likely for other reasons (see section 2.3.2 below) that the adapter was an Italian working not much earlier than Ficino himself. Probably Ficino saw the E version of the Hermeneumata as a newly discovered and exciting tool for learning Greek, a task on which he had recently embarked, and made an exact copy of his exemplar because he had not yet attained a level of knowledge that would allow him to decode all the abbreviations and ligatures with confidence.

---

[7] There is only one question mark, in the same place on both pages, though there are lots of unmarked questions; forty-five dots are in the same places on both pages, one appears only on 12r, and two appear only on 13r.
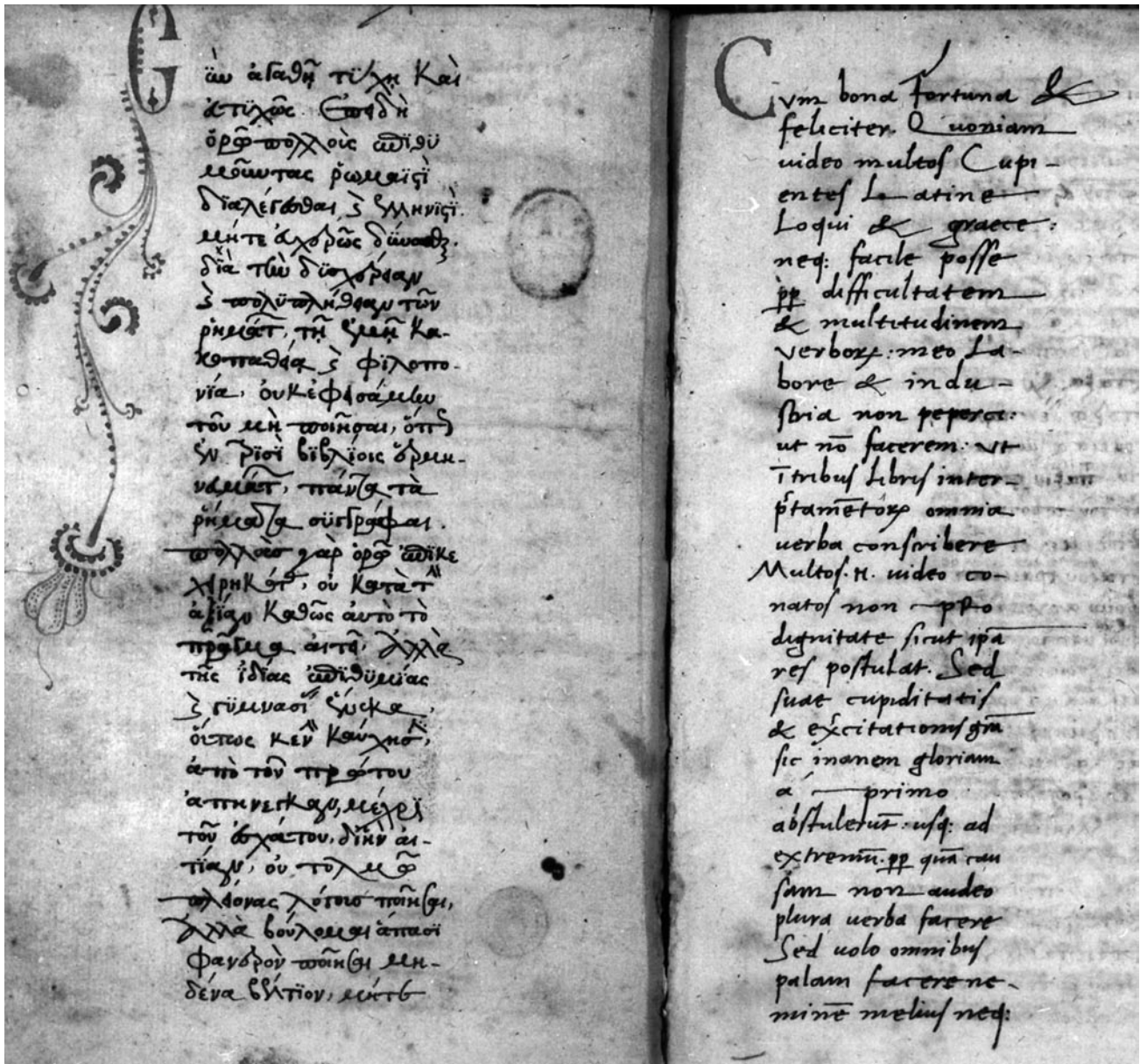
Plate 8 A (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence: codex Ashburnhamensis 1439), folios 1v–2r. Printed by kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

I have examined A both in the original and via photographs.

N: codex Neapolitanus Graecus II D 35 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (plate 9), probably written between 1572 and 1581 by Petrus Ciacconius (Pedro Chacon)[8] and containing the colloquia on folios 37r–43v (Sicherl N). This manuscript was known

to but ignored by Goetz, who considered it to have no value (1892: xix). It is the only known example of contamination between the M and E families, containing portions of both Hermeneumata versions (cf. the detailed discussion by Schoenemann 1886: 11–43). The E version is represented by the colloquia and by the first five and a half chapters of the capitula, which follow immediately after the colloquia in the same quire (folios 44r–50v, containing material in Goetz 1892: 235.8–239.40) and were no doubt taken from the same source. The M version is represented by

---

[8] So Sicherl (1892: 201) and Pernot (1979: 481), but Formentin (1995: 39) dates it to 1498–1508, perhaps owing to a misunderstanding of Pintaudi (1977: xxvii–xxviii; cf. Formentin 1995: 41).

the majority of the capitula (folios 171r–233r, containing material in Goetz 1892: 166.10–202.62), with the Greek in Greek script rather than the transliteration used in M. The manuscript also contains several alphabetical glossaries, and one of these (on folios 51r–81v) bears a striking resemblance to the M version alphabetical glossary, to which it must somehow be related. Given the contamination evident in the sources for N, this glossary might derive from either the M or the E version; as the E version of the alphabetical glossary has been lost there is no way of knowing for sure.[9]

Goetz believed (1892: xix) that the Greek in the M-version material in N had been retransliterated from a version with the Greek in Latin script and corrected by a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century scholar. Certainly the text has been corrected – this is inevitable in a manuscript of such late date – but I can find no evidence of transliteration and retransliteration in the Greek itself, and as Goetz offers no indication of the basis of his claim, one is inclined to suspect that it is based simply on the fact that the extant M manuscripts contain transliterated Greek. But the text that appears in N cannot be identified with any of the three groups of extant M manuscripts – it differs significantly from them all, not to mention the complication that the extant M manuscripts are only found north of the Alps and Ciacconius was a Spaniard living in Rome. I do not think one can exclude the possibility that the source of the M material in N was a manuscript descended from a different branch of the M Hermeneumata, one in which the Greek was never transliterated in the first place. A full study of the glossaries would be necessary to establish the history of this material; until such a study has been undertaken it does not seem prudent to dismiss the evidence of N out of hand.

As regards the colloquia, the layout of the text in N is similar to that in A; Ciacconius used the same medium-width columns and (generally) the same line divisions as Ficino, but there are two columns per page rather than one, so that the Greek and Latin appear next to each other rather than on facing pages. The number of lines per page is variable and increases as the text advances, from an average of *c.* 25 lines per page at the beginning of the colloquium to *c.* 35 at its end. The initial capitals at the start of some sections are missing in both languages, presumably because the scribe intended to add them later in red and never did so.[10] The text is written in an ornate but clear script and contains a complete set of Greek diacritics, usually correct.

N has a particularly close relationship to A, for in a number of passages A and N share readings not found in any other manuscript (see section 2.1.2.5 for these). Moreover, in a number of places both A and N have not only the same original text but also the same correction or variant reading: ἔχοις with variant reading ἔχης at 4j2, ἔδωσα with variant ἔδωκα at 6a6, προελήλύθη with variant προελήλύθει at 6g5, and ἐξέλθοι with variant ἐξέλθη at 12c4. In many respects N looks like a copy of A, as Sicherl (1892: 201–2) suggested it was: A has very few errors not shared with N, and the ones that do exist could mostly have been corrected by emendation (see section 2.1.2.5). On the other hand, the lack of all but the first few sections of the E version capitula, in the context of a volume whose copyist went on to include four more glossaries including the M version capitula, is difficult to understand if N is a direct copy of A: the natural explanation for this situation is that Ciacconius used an incomplete exemplar.

More evidence that N is not a copy of A occurs at 9f1–7, where a list of implements had evidently lost one line of Latin in the E archetype and therefore contained seven items in Greek but only six in Latin. Some of the E manuscripts (G, K, P) simply copy the Latin with only six items, while others solve the problem by adding one of the Greek words into the Latin column: thus A and D make up the correct total in Latin by adding χύτραν in line 3, while B and N reach the same total by adding *lebetem* in line 4. Either of these solutions is easy for a scribe to come up with independently (as illustrated by Boucherie, who applied the second solution in his edition of P without being aware that it occurred elsewhere), but it would be peculiar for a scribe to take a text that contained one of these solutions and alter it to produce

---

9 In favour of assignment to the E version is the fact that this glossary is found with the other E-version material: it begins on the last page of the quire that contains the colloquium and the beginning of the capitula, and a large amount of non-Hermeneumata material intervenes between it and the M capitula at the end of the volume. In favour of assignment to the M version is the fact that the source of the E version material in N seems to be manuscript A, which does not contain an alphabetical glossary.

10 This occurs in the colloquia at 1a1, 1o1, 2a1, and 3d1; it also occurs in the alphabetical glossaries elsewhere in the volume, which regularly omit the first letter of each new section, but not in either version of the capitula.

✠ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

(Greek)	(Latin)
ὃν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, καὶ	um bona fortuna et
ἀτυχῶς. Ἐπειδὴ	felicitor. Quoniam
ὁρῶ πολλοὺς ἐπιθυ-	video multos, cupi-
μοῦντας ῥωμαϊστὶ	entes Latine
διαλέγεσθαι ἑλληνιστὶ,	loqui et grece,
μήτε ἀπόρως δύνασθ,	neq; facile posse
διὰ τὴν διαχόρδαν	pp difficultatem
καὶ πολυπλήθειαν τῶ	& multitudinem
ῥημάτων, τῇ ἐμῇ κα-	verborp, meo la-
κοπαθείᾳ ὁ φιλοπο-	bore, et indu-
νίᾳ, οὐκ ἐφεισάμην	stria, no peperci
τοῦ μὴ ποῆσαι, ὅπως	vt no facerez, vt
ἐν τρισὶ βιβλίοις ἑρμη-	i trib; libers inter-
νεύμασι, πάντα τὰ	pretationm omia
ῥήματα οὗ γράψαι.	verba conscribere.
πολλοὺς γὰρ ὁρῶ ἐπι-	Multos.x. video co-
χειδρηκότας, ὁ κατὰ	natos non pro
τὴν ἀξίαν, καθῶς αὐτὸ	dignitate, sicut ipa
τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ	res postulat, sed
τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας	pp prie cupiditatis
ὁ γυμνασίας ἕνεκα,	& ostatois gratia
οὔτ᾽ ἐκείνην καὐχνοῖν,	sic mane gloriam
ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου	a primo
ἀπήνεγκαν μεχρι	abstulerut uf3ad
τοῦ ὀχάτου. δι᾽ ἣν αἰ-	extremuz. pp qua cau-
τίαν οὐ τολμῶ,	fam non audeo

Plate 9 N (Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples: codex graecus II D 35), folio 37r. Printed by kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

75

the other one, as would have to be the case if N were a copy of A.

N might be a copy of the exemplar from which A was copied, if that exemplar had subsequently lost most of the capitula, but as we shall see (2.1.2.5 below) it is unlikely that this exemplar had the same readings when Ciacconius was working as in Ficino's day more than a century earlier. Moreover, the innovations shared by A and N are difficult to explain on that theory, as there is evidence that those innovations were not in the exemplar from which A was copied (see 2.1.2.5 below). Most likely N is a copy of a lost copy of A, one that was incomplete as regards the capitula but contained all the text of the colloquia; the scribe of this intermediate copy could easily have removed χύτραν from the Latin text on the grounds that it did not belong there, leaving Ciacconius to solve the problem in a different way.

There are a few places in which N is the only manuscript in the E family to contain a correct reading: ἀπεδίδουν for ἀπεδίδο at 2l3 (cf. Sicherl 1892: 187), ἐξέλαβον for ἐξέβαλον at 2n9 (cf. M ἐξέλαβον), *ut* for *ubi* at 2o2 (cf. M *ut*), *quare* for *ut quid* at 11q1 (cf. M *quare*). It is possible that all these readings are due to emendation, though ἀπεδίδουν in particular is better than most scholars working on this text have been able to do in the way of emendation. There is also another possibility: the capitula make clear that the scribe of N used not only a manuscript of the E family but also a manuscript of the M family, so these readings in the colloquia could also be derived from that manuscript. Owing to this possibility of contamination it is inadvisable to ignore the readings of N entirely, despite the likelihood that it is directly descended from A, and therefore I report its readings in the apparatus on the same basis as the other E manuscripts.

No other extant manuscript can be a copy of N, as apart from its late date and unique correct readings there are some striking innovations found only in this manuscript, including *propriae* for *suae* at 1g1, *illic* for *ibi* at 4j1, *sigilla* and *sigillavi* for *signa* and *signavi* at 5d3–4, *ipsum* for *cum/eum* at 5e3, *inquit* for *dixit* at 6f1, *ut* for *quasi* at 9l5, *circumda* for *cooperi* at 10g4, and *iace* for *mitte* at 10o4.

I have examined N both in the original and via photographs.

2.1.2.2 *D/G/B branch*

This group of manuscripts is not really a branch but the main body of E manuscripts, and the next two branches are really subgroups of it.

D: codex Einsidlensis 19 (577) in the monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland (plate 10), written in 1503 by Matthias Theodoricus (i.e. Dietrich) of Wolfach (folio 126v; cf. Sicherl 1892: 188) and containing the colloquia on folios 285r–294r[11] (Goetz 'cod. Einsidl. 1', Pintaudi E 1, Sicherl E). Goetz, who was the first to publish D, considered it to be the best manuscript of the E family and in consequence based his edition of the E version of the colloquia (1892: 223–35) on D (1892: xx, xxiii). D continues to have a special importance, since it is one of only two E manuscripts to contain the complete capitula, but it was never as good as Goetz's edition made it seem (cf. Dionisotti 1979: 342), and since the discovery of A it is no longer the most important member of the E family.

The arrangement of the text in D is unique and very different from that in Goetz's edition. The preface comes at the end of the colloquia, and the Latin follows the Greek rather than being adjacent to or interspersed with it. Thus the Greek of sections 2a–12d comes first (folios 285r–289v), then the Greek of sections 1a–q (folios 289v–290r), then the Latin of sections 1h–q (folio 290r), then the Latin of sections 2a–12d (folios 291r–293v), then the Latin of sections 1a–q (folio 294r). A significant percentage of the Latin is also repeated as interlinear glosses on the Greek pages. The colloquia are laid out in long lines; the ancient-style narrow columns printed by Goetz are purely his own creation. The text in the actual manuscript is also distinctly less good than the version printed by Goetz, who silently emended many of the errors. The Greek has some diacritics, but many are missing.

The arrangement of the text gives us an insight into Theodoricus' copying process and the nature of his exemplar. He felt that he was at the end of a text when he reached the end of the Greek of 12d, since he wrote τέλος σύν (*sic*) θεῷ 'the end, with God's help', signed the work with his initials and motto, and dated it (folio 289v). Then he copied the Greek of the preface and at the end wrote πάλίν (*sic*) τέλος 'the end again' (folio 290r); the 'again' indicates that

---

[11] Sicherl (1892: 189) states that the colloquia are on folios 285r–293v and the capitula on folios 156–245, but both page ranges are incorrect. He is correct, however, in his observations about the watermarks in both texts.

Theodoricus did not find the preface as a separate element in his exemplar but initially left it out and then went back and copied it later: he knew it was part of the same work. The preface covers the second half of one page and the first half of the next, and after πἀλίν τέλος on the second page Theodoricus squeezed in the Latin translation of the Greek on that page. Then beginning at the top of the following page he copied the Latin of everything but the preface, signing off at the end with τέλὸς (*sic*) 'end' and a short prayer in Greek (folio 293v). Finally he copied out the Latin of the preface, signing off at the end with πἀλίν τέλὸς (*sic*), his initials and motto, and the date (still the same day as the date at the end of the Greek).

The fact that the first Latin Theodoricus wrote was the translation of the Greek immediately preceding it suggests that he used an exemplar in which the Greek and Latin were next to each other; the separation of the two was his own innovation, probably brought about by not initially intending to copy the Latin at all. The double copying of sections 1h–q allows us some insight into Theodoricus' consistency, which is excellent in the actual words written (the only differences are that the second time he accidentally reversed two words, a problem that he corrected by writing '2' over the first and '1' over the second, and that in one place he wrote *literam* the first time and *litteram* the second time) but poor in line division (not at all consistent), abbreviations (there are thirty-two abbreviations in the first version, only five of which (and no others) are found in the second version), and punctuation (only two punctuation marks occur in both versions; the first contains one additional mark and the second four).[12] Lastly, the bizarre accentuation of the Greek in Theodoricus' own signing-off formulae tells us that Theodoricus had a very poor grasp of the rules of Greek accentuation. Although the accentuation of the colloquia in D is far from perfect, it is much better than that produced by Theodoricus when not copying from a model: the main problem with the accentuation of the colloquia in D is that many accents are missing, not a surplus of extra accents as in the signing-off formulae. It is therefore evident that Theodoricus copied the colloquia from an exemplar with accents.

The manuscript is a thick volume containing an eclectic selection of texts; many of the texts have subscriptions giving the dates on which they were copied, and these subscriptions reveal that the texts were copied onto loose quires that were later bound in non-chronological order. The colloquia were copied on 20 September 1503; the copy of the capitula was finished on 30 September of the same year (folio 245r) but appears much earlier in the volume, on folios 155(bis) r–245r. The intervening eighty or so pages contain a varied selection of material (for details see Meier 1899: 15), including fables from Aesop and grammatical treatises.

The two pages immediately following the colloquia, which are part of the same quire, are taken up with a set of prayers dated 24 September 1503. Both at the beginning and at the end of this prayer collection the writer tells us that it was copied from an exemplar owned by Reuchlin (folios 294v, 295r). Sicherl (1892: 189) argues on this basis that the colloquia and capitula must also have been copied from a text owned by Reuchlin; if the writer began on the capitula immediately after copying the prayers he would have taken six days to finish them, which seems a reasonable length of time for copying nearly a hundred pages of text. This argument seems plausible, particularly if one assumes that the capitula and the colloquia must have been copied from the same exemplar: if Matthias Theodoricus was using this exemplar both on 20 September and on the days leading up to 30 September, and if on 24 September he was using Reuchlin's books, it is likely that he was using Reuchlin's books for the whole period.

Pintaudi (1977) implies that all the E family manuscripts apart from A are descendants of D. As has previously been noted (Dionisotti 1979), this view is untenable. D's unique organization, with the preface coming at the end, could not have failed to leave some trace if other extant manuscripts had been copied from D. Moreover, A, N, K, and P all share an archaic layout (with Greek and Latin in parallel columns and matching line divisions) that D (with the long lines of a modern layout and complete separation of Greek and Latin) does not share; these line divisions must go back to a common ancestor from which each of these manuscripts is descended without going via D. Lastly there are a number of errors unique to D, including the omission of *accepi tunicam* at 2c2, διήγησιν for ἐξήγησιν at 2p2, τάυτα for πάντα at 1e4, συγχρόψω for συγχαίρω at 4c3, τόμους and

---

[12] The comparison may however be less meaningful than in the case of A, since the first bit of Latin seems to have been done carelessly before Theodoricus decided to start over and copy the Latin properly; no other passage of Latin in Theodoricus' copy of the colloquia has as many abbreviations or as few punctuation marks as this preliminary paragraph.

χομους for ψωμούς in 11i4, ἔκδυς for ἔκδυσον at 10g1, παλάιαν for παλαίειν at 10j3, τρῶπι for πρώτη at 2n6, ὑπομημνατα for ὑπομνήματα at 2o4, δευντερον for δεύτερον at 9d7, ζευστάς for ζεστάς in 11f3, μεδένα for μηδένα at 1j4, σκειη for σκεύη at 9f1, φίλοις for φίλους at 4h7, χριμάτων for χρημάτων at 4f4, εσχικα for ἔσχηκα at 5b4, χειρογραφισον for χειρογράφησον at 5c4, εκαθιτο for ἐκάθητο at 9h3, ἄρου for ἆρον at 9b1, ἐγενον for ἐγένου at 9h1, and *testatus est* for *testatus es* at 4n3. It is therefore clear that none of the extant manuscripts is a copy of D.

Pintaudi also claimed (1977: xiv–xxi) that D is a copy of A. There is more evidence in favour of this theory than Pintaudi's detractors admit; indeed it is striking how often a peculiarity of D can be explained by reference to A (see also Sicherl 1892: 188; Pintaudi 1977: xvii–xix). Thus at 10g1 where D has ἔκδυς instead of ἔκδυσον A has an abbreviation sign for the last two letters; at 4n3 where D has *testatus est* for *testatus es*, A has a question mark and horizontal line that could easily have been misread as *t*; at 2o4 where A has ὑπομνατα corrected to ὑπομνήματα by writing ήμ over the ν, D has a reading ὑπομημνατα that must be derived from inserting the extra letters in the wrong place; and D's bizarre reading ἐξελθοη in 12c4 seems to be a reflection of A's reading ἐξέλθοι, corrected to ἐξέλθη by writing an eta over the ending. In some places a verb ending that ought to be -εις is written -ςς in D, and in these places A has an abbreviation sign for the ending, which looks like a raised ςς (4b4 πρατςς, 5a6 ἐχςς, 10b3 κελευςς). A number of readings occur only in D and A: the title *Vocabula excerpta ex Iulio Polydeuca Greca et Latina*, συγγράφαι for συγγράψαι at 1e5 (here A has been corrected to συγγράψαι, but the original phi is clearly visible), ἦλθεν for ἦλθον at 6a3 (here comparison with the M manuscripts suggests that A and D may have the original reading), *salutate/salutare* for *salvete* at 6h3, ἀννῆλθεν for ἀνῆλθεν at 9a3 (here comparison with the M manuscripts tells us that A and D are closer to the original reading), μειζόνον for μειζόνων at 2m8, ἀσπάσαθαι for ἀσπάσασθαι at 3f4, δειπνήσαται for δειπνήσατε at 11j1 (here A's -ται has been corrected to -τε by a later hand), *ubi* for *quo* at 6b3 (here com-

parison with the M manuscripts tells us that A and D have the original reading), the insertion of Greek χύτραν into the Latin at 9f3 to replace the missing *caccabum*,[13] the splitting of ἑνική σαμεν in 4p2, an unusual symbol instead of ἐστίν at 6d4, and a doubly accented form οἴκοῦ in 3f3.

Particularly striking are a number of places where something has been written and then marked for deletion in the same way in both manuscripts: both have πạλήν for πλήν at 1k1 (the dot must be a deletion mark, but it has simply been copied along with the alpha), and both have θελέις with the accent crossed out and corrected to θέλεις at 5c7. At 9f1 A has σκευὴ with the final grave crossed out and corrected to σκεύη, and D has no accent on the word but an X above the final letter, as if Theodoricus had recognized the correct accent as an accent and therefore omitted it, but copied the crossing-out owing to uncertainty about what it was.[14] The abbreviations and ligatures in the two manuscripts are often the same. In A these fit with the overall style of the writing, but in D they differ from the way the same letters are written elsewhere; it looks as though Theodoricus copied ligatures and abbreviations as they stood in his exemplar when he could not decode them, and spelled them out in his own handwriting when he could.[15]

But some readings in D are very difficult to reconcile with the theory that it is a copy of A. In 11i4 D has τόμους and χομους where the rest of the E manuscripts have ψόμους or ψωμούς; τόμους is marked with dots above it, suggesting that χομους is supposed to replace it. The only possible explanation for this dual reading is that Theodoricus copied his text from an exemplar in which ψόμους was not easily legible or in which both readings were already present. But in A ψόμους is perfectly legible – the initial psi could not possibly be mistaken for either tau or chi – and no variant is present. Similarly there are a number of places in which D confuses nu and upsilon in the

---

[13] Sicherl (1892: 188 with n. 27) denies Pintaudi's claim (1977: xv) that this reading is found in D, on the grounds that this section of Latin does not appear in D except as interlinear glosses. But it definitely does appear, on folio 292v; Sicherl must have failed to find the relevant page (an easy mistake to make in dealing with D).

[14] There are other examples of this phenomenon in the glossary, for example in the first section the Greek for *fas* is corrected from θέμιτον to θεμιτόν in A (folio 20v), and in D has no accent but an X over the epsilon (folio 158r).

[15] There are a good many of these: for example in 1a–c all the elements underlined here have abbreviations or ligatures that look in D as though they were drawn in imitation of A: σὺν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ καὶ εὐτυχῶς. ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας Ῥωμαϊστὶ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ μήτε εὐχερῶς δύνασθαι διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν καὶ πολυπλήθειαν τῶν ῥημάτων, τῇ ἐμῇ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ οὐκ ἐφεισάμην τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι, ὅπως ἐν τρισὶν βιβλίοις ἑρμηνευματῶν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα συγγράψαι.
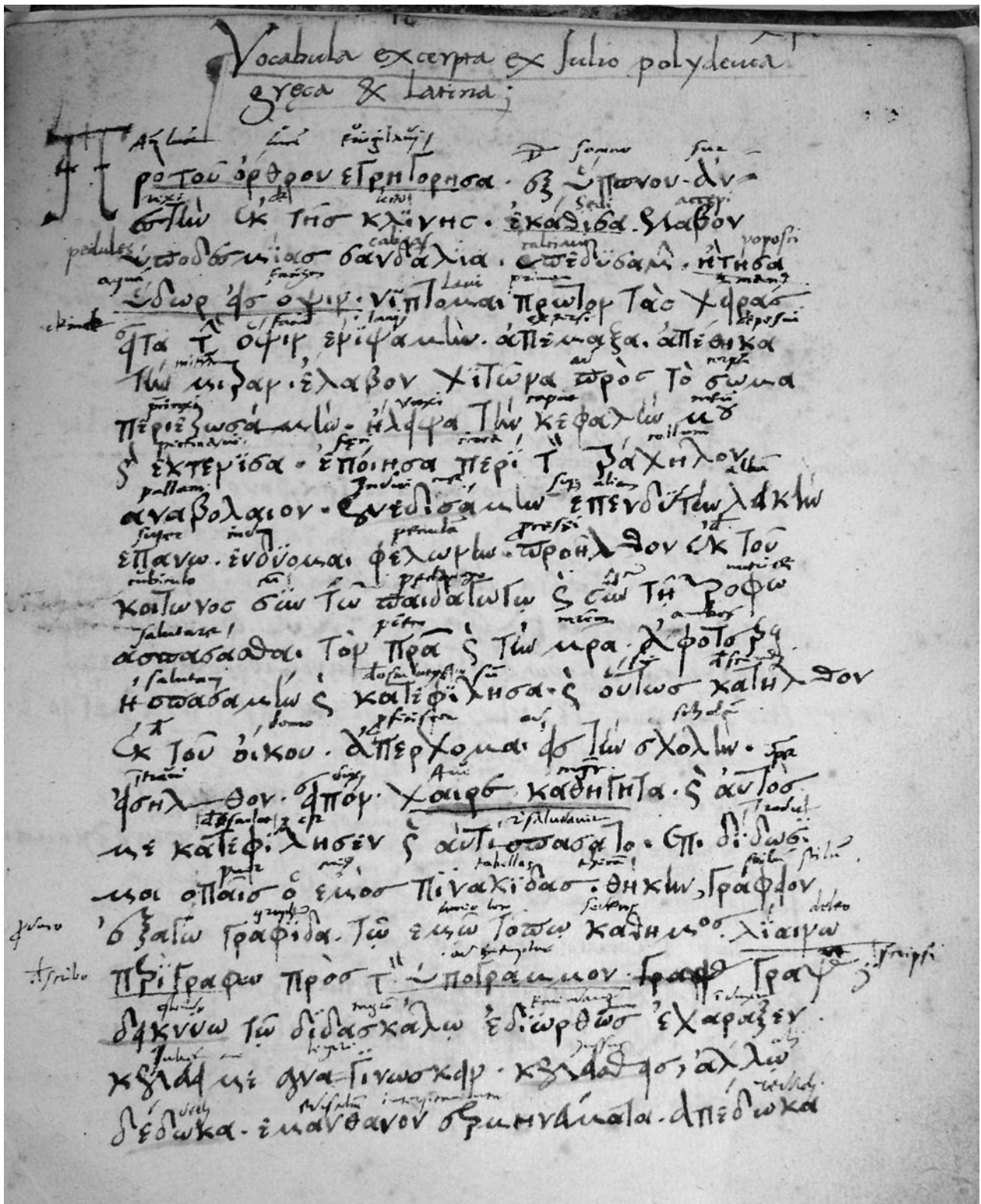
Plate 10 D (Einsiedeln (Switzerland), Stiftsbibliothek: codex 19 (577), 16th century), folio 285r (vocabula excerpta).
Printed by kind permission of Einsiedeln Abbey.

Plate 11 G (Bibliothèque Humaniste, Sélestat, France: codex 343d), folio 1r. Printed by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Humaniste.

endings -ου and -ον; such confusion suggests that D was copied from a text in which nu and upsilon were difficult to distinguish in those places (or a text already containing those confusions). But that text cannot have been A, in which nu and upsilon are perfectly distinct in the passages in question (ᾆρου for ᾆρον at 9b1, ἐγενον for ἐγένου at 9h1, εκδεχον for ἐκδέχου at 9i4, καθέζον for καθέζου at 11a5).[16]

Moreover, there are other factors that make it impossible for D to be an actual copy of A. As Sicherl has pointed out (1892: 188–9), it is extremely unlikely that Matthias Theodoricus would have had access to A in 1503 in any case – and it is inconceivable that he could have copied from A, which never left Italy, both four days before and six days after a date on which he was working on the other side of the Alps. Additionally, D shares with the other manuscripts of the E family a set of readings that are not in A or N (see 2.1.2.5). This problem will be discussed more fully below (2.1.2.5).

I have examined D both via photographs and in person.

G: codex 343d in the Bibliothèque Humaniste in Sélestat, France (plate 11), written by Johannes Cuno in 1504 and containing only the colloquia (the manuscript consists of six folia only), with the Latin incomplete (Sicherl S). This manuscript was unknown to Goetz and Krumbacher. The Greek is written in long lines across the page, with the Latin in paragraphs following a paragraph of Greek and/or as marginal or interlinear glosses on the Greek text; sometimes the Latin is omitted altogether. Both languages are written in an experienced but not very careful hand, with numerous ligatures and abbreviations; the manuscript is difficult to read. There are a number of unique errors and omissions, including the omission of 3e5–f3 (Greek only), 6h2 (Latin only), 4g6, and the first two words of 9j3; and the transposition of 7c4 to after ἐλθὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς/*veni ad nos* in 7c2; the last two omissions and the transposition must have been in the exemplar of G, since they are found in both the Greek and the Latin, which are quite separate from one another in G. As no other extant manuscript has these errors, G must have been copied from a source now lost. A note at the end states that the source was a manuscript found at the house of Johannes Reuchlin

in Stuttgart;[17] the logical assumption to make on the basis of this information is that G is a copy of the lost manuscript Reuchlin used as the basis of his own version of the colloquia (see 2.1.2.4 below). But Reuchlin's colloquia contain line 4g6, which must have been omitted from the original from which G was copied, and therefore those colloquia cannot be based on the manuscript from which G was copied. Perhaps Reuchlin owned more than one manuscript of the colloquia.[18]

There are numerous corrections and annotations in several hands; some are simply clarifications of words that are difficult to read in the main text, but others change readings. Particularly notable, in view of the fact that this manuscript was owned by Beatus Rhenanus (see below under B), are corrections that introduce characteristic errors of B, such as the change of ἔρχονται to ἔρχοντα in 9i5 and γραφίδα to γραφίδια in 2h6; on the other hand the B reading ἀσπάσεσθαι was originally written at 2e5 and then corrected to the reading of the main E tradition, ἀσπάσασθαι. Sicherl (1892: 190–1, with a longer list) believed that these corrections were copied with the text of G, but many are written in a hand clearly different from that of the main text; these must have been made later, either from comparison with a different text or from emendation.

I have examined the manuscript both in person and via photographs.

B: edition of Beatus Rhenanus (Krumbacher and Haupt B, Sicherl Rh, Goetz and Pintaudi 'B. Rhen.'). This work is the second part of a composite publication entitled *Theodori Gazae Thessalonice(n)sis Grammaticae institutionis liber primus, sic tra(n)slatus per Erasmum Rotterdamum, ac titulis & annotatiunculis explanatus, ut citra negociu(m) & percipi queat & teneri. Idem Graece, pro ijs qui*

---

[16] Ficino too sometimes had trouble distinguishing his exemplar's nu and upsilon: in the first section of the glossary he wrote κλεον for the genitive of Ἡρακλῆς (A folio 20r), whereas D has κλεου (folio 157v).

[17] Unfortunately the note is not entirely legible; I make it out to say in part *haec ex Iulio Polydeuce enim scripta repperi | apud humanissimum virum Jo(hannem) doctorem Reuchlin Phorcensem in Stutgardia | anno domini 1504 altera die post Bartho(lomeum) finitum* 'I found these writings from Julius Pollux at the house of that most humane man, Dr J. Reuchlin of Pforzheim, in Stuttgart, on 26 August AD 1504.' Sicherl (1978: 41) reads it slightly differently, but the substance is the same.

[18] It is also possible that G is not in fact a copy of a manuscript owned by Reuchlin, but rather a copy of such a copy, in which the scribe reproduced the note about the text's origin as well as the text itself. The position of the note in question, however, makes that interpretation unlikely: it is squeezed in between the end of the text proper and a colophon *sit laus deo*, and thus seems to be an afterthought, which would be unlikely if it had been copied from the same exemplar as the rest of the text.

iam aliqua(n)tulu(m) proceru(n)t. Colloquiorum familiarium incerto autore libellus Graece & Latine, no(n) pueris modo, sed quibusvis, in cottidiano colloquio, Graecu(m) affectantibus sermone(m), impe(n)dio futur(us) utilis, nunq(uam) antehac typis excusus and published by Frobenius in Basle in 1516 (there are numerous reprints with slightly different titles; see Goetz 1892: xxiii–xxiv). The colloquium comes at the very end of this work, without the glossaries. Krumbacher (1883: 51) and Goetz (1892: xxi–xxii) believed that Rhenanus' source contained an alphabetical glossary, but this is now thought to be an error: probably Rhenanus' source contained the capitula and not the alphabetical glossary, like A and D (Sicherl 1892: 185 n. 12). The text is arranged in long lines, with the Greek and Latin on facing pages.

Rhenanus's edition was long thought to be based on a single lost manuscript of the E family (Goetz 1892: xxi–xxii), but Sicherl shows convincingly that it is based on two manuscripts. G is known to have been acquired by Rhenanus *c.* 1513, and it can hardly be coincidental that Rhenanus published his edition so soon thereafter: G must have played a role in that decision.[19] But G cannot be the main source of Rhenanus' edition, for that edition does not have the unique omissions of G, nor is its Latin incomplete as in G; therefore Rhenanus must have used another manuscript as well. In Sicherl's view (1892: 191) that manuscript was Reuchlin's lost exemplar.

Rhenanus' edition was once of considerable importance, but since the discovery of more manuscripts it has declined in significance. Both Krumbacher (1891: 312–51) and Goetz (1892: 223–35) include its readings in the apparatus to their texts. I report its readings on the basis of examination of two copies in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

Codex Einsidlensis 683 (812) in Einsiedeln monastery in Switzerland, written by Johannes Korylios (Johann Hasler) in 1518, contains the colloquia on folios 4r–8r (Goetz 'cod. Einsidl. 2', Pintaudi E 2, Sicherl E2). The Greek text of the colloquia is complete, but the Latin is largely missing and appears only as occasional interlinear glosses. Goetz included readings from this manuscript in the apparatus to his edition of the E colloquia (1892: 223–35), but more recently Sicherl (1892: 192–3; cf. Dionisotti 1979: 342)

has shown that this manuscript is a direct copy of Beatus Rhenanus' edition. I have examined the manuscript in person and found that Sicherl is absolutely right: the readings of Einsidlensis 683 follow those of Rhenanus' edition on nearly every point, including five places in which the edition's reading is found in no other source: 2a8 *socculos*, 2r3 στοίχον, 10a3 ξύστραν, 10e4 εἰς ἀπόπατον, 11a7 τί ἑστήκεις. For this reason I do not report the readings of Einsidlensis 683 in the apparatus.

2.1.2.3 *Hermonymus branch*

This branch of the tradition consists primarily of two manuscripts copied[20] by George Hermonymus (Georgios Hermonymos) of Sparta in Paris in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (cf. Sicherl 1892: 195); they seem to be both copies of a lost exemplar belonging to the D/G/B branch of the E tradition. These manuscripts are noteworthy primarily because of their connection with Hermonymus, the man who reintroduced Greek to Paris in the Renaissance (see Irigoin 1977 and Omont 1885). Hermonymus was Paris' first Greek teacher, and the fact that he made at least two copies of the colloquia suggests that he considered them usable for teaching Greek – though the colloquia were not among the common teaching tools of his period (see Botley 2010).

K: codex Vindobonensis suppl. Gr. 84 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, written in the late fifteenth century[21] and containing the colloquia on folios 1b–37a (Sicherl V). This manuscript was unknown to Goetz and has not been previously published; for its relationship to the rest of the family see below. I have examined the manuscript both in the original and via photographs.

P: codex Parisinus Graecus 3049 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, written in the late fifteenth century and containing the colloquia on folios 80v–116r (Krumbacher, Haupt, Pintaudi, and Sicherl P, Goetz 'cod. Paris.'). This manuscript is of very poor quality and full of inventions, including some of breathtaking

---

[19] Readings common to G and B but otherwise unique in the E family include omission of *se* at 6j5, λίχνους for λύχνους at 9d4, *procedite* for *pr(a)ecedite* at 10b1, and ἐπάγει for ἐπείγει at 10f2; for a different list making the same point, and more discussion, see Sicherl (1892: 190–1).

[20] Only the Greek is in Hermonymus' own hand; the Latin scribes of the two manuscripts are probably different, which accounts for the fact that in the Latin in particular P presents a much poorer text than that of K. See Bick (1920: 80) and Hunger and Hannick (1994: 144).

[21] Probably between 1480 and 1490 (Bick 1920: 80); by 1497 it was no longer required by its original purchaser and was given to a monastery in Vienna (cf. Hunger and Hannick 1994: 142, 144; Sicherl 1892: 195).

absurdity: 'bring my uncle' instead of 'pass me my underwear' at 10r3 and 'sleep well' instead of 'don't doze off' at 10g5 (cf. Krumbacher 1883: 58). Goetz (1892: xxii) judged P to be the worst of the E manuscripts, and the discovery of more manuscripts has not altered its position. The text of P was published by Boucherie in 1872 and thus gained a significance out of proportion to its value; both Krumbacher (1891: 312–51) and Goetz (1892: 223–35) include its readings in the apparatus to their texts. I have not seen the manuscript and report its readings on the basis of Boucherie's, Goetz's, and Krumbacher's reports.

K and P resemble each other closely in layout and also resemble A, with medium-width columns arranged one column per page so that the Greek and Latin are on facing pages. Their line divisions are generally the same as those of A and N and must have been inherited from the E archetype. There are considerably fewer lines per page, however, in K and P (both of which usually have twelve lines per page) than in A or N; the layout seems to be designed to leave space for marginalia (which are sometimes present and usually relate to Greek vocabulary and/or inflection; I have not reported the marginalia in the apparatus as they are clearly not part of the original text).

K and P also share a number of errors and innovations not found in other manuscripts, including omission of lines 7b7–c4, of the Latin at 10p2–3 and the Greek at 10p3–5, of *ad* at 2c3, of *me* at 2c4, and of τόν at 2d1 and 10b2; *pedulas* for *pedules* at 2a8, *et* for *eis* at 2m7, *mutuo* for *muto* at 2t1, μέλαινα for μέλανα in 9e2, *signa* for *ligna* at 9e5, *iterum* for *interim* in 9k1, *piscinis* for *piscinam* in 10o5, θρύκαδας/θρίκαδας for θρύδακας at 11h9, ἀσμένως for ἡδέως at 11o4, πάντα ταῦτα for ταῦτα πάντα at 12a2, and addition of ἐποιήσαμεν and *fecimus* in 12c2 (see Sicherl 1892: 196 for a different and longer list). These features indicate a close relationship. K cannot be a copy of P, as K has the usual text in a number of places where there is an omission in P (11h8, *non reddidisti* at 2l7, the Greek of 4d4–e1, σου παρόντος/*te praesente* at 4h1, *ab eo* in 4k3), as well as preserving the usual text in many places where P has different readings. It is more difficult to establish whether P could be a copy of K, since K has fewer individual features, but in two places P has the usual text where K has an omission or alteration (K omits *tuos* in 4h7 and has *cape* for *rape* at 10h1); as in both these places it would be very surprising if a copy of K had produced the reading of the other manuscripts

by emendation, the likelihood is that P is not a copy of K.[22]

The two are therefore copies of a third manuscript; this is in any case what we would expect of manuscripts copied by Hermonymus, who had a practice of acquiring manuscripts and keeping them while making copies for sale (Irigoin 1977: 23–4). This third manuscript, since it must have had the common innovations of P and K, cannot be any of the extant manuscripts.

In addition to these two manuscripts there is a collation in a notebook of Claudius **Salmasius**, catalogued as codex Parisinus Latinus 7683; this manuscript also contains excerpts from the colloquium Harleianum (see vol. II, 1.1.3). It was written in the first half of the seventeenth century and contains extracts from the colloquia on folios 24(bis)v–26r. The manuscript collated by Salmasius is clearly not one of the extant ones, but Sicherl (1892: 196–7) has demonstrated that it must have been a copy of K. I have examined photographs of the manuscript, which substantiate Sicherl's claims. The collation is therefore of no value in reconstructing the text of the colloquia.

2.1.2.4 *Reuchlin branch*

This branch of the tradition consists of two manuscripts copied from a reworked and greatly abridged version of the colloquia by Johannes Reuchlin, the original of which was composed in 1489 and is now lost (see Wyss 1970: 273–4). As Reuchlin's alterations were significant, this branch has no value for reconstructing the original text of the colloquia, and therefore I have not reported its readings in the apparatus. The manuscripts involved are not normally discussed as evidence for the text of ME, though Sicherl (1892: 193–5) makes a case that they should be.

The manuscripts in this branch of the tradition are Basiliensis F VI 54, written in 1498 by Johannes Draco Spirensis (Johann Drach of Speyer) and containing the colloquia on folios 26v to 35r, and Stutgardiensis poet. et phil. 76, written in 1508 by Nicolaus Basellius. The first has been published with a useful introduction by Wyss (1970); the second was printed in 1729 by Anton Julius von der Hardt (see Sicherl 1892: 194–5) and again by Adalbert Horawitz (1883: 33–7).

---

[22] Cf. Sicherl (1892: 196), but note that the lacuna in K that he considers so decisive is also found in P.

Reuchlin's version must have been based on a manuscript belonging to the D/G/B branch of the E family, but none of the extant manuscripts can be the one he used. Sicherl (1892: 199–202) argues that Reuchlin's source manuscript was the same as Beatus Rhenanus' main exemplar; this claim cannot be proven completely but is likely to be right.

2.1.2.5 *The relationship of the different branches of the E version*

The theory that A is the direct ancestor of all the exant E family manuscripts has been proposed by both Pintaudi (1977: xiv–xxi) and Sicherl (1892); although the theory is untenable in its original version (cf. Dionisotti 1979: 341–2), Sicherl's modification is more plausible and deserves careful consideration. According to Sicherl, George Hermonymus brought a copy of A (*a* in the stemma in figure 2.2) to Paris, where two copies of *a* were made: *b* was owned by Reuchlin, who used it as the basis for his own reworked version of the colloquia (*r*), and *h* was kept by Hermonymus, who used it as the exemplar for copying K and P. Manuscripts D, G, and B are derived from *b*, and N is an independent copy of A. Sicherl's solution fits well with most of the known facts about the E manuscripts: it explains how the text got from Italy to northern Europe, accounts for the differences between the A/N branch and the rest of the E family, allows for the special relationship between K and P, and ties in nicely with the fact that Theodoricus was copying material from another text owned by Reuchlin four days after he copied the colloquia. There is, however, no direct evidence indicating that Hermonymus' manuscript was a copy of A, and Sicherl does not claim absolutely that it must have been, suggesting that if the archetype of the northern manuscripts was not a copy of A it could have been a copy of the exemplar from which A was copied (Sicherl 1892: 202). Although for Sicherl's arguments about the spread of the colloquia in the Renaissance it may not make much difference whether the archetype is an extant manuscript or a lost one, for an edition this distinction is obviously crucial.

There are a few respects, however, in which Sicherl's theory does not fit well with the evidence. It does not account for the special relationship between D and A, which makes D seem to have been copied from A (see above, section 2.1.2.2 under D). It does not fit with the evidence that G cannot be a copy of the exemplar
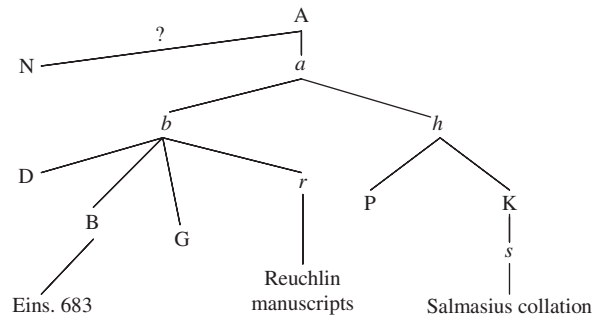
Figure 2.2 Sicherl's version (1892: 202) of the E family stemma

Reuchlin used for his own version of the colloquia (see above, section 2.1.2.2 under G). It requires a considerable number of emendations on the part of the scribe of *a*, who would have had to correct all the errors found in A but not in the other manuscripts. And it does not explain the evidence against N being a copy of A (see above, section 2.1.2.1 under N).

Moreover, Sicherl's theory does not fit with what is known about Hermonymus' scribal practices. Sicherl's view (1892: 198) is that Hermonymus took a copy of A with him when he left Italy in 1476, but that he somehow disposed of this manuscript before making both K and P from a poor copy of it. Yet this is not how Hermonymus worked: deriving a significant part of his income from selling copies of Greek manuscripts, he was careful to keep his originals and sell only the copies (Irigoin 1977: 23–4). Moreover, most of Hermonymus' originals did not come with him from Italy; he must have imported them to Paris somehow, because there were virtually no Greek manuscripts in Paris when he arrived there, but this is no more true of the Hermeneumata manuscript than of a vast number of other texts that Hermonymus copied during his thirty years in Paris. He cannot have brought exemplars of them all with him from Italy, given the length and complexity of his journey to Paris (which went via England); indeed one of the acknowledged mysteries about Hermonymus' Paris career is where he got the originals from which he made the copies (Irigoin 1977: 24 n. 1). Thus Sicherl's solution to the problem of how the E version of the Hermeneumata crossed the Alps, while ingenious, may not be the right one.

Most of these difficulties can be solved by bringing into consideration the manuscript from which A was copied: since it is clear that A was copied from something (see above, section 2.1.2.1 under A), at least
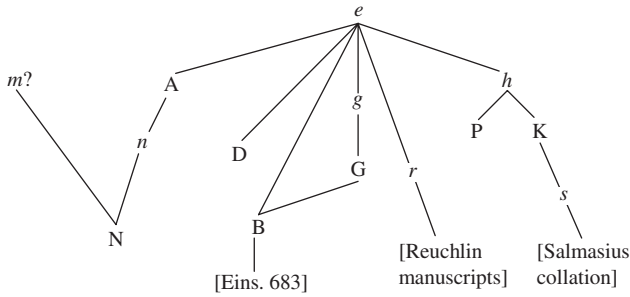
Figure 2.3 E family stemma, with lost manuscripts
italicized and those not useful for an edition in brackets

one other manuscript of the E Hermeneumata must
have been in existence in the middle of the fifteenth
century. Since A is a very careful copy closely resem-
bling its exemplar (see above, section 2.1.2.1 under A),
a copy of this exemplar would be very difficult to
distinguish from a copy of A itself. If D is in fact a
copy of A's exemplar, the extraordinary resemblance
between D and A would be explained: both Ficino
and Theodoricus, being beginners in Greek and
therefore copying material they did not understand,
reproduced faithfully not only the abbreviations and
ligatures of their exemplar, but even its errors and
correction marks. On this view one could construct
the stemma in figure 2.3, in which *e* is the lost arche-
type, *h* is Hermonymus' own copy, *r* is the original
of Reuchlin's reworking, and *n*, *g*, and *s* are the lost
manuscripts required for N, G, and the Salmasius col-
lation; *m* is the M manuscript with which N may be
contaminated.

The problem with this stemma, of course, is that
it does not provide an easy mechanism to explain the
features that are common to D, G, B, K, and P but
not shared with A. Many of these features could be
errors or emendations in A, but for some that expla-
nation is not possible; this is why Sicherl proposed the
existence of *a*, a lost copy of A in which those changes
first appeared. One could do the same thing with the
stemma above, by positing a lost copy of *e* from which
D, B, *g*, *r*, and *h* were all derived; in order to explain
the fact that D looks like a copy of A, however, one
would have to suppose that this lost copy was as
careful and precise a copy of *e* as is A itself. A is clearly
highly unusual among E family manuscripts in being
such an accurate representation of its original, and
it is very unlikely that there could have been another
manuscript of such calibre. It is therefore necessary
to look closely at the features connecting D, G, B, K,

and P, to see if they really require such an intermedi-
ate ancestor.

These features fall into three groups: (1) Passages
where A has the original reading (as judged by com-
parison with M) and the other manuscripts have what
is likely to be a deliberate emendation. In these pas-
sages a correction might have been added to *e* after
Ficino copied it and before anyone else did; many
of the extant E manuscripts contain corrections and
additions clearly made after the original copying, and
there is no reason to suppose that lost manuscripts did
not evolve in this way as well; (2) Passages where A has
the original reading and the other manuscripts share
an error. In these passages my stemma requires that
Ficino corrected the error by emendation; (3) Passages
where the other manuscripts have the original reading
and A has an error or emendation. These are unprob-
lematic for my stemma, but Sicherl's stemma requires
that the scribe of *a* corrected the error by emenda-
tion. The passages are as follows:

1. (original reading in A, emendation in others): four
   passages
   2c1 μήτραν A N: μίτραν D G B K P (cf. M
   encimitran = ἐγκοιμήτραν)
   4i1 συνετάξω A N: συνέταξας D G B K P (cf.
   M *syne taxo*; the original form is a perfectly
   correct second-person singular aorist mid-
   dle, but it looks like a mistake, and the active
   form is much easier to understand)
   10m6 ἱδροῖς/ἱδροῖς A N: ἱδρεῖς/ἱδρεῖς D G B K
   P (cf. M *ydrys* = ἱδροῖς)
   11c2 *ut* A N: *vel* D G B K P (cf. M *aut*)
2. (original reading in A, error in others): three
   passages
   2s1 ταῦτα A N: παυτα D: πάντα G B K P
   (cf. M *taute*; the exemplar may well have
   contained παυτα, and the error would have
   been easy to correct from the Latin *haec*)
   9f7 θύιαν A N: θύαν D G B K P (cf. M *thyia*;
   the writing of υι in some Renaissance Greek
   hands looks very much like υ alone, so it may
   be that the exemplar here was simply diffi-
   cult to decipher rather than actually wrong;
   in such a case the greater care exercised by
   Ficino would have allowed him to read it
   more correctly than the other copyists)
   11k10 διὰ ζώμου A N: διὰ ζωμον D G B K P (cf.
   M *zomu*; here again the exemplar was prob-
   ably difficult to read rather than actually

wrong – cf. above under D for the difficulty Theodoricus experienced distinguishing between -oν and -oυ in the exemplar – but knowledge of the constructions used with διά would have made emendation relatively easy)

3. (original reading in others, innovation in A): eight passages

2g1 σχοήν A: σχολήν N D G K P (cf. M *colin*)

3f1 *ambo* A N: *ambos* D G B K P (cf. M *ambos* and M E *ambos* at 2f1)

4k10 *defendat* A: *defendant* N D G B K P (cf. M *defendant*)

8c6 ἀναγκαῖ A: ἀναγκαῖα N D G B K P (cf. M *anancea*)

10b4 *in termis* A N[ac]: *in thermis* N[pc] D (cf. M *ad thermas*; the other manuscripts have more radical innovations, *in publico* G B: *in publicum* K P)

10g4 *coopere* A: *cooperi* D G B K (cf. M *cooperi*; the other manuscripts have more radical innovations, *circumda* N: *corporis* P)

10p5 ξυστρόν A N: ξύστραν D G B K P (cf. M *xistram/xystram*)

12a2 παῦτα πάντα A: ταῦτα πάντα N D G B (cf. M *tauta panta*; K and P have πάντα ταῦτα)

This collection of evidence indicates that it is not really necessary to posit a lost ancestor of D, G, B, K, and P: of the fifteen passages where A differs from this main manuscript family, the main family preserves the original text in eight, and in a further four an emendation could easily have been added to the exemplar after A was copied. In only three cases does my stemma suggest that A restored an original reading by emendation – whereas in Sicherl's theory, where A is itself the archetype, the lost ancestor of the main family would have had to restore eight original readings by emendation.[23]

The start of the process by which emendations accumulated in the exemplar may be visible in A itself. There are a number of corrections or variant readings marked in A; some of these may be mistakes Ficino made himself while copying and corrected at once, but there are some that do not look like simple corrections of copying errors. It is notable both that these latter variants introduce the reading of the main group of E manuscripts, and that a number of them are found in N as variants as well (see above under N). Clearly Ciacconius when producing N sometimes included both the readings found in his exemplar, so Ficino may well have done the same thing when producing A. Other copyists, who were much less careful than Ficino, usually did not include the original readings but simply copied the corrections/variants – but the originals were still in the text for these copyists to see, as D's ἐξελθθη at 12c4 shows (see above, section 2.1.2.2 under D).

The stemma in figure 2.3, therefore, explains the available evidence better than other stemmata that have been proposed and so is likely to be right. There remains the question of how the text crossed the Alps: if Hermonymus did not bring it, who did? The obvious answer is that Reuchlin, who travelled to Italy in 1482 shortly before producing his own version of the colloquia (cf. Sicherl 1892: 199), brought it himself. Hermonymus would then have acquired his copy from Reuchlin, rather than the other way around, and would have followed his usual practice in retaining that copy as an exemplar for his own productions. Sicherl (1892: 200–1) argues that Reuchlin's copy of the colloquia could not have come directly from Italy because it must be related to Hermonymus' copy – but there is no reason why that relationship should not have started with Reuchlin rather than with Hermonymus.

The history of the E version is therefore as follows. A single exemplar was used by Ficino around 1460 to

---

[23] Against this it could be argued that there are some passages where A has a correct reading that is also shared by a manuscript(s) from the main family, in place of an error widespread among E manuscripts; in these passages my stemma requires independent correct emendations in A and the other manuscript(s), while Sicherl's only requires one emendation: 6h1 κρούσωμεν A N G[pc] B: κρούσομεν D G[ac] K P, 10i3 *luctemur* A N G[pc] B: *luctemini* D G[ac] K P, 11h7 κίχλας A N K P: κίκλας D G B, 11o4 ἡδέως A N B: ἤθεως D G, 11s1 λοιπόν A N B K P: λοιτόν D G. But there are even more passages where A has an error shared by (an) other manuscript(s) and Sicherl's theory requires independent correct emendations (or independent errors): 1e5 συγγράφαι

A[ac] D: συγγράψαι A[pc] N G B K P, 1m1 πρότου A D: πρώτου N G B K P, 2m8 μειζόνον A D: μειζόνων N G B K P, 2p4 πρόσοπα A D[pc]: πρόσωπα N D[ac] G B K P, 3f4 ἀσπάσαθαι A D: ἀσπάσασθαι N G B K P, 7b5 οἰκειακῶ A N D K: οἰκιακῷ G B P, 10f3 λοιτόν A D G: λοιπόν N B K P, 10o3 λοιτόν A D G: λοιπόν N B K P, 10r3 *aduce* A: *adduce* D G K P: *adiice* N B. Readings like 6h3 *salutate* A: *salutare* D: *salvete* N G B K P are even more difficult to explain with Sicherl's stemma: one must suppose either that *a* and *b* contained *salutate* while G (followed by B) and *h* independently emended to *salvete*, or that both *a* and *b* contained both readings – whereas with my stemma it is only necessary to suppose the presence of both readings in one manuscript, *e*.

produce A, and then acquired by Reuchlin in 1482; Reuchlin and/or the earlier owner(s) of the manuscript made numerous corrections to the text before it was copied by Hermonymus, Theodoricus, and the scribe of the lost exemplar of G. Beatus Rhenanus probably also used this manuscript along with G as the basis of his edition. Once Rhenanus had published an edition of the text and Reuchlin had produced his own reworked version of it, the original manuscript (which was no doubt in poor condition by that time) was considered to be of no further value and was lost; subsequent manuscripts were all made from copies rather than from the original.

What can be known about this exemplar? It looked very much like A, with the same column structure, line divisions, punctuation, and Latin abbreviations (at least in the case of difficult abbreviations; see above, section 2.1.2.1 under A). It contained accents and other diacritics in the Greek (see above, section 2.1.2.2 under D), and the Greek ligatures, abbreviations, and corrections that leave traces in both A and in D. It was written in a more old-fashioned script than was usual in the middle of the fifteenth century, and therefore it was probably not a brand new production, though as we shall see (section 2.3.2 below) it is unlikely to have been very old either.

Was this single exemplar the original autograph of the adapter of the E version? Two pieces of evidence suggest that it was not. In section 8c a list of fruits originally included δωράκινα/*persos* ('peaches'), and the adaptor of the E version changed this to the more standard terms for peaches, μῆλα περσικά/*mala persica* (literally 'Persian apples'). But both A and D punctuate between the two words of this phrase, making μῆλα/*mala* and περσικά/*persica* into two separate entries. As we have seen, the punctuation in A was usually copied from the exemplar; the corroborative evidence from D here makes it virtually certain that this particular punctuation was in the exemplar. But the person who inserted this punctuation misunderstood the adaptor's work; he cannot be the same person as the one who inserted the standard words for 'peaches' in the first place.

Moreover, both Ficino and Theodoricus copied the capitula as well as the colloquia, but neither of them copied an alphabetical glossary; Ficino in particular, who made such a careful copy, seems to have valued the text highly enough that one would have expected him to copy an alphabetical glossary if he had found one. Therefore it seems likely that Ficino's exemplar did not contain the alphabetical glossary. On the other hand the preface to the colloquia states that the work contains an alphabetical glossary; since the preface was clearly revised by the adapter to produce a better fit with the work it actually introduced, it is likely (though not certain) that this statement would have been deleted if the adapter's version of the text had not contained an alphabetical glossary. So the original E archetype probably contained the alphabetical glossary, but the exemplar from which A and D were copied probably did not; hence they are unlikely to have been the same manuscript.

2.1.3 EDITIONS OF THE COLLOQUIA

The early editions are all based on E manuscripts only. The first was that of **Beatus Rhenanus** in 1516 (and reprinted several times; see Goetz 1892: xxiii–xxiv), discussed above under 2.1.2.2. The second was that of Bonaventura **Vulcanius** in 1600 (with later reprints; see Goetz 1892: xxiv), entitled *Thesaurus utriusque linguae, hoc est Philoxeni, aliorumque veterum authorum glossaria Latino-Graeca & Graeco-Latina. Isidori Glossae Latinae. Veteres grammatici Latini & Graeci qui de proprietate & differentiis vocabulorum utriusque linguae scripserunt* (Leiden: Ioannis Patius). This edition contains a large amount of Hermeneumata material, including the S version of the LS colloquia (cols. 281–6) and the S colloquium (cols. 286–94); the ME colloquia are printed (without the glossaries) in an unpaginated section, starting ten pages after the page that contains cols. 825–6, and are entitled Ὁμιλία σχολαστική/*Colloquium scholasticum*.

Although Vulcanius does not state what the basis of his edition was, the readings he uses suggest strongly that it was the edition of Beatus Rhenanus (cf. Goetz 1892: xxii; Krumbacher 1883: 58–9; Schoenemann 1886: 12; Sicherl 1892: 193). Vulcanius also added numerous emendations of his own and deleted several difficult passages and the preface, so that his edition starts at 2a. A good illustration of the text's evolution occurs at 9i5, where the main tradition of both M and E has ἔρχονται, but Beatus Rhenanus has the truncated ἔρχοντα. This looks like an accusative participle of an active verb, but as it comes from a deponent verb the form is impossible; Vulcanius therefore changed it to the deponent participle ἐρχόμενον. Krumbacher (1883: 56–8) provides many additional examples of the inadequacies of Vulcanius' text, but nevertheless in his edition (1891) gave Vulcanius the status of a manuscript and regularly reported its readings in his apparatus. Goetz, finding Vulcanius' edition to be derived purely from extant sources, ignored it; since

he is clearly right about the edition's derivative status I treat it as an edition and report its readings (based on examination of a copy in the Bodleian library, Oxford) only to record the original source of emendations that have since been generally adopted.

Two further editions are of little importance. A. **Boucherie** produced a text of the colloquia based entirely on P in an article entitled 'La Καθημερινὴ ὁμιλία de J. Pollux, d'après le ms. 3049 de la Bibliothèque Nationale', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 23.2 (1872), pp. 478–94. A few years later he published a supplement with corrigenda and discussion of the relationship of P's version to that of Beatus Rhenanus: 'Note additionelle sur les ἑρμηνεύματα et la Καθημερινὴ ὁμιλία de Julius Pollux', in *Notices et extraits* 27.2 (1879), pp. 457–75. Boucherie defended the text's misattribution to Pollux with vigour, and for that reason his work has never been well respected. Moriz **Haupt** provided an edition of the colloquia based on P and B in a report entitled 'Index lectionum hibernarum 1874', reprinted in *Mauricii Hauptii opuscula* II (Leipzig: S. Hirzel 1896), pp. 508–20.

The next edition was of much greater significance. Karl **Krumbacher**, after producing a study of the Munich manuscripts of the M family in his 1883 dissertation, published the first edition to use them in 1891: 'Colloquium Pseudodositheanum Monacense', in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Wilhelm von Christ zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern* (Munich: Beck), pp. 307–64. This edition immediately rendered all previous work on the E colloquia obsolete. Krumbacher's edition, like those of his predecessors, contains only the colloquia, not the glossaries; it consists of a very brief preface (readers are referred to his 1883 dissertation for discussion of the manuscripts, though this practice is problematic because Krumbacher had evidently changed his mind about the status of two of them in the interval between the two works), a transcript of T with a brief apparatus indicating notable divergences in W, a restored text based on T, W, P, B, and Vulcanius with a good apparatus, and a short commentary focusing on textual and linguistic issues.

Only one year after Krumbacher's edition came that of Georg **Goetz**, published in 1892 in *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, the third volume of the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig: Teubner). This work was the first to include the glossaries as well as the colloquia and has been the standard text of both since its publication. Unable to reconcile the two branches of the ME tradition and finding it impossible to produce a proper edition of a work that had remained fluid over such a long period, Goetz settled for a compromise that has always been acknowledged to be unsatisfactory: he gave separate texts of the two branches (the M version of the colloquia can be found on pp. 119–22 and 210–20, and the E version on pp. 223–35), then in an appendix (pp. 644–54) printed without an apparatus a restored version of the colloquia, taken largely from Krumbacher's edition (cf. Goetz 1892: xxxv–xxxvi). Goetz's text of the M version contains an exact transcript of T's version of the complete glossary and colloquia, with an apparatus indicating divergences in W but no readings whatsoever from the other M manuscripts, even those known to Goetz. This is followed by an edition of the E branch, based primarily on D and Einsidlensis 683 (a copy of B) but with consideration also of P, B, and earlier editions. Although this edition is presented in the same format as the transcript of T, it is not a transcript: the readings of D sometimes appear in the apparatus rather than the main text, and whereas the layout of Goetz's M edition follows T's layout fairly closely, the layout of Goetz's E edition is his own creation and has nothing to do with D or his other sources. Goetz's text is unsatisfactory for two reasons: the provision of three separate versions makes it extremely difficult to use, and between them the three versions use only six of the fourteen useful manuscripts, so that numerous good readings that could have been adopted with profit are omitted.

Since Goetz's edition two other publications have included part or all of the ME colloquia, but neither has superseded Goetz. In 1977 Rosario **Pintaudi** published an edition of the E version of the Hermeneumata, based on the hitherto neglected manuscript A and entitled *Marsilio Ficino, Lessico Greco-Latino: Laur. Ashb. 1439* (Rome: Ateneo). In addition to A, Pintaudi sporadically reports readings from D, P, B, T, and the early editions; these readings are taken from Goetz's edition and are not always correct. The omission of the other E manuscripts is problematic, particularly in the case of N, whose close relationship with A was not detected by Pintaudi, and the theories about the manuscript tradition discussed in the introduction have been thoroughly discredited by Dionisotti (1979); the edition itself was discredited both by Dionisotti and by Di Benedetto (1978).

In 1984 and 1987 Janine **Debut** republished selections from Goetz's edition,[24] with discussion of the content of the text and its surprisingly modern approach to language teaching. These articles are not re-editions, rather efforts to bring the colloquia to a wider audience and draw attention to the information about daily life in antiquity they provide and to their potential usefulness for elementary Greek instruction.

2.2 THE NATURE OF THE MONACENSIA VERSION

The various M manuscripts all share two important features: the Greek is in transliteration (or, in the case of Y, was originally in transliteration), and the two colloquia are widely separated, the first occurring at the start of the work and the second at the end, after the alphabetical glossary and the capitula. The M archetype must have had both those features; it must also have had its text arranged in narrow columns, with the line divisions that survive in R, T, and Z. The problems that this format caused copyists in the case of the longer lines, clearly visible in the extant manuscripts, must also have affected the archetype and is presumably responsible for some omissions and dislocations in the text.[25] In several places the manuscripts have the text doubled up on a single line; that is, the Greek column has both a Greek and a Latin word and then the Latin column has a different Greek word and its Latin equivalent; the fact that this tends to occur in different manuscripts at the same places[26] suggests that it occurred in the archetype as well. Sometimes the omission of a line in one column but not the other leads to misalignment of the two languages; this occurs more often in some manuscripts than in others, but one example is found in all the M manuscripts and must go back to the archetype (6a6–10).

There are a number of errors characteristic of Latin minuscule script shared by all the M manuscripts (cf. Goetz 1892: xviii; Krumbacher 1883: 23–6); these include confusion of *f* and *s* (*sisin* for *fisin* (φησίν) at 2k4, *tif* for *tis* (τῆς) at 6f4) and confusion of *d* and *cl*

(*clynit(h)umen* for *dynithomen* (δυνηθῶμεν) at 8c3, *ecclyse* for *ecdyse* (ἔκδυσαι) at 10g1).[27] Such errors indicate that the M archetype was written in minuscule and must therefore have been copied in or after the eighth century.[28]

The first letters of lines tend to have errors caused by confusion of capitals (Krumbacher 1883: 24–6); this indicates that the tendency to capitalize the initial letter of each line, found in most of the M manuscripts, goes back to the archetype.

2.2.1 THE TRANSLITERATED GREEK

The Greek of the M manuscripts is generally in poor condition, with many corruptions and misdivisions of words indicating that the scribes did not understand what they were copying. The widely varying spellings of the Greek in different M manuscripts, which on the whole have identical readings in the Latin, initially gives the impression that they must be independent transliterations. But this cannot be the case, as the different manuscripts share many corruptions that could only have happened in Latin script, i.e. after the transliteration.[29] Closer investigation of the variation reveals that it is largely confined to confusion of letters

[24] Debut's text is not identical to Goetz's, but the differences often appear to be mistakes (e.g. omission of line 1n1).

[25] See the commentary on 5c *non opus habeo*, 6c *a quando*. When ends of words are missing this is presumably due to the archetype or an intermediary having written the end of a long line somewhere else and the next copyist not finding it.

[26] E.g. 9d1–2, where the M manuscripts have *alas sale/eleonspanon oleus spanu*.

[27] For the confusions characteristic of Latin scripts of different periods see Lindsay (1896: 82–9); West (1973: 25–6) gives a briefer list.

[28] Krumbacher (1883: 23 n. 3) was of the opinion that the minuscule errors themselves need not have been in the archetype, as the copyists of the different extant manuscripts could have made the same errors independently, and that therefore it was not possible to tell whether or not the manuscript from which the M archetype was copied was in minuscule script. This line of reasoning was plausible in 1883, when only three M manuscripts were known, but now that there are more manuscripts sharing the same errors coincidence is not a viable explanation: some minuscule errors must have existed in the archetype.

[29] In addition to the characteristic minuscule errors just discussed, the following other types of errors occur: (1) Sometimes Greek kappa is represented with *e*; this must have arisen from transliteration with *c* and then confusion of *c* with *e*, e.g. 9o2 *odehireheto* for *ode ircheto* (ὧδε ἤρχετο), 4e3 *ude ei* for *ud eci* (οὐδ' ἐκεῖ), 2i7 *dienio* for *dicnio* (δεικνύω); (2) Sometimes eta is represented with *l*, owing to transcription with *i* and confusion between *i* and *l*, e.g. 6d3 *licia* for *i icia* (ἡ οἰκία), 10b5 *lento* for *i en to* (ἡ ἐν τῷ); (3) Sometimes two vowels that would have been pronounced like iota are represented with *u*, owing to transcription with *ii* and confusion between *ii* and *u*, e.g. 9i3 *tupen* for *ti ipen* (τί εἶπεν), 11s1 *areumin* for *arci imin* (ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν) (the opposite confusion occurs in 11k5 *garii* for γάρου); (4) Sometimes kappa or chi is represented by *t* or *th*, or tau or theta is represented by *c/ch* (in certain phonetic environments this confusion may be due to Latin pronunciation rather than to graphic confusions): e.g. 1i1 *ecian* for *etian* (αἰτίαν), 3f2 *tatefilesa* for *catefilesa* (κατεφίλησα). There are also some unusual transliterations of particular words that are

that would not have been pronounced differently in Latin: thus *c* and *ch* are very frequently confused, as are *t* and *th*, but *p* and *ph*/*f* are not confused, because the scribes would have pronounced them differently. Other common alternations are between *i* and *y*, between *c* and *k*, and between *f* and *ph*; again these pairs were not distinguished in Latin.

If one puts together the spellings of the different M manuscripts, and if one looks particularly at the beginning of the work, where we have more surviving manuscripts and where the scribes seem to have been more careful than they became later on in the copying process, it is possible to reconstruct the original transliteration system with reasonable accuracy. The transcription originally handled problematic letters as follows: theta was represented with *th* and chi with *ch*, kappa was usually represented with *c* but sometimes with *k*, phi could be either *ph* or *f*, and psi could be either *ps* or *bs*. Eta, iota, and epsilon iota are normally represented with *i*, and epsilon and alpha iota with *e*, but alpha iota is sometimes represented with *ai*. Usually upsilon and omicron iota are represented with *y* and omicron upsilon with *u*, but sometimes *u* stands for upsilon alone; both omicron and omega are written *o*. Iotas that would be subscript in modern spelling are never written.

It is clear that this transliteration system was designed by someone capable of speaking Greek and was intended to represent the pronunciation of the words, not to reflect their Greek spellings. Since the pronunciation of Greek evolved over time, the transliteration system can be roughly dated by the pronunciation it assumes. The equivalences between the vowels, particularly between eta and iota, indicate that the pronunciation assumed cannot be that of the classical or Hellenistic periods but must come from the Roman period or later. At the same time the fact that the sound of eta/iota/epsilon iota is represented as different from the sound of upsilon/omicron iota (*i* versus *y*) indicates that the Byzantine pronunciation current at the time the extant M manuscripts were copied had not yet come in, or at any rate was not sanctioned by the transliterator,[30] at the time of the

transliteration; this gives us a *terminus ante quem* of the end of the tenth century. (The use of *b* rather than *v* to represent beta might seem to suggest a pronunciation in which beta had not yet become a fricative, but the fact that the M manuscripts agree in having *v* for beta in a number of places[31] suggests that the transliterator did pronounce beta as a fricative and preferred *b* for other reasons.)

2.2.1.1 *The date of the transliteration*

Krumbacher (1883: 27–8; cf. Goetz 1892: xviii) was of the opinion that the transliteration was made in the seventh or eighth century, from Greek uncials into Latin uncials, and that it is possible to detect in the Greek text errors characteristic of Latin uncial transmission and of the subsequent conversion from Latin uncials to Latin minuscules. As this claim has profound implications for the dating of a variety of aspects of the ME tradition, it is worth giving it careful examination.

Krumbacher's evidence for transmission of the Greek in Latin uncials consists of the presence of two types of errors: the writing of *r* for Greek pi (i.e. confusion of the Latin letters *P* and *R*) and the writing of *s* for Greek kappa (i.e. confusion of the Latin letters *C* and *S*). He provides three examples of the first of these errors,[32] and three of the second.[33] It is striking that he found so few examples in such an enormous body of text: he was looking not only at the colloquia, which are by themselves a substantial work, but

---

found in all the manuscripts and could not have occurred independently: sometimes *ae* is used for alpha iota (*kae* for καί at 9a4 and 12b6), and several times a lunate sigma is absent-mindedly transcribed with Latin *c* (see n. 35 below).

[30] This change seems to have occurred gradually and to have been associated with social stigma: as late as the tenth century it was possible to criticize speakers for not making this distinction (Browning 1983: 56–7).

[31] E.g. *veltion* for βέλτιον at 1j4, *lavomen* for λάβωμεν at 4k3, *catava* for κατάβα at 10n2.

[32] *Orora* for ὀπώρα via OPORA, *eutrarilos* for εὐτράπελος via EYTRAPELOS, and *eraclia* for ἐπαρχία via EPARCHIA; his fourth example, *romfilax* for πομφόλυξ via POMFOLUX, must be discounted because the affected letter is at the beginning of the word. As the first letters of each line were capitalized even after the text was converted to minuscule, errors due to the confusion of Latin uncials are common in initial letters and occurred even at late stages of the transmission, as Krumbacher was aware (1883: 24, 26).

[33] *Pyste* for πύκται via PYCTE, *calasticon* for γαλακτικόν via GALACTICON, and *cateasma* for κάταγμα via CATACMA; the last example is really *s* for gamma, not for kappa, and so in Krumbacher's view assumes corruption of *G* to *C* before the change of *C* to *S*. Although *G*/*C* is unproblematic as a Latin uncial confusion, gamma and (lunate) sigma can also be confused in Greek uncials (e.g. καθεγε for κάθησαι in H 3a2 and εγτιν for ἐστίν in H 28f1), so this error might have occurred before the transliteration took place. To Krumbacher's examples of *C*/*S* confusion could also be added *estrepsi* for ἐκτρέψῃ via ECTREPSI (12c4).

also at the glossaries, which are far longer. By contrast Krumbacher lists 28 examples of minuscule confusions in the same body of text (1883: 24–6).

It is also notable that *P/R* and *C/S* are the only uncial confusions Krumbacher found, for if the text was really transmitted in Latin uncials, one would expect to see other interchanges as well. Krumbacher's list of confusions occurring at the beginnings of glossary entries, where capitalization resulted in Latin uncial confusions throughout the text's post-transliteration history (1883: 24), includes such classic examples as *C/O*, *E/F*, *I/T*, and *L/T*, and it is peculiar that neither these nor other characteristic uncial confusions such as *B/R*, *F/P*, *CI/U*, *C/G*, and *D/O* are found in non-initial letters. By contrast Krumbacher lists seventeen different types of minuscule confusion in the colloquia and glossaries (1883: 23–4).

Moreover, *C/S* is not one of the standard Latin uncial interchanges;[34] it is not impossible in Latin uncial script, but less likely than in Greek uncials, where kappa can easily be decomposed into iota (or a stray vertical line) and sigma.

It is interesting that both the writing of *s* instead of *c* for kappa and the writing of *r* instead of *p* for pi are the reverse of errors very easy for someone more familiar with the Latin than the Greek alphabet to make when working with uncial Greek: the Greek lunate sigma looks just like a Latin *C*, while the Greek capital rho looks like a Latin *P*. There are several examples in this text of Latin *c* being used for a Greek sigma;[35] I have not found any of Latin *p* being used for a Greek rho, but that must have been because the transliterator resisted the temptation to do so, not because there was no temptation. Thus both the writing of *s* for kappa and the writing of *r* for pi can be explained as hypercorrections on the part of a scribe aware of the danger of making the reverse mistake, a possibility that Krumbacher acknowledges. The colloquium Harleianum, which was never transliterated but which was copied by scribes with very little knowledge of Greek, contains a number of

examples of these errors, which in that text can only be explained as hypercorrections.[36]

Under these circumstances it is not possible to consider Krumbacher's evidence proof that the Greek underwent a phase of transmission in Latin uncial script; indeed the lack of more convincing evidence of such transmission suggests that there was probably no such phase. This in turn means that Krumbacher's date range for the transliteration is too early.

There is however a second part to Krumbacher's argument, and for this part the evidence is much stronger. He points out (1883: 28) that the word division of the Greek text must have occurred after the transliteration, at a period when the scribes responsible for it knew little or no Greek. Since word division is generally associated with minuscule writing in Greek, this argument suggests that the Greek did not go through a phase in Greek minuscule script, but was transliterated directly from Greek uncials.

That the Greek in M was not divided into separate words until it had left the hands of anyone who knew Greek is indisputable: many lines in M have no word divisions at all, and when divisions are present they are very often wrong, frequently in the direction of producing words that look like Latin (e.g. 2l3 *oteapte dicunt* for ὅτε ἀπεδίδουν, 4h2 *peritis dicis* for περὶ τῆς δίκης, 11f4 *epidosmichi regimagion* for ἐπίδος μοι χειρεκμάγιον). This does not conclusively prove that there was no Greek minuscule phase, since the connection between minuscule writing and word division is not absolute, but it points in that direction. Moreover, it is likely for other reasons that there was no such phase, even if the transliteration was done considerably later than Krumbacher supposed. Minuscule writing became common for Greek literary texts later than for Latin, and in the case of Greek texts in the West the transition to minuscule was later still: the manuscripts of the LS, H, and Mp versions of the colloquia, which were written in the ninth and tenth centuries, all have the Greek in Greek uncials while the Latin is in minuscule.

All this suggests that the transliteration was probably done from Greek uncial script into Latin minuscule script. The eighth century, when both uncial and minuscule were in use for writing Latin, is therefore not the latest possible date for the transliteration as

---

[34] It appears neither in the list given by West (1973: 26) nor in the more comprehensive one given by Lindsay (1896: 82–9).

[35] There are two or three in the colloquia: *ermineuce* for ἑρμηνεῦσαι at 1j6, *endictoa* for ἐν τῇ στοᾷ at 4i5, and probably *calosimachabes* for καλῶς ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες at 11s5; Krumbacher (1883: 27) says this error occurs *saepius* and lists one additional example from the glossaries, *chrycotis* for χρυσωτής.

[36] Sigma for kappa: 1b2 σερδος for κέρδος, 17c2 ετδισο for ἐκδικῶ (reverse: 12a3 κοθιες for σωθείς, 23c7 τουκουτο for τοσούτῳ); rho for pi: 23c1 ουδερο for οὐδέπω.

in Krumbacher's theory, but the earliest possible date, and the window of opportunity for the transliteration extends to the tenth century. It is unlikely on other grounds that the transliteration could have been made later than this: the transliteration system gives us a *terminus ante quem* of the end of the tenth century (cf. 2.2.1 above), and an extended period of transmission would be necessary to account for all the corruptions that postdate the transliteration and yet predate our earliest manuscripts in the middle of the twelfth century.

2.3 THE EINSIDLENSIA VERSION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE MONACENSIA

The Einsidlensia version has the Greek in its own alphabet, with largely correct spelling. Although our evidence for this version is significantly later than our evidence for the Monacensia version, the E version cannot be derived directly from our M manuscripts, nor from their archetype.[37] In three places parallel passages in other versions of the colloquia indicate that in those places the E version preserves original wording lost in the M version.[38] Also, in a number of places lacunae common to all the M manuscripts are filled in the E tradition;[39] these gaps could in theory have been filled by emendation, but in practice that is unlikely because the emendations common to all the E manuscripts (distinguishable from those found in the individual branches of the E tradition) have a distinctive character (see 2.3.2 below) and very rarely involve additions: subtractions are far more likely as a solution to textual problems. Moreover, the Greek in E must be a direct descendant of the original Greek, not a retransliteration of the garbled remains in our M manuscripts or even of the reasonably correct transliteration that must have existed in the M archetype, for it is much better than could have been achieved by retransliteration. There must therefore have been an archetype of the ME version, earlier than the arche-

type of the M version, and in this ME archetype the Greek must have been written in Greek script.

The archetype of the E version appears to have had certain features that can be traced to deliberate reworking and correcting of the colloquia, probably by a single individual. The individual concerned was a native speaker of a Romance language (probably Italian), had a good command of Greek, and is likely to have lived in the fifteenth century (see 2.3.2 below).

2.3.1 THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE COLLOQUIA

The E version differs sharply from the M version in its arrangement of the colloquia. In the Einsidlensia manuscript family the text that is normally thought of as constituting the colloquia is all grouped together. In the Monacensia version it is divided into two widely separated parts: sections 1 and 2 (the preface, first morning routine, and school scene) are placed at the beginning of the three books of Hermeneumata, and sections 3–12 are found at the very end, where they constitute the third book (the first being sections 1 and 2 followed by the alphabetical glossary, and the second the capitula). At first glance it seems likely that the arrangement in E would be the original one, but closer inspection suggests that this is not the case.

One unusual feature of the ME colloquia is internal repetition: the morning routine described in sections 2a–f is repeated, in a shortened version but with almost exactly the same wording, in sections 3c–f. In M this repetition would not have been particularly obvious to the reader, since sections 2 and 3 are separated by many pages of other material, and moreover it is useful: the repeated material provides a beginning to the second colloquium. But in E, where section 3 follows immediately after section 2, the repetition is jarring and wholly unnecessary. This suggests that the repeated material was originally produced to go with a text that had the arrangement found in M, and that the E version represents the results of putting the two colloquia together.

Moreover, the E version omits the material found in sections 3a–c of the M version: the title, the preface, and the waking up scene. Were those sections present in the ME archetype and cut out of E, or were they absent from the archetype and added in M? The title and the preface (3a–b) must be very old material, for they closely resemble titles and prefaces found in other versions of the colloquia (see com-

---

[37] For further support of this position see Korhonen (1996: 103 n. 7), Sicherl (1892: 185 n. 14), Dionisotti (1979: 342), Wyss (1970: 278–9), Baesecke (1933: 34, 69, 82), and Papendick (1926: 9).

[38] See commentary on 2m *iubente magistro*, ιου καλῶς σοι ἔστω, 11m *ministravit*.

[39] E.g. omission of *vult* in 4n and omission of πρᾶγμα in 1f. M's inversion of the first two lines of 4n are also relevant in this context.

mentary *ad loc*.); therefore they are very unlikely to have been added in M. But they could easily have been cut from E in an attempt to stitch the two colloquia together. The waking up scene (3c) is part of the repeated material, and is the one that makes least sense when found in the middle of a text where the main character has already spent more than half a day at school; there is therefore a good motive for its deletion in E.

One could argue that even if the arrangement found in E does not derive directly from the archetype, it must nevertheless represent the original arrangement, since dividing a colloquium into two sections separated by a large dictionary is ridiculous. However, it is unlikely that sections 1–2 (the schoolbook) originally belonged to the same text as sections 4–12 (the phrasebook; cf. section 1.3 above). Sections 1–2 clearly describe the day of a boy: the character who gets up has a paedagogue and a nurse, he lives with his parents, and he spends his day at school. Sections 4–12, on the other hand, describe an adult: he has a court case, borrows money from a banker, goes to visit a sick friend, buys food for lunch and orders its preparation, invites guests, acts as host at a banquet, and gives orders to the servants for the night. (Section 3 describes a boy's morning in the repeated material, but that material was taken from the first colloquium.) Moreover, the style of the two pieces is very different. Section 2 consists of first-person narrative, the boy describing what he does in the course of the day. When direct speech is included (which is rare), it is set off explicitly by expressions such as 'he said' (2g, 2k–l, 2q, 2u). Sections 4–12 consist almost entirely of dialogue, normally presented without verbs of saying or any indication of who is speaking; narrative is included only when strictly necessary for comprehensibility and is always in the third person. (Section 3, of course, is presented in first-person narration, but again that is because it is imported from the first colloquium.)

Therefore the best explanation of the origin of the ME colloquia is that two different colloquia, a schoolbook and a phrasebook, were included in the ancestor of the ME Hermeneumata, and as the second one lacked a description of the start to the day, an abbreviated version of the morning routine from the first colloquium was added to the second. Then in the ancestor of the E version the two colloquia were combined, with excision of some but not all of the beginning of the second one.

The rearrangement could not have happened accidentally; it must have been a deliberate reworking of the ME Hermeneumata and as such is probably connected to the changes in wording discussed below.

2.3.2 THE OMISSIONS AND WORDING DIFFERENCES

Sections 3a–c are not the only portions of the colloquium text missing from E, which is generally prone to omissions, particularly in its later sections (cf. Krumbacher 1883: 54). It is clear that most of the passages in question are indeed omissions in E, rather than additions in M, because their loss often damages the grammar, the sense of the text, or both.[40] In a few places, however, material that occurs in M but not in E could be an addition; this is particularly the case with lists of glosses that break up the narrative.[41] There is only one passage that occurs in E but not M; this seems to be an addition created to adapt the preface to its new role in the volume as a whole after the colloquia were rearranged.[42]

This pattern of omissions indicates that on the whole the M version is closer to the ME archetype than the E version (something that might in any case be supposed from the earlier date of the M manuscripts), and this generalization is borne out by examination of the differences in wording (that is, passages in which a reading that can be securely reconstructed for the E archetype differs from one that can be securely reconstructed for the M archetype; wording differences in individual E manuscripts are due to the copyists of those manuscripts and cannot be considered as a group). When parallel passages are available to confirm the reading of one version or the other the older reading is usually, but not always, that of M.[43] In a few places one version of the text is so obviously a corruption of the other that the original can be identified even without parallel passages; again, in such places the older version is usually, but not always, that

---

[40] E.g. omission of ἑρμηνεῦσαι/*interpretasse* in 1j; see also commentary on 9c and on 2h καμπτροφόρος/*scriniarius*.

[41] E.g. in 1a and 4a.

[42] See commentary on 1l.

[43] For places where M's readings are confirmed by parallel passages see commentary on 1b *disputare*, 1e ἑρμηνευματικοῖς, 2c ἀπέθηκα τὴν ἐγκοιμήτραν/*deposui dormitoriam*, 2h καμπτροφόρος/*scriniarius*, 2h θήκην γραφείων/*thecam graphiariam*, 2h παραγραφίδα/*praeductorium*, 2p *clamatus*; for confirmation of E's readings see commentary on 2m *iubente magistro*, 10u καλῶς σοι ἔστω, 11m *ministravit*.

	M reading	Romance languages containing words related to M reading	*E reading*	Romance languages containing words related to E reading
1g	*causa*	Italian + 9 others	*gratia*	1 minor dialect
2p	*clamatus*	Italian + 10 others	*vocatus*	French
6e	*ostiarius*	Italian + 2 others	*ianitor*	none
6e	*intrare*	Italian + 9 others	*ingredi*	Spanish
6j	*sic*	Italian + 9 others	*ita*	2 minor dialects
9a	*clamet*	Italian + 10 others	*vocet*	French
9f	*coopertorium*	Italian + 5 others	*operculum*	2 minor dialects
10g	*vestimenta*	Italian + 8 others	*indumenta*	none
10j	*cessavi*	Italian + 10 others	*destiti*	none
10m	*lassus sum*	Italian + 5 others	*deficio*	none
10r	*porrige*	Italian + 4 others	*adice*	none
12c	*pigriter*	Italian + 1 other	*segniter*	none
12d	*dormite*	Italian + 10 others	*quiescite*	2 minor dialects

Figure 2.4 Romance words removed from E version

of M.[44] These indications make it possible to surmise, in places where no such confirmation is available, that the original reading is usually M's.

The changes in wording traceable to the E archetype have a distinctive character; on the whole they are not random errors and indeed can usually be categorized as corrections (cf. Krumbacher 1883: 55–6). Sometimes these corrections produce a text that conforms more closely to classical norms,[45] sometimes they result in closer agreement between the Latin and the Greek,[46] and sometimes they replace a Latin word that is classical and a good match for the Greek, but that in the eyes of speakers of Romance languages was less impressive because it had descendants in living Romance languages and was therefore still recognizable, with another word that belonged to a higher style because it had disappeared from the evolved version of the language.

The fact that the adaptor of the E version avoided words with Romance cognates indicates that he was a native speaker of a Romance language. The language in question was probably Italian, for more of the words in question have cognates in Italian than in other Romance languages or dialects. The words in question are given in figure 2.4, where information on Romance is taken from Meyer-Lübke 1935; in some cases more detail can be found in the commentary on the relevant passage.

The adaptor's corrections were not confined to the Latin: although in general he meddled less with the Greek than with the Latin, there are changes in the Greek as well, and these too often look like corrections. For example, the E version does not have the aphaeresis of εἰς found frequently in the M version (see commentary on 4i ʼς τὸ φόρον 3); other corrections include replacing τούτοις with αὐτοῖς at 2m7, ἀποδιδοῦσιν with ἀποδιδώασιν at 2n2, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ with εἰς τὸν οἶκον at 2s5, συγχαίρομαι with συγχαίρω at 4c3, ʼς τὸ φόρον with ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ at 4i4, ὀστιάριος with θυρωρός at 6e1, δωράκινα with μῆλα περσικά at 8c10, μελανόν with μέλανα at 9e2, and κεκόπωμαι with κεκοπίακα at 10k2. In a few places the adaptor appears to have added some Greek text, and this is correct and idiomatic (see commentary on 1l, 9g). All these alterations demonstrate that the adaptor of the E version must have had a reasonably good active command of ancient Greek.

The adaptor, then, was probably an Italian with a good knowledge of ancient Greek. Such characteristics make it virtually certain that he lived in

[44] See apparatus to 2s ὡς δὲ ταῦτʼ ἐπράξαμεν, 9i τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐκδέχομαι/*meos expecto*, 5e *cum tibi* (all confirming M) – but note also 11c1, where M's *quisque* must be a corruption of E's *quis quid*.

[45] See commentary e.g. on 2j *alio*, 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*, 4i ʼς τὸ φόρον, 4n *illi*, 6e ὀστιάριος/*ostiarius*, 11o πεῖν.

[46] E.g. ἔδωκαν for ὥρισαν in 2g; see also commentary e.g. on 1l *litterarum*, 1p εὐχερέστερον/*facillime*, 2a ὄρθρου, 2f κατεφίλησα/*osculatus sum*, 2i *ut scripsi*.

the Renaissance, and probably not too early in the Renaissance. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the earliest E manuscripts, which come from the second half of the fifteenth century, and a more precise dating by A, which was written between 1456 and 1462 and seems from its Greek script to be a copy of an exemplar written earlier in the same century (see above, section 2.1.2.1 with n. 6). Therefore the adaptor must have worked in the early fifteenth century; since the young Ficino chose to copy his creation as a means of learning Greek it is likely that the adaptor was someone known to and respected by Ficino.

This picture of an adaptor who rearranged the colloquia and carefully corrected the text in both languages is of course hardly consistent with the lacunose state of the E archetype. The most likely explanation for this discrepancy is that the adaptor worked on the basis of a poor-quality medieval copy of the text: either it was illegible in places, or it was already missing the passages that are absent from the E version. Having no access to the M manuscripts known today, he simply did the best he could with the material in this copy, and in the E version that we now possess his corrections are inextricably mixed with the errors and omissions of his source.

2.4 THE ORIGIN OF THE ME COLLOQUIA

The origins of this text can be explored from two different angles: their content and language and their manuscript tradition.

2.4.1 CONTENT AND LANGUAGE

Both the colloquia that make up the ME version have distinct verbal parallels with other colloquia, indicating that both have their origins in the ancient colloquium tradition. In the first colloquium (sections 1–3) these parallels are frequently lengthy and verbatim or nearly verbatim, while the second colloquium (sections 4–12) shows much less evidence of a close relationship with other texts (see section 1.2.2 above). The best passages for understanding the evolution of the colloquia are those that survive in more than two different versions, as in such circumstances it is possible to separate the original material from the innovations of the various versions. Such passages occur in ME especially at 1b–e, 1n (these two passages come from the preface to the Hermeneumata as a whole and

so are not really part of the colloquia), 2a, 2g, 2n–o, and 3a (see commentary *ad locc.*) and provide evidence of ME's relationship with the Leidense–Stephani, Stephani, Harleianum, Montepessulanum, and Celtis versions as well as with the Hermeneumata Vaticana (which do not contain a colloquium; see commentary on 1b–e). It is striking that in such passages ME always turns out to be the most conservative or one of the most conservative versions, even though most of the other versions are attested in substantially earlier manuscripts. It is equally striking that such evidence ceases abruptly at the end of section 3, i.e. at the end of the schoolbook. Clearly the first colloquium of the ME version is one of the most conservative colloquium versions, but the same cannot be said of the second.

Linguistic evidence points in the same direction. The second colloquium includes a significant number of words or usages not attested before the fourth or fifth century.[47] It also contains numerous examples of aphaeresis of εἰς, a linguistic feature that must be due to rewriting in (or after) the ninth century and that is distributed throughout the second colloquium.[48] By contrast the first colloquium contains only one linguistic feature that might be datable to later than the third century.[49] On the whole the first colloquium seems relatively free of later interventions; the absence of aphaeresis of εἰς is particularly notable. This difference suggests a different transmission history: the first colloquium was not subject to the same revisers as the second. Therefore it was probably not part of the same text as the second colloquium until after the revisions had ceased, that is, until the ninth century.

The second colloquium also has some internal variation indicating that it was not all written at the same date or by the same person. The lunch scene (sections 7–9) was written by someone who clarified instructions to servants for the reader by frequent use of the same vocative, which he always used postpositively, but other sections do not employ this device this way (see commentary on 8a παιδάριον/*puer*). In section 4 Lucius is the main character himself, but

---

[47] See commentary on 4j *post modicum*, 4m ἀσφαλίσματα, 5e *numero numera*, 6a *numquid aliquid opus habes*, 6e ὁστιάριος, 6j πάντα ὀρθῶς ἔχει, 8a τίποτε, 8c *piras*, 10n *fomenta*, 10p *luterem*, 11d *noli*, 11k *ofellas iuscellatas*, 11n νηρόν, 11n *gillone*. One might also want to put the vocatives *Gaie* and *Lucie* in this category, though they are difficult to date because they are unique: see commentary on 4a.

[48] See commentary on 4i 'ς τὸ φόρον.

[49] See commentary on 2a *pedules*.

in section 6 Lucius is an ailing friend of the main character. The difference in the handling of Roman money in section 5b from that in sections 4k and 8b also suggests a different writer. Therefore the second colloquium seems to be a composite of scenes originally written separately by different writers. But as the late linguistic features seem to be distributed throughout the second colloquium, the composite version was probably made before the final revisions were done.

Both the Greek and the Latin are idiomatic, and it is rare that either shows signs of being a translation of the other. When such signs do occur, they can point in either direction: there are a few places where it looks as though the Latin is translating (or at least influenced by) the Greek,[50] and a few more where it looks as though the Greek is translating or influenced by the Latin.[51] There is often textual uncertainty in the passages concerned, and it is likely that at least some of the translation effects were not present in the original version of these colloquia but arose during the transmission process. It is notable that the only unmistakeably medieval linguistic feature in this text is Greek: someone with a knowledge of contemporary spoken Greek worked on this text at a late period – almost certainly the ninth century – and his is the last hand that can be demonstrated to have tampered with the content or language of the archetype. It is tempting to wonder whether the second colloquium might have been transmitted in the East for some time beyond the end of antiquity, to be brought West in the middle ages by a traveller, but there is no particular evidence for such an anomalous transmission history. Most likely the text was transmitted in the West and used by a traveller there (either a Greek traveller or a Westerner who had been to Greece and learned the language there) to teach Greek to Western monks.

2.4.2 The manuscript tradition

The obvious way to date the ME archetype would be to work out whether it contained corruptions char-

acteristic of minuscule writing, since the presence of such errors would indicate a later date for the archetype than their absence. Unfortunately there are too few transmission errors common to the M and E families to make such dating reliable. The argument would have to turn on one word, *videre* for *bibere* in 11o, where minuscule confusion could be a factor but is by no means certain (see commentary *ad loc.*). It is possible that additional examples of minuscule confusion could be found in the glossaries, but these are of considerable bulk (and most of the manuscripts remain unpublished, making it tricky to ascertain which errors are really common to the tradition as a whole), so the task of seeking such errors would be an extremely difficult one.

Under these circumstances linguistic information is very useful in establishing a chronological framework. The latest linguistic feature is the aphaeresis of εἰς, which must have been introduced in or after the ninth century.[52] If, as seems likely (see 2.4.1 above), the introduction of the aphaeresis predates the joining of the first and second colloquia into one text, the ME archetype was formed no earlier than the ninth century. The transliteration in the M family, which must have happened after the M and E branches split, is no later than the tenth century. So the ME archetype, defined as the latest common ancestor before the division of the M and E families, was probably written in the late ninth or early tenth century. A tentative chronology for the ME version of the colloquia can thus be sketched as follows (cf. section 1.3.4 above):

I cent. or earlier	Original schoolbook created in West
II cent.	Original schoolbook comes East and is attached to Hermeneumata preface and glossaries
II–III cent.	ME version of Hermeneumata, which includes schoolbook (first colloquium) but not phrasebook (second colloquium), separates

---

[50] See commentary on 2o γλώσσας/*linguas*, 4a Γάϊε/*Gaie*, 4b Λούκιε/*Lucie*, 4c πῶς ἔχεις/*quomodo habes*, 6j πάντα ὀρθῶς ἔχει/ *omnia recte habet*, 11g ἐξ ὕδατος/*ex aqua*, 11n νηρόν/*recentem*.

[51] See commentary on 2f οὕτως/*sic*, 2k ὑπαγόρευσόν/*dicta*, 4b καλῶς ζήσαις/*bene valeas*, 4b ἔστιν σε ἰδεῖν/*est te videre*, 4c πάντα ὀρθῶς/*omnia recte*, 4d ⟨ἔστιν μοι⟩ κριτήριον/⟨*est mihi*⟩ *iudicium*, 4g παρέδρευσον/*adesto*, 4j ἧς, 5b πέντε δηνάρια/*quinque sestertia*, 5e ἀριθμῷ ἀρίθμησον/*numero numera*, 6a καλήμερον ἦλθες/*bono die venisti*, 6a σὲ ὑγιαίνειν/*te valere*, 6d περιπάτει/*ambula*; perhaps 3b ἀναστροφή should also be included in this category.

[52] The aphaeresis is not found in E, but as it is exactly the sort of non-standard feature that would have been corrected in E, its absence from the E manuscripts does not provide significant evidence that it was not in the ME archetype. Since the distribution of the aphaeresis suggests that the first and second colloquia did not become part of the same text until after the revisions that introduced the aphaeresis, and since they are part of the same text in both the M and E branches, it is very likely that the aphaeresis was in the ME archetype.

	from other Hermeneumata versions; phrasebook created as separate entity in East	x cent.	Greek is transliterated in ancestor of M version; ancestor of E version preserved without transliteration, though it does at some point before the fifteenth century. undergo some other corruptions including significant omissions towards the end
III–v cent.	Phrasebook continues to evolve; schoolbook remains largely fixed		
vi cent. or earlier	ME Hermeneumata, including schoolbook, returns to the West		
IX cent.	Phrasebook receives its final alterations, from a Greek speaker (but in the West?)	XII cent.	Earliest extant manuscripts of M version
IX–x cent.	Phrasebook joined to end of ME Hermeneumata; ME archetype formed	xv cent.	E version is adapted
		xv–xvi cent.	Extant manuscripts of E version
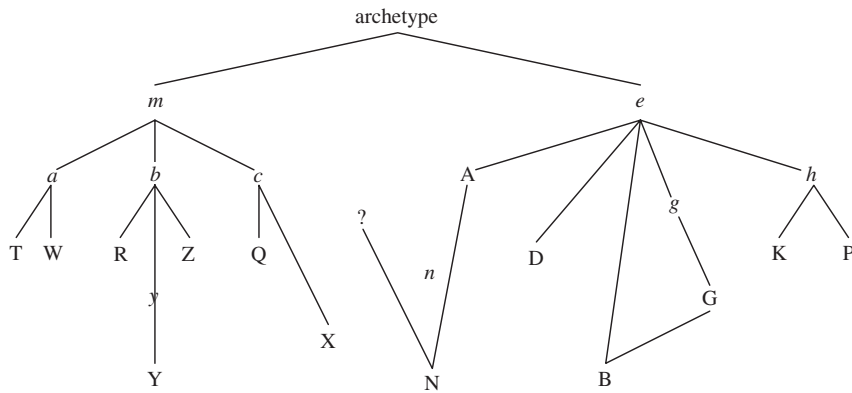
Figure 2.5 ME colloquium stemma

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND CRITICAL APPARATUS

INDEX SIGLORUM

A Florentinus Ashburnhamensis 1439 (15th century)
B edition of Beatus Rhenanus (16th century)
D Einsidlensis 19 (16th century)
E agreement of at least five manuscripts of the E group (A N D G B K P)
G Selestatensis 343d (16th century)
K Vindobonensis suppl. Gr. 84 (15th century)
M agreement of all the major manuscripts of the M group that contain that section of text, i.e.:

> for beginning to 1j1, M   R T W Q
> for 1j2–2u10, M   R T W
> for 3a1–4h2, M   Z R T W Q
> for 4h3–11k7, M   Z R T W
> for 11k8–end, M   Z T W

N Neapolitanus Graecus II D 35 (16th century)
P Parisinus Graecus 3049 (15th century)
Q Admontensis 3 (12th century, missing 1j2–2u10 and after 4h2)
R Sancrucensis 17 (12th century, missing after 11k7)
T Monacensis Latinus 13002 (12th century)
W Monacensis Latinus 22201 (12th century)
X Monacensis Latinus 27317 (15th century, missing after 4h2)
Y Monacensis Graecus 323 (16th century)
Z Zwettlensis 1 (12th century, missing from beginning to 2u)

Boucherie	Boucherie 1872
Ferri	Ferri 2008
Goetz	Goetz 1892
Haupt	Haupt 1876
Krumbacher	Krumbacher 1891
Ogden	personal communication from Daniel Ogden
Vulcanius	Vulcanius 1600
West	personal communication from M. L. West

ac	before correction
del.	bracketed for deletion by
edd.	Krumbacher and Goetz
om.	omitted by

pc	after correction
ut vid.	reading uncertain

<>	editorial supplements to the text
[ ]	editorial additions to the translation

In the text, line divisions reproduce those in Z, R, and T unless otherwise noted; capitalization, punctuation, accents, breathings, and iotas subscript (and sometimes word division) are editorial. Spelling is normalized (with original spellings in apparatus), but morphology and syntax are not normalized. The section numbers are those provided by Goetz in his restored version (1892: 644–54), but for convenience I have divided them into smaller units marked with letters.

In the apparatus, readings of E, Z, R, T, W, and Q are always given when they differ from the text printed (except that abbreviations have been silently expanded when there is no doubt about the correct expansion, and differences concerning only diacritic marks, punctuation, capitalization, or word division are not noted), so the text can be assumed to have the authority of those sources when there is no indication to the contrary. But readings of X, Y, and the individual manuscripts of the E family are not given in the apparatus unless they are of particular interest, so no assumptions about the readings of those manuscripts can be made unless they are specifically mentioned. When a reading is given as shared by several manuscripts, that similarity may not extend to word division, diacritics (accents, breathings, and subscripts), or punctuation; those features are reproduced from the first of the manuscripts listed. For this purpose the abbreviation 'M' should be understood to have the order Z, R, T, W, Q (for sections where Z is lost, the features concerned are reproduced from R), and the abbreviation 'E' should be understood to have the order A, N, D, G, B, K, P. Original capitalization is not reproduced in the apparatus except where it is of interest.

COLLOQUIA MONACENSIA–EINSIDLENSIA

Title	Λόγος	Liber	Book
Preface			
1a	Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, εὐτυχῶς.	Bona fortuna, feliciter.	Good fortune, fortunately.
b	ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας Ῥωμαϊστὶ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ	quoniam video multos cupientes Latine disputare et Graece	Since I see many people desiring to converse [Lat.: speak] in Latin and in Greek
c	μήτε εὐχερῶς δύνασθαι διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν καὶ πολυπλήθειαν τῶν ῥημάτων,	neque facile posse propter difficultatem et multitudinem verborum,	and that they cannot easily do [so] on account of the difficulty and the multitude of the words,
d	τῇ ἐμῇ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ οὐκ ἐφεισάμην τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι,	meo labore et industria non peperci ut non facerem,	I have not spared my suffering and hard work [and refrained] from doing [it],

Title *Logos Liber* R W X Q: λόγος *liber* Y: *Prologus* T: *Vocabula excerpta ex Iulio polydeuca Greca et Latina* A D: Ἰούλιος πολυδεύκης *Ex Iulio polydeuce* ἐξ Ιουλίου πολυδεύκους G: Καθημερινῆς ὁμιλίας βιβλίον *Cottidiani colloquii libellus* B: Ιουλλίου πολυδεύκους περὶ καθημερινῆς ὁμιλίας *Iulii polideucis de quottidiana loquutione* K: Πολυδεύκους περὶ καθημερινῆς ὁμιλίας *Polucis de quotidiana loquutione* P: om. N   deest Z usque ad 2u10
1a–q post 12d habet D **1a**1 *agathi tychi* R Q: -*tichi* W: -*tichy* T: σὺν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ E   *cum bona fortuna* E post hanc lineam addit M *agathos bona | tychos fortuna | kai agathi tychi (tichi* T W) *et bona fortuna | sinagathi tychi* (-*ti tichi* T) *cum bona fortuna | tychi (tichi* T) *agathi fortuna bona*   2 *eytychos* R: *eytichos* T: *et tychos* Q: *ethichos* W: καὶ εὐτυχῶς E: del. edd. *feliciter* M: *et feliciter* E: del. edd.   **1b**1 *epidioro* M   2 *pollus* M
3 *epithimuntas* M   4 *romaisti* M   5 *dialegesthe* R: -*est῾e* (= -*esthe*) W^pc: -*este* T W^ac Q *disputare* M: *loqui* E   6 *kai Ellinisti* M *Grece* M hanc lineam supra post Ῥωμαϊστί *Latine* habet Y
1c1 *mite eucheros* M   *neque* E: *queque* M   2 *dinaste* R T W: *dianeste* Q   3 *diatis discherian* M
4 *kai poliplithian* M   5 *rimaton* T Q: *rimathon* R: *kimathon* W   τῶν om. M edd.   **1d**1 *tiemi cacopathia* R T Q: -*pat῾ia* (= -*pathia*) W^pc: -*patia* W^ac   *labori* P   2 *kaifiloponia* R T Q: -*phil*- W   *industria* M E: *industrie* K: *industriae* P   3 *ucesfisamin* M   4 *tumi piise* T W^ac: -*piyse* R: -*pipise* W^pc: -*pysie* Q   *ut non* M E: *ne* G: *quo minus* B

e	ὅπως ἐν τρισὶν βιβλίοις ἑρμηνευματικοῖς πάντα τὰ ῥήματα συγγράψαι.	ut in tribus libris interpretamentorum omnia verba conscribere.	so that in three books of hermeneumata I might write all the words.
f	πολλοὺς γὰρ ὁρῶ ἐπικεχειρηκότας οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καθὼς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰτεῖ,	multos enim video conatos esse non pro dignitate sicut ipsa res postulat,	For I see that many people have tried, but not in accordance with its importance, as the matter itself requires,
g	ἀλλὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ γυμνασίας ἕνεκα.	sed suae cupiditatis et exercitationis causa.	but for the sake of their own desire and for practice.
h	οὕτως κενὴν καύχησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀπήνεγκαν μέχρι τοῦ ἐσχάτου,	sic inanem gloriam a primo abstulerunt usque ad extremum,	Thus they have taken away [only] empty boasting,. from the first to the last,
i	δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐ τολμῶ πλείονας λόγους ποιῆσαι,	propter quam causam non audeo plura verba facere,	for which reason I do not dare to say more,

1e1 *oposentrisin* R T W: *oposesitrisin* Q   τρισί E   2 *bibliys* R Q: -*liis* T Wᵖᶜ: *biblis* Wᵃᶜ   *libris* bis scriptum in Q X   3 *ermineumaticis* R T Q: -*ticus* W: ἑρμηνευμάτων E   4 *pantatarimata* T W Q: *plan-* R   5 *singrapse* M: συγγράψαι Aᵖᶜ E: συγγράφαι Aᵃᶜ D: συγγράψαιμι Haupt: fortasse legendum est συγγράψωμαι ex colloquio Montepessulano 1c   *conscribere* M E: *conscriberem* B: fortasse legendum est *conscribam* ex colloquio Montepessulano 1c   **1f**1 *pollus garoro* R Q: -*aro* T W   ὁρῶ om. G   2 *epice chiricotas* R W: -*chiryc-* Q: *eice-* T   *esse* om. E   3 *ucata tynaxian* R Q: *urata-* W: *urata tinaxian* T: υκατα τιναξιαν Y   4 *chathos autoto* R X: *chatos-* T W: *cahtos* Q   πρᾶγμα om. M   αὐτό om. G   5 *eti* R Q T: *ethi* W   *postulat* bis scriptum in T   **1g**1 *allatisidias* M   *suae* E: *sue* M: *propriae* N   2 *epithimiuntas* R ut vid.: *epitim-* T W: *epithimuntas* Q: επιθιμυντας Y   *cupiditatis* R Q E: *cupiditates* T W   3 *ke gymnasias* M   *exercititacionis* Q   4 *eneca* M   *causa* M: *gratia* E   **1h**1 *utoscenin* M   2 *cauchesin* R T W: *chachesin* Q: om. X   3 *apoto proto* T W Q: -*tho* R   4 *apenencan* M   5 *mechrutes chatu* M: *mechi-* Wᵃᶜ   **1i**1 *diinecian* M: *diincian* Wᵃᶜ   2 *utolmoplionas logus* R ut vid. T Q: -*plyon-* W   *aude* Q   3 *pyise* R T Q: *pyse* W

j	ἀλλὰ βούλομαι	sed volo	but I want
	ἅπασιν	omnibus	to make it clear to everyone
	φανερὸν ποιῆσαι,	palam facere,	
	μηδένα βέλτιον	neminem melius	that no-one has given better
	μήτε ⟨μᾶλλον⟩	neque exquisitius	nor more meticulous
	ἐξεζητημένον		
	ἑρμηνεῦσαι	interpretasse	translations
k	πλὴν ἐμοῦ	quam me	than I have
	ἐν τρισὶν βιβλίοις	in tribus libris	in the three books
	ἃ συνέγραψα·	quos conscripsi;	that I have written,
	ὧν ⟨τοῦτο⟩ πρῶτον ἔσται	quorum hic primus erit	of which this will be
			the first [book]
	τῆς ἡμετέρας ἑρμηνείας.	nostrae interpretationis.	of our explanation.
l	ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ	in hoc libro	In this book
	πάντα τὰ ῥήματα	omnia verba	I have written all the words
	συνέγραψα	conscripsi	
	κατὰ τάξιν	per ordinem	in the order of the letters,
	στοιχείων	litterarum	
m	ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου	a prima littera	from the first letter
	γράμματος		
	μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου	usque ad novissimam	to the last
	γράμματος.	litteram.	letter.
n	νῦν οὖν	nunc ergo	So now
	ἄρχομαι γράφειν.	incipiam scribere.	let me begin [Gk: I begin]
			to write.

ıjı *allabulome* M   post hoc Graece et post ıj3 *Latine deest* Q usque ad 3a   2 *apasin* M: ἅπασι E   3 *faneron pyise* R W: -*piise* T   post hoc Latine et post ıj1 *Graece deest* Q usque ad 3a   4 *mimeda veltion* R W X: -*tionem* T   5 μήτε ⟨μᾶλλον⟩ ἐξεζητημένον Goetz: *miteeczezitimenon* M: μήτε ἀκριβέστερον E: μα⟨λήτε ⟨μᾶλλον⟩ ἐκζεζητημένον Krumbacher   6 *ermineuce* M   lineam om. E   **ık**ı *plinemu* M: πλὴν ἐμοῦ E: πα⟩λὴν ἐμοῦ A^ac D   2 *entrisinbiblyis* R T: -*bybliis* W^pc: -*byliis* W^ac: ἐν τρισὶ βιβλίοις E   3 *asine grapsa* M   4 *oproton este* M   τοῦτο supplevit Krumbacher   *hic* M: om. E   5 *tisemeteras erminias* R X: *tys*- W: *tesimetras*- T   *nostre* T W   **ıl**ı *entuto tobiblyo* R T: -*lio* W: ἐν τούτῳ μὲν τῷ βίβλω A N D: -βιβλίῳ G B K P   *in isto quidem libro* E   post hanc lineam addit E πλείονα ῥήματα κατὰ τάξιν τῶν διαφόρων πραγμάτων συνέταξα, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ δέ/ *plura verba secundum ordinem diversarum rerum constitui, in secundo autem*   2 *pantata rimata* M   3 *sine grapsa* R T X: *singrapsa* W   4 *catataxin* T W X: *cataxin* R   *secundum ordinem* B   5 *stychion* R T: *sthichion* W   *litterarum* M: *elementorum* E   **ım**ı *apotu protugrammatoy* R W X: -*aton* T   τοῦ om. D   πρώτου E: πρότου A D   2 *mechritute leuteu* M   3 *grammatos* R T X: -*athos* W   *litteram* om. X   **ın**ı *ninun* M   *nunc igitur* B   lineam om. Y   2 *archomegraphin* M

o	ἐπειδὴ νηπίοις παισὶν	quoniam parvulis pueris	Since I saw that for little boys
	ἀρχομένοις	incipientibus	beginning to be educated, the
	παιδεύεσθαι	erudiri	hearing of hermeneumata of
	ἀναγκαῖον ἑώρων	necessarium videbam	daily speech [is] a necessary
	ἀκρόασιν	auditionem	thing,
	ἑρμηνευμάτων	interpretamentorum	
	ὁμιλίας	sermonis	
	καθημερινῆς,	cottidiani,	

p	δι᾽ ἧς εὐχερέστερον	per quem facillime	through which they may be very
	Ῥωμαϊστὶ	Latine	easily [Gk: more easily] taught
	καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ	et Graece	to speak Latin and Greek;
	λαλεῖν	loqui	
	προσβιβασθῶσι·	instruantur;	

q	τούτου ἕνεκεν	idcirco	for this reason
	διὰ βραχέων	paucis	I have written briefly about daily
	περὶ ὁμιλίας	de sermone	conversation
	καθημερινῆς	cottidiano	
	συνέγραψα,	conscripsi,	
	ἃ ὑποτεταγμένα εἰσίν.	quae subiecta sunt.	[the words] that are below.

Morning routine

2a	Ὄρθρου	Ante lucem	At dawn [Lat.: before daylight]
	ἐγρηγόρησα	vigilavi	I awoke
	ἐξ ὕπνου·	de somno;	from sleep;
	ἀνέστην	surrexi	I got up
	ἐκ τῆς κλίνης,	de lecto,	from the bed,
	ἐκάθισα,	sedi,	I sat down,
	ἔλαβον	accepi	I took
	ὑποδεσμίδας,	pedules,	gaiters,
	καλίγια·	caligas;	boots;
	ὑπεδησάμην·	calciavi me;	I put on my boots;

1o1 *epidini piyspesin* T: *-pyis-* R W X   *pueris parvulis* W   2 *archomenis* R T X: *-nys* W   *incipientis* M
3 *pede uesthe* M   4 ἀναγκαῖον ἑώρων Krumbacher: *anance omeuron* M: ἀναγκαῖαν ἑώρων A N D K P:
ἀναγκαῖαν ἑώρουν G B   *necessarium* M: *necessariam* E   5 *acroasin* R T X: *-syn* W   6 *ermineumaton* M
7 *omilias* R T X: *omelias* W   *sermones* W   8 *chathimerinis* R: *chatimerinis* T W: καθιμερινις Y   *quotidiani* E
1p1 *diiseucheresteron* T X: *dusehuch-* W: *diiscuucheresthron* R   *per quem* E: *per quam* A^pc G: *perque* M   *facilius* E
2 *Romaisti* M   *Latine* om. X   3 *ke Ellinisti* M   *et grece* M   lineam om. X   4 *lalin* M: om. E
5 *prosbiasthos* R X: *-stos* T: *prosbiasthos* W: προσβιβασθῶσι E: προβιβασθῶσι K P   **1q**1 *tutu enecen* M
idcirco M: *huius rei gratia* E   2 *diabracheon* M   3 *periomilias* M   4 *catimerinis* M   *quotidiano*
E   5 *singrapsa* R T X: *-raspa* W   post hanc lineam addunt R W X Y *huc usque prologus*   6 *aypote*
tagmenaysin M   εἰσί E   *que* T W X   post hanc lineam addit T *huc usque prologus, incipit ordo locutionum*;
addunt R W X Y solum *incipit ordo locutionum*   **2a**1 *orthru* M: πρὸ τοῦ ὄρθρου E   2 *egrigorisa*
M   *evigilavi* Y E   3 *exypnu* X: *etypnu* T W: *et ipnu* R: ετιπνυ Y^ac: εκιπνυ Y^pc   4 *anestin*
M   5 *ectisclinis* R T: *-clynis* W   6 *ecathisa* R X: *-ysa* T: *echatisa* W   7 *elabon* R T X: *esl-* W
8 *ypodesmidas* M: ὑποδεσμίας E   *pedules* M A N D G: *pedulas* K P: *socculos* B   9 *caligia* M: σανδάλια
E   10 ὑπεδησάμην Vulcanius: *ypedisamin* R X: *ypedys-* T: *ypedes-* W: ὑπεδυσάμην E

b	ᾔτησα	poposci	I asked for
	ὕδωρ	aquam	water
	εἰς ὄψιν.	ad faciem;	for [my] face;
	νίπτομαι	lavo	I wash
	πρῶτον τὰς χεῖρας,	primo manus,	[my] hands first,
	εἶτα τὴν ὄψιν	deinde faciem	then I washed [my] face;
	ἐνιψάμην·	lavi;	
	ἀπέμαξα.	extersi.	I dried [myself].
c	ἀπέθηκα τὴν ἐγκοιμήτραν·	deposui dormitoriam;	I took off [my] night-clothes;
	ἔλαβον χιτῶνα	accepi tunicam	I took a tunic
	πρὸς τὸ σῶμα·	ad corpus;	for my body;
	περιεζωσάμην,	praecinxi me;	I put on my belt;
	ἤλειψα τὴν κεφαλήν μου	unxi caput meum	I anointed my head
	καὶ ἐκτένισα·	et pectinavi;	and combed [my] hair];
d	ἐποίησα περὶ τὸν τράχηλον	feci circa collum	I put around my neck
	ἀναβόλαιον.	pallam;	a mantle;
	ἐνεδυσάμην	indui me	I put on
	ἐπενδύτην	superariam	an outer garment,
	λευκήν· ἐπάνω	albam, supra	a white one, [and] on top
	ἐνδύομαι φελόνην.	induo paenulam.	I put on a hooded cape.
e	προῆλθον	processi	I went out
	ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος	de cubiculo	of the bedroom
	σὺν τῷ παιδαγωγῷ	cum paedagogo	with [my] paedagogue
	καὶ σὺν τῇ τροφῷ	et cum nutrice	and with [my] nurse,
	ἀσπάσασθαι	salutare	to greet
	τὸν πατέρα	patrem	[my] father
	καὶ τὴν μητέρα.	et matrem.	and mother.

2b1 *itisa* R T X: *etisa* W   2 *ydor* M   3 *isopsin* M   4 *niptome* M   5 *protontaschiras* R W X: *-chyras* T *primum* N   6 *itatinopsin* M   7 *enipsamin* M   8 *apemaxa* M   **2c**1 *apethicatinen cimitran* R T: *-cymitrant* W: ἀπέθηκα τὴν μήτραν A N: ἀπέθηκα τὴν μίτραν E   *dormitoriam* R: *dormitoria* T W X Y: *mitram* E   2 *elabonchitona* M   *accepi tunicam* om. D   3 *prostosoma* R T X: *protho-* W   *ad* om. K P   4 *periezosamin* M   *precinxi* M   *me* om. K P   5 *ilipsatince falimnu* T W X: *illi-* R 6 *ke ettenisa* R T: *keetenisa* W: κε εκκανισα Y   *expectinavi* M   **2d**1 *epyisa peritontrachilon* R T: *epiis-* W X   τόν om. K P   2 *anaboleon* M   *volutionem* P   3 *enedysamin* R: *enedisamin* T W X 4 *ependitin* T W: *exp-* R   *superariam* M: *super aliam* E   5 *leucinepano* R T X: *-anon* W   λευκήν E: λευκόν Gac   6 *indio me felomni* M: ινδιομε φελομιν Y   φελόνην Krumbacher: φελόνην E: φαινώλην B: φαινόλην Vulcanius   *penulam* M A N D K   **2e**1 *proelthon* R: προελθον Y: *prodthon* T: *prodton* Wac: *protton* Wpc   2 *ectucytonos* T W X: *ectucitonos* R   3 *sinto pedagogo* M   *pedagogo* R T X: *pedegogo* W   4 *ke sintitrofo* M   5 *aspasasthe* M: ἀσπάσασθαι E: ἀσπάσεσθαι Gac B   6 *tenpatera* M   7 *ketinmitera* T W X: *-tira* R

f	ἀμφοτέρους ἠσπασάμην	ambos salutavi	I greeted them both
	καὶ κατεφίλησα,	et osculatus sum,	and kissed them,
	καὶ οὕτως καταβαίνω ἐκ	et sic descendi de domo.	and then I come [Lat.: came]
	τοῦ οἴκου.		down out of the house.

School

g	Ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὴν σχολήν.	Eo in scholam.	I go off to school.
	εἰσῆλθον, εἶπον.	introivi, dixi:	I entered [and] said,
	Χαῖρε καθηγητά,	Ave, magister,	'Hello, teacher!'
	καὶ αὐτός με κατεφίλησεν	et ipse me osculatus est	and he himself kissed me
	καὶ ἀντησπάσατο.	et resalutavit.	and returned the greeting.

h	ἐπιδίδωσίν μοι	porrexit mihi	My [slave] boy who carries the
	ὁ παῖς ὁ ἐμὸς	puer meus	case of books hands
			[Lat.: handed] me
	καμπτροφόρος	scriniarius	
	πινακίδας,	tabulas,	writing-tablets,
	θήκην γραφείων,	thecam graphiariam,	a case of styluses
	παραγραφίδα.	praeductorium.	[Lat.: a stylus-case], a ruler.

i	τῷ ἐμῷ τόπῳ	loco meo	Sitting in my place I rub out
	καθήμενος	sedens	[the previous contents of my
			tablets].
	λειαίνω.	deleo.	
	παραγράφω	praeduco	I rule lines
	πρὸς τὸν ὑπογραμμόν·	ad praescriptum;	following the model;
	γράψας δὲ	ut scripsi,	when I have written
	δεικνύω	ostendo	I show [my work]
	τῷ διδασκάλῳ·	magistro;	to the teacher:
	ἐδιώρθωσεν,	emendavit,	he corrected it,
	ἐχάραξεν·	induxit;	he crossed it out.

2f1 *amfotereuses pasamin* R T^ac W: *-tereoses-* T^pc ut vid.   2 *kecatefilesa* R W: *ke katefilasa* T: *kecate* (om. *filesa*) X   *osculatus* M: *deosculatus* E   3 *keutoscatabennoexicu* R T: *-xycu* W: καὶ οὕτως κατῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου E: καὶ οὕτως καταβαίνω ἐξ οἴκου Krumbacher   **2g**1 *apercomeis tincolin* R W: *iper-* T   προέρχομαι P   *eo* T W Y: *et* R X: *proficiscor* E   *in* M: *ad* E   *scola* M   2 *isilthonipon* R X: *isilton-* W: *isolthon-* T   *introivi* M A N G B: *intravi* D K P   3 *cherechati gita* T: *kere-* W: *cherechathigitha* X: *chrerechathigitha* R   4 *kaiautos mecate filesen* W: *-chate-* R: *-lasen* T: *-lenes* X   *osculatus* M: *deosculatus* E   5 *ante spasato* M: ἀντησπάσατο A^pc N G B: ἀντισπάσατο A^ac D K P   καί et *et* om. M   *resalutavit me* P   **2h**1 *epididosinmy* R W: *-synmy* X: *-syn mi* T: ἐπιδίδωσί μοι E   *porrexit* M: *porrigit* W^ac: *tradit* E: *tradidit* P   *michi* R   2 *opesoemos* M   3 *cantroforos* R T: *camtro-* W X: καμτροφορος Y   *scriniarius* Krumbacher: *scriniarium* Y: *scriniarum* R: *scrinarum* T W: *sermarum* X   lineam om. E   4 *penacidas* M   *tabellas* E   5 θήκην γραφείων Krumbacher: *thecin graphion* R W: *-fion* T: *tecingraphyon* X: θήκην· γραφεῖον E   *thecam graphiariam* Krumbacher: *theca graphiaria* R: *-fiaria* T: *teca grafiaria* W: *thecam· stilum* E: 6 *paragrafida* M: ἐξάγω γραφίδα A N D K P G^ac ut vid.: ἐξάγω γραφίδια G^pc B   *praeductorium* Krumbacher: *preductori* R T: *praeductori* W: *produco graphium* E   **2i**1 *toemotopo* M   *meo loco* E   2 *cathimenos* R W X: *cati-* T   3 λειαίνω Vulcanius: *lieno* M: λιαίνω E   4 παραγράφω Krumbacher: *perigrapho* R W: *perigrafo* T X: περιγράφω E   *preduco* M: *describo* E   5 *prostonypogramon* R T X: *-tonipo-* W   *praescriptum* M: *exemplar* E   6 *grassasde* M   *ut scripsi autem* E   7 *dienio* R W: *dyenio* T: *diomo* X: δυκμο Y   8 *todidascalo* W: *totid-* R T: τοτιδασκολο Y   9 *ediorthosen* M   10 *echaraxen* M: ἐχάραξε καί P

j	κελεύει με	iubet me	He orders me
	ἀναγινώσκειν.	legere.	to read.
	κελευσθεὶς	iussus	When asked to do so,
	ἄλλῳ δέδωκα.	alio dedi.	I gave [the book] to another [pupil].
	ἐκμανθάνω	edisco	I learn thoroughly
	ἑρμηνεύματα,	interpretamenta,	the hermeneumata,
	ἀπέδωκα.	reddidi.	I produced them.
k	ἀλλ' εὐθέως	sed statim	But at once
	ὑπαγόρευσέν μοι	dictavit mihi	a fellow student dictated to me.
	συμμαθητής.	condiscipulus.	
	Καὶ σύ, φησίν,	Et tu, inquit,	'You too', he said,
	ὑπαγόρευσόν μοι.	dicta mihi.	'recite for me.'
	εἶπον αὐτῷ·	dixi ei:	I said to him,
	Ἀπόδος πρῶτον.	Redde primo.	'You produce [your work] first!'
l	καὶ εἶπέν μοι·	et dixit mihi:	And he said to me,
	Οὐκ εἶδες,	Non vidisti,	'Didn't you see,
	ὅτε ἀπεδίδουν	cum redderem	when I produced [my work]
	πρότερόν σου;	prior te?	before you [did]?'
	καὶ εἶπον·	et dixi:	And I said,
	Ψεύδη,	Mentiris,	'You're lying;
	οὐκ ἀπέδωκας.	non reddidisti.	you didn't.'
	Οὐ ψεύδομαι.	Non mentior.	'I'm not lying!'
	Εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγεις,	Si verum dicis,	'If you're telling the truth,
	ἀναδίδωμι.	dicto.	I [shall] recite.'

2j1 *celeugime* M   2 *anaginoscin* M   3 *celeusthis* T W: *-tis* R   4 *allodedoca* T W X: *allodecioca* R: αλλοδεκιοκα Y   *alio* M: *alii* E   5 ἐκμανθάνω Krumbacher: *ecmanthanon* T W: *cemantanon* R: ἐμάνθανον E *ediscebam* E   6 *ermineumata* M   7 *apodoca* M   *reddidi* W E: *reddi* R T X Y   **2k**1 *alleutheos* M 2 *ypagoreus enmy* R W: *-myn* T X: ὑπηγόρευσέ μοι E   *michi* R   3 *synmathitis* W: *sin-* R T X 4 *kesisisin* M   5 *ypagoreusenmy* M: ὑπαγόρευέ μοι E   *michi* R   hanc lineam supra cum ἀλλ' εὐθέως *sed statim* coniungit E   6 *ipon auto* T W: *yp-* R X   7 *apodosproton* R T X: *-thon* W   *primum* E **2l**1 *keipenmy* R W: *-mi* T: καὶ εἶπέ μοι P: καὶ εἶπεν ἐμοί E   *michi* R   2 *ucides* M: οὐκ ἴδες E: οὐκ οἴδες G: οὐκ εἶδες P   3 ὅτε ἀπεδίδουν N: ὅτε ἀπεδίδο A (cum signo obscuro sub ultima littera) D K^ac P: ὅτε ἀπεδίδω G B K^pc: *oteapte dicunt* T W X: *oitapte dicunt* R: ὅτε ἀπεδίδων Vulcanius   4 *proteron su* M *prior* M: *prius* E   5 καὶ εἶπον Boucherie: *keipen* W: *keypen* R T X: καὶ εἶπεν E   *dixi* Vulcanius: *dixit* M E 6 *pseudi* M: *speudi* X   7 *ucapedocas* M   *reddisti* W   *non reddidisti* om. P   8 *upseudome* M: *uspeudome* X 9 *ialithilegis* R X: *ialithy-* T: *iilithi-* W   *verum* M: *vera* E   10 *anadidome* M

m	ἐν τούτοις	inter haec	Meanwhile,

m
ἐν τούτοις	inter haec	Meanwhile,
κελεύσαντος καθηγητοῦ	iubente magistro	as the teacher orders,
ἐγείρονται	surgunt	the little ones get up
οἱ μικροὶ	pusilli	
πρὸς τὰ στοιχεῖα,	ad elementa,	to [practise] letters,
καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς	et syllabas	and one of the bigger [pupils]
κατέλεξεν τούτοις	praebuit eis	gave [Gk: told] them syllables.
εἷς τῶν μειζόνων.	unus de maioribus.	

n
ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸν ὑποδιδακτὴν	alii ad subdoctorem	Others produce [their work] in order to the teaching assistant:
τάξει ἀποδιδοῦσιν,	ordine reddunt,	
ὀνόματα γράφουσιν,	nomina scribunt,	they write names,
ἢ στίχους ἔγραψαν,	versus scripserunt,	they [Gk: or they] wrote verses.
καὶ ἐγὼ	et ego	And I,
ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ	in prima	in the first
τάξει	classe	class,
ἅμιλλαν	dictatum	received an exercise [to do].
ἐξέλαβον.	excepi.	

o
ἔπειτα	deinde	Then,
ὡς ἐκαθίσαμεν,	ut sedimus,	as we were seated,
διέρχομαι	pertranseo	I go through the commentary [Gk: commentaries],
ὑπομνήματα,	commentarium,	
γλώσσας,	linguas,	word lists,
τέχνην.	artem.	grammar.

p
φωνηθεὶς πρὸς ἀνάγνωσιν	clamatus ad lectionem	When called to [do] a reading,
ἀκούω ἐξηγήσεις,	audio expositiones,	I listen to explanations,
διανοίας,	sensus,	meanings,
πρόσωπα.	personas.	persons.

2m1 *entiris* R T: *entyris* W X   *hec* T W   2 *celeusantos cathigitu* M: κελεύσαντος τοῦ καθηγητοῦ E
iussu magistri M   3 *egironte* M   4 *imicry* T: *imycry* R: *imichry* W: *imicyi* X   5 *prostastichia* T: *-chya* R:
prostasthi-chia W^pc: *prostathi-chia* W^ac   *ad subductum* M   6 *kaitas syllabas* R T: *sillabas* W   *et sillabas* W
7 *catalexentutys* R T: *-tutis* W X: κατέλεξεν αὐτοῖς E   *prebuit* M: *dinumeravit* E   *eis* M E: *et* K P   8 *istonmi
zono* M   μειζόνων E: μειζόνον A D   **2n**1 *alliprostonypodidactin* R T: *-dactyn* W   *subductorem* M
2 *taxia podidosin* M: τάξει ἀποδιδόασιν G: τάξει ἀποδιδώασιν A D B K P: τῇ τάξει ἀποδιδώασιν N
3 *onomata grafusin* M: *-fisin* W^ac   γράφουσι E   post hanc lineam addit M *taxi ordine* | *apodidosin
onomata* (*-atha* W) *reddunt nomina* | *grafusin* (*-fisin* W^ac) *scribunt*   4 *istichuse grapsan* R T X: *-sen gr-* W: ἢ om.
E   5 *ke ego* M   6 *entiproti* R T: *enthi-* W   *primo* E   7 *taxi* M   *classe* Krumbacher: *clause* M:
ordine E   8 *amillam* M   9 *exelabon* M: ἐξέλαβον N: ἐξέβαλον E   **2o**1 *epita* R T X: *epitha* W   2 *ose
cathisame* M   *ut* M N: *ubi* E   3 *dierchome* M   4 *yponnimata* M   *commentaria* E; *commentarium* cum
pertranseo coniungit T   5 *glossas* R X: γλοσσας Y: *glosas* W: om. T   6 *techinin* R W: *gechinin* T: τεχινιν Y^pc:
τεθινιν Y^ac   **2p**1 *fonethisprosan agnosin* R W X: *toneth-* T: φονεχις προσαναγνοσιν Y   *clamatus* M: *vocatus* E
2 *acuo exigisis* M: ἀκούω ἐξήγησιν E: ἀκούω διήγησιν D   *expositionem* E   3 *dianyas* R T: *dianias* W
4 *prosapa* M: πρόσωπα E: πρόσοπα A D^pc ut vid.

q	ἐπερωτηθεὶς	interrogatus	When asked,
	τέχνην	artificia	I answered grammatical questions:
	ἀπεκρίθην·	respondi:	
	Πρὸς τίνα λέγει;	Ad quem dicit?	'To whom is he speaking?'
	Τί μέρος λόγου;	Quae pars orationis?	'What part of speech [is it]?'
r	ἔκλινα	declinavi	I declined
	γένη ὀνομάτων,	genera nominum,	the genders of nouns,
	ἐμέρισα στίχον.	partivi versum.	I parsed a verse.
s	ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράξαμεν,	ut haec egimus,	When we had done these things,
	ἀπέλυσεν	dimisit	[the teacher] dismissed [us]
	εἰς ἄριστον.	ad prandium.	for lunch.
	ἀπολυθεὶς	dimissus	Having been dismissed,
	ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ.	venio domi.	I come home.
t	ἀλλάσσω, λαμβάνω	muto, accipio	I change [my clothes], I take
	ἄρτον καθαρόν,	panem candidum,	white bread,
	ἐλαίας,	olivas,	olives,
	τυρόν,	caseum,	cheese,
	σχάδια,	caricas,	dried figs,
	κάρυα.	nuces.	nuts.
	πίνω	bibo	I drink
	ὕδωρ	aquam	chilled water.
	ψυχρόν.	frigidam.	

2q1 *eporetithis* R T: *eporethithis* W: *eporethicis* X   2 *technin* R: τεχνιν Y: *techinin* W: *zechnin* T X   *artificia* M: *artem* E   3 *apetritʿin* (= *apetrithin*) Wᵖᶜ: *apethrithin* R: *apetritin* Wᵃᶜ: *apethritin* T   4 πρὸς τίνα λέγει Krumbacher: *prostinalegi* M: πρὸς τίνα λέγεις E   *dicit* Krumbacher: *dicis* M E: *dixit* Goetz   5 *timeros logu* R T: *tym-* W X   *que* T   **2r**1 *eclina* M   2 *genionomato* R W: *geniomato* T   3 *emerisastichom* M στίχον E: στοίχον B   *partivi* Krumbacher: *partium* T W (*partitum* Wᵃᶜ): *partuium* R ut vid. X: *partitus sum* E   **2s**1 *osde taute praxamen* M: ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράξαμεν A N: ὡς δὲ παυτα ἐπραξαμεν D: ὡς δὲ πάντα ἐπράξαμεν G B K P   *ut haec* R: *ut hec* T W: *ut autem haec* A N D B: *ut autem omnia* G K P   2 *apelisen* M   3 *isariston* T W X: *ys-* R   4 *apolythis* R: *apolithis* T X: *apolythys* W: ἀπολυθεὶς δέ E   5 *apanerchomeentoycuo* R Wᵃᶜ: *-ycu* X: *-chome cen-* Wᵖᶜ: *-chom cen-* T: ἐπανέρχομαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον E   *venio domi* M: *vero redeo domum* E   **2t**1 *allassolam banno* M   *muto* Y E: *mutuo* K P: *mutus* M   *accipio* M B: *capio* E   2 *arton catharon* R Wᵃᶜ: *artʿon-* (= *arthon-*) Wᵖᶜ: *arton chataron* T   3 *eleas* M   *oleas* E   4 *tyron* M   5 *schadia* R T: *scadia* W X: ἰσχάδας E   6 *carya* R T X: *caria* W   7 *pinno* M   8 *ydor* M   9 *psychron* R T: *psichron* W: *spichron* X   *fridam* Wᵃᶜ

u	ἠριστηκὼς	pransus	Having eaten lunch,
	ἐπανέρχομαι	revertor	I return
	πάλιν	iterum	again
	εἰς τὴν σχολήν.	in scholam.	to school.
	εὑρίσκω	invenio	I find
	καθηγητὴν	magistrum	the teacher
	ἐπαναγινώσκοντα,	perlegentem,	reading [something] over,
	καὶ εἶπεν·	et dixit:	and he said,
	Ἄρξασθε	Incipite	'Begin
	ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς.	ab initio.	from the beginning.'

Second preface

3a	Περὶ ὁμιλίας καθημερινῆς.	De fabulis cottidianis.	Concerning everyday speech.

3b	Ὁμιλία,	Sermo,	Speech,
	ἀναστροφή,	conversatio,	conversation,
	τριβὴ	usus	everyday usage
	καθημερινὴ	cottidianus	
	ὀφείλει δοθῆναι	debet dari	ought to be given
	πᾶσιν τοῖς παισίν,	omnibus pueris,	to all boys,
	τοῖς μικροῖς	minoribus	[both] younger
	καὶ τοῖς μείζοσιν,	et maioribus,	and older,
	ἐπειδὴ ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν.	quoniam necessaria sunt.	since they are necessary.

2u1 *iristicos* M   2 *epanerchome* R T X: *-echome* W   *revertar* W^ac   3 *palin* M   4 *istinscolin* R T X: *-tincolin* W   *in scholam* M: *ad scholam* E   5 *eurisco* M   6 καθηγητήν E: τὸν καθηγητήν G^pc P: *cathigitin* M   7 ἐπαναγινώσκοντα E: ἐπαναγιγνώσκοντα A D: *epanaginos contra* R T X: *epagin-* W   8 *keipen* R: *keypen* T W X   9 *arxasthe* R X: *arxaste* T W   10 *apoarchis* R T X: *poarchis* W: ἀπ' ἀρχῆς E: om. Y   In R T W X sequitur glossarium alphabeticum, deinde capitula, tum demum colloquium; pro Y vide commentarium.   **3a**1 *periomelias cathimerinis* T W Q X: *-melyas-* Z: *-cati-* R: περι ομιλιας κατιμεριωις Y   deest E   **3b**1 *omilia* M   *sermo* Krumbacher: *sermone* M   deest E   2 *anastrofi* M   *conversatio* Krumbacher: *conversatione* M   deest E   3 *tribi* M   deest E   4 *cathimerini* T Q X Z: *cati-* R: *chati-* W   deest E   5 *ofilidothine* R Q T Z: *osfili-* W   deest E   6 *pasintyspesin* Z R: *-thyspesin* T: *-tispesin* W Q: *-tispensin* X   deest E   7 *tysmycriys* R: *thismycriys* Z X: *thysmicriys* T: *tysmychryis* W^pc: *-chys* W^ac: *thisinycriys* Q   deest E   8 *kaitismizosin* T W Q X: *kaitismiozosin* R: *kayt-* Z: και της μοζοσιν Y   deest E   9 *epidianagceaisin* Z Q X: *-ysin* R: επιδιαναγκεαισιν Y: *epidianagceasin* T W *quoniam* Krumbacher: *quae* Z R: *que* T W Q   deest E

Morning routine repeated

c	Ὄρθρου ἐγρηγόρησα	Ante lucem vigilavi	At dawn [Lat.: before daylight] I awoke
	ἐξ ὕπνου, ἀνέστην	de somno, surrexi	from sleep; I got up
	ἐκ τῆς κλίνης, ἐκάθισα.	de lecto, sedi.	from the bed, I sat down.
	ἔλαβον ὑποδεσμίδας,	accepi pedules,	I took gaiters (?),
	ὑποδήματα·	calciamenta;	shoes;
	ὑπεδησάμην.	calciavi me.	I put on my shoes.
d	ᾔτησα ὕδωρ	poposci aquam	I asked for water
	εἰς τὴν ὄψιν.	ad faciem.	for [my] face.
	νίπτομαι πρῶτον τὰς χεῖρας,	lavo primo manus,	I wash [my] hands first,
	εἶτα τὴν ὄψιν	deinde faciem	then I washed [my] face;
	ἐνιψάμην·	lavi;	I dried [myself].
	ἀπέμαξα.	extersi.	
e	ἀπέθηκα	deposui	I took off
	λευκὴν φελόνην·	albam paenulam;	a white hooded cape;
	προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος	prodii de cubiculo	I came forth from the bedroom
	σὺν τῷ παιδαγωγῷ	cum paedagogo	with my paedagogue
	ἀσπάσασθαι	salutare	to greet
	τὸν πατέρα	patrem	my father
	καὶ τὴν μητέρα.	et matrem.	and mother.

3c1 *orthiegrigorasa* Z R W Q: *orti-* T   deest E   2 *exypnuanestin* T Q X: *exip-* Z R W   deest E   3 *ectisclines exathisa* Z R W Q X: *-tisa* T   deest E   4 *elabonupodesmidas* R Q X: *-demisdas* Z: ελαβονυ ποδεσμιδας Y: *elabonupodesmi* T: *-desmias* W^{ac}: *-desmidis* W^{pc}   *pedules* Z R Y: *pedales* T W Q X   deest E   5 *ypodimata* R T W Q X: *ypodymata* Z   deest E   6 *ypedisamin* M   deest E   **3d**1 *etisa ydor* Z R T Q: *ethys-* W   2 *istinopsin* T W^{pc} Q X: *-osin* W^{ac}: *-opsyn* R: *istynopsin* Z: εἰς ὄψιν E   3 *niptome protontas chiras* R T: *-chras* Q: *-charas* Z: *niptone protontischiras* W   *primum* N   4 *itatinopsin* M   5 *enipsamin* T W: *empsamin* Z R Q X   6 *apemaxa* M   **3e**1 *apethica* T Q: *-tica* R Z W^{ac}: *-tʿica* (= *-thica*) W^{pc}   2 λευκὴν φελόνην Boucherie: *leucinfelonin* Z R Q: *leucen folonin* X: λευκιν φελονιν Y: *leucin fenolin* T W: λευκὴν φελώνην E: λευκὴν φαινώλην B   *penulam* M E   3 *proilton ec ticytonos* T: *proilton ec thicytonos* W^{ac}: *proiltʿon-* (= *proilthon-*) W^{pc}: *proylthon et ticitonos* Z R: *pilthonec ticitonos* X: *pilnthon et ticytonos* Q   ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος et *de cubiculo* om. Y   *prodii* T W: *prodidi* Z R Q X Y: *processi* E   4 *syntopedagogo* Z T: *sinto-* R X: *syntho-* W: *sintopedago* Q   *pedagogo* M: *pegagogo* Q^{ac}   5 *aspasaste* Z R T W^{ac}: *-astʿe* (= *-asthe*) W^{pc}: *aspasalthe* Q X   Graecum om. G usque ad 3f3   6 *tonpatera* Z R T Q: *-thera* W   7 *cetinmitera* Z R T W: *cecinmitera* Q X

f	ἀμφοτέρους ἠσπασάμην	ambos salutavi	I greeted them both
	καὶ κατεφίλησα,	et osculatus sum,	and kissed [them],
	καὶ οὕτως κατῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου.	et sic descendi de domo.	and then I came down from the house.
	ἀπέρχομαι ἀσπάσασθαι	eo salutare	I go off to greet
	πάντας τοὺς φίλους.	omnes amicos.	all my friends.

The court case

4a	Καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης	Et pater‹familias›	And the master of the house
	προερχόμενος	procedens	going forth
	ἀπήντησεν	occurrit	met
	τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ	amico suo,	his friend,
	καὶ εἶπεν· Χαῖρε Γάϊε,	et dixit: Ave, Gaie.	and said, 'Hello, Gaius!'
	καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν.	et osculatus est eum.	and he kissed him.
b	καὶ ἀντησπάσατο λέγων·	et resalutavit dicens:	And [Gaius] returned the greeting, saying,
	Καλῶς ζήσαις, Λούκιε·	Bene valeas, Lucie;	'May you be well, Lucius;
	ἔστιν σε ἰδεῖν;	est te videre?	do I really see you?'
	Τί πράττεις;	Quid agis?	[L:] 'How are you doing?'
c	Πάντα ὀρθῶς.	Omnia recte.	[G:] 'Everything's going well.
	πῶς ἔχεις;	quomodo habes?	How are you?'
	Συγχαίρομαί σοι	Gratulor tibi	[L:] 'I rejoice for you
	οὕτως ὡς ἐμοί.	sic quomodo mihi.	in the same way as for myself.

3f1 *amfoterusispasamin* Z T W Q X: *anf-* R   *ambos* M E: *ambo* A N   2 *cetate filesa* Z R T Q X: *cetete-* W   *osculatus* M: *deosculatus* E   3 *ceutos catilthonectyucu* Q X: *-thilthonectiucu* Z R: *-thiltonectyucu* W: *ceutoscatiltonecty* T   4 *aperchomeaspasasthe* Z W: *aperco-* Q: *-aste* R T: *aperchomtaspasthe* X   ἀσπάσασθαι E: ἀσπάσαθαι A D   5 *pantatus filus* Q X: *pantant-* T W: *patant-* Z R: πατατυς φιλος Y   **4a**1 *ceicodespotas* M: καὶ ὁ δεσπότης E   *et pater* M: *et dominus* E: *et pater‹familias›* supplevi   2 *proerchomenos* Z T W Q: *proercomenos* R   post hanc lineam addit M *apintises* (*-thisen* W^ac: *-thises* W^pc) *occurristi*   3 *apintisen* Z R T Q: *-thisen* W: ἠπήντησε E: ἠπάντησε P   *occurrit* M: *obviavit* E   4 *tufilu autu* Z R W Q: *tufiliautu* T: τῷ φίλῳ αὐτοῦ E   *amico suo* Z R Q Y E: *amicu suo* X: *amictu suo* T W^pc: *amicum suum* W^ac   5 *ceipen chere gaie* M: καὶ εἶπεν χαίροις Γάϊε E   *ave* M: *salve* E   *Gaie* Z T W Q Y A N G P: *Gaye* R: *Caie* D B K: *Gai* Haupt   *et dixit: Ave, Gai* om. X   6 καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν Krumbacher: και κατεσεν αυτον Y: *cetatese nauton* M: καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτόν E   *osculatus est* M: *tenuit* E   **4b**1 *ceantespasatolegon* Z R T Q X: *-logon* W: καὶ ἀντησπάσατο αὐτὸν λέγων E   *resalutavit* M: *resalutavit eum* Y E   2 *calozeses lucie* R Z X: *calozesis luce* W: *caloceses lucie* T Q: καλοσεσες λυκιε Y   (Latinum) *Luciae* Q   lineam om. E   3 *estinse idin* W Q X: *ist-* T: *-ydin* R Z: ἔστισε ἰδεῖν E   *est te* E: *este* Z R W Q X: *iste* T   4 *tiprattis* T W Q: *typrattis* Z R   **4c**1 *panta ortus* T: *panth-* Z R Q X: *pantha orcus* W   *rectae* W   2 *possechis* M   3 *sinchoromesy* T W Q: σινχορομεσιν Y: *synchoromesin* Z: *syonchoromesin* R: συγχαίρωσοι E   4 *utososemy* Z T Q: *-emi* R W X   *sic quomodo* Krumbacher: *siquomodo* M: *sic ut* E

	Greek	Latin	English
d	‹ἔστιν μοι› κριτήριον. Πρὸς τίνα; πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν; Οὐκ ἐκεῖ.	‹est mihi› iudicium. Ad quem? ad quaestorem? Non ibi.	I have a court case.' [G:] 'Before whom? Before the quaestor?' [L:] 'Not there.'

e	Ἀλλὰ ποῦ;
	πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον;
	Οὐδ' ἐκεῖ,
	ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας
	ἐξ ὑπογραφῆς
	   τοῦ διέποντος
	τὴν ἐπαρχίαν.
		Sed ubi?
		ad proconsulem?
		Nec ibi,
		sed ad magistratus
		
		ex subscriptione praesidis
		provinciae.
			[G:] 'But where?
			Before the proconsul?'
			[L:] 'Not there either,
			but before the magistrates
			
			[established] out of the response
			   of the provincial governor.'

f	Ποταπὸν δ' ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα; Οὐ πάνυ μέγα· ἔστιν γὰρ χρηματικόν, ἵνα ὅλον ἴδῃς.	Quale autem est ipsa res? Non valde magnum; est enim pecuniarium, ut omne videas.	[G:] 'But what sort of thing is the case itself?' [L:] 'Not a very big thing; for it's a financial matter, so that you may see it all.

g	εἰ σχολάζεις σύ,
	παρέδρευσον ἡμῖν·
	οἱ κριταὶ γὰρ
	ἡμέραν ἡμῖν ὥρισαν
	τὴν σήμερον
	ἀπόφασιν ἐρούμενοι.
		si vacat tibi,
		adesto nobis;
		iudices enim
		diem nobis dederunt
		hodiernam:
		sententia dicitur.
			If you're at leisure,
			join us;
			for the judges
			have given us
			today as a [court] date,
			intending to declare the verdict
			   [Lat.: the verdict [will] be
			   declared].

4d1 lacunam indicavit Goetz; supplevi   2 *critirion* T Q X: *crityrion* Z: *chrityrion* R: *crytorion* W^ac: *crytirion*
W^pc   3 *prostina* Z T Q X: *postina* R   lineam om. W   4 *prostontamian* M   ταμείαν E   *quaestorem*
T W E: *questorem* Z R Q: *pretorem* K   5 *uceti* Z R T W X: *ucei* Q   **4e**1 *allapu* T W^pc Q X: *allupu* W^ac:
allatpu Z R: αλλατπυ Y   *seu ibi* M   2 *proston anthipaton* W Q X: *-tipaton* T: *prosthon-* R: *prosthonanthypaton*
Z   3 *ude ei* M: οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ E   4 *allaprostusarcontas* M   *magistratus* W Y E: *magistratos* Z R Q X: *magistros*
T   5 *exypografistudiepontos* M   *subscriptionem* Q   *presidis* W Q   6 *tineparcion* W Q: τινεπαρκιον Y^ac:
-ρτιον Y^pc: *tyne partion* Z R: *ime partion* T   *provinciae* Q E: *provintiae* T Z: *provintie* R W X   **4f**1 *potapondestin*
M: ποταπὸν δὲ ἔστιν E   *qualis* Krumbacher   2 *autoto pragma* M   *ipsum negotium* E   3 *ypanumega*
Z R W: *ipan-* Q X: *yppan-* T   *valde* Z R T Q X E: *valide* W   *magna* Krumbacher   4 *estingarchrimaticon*
M: ἔστι γὰρ χρημάτων E   *pecuniarum* M E: *pecuniaria* Goetz: *pecuniarium* scripsi   5 *inaolonidis* R Q
T W: *-ydis* Z: ἵν' ὅλον εἴδης E   *ut omne videas* Goetz: *ut omnem vides* M: *ut totum scias* E: *ut omnem videas*
Krumbacher   **4g**1 *iscolazissu* W Q X: *-zyssu* R: *issc-* T: *yscola zissu* Z^ac: *yscola zyssu* Z^pc: υσκλαζισσου
Y   σύ om. E, del. edd.   2 *paredriusunimin* M   3 *ucritegar* W: *uerit-* T Q X: *utrit-* Z R: υτριτεγαρ
Y   4 *imeraniminorisan* T W X: *ym-* R: *imir-* Q: *ymerani mynorisan* Z: ἡμέραν ἡμῖν ἔδωκαν E   5 *tinsemeron*
T W Q X: *tyn-* Z R   *hodiernum* E   6 ἀπόφασιν ἐρούμενοι Krumbacher: *apofasiterumeni* M:
ἀπόφασις εἰρημένη E: ἀπόφασει εἰρημένη Haupt   *sententia dicitur* M: *sententia dicta* E: *sententiam dicturi*
Krumbacher   lineam om. G

h	διὸ βούλομαί σου παρόντος	quare volo te praesente	Therefore I want to consider the case with [my] advocates in your presence.'
	περὶ τῆς δίκης	de causa	
	σὺν τοῖς συνηγόροις	cum advocatis	
	σκέψασθαι.	tractare.	
	Παρέλαβες;	Adhibuisti?	[G:] 'Did you call in [advocates]?'
	Παρέλαβον.	Adhibui.	[L:] 'I did.'
	Τίνας; Τοὺς σοὺς φίλους.	Quos? Tuos amicos.	[G:] 'Whom?' [L:] 'Your friends.'
	Καλῶς ἐποίησας.	Bene fecisti.	[G:] 'You did well.'

i	Συνετάξω;	Constituisti?	[G:] 'Have you fixed a meeting?'
	περὶ ποίαν ὥραν;	circa quam horam?	Around what hour?
	ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ;	in quo loco?	In what place?'
	Ὲ τὸ φόρον,	In foro,	[L:] 'In the forum,
	ἐν τῇ στοᾷ,	in porticu,	in the portico,
	ἐγγὺς τῆς στοᾶς	iuxta stoam	near the stoa
	τῆς Νίκης.	Victoriae.	of Victory.'

j	Μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκεῖ ἔρχομαι.	Post modicum ibi venio.	[G:] 'I [shall] come there after a little while.'
	Ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ, ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχοις.	Sed rogo, in mente habeas.	[L:] 'But please, keep it in mind.'
	Ἀμέριμνος ᾖς·	Securus esto;	[G:] 'Be without worry;
	ἐμοὶ μελήσει.	mihi pertinet.	it will be [Lat.: is] a concern to me.'

4h1 *diabulome separontos* Z R T Q: *dyabolo-* W   2 *peritis dicis* M   post hoc desunt Q et X usque ad finem   3 *syntis synigoris* Z: *syntis sinigoris* R: *sintis synigoris* T W   4 *scepsasthe* W: *-aste* Z R T   5 *parelabes* M   6 *parelabon* Z R T W^pc: *parebon* W^ac   7 *tinastusus filus* T W: *tyn-* Z R   *quos* M: *aliquos* E: *quosnam* B   8 *calosepyissas* Z T W: *-pyissa* R   **4i**1 *syne taxo* Z R T: *sin-* W: συνετάξω A N: συνεταξας E   2 *peripuanoran* M   3 *enpiotopo* T: *enpyo-* W: *empiopoto* Z R: εμπιοποτο Y   4 *'ς τὸ φόρον* Krumbacher: *stonforon* R Z: *stonforo* T W: στονφορο Y: ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ E   5 *endictoa* M   *inportico* T   6 *engystis stoas* Z T: *engis-* R W *stoam* Krumbacher: *tuam* M: *porticum* E   7 *tisnicis* Z R T: *tys-* W   *victoriam* M   **4j**1 *metoligonecierchome* Z T W: *-erc῾ome* (=*-erchome*) R   *post modicum* Krumbacher: *postmodum cum* R ut vid. Z ut vid. T W: *paulo post* E   2 *allaparacolo enmniechis* R T: *-enmiechis* W: *-eninnlechis* Z: αλλαπερακολο ενμινεχις Y: ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ ἐννῷ ἔχοις A^ac N^ac: *-έχῃς* A^pc N^pc D G B K: *-έχεις* P: *-ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχῃς* Ferri   3 *amerimnosis* M: ἀμέριμνος ἔσο E   4 *emimelisi* T W: *-ysi* Z R   *michi* Z R   *mihi curae erit* E

k	Ἄγωμεν ἡμεῖς	Eamus nos	[L:] 'Let's go
	πρὸς τὸν τραπεζίτην·	ad nummularium;	to the banker;
	λάβωμεν παρ' αὐτοῦ	accipiamus ab eo	let's get from him
	δηνάρια ἑκατόν·	denarios centum;	a hundred denarii.
	δῶμεν δικολόγῳ	demus causidico	Let's give them to the pleader
	τιμητικὸν	honorarium	as an honorarium,
	καὶ τοῖς συνηγόροις	et advocatis	and to the advocates
	καὶ τῷ νομικῷ,	et iuris peritis,	and the legal experts [Gk: expert],
	ἵνα σπουδαιότερον	ut incessanter	so that they may defend us more
	ἐκδικήσωσιν ἡμᾶς.	defendant nos.	diligently [Lat.: unflaggingly].'

l	Οὗτός ἐστιν.	Iste est.	'This is he.'
	Λαβὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρμα	Accipe ab eo nummos	'Take the coins from him
	καὶ ἀκολούθει.	et sequere.	and follow [me].'

m	Καθὼς συνεταξάμεθα,	Sicut constituimus,	'As we agreed,
	πάρεστιν Γάϊος.	adest Gaius.	Gaius is here.
	συγκαλέσωμεν αὐτὸν	convocemus eum	Let's call him
	εἰς τὴν συμβουλήν.	in consilium.	into our discussion.
	ἐνθάδε ἔχομεν	hic habemus	Here we have
	τὰ ἀσφαλίσματα.	instrumenta.	the evidence.'

n	Παρήγγειλας αὐτῷ;	Denuntiasti illi?	'Did you serve him a summons?'
	Παρήγγειλα.	Denuntiavi.	'I did.'
	Ἐμαρτυροποίησας;	Testatus es?	'Did you produce evidence?'
	Ἐμαρτυροποίησα.	Testatus sum.	'I did.'
	Ἕτοιμος ἦς.	Paratus esto.	'Be ready.'
	Ἕτοιμός εἰμι.	Paratus sum.	'I am ready.'

4k1 *agomenimis* M   2 *prostontrapeziti* T W: *-pezui* R: *-pezin* Z   τραπεζήτην E   *numularium* A D K
3 *lavomen parautu* R T: *-ratu* W: *runtu* Z: λαφομεν παρανυτυ Y   *capiamus* E   4 *denariecaton* R T W:
denariccaton Z   5 *domen dicalogo* M   *causedico* Z R   6 τιμητικόν Krumbacher: *dimiticon* T W:
domiticon Z R: δομιτικον Y: τιμικῷ E   *honorarium* Krumbacher: *honorario* M E   7 *cetis synigorys* Z:
cetissynygorys R: καιτησσιναγορις Y: *cethissymogoris* W: *cetissynigogis* T   8 *cetonomico* Z R T: *cethonomicos* W:
καὶ τοῖς νομικοῖς Krumbacher   *et iurisperito* E   9 *inaspudeoteron* M   *et incessanter* Z R T: *et incesanter*
W: *ut studiosius* E   10 *ecdicisisinimas* T: *-sys-* Z R: *ecdycisysinimas* W   *defendat* A   **4l**1 *utos estin* T: *-sthin*
Z R W: ἐστι E   2 *labeparayton cerma* M   *accipe . . .* συνεταξάμεθα om. W   3 *ceacoluthi* Z R: *-uti* T
4m1 *cathossynetaxameta* Z: *-sine-* R: *catosynetaxometa* T   2 *parestingaios* M: πάρεστι Γάϊος E
adest Gaius A N G: *adest Caius* D B K P: *id est Gaius* M   3 *syncalesomenauton* T Z^pc: *sincal-* R W: *synecal-* Z^ac
συγκαλέσωμεν N: συγκαλέσωμεν A D G B: συνκαλέσομεν K: συγκαλέσομεν P   *convocemus ipsum* E
4 *istin synbolin* T: *istim symbolim* Z R W   *in* M: *ad* E   5 *entha deerchometa* Z R W: *enta-* T   6 *taasfalismata*
M   **4n**1 *paringilasauto* M   *illi* M: *ei* E   hanc lineam post proximam habet M   2 *paringila* M
3 *etmartyropoises* T W: *-poyses* Z R   4 *etmartyropyissas* T W^pc: *-piyssas* Z R: *-pyssas* W^ac   5 *etymosis* Z T:
etim- R: *ethim-* W: ἕτοιμος ἔσο E   6 *etymosimi* Z: *etim-* R T: *ethym-* W   **4o**1 *ceo antidicos* M   2 *entichinteli*
T: *enthi-* Z R W: ἐντυχεῖν ἐθέλει E   *vult* om. M   3 *siopison* T W: *syop-* Z R   4 *siopo* T W: *syopo* Z R
5 *sioponeschete* T W: *syop-* Z R   *habete* E: *habet* M   6 *acysomen* Z T W: *acis-* R   7 *tinapofasin* T W: *tyn-* Z
R

I

I

o	Καὶ ὁ ἀντίδικος	Et adversarius	'And [your] opponent
	ἐντυχεῖν θέλει.	interpellare vult.	wants to interrupt.'
	Σιώπησον.	Tace.	'Be quiet!'
	Σιωπῶ.	Taceo.	'I am being quiet!'
	Σιωπὴν ἔχετε,	Silentium habete,	'Keep silence,
	ἀκούσωμεν	audiamus	let's hear
	τὴν ἀπόφασιν.	sententiam.	the verdict.'
p	ἤκουσας	audisti	'Did you hear
	ὅτι ἐνικήσαμεν,	quia vicimus,	that we have won,
	Γάϊε;	Gaie?	Gaius?'

Borrowing money

5a	Κύριε,	Domine,	'Sir,
	τί ἐπιτάσσεις;	quid imperasti?	what do [Lat.: did] you order?'
	Μήτι ἔχεις	Numquid habes	'Do you have
	χρήματα	pecuniam	any money
	εὐκαιροῦντα;	vacuam?	available?'
	Τί χρείαν ἔχεις	Quid opus habes	'What do you need
	δανείσασθαι;	mutuari?	to borrow?'
b	Εἰ ἔχεις,	Si habes,	'If you have it,
	χρῆσόν μοι	commoda mihi	lend me five thousand sesterces
	πέντε δηνάρια.	quinque sestertia.	[Gk: five denarii].'
	Καὶ μὴ ἐσχηκὼς	Etsi non habuissem,	'Even if I hadn't had it,
	ὁθενδήποτε	undecumque	I would have sorted it out from
	ἐξεπλεξάμην ‹ἄν›.	explicassem.	somewhere or other.'

4p1 *icusas* M *audivisti* E 2 *otienicisamen* M *vicemus* Z R T Y 3 (Graecum) *Gaie* R T W: *Gaye* Z (Latinum) *Gaie* T W A N D G: *Gaye* Z R: *Caie* B K P **5a**1 *cyrie* Z R W: *kyrie* T hanc lineam cum priore coniungunt M E 2 *tiepitassis* T W: *tyep-* Z R *quid imperas* E 3 *mitiechis* T: *myti-* Z R: *mythi-* W 4 *chrimata* Z R T: *chrimatha* W *pecuniam* Krumbacher: *pecunia* M: *pecunias* E 5 *eucherunta* Z R: *eucer-* T W: εὐχειροῦντα E *vacuam* Krumbacher: *vacua* M: *opportunas* E 6 *tichrianechis* T W: *tych-* Z R 7 *danisasthe* Z R T: *danisaste* Wᵖᶜ: *daesaste* Wᵃᶜ **5b**1 *ichis* T W (*chis* Wᵃᶜ): *ychis* Z R hanc lineam cum priore coniungit M 2 *chrisonmy* Z R: *-mi* T W *comoda* R A D G K 3 *pentedinaria* T W: *-dyn-* Z R *sestertia* E: *xestercias* R T W: *xestertias* Z: *denarios* P: *sestertios* Krumbacher 4 καὶ μὴ ἐσχηκὼς Krumbacher: *comieschicos* M: κἂν μὴ ἔσχηκα E 5 *othendipoto* M 6 ἐξεπλεξάμην ‹ἄν› Ferri (2008a: 141): *exeplissomin* T W: *-plyss-* Z R: ἐξεπλήσω ἄν E: ἐξεφλήσω ἄν K: ἐξέφλησα ἄν P: ἐξέπλησα ἄν Boucherie *explevissem* E

c   Ἐνέχυρον θέλεις;   Pignus vis?   'Do you want a security?'
    Μὴ γένοιτο,   Absit,   'Heaven forbid!
    οὐ χρείαν ἔχω.   ‹non opus habeo.›   I have no need [of one].
    χειρογράφησόν μοί   cave mihi   Certify for me that
    σε εἰληφέναι.   te accepisse.   you have taken [the money].'
    Ποίοις τόκοις;   Quibus usuris?   'At what rate of interest?'
    Οἷς θέλεις.   Quibus vis.   'At the rate you want.'

d   Ἐχειρογράφησα.   Cavi.   'I have certified it.'
    Χάριτάς σοι ὁμολογῶ·   Gratias tibi ago;   'Thank you;
    σφράγισον.   signa.   [now] put your seal on [the document].'

    Ἐσφράγισα.   Signavi.   'I have sealed [it].'
    Ἀριθμῷ   Numero   'Count it out by number.'
    ἀρίθμησον.   numera.   'I have counted it.'
    Ἀρίθμησα.   Numeravi.   'Examine it.'
    Δοκίμασον.   Proba.   'I have examined it.'
    Ἐδοκίμασα.   Probavi.

e   Καθὼς ἔλαβες,   Sicut accepisti,   'Just as you took it,
    δοκίμως ἀπόδος.   probum reddas.   return it in good coin.'
    Ὥς σοι   Cum tibi   'As I return [it] to you,
    ἀποδώσω,   reddidero,
    καὶ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιήσω.   et satisfaciam.   I shall also satisfy [you].'

5c1 *enchyronthelis* Z R: *enchirontelis* T W: ἐνέχυρον θέλεις E: ἐνέχειρον θέλεις K: ἐνέχειρον ἐθέλεις P   2 *migenuto* M   3 *uchria necho* Z T W   pro latino habet M *cetoyca non pyiso* T: *cetoica-* Z W^pc: *ceotica-* W^ac   lineam om. R E   supplevit Goetz   4 *chirografisin mo* T: *chyr-* Z R: *cyro-* W   *michi* Z R   5 *seelifene* T W: *seclyfene* Z: *scelyfene* R: σκελιφενο Y   6 *pyostocus* M   7 *ysthelis* Z: *yst'elis* (= *ysthelis*) W^pc: *isthelis* R: *ystelis* T W^ac   **5d**1 *echirografisa* M   lineam om. Y   2 *charitas syomologo* M   3 *sfragison* T W: *sfragyson* Z: σφραγυσον Y: *sfargyson* R   *sigilla* N   4 *esfragisa* T: *esfragysa* Z R: *effragisa* W   *sigillavi* N   5 *arithmo* M   6 *arithmison* T W: *-myson* Z R   lineam postea inseruit W, post proximam habet Y, om. E   7 *arithmisa* T: *-mysa* Z R: *-musa* W   lineam om. E   8 *docimason* M   9 *edocimasa* Z R W: *doc-* T   **5e**1 *cathosilabes* W: *-ylabes* Z R: *catos-* T   2 *docimos apodos* M: δόκιμον ἀπόδος E   *reddas* M: *redde* E   3 *ossy* R T: *ossi* Z W: αὐτό σοι E: αὐτόν σοι D P   *cum* M K: *eum* A D G P: *ipsum* N: *id* B   4 *apodoso* M   5 *cetoica non pyiso* T W: *cetoyc-* Z R: καὶ ἱκανοποιήσω E

Returning the money

6a	Καλήμερον ἦλθες.	Bono die venisti.	'You have come on an auspicious day.'
	Ἦλθον.	Veni.	'I have.'
	Ἔλαβες;	Accepisti?	'Did you get [the money]?
	ἔδωκας αὐτῷ;	dedisti illi?	Did you give it to him?'
	Ἔδωσα.	Dedi.	'I did.'
	Ἀπηλλάγης.	Caruisti.	'You have been discharged.'
	Μή τινος χρείαν ἔχεις;	Numquid aliquid opus habes?	'Do you need anything?'
	Σὲ ὑγιαίνειν.	Te valere.	'For you to fare well.'

Visiting a sick friend

b	Ἐὰν θέλῃς, ἐλθὲ μεθ' ἡμῶν.	Si vis, veni mecum.	'If you want, come with us [Lat.: with me].'
	Ποῦ;	Ubi?	'Where?'
	Πρὸς φίλον τὸν ἡμέτερον Λύκιον. ἐπισκεψώμεθα αὐτόν.	Ad amicum nostrum Lucium. visitemus eum.	'To our friend Lucius. Let's go see him.'

c	Τί γὰρ ἔχει;	Quid enim habet?	'What's wrong with him?'
	Ἀρρωστεῖ.	Aegrotat.	'He's sick.'
	Ἀπὸ πότε;	A quando?	'Since when?'
	Πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἐνέπεσεν.	Intra paucos dies incurrit.	'A few days ago he fell ill.'
	Ποῦ μένει;	Ubi manet?	'Where does he live?'
	Οὐ μακράν.	Non longe.	'Not far off.'

d	Εἰ θέλεις, περιπάτει.	Sis ambula.	'Please walk [there with me].'
	Αὕτη ἐστί, νομίζω, ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ.	Haec est, puto, domus eius.	'This, I think, is his house.
	αὕτη ἐστίν.	haec est.	This is it.

6a1 *calimeron* T: *calimmeron* Z R W: καλὴ ἡμέρα E   *bono die* M: *bona dies* E   2 *ilthes* M   3 *ilthen* M: ἦλθον E: ἦλθεν Aᵃᶜ D (pace Goetz)   *veni* E: *venit* M   4 *elabes* M   5 *edocasauto* M   *dedisti illi* Krumbacher: *dedisti* M: *dedisti ei* E   6 ἔδωκα Aᵖᶜ Nᵖᶜ Gᵖᶜ B K P: ἔδωσα: Aᵃᶜ Nᵃᶜ D Gᵃᶜ: graecum om. M   *dedi illi* M   7 *epelagis* Z T W: *-gys* R   lineam om. E   8 *mitinos* W: *myt-* Z R: *eit-* T   *numquid* M: *num* E   9 *chrianechis* R T: *-echys* Z: *chryanechis* W   10 *seigienin* M   *te valere* E: om. M, sed restituit infra post *a quando*   **6b**1 ἐὰν θέλῃς Vulcanius: *eathelis* M: ἐὰν θέλεις E   2 *elithemethimon* Z R: *-timon* T: *elite mathimon* Wᵃᶜ: *elitʿ e-* (= *elithe-*) Wᵖᶜ: ἐλθὲ μετ' ἐμοῦ E   3 *pu* M   *ubi* M A D: *quo* N B P K: om. G   4 *prosfilon* T W: *-fylon* Z R   5 *imeteronlyceon* Z R: *-liceon* T W: ἡμέτερον Λύκιον B: τὸν ἡμέτερον Λύκιον E   6 *episcepsometha auton* W: *episcepsoniethaauton* Z R T   *eum* Z R Y E: *euor* W: om. T   **6c**1 *thigarechi* T: *thigarechy* Z: *thygarechy* R: *thiarechi* W   2 *arrosti* M   *egrotat* M   3 *apopote* T W: *appopote* Z R   *a quando* Z R T: *aliquando* W: *ex quo* E   post hanc lineam addit M *eanthelis* (*eantʿ el-* Wᵖᶜ: *eantel-* T Wᵃᶜ) *te valere*   4 *prooligonimeron* M: ἐξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν E   *a paucis diebus* E   5 *anepesen* M   *incidit* E   6 *pymeni* M   7 *umacran* M   *ne longe* M   **6d**1 εἰ θέλεις περιπάτει Krumbacher: *ides peripati* Z R T: *-rypati* W   *ides/*εἰ θέλεις et *sis* om. E, cum prioribus coniungunt M   2 *auti estinomizo* Z R W: *-mozo* T   ἐστίν E   *hec* T W   *puto* M: *arbitror* E   3 *licia autu* M   αὐτοῦ et *eius* om. E   4 *auti estin* M   *hec* T W

e	ἰδοὺ ὁ ὀστιάριος.	ecce ostiarius.	Here's the doorman.
	ἐρώτησον αὐτόν,	interroga illum,	Ask him
	εἰ δυνάμεθα εἰσελθεῖν	si possumus intrare	if we can enter
	καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ.	et videre dominum eius.	and see his master.'
f	καὶ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν·	et ille dixit:	And he said,
	Τίνα ζητεῖτε;	Quem quaeritis?	'Who are you looking for?'
	Τὸν δεσπότην σου.	Dominum tuum.	'Your master.
	περὶ τῆς ὑγιείας αὐτοῦ	de salute eius	
	ἐληλύθαμεν.	venimus.	We have come about his health.'
g	Ἀνάβατε.	Ascendite.	'Go on up.'
	Πόσας κλίμακας; Δύο.	Quot scalas? Duas.	'How many flights of stairs?' 'Two.
	΄ς τὰ δεξιὰ κρούσατε,	ad dexteram pulsate,	Knock [on the door] to the right,
	εἰ μέντοι γε ἦλθεν·	si tamen venit;	that is, if he has come [back];
	προεληλύθει γάρ.	processerat enim.	for he had gone out.'
h	Κρούσωμεν.	Pulsemus.	'Let's knock.
	βλέπε· τίς ἐστιν;	vide; quis est?	[Go and] see: who is it?'
	Χαίρετε πάντες.	Avete omnes.	'Hello, all of you!'
	Τὸν κύριόν σου θέλομεν	Dominum tuum volumus	'We want to pay a visit to your
	ἐπισκέψασθαι. ‹εἰ› γρηγορεῖ,	visitare. si vigilat,	master. If he is awake,
	μήνυσόν με.	nuntia me.	announce me.'
i	κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε.	et ille dixit: Non est hic.	And he said, 'He's not here.'
	Τί λαλεῖς;	Quid narras?	'What are you saying?
	ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐστιν;	sed ubi est?	But where is he?'
	Ἐκεῖ κατέβη	Illuc descendit	'He went down there
	΄ς τὸν δαφνῶνα	ad lauretum	to the laurel grove
	διακινῆσαι.	deambulare.	to take a walk.'

6e1 *idu ostiarios* T: *-tiorios* W: *ydu ostyarios* Z R: ἰδοῦ ὁ θυρωρός E   *ostiarius* M: *ianitor* E   2 *erotison auton* T: *-anton* Z R: *-anto* W: ερotισον αυτον Y   *illum* M: *eum* E   3 *idinametha iselthin* W: *-tin* T: *idinamethaselthin* Z R: ιδιναμεθα σελεθνι Y   *possumus* R T E: *possimus* Z W Y B   *intrare* M: *ingredi* E   4 *ceidinton cyrion autu* Z R: *ceyd-* W: *-eyrion-* T   *videre* E: *vide* M   *eius* M B: *suum* E   **6f**1 *ceecinos ipen* Z R T: *cecin-* W: κἀκεῖνος εἶπε E   *inquit* N   2 *tina zetite* T: *tyn-* Z R: *tynazeitce* W   *queritis* M   3 *tondespotin su* M   4 *peritifigias autu* M   ὑγιείας G: ὑγείας E   *pro sanitate ipsius* E   5 *elylithamen* R Z: ελιλιθαμεν Y: *elilytham* T: *elylythani* W   *advenimus* E: *venisse* M   **6g**1 *anabate* M   2 *pasaclimacasdyo* T W: *pasaclyma casdio* Z R δύω E   *quot* W Y E: *quod* Z R T   post hoc habet Y variam lectionem καφοιο *duas*   3 *stadexia crusate* M   εἰς E   *addexteram* Z R Y E: *addextram* W: *adextera* T   4 *imentigeilthen* Z R W: *-ten* T   *venit* E: *omnes* M   5 *proselilythigar* W: *-tigar* T: *-thygar* Z: *proselylythygar* R: προεληλύθει γάρ E: προεληλύθη γάρ A^{ac} N^{ac}   **6h**1 *crusomen* M: κρούσωμεν A N G^{pc} B: κρούσωμεν D G^{ac} K P   2 *blebetis estin* Z T W: *-sthin* R: ἰδὲ τίς ἐστιν E   *vide quis* E: *vidi quid* M   3 *cheretepantes* Z R T: *cherethe-* W   *avete* M: *salvete* E: *salutate* A: *salutare* D   4 *toncyrion sitholomen* R: *-tholon* W: *-tolon* T: *toncirionsytholomen* Z   5 *epicepsasthegrigori* Z R: *-saste-* T W   εἰ supplevit Krumbacher   *si* om. E   6 *minisonme* M   *nuncia* T   *me* Z R T: *mihi* W E   **6i**1 *cecinosipenuce stinode* Z R T: *-pemic-* W   2 *tilalis* T W: *tylalis* Z: *tylalys* R   *quid loqueris* E   3 *allapuestini* M   4 *eucatebi* Z R W: *-thebi* T   *illuc* M: *illic* E   5 *stondafnona* Z R W: *son-* T; εἰς E *lauretum* E: *laurentum* M   6 *diacinese* Z R T: *dya-* W

j	Συγχαιρόμεθα αὐτῷ.	Gratulamur illi.	'We congratulate him!
	ὅταν ἔλθη, εἴποις αὐτῷ	cum venerit, dices illi	When he comes back, tell him
	ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν χαιρομένους	nos ad ipsum gratulantes	that we came to him rejoicing about his health,
	ἐληλυθέναι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ,	venisse ad salutem eius,	
	ὅτι πάντα ὀρθῶς ἔχει.	quia omnia recte habet.	because he's entirely recovered.'
	Οὕτω ποιῶ.	Sic faciam.	'I shall do [Gk: I do] that.'

Having a guest to lunch

7a	Σὺ ποῦ ὑπάγεις;	Tu ubi vadis?	'You, where are you going?'
	'Σ τὴν οἰκίαν σπεύδω.	Ad domum festino.	'I'm hurrying home.
	διὰ τί ἐπεζήτησας;	quare inquisisti?	Why did you ask?'

b	Ἄν σοι ἡδύ ἐστιν,	Si tibi suave est,	'If it appeals to you,
	σήμερον παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀρίστησον	hodie prae me prande	have a modest lunch with me today.
	χρησίμως.	frugaliter.	
	οἴνῳ καλῷ	vino bono	We have good household wine.'
	οἰκιακῷ	domestico	
	χρώμεθα.	utimur.	
	Οὕτως γενέσθω.	Sic fiat.	'So be it.'

c	Ἐν ὥρᾳ οὖν	Temperius ergo	'So come to us
	ἐλθὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ὅτε θέλεις,	veni ad nos. Quando vis,	at the right time.' 'When you want [us there],
	πέμψον πρὸς ἡμᾶς.	mitte ad nos;	send for us;
	'ς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰμί.	domi sum.	I [shall] be at home.'
	Οὕτως γενέσθω ἡμῖν.	Sic fiat nobis.	'So be it for us.'

6j1 *sincerometa auto* M: συγχαίρομεν αὐτῷ E   *illi* M: *ei* E   2 *othanelthiipsis auto* M: ὅταν ἔλθη εἰπὲ αὐτῷ E   Graecum huius lineae post proximam habet R   *venerit* Z R T E: *venerint* W   *dices illi* Krumbacher: *dies illi* M: *dicito sibi* E (*ei* G: *illi* B)   3 *imas prosauton ceremenus* M: *-emen* W^ac   χαίροντας E   hanc lineam in margine habet Z, post proximam habet Y   4 *elilytineperitis soterias autu* T: *elylythi-* W: *elilythynepiri-* Z: *elilythyneperitis soterias auto* R   *venisse* Krumbacher: *venimus* M: *advenisse* E   *adsalutem eius* Z T W: *pro sanitate sua* E (*eius* B)   5 *otypantaorthosechi* Z R: *otipanta orto sechi* T: *-orchosethi* W   *habet* M: *se habent* E (*se* om. G B)   6 *utypuo* T W: *utipuo* Z R: οὕτως ποιήσω E   *sic* M: *ita* E   **7a**1 *sypuypagis* Z R T: *si pugypagis* W   *ubi* M: *quo* E   2 *stynicianspeudo* Z: *stin-* W: *stinician pseudo* R: *styn-* T: στινικιαν ψευδο Y   εἰς E   *ad* M: *in* E   3 *diatiepezecisas* Z^pc R T: *diatip-* Z^ac: *dyatip-* W   **7b**1 *ansyidisestin* R: *ansyidis-* Z: *ansyidif-* T: *ansyidyf-* W: αν σι υδις εστιν Y   ἐστι E   2 *simeronparemuaristison* T W: *sym-* Z R   *praeme* Z ut vid. R T: *mecum* W: *apud me* E   3 *chrisimos* T: *chrys-* Z R W   4 *ynocalo* M   5 *yciaco* M: οἰκιακῷ G B P: οἰκειακῶ A N D K   6 *chrometha* R Z: *chromet'a* (= *chrometha*) W^pc: *chrometa* T W^ac   *utamur* E   7 *ytos genestho* R Z: *ythos genest'o* (= *genestho*) W^pc: *itos genesto* T   *sic* M: *ita* E   lineam om. K P   **7c**1 *enoraun* M   *temporius* Z R T Y   *ergo* M ut vid.: *itaque* E   lineam om. K P   2 *eltheprosima sotethelis* Z R: *-otetelis* T: *-othet'elis* (= *-othethelis*) W^pc: *-othetelis* W^ac   ὅτε Vulcanius: ὅθ' ὅτε E: ὁπότε Haupt   lineam om. K P   3 *pempson prosimas* W: *pems-* T: *pempeson-* Z: *penpeson-* R: προεμπεσον προς ημας Y   lineam om. K P   4 *stinutianimi* W: *-my* Z: *styn-* R: *-tiamini* T: ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἰμί E   *domi* M: *in domo* E   lineam supra in 7c2 transposuit G, om. K P   5 *utosgenesthoimin* Z R: *-est'oimin* (= *-esthoimin*) W^pc: *-estoimin* T W^ac

8a	Σύ, παιδάριον, ἀκολούθησόν μοι ᾽ς τὸ κρεοπωλεῖον· τίποτε ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς ἄριστον.	Tu, puer, sequere me ad macellum; aliquid emamus ad prandium.	'You, boy, follow me to the butcher's shop; let's buy something for lunch.
b	ἐπερώτησον, πόσου ὁ ἰχθύς. Δηνάρια δέκα.	interroga, quantum piscis. Denarios decem.	Ask [him] how much the fish [is].' 'Ten denarii.'
c	Σύ, παιδάριον, ὕπαγε εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἵνα δυνηθῶμεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ λαχανοπωλεῖον καὶ ἀγοράσαι λάχανα, ἅπερ ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν, καὶ ὀπώραν· συκάμινα, σῦκα, δωράκινα, ἀπίους, τρικόκκια.	Tu, puer, refer ad domum, ut possimus ire ad holerarium et emere holera, quae necessaria sunt, et poma: mora, ficus, persos, piras, tuberes.	'You, boy, take it home, so that we can go to the greengrocer's shop and buy vegetables, which are needed, and fruit: mulberries, figs, peaches, pears, azaroles.
d	ἰδοὺ ἔχεις πάντα ἃ ἠγοράσαμεν. ὕπαγε εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.	ecce habes omnia quae emimus. refer ad domum.	There you have everything that we bought. Take it home.'
9a	Καλεσάτω τις τὸν μάγειρον. ποῦ ἐστιν; Ἄνω ἀνῆλθεν. Καὶ τί θέλει; καταβάτω ὧδε.	Clamet aliquis coquum. ubi est? Sursum ascendit. Et quid vult? descendat hic.	'Someone call the cook. Where is he?' 'He went upstairs.' 'And what does he want? Let him come down here.

8a1 *sypedarion* R W: *si-* T: *sipedaryon* Z   2 *acoulthison my* T: *-thysonmy* Z: *-tysonmy* R: *-thysomy* W: ακολυθισοιμμυ *al* ακολυθισινημιον Y   3 *strocleopolion* T: *-polyon* Z R W: εἰς τὸ κρεοπωλεῖον E
4 *tipoteagorasomen* T: *typ-* Z R W   5 *isariston* R W: *ys-* T: *isaryston* Z   **8b**1 *iperotison* T: *-tyson* W: *yperotyson*
Z R   2 *posuoichthis* Z R: *-icthis* T: *pusuo icthis* W: πόσους ἰχθύας E   *quantum piscis* Krumbacher: *quantum
pisce* T: *quantum piscem* Z Y: *quantum pisem* R: *quanti pisces* W: *quot pisces* E   3 *demaria deca* M: δηναρίων δέκα E
denarios decem M: *denarios 10* Y: *denariorum decem* E   **8c**1 *supedarion* R T W: *-ryon* Z   2 *ypageistinician* Z R T:
-ycian W   *refer ad* M: *perge in* E   3 *inaclynithumenapelthin* Z: *inaclynitumenapeltin* R T: *-peltyn* W: ινακλινιθυμεν
Y   4 *istolachanopolion* T: *-polyon* W: *ystolachanopolyon* Z R   *adholerarium* Z W: *ad olerarium* R Y N Dᵖᶜ G: *ad
olearium* T A Dᵃᶜ K P: *ad olitorium* B   5 *ceagora selachana* M   *et emere holera* Z: *et emere olera* R Y E: *eteme holera*
W: *eteme olera* T   6 *aperananceasin* M   *que* T   7 *ceoporan* M: καὶ ὀπῶρας E   8 *sycamina* T Z: *sicamina*
R W   9 *syca* T W Z: *sica* R   10 *doracina* M: μῆλα· περσικά E   *persos* M: *mala· persica* E   11 *appius*
Z W: *appyus* R: *appios* T   *piras* T W: *pyras* R Z: *pira* E   12 *triccoccia* M   **8d**1 *iduecis panta* Z T W: *ydu-* R
2 *aegorasamen* Z R W: *agor-* T   *que* T W   3 *ypageistinician* R T: *-icyan* Z: *ypageystinycian* W   *refer ad* M:
vade in E   **9a**1 *calesatoton magiron* Z R T: *-tothon-* W   *clamet* M: *vocet* E   *coquum* E: *cocum* M D
2 *pyestin* M   3 *anoanilthen* R T: *ancan-* W: *anoanylth* Z   ἀνῆλθεν N G B: ἀννῆλθεν A D: ἀνῆλθε K P
4 *kaetitheli* Z T: *-thitheli* R: *-thitili* W   5 *catabatoode* T W: *kat-* Z R   *descendit* M

b	ἆρον, ἕψησον ἐπιμελῶς τὰ προσφάγια. ἄρτυσις καλὴ γενέσθω.	tolle, coque diligenter pulmentaria. conditura bona fiat.	Take [this food], cook the relish carefully, let it become good sauce.

c	ἔνεγκε τὴν κλεῖδα.
	ἄνοιξον τὸ γλωσσοκόμον
	καὶ ἐξάγαγε κλεῖδα τοῦ
	  ταμιείου.
	‹προένεγκε ἃ ἀναγκαῖά
	  εἰσιν·›
		affer clavem.
		aperi loculum
		et eice clavem cellarii.
		
		profer quae necessaria sunt:
			Bring the key.
			Open the casket
			and take out the key of the cellar.
			
			Bring out the things that are
			  necessary:

d	ἅλας, ἔλαιον Σπανὸν καὶ ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τοὺς λύχνους, γάρον πρῶτον καὶ δευτέριον, ὄξος δριμύ,	sale, oleum Spanum et apparatum ad lucernas, liquamen primum et secundum, acetum acrum,	salt, Spanish oil, and provision for the lamps, fish-sauce [that is, both the] first and second grade, sharp vinegar,
e	οἶνον λευκὸν καὶ μελανόν, γλεῦκος, παλαιόν, ξύλα ξηρά, ἄνθρακας, ἀνθρακιάν, ἀξίνην,	vinum album et nigrum, mustum, vetus, ligna sicca, carbones, prunam, securim,	white wine and black [wine], new [wine], old [wine], dry firewood, coals, a live coal, an axe,

9b1 *aronepsisonepimelos* M   ἕψησον Haupt: ὄψησον E   *coce* T W   2 *traposfagia* M   *pulmenta* E
3 *artysis* Z R: *artisis* T: *archisis* W   4 *calagenestho* Z R: *calanegeston* W: *galagenesto* T   **9c**1 *enencitinclida* W:
-*clyda* Z R: *eneneit-* T   2 *aniontoglossocomon* T W: *anynonto' gllossocomon* Z^{pc}: -*gloss-* Z^{ac}: ανινοντο γλοσσοκομον
Y: R legere non possum   lineam om. E   3 *keexagageclidatudamu* Z R W: -*gageeli-* T   lineam om. E
4 Graecum supplevit Krumbacher   *profefer* W^{ac} *que* T W   lineam om. R E et supra post *aperi loculum*
habent Z T W Y, transposuit Krumbacher   **9d**1 *alas* M   lineam om. E   2 *eleonspanon* Z T W: -*anu* R
oleus spanu Z W: *oleus* (om. *spanu*) R: *oletis spanu* T: ολευς σπανον (Latinum Graece scriptum) Y   lineam om.
E   3 *cethideon* T W: *chethideon* Z: *cheť ideon* (= *chethideon*) R: καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδειον Krumbacher (vel καὶ τὸ δέον,
p. 360)   *apparatum* T W E: *apparu* R: *appatu* Y: *aperui* Z: lineam om. E   4 *istus lichinus* T W: -*chynus*
R: *istus lychinus* Z: καὶ λύχνους E: καὶ λίχνους G B   *ad* M: *et* E   5 *garon* M   6 *proton* Z R T: *proth-* W
7 *kedeuterion* M: καὶ δεύτερον E   8 *oxos drimin* Z R T: -*mon* W   *acre* E   **9e**1 *pinon leucon* T W: *pyn-* R
Z: οἶνον λευκόν G^{pc} B K P: οἰνολευκόν A N D: οἰνο̄λευκόν G^{ac} 2 *kemeladnon* M: καὶ μέλανα A N D^{ac} G^{ac} B:
καὶ μέλαν D^{pc} G^{pc}: καὶ μέλαινα K P   3 *gleucos* M   *mustum* Z R Y E: *mustus* T W   hanc lineam supra
post ὄξος δριμύ *acetum acrum* habet E   4 *paleon* M   *vetus* W Y: *betus* Z R T: *vetustum* E   5 *filaxira* Z T
W: *fylaxira* R   *ligna* M E: *signa* K P   6 *anthraces* Z T: *anť races* (= *anthraces*) R: *antraces* W   7 *anthracian* Z
T: *antracian* W: *anthraciam* R   *prima* M   8 *axini* Z W: *anixi* R T   *securim* D^{pc} P: *securem* E: *secura* M

f	σκεύη,	vasa,	vessels,
	λοπάδας,	catina,	dishes,
	χύτραν,	caccabum,	a cooking-pot,
	λέβητα,	ollam,	a pot,
	σχάραν,	craticulam,	a grid-iron,
	πῶμα,	coopertorium,	a cover,
	θύειαν,	mortarium,	a mortar,
	ἀλετρίβανον,	pistillum,	a pestle,
	μαχαίριον.	cultellum.	a little knife.'
g	Τί ἄλλο θέλεις;	Quid aliud vis?	'What else do you want?'
	Ταῦτα μόνα, παιδάριον.	Haec tantum, puer.	'Only this, boy:
	ὕπαγε πρὸς τὸν Γάϊον	vade ad Gaium	go to Gaius
	καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ·	et dic illi:	and say to him,
	Ἐλθέ· ἐκεῖθεν	Veni, inde	"Come, let's go to the baths from
	λουσώμεθα.	lavemus.	there."
	Ὕπαγε, τρέχε,	Vade, curre,	Go, run,
	ταχέως ποίησον·	cito fac;	do it quickly,
	μηδὲν βράδιον,	nihil tardius,	not at all slowly,
	‹ἀλλ'› εὐθύς.	sed velocius.	but immediately [Lat.: faster].'
h	Ἐγένου πρὸς αὐτόν;	Fuisti ad ipsum?	'Have you been to him?'
	Ἐγενόμην. Ὅπου ἦν;	Fui. Ubi erat?	'I have.' 'Where was he?'
	Εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκάθητο.	Ad domum sedebat.	'He was sitting at home.'
i	Καὶ τί ἐποίει;	Et quid faciebat?	'And what was he doing?'
	Ἐφιλολόγει.	Studebat.	'He was studying.'
	Καὶ τί εἶπεν; Τοὺς ἐμοὺς	Et quid dixit? Meos	'And what did he say?' '[He said,]
	ἐκδέχομαι.	exspecto;	"I'm waiting for my [friends];
	ἔρχονται	veniunt	they're coming
	καὶ ἀκολουθῶ.	et sequor.	and I [shall] follow."'

9f1 *sceuge* M: σκεύγη Krumbacher　　2 λοπάδας Krumbacher: *lopoda* M: λωπάδα E　　*catina* Z R T: *cathina* W: *patinam* E　　3 *chytran* Z T W: *chitran* R　　*caccabum* Z T: *cacabum* R W: om. N G B K P: χύτραν A D　　4 *lebita* T: *lebyta* Z R: *lebeta* W　　*ollam* E: *olla* M　　post hoc addunt *lebetem* N B　　5 *scharan* Z T: *scaran* W: *charan* R: ἐσχάραν E　　*graticulam* Z R Y　　6 *poma* M　　*coopertorium* M: *operculum* E　　7 *thyia* Z R T: *thiia* W: θύιαν A N: θύαν D G B K P　　hanc lineam post proximam habent Z R Y　　8 ἀλετρίβανον Krumbacher: *alotribanon* M　　*pastillum* Z R　　lineam om. E　　9 *macherion* M　　*cultellum* W Y: *curtellum* Z R T　　lineam om. E　　**9g**1 *tiallothelis* W: *ty-* Z R: *thiallotelis* T　　lineam om. E　　2 *tautamonapedarion* Z T: *-aron* R: *tautamoa-* W: σύ δέ παιδάριον E　　*hec tantum* T: *tu vero* E　　3 *ypageprosgaion* T: *-gayon* Z R: *-prosgion* W　　*Gaium* R T W Y A N G K: *Caium* D B P: *gavium* Z　　4 *ceipe auto* Z W: *cerp-* R: *ceipete auto* T *illi* M: *ei* E　　5 *elthe ecithen* Z R T: *eltheceithen* W　　6 *lusometha* M　　7 *ypagetreche* T W: *ypagethreche* Z R 8 *tacheos pyison* M　　*cito* M: *velociter* E　　9 *miden bradeon* M　　*nichil* Z R　　lineam om. E　　10 *eythys* Z R: *eythis* W: *yithys* T　　*sed velocius* Krumbacher: *se velocium* Z T W: *se velotium* R: *se velocius* Y　　lineam om. E **9h**1 *egenu prosauton* M　　*ipsum* M: *eum* E　　2 *egenominopuin* Z R T: *-opum* W　　3 *istinycianecatheto* T: *istinician-* Z: *istinitian-* R: *istynicyanicatheto* W　　*ad domum* M: *in domo* E　　**9i**1 *cetiepyi* Z R T: *cethyepyi* W 2 *efilologi* T: *ifil-* W: *ephylologi* Z: *ephylology* R　　3 *cetupentissemus* M　　τοὺς ἐμούς om. E　　*meos* Krumbacher: m̅s M (= *meus* iudicibus edd.): om. E　　4 *ecdechome* Z R T: *ecdocheme* W: ἐκδέχου με E *exspecto* Z: *expecto* R T W Y: *expecta me* E　　5 *erchonte* M: ἔρχονται A N D Gᵃᶜ K P: ἔρχοντα Gᵖᶜ B 6 *kaiacolutho* Z R T: *kaya-* W

j   Ὕπαγε πάλιν καὶ εἰπὲ   Vade iterum et dic illi: 'Go again and say to him,
        αὐτῷ·   Omnes hic sunt.   "Everyone is here."
    Πάντες ὧδέ εἰσιν.   cum illo veni.   Come [back] with him.
    σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλθέ.

k   ὑμεῖς τέως σύνθετε   vos interim componite   You [servants], meanwhile, set
    ἐπιμελῶς   diligenter   out the glassware and the
    τὰ ὑάλινα   vitreamina   bronze vessels carefully.
    καὶ τὰ χαλκώματα.   et aeramenta.

l   στρώσατε τὸ τρίκλινον   sternite cenationem   Arrange the dining room
    καὶ ῥίψατε ἔξω   et proicite foras   and throw water outside.
    ὕδωρ.   aquam.   I want to see [you hurrying?]
    θέλω ἰδεῖν   volo videre   like young men.'
    ὡς οἱ νεανίσκοι.   quasi iuvenes.

m   Ἤδη ἐστρώσαμεν.   Iam stravimus.   'Now we have arranged it.
    πάντα ἕτοιμά εἰσιν.   omnia parata sunt.   Everything is ready.'

n   Οὐδέπω ἦλθεν;   Nondum venit?   'Hasn't he come yet?
    ἄπελθε, εἰπὲ αὐτῷ·   vade, dic illi: Go, say to him,
    Ὀψὲ ἡμᾶς ποιεῖς   Sero nos facis   "You're making us
    ἀριστῆσαι.   prandere.   have lunch late."'

o   Ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν·   Ecce venit;   'There, he has come;
    ὧδε ἤρχετο.   hic veniebat.   he was on his way here.'
    Συνάντησον αὐτῷ.   Occurre ei.   'Go and meet him.
    παρακάλεσον αὐτόν.   roga illum.   Invite him [in].'
    Τί ἔξω στήκεις;   Quid foras stas?   'Why are you standing outside?'

9j1 *ypage palinceipeuto* M   *iterum* M P: *rursus* E   *illi* M: *ei* E   2 *pantesodeisin* T: *-odeysin* R W: *-odeisyn* Z *omnes* Y E: *homines* M   3 *synauto elthe* Z R T: *sin-* W   σὺν αὐτῷ om. G   *illo* M: *eo* E   **9k**1 *ymisteos synthete* Z R: *-sinthete* W: *ymysteos syntete* T   *iterum* K P   *componitte* T   2 *epimelos* Z T W: *epymelos* R 3 *tayla* Z R: *taila* T W   *vitreamina* G: *vitriamina* Z R T W^pc Y: *viatrimina* W^ac: *vitramina* A N D K P: *vitrea vasa* B 4 *cetachalcomata* Z R W: *cetacalcomata* T   *et eramenta* M   **9l**1 *strosatetontriclinon* Z T W: *-lynion* R *ceinationem* Z   lineam om. E   2 *ceripsate exo* M   *proiicite* E   3 *ydor* M   hanc lineam supra post καὶ τὰ χαλκώματα *et aeramenta* habent codices, transposuit Krumbacher   4 *theloidin* T: *theloydin* Z R W 5 *oneaniscy* T: *oneanisci* R: *oneanysci* Z W: ὡς οινεανίσκοι E: ὡς νεανίσκοι Krumbacher   *quasi* M A D G K P: *ut* N: *quemadmodum* B   **9m**1 *idiestrosamen* T W: *ydi-* R Z: ἤδη ἔστρωσα E   *iam* R T^pc W Z E: *ium* T^ac *stravimus* M: *stravi* E   2 *panta etymaysin* R Z: *-etimaysin* T W: *-etymaisan* W   **9n**1 *ydepoilthen* Z T W: *ydepoylthen* R   *nondum* M: *neque dum* E   2 *apelthipeauto* Z R T: *apeltyp-* W   *illi* Z R T W^pc: *ille* W^ac: *ei* E 3 *opseimaspyis* W: *obseym-* R: *obpseym-* Z: *obpseimaspiyis* T   4 *aristise* Z R T: *aristhise* W   **9o**1 *idyilthen* T: *idiylthen* W: *idyilton* Z R: ἰδοὺ ἦλθε E   2 *odehireheto* T W: *odehyreheto* Z R   lineam om. E et post proximam habet M: transposui   3 *synintisa auto* Z R T: *sininth-* W   *occurrere ei* W^ac K   4 *paracalesonauton* M *illum* M: *ipsum* E   5 *tiexostices* T: *ty-* Z R: *thiexosthices* W   στήκεις A N D G^ac K P: ἑστήκεις G^pc B   *foris* E

Bathing

10a Κατάγετε σάβανα   Deferte sabana   'Take the towels down
εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον,   ad balneum,   to the bath,
ξύστρον,   strigilem,   the strigil,
προσοψίδιον,   faciale,   face-cloth,
ποδεκμάγιον,   pedale,   foot-cloth,
λήκυθον,   ampullam,   flask [of oil],
ἀφρόνιτρον.   aphronitrum.   soap.

b προάγετε,   antecedite,   Go ahead [of us],
λάβετε τὸν τόπον.   occupate locum.   get a place.'
Ποῦ κελεύεις;   Ubi iubes?   'Where do you direct [it to be]?
'ς τὸ δημόσιον   ad thermas   At the public baths,
ἢ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ;   aut in privato?   or in the private one?'

c Ὅπου κελεύετε.   Ubi iubetis.   'Wherever *you* order.'
Προάγετε μόνον·   Antecedite tantum;   'Just go ahead;
ὑμῖν λέγω, οἳ ἐνθάδε ἐστέ.   vobis dico, qui hic estis.   I'm talking to you, the ones who are here.'

d Θερμὸν γενέσθω ἡμῖν.   Calida fiat nobis.   'Let there be hot [water] for us.'
Ὅσον ὑπάγομεν,   Quando imus,   'I'll tell you when we're coming.'
διηγήσομαί σοι.   narrabo tibi.   'Get up, let's go.'
Ἐγείρου, ἄγωμεν.   Surge, eamus.

e Ἔνθεν θέλεις διὰ τῆς στοᾶς   Hinc vis per porticum,   'Do you want [to go] from here through the portico,
διὰ τὸν ὑετόν;   propter lumen?   on account of the rain [Lat.: light]?'
Μήτι θέλεις ἐλθεῖν   Numquid vis venire   'Do you want to come
'ς τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα;   ad secessum?   to the privy?'

10a1 *catagete sabana* M   *deferte* M: *afferte* A N G K P: *affer* D B   2 *istobalanion* M   3 *xystron* Z R: *xistron* T W: ξυστρόν E: ξύστραν B   4 *prosobsidion* M: προσόψιον E: προσώψιον K P   *faciale* Krumbacher: *fasciale* M: *facialem* E   5 *podegmagion* Z T W: *-gyon* R   *pedalem* E   6 *licython* T: *lycithon* Z R: *liciton* W   *ampullam* M E: *ambulam* K: *ambulem* P   7 *afonitron* R: *afonitron* Z T W   (Latinum) *afonitrum* Z R T W Y   *lineam om.* E   **10b**1 *proagete* M   *antecedite* M: *pr(a)ecedite* E: *procedite* G B   2 *labete tontopon* M   τόν *om.* K P   *occupate* M: *capite* E   3 *puce leuis* Z R T: *pauce leuis* W: πυτελεφις Y   4 *stodemosion* T W: *-syon* Z R   εἰς E   *ad thermas* M: *in thermis* N^pc D: *in termis* A N^ac: *in publico* G B: *in publicum* K P   5 *lento idio tico* T: *-ydiotico* Z R W: λεντοιδιοτοκο Y   **10c**1 *opuceleuete* M   2 *proagetemonon* Z R T: *proagethemonon* W   *lineam om.* E   3 *ymyn lego yentadeeste* T: *ymin-* Z: *-deste* W: *yminlegoyentadeeste* R   *estis* Z T W E: *statis* R   *lineam om.* E   **10d**1 *thermongenesthoimin* Z R: *-stoimin* T: *thermogenestomin* W   *calida fiat nobis* post proximam habent Z R, totam lineam post proximam habet Y   *lineam om.* E   2 *osunipagomen* Z T W: *osumip-* R   ὅσον Krumbacher: ὅτε E: ὡς ἄν Ferri   *imus* M: *vadimus* E   3 *diigesomesy* T: *-si* Z: *-sumesi* W: *dyigesomesi* R: δυγεσομε συ αł διργεσομε (sine σύ) Y   4 *egyruagomen* Z R T: *egiru-* W   **10e**1 *enthenthelis diatistodas* R T: *-dya-* Z: *entbe-* W: *-thistodas* W^pc: *-thisedas* W^ac   *lineam om.* E   2 διὰ τὸν ὑετόν Ogden: *diaton peton* Z T: *dya-* R W: διὰ τοῦ πτεροῦ Krumbacher: διὰ τῶν περιστόων Traube apud Krumbacher p. 361   *propter lumen* M: *per pteroma* Krumbacher: *per inter‹co›lumnia* Traube apud Krumbacher p. 361: *propter pluviam* Ogden   *lineam om.* E   3 *mititheli selthin* M: *mitetheli-* W^ac   4 *stomafedrona* M: εἰς τἀπόπατον A N D K P: εἰς ἀπόπατον B: εἰς τὸ πότανον G

f	Καλῶς με ὑπέμνησας, ἡ κοιλία με ἐπάγει. ἄγωμεν λοιπόν.	Bene me admonuisti, venter me cogit. eamus iam.	'You reminded me well; my belly urges [Lat.: compels] me 　　[to go]. Let's go now.'
g	Ἔκδυσαι. Ὑπόλυσόν με, σύνθες τὰ ἱμάτια, περίβαλε, τήρει καλῶς, μὴ νύσταζε διὰ τοὺς κλέπτας.	Exspolia te. Discalcia me, compone vestimenta, cooperi, serva bene, ne obdormias propter fures.	'Take off your clothes.' 'Take off my shoes, put the clothes together, cover [them], watch [them] well: don't doze off, on account of the thieves.'
h	Ἅρπαξον ἡμῖν σφαῖραν· παίξωμεν ἐν τῷ 　σφαιριστηρίῳ.	Rape nobis pilam; ludamus in sphaeristerio.	'Grab a ball for us: let's play in the ball-court.'
i	Γυμνασθῆναι θέλω ἐν τῷ κηρώματι. δεῦρο παλαίσωμεν διὰ χρόνου μιᾷ ῥοπῇ.	Exerceri volo in ceromate. veni luctemus post tempus uno momento.	'I want to practise on the wrestling-ground. Come here, let's wrestle after a while for a moment.'
j	Οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ δύναμαι· πάλαι γὰρ πέπαυμαι τοῦ παλαίειν. ὅμως πειράζω εἰ δύναμαι.	Non scio, si possum; olim enim cessavi luctare. tamen tempto si possum.	'I don't know if I can; for I stopped wrestling a long time ago. Nevertheless I [shall] try if I can.'

10f1 *calosmeypennysas* Z R: *-ipenisas* T: *colosmeypenisas* W 　　*bene* Z R Y E: *veni* T W 　　2 ἡ κοιλία με ἐπάγει G B: ἡ κοιλία με ἐπείγει A N D K P: *iculia meepagi* Z T W: *-meaepagi* R 　　*cogit* M: *stimulat* E 　　3 *agomen lypon* Z R W: *-lipon* T 　　λοιπόν N B K P: λοιτόν A D G 　　**10g**1 *ecclyse* Z R W: *aecclite* T: εκκλισε Y: ἔκδυσόν με E 　　*exspolia te* Z W: *expolia te* R T Y: *exue me* E: *expolia me* Krumbacher 　　2 *ypolysonme* M: *ypolysome* Wᵃᶜ: ὑποδησόν με E 　　*discalcia* Z T WY : *discaltia* R: *calcia* E 　　3 *synthesta imatia* Z: *sintes-* T: *synthestaymatia* R: *sintestha imacia* W 　　*vestimenta* M: *indumenta* E 　　4 *peribaletiricalos* T: *-tyri-* Z R: *perybaletyricalos* Wᵖᶜ: *-calcos* Wᵃᶜ *cooperi* M D G B K: *coopere* A: *circumda* N: *corporis* P 　　5 *ministaze* T W: *ministhasze* Z: *ministhasez* R 　　*ne obdormias* Z R W Y: *ne addormias* T: *ne dormita* Aᵖᶜ N B: *non dormita* D G: *dormita* Aᵃᶜ K: *dormita bene* P 　　6 *diatus cleptas* Z T: *dya-* R W 　　**10h**1 *apaxoniminsperan* Z R T: *apoxonimin-speram* W: ἅρπασον ἡμῖν σφαῖραν E *pylam* Z 　　2 *pexomenentos foristerio* M 　　*ludamus* W: *laudamus* Z R T Y 　　*sphaeristerio* Krumbacher: *feristerio* Z R W: *foristerio* T 　　*lineam* om. E 　　**10i**1 *gymnastinethelo* Z R: *-eletho* T: *-tenethelo* W 　　2 *ento cyromati* Z R T: *-chyromathi* W 　　κηρώματι E: κευρώματι P: κεμρώματι K ut vid. 　　*ceromate* E: *ceroma* M 　　3 *deuro palesomen* T W: *deurobalesomen* Z R: δευροβαλεσαμεν Y 　　*luctemus* Z R T Y: *luctemur* W ut vid. A N Gᵖᶜ B: *luctemini* D Gᵃᶜ K P 　　4 *diachronu* Z T: *dyachronu* R: *dyacronu* W 　　χρόνου Aᵖᶜ N D G B K: κρόνου Aᵃᶜ: χρόνον P 　　5 *maioropi* M 　　**10j**1 οὐκ οἶδα εἰ δύναμαι Krumbacher: *ucyadinometha* W: *ycyadyn-* T: *uciadynomecha* Z R: οὐκοῖδα οὐδὲ δύναμαι E 　　*nescio neque possum* E: *nescio nec possum* K: *nec scio nec possum* N 　　2 *pelagar pepaume* M: τὸ πάλαι γὰρ πέπαυμαι Krumbacher 　　*iamdudum enim destiti* E 　　3 *tupalein* T W: *tupaleyn* Z R 　　*luctare* M: *luctari* Wᵖᶜ E 　　4 *omospirazo* T: *omospyrazo* Z R: *omispirazo* W 　　*tempto* M: *tento* E 　　5 *ydiname* M

k	Ἐλαφρῶς κεκόπωμαι.	Leviter fatigatus sum.	'I have been tired out easily.'
	Εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς τὸν πρῶτον οἶκον προπνιγέα.	Introeamus in cellam primam tepidaria.	'Let's go into the first room, the tepidarium.
l	δὸς τῷ βαλανεῖ κέρμα· ἀπόλαβε τὸ ὑπόλοιπον.	da balnitori nummos; recipe reliquum.	Give the bath-keeper coins; get the change.
m	ἄλειψε.	unge.	Anoint [me].'
	Ἄλειψα.	Unxi.	'I have anointed [you].'
	Ἀλείφομαι.	Ungo me.	'I anoint myself.'
	Τρῖψον.	Frica.	'Rub [me].'
	Ἔρχου 'ς τὸ ἱδρωτήριον.	Veni ad sudatorium.	'Come to the sweat-room.'
	Ἱδροῖς;	Sudas?	'Are you sweating?'
	Ἱδρῶ·	Sudo;	'I am sweating;
	ἐκλέλυμαι.	lassus sum.	I am exhausted.'
n	Ἐσέλθωμεν εἰς τὴν ἐμβάτην.	Introeamus ad solium.	'Let's go in to the hot pool.'
	Κατάβα.	Descende.	'Go down.'
	Χρώμεθα τῇ ξηροπυρίᾳ καὶ οὕτω καταβῶμεν εἰς τὴν ἐμβάτην.	Utamur assa et sic descendamus ad solium.	'Let's use the dry heat room and go down that way to the hot pool.'

10k1 *elafros* M; *elafros* et *leviter* cum prioribus coniungunt M; *leviter* supra inter *si* et *possum* habet Y
2 *cetopome* M: κεκοπίακα E   3 *inselto meniston pro tonicon* T: *-mines-* W *inselthomenistonprotoncon* Z R: ινσελθομενιστον προτονκον Y   *intramus* M: *introeamus* Traube apud Krumbacher: *intramus* M   *cellam primam* Z R Y: *cella prima* T W   lineam om. E   4 *probnigea* Z R T: *probnigra* W   *depidaria* M: *tepidariam* Krumbacher   lineam om. E   **10l**1 *dostobalanicerma* M   *da* W: *do* T: *de* Z R Y   *balnitori* Z R T: *balniatori* W   lineam om. E   2 *apolabetoypolipon* Z T W: *-lypon* R   *recipe* M: *accipe* Krumbacher lineam om. E   **10m**1 *alipse* T: *alypse* Z R W: ἄλειψον E   *unge* Z R W E: *ungito* N   2 *alipsa* T W: *alypsa* Z R: ἤλειψα E: om. D P   3 *alifome* T W: *alyfome* Z R: ἀλείψομαι E: ἀλείψομαί με D: εἴλειψάς με P   *ungo* W: *ungeo* Z R T: *ungam* E   4 *tripson* M   5 *erchiisto idroterion* T: *-roiterion* Z R: *erchustoydrotherion* W   lineam om. E   6 *ydrys* Z R T: *ydris* W: ἱδροῖς A N: ἱδρεις D G B K P   7 *ydro* M   8 ἐκλέλυμαι Boucherie: *eclelyme* R W: *eclelime* T: *celelime* Z: ἐκλέλυμμαι E   *lassus sum* M: *deficio* E
10n1 *eselthomenistinenbatin* Z R: *eselto-* T: *eselthomenistinenbaton* W   *intramus* M: *introeamus* Traube apud Krumbacher   *adosolium* W^ac   lineam om. E   2 *catava* M   3 *chromethatixeropiria* Z: *c'rometa-* (=*chrometa-*) W^pc: *crometa-* W^ac: *chromethixeropiria* R: *chrometaxeropiria* T   lineam om. E   4 *kaiutocatabomen* T: *-catob-* W: *kautocatab-* Z R   lineam om. E   5 *istinenbatin* M   *solium* om. Y   lineam om. E

o	Κατάβα,	Descende,	'Go down,
	κατάντλησόν με.	fomenta me.	pour hot water over me.
	ἔξελθε λοιπόν.	exi iam.	Now get out.
	βάλε σεαυτὸν	mitte te ipsum	Throw yourself
	εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν	ad piscinam	into the open-air pool.
	ὑπαίθριον.	subdivalem.	Swim!'
	κολύμβησον.	nata.	'I swam.'
	Ἐκολύμβησα.	Natavi.	
p	Πρόσελθε εἰς τὸν λουτῆρα,	Accede ad luterem,	'Go over to the basin;
	περίχεε σαυτόν.	perfunde te.	pour [water] over yourself.'
	Περιέχεα,	Perfudi,	'I have poured [it]; I have put
	ἀνέλαβον.	resumpsi.	[the basin] up again.'
	Ἐπίδος ξύστραν.	Porrige strigilem.	'Hand [me] the strigil.
	περικατάμαξόν με.	deterge me.	Rub me down.
q	περίζωσε σάβανα.	cinge sabana.	Wrap the towels around [me].
	κατάμαξόν μου τὴν κεφαλὴν	terge mihi caput	Dry my head
	καὶ τοὺς πόδας.	et pedes.	and feet.
r	δὸς σανδάλια,	da caligulas,	Give [me my] shoes,
	ὑπόδησόν με.	calcia me.	put on my shoes.
	ἐπίδος ἐπικάρσιον,	porrige amiclum,	Hand me [my] underwear,
	ἀναβόλαιον, δαλματικήν.	pallam, dalmaticam.	mantle, Dalmatian tunic.
s	συνάξετε τὰ ἱμάτια	colligite vestimenta	Gather up the clothes
	καὶ πάντα τὰ ἡμῶν.	et omnia nostra.	and all our things.
	ἀκολουθεῖτε εἰς τὸν οἶκον,	sequimini ad domum,	Follow [me] home,

---

1001 *cataba* M; *cataba* et *descende* cum prioribus coniungunt M   lineam om. E   2 κατάντλησόν με Krumbacher: *catantlisomen* T W: *catantel-* Z R   *fomenta me* Krumbacher: *fomen tamen* M   lineam om. Y E 3 *exelthelypon* Z R: *exelt᾽ elipon* (= *exelthelipon*) W^pc: *exeltelipon* T W^ac   λοιπόν N B K P: λοιτόν A D G 4 *palese auton* M   *mitte* M E: *iace* N   5 *istin columbithran* Z R: *-bitran* T W^pc: *-britan* W^ac: κολῡβιθραν Y *ad* M: *in* E   *piscinam* M E: *piscinis* K P   6 *ypetrion* Z R T: *ip-* W: ὑπαίθριον A N B P: ὑπαίθρειον D G K *subdivalem* E: *sub divale* M: *subdialem* B   7 *columbison* Z T W: *columbyson* R   8 *ecolimbisa* T W: *ecolymbysa* R: *ecolimbysa* Z   **100p**1 *proseltheiston lutira* Z W: *proselte-* T: *-theyston-* R   *accede ad luterem* West: *accede adiutum* Z R W: *accede ad vicum* Y: *adiutum accede* T: *ad lutum accede* Krumbacher   lineam om. E   2 *perichyoeauto* Z R: *perichoeauto* T: *perychoyoeauto* W^pc: *-choeo-* W^ac: περίχεε σαυτόν E: περίχεε ἑαυτόν Krumbacher   *perfunde te ipsum* E: om. K P   3 *periechea* R T W: *peryechea* Z: περίχεεον E   *perfundi* R   lineam om. K P 4 *anelabon* M: om. K P   5 *epidosxistram* T W: *epydosxystram* Z R: ἐπίδος om. K P   ξυστρόν A N *porrigie* W   6 *pericate maxonme* Z R T: *-tenmax-* W   *absterge me* E   **100q**1 *perizose sabana* M   lineam om. E   2 *catamaxon mucefalin* M: κατάμαξον μου τὴν κεφαλήν P: κατάμαξόν μοι τὴν κεφαλήν N G: κατάμαξόν μοι κεφαλήν A D^pc B K   3 *cetuspodas* M   **100r**1 *dosandalia* M   *da* om. M   *caligulas* A N D G K: *caligas* B P: *calliculas* M   2 *ypodison me* T W: *ypodysonme* Z R   3 *epidosepicarsion* T: *epyd-* Z: *epydosepicarsyon* R: *epidosecarsion* W: ἐπίδος ἐπικάρσιον E: εἴσαγε τὸν θεῖον P   *porrige* Z T W Y: *porge* R: *aduce* A N: *adduce* D G K P: *adiice* N B   *amiclum* M: *amiculum* E: *avunculum* P   4 *anapoleon dalmatican* M   lineam om. E   **100s**1 *synaxetaimitia* T W: *sin-* Z R   *collige* W^ac   lineam om. E   2 *kaipantataimon* T W: *kaypantataymon* Z R   lineam om. E   3 *acoluthiteistonicon* Z R T: *-isthon-* W   lineam om. E

t	καὶ ἀγοράσετε ἡμῖν	et emite nobis	and buy for us,
	ἀπὸ τοῦ βαλανείου	a balneo minutalia	from the bath-shop, chopped food
	λεπτόσπερμα	et lupinos	and lupins
	καὶ θέρμους	‹et› fabas acetatas.	and beans in vinegar.’
	‹καὶ› ὀξυκυάμια.		

u	Καλῶς ἐλούσω,	Bene lavasti,	‘You bathed well,
	καλῶς σοι ἔστω.	bene tibi sit.	may it be well for you.’

Giving a dinner party

11a	Δότε ὧδε θρόνους,	Date hic cathedras,	‘Give here chairs,
	δίφρους, βάθρον,	sellas, scamnum,	seats, a bench,
	δίεδρον,	bisellium,	a double seat,
	προσκεφάλαιον.	cervicale.	a pillow.
	καθέζου.	sede.	Sit.’
	Κάθημαι.	Sedeo.	‘I am sitting.’
	Τί στήκεις;	Quid stas?	‘Why are you standing up?’

b	Πλῦνον ποτῆριν,	Lava calicem,	‘Wash a cup,
	ὕδατι θερμῷ	aqua calida	mix [a drink] with hot water;
	συγκέρασον·	tempera;	for I’m very thirsty.
	πάνυ γὰρ διψῶ.	valde enim sitio.	Mix [some] for everyone.
	κέρασον πᾶσιν.	misce omnibus.	

c	τίς τί θέλει;	quis quid vult?	Who wants what?
	ἢ ἀρτυτὸν	aut conditum	Spiced wine
	ἢ κάροινον;	aut caroenum?	or sweet boiled wine?
	αὐτὸ ἐκείνῳ κέρασον.	ipsum illi misce.	Mix it for him.
	σὺ τί θέλεις;	tu quid vis?	You, what do you want?
	πλῦνον ποτήριον.	lava calicem.	Wash a cup.

10t1 *kaiagorasateimin* Z W: *kay-* R: *kaiagorate-* T   *emitte* R T   lineam om. E   2 *apotibalaniuleptosperma* Z R T: *-balamu-* W   *a balneo* Krumbacher: *albaneo* M   lineam om. E   3 *cetermus* T: *ceth-* Z W: *cet‘-* (= *ceth-*) R   *lupinos* Krumbacher: *lubinos* M   lineam om. E   4 *oxyciamia* T W: *oxi-* Z R   *fabas* W E: *favas* Z R T Y   καί et *et* supplevit Krumbacher lineam om. E   **10u**1 *calose lusu* M   *lavasti* Z R W: *labasti* T: *lavisti* Y E   2 *calos sueste* M   ἔστω E: ἔσται Krumbacher   **11a**1 *doteode thronis* Z R T: *dotheodetronis* W   *cathedras* R T W: *kathedras* Z Y: *sedes* E   2 *difrys bathron* R: *dyf-* Z: *dyfrys batron* W: *dyfris batron* T   3 *dyedron* Z R T: *diedron* W   *bisellium* T E: *bysellium* Z R W: *bissel(l)aum* K P   4 *proscefaleon* M   *cervical* E   5 *cathezu* M   6 *cathime* M   7 *tistecis* T: *thistecis* W: *tystecis* Z R: τί στήκεις E: τί ἐστήκεις B   **11b**1 *plynon poterin* Z R T: *plin-* W: πλύνον ποτήριον E   *calice* T   2 ὕδατι θερμῷ E: *synceraston* R T W: σινκεραστον Y: *synecraston* Z   *aqua calida* Z T Y E: *aqua calidam* R: *aquam calidam* W   3 *syncerason* M   *tempera* M: *misce* E   4 *panigardipso* Z R W: *-dypso* T   *sitio* W E: *sicio* Z R T Y   5 *cerason pasin* T W: *cerasonipason* Z R   πᾶσι E   **11c**1 *tistitheli* Z R: *tistiteli* T: *tisthiteli* W   *quis quid* E: *quisque* M   2 *iartyton* Z R: *iartiton* T: *larthiton* W: λατιτον Y   *aut* M: *ut* A N: *vel* D G B K P   3 ἢ κάροινον Krumbacher: *carinon* M: ἢ καρηνόν E   *aut* M: *ut* A N K: *vel* D G B P   *carenum* M E   4 *auto etinucefason* T: *-incef-* Z R: *autotemucefason* W: αυτοζινψεφασο Y   5 *sintithelis* Z R: *syntitelis* T: *sinthithelis* W   6 *plynon poterion* Z R W: *plin-* T   *calice* T

d	κέρασόν μοι	misce mihi	Mix me
	θερμόν,	calidum,	a hot drink,
	μὴ ζεστὸν	noli ferventem	don't [make it] boiling
	μήτε χλιαρόν,	neque tepidum,	nor lukewarm,
	ἀλλὰ συγκεραστόν,	sed temperatum,	but tempered;
	καὶ ἔκχεε ἐκεῖθεν ὀλίγον.	‹et› effunde deinde modicum.	and then pour out a little.
	βάλε νηρόν.	mitte recentem.	Put in fresh water.
	πρόσθες ἄκρατον.	adice merum.	Add wine.'

e	Τί στήκετε;	Quid statis?	'Why are you standing up?
	καθέζεσθε, ἐὰν θέλετε.	sedete, si vultis.	Sit down, if you want.'
	Ἀναπέσωμεν.	Discumbamus.	'Let's recline.'
	Ποῦ κελεύεις;	Ubi iubes?	'Where do you direct [us to recline]?'
	Ἐν πρώτῳ τόπῳ	In primo loco	'Recline in the first place.'
	ἀνάπεσε.	discumbe.	

f	Δόθ' ἡμῖν ὑδρόγαρον.	Date nobis hydrogaron.	'Give us fish-sauce prepared with water.
	δὸς ἡμῖν γεύσασθαι	da nobis gustare	Give us to taste
	μολόχας ζεστάς.	malvas ferventes.	boiled mallows.
	ἐπίδος μοι χειρεκμάγιον.	porrige mihi mappam.	Hand me a napkin.
	κομίσατε.	afferte.	Bring [it].

g	βάλε ἐλαιόγαρον	mitte impensam	Put some fish-oil sauce
	εἰς τὸ ὀξυβάφιον.	ad acetabulum.	into the vinegar-cup.
	μέρισον τὰ ὀνύχια.	divide ungellas.	Divide up the pigs' trotters.
	κατάκοψον κοιλίδιον,	concide aqualiculum,	Cut up the paunch,
	πλεκτὴν ἐξ ὕδατος.	chordam ex aqua.	the boiled tripe.

11d1 *cerasonmy* Z T W: *-mi* R   *michi* Z R   2 *thermon* W: *therinon* T: *therimon* Z R: τεριμον Y   3 *mizeston* Z R T W^ac: *mizest'on* (= *mizesthon*) W^pc   *noli* M: *non* E   *ferventem* Z R W: *fervente* T: *fervens* E
4 *mitethliaron* Z R T: *mitetlyaron* W   5 *allasinceraston* T: *-thon* R: *allasyncerasthon* Z W   6 *ceechye ecithnoligon* R: *cecchie-* Z: *ceechieecythn-* W: *ceechie ecitn-* T   *et* supplevit Krumbacher   lineam om. E   7 *baleneron* T W: *balerenon* Z R: βάλε νεαρόν E: βάλε νερόν Krumbacher   8 *prostes acroton* T W^ac: *prost'es-* (= *prosthes-*) W^pc: *prothes-* Z R   *adice* Goetz: *adic* Z R W: *addic* T: *adiice* E: *aduce* N   **11e**1 *thisticite* W: *tysticite* Z R: *tiscite* T
2 *cathezeste eanthelete* W: *catezeste eantelete* Z R: *catazeste eantelete* T   θέλητε Krumbacher   3 *anapesomen* M
4 *pice leuis* M: πυ κελεφις Y   5 *enprototopo* M   6 ἀνάπεσε Krumbacher: *anapes* M: ἀνάπεσον E
11f1 *dotiminydrogamon* T W: *dotimini drogamon* Z R   *ydrogara* T W^pc: *ydor parum* W^ac: *ydrogarx* Z R: *idrogarx* Y   lineam om. E   2 *desemingeysaste* Z R W: *-geysa* T: δός μοι γεύσασθαι E   *nobis* M: *mihi* E   3 μολόχας ζεστάς Krumbacher: *mocas zestas* Z T W: *-zetas* R: μαλάχας ζεστάς E   4 *epidosmichi regimagion* T: *-machi-* W: *-mihi-* Z R   χειρεκμάγιον Krumbacher: χειρομάγιον E: χειρόμακτον P   5 *comisate* M
11g1 *baleeleogaron* M   *impensam* W^ac: *inpesam* Z R Y: *inperam* T: *imperam* W^pc   lineam om. E   2 *isto oxubafion* T W: *-fyon* R: *-basyon* Z   lineam om. E   3 *merisonta onichia* M   *ungellas* T W: *unguellas* Z R Y   lineam om. E   4 *catacopson cylidiom* Z T W: *-cilidiom* R   *aqualiculum* Krumbacher: *aqualem* Z R T: *equalem* W   lineam om. E   5 *plectin exydatos* Z T: *plectyn-* W: *-idatos* R   *cordam* M   lineam om. E

h	ἰδὲ εἰ ἔχεις πεπερᾶτον.	vide si habes piperatum.	See if you have a pepper dressing.
	ἐπίβαπτε.	intinge.	Dip it in.'
	Χρῶμαι.	Utor.	'I use it.'
	Χρῶ.	Utere.	'Use it.
	δὸς συκωτὸν	da ficatum	Give [us?] some tender fig-
	τρυφερόν,	tenerum,	fattened liver,
	κίχλας,	turdos,	thrushes,
	καλλίκρεας,	glandulas,	sweetbreads,
	θρίδακας.	lactucas.	lettuces.

i	εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄρτον κλάσει	unus de vobis panem frangat	One of you [servants], break the
	καὶ 'ς κανίσκιον εἰσοίσει.	et in canistellum inferat.	bread
	κατὰ τάξιν παράδος.	ad ordinem trade.	and put it into a basket.
	κλάσον ψωμούς.	frange quadras.	Pass it around in order.
			Break the loaves.

j	δειπνήσατε·	cenate;	Eat!
	πάντως ἐκεῖνος	utique ille	He is certainly
	ἄξιός ἐστιν παρ' ἡμῖν	dignus est apud nos	worthy to dine among us.
	δειπνῆσαι.	cenare.	

11h1 *ideichis peperaton* T: *ideychis-* Z R: *ideychys-* W   2 *epibapte* W: *epibapto* Z R: επιβαππο Y: *epibate* T
3 *chrome* M   4 *chro* Z R T: *cro* W^ac: *c῾ro* (= *chro*) W^pc   5 *dossycoton* M   6 *triferon* M   7 *cichlas*
T: *cychlas* Z R: *ciclhas* W: κίχλας A N K P: κίκλας D G B   8 *calicreas* Z R T: *caliceros* W: γαλικρέας E
9 *thrydacas* T W (*thy-* T^ac): *thridycas* Z cum *a* super *y* scripto: *thridyacas* R: θρύδακας A N D G B: θρύκαδας K:
θρικάδας P   **11i**1 *isexymonartonclasi* M   κλάση E   *de* M: *ex* E   *vobis* E: *vestris* M   2 *cescanis*
cyonisisi R: *-seyonisisi* Z: *-cioni sysi* T: *-cionisysy* W   *canistellum* Krumbacher: *canis celum* T^pc W (*canis* om. T^ac):
canis caelum Z R   lineam om. E   3 *cataxi parado* R T: *-taxy-* Z W   *trade* Krumbacher: *trado* Z R W ut
vid.: *tardo* T   lineam om. E   4 *clasonpsomus* M   ψωμούς B P: ψόμους A N G K: τόμους (expunctum)
et χομους D   **11j**1 δειπνήσατε E: δειπνήσαται A^ac D: *dipsinate* Z R T: *dyp-* W   *coenate* E
2 *pantosetinos* T: *-sethinos* W: *-stetinos* Z R: παντοστετινος Y   *utique* Z T W Y: *utque* R: *profecto* E
3 *axiosestinparemin* Z T W: *anxiosestinparemin* R   ἐστι E   4 *dipsine* Z R T: *dyp-* W   *coenare* E

k	δὸς ταρίχιον,	da salsum,	Give [us] salted fish,
	τριχίους,	sardinas,	pilchards,
	λόβια,	suriacas,	beans,
	ὄρμενον	cyma	a sprout
	μετὰ γάρου	cum liquamine	with fish-sauce
	καὶ ἔλαιον Σπανόν,	et oleum Spanum,	and Spanish oil,
	γογγυλωτόν,	rapatum,	meat in grated turnip,
	ὄρνιν ὀπτήν,	gallinam assam,	a roast chicken,
	ψιλήπλευρα	ofellas	pieces of meat
	διὰ ζωμοῦ,	iuscellatas,	in sauce,
	τεμάχια,	copadia,	slices of meat,
	δέλφακα ὀπτόν.	porcellum assum.	roast suckling pig.
l	θὲς τὸν δίσκον	pone discum	Put out the platter
	μετὰ τρωξίμων,	cum scarias,	with endives,
	ῥαφάνους,	radices,	radishes,
	ἡδύοσμον,	mentam,	mint,
	ἐλαίας λευκὰς	olivas albas	white olives
	καὶ τυρὸν	et caseum	and freshly salted cheese,
	νεαρόπαστον,	prosalsum,	truffles,
	ὕδνα,	tubera,	mushrooms.
	μύκας.	fungos.	
m	τοῖς ὑπηρετήσασιν	ministrantibus	Give dinner [lit: to dine] to the
	δότε δειπνῆσαι	date cenare	servants,
	καὶ τῷ μαγείρῳ·	et coquo;	and to the cook;
	καὶ τραγήματα,	et bellaria,	and [give him] dessert,
	ὅτι καλῶς	quia bene	because he has served well.
	ὑπηρέτησεν.	ministravit.	

11k1 *dostaricion* M   2 *trichius* M: τριχίους E: τραχίους P: τριχίας Haupt   3 *lobia* M   *suriacas* M: *lobia* E: *siliquas* Goetz   4 ὄρμενον Haupt: *ormeon* M: ὄρμηνον A N D G B: ὄρνηνον K: ὄρνιθον P   5 *metagarii* M   *liquamine* M: *loquamine* Wᵃᶜ   6 *ceeleonspanon* M *oleum Spanum* Krumbacher: *oleuspan* M   lineam om. E   7 *gongiloton* Zᵖᶜ R T: *cong-* W: *gongiliton* Zᵃᶜ   post hanc lineam deest R   8 *orninoptin* M   9 *psilipleura* M: ψιλήπλευρα E: ψιλὴν πλευράν K: om. P   *ofellas* Z T: *offellas* W: *offas* E   10 *diazomu* Z T: *dya-* W: διὰ ζώμου A N: διὰ ζωμον D G B K P   *iuscellatas* B: *iustellatas* A Dᵃᶜ ut vid. G: *iussellatas* Dᵖᶜ ut vid.: *iustelatas* N: *vistellatus* K: *viscelatus* P: *luscellatas* M   11 *tomachia* Z T: *thom-* W   12 *delfaca opton* Z T: *-pcom* W   **11l**1: *theston discon* Z W: *tes-* T   δισκον et *discum* ante θεστον et *pone* habet Y   2 *metatroximon* T: *metatroxymon* Z: *meatr̄oximon* (*meaterroximon* iudice Goetz) W   *scarias* Z T Y: *scaridas* W: *scariis* Aᵃᶜ Dᵃᶜ B K: *scariys* G: *escariis* Aᵖᶜ N Dᵖᶜ P   3 *rafanus* M   4 *idyesmon* T: *ydiesmon* W Z   *menta* M   5 *eleas leucas* M *olivas alvas* Z   6 *cetiron* Z T: *cetyron* W   7 *nearopaston* M   *prosalsum* M E: *recentem* P: *praesalsum* Krumbacher   8 *ydna* Z T: *idna* W: οἴδνα E: οἴτνα P   *tubera* W E: *tubra* Z T Y: *tubas* N   9 μύκας Krumbacher: *muci* M: *mugi* Wᵃᶜ: μυκῆτας E: μήκυτας N   *fugi* M   **11m**1 *tysiperetisasyn* T: *tysyperetisasin* W: *tysiperetysasin* Z: τοῖς ὑπηρετήσασι E   2 *doteidipnise* Z T: *doteydypnise* W   *date genera* M: *date coenare* N Gᵖᶜ B: *date* om. A D Gᵃᶜ: *cenare date* K: *detis cenare* P   3 *cetomagiro* T: *cethomagyro* W: *cetomigiro* Z   *coco* M   4 *cepragimita* M   *bellaria* E: *villaria* M   5 *oticalos* Z T: *othicalos* W   6 *yperetisen* Z T: *-thysen* W: ὑπηρέτησαν Krumbacher   *ministravit* E: *servierunt* M

n	δότε ὕδωρ εἰς χεῖρας.	date aquam manibus.	Give [us] water for [our] hands.
	κατάμαξον τὴν τράπεζαν.	terge mensam.	Wipe the table.
	‹ . . . ›	‹ . . . ›	?
	πρόσφατον	mometum	Give [us] a cup,
	δὸς ἁπλοπότην,	da phialam,	give [us] undiluted wine.
	δὸς ἄκρατον,	da merum.	Let's drink fresh water from the
	πίωμεν νηρὸν ἐκ τοῦ βαυκιδίου.	bibamus recentem de gillone.	cooler.'

o	Κέρασον θερμόν.	Misce calidum.	'Mix some hot [wine].'
	Εἰς τὸ μεῖζον;	In maiore?	'In the bigger [cup]?'
	Εἰς τὸ μικρόν.	In minore.	'In the smaller [Gk: small] one.'
	Ἡδέως.	Libenter.	'Gladly.'
	Ἐλπίζω γὰρ καὶ ἄλλην πεῖν.	Spero enim et aliam bibere.	'For I hope to drink another [bowl?] too.'

p	Ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπῃς,	Si permittis,	'If you allow it,
	προπίνω σου·	propino tibi;	I drink to you;
	καλῶς λαμβάνεις;	bene accipis?	do you take this well?'
	Ἀπὸ σοῦ ἡδέως.	A te libenter.	'From *you*, gladly.'

q	Διὰ τί οὐ πίνεις;	Quare non bibis?	'Why aren't you drinking?
	πίε κύριε.	bibe, domine.	Drink, sir!'
	Ἤιτησα καὶ οὐδείς μοι δέδωκεν.	Postulavi et nemo mihi dedit.	'I asked [for wine] and no-one gave me [any].'

r	Δὸς ἡμῖν γλυκέα	Date nobis dulcia	'Give us sweet
	πλακούντια.	placenta.	cakes.'

11n1 *doteidorischiras* Z T: *dothe-* W *date aquam ad manus* E 2 *catamaxontintrapezan* Z: καταμαξον τιν τραπεζαν Y: *cathamaxontintrapezan* W: *catamaxontintra* T *exterge* E 3 *prosfaton* Z T W: ‹δὸς› πρόσφατον Krumbacher *mometum* M: *recentem* E: ‹*da*› *temetum* Krumbacher 4 *dosaplopotin* M *phialam* E: *fialam* Z Y N: *filiolam* T W: *phialulam* Krumbacher 5 *dosacraton* M *meru* T 6 *piomenneronectubaucidium* T W: *pyo-* Z νερόν Krumbacher lineam om. E **11o**1 *cerasontermon* M *calidum* Z W Y E: *caldum* T 2 *istomezo* M *in maius* E 3 *istomicron* Z: *istomieron* T W *in parvum* E 4 *ideos* M: ἡδέως A N B: ἤθεως D G: ἀσμένως K P 5 *elpizogar cealpin* Z T: *elpizogarecalpin* W: ἐλπίζω γὰρ ἄλλην ἰδεῖν E *et* om. E *bibere* Bursian apud Krumbacher: *videre* M E **11p**1 *eanepitrepis* Z W: *enep-* T *permittas* E 2 *propinosu* M: *-so* Wᵃᶜ: προπίνωσοι E 3 *calos lambanis* M: καλῶς· λαμβάνω E *accipio* E 4 *aposu ideos* Z T: *aposyydeos* W **11q**1 *diatiupenis* M *quare* M N: *ut quid* E 2 *piakyri* T: *pyachiri* W: *pya kyri* Z *bibe* Wᵃᶜ E: *bive* Y: *vive* Z T Wᵖᶜ 3 *etisaceudysmydedocen* T: *ethisaceudysmidedocen* W: *etisauceudismededocen* Z *petivi et nullus mihi dedit* E **11r**1 *dosiminglicia* T W: *dosym-* Z: δόθ' ἡμῖν γλυκέα Krumbacher *date* M: *da* Y E *dulcia* M: *dulcem* E 2 πλακούντια Krumbacher: *placintia* Z T: *placinthia* W: πλακοῦντα E *placenta* M: *placentam* E

s	Ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν.	Sufficit nobis.	'It suffices for us.

s

Ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν.　　Sufficit nobis.　　'It suffices for us.
ἄγωμεν λοιπόν.　eamus iam.　　Let's go now.
ἄψον κανδῆλαν.　accende lampadam.　Light the torch.'
Λάβετε.　　　Accipe.　　　'Take it.'
Καλῶς ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες.　Bene nos accepisti.　'You have entertained us well.'

Settling the house for the night

12a　Παιδίον, ἐλθέ, σύλλεξον　Puer, veni, collige　'Boy, come, collect
　　ταῦτα πάντα,　　haec omnia,　　all these things,
　　τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις ἀπόθου.　suis locis repone.　put [them] back in their places.

b　ἐπιμελῶς　　diligenter　　Carefully
　　στρῶσον τὴν κλίνην.　sterne lectum.　　make the bed.'
　　Στρώσαμεν.　　Stravimus.　　'We have made it.'
　　Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σκληρόν　Et ideo durum est?　'And that's why it's hard?'
　　　ἐστιν;　　Excussimus　　'We shook it out,
　　Ἐξετινάξαμεν　　et pulvinum　　and we softened up the pillow.'
　　καὶ προσκεφάλαιον　commollivimus.
　　ἐμαλάξαμεν.

c　Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὀκνηρῶς　Quoniam autem pigriter　'But since you did sluggishly
　　　‹ἐποιήσατε›　　‹fecistis›　　what is necessary,
　　ἃ ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν,　quae necessaria sunt,　let no-one spend the night out
　　μηδεὶς ἔξω διανυκτερεύσῃ　nemo foris pernoctet　or play the fool [Gk: turn aside].
　　ἢ ἐκτρέψῃ.　　aut ineptiat.

11s1 *areumin* T Z: αρευμιν Y: *areumen* W　　2 *agomen lypon* T W: -*lipon* Z　　λοιτόν D G　　3 *abson candilan*
M: ἄψον λαμπάδα E　　*lampadam* M: *lampedem* Y: *faculam* E　　4 *labete* M: λάβε E　　*accipe* M: *sume* E
5 καλῶς ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες Krumbacher: *calosi machabes* Z T: *calosym-* W: καλος ημα χαβες Y: καλῶς ἡμᾶς εἶχες E
accepisti M: *habuisti* E　　**12a**1 *perdionelthesyllexon* Z W: -*elte-* T　　2 ταῦτα πάντα N D G B: πάντα ταῦτα K
P: ταῦτα πάντα A: *tauta panta* M　　*haec omnia* Z: *hec omnia* T W: *ista omnia* E: *ista omnia haec* P
3 *tisidiistopisapothu* T: *tisidiistopysapotu* W^pc: *tisidust-* W^ac: *tysidustopysapothu* Z　　**12b**1 *epimelos* M
2 *strosuntinclinin* M: στροσυν τινκλινιν Y　　3 *strosamen* M　　4 *cediatutos cleronistin* Z T W: καὶ διαυτό
σκληρόν ἐστι E　　*ideo* M: *ob ipsum* E　　5 ἐξετινάξαμεν P: ἐξετεινάξαμεν A N D G B: ἐξετενάξαμεν K:
exetinaxame M　　6 *kaeproscefaleon* M　　*et* M: *etiam* E　　*pulvillum* E　　7 *amalaxamen* M　　*commoluimus* T:
commolluimus Z: *commolivimus* W: *mollivimus* N G B: *molluimus* A D: *volvimus* P: *noluimus* K　　**12c**1 *epidigarocniros*
M　　*quia enim segniter* E　　ἐποιήσατε et *fecistis* supplevit Krumbacher　　2 *aananceaisin* T W^pc: -*asin*
W^ac: -*aysin* Z　　ἐποιήσαμεν addunt K P　　*que* T　　*fecimus* addunt K P　　3 *midisexodianyctereus* T W^pc:
misidex- W^ac: *mydisex-* Z: μιδισεξοδιανυκτειρευς Y: μηδεὶς ἔξω διανυκτερεύῃ E　　διανυκτερεύσῃ Haupt
nemo foris pernoctet Traube apud Krumbacher: *ne moreris pernoctem* M: *nemo extra pernoctet* E　　4 ἢ ἐκτρέψῃ
Krumbacher: *iestrepsi* T Z: *lestrepsi* W: ἢ ἐξέλθοι A^ac N^ac: ἢ ἐξέλθη A^pc N^pc G B K P: ἢ ἐξελθοη D　　*aut
ineptiat* Krumbacher: *aut inepte* Z: *aut nepte* T W: *aut exeat* E

d	ἐάν τινος φωνὴν ἀκούσω,	si alicuius vocem audio,	If I hear anyone's voice,
	οὐ τούτου συγχωρήσω.	non ei parco.	I shall not spare him.
	ἀναλάβεσθε ὑμᾶς,	recipite vos,	Go off [to your beds],
	κοιμᾶσθε	dormite	sleep,
	καὶ ἀλεκτρυοφωνίῳ	et galli cantu	and wake me up at cockcrow,
	με ἐξυπνίσατε,	excitate me,	so that I can run out.'
	ἵνα ἐκδράμω.	ut excurram.	

12d1 *eantinosfoniacuso* M   φωνήν Krumbacher: φωνῆς E   *si cuius vocem audiero* E   2 *ututusynchroriso* T: -*sin-* Z: -*croriso* W^ac: -*c'roriso* (= *chroriso*) W^pc   τούτου om. E   *non ei parco* Krumbacher: *non si parco* Z T Y: *non sic parco* W: *non parcam* E   3 ἀναλάβεσθε ὑμᾶς Krumbacher: *anabestheimas* T W: *anabesteymas* Z: ἀναλάβετε ὑμᾶς A N D K: ἀναλάβετε ἡμᾶς G B P   *recipite vos* E: *recipe nos* M   4 *cymaste* Z T: -*sthe* W   *quiescite* E   5 καὶ ἀλεκτρυοφωνίῳ Krumbacher: *kaialectriofonion* M: και αλεκτριφονιον Y: καὶ ἀλεκτρυοφωνίᾳ N B P: καὶ ἀλεκτρουφωνία A D G: καὶ ἀλεκτοροφωνία K   *et galli cantu* Z W Y: *et in gallicantu* T: *et gallicinio* E   6 *exipnisate* T W: *exypnisate* Z: με ἐξυπνήσατε E: ἐξυπνίσατέ ⟨με⟩ Krumbacher   *me excitate* E: *me* om. P   7 *inaecdramo* M

COMMENTARY

COMMENTARY

Title *Logos/Liber* is found at the head of all the M manuscripts except T and thus clearly goes back to the M archetype (if not earlier); it is traditionally omitted from editions, however, because of editors' preferences for the readings of T. No trace of this title is found in the E manuscripts, which offer no consensus on a title but most of which have an ascription that in some way attributes the work to Iulius Polydeuces (Pollux). There is no trace of this ascription in the M version, and it is clearly false (cf. Schoenemann 1886: 3–4; Goetz 1892: xx, xxi), so it is likely to have been added by the adaptor of the E version. This type of invention was not uncommon at the time, and Pollux's name was wrongly attached to other works as well; see Kresten (1969, 1976).

1a   ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ, εὐτυχῶς/ *bona fortuna, feliciter*: These are invocations for the success of the literary enterprise; similar invocations (ἀγαθῆ τύχη. θεοὶ ἵλεοι/ *bona fortuna. dii propitii*) are found at the end of the preface to the colloquium Montepessulanum (Mp 1d). In both languages the use of such invocations at the start of a text is a characteristic of inscriptions; in Greek it goes back to the classical period, and in Latin (where *bona fortuna* often becomes simply *BF*) it seems to be an imitation of the Greek found mainly in the third and fourth centuries AD (see Adams 2003a: 81).

1b–n   This portion of the preface is a preface to the Hermeneumata as a whole rather than to the colloquium *per se*; it is paralleled in several other versions of the Hermeneumata and is not always followed by a colloquium (cf. section 1.2.6 above). The resemblances to the Montepessulana and Vaticana versions are very close (see below on 1b–e), and there are also more distant relationships to a preface found in the Leidensia version manuscript Harleianus 5642 (see below on 1b–e) and the Stephani version manuscript Fragmentum Parisinum (see below on 1f–k).

1b–e   This section is almost identical to the preface of the Montepessulana version of the Hermeneumata (Mp 1a–c) not only in wording but also in line division; it is also closely related to the preface to the Hermeneumata Vaticana (which do not contain a colloquium), and more distantly related to a preface

found in the manuscript that contains the colloquium Harleianum (though not with the colloquium itself); traces of a fourth parallel can be found in the Fragmentum Parisinum (see below on 1f–k). The first two parallels are set out in figure 2.6; from the comparison it is clear that either the Vaticana version or that found in ME and Mp has undergone significant alteration. The Vaticana and Montepessulana versions are both attested in manuscripts of the ninth century, so date of attestation cannot be used to decide between them, but in other respects the Hermeneumata Vaticana stand out from the main group of Hermeneumata as having undergone substantial revisions in the late antique or medieval period: the lists of pagan deities have been systematically replaced with Christian vocabulary (cf. Dionisotti 1982: 91; Goetz 1892: 422–4). The combination of this evidence for revision with the general principle that a version found in two independent sources is inherently more likely to be original than that found in only one makes it virtually certain that the extra material in the Vaticana version has been added there rather than subtracted from the other two texts. Nevertheless the Vaticana version can be useful in reconstructing the original, for its differences consist primarily in additions, and where the other two versions disagree the agreement of Vaticana with either is strong evidence for the antiquity of that version. Application of this criterion indicates that the ME version seems to be the original much more often than the Mp one, in spite of the latter's earlier attestation.

The Harleianum version is much less close, but still has enough verbal overlap to indicate common ancestry. It runs as follows in the manuscript (see online photo at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer. aspx?ref=harley_ms_05642_f001r; the transcript given by Goetz (1892: ix) is not entirely accurate): *menneme | me mauton· meminimeipsū | kaiopete· etaliquando | triabiblia· tres libros | tuto prota· horumpriores | kalistos· optime | keepimelos· etdiligenter | ermeneukota· interpretatū | allepideoro· sedqḿ video | eniusepenuntas· quosdālaudantes | keepithimuntas· etcupientes | rimata anēcta· verbaquaepertinent | prosteken· adartem | grammatiken· grammaticam | entutobiblio· inhoclibro | proseteka· adieci | apotuprotu· aprima | grammatos· littera | mecriso· usque·o.* Ferri (2011: 147 n. 3) restores and corrects this to read: μέμνημαι ἐμαυτὸν

ME 1b–e	*Mp 1a–c*	*Vaticana 4–40**	*Original?*
Ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ	Ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ	Ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ σέ τε καὶ ἑτέρους	Ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ
πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας	πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας	πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας, σὲ μάλιστα, βέλτιστε τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐμοὶ δέσποτα,	πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας
Ῥωμαϊστὶ	Ἑλληνιστὶ	Ἑλληνιστὶ μάθησιν, καὶ θέλειν μετὰ τῶν ἄρτι σῶν παιδῶν	Ῥωμαϊστὶ
διαλέγεσθαι καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ	διαλέγεσθαι καὶ Ῥωμαιστὶ	διαλέγεσθαι,	διαλέγεσθαι
μήτε εὐχερῶς	μήτε εὐχερῶς	μήτ᾽ εὐχερῶς εἶναι	μήτε εὐχερῶς
δύνασθαι	δύνασθαι	δύνασθαι, δηλαδὴ	δύνασθαι
διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν καὶ πολυπλήθειαν τῶν ῥημάτων,	διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν καὶ πολυπλήθειαν τῶν ῥημάτων,	δυσχερείας οὕνεκα καὶ πολυπληθίας ῥημάτων, διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ τὴν σὴν φιλῶν ἀγάπην καὶ γνησίαν διάθεσιν,	διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν καὶ πολυπλήθειαν τῶν ῥημάτων,
τῇ ἐμῇ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ οὐκ ἐφεισάμην	οὐκ ἐφεισάμην	οὐκ ἐφεισάμην τῷ ἐμῷ καμάτῳ,	τῇ ἐμῇ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ οὐκ ἐφεισάμην
τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι,	τοῦτο ποιῆσαι	τοῦ μὴ σπουδαίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐχί,	τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι,
ὅπως ἐν τρισὶν	ἵνα ἐν τρισὶν	ὅπως ἂν ἐν τρισὶν ἢ καὶ τέσσαρσιν	ὅπως ἐν τρισὶν
βιβλίοις ἑρμηνευματικοῖς πάντα τὰ ῥήματα συγγράψαι.	βιβλίοις ἑρμηνευματικοῖς πάντα τὰ ῥήματα συγγράψωμαι.	βιβλίοις τῶν ἐμῶν ἑρμηνειῶν	βιβλίοις ἑρμηνευματικοῖς πάντα τὰ ῥήματα συγγράψαι.
		ἐπιμελέστερον συντάξω . . .	
Quoniam video	Quoniam video	Quoniam video te atque alios	Quoniam video
multos cupientes	multos cupientes	multos cupientes, te praesertim, optime virum, mi domine,	multos cupientes

*Text according to Brugnoli and Buonocore (2002: 3–6).

Figure 2.6 Comparison of prefaces

ME 1b–e	Mp 1a–c	Vaticana 4–40*	Original?
Latine	Graece	Graece disciplinam, et velle cum modo tuis liberis	Latine
disputare et Graece	disputare et Latine	disputare,	disputare
neque facile	neque facile	neque facile esse	neque facile
posse	posse	posse, videlicet	posse
propter difficultatem et multitudinem verborum,	propter difficultatem et multitudinem verborum,	difficultatis causa et multitudinis verborum, ideo ego tuam amans caritatem et germanum affectum,	propter difficultatem et multitudinem verborum,
meo labore et industria			meo labore et industria
non peperci,	non peperci	non peperci meo labori, quin properanter	non peperci,
ut non facerem,	hoc facere,	hoc ipsum facere,	ut non facerem,
ut in tribus	ut in tribus	uti in tribus aut etiam quattuor	ut in tribus
libris interpretamentorum omnia verba conscribere.	libris interpretatoriis omnia verba conscribam.	libellis mearum interpretationum	libris interpretamentorum omnia verba conscribere.
		diligentius ordinarem . . .	

Figure 2.6 (*cont.*)

καί ποτε τρία βιβλία τούτου πρότερα καλλίστως καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἡρμενευκότα, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ ἐνίους ἐπαινούντας καὶ ἐπιθυμούντας τὰ ῥήματα τὰ ἀνεκτὰ εἰς τέχνην γραμματικήν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ προσέθηκα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος μέχρι τοῦ ω. / *memini me ipsum et aliquando tres libros hoc priores optime et diligenter interpretasse, sed quoniam video quosdam laudantes et cupientes verba quae pertinent ad artem grammaticam, in hoc libro adieci a prima littera usque ad omega.*

In the ME version this entire passage consists of a single opening sentence, which is a display piece of linguistic sophistication on the part of the writer. Not only is it far longer than normal for the colloquia,

but it has an elaborate scheme of subordinate constructions, something very rarely found in this type of text. The writer was not completely successful in following the rules of classical Greek or Latin syntax – a participle (ἐπιθυμοῦντας/*cupientes*) should not be connected to an infinitive (δύνασθαι/*posse*) by a conjunction (μήτε/*neque*),[1] and μή should not be used with an infinitive in indirect statement – but nevertheless a much greater attempt is made here than elsewhere.

[1] The problem probably arose in part because the Greek introductory verb (ὁρῶ) would normally take a participle in indirect statement, while the Latin introductory verb (video) requires an infinitive.

The word order in the preface is particularly striking. Writers of classical Latin most often put verbs at the ends of their clauses; classical Latin is characterized as a predominantly OV (object–verb) language, in which objects (also subjects, but these are much less often expressed) normally preceded verbs and most other modifiers also had a tendency to precede the elements they modified (cf. Adams 1976b). The Romance languages by contrast are VO (verb–object) languages, in which verbs precede objects, nouns precede adjectives, etc. Adams (1977: 66–75) has demonstrated that in non-literary Latin the change from OV to VO had largely taken place by the second century AD, though of course the older order persists to this day in more educated forms of literary Latin. Many sections of the colloquia are written entirely in Latin of the VO type, but the entire preface (1a–q) is emphatically in the literary OV tradition: objects preceding verbs outnumber those following verbs by 8:1.

Although the word order is the same in both languages, classical Greek never had the strong OV tendencies of classical Latin, and therefore the order in the Greek is not noticeably more elegant here than in sections of the text that use a VO order. The display of erudition signalled by the word order is meaningful only in Latin; such attention to a purely Latin feature suggests that Latin is here the language the writer was attempting to teach (cf. 1.2.8 above).

1b διαλέγεσθαι/*disputare:* The purpose of the Hermeneumata is explicitly stated to be training in oral proficiency, not reading or writing skills, and that purpose is reiterated below (1p); it fits well with the dialogue format of the colloquia and is generally accepted at face value today (e.g. Debut 1987: 181; Korhonen 1996: 104). But the language of the colloquia is not simply normal conversational Greek/ Latin of any century in which they or their components might have been written, for the versions in both languages contain literary archaisms (see commentary on 4b καλῶς ζήσαις, 4b τί πράττεις, 6d *sis*). The colloquia must in fact have had a more complex purpose than simply to facilitate conversation in the normal spoken versions of these languages: the writers also wanted to enable learners to acquire a high-prestige, impressive-sounding variety of the language, to to understand more literary language when they encountered it in texts, and/or simply to impress readers with their own erudition (cf. section 1.3.2 above).

M's reading in the Latin here, *disputare*, is confirmed against E's *loqui* by both parallel texts. The use of *disputare* to mean 'speak', though not common, is well attested in the classical period (see *TLL s.v.* 1447.72–1448.11).

1b Ῥωμαϊστὶ . . . καὶ Ἑλληνιστί/*Latine . . . et Graece*: Both here and at 1p below Latin comes first; but in Mp 1a the Greek comes first, and in the Vaticana the Latin is omitted altogether. The differences suggest that only one language was mentioned in the original version, and it is likely (see section 1.2.8 above) that that language was Latin.

1d τῇ ἐμῇ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ οὐκ ἐφεισάμην τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι/meo labore et industria non peperci ut non facerem: The constructions here are peculiar. Both φείδομαι and *parco* can take objects (meaning 'spare *x*') or verbal complements ('refrain from *x*-ing'), but it is surprising to find them taking both constructions at once, though there is at least one parallel for the double construction in Latin (Cato, *Agr.* 1.1). Moreover, neither construction is used in the expected fashion: in both languages one would expect a simple infinitive as the verbal complement, and the objects would normally be in the genitive (after φείδομαι) and dative (after *parco*). There are a few parallels, however, for the use of an ablative object with *parco* (see *TLL s.v.* 339.70–8), including Cato, *Agr.* 1.1. The two similarities to the same passage of Cato make it tempting to suspect that that passage was simply used as a model for the Latin here, but there are no other similarities with the Cato passage, which has an infinitive rather than an *ut* clause as the verbal complement and which seems to have a different meaning for the double construction: *praedium quom parare cogitabis, sic in animo habeto, uti ne cupide emas neve opera tua parcas visere et ne satis habeas semel circumire* 'when you think of getting a farm, consider this: that you should neither buy rashly nor spare your labour in inspecting it, nor think it enough to go around the farm once'. Krumbacher (1891: 352) advocates taking τῇ ἐμῇ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ/*meo labore et industria* not as objects, but as dative/ablative of means, 'by my suffering and hard work I have not refrained . . .'; there would be parallels for this interpretation (*TLL s.v.* 340.75–84), and it may be right.

The verbal complement in Latin, if not an infinitive, would normally be constructed with *ne* or *quin* rather than *ut non*, but there are a few parallels for *ut*

non as well (see *TLL* s.v. *parco* 332.61–6, 340.55–74). One of these is in a Vetus Latina version of Genesis 20:6: *peperci tibi ut non peccares in me* 'I spared you from sinning against me' (see Fischer 1951–4: 219; there is a variant *ne* for *ut non*, and Jerome's Vulgate has *custodivi te ne peccares*). The Septuagint version of this passage has an articular infinitive: ἐφεισάμην ἐγώ σου τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτεῖν σε εἰς ἐμέ. Thus in both Greek and Latin Genesis 20:6 is a close parallel for the constructions used in the verbal complement here.

All these difficulties could be avoided by dismissing this passage as corrupt and preferring the version in Mp, where the objects are not present and the verbal complement is indeed a simple infinitive. However, the fact that the Vaticana retains one of the objects (though with a change of case in the Latin), as well as the τοῦ μή with the infinitive in the Greek, indicates that these features were there in the original.

1e ἑρμηνευματικοῖς: M's reading is confirmed against E's ἑρμηνευμάτων (probably altered to match the Latin more literally) by the parallel in Mp 1c.

1e ῥήματα/*verba*: These terms can mean 'words' or have the more specific sense 'verbs'; Korhonen (1996: 110 n. 40) makes the point that the latter is probably intended in the prefaces that refer specifically to the alphabetical glossaries, since those consist primarily of verbs. Here, however, the writer clearly intends the reference to cover the capitula as well, and since those include very few verbs the meaning intended is probably 'words'.

1e συγγράψαι/*conscribere*: The manuscripts have infinitives here in both languages, though in neither language would an infinitive be the expected classical construction. The subjunctives found in the parallel passage in Mp (1c συγγράψωμαι/*conscribam*) look much more attractive, but in view of the normal relationship between ME and Mp in this passage it would be risky to adopt them.

In both languages the infinitives found in the manuscripts here can be defended. For Greek, although since the clause is introduced by ὅπως it appears to be a final (purpose) clause, it can be argued that the construction is in fact a consecutive (result) clause, and that therefore the infinitive would be the classical construction. On this view of the situation it is merely the introduction of the clause with ὅπως rather than ὥστε that is problematic, and Krumbacher (1891:

352) dealt with that problem by adducing several examples of ὅπως + infinitive in post-classical texts, including one in the *Hadriani sententiae* (Goetz 1892: 37.60–38.22 = Flammini 2004: lines 1946–51): γίνεται νόμος ‹τις› τοιουτότροπος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅπως ὅστις πατροκτονίαν πεποιήκει, δημοσίως εἰς μολγὸν πεμφθεὶς συρραφῆναι . . . κατενεχθῆναι . . . βληθῆναι. Since Krumbacher, therefore, editors have retained the infinitive in the Greek.

In Latin both final and consecutive clauses normally take the subjunctive rather than the infinitive, and therefore editors since the Renaissance have been unanimous in emending the infinitive to the expected imperfect subjunctive (*conscriberem*). In view of the weak articulation of final -*m* and the tendency for it to be abbreviated in manuscripts this is a wholly unproblematic alteration. In favour of this emendation can also be cited the fact that imperfect subjunctives are used in the Latin version of the *Hadriani sententiae* passage cited above as a parallel for the use of the infinitive in Greek: *fit quaedam lex eiusmodi omnibus hominibus, uti qui parricidium fecisset, publice in culleum missus consueretur . . . deportaretur . . . mitteretur.*

But the use of an infinitive in consecutive clauses introduced by *ut* is a well established phenomenon in late Latin, where it occurs particularly but by no means exclusively in texts subject to Greek influence; see Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 639–40) and Svennung (1935: 439–40). The infinitive forms involved are sometimes, as here, ones that would have been pronounced homophonously with imperfect subjunctives in the late period, for example *ut . . . accedere* for *ut . . . accederem* (*Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 22.2). At other times no phonetic explanation is available, for example *namque hoc comperi in Samnio, uti . . . possideri* (Hyginus Gromaticus 181, p. 95 Thulin). Under these circumstances, and given the unanimity of both M and E manuscripts in preserving the *lectio difficilior* infinitive (the only sources to offer a subjunctive are Beatus Rhenanus and a later corrector of A, both of which clearly obtained it by emendation), it seems to me that emendation to the subjunctive is not justified.

1f–k Both parallel passages cease at this point, but in ME the display piece continues with more long sentences and elaborate syntax, including a perfect active participle in indirect statement after a verb of seeing. The general similarity of this section to what precedes suggests that it is probably part of the same original

preface. In the Fragmentum Parisinum there is also a trace of a parallel that seems to combine portions of 1b, 1f, and 1n: πολλοὺς γὰρ ὁρῶ ἐπιθυμοῦντας πολλὰ εἰδέναι· νῦν οὖν ἄρξομαι Αἰσώπου μύθους/ *multos enim video cupientes multa scire; nunc ergo incipiam Ysopi fabulas* (Goetz 1892: 95.23–7 with orthography normalized).

1g *exercitationis causa***:** This is M's reading, while E has *exercitationis gratia*. Although there are subtle differences between the usage of *gratia* (which is rare in early prose and can retain some of its etymological meaning 'thanks to') and *causa* (which has a more general application and is commoner at an early period), both words are often used in classical and post-classical Latin in contexts similar to this one (see Wölfflin 1884: 169–74). It is this type of difference between M and E, where both present readings that are good Latin and match the Greek, that has led some scholars to think of M and E as separate works rather than different versions of a single text. But the motivation for the E adaptor's choice of words here was probably the avoidance of a term that had cognates in his native Italian and the preference for a more recondite word (see section 2.3.2 above). E introduced *gratia* to the text again in 1q.

1h The point of this statement seems to be that previous authors have attempted similar works but have been unable to complete them successfully and so have earned for themselves only vain boasting, not the credit of actually having produced something useful. It is interesting, given the stress laid by the author on his individual contribution, that he does not tell us his name. Perhaps a name was originally attached to the preface and removed in transmission, but the anonymity may be original, because it fits with the overall practice of the colloquia: real people are never mentioned, particular places are rarely mentioned (see below on 6i *lauretum*), the characters are either nameless or given generic names that would not be used for real individuals (see below on 4a Γάϊε/ *Gaie* and 8a παιδάριον/*puer*), and in one passage an oath by a particular god is even taken in that god's temple without identifying the god concerned (H 23h).

1j ⟨μᾶλλον⟩ ἐξεζητημένον/ *exquisitius***:** Krumbacher (1891: 353) argues that μᾶλλον, though not originally part of the text, has to be supplied to attain the required meaning; his view is that the language here, being 'minime Graecum', is an addition or alteration made by someone who wanted a close parallelism between the Greek and the Latin.

1l The extra text in E is revealing. It changes the meaning of the text in this section to 'In this book I have placed many words according to the order of various matters, and in the second I have written all the words in alphabetical order': in other words E's preface appears to introduce a work in two books, of which the first contains the capitula and the second the alphabetical glossary. None of the extant E manuscripts contains the alphabetical glossary (unless it can be identified with an alphabetical glossary found on folios 51r–81v of N: see 2.1.2.1 above), so it must have been lost after this alteration was made. Perhaps the adaptor made this change with the intention of copying it at the end (in the M manuscripts the alphabetical glossary precedes the capitula, so this statement announces a change of order of the two glossary sections) and never did so, or perhaps the loss was due to subsequent copyists. The addition was clearly made by someone with a good knowledge of classicizing Greek, for it contains a μέν . . . δέ construction correctly deployed.

1l *litterarum***:** This is M's reading; E's *elementorum* is the correct equivalent for Greek στοιχείων in grammatical terminology (Schad 2007: 148), though a less common Latin word, and has probably been introduced to produce a better match for the Greek and a more sophisticated-looking Latin text.

1n ἄρχομαι γράφειν/ *incipiam scribere***:** This formula, which has a noticeable discrepancy between Latin and Greek, has a number of parallels in other versions of the colloquia, as set out in figure 2.7. The ME and C versions are identical, the Mp version is identical in Greek but has changed the Latin, and the LS version (which exists only in S) has a different mood and number in the Greek. Latin *incipiam* could be either a future indicative ('I shall begin') or a present subjunctive ('let me begin'); that it is the latter is suggested by *incipiamus* in LS. The Greek as given in E, ἄρχομαι, is clearly a present indicative, but M's *archome* could be either indicative or subjunctive; that the indicative is original is suggested not only by the Greek of the Mp and C versions but also by the Latin of Mp, which has been adjusted to an indicative to match the Greek. (There is also the issue that the present subjunctive ἄρχωμαι is exceedingly rare in

Text	Greek	Latin
ME 1n	ἄρχομαι γράφειν	incipiam scribere
C 2a	ἄρχομαι γράφειν	incipiam scribere
Mp 1d	ἄρχομαι γράφειν	incipio scribere
LS title B	ἀρχώμεθα γράφειν	incipiamus scribere

Figure 2.7 A repeated formula

Greek.) A possible parallel outside the colloquia has *incipiam* and the future ἄρξομαι (see on 1f–k above), but as there is no infinitive this is probably not the same formula.

1o This section begins a new preface, with a new justification for the work; this is the preface to the colloquium itself, as opposed to the earlier preface to the Hermeneumata as a whole (this observation goes back at least to Beatus Rhenanus, who added a note about the two prefaces in the margin of B here). This preface has a certain resemblance to the preface to the second colloquium (3b); as the antiquity of the wording there is confirmed by a parallel passage (C 1a–b), if the two are related it is this one that would be a reworking. The resemblances could however be due simply to the formulaic nature of prefaces.

1o νηπίοις παισίν/*parvulis puerIS***:** The audience is specified as small children only just beginning their education, but this statement cannot simply be accepted as applying to the colloquia as a whole (let alone the Hermeneumata as a whole, which contain gigantic dictionaries most unlikely to have been designed for small children); it applies only to this version of the 'schoolbook' section of the colloquia (see above, section 1.3). In the second preface (3b) the audience is specified as being both younger and older children, and in the description of the school scene the 'Hermeneumata' are used by an older child; the youngest ones learn the alphabet (2j, 2m – but note the use of the 'Hermeneumata' by little children in C 34a).

1p εὐχερέστερον/*facillime***:** This is M's text; E's *facilius* is probably an alteration intended to bring the Latin closer to the Greek. Krumbacher (1891: 353) observes that in modern Greek the comparative

with the article functions as a superlative, and that an article may have disappeared here. The usage he refers to, however, is used only for relative superlatives, not for the absolute usage of the superlative found here (Jannaris 1897: 148–9), so an article should not be restored here.

1p προσβιβασθῶσι**:** Krumbacher emends to προβιβασθῶσι (as did Hermonymus), because προσβιβάζω means 'bring near', 'bring over', and 'persuade', while προβιβάζω has at times been thought to mean 'teach' (see LSJ *s.v.* 3; the supplement revises this to 'inculcate in', 'impress on'). Both the M and E versions have προς-, however, and the meaning of προσβιβασθῶσι might be 'be brought to speak'.

1q ὑποτεταγμένα εἰσίν**:** In classical Attic Greek a neuter plural subject normally takes a verb in the singular, but from the Hellenistic period onwards plural verbs are commonly used with neuter plural subjects (cf. Mayser 1926–38: II.III.28–30; Jannaris 1897: 314). In this colloquium neuter plural subjects always have plural verbs: see also 3b ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν, 8c ἅπερ ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν, 9m πάντα ἕτοιμά εἰσιν, and 12c ἃ ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν.

1q At the end of this section M has some extra text, in Latin only, indicating that the preface has now ended and the colloquia proper are beginning. This looks like a later addition.

2 The language shifts dramatically here, as the ornate complexity of the preface is replaced by short, simple clauses using VO order (verbs before objects). Again (cf. above on 1b–e) the word order is more significant in Latin than in Greek: this is the type of word order that would actually have been used in Latin conversation in the imperial and later periods.

2a–f Most of this section is repeated at 3c–f: see the commentary on those sections.

2a There are parallels in LS 1c, C 4a–b, and perhaps S 3a; see figure 2.8 for a comparison.

2a ὄρθρου: The text in M, a genitive of time, has been altered in E to match the Latin more closely.

2a *accepi*: In classical Latin *accipio* means 'receive', but in post-classical Latin it seems to acquire the meaning 'take'; see Adams (1976a: 113).

2a ὑποδεσμίδας/*pedules*: M's *ypodesmidas* must represent ὑποδεσμίδας, though the word is otherwise attested only in medical texts, where it means 'under-bandage'; E's ὑποδεσμίας is not otherwise attested at all. The Latin means '(thing) pertaining to the feet' and can be used for some type or types of shoe (*TLL s.v.*), but here it must refer to a specific item of footwear compatible with boots. The only such meaning I can find linked with this word is 'gaiters', i.e. coverings for the lower legs, from the sixth century (Souter 1949*s.v.*). John Peter Wild suggests 'spats'.

The prominent place accorded to footwear in the morning routine may strike the modern reader as odd – the main character puts on his shoes before washing and before taking off his night-clothes – but is probably not unrealistic in a situation where getting out of bed means putting bare feet on a cold stone floor. Shoes feature prominently in the morning routines of all the colloquia, and in one (S) the only clothes the main character is said to put on are his shoes and leggings.

2a καλίγια: This word is well attested in late Greek (from the third century onwards), but it is obviously a Latinism, and E's change to σανδάλια, a word attested in Herodotus, was presumably intended to produce a more classicizing Greek text. It is a poor match for the Latin in terms of the type of footwear described, however. See below on 3c.

2b: There are parallels, largely not verbatim, in C 11 and Mp 4e.

2b νίπτομαι πρῶτον τὰς χεῖρας, εἶτα τὴν ὄψιν ἐνιψάμην/*lavo primo manus, deinde faciem*

ME 2a	C 4a–b	LS 1c	S 3a
	πρωΐ ὅτε ἠρξάμην γρηγορεῖν, (καὶ πρωΐ	πρωΐ ἐγείρομαι.	ἠγέρθην πρωΐ
ὄρθρου ἐγρηγόρησα ἐξ ὕπνου·	ἐγρηγόρησα),		ἐξυπνισθείς
ἀνέστην	ἠγέρθην (ἀνέστην)	ἠγέρθη	
	ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κραβάτου		
ἐκ τῆς κλίνης	(ἐκ τῆς κλίνης)	ἐκ τῆς κλίνης	
	mane cum coepi vigilare, (et mane	mane surgo.	surrexi mane expergefactus
ante lucem vigilavi de somno;	vigilavi),		
surrexi	surrexi (surrexi)	surrexit	
	de somno et a grabato		
de lecto	(de lecto)	de lecto	

Figure 2.8 Comparison of morning scenes

lavi: The change of tense is startling, but common in the colloquia. In some versions of the colloquia past and present forms are explicitly given next to each other to teach them both, and although ME does not in general do that the alternation of tenses here may serve a similar function (so Krumbacher 1891: 353, citing as parallels 2d ἐνεδυσάμην/*indui* . . . ἐνδύομαι/*induo* and 2n γράφουσιν/*scribunt* . . . ἔγραψαν/*scripserunt*).

2c There is a parallel at C 5.

2c ἀπέθηκα τὴν ἐγκοίμητραν/***deposui dormitoriam***: Given the rarity of both the Latin and the Greek words for 'night-clothes' (*TLL* s.v. *dormitorius* 2036.42–51; LSJ and suppl. *s.v.* ἐγκοίμητρον), the parallel in C 5 ἀπέθηκα ἐγκοίμητρα/*deposui dormitoria* cannot be coincidental. These passages must go back to a common ancestor, though whether the night-clothes were of neuter or feminine gender in that ancestor is difficult to establish. E's reading ἀπέθηκα τὴν μίτραν *deposui mitram* 'I took off my head-dress' presumably started from a corruption of the text in M (the version in A and N, ἀπέθηκα τὴν μήτραν 'I took off the uterus', seems to be an intermediate phase), but in its current form it is probably also the result of a conscious correction to introduce a rare classical word into both the Greek and the Latin halves of the text. It is possible that the corrector envisioned the *mitra* as being a night-cap. See Dionisotti (1982: 108) on Roman night-clothes; the removal of the night-clothes after washing is unproblematic since only the hands and face are washed (Krumbacher 1883: 54 remarks *dormitoriam . . . etiam nunc homines lavatione absoluta deponere solent*).

2d There are parallels at C 9a and C 13.

2d ***feci***: Svennung (1935: 563–8) argues for the existence of a 'put' meaning for *facere* going back to early Latin, but all the early examples are problematic in one way or another, making this idiom difficult to date; cf. Ferri (2008a: 137).

2d ἀναβόλαιον/***pallam***: An odd choice of garment, since the *palla* was specifically a woman's outer garment and when used by men was restricted to particular marginalized groups (see *TLL s.v.* 119.27–120.43; Potthoff 1992: 146–51). There is no difficulty with the Greek, which is a generic term usable for a range of mantles worn by men and women, so perhaps the problem with the Latin is due to translation from the Greek here – though that would be unusual in this text, particularly as it indicates a lack of basic cultural knowledge about the Romans that the writer otherwise seems to possess.

The method of donning the garment described here is also odd, since the *palla* was a rectangular mantle that covered most of the body, only incidentally including the neck. Moreover the *palla*, which was voluminous (on its form see Croom 2000: 87–9), would have been incompatible with any further outer garments, especially if donned first, and two more such garments are mentioned here. Perhaps the Latin word was originally *bullam*, the charm worn by freeborn Roman boys around their necks, and after the *bulla* fell into disuse it was corrupted into *pallam* and the Greek altered to match. However, the *palla* appears again at 10r, where the wearer seems to be an adult.

2d ***indui me superariam***: In classical Latin *induo* would normally be construed with accusative and ablative (*indui me superaria*) or dative and accusative (*indui mihi superariam*). In Biblical and other late Latin, however, the double accusative used here is a common construction; it may have arisen from a contamination of the other two. See Norberg (1943a: 119–20), Salonius (1920: 136), and Ferri (2008a: 155).

2d ἐπενδύτην λευκήν/***superariam albam***: Latin *superaria* is a poorly attested word (it occurs on an early second-century tablet from Vindolanda, *Tab. Vindol.* 184.2, and is otherwise not found before the fourth century: Souter 1949 *s.v.*), referring to some kind of outer garment; the Greek is no more specific. Even if the *palla* was originally a *bulla*, it is surprising to have both the *superaria* and the *paenula* – though without knowing exactly what the *superaria* was it is difficult to know whether it would have been compatible with the *paenula*.

Additionally, ἐπενδύτης is masculine, which makes the agreement of the manuscripts on the feminine λευκήν surprising. And the specification of the colour of the *superaria* is unusual: garments are frequently mentioned in the colloquia (not only in the morning scenes, but also in the bath scenes), and the only other indications of their colour occur in two passages related to this one: the repetition of this scene at ME 3e and its parallel at C 13b. In both those places the word 'white' goes not with the *superaria* but with the

next item mentioned here, which is in both parallels described as a λευκὴν φελόνην (or φαινόλην)/*albam paenulam*. The resemblance is too great to be coincidental: extra words must have been added here rather than subtracted in both those places, so λευκὴν φελόνην once stood here too. Originally, therefore, the boy in this passage wore simply a tunic, a mantle or a *bulla*, and a white hooded cape.

2d **φελόνην/paenulam:** The *paenula* was a hooded cape; for its construction and uses see Croom (2000: 53–4) and Kolb (1973: 73–116); cf. Potthoff (1992: 141–5). Although the normal Greek word for *paenula* was φαινόλη, a variant φελόνη is also attested and must be what is intended by the majority of the manuscript readings (*felomni*, φελώνην). Krumbacher (1891: 354) demonstrated that this variant was the normal one in non-literary language.

2e There are parallels at LS 2e and C 17a.

2e καὶ σὺν τῇ τροφῷ/et cum nutrice: This line is missing in the repetition in 3e and so may be a later addition here, but it could also be an omission there.

2f κατεφίλησα/osculatus sum: Kissing is a common form of greeting in this version of the colloquia, also used by the teacher at 2g and adult friends at 4a, but is not found in the other colloquia. E's change to *deosculatus* was probably intended primarily to provide a more exact morphological match for the Greek, but it also introduces a rarer and more impressive Latin word.

2f **οὕτως/sic:** In post-classical Latin *sic* can have temporal function, becoming equivalent to *et tum*; see E. Löfstedt (1911: 231). I can find no evidence for a similar use of Greek οὕτως, so the Greek could be translating the Latin here. There might be a second example of temporal *sic* in 10n.

2f καταβαίνω: E's κατῆλθον was presumably intended to produce a closer match for the Latin.

2g This section has extensive parallels in the other colloquia; see on LS 2f–8c.

2g **scholam:** This is E's reading, confirmed by parallel passages at LS 2f and C 19; M has *scola*.

2g **αὐτός/ipse:** These pronouns seem here to have their full classical meanings 'himself': although in oblique cases Latin *ipse* often seems to be interchangeable with *is* and *ille* in this text (see below on 4n *illi*), Greek αὐτός never diverges from its classical meaning in ME.

2h There is a close parallel at C 22; see also LS 8a. For the materials and implements used by ancient schoolchildren see Cribiore (1996: 57–74); many of them can also be found in the excellent discussion of late medieval schooling by Willemsen (2008; cf. also Riché 1976: 459–61 on the school implements of the early medieval period), demonstrating an impressive degree of continuity in school practice.

2h ὁ παῖς ὁ ἐμός: This construction with the repeated article is common in classical prose but very rarely appears in the colloquia; there is another example (also with a possessive adjective) at H 13b, and perhaps a third at Mp 2c. The person referred to would have been a slave, perhaps but not necessarily a young one: both Greek παῖς and Latin *puer* can refer to slaves of any age.

2h καμπτροφόρος/scriniarius: This line is omitted from E, but M's text is confirmed by the parallel at C 22.

2h πινακίδας/tabulas: Ancient school exercises could be written on two types of tablets (as well as on papyrus, parchment, and ostraca; see Cribiore 1996: 57–74): wooden tablets where the writing would be done with a pen or brush and ink, and waxed tablets where the writing would be done with a stylus (Cribiore 1996: 65–9). If continuity can be assumed between this sentence and the student's actions in 2i, the tablets here are probably wax-covered, as the student's first action is to erase them.

2h θήκην γραφείων/thecam graphiariam: E has θήκην, γραφεῖον/*thecam, stilum* 'a case [and] a stylus'. In the Greek E's version would also be a possible interpretation of M's *graphion*, but Krumbacher's interpretation as a genitive plural both makes more sense and is confirmed by the parallel in C 22b (which was not available to him): θήκην γραφείων/*thecam graphiorum*.

It is not certain quite what the implement concerned is; Latin *graphium* refers to a stylus, which would

be employed to write on a wax-covered tablet, but Greek γραφεῖον, the normal equivalent of *graphium* in the Hermeneumata, means a 'pencil . . . paintbrush . . . graving tool, chisel' (LSJ *s.v.*; the translation 'pencil' goes back to the first edition of the lexicon (Liddell and Scott 1843: *s.v.*) and therefore is probably intended in the original sense of English 'pencil', i.e. a fine-pointed brush (*OED s.v.*), as pencils in the modern sense did not exist in antiquity or the Middle Ages). Raffaella Cribiore (personal communication) thinks the word may refer here to a pen or brush.

2h παραγραφίδα/**praeductorium**: E has ἐξάγω γραφίδα/*produco graphium* 'I take out a stylus', but M's reading of a single word here is supported by C 22b παράγραφον/*praeductale*. What that single word originally was is less certain; the M manuscripts have *paragrafida pr(a)eductori*, on the basis of which Krumbacher restored παραγραφίδα/*praeductorium*, but the version in C could well be original here as well. The Greek word παραγραφίς occurs elsewhere and is thought to refer to some kind of writing instrument (LSJ *s.v.*), but a Latin noun *praeductorium* is not otherwise attested. Wieland, the author of the *TLL* entries on the *praeduct-* group of words, accepts Krumbacher's emendation here and posits a noun *praeductorium* with the same meaning as *praeductal* (*TLL* s.v. *praeductorius*), that is, a model with letters for the student to copy, a stylus, or a ruler (*TLL* s.v. *praeductal*). Here a ruler makes most sense if one assumes continuity between this sentence and the next two: if the student uses the implements named in 2h for the activities named in 2i, then something in 2h ought to be a ruler (though lines on school tablets could be drawn freehand; see Cribiore 1996: 67), and this word is the only possible candidate. Unfortunately, the complex history of the colloquia makes continuity difficult to guarantee.

For a fuller discussion of the words formed on the παραγραφ- and *praeduct-* stems and their possible meanings, see commentary on H 3c.

2i There is a parallel at C 27a.

2i τῷ ἐμῷ τόπῳ: Krumbacher (1891: 355) notes that the lack of ἐν is a Latinism here.

2i παραγράφω: The manuscripts are unanimous in having περιγράφω here, but that word has no meaning that would make sense in context, and

Krumbacher's emendation to παραγράφω (based on a less close parallel at LS 6c; cf. Krumbacher 1891: 355) is confirmed by the parallel at C 27a.

2i ὑπογραμμόν/**praescriptum**: Krumbacher (1891: 355) argues that this refers to words written as a model for children to practise copying.

2i *ut scripsi*: E's addition of *autem* was probably intended to produce a closer match for the Greek.

2i ἐχάραξεν/**induxit**: Krumbacher (1891: 355) cites the glosses χαραξον *induce* and χαρασσω *induco cancello* (Goetz and Gundermann 1888: 475.32–3) as well as Italian *cancellare*, which can mean 'cross out', to show that the sense intended here is 'cross out'; cf. *TLL* s.v. *induco* 1236.4–21.

2j There is a parallel at C 20.

2j *alio*: In classical Latin the dative would be *alii* (to which E has corrected here); the form *alio* is borrowed from the non-pronominal declension pattern. Such inflection of *alius* also occurs in low-register texts from the classical period (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLIV.3208.10; see also *TLL* s.v. *alius* 1623.17–30) and is thought to be a colloquialism (Cugusi 1992: II.24). See Neue and Wagener (1892–1905: II.536) and Rönsch (1875: 275–6).

2j ἐκμανθάνω/**edisco**: Since both M's *ecmanthanon* and E's ἐμάνθανον have imperfect endings, and omission of augments is common in this text (for the wider phenomenon of augment omission in post-classical Greek see Gignac 1981: 223–5 and Horrocks 2010: 319), the ME archetype probably had an unaugmented imperfect ἐκμάνθανον. But it is unlikely that this was the original reading, for the Latin has a present (at least in M; E's *ediscebam* is presumably an alteration designed to make the Latin match the Greek) and imperfects are rare in this text, appearing only with much better motivation than there is here (10, 9h–i, 9o). So the original reading in the Greek was probably Krumbacher's ἐκμανθάνω: the initial ἐ- of ἐκμανθάνω was misunderstood as an augment, leading a scribe to change the ending, and then the E adaptor noticed the discrepancy with the Latin and altered the Latin to match the Greek, leading to a text

in which the Latin and the Greek matched perfectly but were both corrupt.

2j ἑρμηνεύματα/*interpretamenta*: For the meaning of these terms see above, section 1.4 with n. 143.

2j ἀπέδωκα/*reddidi*: This must be a technical term for some school activity (cf. Krumbacher 1891: 355); from the passages where this verb occurs one can conclude that it refers to a student's demonstrating that he has successfully completed an assignment. Usually (e.g. C 30b, 40c) this demonstration seems to take the form of the student's reciting material to show that it has been successfully memorized (this type of recitation is distinct both from chanting aloud as a form of memorization and from reading aloud), but sometimes other types of demonstration are implied: at C 33b the verb is used of a passage that is either read aloud or translated.

2k ὑπαγόρευσόν/*dicta*: Latin *dictare* can mean 'recite', 'dictate', and 'order' (*OLD s.v.*), so its use both here and in a different sense three lines earlier is possible. Greek ὑπαγορεύω, however, does not have the meaning 'recite', and 'dictate' does not make sense here. If the text is sound, this seems to be an instance (rare in the ME colloquia) of mistranslation from Latin into Greek.

2l There is a parallel at C 28a.

2l *non vidisti*: The expected classical form would be *nonne vidisti*, but *non* for *nonne* occurs even in Cicero, and the use of interrogative *-ne* diminishes in post-classical Latin; the form has no Romance survivals (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 461–2). There are no examples of interrogative *-ne* anywhere in the colloquia.

2l ὅτε ἀπεδίδουν: This reading is found only in N; the other E manuscripts have ἀπεδίδο or ἀπεδίδω, leading to Vulcanius' ἀπεδίδων, which was accepted by both Krumbacher and Goetz despite the fact that there is little evidence for such a conjugation of ἀποδίδωμι in Greek of any period. In addition to being the normal imperfect form, ἀπεδίδουν is more likely than ἀπεδίδων to lie behind M's *oteapte dicunt*. Probably after transliteration of ὅτε ἀπεδίδουν as *oteapedidun* a misreading of *d* as *cl* led to *oteapediclun*,

which was then rewritten by someone thinking of Latin words (cf. Krumbacher 1883: 28).

2l εἶπον/*dixi*: The manuscripts are unanimous in having a third person here in both Greek and Latin (εἶπεν /*dixit*), but Boucherie's emendation to the first person makes far better sense.

2l ἀναδίδωμι/*dicto*: From Plautus onwards the Latin present tense is often used with future meaning, particularly in less literary varieties of Latin; in some Romance dialects the only surviving future is a descendant of the Latin present (see Sjögren 1906: 5–71; Bennett 1910: 18–22; Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 307–9; Leiwo 2010: 287–91; Ferri 2008a: 148; cf. Serbat 1975: 385–90). The situation is similar in Greek, where the present tense could be used for the future already in the classical period (see Smyth 1920: §1879); this usage increased in later Greek and by the sixth century seems to have been the most common way of expressing the future (Browning 1983: 35). Cf. 4j ἔρχομαι/*venio* and 9i ἀκολουθῶ/*sequor*.

2m There are parallels at C 34a and (a closer one) C 40a; S 21 may also be related.

2m *iubente magistro*: This is E's text, confirmed by the parallel in C 40a against M's *iussu magistri*. As it is unusual for E to preserve the original text of ME when M does not, and as it is much easier to see how *iussu magistri* could have been changed into something that was a closer match for the Greek genitive absolute than to see how the reverse change could have occurred in M, it is conceivable that M's text is right in spite of the parallel.

2m τὰ στοιχεῖα/*elementa*: This is E's reading in the Latin; M has *subductum*, which is obscure (it might have something to do with subtraction, but this fits poorly in context). *Subductum* could be an accidental borrowing of the *subdoctorem* that appears a few lines later (spelled *subductorem* in M), caused by the similarity of the ending of the preceding words *pusilli ad* to the *alii ad* that precedes *subdoctorem*.

2m συλλαβάς/*syllabas*: Learning to read in antiquity involved a progression from letters to separate syllables to whole words, not the direct step from the alphabet to words normally seen today (Cribiore 1996: 47–8).

2m   τούτοις: E's αὐτοῖς seems to be a classicizing correction.

2m   *praebuit*: E's *dinumeravit* 'recounted, enumerated' seems to be intended to bring the Latin closer to the Greek, where κατέλεξεν means 'told in full', 'recounted'.

2m   εἷς τῶν μειζόνων/*unus de maioribus*: For the practice of older pupils helping to teach the younger ones see also S 21a.

2n–o   There are parallels at C 40b–41b and LS 8b–c; as they are unusually complete they are set out in figure 2.9. (The first part with its mention of names/nouns

ME 2n–o	C 40b–41b	LS 8b–c	Original?
	καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνεγορεύκαμεν ἄμιλλαν καὶ στοίχους		
ἄλλοι		καὶ ἄλλοι	ἄλλοι
πρὸς τὸν ὑποδιδακτὴν	‹πρὸς ὑποσοφιστήν›.		πρὸς τὸν ὑποδιδακτὴν
τάξει		ἐν τάξει	τάξει
ἀποδιδοῦσιν,	ἀποδιδοῦσιν	ἀποδιδοῦσιν	ἀποδιδοῦσιν,
ὀνόματα	‹ὀνόματα›		ὀνόματα
		κατὰ διαστολήν.	
	καὶ ἑρμηνεύματα,		καὶ ἑρμηνεύματα
γράφουσιν,	γράφουσιν		γράφουσιν,
	‹ἀνάγνωσιν›.		ἀνάγνωσιν
ἢ στίχους ἔγραψαν.			ἢ στίχους ἔγραψαν.
	δευτέρα τάξις ἐπαναγινώσκει.		δευτέρα τάξις ἐπαναγινώσκει.
καὶ ἐγὼ	καὶ ἐγὼ	καὶ ἐγὼ	καὶ ἐγὼ
ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τάξει	ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ,		ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
ἄμιλλαν ἐξέλαβον.			ἄμιλλαν ἐξέλαβον.
ἔπειτα			ἔπειτα
ὡς ἐκαθίσαμεν,	ὡς ἐκαθίσαμεν,		ὡς ἐκαθίσαμεν,
διέρχομαι	διέρχομαι	διέρχομαι	διέρχομαι
	(δίελθε, διῆλθον)		
ὑπομνήματα,	τὸ ὑπόμνημά μου,		τὸ ὑπόμνημά μου,
γλώσσας,	καὶ λέξεις		γλώσσας,
τέχνην.	καὶ τέχνην.		τέχνην.
		ἀνάγνωσιν	
	et nos recitamus dictatum et versus		
alii		et alii	alii
ad subdoctorem	ad subdoctorem;		ad subdoctorem
ordine		in ordine	ordine
reddunt,	reddunt	reddunt	reddunt,
nomina	nomina		nomina
		ad distinctum.	
	et interpretamenta,		et interpretamenta
scribunt,	scribunt		scribunt,
	lectionem.		lectionem

Figure 2.9 Comparison of school scenes

ME 2n–o	C 40b–41b	LS 8b–c	Original?
versus scripserunt,			aut versus scripserunt.
	secunda classis		secunda classis
	relegit.		relegit.
et ego in prima classe	et ego in prima,	et ego	et ego in prima
dictatum excepi.			
deinde			
ut sedimus,			
pertranseo			
commentarium,	ut sedimus,	transeo	
linguas,	pertranseo		dictatum excepi.
artem.	(pertransi, pertransivi)		deinde
	commentarium meum,		ut sedimus,
	et lexeis		pertranseo
	et artem.	lectionem	
			commentarium meum,
			lexeis,
			artem.

Figure 2.9 (*cont.*)

and verses also has a parallel in S 20a, *q.v.*) As often elsewhere, LS presents a reduced version of the material, while ME and C offer fuller texts; nevertheless LS contains some elements that have been lost from C. Neither ME nor C can be directly the ancestor of the other, as each contains material that seems to have been lost from the other: ME provides a subject for the mysterious third-person verbs (ἀποδιδοῦσιν/*reddunt* and γράφουσιν/*scribunt*) in C 40c, and C provides a second class to balance the first class in ME, as well as ἀνάγνωσιν/*lectionem* to make sense of the 'or' in ME. That ἀνάγνωσιν/*lectionem* was originally somewhere in this scene is suggested by its appearance in LS, but LS has a tendency to dislocate words and phrases; the κατὰ διαστολήν/*ad distinctum* that appears here in LS is probably ultimately the same as the one that appears in C at 27b. Particularly interesting is the way ὀνόματα/*nomina* shifted from being the object of the following verb to being the object of the preceding verb (for word order see above on 1b–e).

2n ὑποδιδακτήν/***subdoctorem***: The assistant teacher also appears in the C version of the colloquia (21a, 34b, 40b), where he has the same title in Latin but is a ὑποσοφιστής in Greek.w

2n ἀποδιδοῦσιν: M has *apodidosin* and the E manuscripts ἀποδιδώασιν or the classically correct

ἀποδιδόασιν. As both parallel passages have the koiné ἀποδιδοῦσιν (διδοῦσιν for διδόασιν is condemned by Phrynichus, *Eclogues* 215 Fischer) it is likely that that was also the original reading of ME and that the E readings are emendations.

2n ἅμιλλαν/***dictatum***: The nature of the exercise can probably be deduced from what the boy does next: his activity requires a commentary, word lists, and a grammar, so he is probably reading a linguistically difficult text. He seems to spend a certain amount of time preparing it before going up to the teacher, delivering the interpretation he has produced, and having the material he did not understand explained by the teacher.

2o γλώσσας/***linguas***: Latin *lingua* has most of the meanings of Greek γλῶσσα, but not the one needed here. Krumbacher (1891: 356) cites as a parallel Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.1.35 *protinus enim potest interpretationem linguae secretioris, id est quas Graeci glossas vocant, dum aliud agitur ediscere* 'right from the start, he can, incidentally, learn the explanations of obscure words (what the Greeks call "glosses")' (text and translation from Russell 2001), but the meaning here depends on the combination with *secretior* and so is hardly evidence for the use of *lingua* alone in the sense of γλῶσσα. This looks like an instance (rare in ME) of infelicitous

literal translation from Greek to Latin. In the parallel in C 41b λέξεις/*lexeis* is used: perhaps the original was γλώσσας/*lexeis*, and the Latin word *lexeis*, which is securely attested in ante- and post-classical texts but not found in the standard classical authors, was then replaced by a more approved term taken from a glossary. In C the Greek might have been altered to provide an apparently closer match for the Latin.

2p There is a parallel at C 42a.

2p *clamatus*: M's reading is confirmed against E's *vocatus* by the parallel in C 42. Here again (cf. above on 1g *exercitationis causa*) the reviser of E has altered the text to substitute a word that in classical usage is a synonym, in order to remove a word with Italian cognates and replace it with one that is more impressive from an Italian Renaissance perspective (see section 2.3.2 above). The synonymity between *clamo* and *voco* in classical Latin is illustrated by a line of Ovid in which both words are used for the same action (*aspicit hanc visamque vocat; clamata refugit* '[Diana] sees her and having seen her calls her; but on being called [Callisto] runs away', *Met.* 2.443). In that passage the usage is what Wills (1996: 311–25) calls 'participial resumption' and Oakley (1997–2005: 1.640–1, iv.531) *declinatio*: a verb is picked up immediately or after a short interval by a participle of the same verb or a synonym (see Landgraf 1914: 80–2 on the use of synonyms in this figure, and F. Bömer 1969: 351 on the Ovid passage). This usage is not confined to high-register literature; there is an example in 2s below, ἀπέλυσεν . . . ἀπολυθείς and *dimisit . . . dimissus*.

In classical Latin *clamo* as a synonym of *voco* was primarily poetic (though it is common in prose in other meanings, such as 'shout'); F. Bömer (1969: 513) claims that this usage entered prose in the mid first century AD, but I can find no good prose parallels to the passage here that are earlier than the second century (Apuleius, *Met.* 10.7). It is very unlikely that the reviser of E (who worked in the early fifteenth century, see 2.3.2 above) was aware of this distinction between Ciceronian and Ovidian usage.

2p πρόσωπα/*personas*: This term could refer to identifying the grammatical persons of verb forms or pronouns (cf. Schad 2007: 299), but in context it is more likely to refer to identifying the speakers of lines in dialogue, for example in a dramatic text (cf. the first question in 2q, and S 17c). Ancient texts of dramatic works frequently did not indicate the names of speakers (the same is true of the dialogues in the colloquia, e.g. section 4 below), so working out who was saying what was an important part of understanding a text.

2q πρὸς τίνα λέγει/*ad quem dicit*: The manuscripts are unanimous in having *dicis* 'you say' in the Latin, and E also has λέγεις in the Greek, but Krumbacher's emendation to the third person makes much more sense in context. The error is easy to make, perhaps because questions very often involve second-person verb forms: in a 2009 trial of the Latin version of this passage with a class of English-speaking Latin students at the University of Exeter, large numbers translated *dicit* with 'you say'.

2r ἔκλινα γένη ὀνομάτων/*declinavi genera nominum*: In modern terminology one cannot decline a gender, but in antiquity nouns were divided into declensional categories based on gender and ending (see for example the *Canons* of Theodosius, *GG*iv *passim*), so this would refer to producing the paradigms for some such categories.

2s There is a possible parallel at C 42.

2s εἰς ἄριστον/*ad prandium*: It is the norm in the colloquia for children to go home for lunch, but the second half of the school day is never described in detail.

2s ἀπολυθείς: E's ἀπολυθεὶς δέ is interesting, as the E adaptor does not seem to have had a habit of adding words such as δέ; it could belong to the original text. For the figure of speech seen in ἀπέλυσεν . . . ἀπολυθείς and *dimisit . . . dimissus* see above on 2p *clamatus*.

2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*: The cases are incorrect by classical standards, and E's reading ἐπανέρχομαι εἰς τὸν οἴκον /*vero redeo domum* is clearly a correction. But the use of locative instead of directional forms is a well-known feature of post-classical Greek and of non-standard Latin even at a fairly early period: cf. e.g. οἴκοι ἀνεχώρησα in a papyrus letter (*P.Laur.* 3.60.9, third century), *redei domi* in a Pompeiian graffito (*CIL*iv.2246), Adams (1977: 38) on the locative *Alexandrie* as a directional expression in Terentianus, Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950: 461), Ferri (2008a: 143–4), and especially Adams

(forthcoming: chapter xv). In Greek the phenomenon is connected with the loss of the dative case, which allowed both use of accusative constructions for the dative and hypercorrect uses of dative for accusative (cf. Krumbacher 1891: 356). The confusion led to errors in both directions (see below on 4i 'ς τὸ φόρον 2) and also extended to adverbs (see below on 4j ἐκεῖ/*ibi*); cf. also 10b ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ/ *in privato*, 12a τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις/*suis locis*, S 12a, and the passage parallel to this one in C 42, which reads ἐπανίεται οἴκοι/*regreditur domi*.

E's correction to *domum*, without a preposition, is interesting because elsewhere the E adaptor (like the original authors of the ME colloquia) seems to be unaware of the classical usage of *domum* without a preposition: E corrects *ad domum* to *in domum* at 7a, 8c, and 8d, but apart from here never to *domum*.

2t ἀλλάσσω/*muto*: In C the boy also changes his clothes when he gets home from school; there (C 43a) it is made explicit that he changes out of his good clothes into his ordinary clothes.

2t ἄρτον καθαρόν/*panem candidum*: White bread was considered better than darker bread in antiquity (Moritz 1958: esp. xxiv–xxv).

2t κάρυα/*nuces*: For the different types of nuts eaten in the Roman empire see Grocock and Grainger (2006: 352–4).

2t ὕδωρ ψυχρόν/*aquam frigidam*: Literally this is 'cold water', but that in English suggests a plain, austere beverage in its natural state. Such austerity is hardly in keeping with the rest of the meal: the bread is specified as being good (see above), and there is an abundance of tasty things to go with it. The reference is probably to deliberately chilled water, which was appreciated in the hot climate of the ancient Mediterranean (cf. 11n).

2u καὶ εἶπεν/*et dixit*: It is possible that this is really the last line of the colloquium; see next note.

2u ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς/*ab initio*: This line ends the first colloquium in the E version, so I have included it on the principle that it is better for an edition to err on the side of inclusivity than on that of exclusivity. It is likely, however, that the line originally belonged to the beginning of the alphabetical glossary rather

than to the end of the colloquium. In most M manuscripts the layout suggests that the colloquium ends at the previous line (ἄρξασθε/*incipite*): R, W, and X have a large capital (or, in W, a space left for a large capital) here to signal the start of the glossary, and Y, which omits the glossary, begins the omission with this line. (T does not mark the point of transition to the glossary at all, and Z and Q are missing here.) Additional evidence is provided by the alphabetical glossary in the Amploniana version of the Hermeneumata, which seems to be related to the Monacensia version glossary; it begins with *apoarces* (= ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς) /*ab initio*, and its next five entries are all to be found in the first ten lines of the Monacensia alphabetical glossary (Goetz 1892: 72.1–6 and 122. 61 ff.).

The Montepessulana version alphabetical glossary begins with αρξασσαι (=ἄρξασθε)/*incipite*, followed by απoαρχης/*ab initio*;[2] the Montepessulana is an old version that resembles ME closely in places, and its evidence is worth serious consideration. What it seems to suggest is that both the last two lines of our first ME colloquium were originally part of the glossary, and the colloquium proper once ended with καὶ εἶπεν/*et dixit*. This ending, while on the face of it very peculiar, would make sense if the entire glossary section was conceived of as being the words of the teacher. It is not impossible that a teacher might have read out a long glossary in school (though no doubt not all at once), so that the students could take it down by dictation and thereby acquire their own copies of it, but probably the writer was thinking less of verisimilitude than of a transitional device to attach the colloquium to the glossaries.

At this point the E manuscripts move directly to section 3d of the second colloquium, while most of the M manuscripts have the alphabetical glossary and the capitula in between. Manuscript Y has a different configuration: after ἄρξασθε (spelled αραξασθε)/*incipite* come επλερεθι λογος/*explicit sermo* 'the end' and the preface to the capitula (material in Goetz 1892: 166.9–29), though instead of the capitula themselves there is a note *vide alibi* 'see elsewhere'.

[2] Goetz (1892: 337.7–9); strictly speaking the latter is the third entry, with βοη⟨θ⟩εω/*adiuvo* intervening, but in this portion of the Montepessulana glossary entries beginning with alpha regularly alternate with those beginning with beta. This alternation is no doubt due to a problem in transmission; the original order must have had the entries beginning with alpha before those beginning with beta.

ME 3a	H title	C title	LS title A
		Ἐκ Καταστοιχίου τοῦ Κικερῶνος κεφάλαια ‹νονη	
Περὶ ὁμιλίας καθημερινῆς	Περὶ ὁμιλίας καθημερινῆς	περὶ καθημερινῆς ἀναστροφῆς	Περὶ συναναστροφῆς. καθημερινὴ συναναστροφή.
De fabulis cottidianis	De sermone cottidiano	[missing]	De conversatione. cottidiana conversatio.

Figure 2.10 Comparison of titles

There follow a few extracts from the alphabetical glossary, and then the full text resumes with the start of the second colloquium.

3a Whereas the title at the start of this work had no clear parallels in other versions of the Hermeneumata, this one is closely paralleled in H and less closely in LS and C; the various versions are set out in figure 2.10. Again (cf. above on 1b–e and 2n–o) the fact that the version in ME is so closely related to one of the other versions suggests that it is one of the most conservative sources despite its comparatively late attestation. This section is missing from E.

3b This preface is closely related to that of C (1a–b); the two are not identical, but it is difficult to say which is likely to be closer to the original. The target audience here is not the same as that specified in the first preface (10, a passage that may be related to this one); there it was young children, and here it is both younger and older children. This section is missing from E.

3b ἀναστροφή: This meaning of ἀναστροφή is otherwise unattested (though ἀναστροφή is an appropriate equivalent of *conversatio* in other ways), apart from the title and parallel passage in C and a doubtful occurrence in H (see commentary on H 1f). The fact that the use of this word in this sense occurs in two versions of the colloquia indicates that it is among the oldest material in them; this does not completely rule out its being a literal translation of the Latin but makes one cautious about a categorical assertion of such an explanation. It is possible that this usage was indeed current in spoken Greek of the imperial period

(perhaps as a Latinism, but one that had been adapted into the language earlier rather than created by the writer of a colloquium) and that no trace remains of that usage except the occurrences in the colloquia.

3b ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν: For the plural verb with a neuter subject see above on 1q ὑποτεταγμένα εἰσίν.

3c–f This section is largely a verbatim repetition of 2a–f (see 2.3.1 above). The repetition is strikingly similar to the first version – there are very few changes of wording, and those do not affect the overall sense of the passage – except that in three places material present in the first description of the morning routine is omitted from the repetition (see below), and that there is no consistency at all in Greek spelling in the M manuscripts. In M, at least, this similarity seems to have been maintained without conscious effort (had there been conscious effort, some attempt would presumably have been made to harmonize the spelling in the two sections). The similarity must have been maintained over a period of several centuries (see 2.4.2 above), and this continuity indicates a considerable stability of the overall transmission during that period.

3c This section is missing from E; in M it is identical to 2a apart from the point discussed below.

3c ὑποδήματα/*calciamenta*: This is completely different from 2a, which has καλίγια/*caligas*. Like Greek ὑποδήματα, Latin *calciamentum* or *calceamentum* (a term attested as early as Cato, *Agr.* 97) seems to be a generic term for 'shoe' (cf. Perrot 1961: 260), whereas

2c–f (Greek)	3e–f (Greek)	2c–f (Latin)	3e–f (Latin)
ἀπέθηκα τὴν ἐγκοιμήτραν· ἔλαβον χιτῶνα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα·	ἀπέθηκα	deposui dormitoriam; accepi tunicam ad corpus;	deposui
περιεζωσάμην, ἤλειψα τὴν κεφαλήν μου καὶ ἐκτένισα· ἐποίησα περὶ τὸν τράχηλον		praecinxi me; unxi caput meum et pectinavi; feci circa collum	
ἀναβόλαιον. ἐνεδυσάμην ἐπενδύτην		pallam; indui me superariam	
λευκήν· ἐπάνω ἐνδύομαι φελόνην.	λευκὴν φελόνην·	albam, supra induo paenulam.	albam paenulam;
προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος σὺν τῷ παιδαγωγῷ καὶ σὺν τῇ τροφῷ ἀσπάσασθαι	προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος σὺν τῷ παιδαγωγῷ ἀσπάσασθαι	processi de cubiculo cum paedagogo et cum nutrice salutare	prodii de cubiculo cum paedagogo salutare
τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα. ἀμφοτέρους ἠσπασάμην καὶ κατεφίλησα,	τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα. ἀμφοτέρους ἠσπασάμην καὶ κατεφίλησα,	patrem et matrem. ambos salutavi et osculatus sum,	patrem et matrem. ambos salutavi et osculatus sum,
καὶ οὕτως καταβαίνω ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου.	καὶ οὕτως κατῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου. ἀπέρχομαι ἀσπάσασθαι πάντας τοὺς φίλους.	et sic descendi de domo.	et sic descendi de domo. eo salutare omnes amicos.

Figure 2.11 Repeated scene

caliga referred specifically to the kind of shoe worn in the Roman army. Perhaps the Latin here was changed at a date when the *caliga* was no longer worn (see Goldman 1994: 122–3 on the history of the *caliga*) and the Greek altered to match.

3d This section is identical to 2b in E; in M it is identical to 2b apart from the fact that εἰς (τὴν) ὄψιν has an article here and not in 2b. Greek articles are easily lost in bilingual texts, so it is likely that the article originally appeared in 2b as well.

3e–f This section covers 2c–f, with some significant omissions and an addition; the relationship between the texts is given in figure 2.11. One cannot assume *a priori* that material has been omitted here rather than added in section 2, nor (if there are indeed omissions here) that the person who repeated this material intended to provide it complete rather than offering an abbreviated version. Nevertheless the largest of these gaps must be accidental omission here rather than deliberate abbreviation here or addition earlier, since it moves from the middle of one sentence to the

middle of another and produces a text that makes very little sense. Whereas in section 2 the boy takes off his night-clothes and eventually puts on a hooded cape, here the boy simply takes off the cape, which he has apparently worn at night, and skips getting dressed altogether. On the other hand the extra words between λευκήν/*albam* and φελόνην/*paenulam* are probably additions in 2d (see commentary *ad loc.*). It is therefore impossible to tell whether the nurse who appears in 2e but not in 3e is an addition in one place or an omission in the other.

Apart from these additions and subtractions the two texts are nearly identical. There are only two differences in wording: in 3e *prodii* replaces the *processi* of 2e, and in 3f καταβαίνω is replaced by κατῆλθον. The extra sentence at the end of 3f has a slightly unusual construction, ἀπέρχομαι ἀσπάσασθαι/*eo salutare* 'I go to greet', with an infinitive dependent on a verb of going (cf. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 345). An almost identical expression occurs in a parallel morning scene at C 17a, where the text is ἄπ‹ε›ιμι ἀσπάσ‹ασ›θαι γονεῖς/*eo salutare parentes*; given the different contexts one cannot be certain that these two have a common ancestor, but it is likely that they do, and if so this phrase must have been omitted in 2f rather than added here.

4   The boy who has been the main character so far disappears here, never to reappear, and we begin the 'phrasebook', a series of scenes in the daily life of an adult (see sections 1.3 and 2.3.1 above). Most of these are presented in the form of dialogues between the main character and various friends and business associates; indications of speakers are almost never given in the text but in most cases are easy to deduce from the content. The first scene is a court case; court scenes occur elsewhere in the colloquia (C 73–77, Mp 10), but this is the most detailed example. The scene's prominent location at the start of the second colloquium reflects the importance of law in the minds of Greek-speaking Latin students, who very often intended to enter the legal profession (see 1.1.2.4 above).

4a–c   This first interaction begins with an elaborate greeting scene involving multiple exchanges of good wishes before getting down to business, but later interactions have little or nothing in the way of initial greetings (e.g. 5a, 6a, 6b, 7a). It seems likely that this variation was caused by the paedagogical need to

group related material together (cf. below on 4l and 9o ὧδε ἤρχετο/*hic veniebat*): just as all the material about school is presented before the lunch scene, even though logically some of it would have happened after lunch, so all the material on greetings is presented together, for the benefit of the student. It follows from this that neither the lengthy greeting ritual described here nor the much briefer ones seen later can be taken as typical of the writer's time and place. On greetings in Latin see Poccetti (2010).

4a   οἰκοδεσπότης/*pater‹familias›*: M's reading in the Latin is *pater*, which at first glance seems perfect, as it ties this portion of the text in with the preceding material by allowing the main character in sections 4–12 to be the father of the boy in sections 2–3. One can imagine the boy accompanying his father while he goes about his daily business, as sometimes happens in the other colloquia (H 9a). However, had this been the original reading it would surely have been maintained in E, which instead presents us with ὁ δεσπότης/*dominus*. This looks like a corruption of οἰκοδεσπότης in the Greek with the Latin altered to match it. Latin *paterfamilias* is the regular equivalent of οἰκοδεσπότης elsewhere in the colloquia (H 18i, 23b, 23i, Mp 19c, C 66c) and must have been the original writer's intention here. Most likely he wrote *paterfamilias* and the word's second half was later lost accidentally (this would have been especially easy given the attractions of the reading *pater*), but it is also possible that he used *pater* as a shortened form of *paterfamilias*, a usage found occasionally in classical writers (*TLL* s.v. *pater* 676.51–5).

4a τοῦ φίλου: The rules of classical syntax would require the dative here, and E provides one. M's genitive is probably the original form, however (cf. Krumbacher 1891: 356), because replacement of the dative by the genitive is a characteristic feature of non-literary late Greek; the use of the dative declined steadily from the Hellenistic age until the case disappeared altogether in the Byzantine period. For other examples in this text of datives replaced by genitives or accusatives see 4i 'ς τὸ φόρον 2, 11p σου, 12d τούτου, and commentary on 11c ἐκείνῳ. See Browning (1983: 36–8) and Ferri (2008a: 127 n. 57).

4a   χαῖρε/*ave*: These forms, found in M, are the standard greetings in the colloquia (cf. ME 2g, 6h, Mp 2a, 9a, 15a, C 16c, 19, LS 3b, H 4a, 23b) and

in a wide range of other sources as well. Χαῖρε was the standard greeting in Greek from Homer onwards (e.g. *Odyssey* 1.123). E's optative χαίροις, on the other hand, is not attested as a greeting in the classical period (though it is used as a farewell in Theocritus 18.49 and Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.31–2), nor could it have been in use at a late period, since optatives had disappeared from non-literary Greek by the early imperial period (though a few occur in this text: see on 4b καλῶς ζήσαις). Χαίροις must be simply a hyper-literary form intended to look impressive.

4a Γάϊε/ *Gaie*: The vocative of *Gaius* should be *Gai*; this alternative form is otherwise unattested in Latin (cf. Dickey 2000). Ferri (2008a: 128) points out that Γάϊε is common in Greek (e.g. Plutarch, *Caesar* 44.10, Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 81) and suggests that the Greek has here influenced the Latin. At first sight this appears absurd, for *Gaius* was one of the most common Roman names: it is a praenomen, and because there were so few praenomina in use each of them was borne by a high percentage of the male population. But precisely for that reason praenomina were rarely used, particularly in address, and as the practice of having multiple cognomina became widespread in the early empire the praenomen was reduced to a fossilized relic; in the late empire it disappeared altogether (see Salomies 1987; Dickey 2002: 46–67). Even if he lived in the second or third century, it is likely that the writer of this scene had rarely or never heard the vocative of *Gaius*; if he lived in the fourth century or later it is virtually certain that he would not have encountered it (except in reading older literature, but even there it is not common). As the *-e* ending is the one that the normal rules of Latin grammar would predict for the vocative of a word ending in *-us*, analogy within Latin would have pushed the writer in the same direction as the Greek influence.

It is also possible that the original writer did use *Gai* and the final *-e* was added later. The combination of the Greek form and the normal rules of Latin vocative formation would have made it tempting for a copyist to assume that an *-e* had been accidentally omitted.

Of course, the rarity of this vocative raises the question of why a praenomen is used here at all. Clearly the writer was avoiding the use of names resembling those of real contemporary people; such avoidance

is part of the general anonymity and generality of the colloquia (see above on 1h). One of the uses of the praenomen in literature was for fictional, generic characters (see Dickey 2002: 64; Salomies 1987: 273–5); the writer of this piece may have been aware of that usage or could have come to the same point independently by picking a name that had a generic function simply because it was (at least in theory) part of the names of so many men.

The other function of the name is to identify the character bearing it as Roman; cf. introduction, section 1.3.1 above.

All this applies equally to the other praenomen in this scene, Λούκιε/ *Lucie* at 4b (*q.v.*).

4a κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν/ *osculatus est eum*: The restoration of the Greek makes sense in view of earlier greeting scenes in ME (2f, 2g) but is not certain here, as M has *cetatesenauton* (και κατεσεν αυτον Y) and E καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτόν. The ME archetype probably had in its Greek half something close to Y's text, κε κατεσεν αυτον (with the -φιλη- already missing), and this was corrected in E and further corrupted in M. The Latin is clear in M, and in E becomes *tenuit eum*; this is presumably a translation of E's Greek.

4b–d Here it is difficult to tell how the speeches divide and which lines are spoken by which character. But the character introduced first must be named Lucius (cf. his greeting to Gaius in 4a) and must be the one who has the court case (cf. 4m below); therefore he must be the one who speaks the first two lines of 4d ('I have a court case.'). If one assumes that those lines must be spoken by the same character as the two preceding lines ('I rejoice for you in the same way as for myself'), it follows that the first two lines of 4c ('Everything's going well. How are you?') must be spoken by Gaius and therefore the last line of 4b ('How are you doing?') by Lucius. As the second line of 4b ('May you be well, Lucius') is clearly spoken by Gaius, there must be a speaker division either before or after the next line ('Do I really see you?').

4b καλῶς ζήσαις/ *bene valeas*: The optative disappeared from conversational Greek during the Hellenistic period and was a strictly literary feature from the Roman period onwards; already in the first century AD optatives were the sign of an educated, archaizing Greek style. It is therefore often stated that optatives do not occur in the colloquia (Dionisotti

1982: 95–6; Tagliaferro 2003: 64; Ferri 2008a: 149). But in fact there are a number of optatives in various colloquia: the Harleianum for example contains five optatives (see commentary on H 1f ποιήσειας and section 1.3.2 with n. 133 above).

In ME the situation is complicated by the transliteration in M, which makes many optatives hard to identify, and the learned emendations in E, which makes E's text hard to trust on such points. Nevertheless there is one place in which an optative is certain: 5c, where M has *genuto* and E γένοιτο. The presence of this optative means that other potential occurrences cannot be dismissed simply on the grounds that optatives do not occur in this text. Goetz and Krumbacher print optatives in three places besides 5c: here, 4j ἔχοις, and 6j εἴποις. The first two of these have optatives in E (at 4j only the best E manuscripts have the optative; the others have a subjunctive or indicative), and the last has an imperative in E. There is only one other passage in which E has an optative, and there it must be a learned improvement on the Greek found in M: χαίροις for χαῖρε in 4a. That passage shows that someone who worked on E was capable of emending to produce an optative, but it is notable that it is the only place where such emendation clearly occurs, in the face of many opportunities: imperatives that could arguably have been improved by transformation into optatives include ἔστω in 10u, γενέσθω in 7b, παρέδρευσον in 4g, χρῆσον in 5b, ἀπόδος in 5e, etc. In two passages the ME archetype had a subjunctive that was anomalous and invited emendation (see below on 4j ἦς), and in both places E emended to the imperative, not the optative. This pattern means that optatives in E cannot be simply dismissed as emendations in the passages where M's reading could also be interpreted as an optative, this one and 4j ἔχοις.

The text of M for those passages is here *calozeses* R Z X: *calozesis* W: *caloceses* T Q: καλοσεσες Y, and at 4j *echis* M. At 4j M's text could be read equally well as either subjunctive ἔχῃς or optative ἔχοις; here M's text is mutilated at the beginning of the word, and the ending in W looks like the subjunctive ζήσῃς, while that of all the other manuscripts looks like the optative ζήσαις. In general W is both sloppy and prone to emendation (Krumbacher 1883: 29; Goetz 1892: xviii), so the testimony of the other M manuscripts would make it fairly clear that the original form was an optative even if we did not have an optative in E.

But there is also another reason to prefer the optative both here and 4j: the inappropriateness of the subjunctive. Here we have a wish for the addressee's well-being, and in 4j we have a request. In classical Greek wishes normally used the optative (though they also frequently used the imperative: χαῖρε is really a wish rather than a command) and requests the imperative, and after the decline of the optative the imperative became the most common single-word form for both (e.g. γενέσθω for *fiat* 'let it be [thus]' often in the colloquia, or in letters the common farewell formula ἔρρωσο; periphrases such as ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι 'I pray that you be well' are also common). The subjunctive was rarely used to express commands, requests, or wishes except when accompanied by a negative: the basic classical rule is that one uses the imperative for commands and requests unless the imperative would be both negative and aorist, in which case one replaces it with the prohibitive subjunctive, or unless something other than a direct command is needed, in which case one selects from a wide range of alternatives that include the optative but not the subjunctive. Although use of the subjunctive for positive commands is attested in Hellenistic Greek (see Schwyzer and Debrunner 1950: 316), it is rare. In this text, subjunctives are used independently only in the first person plural; there are only two exceptions to this rule, both in places where an imperative was not possible (see below on 4j ἦς). Since the imperative is perfectly possible both here and at 4j, the restoration of the subjunctive would be contrary to the normal usage both of this text and of Greek in general.

It is therefore virtually certain that the optative is the correct reading here. The necessary consequence of that, the conclusion that this text contains literary language absent from most contemporary conversation in its author's day, is supported by the occurrence of other elements of high style (see e.g. on 4b τί πράττεις).

The specific formulae used here are somewhat surprising. Latin *bene valeas* is common as a farewell formula in the Vindolanda tablets (e.g. *Tab. Vindol.* II 215.7–8, 260.6, 300.10–11, 309.15, 312.12, 345. ii.4, 353.3; *Tab. Vindol.* III 646.13, 650.9, 667.2) but rarely attested elsewhere (the *valeas bene* in Horace *Satires* 2.2.71 has a very different sense); I can find no evidence that it was ever used as a greeting. *Valeas* without *bene* (by itself or in other collocations such as *cura ut valeas* or *fac valeas*) is common from Plautus onwards (e.g. Pl. *Am.* 928, Cic. *Att.* 2.2.3), but again it is clearly a farewell rather than a greeting formula (though in funerary contexts the two can be merged

in utterances such as *ave atque vale* 'hail and farewell'; for a discussion of the usage of *vale* and its relatives see Poccetti 2010).

The Greek phrase καλῶς ζήσαις is otherwise unattested, but ζήσαις/ζήσειας is found in Latinate contexts as an equivalent of Latin *vivas* (Cassius Dio 72.18.2 Dindorf (= 73.18.2 Foster), a second-century graffito from Kommagene, and some inscribed objects from the late empire: see Ferri 2008a: 167–8; Mawer 1989; *SEG* LI.1196, LV.1564). That it was more common in use (at least in the Byzantine period) than these sparse attestations suggest is indicated by a reference in the *Suda* to the practice of saying it in (Latinate) symposia (*Suda* A 1687 Adler), and by a condemnation of the use of the aorist optative by Choeroboscus (*GG* IV.II.258.25).

4b Λούκιε/*Lucie***:** The vocative of *Lucius* should be *Luci*, and the praenomen is used to indicate a generic character rather than a real person; on both points see on 4a *Gaie*.

4b ἔστιν σε ἰδεῖν/*est te videre***:** This expression, which literally translated would be 'is it possible to see you?', seems to mean 'I can hardly believe I'm seeing you at last!' (cf. Ferri's translation (2008a: 163) 'finalmente ti si vede'). The Greek expression is otherwise unattested, but the Latin also occurs as a greeting between friends in Petronius (67.5; see Heraeus 1899: 33–4). Forms of *videre* also occur as greetings in other expressions, such as *videmus te* as a greeting from veterans to the emperor Tiberius (Velleius Paterculus 2.104.4) and Terence, *Hec.* 81 *sed videon ego Philotium*, on which Donatus comments *sic solent dubitare advenientibus ipsis, quos post multum temporis intervallum vident*. The use of *est* for 'it is possible' in *est videre* 'one can see' and similar expressions is well attested in Latin and has been considered a Grecism since Servius (on *Aeneid* 8. 676 *cernere erat*), but Gratwick (2002: 50 n. 17) argues that it should not be considered completely foreign; for a full listing of the evidence see Gratwick (2002: 48–50 with n. 17) and Adams (2005a: 94 with n. 107); cf. Wölfflin (1885, 1896). It is possible that the Greek expression ἔστιν σε ἰδεῖν existed and is simply not preserved elsewhere, but in the absence of any evidence for its prior existence it is likely to be a translation of the Latin here.

4b τί πράττεις/*quid agis***:** The Greek is classical, found e.g. at Menander, *Georgos* 43. The spelling with

double tau is specifically Attic (the koiné form would be πράσσεις) and is the only such Attic spelling in this text, whereas koiné spellings with double sigma are fairly common (e.g. 2o γλώσσας, 2t ἀλλάσσω, 5a ἐπιτάσσεις). It is thus an ostentatiously elegant form for a text composed in the Roman period, not contemporary conversational language. The Latin also has an impeccable pedigree, for example in Plautus (*Per.* 204, *Truc.* 577) and Cicero (*Planc.* 33); on its classical usage see Poccetti (2010: 101–4). These phrases also occur at H 12c.

4c πάντα ὀρθῶς/*omnia recte***:** The Latin is well attested (cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 3.17.1, *P.Mich.* VIII.467.26–7), but the Greek is not and is thus likely to be a translation of the Latin. Cf. below on 6j πάντα ὀρθῶς ἔχει/*omnia recte habet*.

4c πῶς ἔχεις/*quomodo habes***:** The Greek is common in classical literature (e.g. Aristophanes *Knights* 7); it is found together with τί πράσσεις in Euripides, *Orestes* 732. The Latin is probably a translation of it, though this Latin phrase does occur elsewhere, e.g. in the third-century Vetus Latina version of Genesis 43:27 (Fischer 1951–4: 450; Joseph's greeting to his brothers πῶς ἔχετε is translated *quomodo habetis*) and in fifth-century Latin saints' lives (e.g. Palladii Lausiaca 20.16, 74.381c Migne). This use of *habere* would be an intransitivization of *se habere*: see Feltenius (1977: 33, 39, 47, 60, and 94–5).

4c συγχαίρομαι**:** This verb is normally active in Greek, hence E's correction to συγχαίρω. It is consistently deponent in ME (it also occurs at 6j); this could have something to do with the influence of Latin *gratulor*, but Ferri (2008a: 161 n. 159) cites Greek parallels for the deponent.

4d ‹ἔστιν μοι› κριτήριον/†›*est mihi›iudicium***:** Greek κριτήριον normally means 'standard of judgment' but can also be 'tribunal' or 'judgment' (LSJ *s.v.*); it may be a translation of the Latin here, as 'court case' is a common meaning of *iudicium* (OLD *s.v.*). The lacuna Goetz indicated can be filled with *est mihi* in the Latin (cf. *cras est mihi iudicium*, Terence, *Eu.* 338–9); the phrase ἔστιν μοι κριτήριον is not otherwise attested in Greek, but that has more to do with the fact that the Greek word is not normally used in this sense than with any inherent unsuitability of the dative of possession here.

4d–e The Greek terms for the officials named are common equivalents of the Latin, indicating that the Greek as well as the Latin of this section was written by someone reasonably familiar with the terminology of the Roman administrative system. See Mason 1974: 21–2 (ἀνθύπατος), 131–2 (διέπων), 91 (ταμίας).

4e τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐξ ὑπογραφῆς τοῦ διέποντος τὴν ἐπαρχίαν/*magistratus ex subscriptione praesidis provinciae*: We have no other references to these officials, but a *subscriptio* was an official response to a petition, and such a response could itself become law, so Ferri suggests that the officials in question occupied positions created by such a petition response (2008a: 122 n. 39, citing a parallel from Justinian, *Digesta* 26.7.46.6).

The *praeses provinciae* was the governor of a province, so this reference indicates that the writer of this scene envisioned it as taking place in a provincial city rather than in Rome. Perhaps the title *praeses provinciae* can be used to date the scene as well (cf. Ferri 2008a: 123), for early in the fourth century AD the provincial administration system was rearranged so that there were four different grades of governor, of which *praeses* was the lowest; it is only from that period that *praeses* became a precise term for a particular official. But even before that reform the term *praeses* was in use in a vaguer sense to denote governors of any grade, and it cannot be excluded that that vaguer sense was intended by the original writer here. On the *praeses* see Jones (1954: 24–5, 1964: 45).

4f ποταπόν: The strict Atticist Phrynichus condemned both this spelling of ποδαπός and the use of the word at all in this sense, which in his view should have been expressed with ποῖος (*Eclogues* 36 Fischer).

4f *quale autem est ipsa res? non valde magnum; est enim pecuniarium*: Goetz (following Krumbacher except in the case of the last word, which Krumbacher takes as *pecuniarum*) and Ferri (2008a: 162) restore this as *qualis autem est ipsa res? non valde magna; est autem pecuniaria*; this makes all the adjectives agree with the feminine *res*. E takes the opposite tack, with *quale autem est ipsum negotium? non valde magnum*, where all the adjectives agree with the neuter *negotium*. It is likely, however, that the original did not have complete agreement: the noun was probably the feminine *res*, because E is far more likely to

have replaced *res* with *negotium* than M is to have had the reverse substitution, but *pecuniarium* must have been neuter, for in the ME archetype it was corrupted into *pecuniarum*, which was reinterpreted as a genitive plural and in E caused the Greek to be readjusted to a matching genitive χρημάτων. The use of a neuter in 'agreement' with *res* is a *constructio ad sensum* going back to Plautus; see Lindsay (1907: 3).

4f ἴδῃς/*videas*: E's reading εἰδῇς/*scias* 'so that you may know it all' is attractive and may be correct (cf. Ferri 2008a: 161 n. 160), but the version found in M is also possible (Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.13 states that *video* often has the same meaning as *scio* in Latin); neither phrase is a common idiom in either language.

4g εἰ σχολάζεις σύ/*si vacat tibi*: Previous editors deleted σύ, which does not appear in E. But the lack of a pronoun in the Greek would violate the principle of close parallelism between the two languages that governs the composition of the colloquia. The Latin has to have a pronoun, since with an impersonal verb the reference is not clear without one, and therefore the Greek needs one too, even if the different construction in the Greek makes it necessary for that pronoun to be nominative. Moreover, σύ is more likely to have been deleted in E than added in M, and unnecessary, unemphatic subject pronouns are found elsewhere in this text, at 7a σὺ ποῦ ὑπάγεις/*tu ubi vadis* and 4k ἄγωμεν ἡμεῖς/*eamus nos*; see Adams (1999) for the function of unemphatic subject pronouns.

4g παρέδρευσον/*adesto*: Latin *adsum* can mean 'give support by one's presence in court, appear as an advocate' (see *OLD s.v.* 12), and that is probably the meaning intended here, but no such meaning is attested for Greek παρεδρεύω.

4g ἡμέραν ‹ τὴν σήμερον/*diem . . . hodiernam*: The hyperbaton (separation of noun and modifier) is very unusual in the colloquia; other examples can be found at LS 3c and H 2c (cf. Ferri 2008a: 159–60). There may be a certain stylistic formality in the phrase *diem hodiernam*: Oakley (1997–2005: II.343) observes that *hodie/heri* and *hodierno die/hesterno die* are distributed among the different genres of Cicero's works in a way that suggests the longer expressions belonged to a more formal register than the shorter ones, though the situation here is not exactly parallel

because *hodie* could not easily be substituted for *diem hodiernam* in the present passage.

4g ὥρισαν/*dederunt*: E's reading ἔδωκαν (for classical ἔδοσαν) brings the two languages closer together.

4g ἀπόφασιν ἐρούμενοι/*sententia dicitur*: The text is difficult here. For the Greek M has *apofasiterumeni* and E ἀπόφασις εἰρημένη; as E's reading does not make sense in context Krumbacher's emendation (1891: 356–7) to ἀπόφασιν ἐρούμενοι is necessary, though Ferri (2008a: 161 n. 162) is sceptical of Krumbacher's version and proposes ἀπόφασιν ἐκφερόμενοι or ποιούμενοι. In the Latin M has *sententia dicitur* and E *sententia dicta*; again E's version does not make sense, and Krumbacher (1891: 356–7), followed by Goetz, emends to *sententiam dicturi* to achieve parallelism with the Greek. But it is not clear that emendation is really necessary: if *dicitur* is a present in future sense (a usage found elsewhere in this text; see above on 2l ἀναδίδωμι/*dicto*), the phrase could simply mean 'the verdict will be declared'. The strongest argument in favour of emendation is that without it the disparity between the Latin and Greek texts is greater than would be expected in the colloquia – but since it cannot be certain that the emended Greek form is original, it is unwise to change the transmitted Latin text to match it.

4i ’ς τὸ φόρον: E has ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, which is correct by the rules of classical Greek (if one ignores the question of the use of an article with ἀγορά). M's text, which is no doubt the original, raises three issues: (1) the word for 'forum', (2) the use of εἰς + accusative in locatival rather than directional function, (3) the aphaeresis of εἰς.

(1) The normal Greek equivalent of *forum* is ἀγορά, but φόρον is also attested as a Greek word (see LSJ and supplement) and need not indicate ignorance on the part of a translator.

(2) The use of εἰς + accusative here seems anomalous, since the phrase is both preceded and followed by parallel expressions using ἐν + dative and since the Latin equivalents all use *in* + ablative. It is a sign of the general breakdown of the classical directional case system in late Greek: accusatives are often used when no motion is involved (and inversely dative and locative forms can be used with

verbs of motion: see above on 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*). Eventually in modern Greek (which has lost the dative case entirely; see above on 4a τοῦ φίλου) ἐν + dative was replaced by εἰς + accusative; see Schwyzer and Debrunner (1950: 461) and Browning (1983: 36). Although the Latin here uses the ablative, a similar conflation of directional and locative expressions occurs in Latin from a surprisingly early period (see Adams forthcoming: chapter xv) and is found elsewhere in the colloquia, e.g. *foras* instead of *foris* at 90; cf. on 9h εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκάθητο/*ad domum sedebat*.

(3) The use of ’ς for εἰς is a medieval feature, part of the general loss of certain initial vowels in modern Greek, but it has ancient antecedents from which the medieval feature needs to be carefully distinguished (cf. Horrocks 2010: 276–7; Browning 1983: 57–8). In classical literature aphaeresis (the dropping of an initial vowel, particularly ἐ-) is possible as a way of avoiding hiatus, though much less common than elision; it is generally restricted to phonetic contexts where the two vowels involved are similar in sound. Aphaeresis of εἰς is rare but far from impossible; examples in Aristophanes include ἢ ’ς Πανὸς ἢ ’πὶ Κωλιάδ’ εἰς Γενετυλλίδος (*Lysistrata* 2), χώρει ’ς τὴν ναῦν (*Lysistrata* 605), τίς εἰς τὸ Λήθης πεδίον ἢ ’ς Ὄκνου πλοκάς | ἢ ’ς Κερβερίους ἢ ’ς κόρακας ἢ ’πὶ Ταίναρον (*Frogs* 186–7). In documentary papyri aphaeresis of certain vowels is common, a fact that led Gignac (1976: 319) to suggest that it was more frequent in speech than the literary evidence suggests. But the examples of aphaeresis listed by Gignac are heavily biased towards short vowels; he lists few examples of aphaeresis of εἰ-, and none of those involve the word εἰς (1976: 320). Moreover I can find no examples of aphaeresis of εἰς, in any phonetic context, in the Duke database of documentary papyri. Thus if Gignac is right that the use of aphaeresis in the papyri reflects that in speech more accurately than does the use of aphaeresis in literature, we need to consider the possibility that in speech aphaeresis of εἰς was even rarer than the literary evidence suggests.

   In medieval and modern Greek the situation is very different, as εἰς is regularly reduced to ’ς when combined with the article: στον, στην and στο are used regularly for 'to the' not only after any type of vowel, but also after consonants. Such a connection between

aphaeresis of εἰς and a following article cannot be detected in the ancient language; for example, the Aristophanes passages cited above contain five examples of aphaeresis of εἰς, only one of which has an article following. The connection first emerges in the tenth century, when frequent (but by no means universal) aphaeresis of before the article, without regard to phonetic context, suddenly appears in a range of literary sources (e.g. in Digenes Acritas, Escorial version line 15 Jeffreys ἀετὸς 'ς τὴν σέλαν, 27 ἐκαβαλίκευσαν 'ς τὸν κάμπον, 95–6 κόσμον | 'ς τὸν κόσμον, 105 καλὸν 'ς τὸν κόσμον, 126, ἐστράφησαν 'ς τὸν ἀμιρᾶν, 417 κειτόμενον 'ς τὴν κλίνην; cf. Nicon Metanoite, *Testamentum* line 3 Lampsides χρόνους 'ς τὸν καιρόν). Thus the modern usage of στον, στην, and στο is not simply a direct continuation of ancient aphaeresis in hiatus; it is a significantly different phenomenon, with a datable change. The change cannot, of course, simply be dated to the tenth century; the range of authors in which it then appears, and the frequency with which it is found in some of them, strongly suggest that the new usage developed for a while in the non-literary language before appearing in literary sources. But that development probably did not go back as far as the eighth century, as the papyrus evidence goes up to the eighth century and shows no trace of the modern usage. The development of modern-style aphaeresis of εἰς can thus be placed in the ninth century.

The aphaeresis of εἰς in the ME colloquium is largely, but not entirely, of the modern type. As this fact is crucial for dating the text, it is worth spelling out the evidence in full. The passages in which aphaeresis of εἰς occurs are: 4i τόπῳ; 'ς τὸ φόρον, 6g δύο. 'ς τὰ δεξιά, 6i κατέβη 'ς τὸν δαφνῶνα, 7a ὑπάγεις; 'ς τὴν οἰκίαν, 7c ἡμᾶς. 'ς τὴν οἰκίαν, 8a μοι 'ς τὸ κρεοπωλεῖον, 10b κελεύεις; 'ς τὸ δημόσιον, 10e ἐλθεῖν 'ς τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα, 10m ἔρχου 'ς τὸ ἱδρωτήριον, 11i καὶ 'ς κανίσκιον. Thus aphaeresis is usually associated with a following article, but not always (note the last example), and it can occur not only after like vowels, but also after unlike vowels and after consonants.

The passages in which εἰς is found without aphaeresis (in M; E consistently corrects aphaeresis) are: 2b ὕδωρ εἰς ὄψιν, 2g ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὴν σχολήν, 2s ἀπέλυσεν εἰς ἄριστον, 2u πάλιν εἰς τὴν σχολήν, 3d ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν ὄψιν, 4m αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν συμβουλήν, 8a ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς ἄριστον, 8c ὕπαγε εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, 8c ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ λαχανοπωλεῖον, 8d ὕπαγε εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, 9d ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τοὺς λύχνους, 9h ἦν; εἰς τὴν

οἰκίαν, 10a σάβανα εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον, 10k εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς τὸν πρῶτον, 10n ἐσέλθωμεν εἰς τὴν ἐμβάτην, 10n καταβῶμεν εἰς τὴν ἐμβάτην, 10o σεαυτὸν εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν, 10p πρόσελθε εἰς τὸν λουτῆρα, 10s ἀκολουθεῖτε εἰς τὸν οἶκον, 11g ἐλαιόγαρον εἰς τὸ ὀξυβάφιον, 11n ὕδωρ εἰς χεῖρας, 11o θερμόν. εἰς τὸ μεῖζον; εἰς τὸ μικρόν.

Thus aphaeresis occurs only in the second of the two colloquia that make up the ME version: the five passages containing language belonging to the first colloquium (2b, 2g, 2s, 2u, 3d) all have εἰς written in full. In the second colloquium there are two passages in which εἰς occurs after a like vowel (in Byzantine pronunciation), and in both of those it undergoes aphaeresis (6i, 8a). There are nine passages in which εἰς occurs after unlike vowels, and in four of those it undergoes aphaeresis (4i, 6g, 10m, 11i), while in five it does not (8c, 8d, 10a, 10p, 10s). There are seventeen passages in which εἰς occurs after a consonant, and in four of those it undergoes aphaeresis (7a, 7c, 10b, 10e), while in thirteen it does not (4m, 8a, 8c, 9d, 9h, 10k, 10n (bis), 10o, 11g, 11n, 11o bis). Therefore in the second colloquium aphaeresis of εἰς occurs 100% of the time after like vowels, 44% of the time after unlike vowels, and 24% of the time after consonants. This suggests that although there was no phonetic restriction on the contexts in which aphaeresis of εἰς could occur, it had certain phonetic preferences. No such phonetic preferences are discernible in the tenth-century texts discussed above, so the aphaeresis in the colloquium seems to be somewhat earlier than the tenth century, providing a bridge between ancient and modern usage. It is thus very likely to come from the ninth century. Under these circumstances the absence of aphaeresis from the first colloquium assumes particular significance, as it suggests that the two colloquia belonged to different texts as late as the ninth century.

4i   *stoam Victoriae*: M has *tuam victoriam* and E *porticum victoriae*, but Krumbacher's restoration must be correct. E's correction to *porticum* is predictable, as *stoa* is not normally a Latin word. The name *stoa Victoriae* might perhaps provide a clue to the setting of the colloquium, but it has so far proven impossible to find another reference to such a building anywhere in the empire (see Ferri 2008a: 124).

4j   μετ' ὀλίγον/*post modicum*: There is an understood χρόνον / *tempus*; for the ellipsis of *tempus* in Latin expressions of time see Adams (1976a: 83). The

phrase is classical in Greek (e.g. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.3.5, and often in later texts), but not in Latin: *post modicum* is first attested in the fourth century, when Augustine treats it as a term in common use (e.g. *Sermones* 168.7, 38.914.49 Migne). The Greek and Latin phrases are not infrequently equivalents of each other (*TLL* s.v. *modicus* 1235.11–12).

4j ἐκεῖ/ ibi: This text's non-standard use of directional expressions in both Latin and Greek (see above on 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi* and 4i 's τὸ φόρον 2) also applies to adverbs. By classical conventions we would expect ἐκεῖσε/*eo* here, but confusion of locative and directional forms is at least as common with adverbs as with nouns in Roman-period texts in both languages and is condemned by Phrynichus (*Eclogues* 99 Fischer). In the Greek half of ME we find ἐκεῖ for ἐκεῖσε also in 6i, ποῦ for ποῖ in 6b and 7a, and ὧδε for δεῦρο in 9a, 9o, and 11a; in the Latin half of the text *ubi* is used for *quo* in 6b and 7a, and *hic* for *huc* in 9a, 9o, and 11a. The reverse phenomenon (also condemned by Phrynichus, *loc. cit.*) occurs in 9o, where *foras* is used for *foris*. Apart from that passage, the only places in ME where directional adverbs occur are 6i, where M has *illuc* (but E *illic*), and 10i, where Greek δεῦρο is used in a different way (see *ad loc.*). Only rarely does E attempt a correction on this point, changing *ubi* to *quo* in 7a and *foras* to *foris* in 9o. See Adams (forthcoming: chapter xv).

4j ἔρχομαι/ venio: For the use of the present tense with future meaning see on 2l ἀναδίδωμι/*dicto* above.

4j παρακαλῶ/ rogo: These are both standard words for 'please' in imperial-period Greek and Latin, though normally the equivalent of παρακαλῶ would be *oro* and that of *rogo* would be ἐρωτῶ; see Dickey (2009). The contrast with the archaism *sis* in 6d is striking (see *ad loc.*).

4j ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχοις: Krumbacher and Goetz follow E's ἐν νῷ ἔχοις, while Ferri (2008a: 133, 162) reads ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχῃς. Krumbacher had considered the reading μνήμῃ, which is attractive given the readings of the M manuscripts, but rejected it on the grounds that it fitted neither the Latin nor the norms of Greek (1891: 357). Ferri (2008a: 133 n. 81), however, cites as a parallel for this use of ἐν μνήμῃ the εἶχεν ἀεὶ τοῦτο τὸ λὰξ ἐν μνήμῃ found in [Lucian,] *Asinus* 31. The verb is

another matter; for the reasons to prefer the optative see above on 4b καλῶς ζήσαις.

4j *in mente habeas*: This phrase belongs to non-literary Latin: see Adams (2007: 302 n. 119) and Ferri (2008a: 133).

4j ἦς: In this text the independent subjunctive is common in the first person plural but not used in other forms, with the exception of ἦς, second-person singular subjunctive of εἰμί 'be', which occurs only here and at 4n (cf. above on 4b καλῶς ζήσαις). In both these passages E has ἔσο, the usual Byzantine second-person singular imperative of εἰμί (see Jannaris 1897: 250), and the Latin is *esto*; it is clear that an imperative is wanted in the Greek. The classical imperative of εἰμί was ἴσθι, but this disappeared in later Greek (it suffered not only from being irregular, but also from being homonymous with the imperative of οἶδα, with the result that it is absent from documentary papyri even of the Ptolemaic period). Gignac (1981: 407) lists no second-person singular imperative forms of εἰμί at all for papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, a fact that suggests that (which is attested in literary texts from the Roman period, e.g. Marcus Aurelius, *Ad se ipsum* 4.3.4) may have been avoided in the lower registers during those centuries. This passage and 4n must have been affected by that avoidance; forced to find some equivalent of the Latin *esto*, the writer resorted to the subjunctive.

4k Gaius apparently departs on his own business at the end of 4j, to reappear at 4m, and it is not clear who Lucius' interlocutor is in 4k–l; a servant is the most likely possibility, given the order in 4l. The passage that follows would have been of particular interest to the Greek-speaking Latin students for whom it must have been composed (cf. 1.1.2.4 and 1.3.1 above): as future lawyers they would have appreciated the generous payment of the legal team.

4k ἄγωμεν: The use of ἄγω in the sense 'go', which is common in the colloquia, is ancient despite not being listed in LSJ and occurs several times in the New Testament (e.g. Matthew 26:46, Mark 1:38; cf. Danker *et al.* 2000: *s.v.* 5).

4k ἡμεῖς/ nos: These are non-emphatic subject pronouns, a usage found already in the classical period

(Adams 1999); cf. above on 4g εἰ σχολάζεις σύ/*si vacat tibi*.

4k τραπεζίτην/*nummularium*: This type of banker was characteristic of the imperial period and provided a range of services, including lending money and keeping clients' money on deposit; the money being obtained here could therefore be either a loan or a withdrawal of the litigant's own funds. See Andreau (1987: 177–219, 527–606).

4k δηνάρια/*denarios*: The denarius was a standard unit of Roman currency from the end of the third century BC onwards; although denarii were no longer issued as coins after the third century AD they continued to be used as a unit of value for the rest of antiquity, so this mention of currency cannot be used to date the colloquia. In the early empire a denarius was a day's wage for unskilled workers, and although later inflation reduced its value considerably (at the beginning of the fourth century workers earned at least 25 denarii per day) a hundred was probably not an unreasonable sum to split between several legal experts. The Greek term δηνάριον was common throughout the imperial and late antique periods in Greek-speaking parts of the empire to refer to this unit of value (e.g. New Testament, Matthew 18:28, cf. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser 1996– *s.v.*).

4k δικολόγῳ τιμητικὸν καί τοῖς συνηγόροις και τῷ νομικῷνάρια/*demus causidico honorarium et advocatis et iuris peritis*: The terms *causidicus*, *advocatus*, and *iuris peritus* were all used of legal experts who could be called in to support someone in a court case; as far as we can tell there was no clear distinction between the three roles. Tacitus (*Dialogus* 1.1) comments *horum autem temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur*, though the fifth-century commentator Ps.-Asconius asserts (*In divinationem* 11, p. 190 Stangl) *qui defendit alterum in iudicio aut patronus dicitur, si orator est; aut advocatus, si aut ius suggerit aut praesentiam suam accommodat amico; aut procurator, si negotium suscipit absentis; aut cognitor, si praesentis causam novit et sic tuetur ut suam*. See Kaser and Hackl (1996: 219, 563). Originally such experts were forbidden to charge for their services, but in the empire payment was normally expected (see Kaser and Hackl 1996: 219 n. 96). Because Roman law was a stronghold of the use of Latin even in otherwise Greek-speaking

areas, the Greek versions of Roman legal terminology are normally translations (or transliterations) of the Latin; thus although the Greek is no doubt derivative from the Latin here that would have been the case regardless of how this particular text was constructed.

4l The interaction with the banker that would in reality have to take place in order to get the money is eliminated on the principle of grouping similar material together (see on 4a–c), since banking is described in detail in sections 5 and 6a.

4l οὗτος/*iste*: Although the main classical meaning of *iste*, 'that of yours', seems a poor match for οὗτος 'this/that', οὗτος was regularly considered to be the Greek equivalent of *iste* (and of *hic* and *is*: see Priscian, Keil 1857–80: II.589.11–13). Already in the classical period *iste* was sometimes used as an equivalent of *hic* (i.e. with the meaning 'this': see *OLD s.v.* 4), and this usage increased during the imperial period and in late Latin, eventually eclipsing the usage with second-person reference (e.g. Italian *questo* 'this' comes from *eccum istum*). See *TLL* (*s.v.*, esp. 508.58–63).

4m ἀσφαλίσματα/*instrumenta*: Written evidence for use in a court hearing (*TLL s.v.* 2013.54–2014.18). The Greek word originally meant 'pledge, security' and is not attested in this specialized sense until the fourth century (e.g. John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos* 8.14, 63.112.29 Migne).

4n *illi*: Originally *ille* meant 'that man' and would not have been used as the equivalent of the pronoun αὐτῷ 'him', which would have been better matched by a form of *is*. But already in early Latin *ille* is sometimes used for *is* (e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 268), and the elder Seneca, writing in the later first century BC, frequently uses *ille* instead of *is* as the term for 'he' (Pinkster 2005: 61, 63); by the end of the first century AD *ille* had largely replaced the classical *is*, which does not survive in the Romance languages (Adams 1977: 44, 2003b: 13–17). The use of *ille* for *is* thus tells us very little about the date or origin of the text.

Pronoun usage in this text, however, is revealing. In Greek, where the M and E versions regularly agree on the pronoun usage, it consistently conforms to classical standards. Thus the oblique cases of αὐτός are used for 'him' (and are almost always the way this idea is expressed: 2k, 4a, 4k, 4l, 4m, etc.), αὐτός in

the nominative or followed by an article is used for 'he himself' and 'itself' (1f, 2g, 4f), and when a third-person pronoun is needed in the nominative either οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος is used (4l, 6f, 6i, etc.); oblique cases of both these pronouns are used in situations where such use is well motivated (11c, 12d).

In Latin there is often disagreement between the M and E versions, and this disagreement follows a pattern. In the nominative the two traditions agree, and usage tends to conform to classical standards: *ille* (6f, 6i, 11j, all corresponding to ἐκεῖνος and argu-ably meaning 'that man'), *ipse* (2g, corresponding to αὐτός and arguably meaning 'he himself'), and *iste* (4l, corresponding to οὗτος and meaning 'this man' or 'that man') all appear in both versions. In the oblique cases, where the Greek is nearly always a form of αὐτός, M normally uses forms of either *ille* or *is* in the accusative, dative, and ablative (*ille*: acc. at 6e, 9o, dat. at 4n, 6a, 6j (bis), 9g, 9j, 9n, abl. at 9j; *is*: acc. at 4a, 4m, 6b, dat. at 2k, 9o, 12d, abl. at 4k, 4l), but only *eius* as the genitive (6d, 6e, 6f, 6j; this marginalization of *illius* is in line with classical practice – see Pinkster 2005: 61). The intensive pronoun *ipse*, which in late Latin developed the meaning 'this', is used in this late sense at 6j, 9h, and perhaps 11c.

The reviser of E has almost always changed oblique cases of *ille* to the corresponding forms of *is* (4n, 6a, 6e, 6j, 9g, 9j (bis), 9n); this seems to be a classicizing correction, but it is odd that when M has a form of *is*, E frequently omits it or changes it to something else (4m, 6d, 6e, 6f, 6j, 12d). E corrects M's *ipsum* to *eum* at 9h, but on three occasions changes M's *illum* (9o), *eum* (4m), or *eius* (6f) to forms of *ipse*; once E changes *illi* to a *sibi* that is wholly unjustified by classical standards (6j), and several times he substitutes a more defensible form of *suus* (6e, 6j).

4n–p Several interpretations of this dialogue are possible. It seems to me most likely that the questions in section 4n are all spoken by Gaius and the answers by Lucius; the first two lines of section 4o are also spoken by Gaius to Lucius, who then addresses σιώπησον/*tace* to the opponent, who responds indig-nantly with σιωπῶ/*taceo*. The next three lines are then spoken by Gaius, and the words in section 4p by Lucius. It is however also possible that some lines, such as the comment about the opponent wanting to interrupt and perhaps σιωπῶ/*taceo*, are narra-tive rather than dialogue; moreover, the questions in section 4n might be spoken by Lucius' other advisors,

since he has specified that he wants to confer with them in Gaius' presence, not that he wants to confer with Gaius in their presence. On any interpretation the workload of the legal team is very light.

4n ἧς: See above on 4j ἧς.

4p *quia vicimus*: Indirect statement expressed with a finite verb introduced by *quod* or *quiaquoniam* instead of the accusative and infinitive is a post-clas-sical feature, but too early to be useful in dating the colloquium. See Herman (1989, 1963: esp. 32–51), Cuzzolin (1994), and Adams (2008b). It is common in some colloquia; see commentary on H 10b.

5 This is the only banking scene in the various col-loquia. On banking and its importance in the Roman world see Andreau (1987) and Harris (2006).

5a κύριε/*domine*: These are standard greetings from the early imperial period onwards and do not imply particular servility; see Dickey (2001, 2002: 77–94).

5a μήτι/*numquid*: Latin *numquid* generally replaced *num* in late Latin. Although *num(quid)* is often thought of as a particle reserved for questions expect-ing a negative answer (see e.g. *OLD* s.vv. *num* and *numquid*), in conversational language it was used in a wider range of circumstances, whenever some sort of negativity was present in the mind of the speaker (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 463). The use of *numquid* in the colloquia may be a politeness device; see Ferri (2008a: 169).

5b πέντε δηνάρια/*quinque sestertia*: This is an important and highly problematic passage. I follow E in reading 'five thousand sesterces' in the Latin (cf. Ferri 2008a: 123), but M's *quinque xestercias* could equally well be interpreted as *quinque sestertios* 'five ses-terces', the reading of Krumbacher and Goetz. The latter is a better match for the Greek but still not a very close match, as the Greek is calculating the loan in denarii, and a denarius was worth four sesterces. But five sesterces would have been a ridiculously small sum for the protagonist of this piece to borrow: in the early empire an unskilled worker earned a denarius (four sesterces) a day, and by the beginning of the fourth century that had risen to at least 25 denarii (100 sesterces). Even if we do not assume that the

protagonist of this scene is the same wealthy man who invites guests to lunch and dinner in other scenes of this colloquium, he can hardly be so poor as to go to a money-lender for a sum like five sesterces.

The reading in the Greek, however, poses a similar problem and cannot be adjusted in the same way. The request is clearly for five denarii, i.e. twenty sesterces, which is a very unlikely sum for the protagonist of this dialogue to borrow at interest – and if one were borrowing an amount that small, one would hardly preface the request by asking the lender if he had it in stock. Something has clearly gone wrong here.

Korhonen (1996: 118) points out that the sestertius went out of use at the end of the third century and concludes that the mention of sesterces provides a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of this scene. His view is that the loan was originally calculated in sesterces in both Greek and Latin, and later the Greek but not the Latin was updated to a currency still in use. Ferri (2008a: 123) is sceptical of this argument: the partial updating would be a strange procedure, especially if it produced a Greek sum that neither made sense in context nor matched the Latin. Moreover the original reference could easily have been archaizing, as there are numerous references to sesterces in literature later than the third century (for example Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.6.5, Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 2.76, *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* version A 33); the mention of sesterces is therefore not a reliable dating criterion.

Regardless of how one reads the Latin, the Greek version we have cannot be the original unless this passage was composed well after not only the sestertius but also the denarius had fallen into disuse, at a time when readers would no longer realize the absurdity of the sum requested. Given the longevity of the denarius as a measure of value (see above on 4k δηνάρια/*denarios*) such a date would have to be medieval rather than ancient, and this seems unlikely in view of the language. Therefore the Greek preserved is probably not the original, whence it follows that either the number or the currency denomination must have been altered. If the latter, the original text would have been πέντε σηστέρτια, which matches E's version of the Latin and makes sense in context. The word σηστέρτιος is relatively uncommon in Greek, particularly compared to δηνάριον (see Daris 1991*s.vv.*), so such a text would have been vulnerable to being changed to include a more familiar Greek word at a date when the value of neither currency was understood.

It is also possible that because of the rarity of the Greek word σηστέρτιος the sum was always expressed in denarii in the Greek; 5,000 sesterces would be 1,250 denarii, and this may have been the figure originally given in the Greek. It is possible that this number was later replaced with πέντε to match the Latin, at a time when readers no longer understood the difference between a denarius and a sestertius. This is particularly likely if, rather than being written out in words (which would be fairly cumbersome given the sum involved), the Greek number was expressed in figures (as at Mp 13e). Since the Greeks used letters of the alphabet also for numbers, 1,250 would have been written ͵ασν΄: a strange-looking concoction only too easy to mistake for a corruption and replace with a translation of the Latin number (cf. the interesting study of corruptions in transmission of Greek numerals in Ronconi 2003: 145–65).

Whatever the original version of the Greek here, it seems likely to have been derivative from the Latin: measuring sums of money in sesterces is a fundamentally Latinate thing to do. Had the writer been thinking primarily in Greek, the Latin would be *denarios*.

5b καὶ μὴ ἐσχηκώς: This is Krumbacher's reading of M's *comieschicos*; E has κἂν μὴ ἔσχηκα, and Ferri reconstructs M's text as κἂν μὴ ἐσχηκὼς ‹ἦν›. Ferri (2008a: 141) correctly observes that this type of periphrasis is possible in late Greek, and this use of ἄν is also possible, but it is unnecessary to force them into the text when the participial protasis for a contrafactual condition, correct by classical standards, fits the text of M more easily.

5b ἐξεπλεξάμην ‹ἄν›/*explicassem*: In the Latin M has *explicassem* and E *explevissem*. At first glance E's 'I would have filled it up' seems preferable, for M's text would normally be translated 'I would have unfolded it', but M's reading must be right: *explico* had a financial meaning 'sort out', 'settle up'. This meaning would have been unknown to the reviser of the E version, since it is uncommon and occurs particularly in less literary texts such as Cicero's letters and the Vindolanda tablets (see Bowman, Thomas, and Adams 1990: 45; also *TLL s.v.* 1731.17–32).

In the Greek M has *exeplissomin* and E ἐξεπλήσω ἄν. Boucherie emended the text of E to ἐξέπλησα ἄν ('I would have filled it up', from ἐκπίμπλημι), and Krumbacher and Goetz both adopted this reading as

the original, implying that M's *exeplissomin* is a corruption of it. But Ferri (2008a: 141) proposes reading M's text as ἐξεπλεξάμην ‹ἄν›, from ἐκπλέκω 'unfold', and cites an 'arrange, settle' meaning of ἐκπλέκω (see LSJ suppl. *s.v.*; *P.Turner* 43.8; Ferri 2008a: 138–9; and commentary on H 23f).

5c   ἐνέχυρον: This is E's text; the word means 'pledge, security' (an item of property left to guarantee return of the money) and is the equivalent of Latin *pignus* in legal contexts (see LSJ and suppl. *s.v.*). Ferri (2008a: 141) reads ἔγχειρον; this is a closer match for M's *enchiron* but means 'wage'.

5c   μὴ γένοιτο/*absit*: For the optative see above on 4b καλῶς ζήσαις. The phrase μὴ γένοιτο was something of an idiom and is common in some Roman-period texts; for example it occurs thirteen times in the letters of Paul. In those passages the Vulgate translation of the phrase is regularly *absit*, as here (e.g. Romans 3:6, 3:31, 6:2).

5c   *non opus habeo*: instead of the Latin here M has the Greek of the last line of 5e; E omits the line altogether.

5c   οἷς θέλεις/*quibus vis*: This surprisingly generous offer is probably not meant to be taken at face value but rather is a ritually polite gesture, in a setting where both parties know what the proper rate of interest is. (We, however, do not know; see Andreau (1987: 587–8) on the paucity of evidence for Roman interest rates.) Compare the clothes-shopping scene at Mp 13e, where after some initial bargaining about the price of an item both parties apparently capitulate, the buyer asking what he is to pay and the seller telling him to pay what he wants; they thereby end up with a price between the original asking and offer prices.

5d   χάριτάς σοι ὁμολογῶ/*gratias tibi ago*: It is unclear whether these words are spoken by the lender or the borrower. Krumbacher and Goetz group them together with what precedes, so that the borrower thanks the lender for the loan; they then take the next imperative as coming again from the lender. Ferri (2008a: 141) puts these words by themselves, so that the lender thanks the borrower for signing; the next imperative therefore comes from the borrower. Ferri is right about the logical direction of the thanks, but there is little point in having the loan receipt bear

the seal of the lender, who after all will keep the document: it is the borrower's seal that is needed, and therefore the next imperative needs to be spoken by the lender.

5e   ἀριθμῷ ἀρίθμησον/*numero numera*: This is a peculiar phrase but not without parallels in fourth- and fifth-century Latin: Augustine states *numero numerantur quaecumque numerantur; si quidquid numeratur, numero numeratur* (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 146.11, *Corpus Christianorum* 40.2129.20–1), and Rufinus' translation of Origen *hi sunt ipsi vere sacris numeris numerati apud deum* (*In numeros homiliae* 28.4, p. 285.16 Baehrens). I can find no parallels for the Greek, so probably it is derivative from the Latin here.

5e   δοκίμως/*probum*: In an age where currency was frequently debased one coin might be worth much less than another of the same face value, so this stipulation was important.

5e   ὥς σοι ἀποδώσω/*cum tibi reddidero*: This is a somewhat odd construction; Krumbacher (1891: 358) suggests that ἀποδώσω is not a future but rather an aorist subjunctive (on an aorist stem ἔδωσα attested from the Roman period onwards; cf. Gignac 1981: 386–7). E's change of *cum* to *eum* seems superficially to improve matters but cannot be right because it leaves the future perfect *reddidero* without any justification.

6a   Krumbacher's and Goetz's numberings indicate that they considered this section part of the next scene, but it has no visible connection with 6b, and the words at the end appear to be a leave-taking. As it does not fit with the preceding material, it must be a scene by itself; the topic is not completely clear, but ἀπηλλάγης/*caruisti* (see below) points to the return of the money borrowed in section 5. It is not unlikely, given the moral training that was an important part of ancient schooling, that the writer thought it a good idea to describe the return of the money immediately after its borrowing in order to remind pupils that loans must be repaid.

The identities of the speakers and the division of the words between them are uncertain; my interpretation is that the conversation is opened by someone in the money-lender's office, who checks that the borrower has repaid the money (presumably to a third person, in a scene that is omitted because it would involve too much similarity in vocabulary to the pre-

ceding one) before telling him that he is discharged and free to go.

6a καλήμερον ἦλθες/*bono die venisti*: Traditionally (by editors since the Renaissance; cf. Ferri 2008a: 168) this phrase has been taken as a greeting followed by a question: 'Good day. Have you come?' The response then means '[Yes,] I have come.' There are two problems with this interpretation, however: this type of greeting was not used in antiquity or even the Middle Ages, and the question 'Have you come?' to someone who has obviously just arrived would be peculiar in the extreme, as would the reply 'I have come.'

Greetings using a term meaning 'good day' are prominent features of modern Romance languages (French *bonjour*, Italian *buongiorno*, etc.) and of modern Greek (καλημέρα), but they are completely unattested in ancient literature, both Greek and Latin. In the West this type of greeting is a modern rather than a medieval development: *bonjour* for example is only attested from the seventeenth century (von Wartburg 1934: 104). Moreover, when such greetings were finally created they were not formed from descendants of Latin *dies* but rather from descendants of Latin *diurnum* (the ancestor of *jour* and *giorno*). Since this line occurs in numerous manuscripts copied well before the earliest attestation of a 'good day' greeting in a Romance language, the Latin could not have been intended as a greeting unless it is a translation of the Greek.

In Greek the situation is complicated: modern καλημέρα is descended from καλὴ ἡμέρα, which first appears in the tenth century (e.g. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De caeremoniis* p. 599.10 Reiske; cf. Ferri 2008a: 168). Since our earliest manuscripts of this text were copied in the twelfth century, and since the greeting might have existed for a while before making its way into literature, it is conceivable that the phrase might have been added as a greeting, with a literal translation into Latin, at a very late stage of the transmission of this text. Since another Greek feature not attested before the tenth century, aphaeresis of εἰς, is indubitably present in the text (see above on 4i 'ς τὸ φόρον 3), the possibility that this phrase was added at a very late stage cannot be ruled out entirely. Nevertheless under such circumstances it would be odd that the expected medieval form of the greeting, καλὴ ἡμέρα, is found only in the E manuscripts (which also have a matching *bona dies* in the Latin), while the

M version has *calimeron*, almost certainly representing an adverbial καλήμερον.

If one takes the Latin *bono die* as normal Latin, rather than as a peculiar translation of medieval Greek, it can only mean 'on an auspicious day', and the phrase in this sense is reasonably well attested in Latin (Plautus, *Poen.* 497, Horace, *Odes* 3.21.6; cf. Nisbet and Rudd 2004*ad loc.*). Greek καλήμερον is otherwise unattested, but there is an adjective καλήμερος meaning 'enjoying a good day' (*Anthologia Palatina* 9.508.2). The adverb found here could be taken from that adjective or could be formed similarly to classical adverbs like αὐθημερόν. In either case the difficulties involved in taking καλήμερον as an adverb matching (and presumably translating) the Latin are fewer than in explaining its derivation from καλὴ ἡμέρα, which is necessary if the term is taken as a greeting.

6a ἦλθον/*veni*: This is E's reading; M has *ilthen/venit*, and the fact that the reading of D and of A before correction is ἦλθεν in the Greek suggests that the E archetype as well may originally have had ἦλθεν. Under these circumstances one would expect the third person to be the original reading, but as it makes no sense I have followed earlier editors in preferring the first person here.

6a ἔδωσα: This is a post-classical alternative to ἔδωκα (Gignac 1981: 386–7; Jannaris 1897: 257–8).

6a ἀπηλλάγης/*caruisti*: The use of Greek ἀπαλλάσσω for 'discharge a debt' is reasonably well attested (Demosthenes 34.22; Cassius Dio 51.17.8, 59.2.4; *P.Tebt.* II.315.16; cf. LSJ *s.v.* and Ferri 2008a: 140). Latin *careo* is not directly attested in this sense elsewhere, but it is given as an equivalent of Greek ἀπαλλάττομαι in one of the glossaries (Goetz and Gundermann 1888: 232.43), and the fact that another glossary entry reads *carere: exsolvi, liberari* (Goetz 1889: 316.36) suggests that a technical legal meaning 'be discharged (from a debt)' existed (Ferri 2008a: 139–40).

6a *numquid aliquid opus habes*: This seems to be a variant of *numquid vis*, a common formula in Roman comedy (see Hough 1945), but the use with *aliquid* is not classical (for fourth-century parallels see Ferri 2008a: 169 n. 187). The Greek seems more straightfoward syntactically but is not a common idiom (see Hough 1945 on the lack of a Greek equivalent for *numquid vis*).

6a σὲ ὑγιαίνειν/*te valere*: This reply is an interesting adaptation of a very old Latin farewell formula. In Roman comedy expressions meaning 'Do you want anything else?' such as *numquid vis* can be used for 'goodbye' (cf. Ter. *Eu.* 341–2), and they are often responded to with farewell formulae such as *ut valeas* (Pl. *Cist.* 119, *Mer.* 325, *Truc.* 883; see Hough 1945 and Ferri 2008a: 170). It looks as though the response used here is an adaptation of that farewell sequence, but with the response turned into an accusative and infinitive after an understood θέλω/*volo* (or perhaps a similar verb such as *opto*). If this is indeed what has happened here, the Greek is derivative from the Latin: ὑγιαίνειν is classical as an equivalent of *valere*, but the combination with the preceding question is not found in Greek.

6b–j This charming story is completely without parallels in the other colloquia.

6b ἐὰν θέλῃς/*si vis*: The Greek is common in documentary papyri from the imperial period, where it can mean either 'if you want' with an offer or suggestion (e.g. *P.Oxy.* x.1291.9, lv.3807.24, *SB*xviii.14052.13, *P.NYU*i.25.14) or, less commonly, 'please' with a request (e.g. *PSI*xiii.1331.33, *P.Herm.* 15.5). But the Latin, which is also common from Plautus to the medieval period, consistently has the meaning 'if you want' (e.g. Cicero, *Fin.* 2.89, Augustine, *Sermones* 53.7 (38.367.27 Migne), *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 15.1); it is distinct from the contraction *sis* (for which see below on 6d).

6b ποῦ/*ubi*: See on 4j ἐκεῖ/*ibi*.

6b φίλον τὸν ἡμέτερον: The article is found only in E, not M, but is likely to have been present in the original. In ancient Greek prose possessive adjectives are normally used with an article; this is not simply a classical convention but one that persists throughout antiquity. For example, an electronic search of the Duke database of documentary papyri for ἐμός, ἐμή, and ἐμόν found that 88 per cent of the forms preserved with intact contexts were preceded by articles, 8 per cent occurred in contexts where an article would not be required in the classical language (such as when used predicatively or when co-ordinated with another possessive that had already triggered the use of an article), and only 4 per cent violated the classical rule – and at least one of the papyri violating the rule was not written by a native speaker of Greek.

Elsewhere in the ME colloquia possessives always take an article (forms of ἡμέτερος at 1k, of ἐμός at 1d, 2h, 9i, of σός at 4h, of ἴδιος at 1g, and of possessive genitives that similarly require an article at 2c, 4a, 6d, 6e, 6f (bis), 6h, and 6j); since articles are easily lost from bilingual texts it is likely that one has disappeared from the M family here in the course of transmission.

6b Λύκιον/*Lucium*: This name does not imply that the sick friend here is the same person as the main character of 4 (and therefore that the main character here is someone else): being a generic name, it simply denotes another Roman fictional character. See above on 4a Γάϊε/*Gaie*.

The Greek for *Lucius* should be Λούκιος, as at 4b; although originally Greek upsilon must have sounded similar to Latin *u*, the pronunciation of upsilon began to change before the Greeks came into significant contact with the Romans, so even the earliest transliterations used omicron upsilon to represent Latin *u*, and the need for such transliteration only increased in later centuries, as the pronunciation of upsilon continued to evolve from *u* to *i*. Thus there is normally a clear distinction between Λύκιος 'Lycian' and Λούκιος 'Lucius'. But here the ME archetype must have had Λύκιον, as M has *lyceon/liceon* (both *y* and *i* can stand for upsilon, but not normally for omicron upsilon) and E Λύκιον. Perhaps the interchange of ου and υ that occurs occasionally in papyri (see Gignac 1976: 214–5) is responsible for the spelling.

6c *habet*: The use of *habeo* in the sense of 'have an illness' goes back to Cato (*Agr.* 157.9) and is found in Cicero (e.g. *Att.* 6.9.1); see *TLL* (*s.v.* 2403.28–47, 2404.51–8). Ferri (2008a: 137–8) argues that the usage is an informal one.

6c *a quando*: I can find no parallels for this expression. After it M has some extra text: *eanthelis te valere*, which seems to be a repetition of the first line of 6b in the Greek and a displacement of the last line of 6a in the Latin.

6c *manet*: The use of *maneo* in the sense of 'dwell' rather than 'stay' is post-classical and appears to be colloquial; see E. Löfstedt (1911: 76), Ferri (2008a: 133–4), and *TLL s.v.* 283.20–73.

6d εἰ θέλεις/*sis*: The Latin is an extraordinary archaism, as *sis* had largely fallen out of use by

Cicero's day and was completely absent from the conversational language of the empire at all social levels (though it occasionally appears as a literary archaism). It is common in early Latin and there seems already to have been weakened so that it was no longer really a polite modifier (see Dickey 2006). Here it is not used precisely as in early Latin – for one thing it comes in initial position – and seems to be more a reconstruction of how a form contracted from *si vis* ought to function than an element borrowed directly from Roman comedy. Nevertheless its use indicates that the author of this piece knew the form, knew roughly what it meant, and was interested in inserting such an archaic element into his text; it may not be accidental that the imperative following it, *ambula*, is also common in archaic comedy. At a later stage of the transmission that knowledge of *sis* clearly disappeared, for the word has been taken out of E and in M is grouped not with the following *ambula* but with the preceding line. That line has *non longe* in E, but *ne longe* in M: M's text seems to have been altered under the misapprehension that *sis* was the subjunctive of *esse*.

The Greek is uncertain, as it is missing in E and written *ides* in M; Krumbacher's εἰ θέλεις makes sense as an equivalent of *sis* but cannot be regarded as secure.

6d περιπάτει/*ambula*: Strictly speaking these verbs both mean 'walk', but the context here requires the sense 'go'. In Latin the replacement of forms of *ire*, especially monosyllabic ones like the imperative *i* 'go!', by forms of related verbs such as *vado* and *ambulo* is well documented: not only does it give rise to suppletive paradigms of verbs for 'go' in Romance languages such as French, but it occurs widely in Latin itself, sometimes even in the classical and pre-classical periods (see Rosén 2000: 273–81 and Adams forthcoming: chapter XXXI). In Plautus the imperative *ambula* is common, particularly in scenes where someone is told to go to court (e.g. *ambula in ius*, *Cur.* 621 and *Per.* 745). In the colloquia *ambula* occurs only here and in H 12e; the imperative of 'go' is usually *vade* (which in ME is found at 9j, 9n, and twice at 9g) or *duc te*, which is rude (this form does not occur in ME, but see e.g. H 15a, 23f); cf. Ferri (2008a: 131).

The Greek for 'go!' in the colloquia is usually ὕπαγε (both when the Latin is *vade* and when it is *duc te*), but the περιπάτει used here is also found in the other passage where *ambula* occurs. This usage is probably due to an attempt to match the Latin: Greek

περιπατέω does not mean 'go', but it is an obvious equivalent for *ambulo*, particularly as περι- and *amb-* are more generally equivalent.

6e ὀστιάριος/*ostiarius*: E reads θυρωρός/*ianitor*, and previous editors preferred E's reading for the Greek (but not the Latin), presumably on the grounds that ὀστιάριος was not attested in Greek and θυρωρός is well attested in classical authors. Now, however, it turns out that ὀστιάριος was in fact a Greek word, albeit a post-classical one (first attested in *P.Flor.* 71.518, fourth century; see LSJ suppl. *s.v.*), making it likely that M is closer to the original reading and E, as often, offers a classicizing correction. For the Latin both terms are classical, but *ostiarius* survives in Italian and *ianitor* does not, so E is again improving the text (see above, section 2.3.2 and on 1g *exercitationis causa*, 2p *clamatus*). Cf. Ferri (2010: 242).

6e εἰ δυνάμεθα/*si possumus*: The construction is the same in both languages, but whereas the Greek fits classical norms for indirect questions, in classical Latin we would expect *num* rather than *si* and *possimus* rather than *possumus*. The use of *si* to introduce an indirect question is not, however, a particularly late feature: it is found in Plautus and common in some early imperial authors, including Vitruvius and Propertius (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 543–4; Adams 1977: 64; Bodelot 1987: 82–5; Arias Abellán 1995). Eventually the popularity of *si* as an interrogative particle became such that it began to be used to introduce direct as well as indirect questions.

The use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive in indirect questions also goes back to Plautus and is a feature of less literary Latin throughout the classical and post-classical periods (see Diomedes, Keil 1857–80: 1.395.15–21; Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 537–40; Bodelot 1987: 86–107; Bolkestein 1995: 59–70; Adams forthcoming: chapter XXIX). Indicatives in indirect questions are not uncommon in the colloquia (see Ferri 2008a: 153–4), and ME contains no examples of indirect questions with the subjunctive (for others with the indicative see 10j and perhaps 6h, though the construction there is probably paratactic).

Thus although it is not impossible that the Latin construction has been influenced by the Greek here, there is no real evidence in that direction.

6f *venimus*: This is E's reading; M has *venisse*. Krumbacher (1891: 333) suggests that the Latin here

has been transposed with that in 6j, where the context requires an infinitive and M has *venimus*.

6g πόσας κλίμακας/*quot scalas*: Lucius evidently lives in one of the *insulae* or multi-storey apartment blocks that were common in urban areas during the imperial period; there are at least two floors above the ground floor (Roman *insulae* could have as many as eight storeys, though four or five was a much more common height) and at least two separate dwellings per floor on the upper floors. A single doorman at the street entrance is shared by all the dwellings opening off the staircase. Archaeological evidence suggests that in many *insulae* the more desirable dwellings were located on the lower floors (though the ground floor was often occupied by shops, and this floor could be subdivided with a mezzanine consisting of lofts over the shops reached by individual staircases within each shop; in such dwellings it was the first floor over the shops and their mezzanines that contained the most desirable apartments). Lucius, who lives on the second floor above the ground floor (or perhaps on the third floor if his building contained mezzanines, which would probably not have been taken into account in counting flights of stairs since they did not open off the main staircases), appears not to belong to the class of Romans who could afford to live in the nicest apartments, but he is probably also not one of the poorer people who lived at the very top. (This calculation is based on the assumption that the stairs between one floor and another would have counted as a single flight for the purposes of giving directions; this seems likely but cannot be proven, and if a new flight was considered to begin at each bend of the staircase Lucius might live on the first floor over the ground floor, a highly desirable location.) A complication is introduced, however, by the fact that the visitors do not give Lucius' name when the doorman asks whom they want to visit, but rather respond with 'your master'; this response seems out of keeping with the structure of *insulae* and the subsequent directions. One possibility is that Lucius was the landlord of the *insula* and therefore the doorman's master in a literal sense; Roman law did not provide for independent ownership of different levels of the same building, and sometimes the owner of an *insula* would live in one of the dwellings and rent out the others. The omission of the name could, however, also be explained by a lack of concern for verisimilitude in details or by alteration to the scene in the

course of transmission. On the layout, practicalities, and legal parameters of Roman *insulae* see Priester (2002), Packer (1971), DeLaine (2004, 1999), and Frier (1977).

6g προεληλύθει/*processerat*: Ferri (2008a: 148) suggests that the pluperfect is used as a polite expression, where the perfect would be too assertive. He also reads προσειληλύθει in the Greek; this is a closer match for M's *proselilythi* but makes little sense in context, as προσέρχομαι means 'approach, advance' whereas προέρχομαι, the verb preferred by E and Goetz, means 'go out'.

6h χαίρετε πάντες/*avete omnes*: The sequence of speakers here is not entirely clear, but it is likely that the first two lines of h ('Let's knock. [Go and] see: who is it?') are spoken by the main character to his accompanying friend and servant(s), with a pause in between as someone comes to answer the door; this line is then spoken by the servant who opens the door, and the rest of this section by the main character again. Goetz's capitalizations, however, suggest that he took the first and second lines as being spoken by different characters.

6i *illuc*: This is a rare case of correct use of a directional adverb in M (and it does not survive in E, which has *illic*); see above on 4j ἐκεῖ/*ibi*.

6i *lauretum*: This is E's reading; M (which Krumbacher and Goetz follow) has *Laurentum*. As Laurentum is the name of a town, it neither makes sense in context nor matches the Greek; Ferri (2008a: 147 n. 116) suggests that it is an error by hypercorrection (omission of nasals is a very common error in written Latin) and points out that *laurentum* for *lauretum* also occurs in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 3.12.3). *Lauretum* can be either a generic term for a laurel grove or the name of a specific place on the Aventine Hill in Rome. The latter is less likely to be intended here, because one would not normally go 'down' to the Aventine, because at least some portions of this colloquium appear not to be set in Rome (see above on 4e *praesidis provinciae*), and because a specific topographical detail here would be very out of keeping with the striking lack of specific details elsewhere in ME.

6j For the pronoun usage in this section see above on 4n *illi*.

6j εἴποις: For the use of the optative in this text see above on 4b καλῶς ζήσαις. This passage is somewhat different from the ones discussed there, because here the optative is a restoration (originally suggested by Krumbacher and accepted by Goetz): M has *ipsis* and E has εἰπέ. Ferri (2008a: 149) proposes reading ἐρεῖς (future) or εἴπῃς (subjunctive) instead, both of which are more difficult palaeographically than the optative. E's correction to the imperative εἰπέ suggests that corruption was already present in the ME archetype, because E does not otherwise eliminate optatives.

6j *dices*: This is Krumbacher's restoration based on M's *dies* and E's *dicito*. It is a future indicative acting as imperative; this is a common construction, though assessments of its frequency in late Latin are complicated by the fact that many future forms, including *dices*, were homophonous with the present once *i* and *e* came to be pronounced the same – and the present indicative could also be used imperatively. See L. Löfstedt (1966: 143–4, 175–83), Adams (1995a: 204–8 460–8,), and Risselada (1993: 169–78).

6j *venisse*: This is based on E's reading; M has *venimus*, probably by transposition with 6f above (*q.v.*). It is possible that *venimus* is the original reading, as accusatives and infinitives are normally replaced by clauses containing an indicative in late Latin (e.g. at 4p above, *q.v.*); if so a conjunction has been lost.

6j πάντα ὀρθῶς ἔχει/*omnia recte habet*: Greek ὀρθῶς ἔχει is a common classical expression (e.g. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 3.9, Plato, *Euthyphro* 4a); the combination of this phrase with πάντα begins in the late imperial period (e.g. Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem* 1056.11 Cousin). The Greek expression is therefore late but not otherwise problematic.

The text of the Latin is uncertain, and all the possible readings are somewhat problematic. The M manuscripts have *omnia recte habet*, most E manuscripts have *omnia recte se habent*, and since the sixteenth century editors have preferred *omnia recte habent*. None of these phrases is well paralleled: *omnia recte* without a verb is well attested (see above on 4c), and from early Latin onwards *bene se habet* is a common idiom (e.g. *se bene habet*, Pl. *Mil.* 724; *bene se habet*, Sen. *Suas.* 6.2; *bene se habuit*, Petr. 38.11); by a common process of intransitivization phrases with *se habere* are also frequent without the *se* (e.g. *bene habet*, Livy 6.35.8; see Feltenius

1977: 33, 39, 47, 60, 94–5). But *recte habe(n)t* is another matter: it is not usual in Latin the way its counterpart is in Greek and indeed occurs primarily in medieval translations of Greek ὀρθῶς ἔχει, where the singular is more common than the plural (e.g. *recte habet* in William of Moerbeke's translation of Aristotle's *Politics* 2.9 (126.1–2 Susemihl) translates ὀρθῶς ἔχει in 1271a of Aristotle's text). I can find only very late parallels for the whole phrase *omnia recte habe(n)t*; there the verb is *habent* but as the parallels are later than the date of the M manuscripts (e.g. Erasmus, *Epistle* 736, Allen and Allen 1913: 166.1) they are probably irrelevant.

The editorial preference for *omnia recte habent* is presumably based on an assumption that *omnia* is the subject of the verb; on such an assumption M's reading has to be altered because in Latin (though not Greek) a neuter plural subject requires a plural verb, but E's *se* is simply a later correction of the intransitivization. The reviser of E clearly also took *omnia* as the subject, hence the addition of *se*, but it is unlikely that the original author had the same view. In Hellenistic and later Greek neuter plurals take plural rather than singular verbs (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1950: 607), so in this text neuter plurals always take a plural verb, both in Greek and in Latin (see above on 1q ἃ ὑποτεταγμένα εἰσίν); therefore the original writer is most unlikely to have produced a singular verb for a plural subject in either language. The singular verb in M comes instead from a writer who took Lucius as the subject of the verb and *omnia* as its object (literally 'because he has everything rightly'). (For the existence of a singular *omnia*, which may or may not be relevant, see Norberg 1944: 55–6.)

The phrase may have grown out of the πάντα ὀρθῶς/*omnia recte* used at 4c; this is unidiomatic in Greek, and someone who understood that improved the Greek by adding ἔχει. That necessitated adding an equivalent verb in Latin, and there could well have been legitimate uncertainty about how that verb should be construed.

6j ποιῶ: E's ποιήσω is a correction made to achieve a better match with the Latin.

7–9 Lunch scenes in the colloquia are normally attached to the school scenes (as at 2t above and C 43–6), but at Mp 10 there is a mention of an adult's lunch invitation like this one. This is by far the most detailed description of a lunch in the colloquia.

7a   σύ/*tu*: Non-emphatic subject pronouns; cf. above on 4g εἰ σχολάζεις σύ/*si vacat tibi* and 4k ἡμεῖς/*nos*.

7a   ποῦ/*ubi*: see on 4j ἐκεῖ/*ibi*.

7a   ὑπάγεις: The verb ὑπάγω is here used in its post-classical meaning 'go' (see LSJ *s.v.* B ɪɪ 2); the word is common in this scene, occurring at 8c, 8d, 9g (bis), and 9j, but rare in other scenes (10d).

7b   The spontaneous or apparently spontaneous invitation given in person by the host is in conformity with Roman practice; see Stein-Hölkeskamp (2005: 29–30).

7b   ἄν σοι ἡδύ ἐστιν/*si tibi suave est*: This phrase is unusual in Greek (but see Libanius, *Epistle* 1544.3 εἰ δέ σοι ἡδὺ τὸ ἡδίω με ποιεῖν) and apparently unique in Latin (see Ferri 2008a: 171–2 n. 194).

7b   *prae me*: This is an unusual usage of *prae*; we would expect *apud*, which is the reading of E, but as that is likely to be a correction the *prae* of most M manuscripts needs to be taken seriously. The usage is not difficult as an extension of the 'in front of' meaning of *prae* – a guest at one's table is after all eating in front of one – but I have not been able to find a good parallel.

7b   οἰκιακῷ/*domestico*: wine from the host's own estate.

7c   ἐν ὥρᾳ/*temperius*: No time is set for the meal; this could be another aspect of the preference for generality in the colloquia, but it could also be a realistic reflection of practices in the writer's day. The two friends evidently lived very close to each other, and plenty of servants were available to send back and forth, so perhaps having the guest on call to show up when the meal was ready was easier for everyone than setting a time before the food had even been purchased.

7c   *quando*: Though in standard classical Latin *quando* is not used to introduce subordinate clauses, in the non-standard register it can be used with subordinate clauses both interrogative and relative; see *OLD s.v.* and Adams (2007: 158–60).

7c   *domi*: This is the only correct usage of the classical locative in this version of the colloquia; see 2s for a non-standard usage. Despite the E adaptor's overall penchant for making classicizing changes, he failed to recognize the locative and changed it to *in domo sum*. For the Greek see above on 4i 'ς τὸ φόρον (2).

8a   παιδάριον/*puer*: This is another example of the general anonymity of the colloquia (cf. above on 1h), for Roman slaves were normally addressed by name (see Dickey 2002: 235–6). Here the vocative serves to clarify for the reader that an order is being given to a servant and so is very helpful, indeed more helpful than a name would have been. It is interesting that such a device is never used in the preceding scenes. This vocative occurs several times in this scene, and in the other occurrences (8c, 9g) it is also postpositive. In 12a the vocative παιδίον/*puer* is used, and that is not postpositive. Since it is hard to imagine that a writer who had thought of the clarification device of using vocatives to slaves and employed it enthusiastically in one scene would not use it elsewhere, this pattern suggests that the lunch scene has a different author from the other scenes.

8a   κρεοπωλεῖον/*macellum*: The Greek specifies a shop selling meat, but the Latin term can be used more generally of shops selling all sorts of food. As the next item purchased is a fish, which would not be seen as meat from a Greek perspective, it is possible that the Greek word is a translation of the Latin made without thinking enough about the context; alternatively, the shop mentioned here may not originally have been connected to the fish purchase that follows it.

8a   τίποτε: Although the two-word phrase τί ποτε (meaning 'what ever?') is common in classical Greek, the single-word version meaning 'something' is a late development; the first securely datable occurrences come from the fourth century AD (e.g. Eusebius, *Commentaria in Psalmos* vol. 23 p. 592.25 Migne).

8b   *quantum piscis*: This is Krumbacher's reconstruction; Z, R, T, and Y have *quantum pis(c)e(m)*, W *quanti pisces*, and E *quot pisces*. Since it is clear from the context that the price rather than the number of the fish is at issue, classical Latin syntax would require *quanti*, the genitive of price. *Quantum* is an accusative

of price, a common construction in late and subliterary Latin (see E. Löfstedt 1936: 170–4; Adams 1977: 40–2, 1995b: 116, forthcoming: chapter XIV; Ferri 2008a: 147).

8b δηνάρια δέκα/ *denarios decem*: On the denarius see above on 4k δηνάρια/ *denarios* and 56 πέντε δηνάρια/ *quinque sestertia*. Ten denarii could have been an appropriate price for a fish at almost any time in the imperial period, depending on the size and variety of the fish. For the accusative of price see above on 8b *quantum piscis*; E has the classically correct genitive of price in both languages.

8c ὕπαγε/ *refer*: Although ὑπάγω normally means 'go' in this text (see above on 7a ὑπάγεις), here it must retain more of its original transitive usage and mean 'take'; the idea is that the servant carries the purchase home while the master proceeds to the next store. This is reflected in M's Latin, but E changes the Latin to *perge* 'go' to produce a closer match for the usual meaning of ὑπάγω in the colloquia; this makes very little sense in context and suggests that the person who made this change was unaware of the earlier uses of ὑπάγω (Krumbacher 1891: 359).

8c δωράκινα/ *persos*: The Latin is otherwise unattested but must be a variant of (*mala*) *persica* 'peaches'. The Greek is a borrowing of Latin *duracinum*, which originally designated a particular variety of peach (clingstone) but in Greek was generalized to become the ancestor of the modern Greek word for 'peach', ροδάκινο (cf. Krumbacher 1891: 359 and André 1981: 80). E has corrected both to the usual ancient words for 'peaches', μῆλα περσικά/ *mala persica*.

8c *piras*: The Latin for 'pear' is normally *pirum*, but a feminine variant is occasionally attested in late Latin (no certain examples before the sixth century) and survives into a number of Romance languages (*TLL* s.v. *pirum* 2195.7–22). This shift in gender is common to a number of Latin words for types of fruit (including *pomum*, which however is neuter in this passage) and probably started from a collective plural; see Väänänen (1981: 102).

8c τρικόκκια/ *tuberes*: The azarole (or 'Neapolitan medlar', though it is not actually a kind of medlar) is a fruit the size of a cherry with three

to five pips (hence the Greek name, which literally means 'three-seeded'); see André (1981: 81, 1985: 266 s.v. *tubur*) and Iddison (1994: 29–30).

8d *ecce habes*: This phrase is common in late and medieval Latin (Augustine for example uses it thirty-five times, e.g. *Sermones* 183.3 and 247.2, 38.989.38–9 and 38.1157.38 Migne), but its first attestation could be as early as the second century AD (old Latin translation of *Hermae Pastor*, visio 3.11 Hilgenfeld); see Adams (forthcoming. chapter XXIV). On the meanings of *ecce* and its relationship to Greek ἰδού see Dionisotti (2007).

8d *refer*: E again emends to *perge*; see above on 8c. As the servant who was sent home then is no longer available when this command is spoken, this passage suggests that the main character is accompanied on his shopping trip by a retinue of several attendants.

9a *clamet*: For E's replacement with *vocet* see above on 2p *clamatus*.

9a ὧδε/ *hic*: See above on 4j ἐκεῖ/ *ibi*.

9b There is a parallel at Mp 11b.

9b προσφάγια/ *pulmentaria*: See commentary on C 44b.

9c A six-line lacuna in E begins after the first line of this section; before this point in the text the only large gap in E occurred at the start of section 3, where there is a good chance that the omission was a deliberate one associated with the joining of the two halves of the text, but from this point onwards gaps in E consisting of a line or more are frequent. Some of them might be deliberate, the result of an exhausted scribe starting to eliminate unnecessary material towards the end of a long text, but some of them interfere seriously with the sense; for example in 10h M's text has the characters get a ball in order to play in the ball-court, and then move on to wrestling, whereas E's text has them get a ball in order to wrestle; in 10n–o M's text involves a trip to the hot tub followed by one to the open-air pool, while E's text has the characters saying that they are going to the hot tub and then suddenly being at the pool. Here the omission eliminates material that is both corrupt (in M's text,

and therefore perhaps in the ME archetype, a line has been displaced and has lost its Greek) and apparently redundant: the servant is directed to use one key to open a casket containing another key, and then to use that second key to open the cellar and take out the items on the list of stores that follows. This is not nonsensical (if the lock on the cellar door required a large key, it would be reasonable for the master of the house or a steward to lock that key away in a casket requiring only a little key, so that he could ensure that the servants did not pilfer from the cellar by carrying on his person only the little key of the casket rather than the large key of the cellar) but may nevertheless have been tempting for a tired copyist to skip. The edges of the resulting gap have been stitched together, perhaps by a later scribe, with a change of εἰς τοὺς λύχνους/*ad lucernas* 'for the lamps' to καὶ λύχνους/*et lucernas* 'and lamps' in 9d.

9d ἔλαιον Σπανόν/***oleum Spanum***: Galen (*De methodo medendi* x.551.4 Kühn) praises this as being a particularly useful type of oil; Apicius (1.4 André = 1.5 Milham) implies it was easier and/or cheaper to obtain than Liburnian oil. Kramer (2011: 301–6) concludes that it was a bitter oil made from green olives. Although rarer than *Hispanus* and *Hispanicus*, the adjective *Spanus* is securely attested in the early empire (*OLD s.v.*).

9d γάρον/***liquamen***: Garum, a prominent ingredient in Roman cookery (it also appears below at 11f and 11k), was a concentrated liquid made by subjecting a mixture of fish viscera and salt to slow heat, sometimes consisting of several months in the sun; see Grocock and Grainger (2006: 373–87), André (1981: 195–8), and Curtis (1991). The division of garum into first and second grades is also found in the Edict of Diocletian (3.6–7) in Lauffer 1971).

9d ***acrum***: The third declension adjective *acer, acris, acre* is taking a second-declension ending; that this formation was common in spoken late Latin is indicated by *Appendix Probi* 41 (Powell 2007: 696), which prescribes *acre non acrum* 'say *acre*, not *acrum*' (see Baehrens 1922: 106–9). E corrects to *acre*.

9e μελανόν/***nigrum***: References to red wine as 'black' wine are common in both Latin and Greek sources (e.g. Homer, *Odyssey* 5.265, Cato, *Agr.* 126). The third-declension adjective μέλας here takes a sec-

ond-declension ending (also found in documentary texts of the Roman period; cf. Gignac 1981: 129–30), and E corrects to μέλανα.

9e γλεῦκος/***mustum***: Krumbacher and Goetz punctuate to take this with the next word, making 'aged must', but this is problematic as γλεῦκος/*mustum* is unfermented or partially fermented grape juice and by definition becomes something else when it ages. M. L. West suggested the punctuation used here.

9e ἄνθρακας: M's reading is *anthraces* (= ἄνθρακες), which could be a copyist's error due to Latin influence but might also be an original late Greek feature, as Roman-period papyri occasionally have -ες for -ας in the accusative plural of third-declension nouns (Gignac 1981: 46–7; cf. Krumbacher 1891: 360).

9e ἀνθρακιάν/***prunam***: This would be needed to start a fire in the brazier in the dining room, but it would not come from the cellar, so we have now moved on to a general list of things needed for the meal.

9f The list of cooking implements resembles that in LS 110 (λοπάς/*patella*, χύτρα/*olla*, πανθέψης/*caccabus*, θυεία/*mortarium*, ἀλετρίβανος/*pistillus*, πυρίστατον/*tripodem* . . .), but some of the equivalences are different.

9f σκεύη: Krumbacher (1891: 360) marshalled an impressive array of testimony that M's *sceuge* could represent an original σκεύγη meaning the same as σκεύη, but it evidently did not convince Goetz, who retained σκεύη.

9f σχάραν: For classical ἐσχάραν by aphaeresis; cf. Gignac (1976: 319) and Ferri (2008a: 127 n. 57).

9g The difficulties caused for the sense by the omission in E are resolved by changing ταῦτα μόνα, παιδάριον/*haec tantum, puer* to σὺ δέ, παιδάριον/*tu vero, puer*; this is rather elegant, involving correct use of Greek δέ.

9g ἐκεῖθεν/***inde***: Although in this text adverbs indicating motion towards are regularly confused with those indicating no motion (see on 4j ἐκεῖ/*ibi*), adverbs indicating motion from are unaffected by the confusion: here both ἐκεῖθεν and *inde* are correct by

classical standards, and the same is true of similar adverbs at 10e and 11d. The idea is evidently that Gaius will come, have lunch, and then go to the baths from his friend's house.

9g *lavemus:* Although Latin *lavo* can belong either to the first or to the third conjugation (*TLL s.v.* 1047.67–1048.30), and although there is some suggestion in ancient sources that the first-conjugation forms are used more for washing non-human objects (Fronto, *Epistulae* 58.8–19 van den Hout), in ME the verb is consistently first conjugation regardless of the type of washing envisioned. Here and at 10u it is bathing, while at 11b and 11c the same verb is used of washing out a cup.

9g μηδὲν βράδιον, ⟨ἀλλ'⟩ εὐθύς/*nihil tardius, sed velocius*: The use of comparative adverbs in the sense of the positive is attested in colloquial styles of Latin from an early period (cf. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 168–9), making *velocius* unproblematic, but *nihil tardius* is unique (Ferri 2008a: 129). The construction is probably a contrastive one, as found with *celerius* in the letters of Terentianus (see Adams 1977: 58), though there the 'slow' half of the contrast is understood. The Greek μηδὲν βράδιον is also otherwise unattested and may be a translation of the Latin here. See Ferri (2008a: 129).

9h–j It is difficult to know what to make of Gaius' delays. Perhaps the writer is providing some comic relief by depicting a guest's ridiculous slowness, but since Gaius finally appears at exactly the moment when the meal is actually ready, and it might have been inconvenient for the host had he shown up earlier, it is also possible that the repeated requests are part of the polite rituals of the period.

9h *fuisti ad ipsum:* The verb 'be' is here acting as a verb of motion; although English happens to have the same idiom, the usage is unusual in Latin and has been claimed as a regional feature of Spanish Latin (Väänänen 1987: 154–5). If correct this claim would be important for understanding the history of the colloquia, but unfortunately it is probably not correct: this use of forms of *sum* is attested sporadically in Latin from Plautus onwards and is not confined to any particular time or place. See Adams (2007: 348), Petersmann (2002–3), and Siegert (1952).

9h ὅπου: In classical Greek ποῦ is used for direct questions and ὅπου for indirect ones, so we would expect ποῦ here. The use of ὅπου in direct questions may be due in part to hypercorrection, since in koiné Greek ποῦ is sometimes used where the classical language would employ ὅπου (Danker *et al.* 2000: *s.v.* ποῦ 1b). Jannaris suggests (1897: 473) that Latin influence played a role in the extension of indirect interrogatives to direct interrogative function; this may well be correct but would not necessarily indicate translation from Latin to Greek here as the extension is observable in a wide range of texts and must have been present in the speech of some monolingual Greek speakers.

9h εἰςτὴνοἰκίανἐκάθητο/*ad domum sedebat*: This is is an instance of the use of directional instead of locative forms (see on 4i 'ς τὸ φόρον (2) and 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*). The Latin is classical (cf. *OLD s.v. ad* 13) if not the norm, and the Greek is both post-classical and non-standard; E corrects the Latin to *in domo* (classical usage would require *domi*; see above on 7c) but significantly does not alter the Greek.

9i ἔρχονται καὶ ἀκολουθῶ/*veniunt et sequor*: On the use of the present for the future see above on 2l ἀναδίδωμι/*dicto*.

9k On the importance of bronze and glass utensils in Roman dining see Stein-Hölkeskamp (2005: 142–6, 154–6).

9l ῥίψατεἔξωὕδωρ/*et proicite foras aquam*: This probably refers to sprinkling water on the ground to dampen the dust (and so improve the approach to the house); cf. Mp 12b (a description of preparations for dinner) ῥάνατε ὕδωρ/*spargite aquam*, and Petronius 52.7 *aquam foras, vinum intro*. In the manuscripts ὕδωρ/*aquam* actually comes two lines earlier, after χαλκώματα/*aeramenta*, but it makes no sense there, nor does ῥίψατε ἔξω/*proicite foras* here without an object, so the transmitted text is clearly in need of adjustment. Dislocations are not uncommon in the individual manuscripts of this text (see apparatus on 1b6, 6a10, 7c4), and ὕδωρ/*aquam* could easily have become displaced in the archetype, particularly if rather than occupying its own line it stood at the end of the preceding line and thus overran the width of its column. Krumbacher therefore transposed it to its current position.

9l θέλω ἰδεῖν ὡς οἱ νεανίσκοι / *volo videre quasi iuvenes*: This is peculiar; it may be corrupt, but if so the corruption must go back a long way, as M and E have the same text (apart from the οἱ, which appears in E but not M). Even if one assumes that there was originally an object for ἰδεῖν / *videre* that has since disappeared, the nominative of Greek νεανίσκοι is odd; Ferri (2008a: 134) emends to νεανίσκους.

Possibilities for the missing object include the servants themselves ('I want to see you hurrying like young men'), the guests ('I want to see my friends enjoying themselves like young men', with reference to the enjoyable surroundings being prepared), or perhaps the glassware and bronze vessels mentioned in 9k ('I want to see them looking like new', with reference to polishing them until they gleam). This last possibility is supported by Ferri (2008a: 134) but is difficult because the servants have not been asked to polish the glass and bronze, because the mention of them does not immediately precede this passage (in the interval the servants are asked to do two other tasks), and because this interpretation requires otherwise unattested usages of both νεανίσκος and *iuvenis* for 'new'.

The most likely object is the servants, not only because of the reply 'Now we have arranged [it]' but also because *iuvenis*, which is used especially of warriors (cf. *OLD* s.v. *iuvenis*² 1b), is a word with connotations of the energy and activity associated with young men; see Axelson (1948) and *TLL* (s.v. 735.52–736.19). *Quasi* in late Latin can imply that the situation envisioned is not in fact the case (see van Oorde 1930: 163), which here would give a meaning 'I want to see you hurrying as if you were young men'; there is no other evidence, however, on the age of the servants involved.

Another possibility is that ὡς οἱ νεανίσκοι / *quasi iuvenes* goes with the following rather than the preceding line; in this case the text would mean 'I want to see [object missing].' 'We have already arranged it like young men.' Presumably this would mean that the servants had moved faster than expected, but the expression remains peculiar.

9m πάντα ἕτοιμά εἰσιν: For the plural verb with a neuter subject see above on 1q ὑποτεταγμένα εἰσίν.

9n *sero nos facis prandere*: The use of *facere* with an infinitive ('make *x* do *y*') is attested from an early period, though it becomes common only in late Latin; see Norberg (1943b), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 354–5), and cf. Ferri (2008a: 153).

9o ὧδε ἤρχετο / *hic veniebat*: This line, which is omitted in E, makes little sense where it appears, so I have ventured to move it one line earlier on the grounds that quite a few lines in this portion of the text seem to have been displaced in transmission.

It seems odd that the lunch scene breaks off at the point where the guest finally arrives, but this does not indicate missing text. On the principle of grouping similar material together (see above on 4a–c), the description of a host's activities during a meal has been saved for the dinner scene (11).

9o στήκεις: The verb στήκω 'I stand' is a post-classical variant of ἕστηκα, found occasionally in the New Testament (Mark 3:31, Romans 14:4) but later becoming more frequent than the classical form (Jannaris 1897: 188, 244).

9o *foras*: The classically correct form of this word in contexts where no motion is involved would be *foris*, which is the reading of E here; M's *foras* is the result of confusion between directional and locative forms (see above on 4i 'ς τὸ φόρον (2) and 4j ἐκεῖ / *ibi*).

10 The bath scene is a staple of the colloquia; bathing is also described in LS 8–9, H 21a, Mp 14–16, and C 55–64, though only the last of these offers detail approaching that given here. The various bath scenes are generally similar, but verbatim parallels are rare. Most often the bath scene in a colloquium occurs immediately before the dinner scene, as here, and this is a realistic representation of the most popular time for a visit to the baths. For more detail on the bathing world described in this scene see Balsdon (1969: 26–32), Yegül (2010), Fagan (1999), and Nielsen (1990), and for the architectural environment see Vitruvius 5.10–11 and Yegül (1992).

The bathing party evidently consists not only of the main character and his servants (addressed in the plural in 10a), but also of at least one other free person: some of the dialogue, such as the discussion about using the latrines in 10e–f, does not appear to come from a master–servant pair. The extra person might be a friend of the main character, but a child is probably more likely given the way he is commanded to undress (10g) and to swim (10o). For much of this scene it is not possible to determine with confidence

which lines are spoken by whom or even where the speaker changes occur.

10a pedale: For this sense see *TLL* (s.v. *pedalis* 961.51–5), cf. Heraeus (1899: 13).

10a ἀφρόνιτρον/aphronitrum: Although soap is rarely mentioned in the context of ancient bathing, it existed and was used by at least some visitors to the Roman baths; see Galen (*De methodo medendi* x.569.9 Kühn), Athenaeus 351e, and Nielsen (1990: 1.143). In this version of the colloquia it is not clear how the soap is used, but in Mp 16b it is rubbed on the bather during the sweating process, before he plunges into the hot pool.

10b ποῦ κελεύεις/ubi iubes: Ferri (2008a: 171) suggests that this (like similar expressions in 10c, 5a, and 11e) is a polite use of verbs of ordering. Certainly there is politeness inherent in the suggestion that the addressee may command the speaker, at least if that suggestion is made by one free man to another (as it clearly is in 5a and 11e). Here, however, it is difficult to be certain what is going on. The orders in 10a are clearly spoken by a master to his slaves; it seems to follow from that that the orders at the start of 10b are also directed to slaves, who then reply with this question about which bath to go to. If indeed slaves are the speakers here, the expression need not be particularly polite. The response in 10c could be directed to the speakers of the question in 10b; if so it cannot be particularly polite. But it might also be directed to the host's friends, passing on the question from the slaves; if so it could well be polite. The last two lines of 10c, however, must be spoken to the slaves, and the final comment 'I'm talking to you, the ones who are here' cannot be very polite.

10b ᾽ς τὸ δημόσιον ἢ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ/ad thermas aut in privato: The public baths or *thermae* were vast state-owned recreation complexes and the private baths were smaller, privately run establishments (though there are complications about the precise meanings of the terms; see Fagan 1999: 14–18; Nielsen 1990: 1.3; DeLaine 1993: 353; Yegül 2010: 48–9). Both were open to anyone, and in most cities there was plenty of choice: Rome had nearly a thousand bathing establishments in the fourth century (Fagan 1999: 41–2). The Greek definite articles here suggest that despite this wide range of choices the

characters depicted here had one particular establishment in each category that they tended to frequent. One of the two alternatives is given in a directional form and the other in a locative form, illustrating the confusion between these two forms (see above on 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*).

10d calida: The use of *cal(i)da* for 'hot water' is not uncommon in late Latin; see Adams (1995a: 617–18) and Baehrens (1922: 14–15).

10d ὅσον ὑπάγομεν, διηγήσομαί σοι/quando imus, narrabo tibi: The interpretation of this sentence is uncertain, though the text seems to be sound as both M and E versions agree here. Latin *narrabo tibi* 'I'll tell you' is well paralleled in ancient sources (e.g. Pl. *Trin.* 1101, Petr. 129.6); J. B. Hofmann takes its parenthetical usage to be a colloquialism (1951: 126). In non-standard Latin *quando* can introduce subordinate clauses (cf. on 7c above); thus if one assumes a subordinate clause preceding the main clause (which would be very unusual for this text), the Latin can be interpreted 'I'll tell you when we're coming.' This utterance would be part of the instructions to the slaves who are sent on ahead: they are to make sure that the water is hot when the bathing party arrives at the stage of the bathing process where hot water is required, and to that end the master promises that shortly before they reach that stage he will send a messenger. In Greek this use of ὅσον is unexpected but not inconceivable (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ιv); Ferri's suggestion (personal communication) ὡς ἄν is also worth considering (ὅσον is Krumbacher's interpretation of the M reading *osun*; the E reading is ὅτε).

10e The party has now arrived at the entrance to the baths; it seems from the variety of activities available that they have probably chosen the *thermae*. A set of latrines was normally located near the entrance (Nielsen 1990: 1.163), and as using them was a communal activity (the latrines consisted simply of a row of seats over a channel with running water, without any partitions), asking someone whether he wants to come to them makes sense. At some baths it was possible to go from the entrance immediately to the portico surrounding the atrium, passing the payment booth later on entrance to the bathing rooms proper, and evidently this is the layout envisioned here.

10e διὰ τὸν ὑετόν/ *propter lumen*: The text here is doubtful; the line is missing from E, and M has *diaton peton/propter lumen*. Numerous solutions have been proposed for the Greek, of which ὑετόν 'rain' seems most plausible to me; I am not confident enough of its correctness, however, to alter the transmitted Latin (the correctness of which is unlikely but not impossible, as the bathers might want to avoid bright sunlight) to the matching *propter pluviam*.

10e ἀφεδρῶνα/ *secessum*: M's reading for the Greek, ἀφεδρῶνα, is a common imperial-period word first attested in the New Testament (e.g. Mark 7:19); E replaces it with ἀπόπατον, which is classical (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 81). In classical Latin *secessus* means 'withdrawal', and the meaning 'privy' is a natural extension found e.g. in the Vulgate (Matthew 15:17, translating ἀφεδρών); cf. Adams (1982a: 242).

10f ἐπάγει/ *cogit*: E's reading ἐπείγει/ *stimulat* 'drives' probably arose from corruption in the Greek that led to readjustment of the Latin.

10f λοιπόν/ *iam*: This sense of *iam* is classical; see *TLL* (*s.v.* 103.19–104.5). Greek λοιπόν does not mean 'now' in the classical period or in the New Testament but had acquired that meaning by the third century AD (*Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae* 14.33 and 18.24 James).

10g The party has now arrived at the *apodyterium*, where their clothes are left and watched either by their own slaves or by *capsarii* hired at the baths for this purpose.

10g ἔκδυσαι/ *exspolia te*: This line seems to be spoken to a fellow bather, perhaps a child, while the following lines must be addressed to a servant who will stay to watch the clothes while the rest of the party exercises and bathes. This shift in addressee is presumably responsible for the E manuscripts recasting this line to be addressed to servants as well (ἔκδυσόν με/ *exue me*). The 'undress' sense of *exspolio* is post-classical but not very late (*TLL s.v.* 1906.62–1907.56).

10g ὑπόλυσόν με/ *discalcia me*: This is M's reading; E has ὑπόδησόν με / *calcia me* 'put shoes on me', which makes more sense than one might think, as bathers wore special bath sandals, probably to protect their feet from the heat of the hypocaust floors (Nielsen 1990: 1.141–2). Given the graphic similarity

of delta and lambda and the fact that upsilon and eta were pronounced identically, it would have been easy for either Greek word to become corrupted into the other, and the Latin could easily have been adjusted to match it. One should not exclude the possibility that E preserves the original reading here, which would have been *lectio difficilior* once the age of hypocaust floors had come to an end.

10g κλέπτας/ *fures*: Thieves were a real and persistent problem in Roman baths, and many curse tablets testify to their success in abstracting bathers' clothes (cf. Fagan 1999:36–8).

10h–j Exercising by wrestling or playing ball was common at the larger bath complexes, which had special facilities for both activities, and normally took place before the actual bathing (cf. Nielsen 1990: 1.144, 163–5; Yegül 2010: 14–17).

10i δεῦρο: This is an unusual survival in ME of a correctly deployed directional adverb (see on 4j ἐκεῖ/ *ibi*); this context was immune to the confusion seen elsewhere because δεῦρο by itself was an idiom meaning 'come here' (e.g. Menander, *Samia* 476, 569).

10i *luctemus*: Traditionally *luctor* was a deponent verb, but active forms are attested in early Latin (e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 298 Skutsch, Ter. *Hec.* 829), and some grammarians seem to have regarded the active as a legitimate equivalent to the deponent (e.g. Donatus, Keil 1857–80: iv.383.19–20); see *TLL* (*s.v.* 1730.25–48). The verb occurs twice in the colloquia, here and at 10j; in both places M has the active and the E manuscripts have deponent forms, clearly as a result of correction.

10i διὰ χρόνου μιᾷ ῥοπῇ/ *post tempus uno momento*: There are two possible interpretations of these lines. I have followed earlier editors in attaching them to what precedes, but this punctuation necessitates stretching the meaning of μιᾷ ῥοπῇ somewhat. The alternative, proposed by Ferri (2008a: 146), is to take them with what follows and translate 'after so much time, from one moment to the next: I don't know if I can'; this stretches the meaning of *post tempus*. Neither interpretation is clearly better than the other. The details are as follows. Latin *post tempus* normally means 'after the right time', i.e. 'too late' (see Pl. *As.* 294 and *TLL* s.v. *post* 167.18–23), but this meaning would not make sense here; more likely is the late

Latin meaning 'after a while' (see E. Löfstedt 1936: 77–8). Greek διὰ χρόνου can mean 'after a long time' (e.g. Plato, *Republic* 328b), and that meaning is required for Ferri's interpretation, but there is no evidence that Latin *post tempus* can be so used. Latin *uno momento* in the sense of 'for one moment', i.e. 'briefly', is paralleled e.g. in Tacitus, *Dialogus* 6.1 (cf. *TLL* s.v. *momentum* 1395.11–31), but Greek μιᾷ ῥοπῇ means 'at one moment', i.e. 'suddenly' (Galen, *De usu partium* IV.147.15 Kühn, cf. πρὸς μίαν ῥοπήν in Septuagint, *Sapientia Salomonis* 18:12).

10j *si possum*: for the construction of the indirect question see above on 6e εἰ δυνάμεθα/*si possumus*.

10k προπνιγέα/*tepidaria*: The tepidarium was a room full of warm air where bathers would be anointed (by their own slaves or ones available for hire at the baths) before proceeding to the caldarium and perhaps other hot rooms (see Nielsen 1990: 1.155–6). We would expect the singular *tepidarium* here, and therefore Krumbacher emended the manuscripts' *depidaria* to *tepidariam*, producing a feminine singular form that although otherwise unattested would not be implausible in non-standard Latin.

The Greek equivalent here is otherwise unattested as a Greek word, though its formation is so obviously Greek that it has an entry in LSJ (*s.v.* προπνιγεῖον, though the form found here might come from προπνιγεύς): apart from this passage it is found only as Latin *propnigeum* (Vitruvius 5.11.2, Pliny, *Ep.* 2.17.11). It is thought that the Latin word *propnigeum* does not refer to exactly the same kind of room as *tepidarium*, but rather to a room with damp heat for sweating, placed together with a dry heat room so as to provide two alternative routes to the caldarium instead of the single route provided by the tepidarium (Sherwin-White 1966: 192–3; cf. *OLD s.v.*). This interpretation is uncertain, however (cf. Nielsen 1990: 1.162), and here the room in question clearly functions as a traditional tepidarium, since it is used for anointing and the sweating occurs in the following room.

10l The admission charge is evidently paid at the entrance to the tepidarium, which constitutes the first room of the baths proper; small admission charges were usual in Roman baths (for details see Nielsen 1990: 1.131–5).

10m There is a parallel for this section at Mp 16b.

10m ἄλειψε: For ἄλειψον; sigmatic (first) aorist imperatives in -ε occur in documentary papyri from the second century AD onwards (see Gignac 1981: 349–51).

10m lassus sum: In classical Latin *lassus* is a lower-register variant in comparison with its synonym *fessus*; it almost never occurs in classical prose (see Axelson 1945: 29–30).

10n ἐμβάτην/*solium*: This was a pool of hot water, normally located in the caldarium and large enough to contain multiple bathers: Vitruvius (5.10.4) specifies a minimum width of six feet, and the length was normally greater than the width. For more information see Nielsen (1990: 1.157).

10n ξηροπυρία/*assa*: This second hot room is obviously an optional part of the proceedings, and the availability of the option indicates an elaborate bath complex: many baths provided only one hot room, the caldarium, which contained both space to sit and sweat and a hot pool to enter after sweating. The procedure described here is not unrealistic, however: Vitruvius (5.10.5) mentions baths with three or more hot rooms. On different types of hot rooms and their uses in the Roman bathing process see Nielsen (1990: 1.156–61).

10n οὕτω/*sic*: This could be either the classical usage of *sic*, in which case it would indicate the proposed route to the hot pool, or the late usage of *sic* for 'then' (see on 2f above), in which case it would refer to the order of events. Elsewhere in ME *sic* normally has its classical usage (e.g. 1h, 4c, 6j, 7b, 7c), but there is one passage where it must be temporal (2f, repeated at 3f).

10o *fomenta*: The verb *fomentare* is first attested (apart from a possible but unlikely appearance in a corrupt line in Lucilius, 311 Marx) in the fourth century AD (e.g. Pelagonius 266: see Adams 1995a: 175, 502); although its usual meaning is to foment, as with a poultice, it can also refer to pouring hot water: see *TLL s.v.* and Souter (1949: *s.v.*).

10o *mitte te ipsum*: The *ipsum*, while not incorrect by classical standards, is unexpected and was probably introduced to provide an exact parallel for the Greek σεαυτόν.

10p λουτῆρα/*luterem*: The manuscripts have *iutum*, which Krumbacher and Goetz take as a corruption of *lutum* 'mud'. But this makes no sense: even if mud was a part of the Roman bathing process (for which there is very little evidence), it would not have been applied at the very end, after all opportunities for washing it off had passed and just before drying with a towel. It is much more likely that the original reading was *luterem*, accusative of *luter*, a well-attested fourth-century borrowing of the Greek word used here. The idea seems to be that the bather pours water from a small basin over himself; as far as I can tell this final step is not otherwise mentioned in descriptions of bathing. Although it may seem superfluous after all the different pools in which the bather has immersed himself, this final shower probably had a very practical function. The water in ancient baths often became very dirty owing to the large number of bathers using it and the oil and other substances with which they anointed themselves before bathing (for a well-grounded and revolting assessment of hygiene standards in Roman baths see Fagan 1999: 181–4), and the final shower would have enabled the bather to wash off the debris before drying himself.

10p ἀνέλαβον/*resumpsi*: It is not entirely clear what is going on here.

10p ἐπίδος/*porrige*: The next five lines have parallels in both Mp 16c and C 61a–c.

10p ξύστραν/*strigilem*: The strigil was normally used to remove dirt and sweat, so one might expect it to appear earlier in the bathing sequence than this, but in the Mp and C versions of the colloquia the strigil also appears at the end (after the swim, as those versions do not include the shower). It looks as though it is being used to remove excess water (and perhaps any bathing debris remaining after the shower?) before drying with a towel.

10p περικατάμαξόν με/*deterge me*: Since the strigil has just been passed we would expect it to be used in this line, and that is what happens in the other colloquia: Mp 16c has δός μοι ξύστραν, περίξυσόν με/*da mihi strigilem, destringe me* and C 61a has δὸς ξύστραν, ἀπόξησόν με/*da strigilem, destringe me*. In all three colloquia the following lines concern the towels and the drying, which in all cases is expressed with some form of *tergeo* in Latin and μάσσω in Greek; clearly the

verbs used here would normally refer to drying with a towel rather than to scraping with a strigil. In this colloquium, therefore, the drying happens twice and the strigil is not used. This anomaly cannot be attributed to straightforward duplication of the words used of drying later in this passage, as those are not identical to these, but nevertheless it is likely that some sort of replacement has occurred and that this line orginally looked more like its counterparts in Mp and C.

10q περίζωσε for περίζωσον; cf. above on 10m ἄλειψε.

10q μου/*mihi*: A nice instance of the sacrifice of the principle of parallel usage in both languages to produce idiomatic constructions in both; E has emended the Greek to μοι to match the Latin more closely.

10r ἐπικάρσιον/*amiclum*: The ἐπικάρσιον seems to have been a transversely woven garment worn under the tunic; see LSJ and supplement *s.v.*, Roussin (1994: 183, 189 n. 14), and Sebesta and Bonfante (1994: 244). Latin *amiclum* is a syncopated variant of *amiculum* (see *TLL* s.v. *amiculum* 1901.58; Goetz 1899: *s.v. amiculum*; Krumbacher 1891: 361; Potthoff 1992: 70–1), which occurs elsewhere as an equivalent of ἐπικάρσιον but also of ἀναβόλαιον; it seems to have normally referred to a mantle, but the meaning 'underwear' might also have existed, perhaps euphemistically. See also C 5b and C 8, where the C manuscript has ἐπικάρσιον /*amictulum*.

10r ἀναβόλαιον/*pallam*: Again (cf. above on 2d) it is puzzling to find the main character wearing the *palla*, as it was a woman's garment. Of the two solutions proposed above, the one involving the *bulla* will not work here as the wearer is an adult (and *bullae* were not removed during bathing). Perhaps the difficulty was caused by translation from the Greek, or perhaps *pallam* is a corruption of *pallium* or *palliolum*, mantles worn by men and boys (Justinian, *Digesta* 34.2.23.2; Plautus, *Men.* 658–60; *TLL s.vv.*).

10r δαλματικήν/*dalmaticam*: The Dalmatian tunic was a long-sleeved version of the tunic with colorful patterned decoration; it was introduced in the late second or early third century and seems to have been popular thereafter (see Croom 2000: 33–6).

10t Buying snacks from stands in the bath complex was a common part of the bathing ritual; see Fagan (1999: 33) and Yegül (2010: 19–20).

10t λεπτόσπερμα/ *minutalia*: Latin *minutal* was used to designate a variety of dishes, both savoury and sweet, containing chopped meat and/or fish; Apicius (4.3.1–8) gives numerous recipes for *minutalia* (see also Isidore, *Origines* 20.2.29, and André 1974: 170). Greek λεπτόσπερμα is unattested in a relevant sense (it normally means 'with small seeds') but must here be an equivalent of *minutalia*.

10t θέρμους/ *lupinos*: Though not considered edible today because they are poisonous when raw, lupin seeds become edible when boiled and were a cheap, popular food in antiquity; see Athenaeus 55c–f, Pliny, *Nat.* 18.133, 22.154, and André (1981: 39–40).

10t *fabas*: Beans in vinegar seem to have been a delicacy in Rome, for Apicius gives a recipe for them (5.6.3). Latin *faba* is normally used in the collective singular, but the plural is also found from the classical period onwards: see *TLL s.v.* 2.52–8.

10u This section, consisting of polite phrases to be spoken when leaving the baths, has parallels in Mp 16e and C 63.

10u καλῶς ἐλούσω/ *bene lavasti*: The Greek half of this is a compliment paid to the departing bather, 'you've had a good bath'; in Mp it is paired with the Latin *salvum lotum*, which is likewise spoken to the departing bather (see commentary on Mp 16e). The Latin here is ambiguous and could be either the equivalent of the Greek (though less usual in that use than *salvum lotum*) or a compliment paid by the departing bather to the bath attendant, i.e. 'you bathed me well'. In C 63 both types of compliment are included, and it is possible that the same was originally true here and half of each was lost in transmission. If that is the case, the original could have been something like καλῶς ἐλούσω *salvum lotum* | καλῶς ἔλουσας *bene lavasti*: i.e. the bath attendant says to the bather on his way out 'You've had a good bath' and the bather responds 'You bathed me well'.

10u καλῶς σοι ἔστω/ *bene tibi sit*: This compliment could be used in either direction. Krumbacher restored καλῶς σοι ἔσται, which is the most obvious

retransliteration of M's *calos sueste*. But the parallel of εὖ σοι ἔστω at C 63a–b suggests that E's καλῶς σοι ἔστω is the original; moreover it matches the Latin much better, and the *e* spelling of the final vowel in M could be the result of graphic confusion between *e* and *o*, which occurs elsewhere in the Greek text of M (e.g. 9f *alotribanon* for ἀλετρίβανον, 11f *des* for δός).

11 The dinner party, like the bath, is a staple of the colloquia; it normally comes at the end of the day, as here. Similar scenes can be found in LS 11, Mp 12, Mp 16f–19b, and C 47–54, but verbatim parallels are rare. It is notable, particularly in comparison with the other colloquia, that in ME there is almost no description of the preparation for dinner: the principle of grouping similar material (see above on 4a–c) seems to have dictated that all the discussion of preparations and invitations was given under the heading of lunch (7–9 above), while all the discussion of the actual meal is given here under the heading of dinner.

11a–d These sections are probably envisioned as taking place in a library or other reception room, not in the dining room. Dinner parties in the late imperial period involved the guests gathering in a suitably furnished room and conversing for a considerable time before moving into the dining room for the start of the meal proper (see Rossiter 1991: 200–1). That is why the furniture here does not include couches for reclining: the guests recline in 11e, when they move into the dining room. (On the furniture of traditional Roman dining and the precedence arrangement alluded to in 11e see Dunbabin 2003: 38–43.)

11b πλῦνον ποτῆριν/ *lava calicem*: This instruction is found again at 11c, as well as at Mp 12d. The idea is probably to warm the cup so that it will not cool a hot drink, as tea drinkers today often warm a teapot before making tea in it. This procedure was known in antiquity: Anthimus (*De observatione ciborum* 76 = Grant 1996: 76) recommends using hot water to warm a bucket before milking into it, so that the fresh milk will not cool down before it is drunk.

The form ποτῆριν for ποτήριον exhibits a change affecting nouns in -ιον in medieval and later Greek, but as it is also attested sporadically in papyri from the Roman period (including several from the first century AD; see Gignac 1981: 27–8) it cannot be used to date this passage. It is surprising that this form should occur only here in ME (there may be one other occurrence

of the -ιν suffix, but it is doubtful; see below on 11n ἁπλοπότην), whereas there are many examples in this text of -ιον nouns in which the omicron is preserved (e.g. 11c ποτήριον, 11f χειρεκμάγιον, 11g ὀξυβάφιον and κοιλίδιον, 11i κανίσκιον, 10r ἐπικάρσιον, 10m ἱδρωτήριον, 10b δημόσιον, 10a προσοψίδιον and ποδεκμάγιον). Perhaps the omicron has simply been lost in transmission in the M version; the E version has ποτήριον, though this could easily be a correction.

11b ὕδατι θερμῷ συγκέρασον/ aqua calida tempera: Wine was normally mixed with water before drinking; in Greek banquets this took place in a large communal crater from which the guests were subsequently served (on the various methods and proportions see Athenaeus 426b–427c), but in Roman banquets drinks were mixed individually for each diner. By providing several types of wine and not only water at room temperature, but also chilled water (or snow) and hot water, Roman hosts were able to make a wide variety of taste experiences available for their guests. Among the most highly prized of these experiences was the hot drink (*caldum* or *calidum*; cf. 11d and 11o below) made with water from special portable water heaters that figure prominently in Roman depictions of luxurious dining. The provision of hot drinks was the mark of a particularly good banquet and symbolized truly enjoyable conviviality; see Dunbabin (1993).

11c conditum: This is probably a popular term for what would in literary Latin be called *mulsum*; it is notable that the Greek equivalent here is not κονδῖτον, a borrowing of *conditum* found from the fourth century onwards (Kramer 2011: 229–39). Most likely the use of a different Greek word is due to this passage's having been composed earlier than the fourth century. On the beverage see André (1981: 166–7; note that André considers *conditum* and *mulsum* to be different beverages).

11c κάροινον/ caroenum: There is some debate about how this beverage was made; for an overview see Grocock and Grainger (2006: 334–5) and for the main ancient sources Palladius 11.18 and Isidore, *Origines* 20.3.15.

11c ἐκείνῳ: The original reading behind M's *etinu* could well be the genitive ἐκείνου (Krumbacher 1891:

356); for the replacement of the dative by the genitive see above on 4a τοῦ φίλου.

11d calidum: The range of temperature expressed by *calidus* extended from tepid to boiling, so in other texts as well a temperature originally indicated with *calidus* can then be qualified with a more precise temperature designation: see Pelagonius 82, Apicius 1.12.2 André (= 1.18 Milham), and Adams (1995a: 617–18).

11d noli: Although *noli* with infinitive is a common way of forming negative commands in classical Latin, *noli* without an infinitive (i.e. with the infinitive elided) is rare and late: . Löfstedt (1966: 74–5 n. 2) finds only three examples, of which the earliest comes from the fourth century (Vulgate, Genesis 33:10). Greek μή, however, is freely used without verbs in the classical period (e.g. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 763; Euripides, *Medea* 324, 964).

11d ἐκεῖθεν/ deinde: Greek ἐκεῖθεν means 'from there' much more often than it means 'then', and as the 'from there' meaning fits better in the context here it may well be what was originally intended. Latin *deinde*, however, consistently means 'then' and lacks the 'from there' meaning. Perhaps the original author was thinking in Latin, meant 'then', and used ἐκεῖθεν rather than a more usual 'then' word such as εἶτα (the equivalent of *deinde* at 2b above) or ἔπειτα (the equivalent of *deinde* at 2o above) because of its morphological parallelism to *deinde*; alternatively, perhaps he was thinking in Greek, meant 'from there', and used *deinde* because of its morphological parallelism to ἐκεῖθεν. Ferri (2008a: 128) suggests that the Latin might originally have been *de inde*, which would be a better match for the Greek but which as far as I can tell is unattested.

11d νηρόν/ recentem: See below on 11n.

11e For the second seating scene see above on 11a–d.

11e ἐὰν θέλετε/ si vultis: This is the plural of the ἐὰν θέλῃς/ *si vis* found at 6b; according to the rules of classical usage it ought to be either ἐὰν θέλητε or εἰ θέλετε, but in papyri of the Roman period this distinction largely vanishes, so the transmitted ἐὰν θέλετε is most likely the original text. In Greek papyri the plural is much less frequent than the singular, so it is not possible to state its range of meanings with certainty, but it can definitely mean 'if you want' (e.g.

P.NagHamm. 71.16) and may perhaps mean 'please' as well. The Latin is more common and consistently means 'if you want' (e.g. Cicero, *Lig.* 25; *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 10.8). Although here the meaning 'please' seems more attractive in context than 'if you want' (cf. Ferri 2008a: 171), it is not a viable interpretation given this other evidence for the phrase's meaning.

The arrangement of the text in M suggests that this phrase should be taken with what precedes, but Krumbacher and Goetz punctuate to take it with what follows. The attraction of that is that it makes an 'if you want' meaning easier, but the disadvantage is that in this scene verbs not referring to servants seem consistently to refer to the guests when plural: the host is always singular (cf. 11e στήκετε/*statis*, καθέζεσθε/*sedete*, κελεύεις/*iubes*, 11j δειπνήσατε/*cenate*, 11s ἔλαβες/*accepisti*).

11f   ὑδρόγαρον/*hydrogaron*: A sauce composed of seven parts water to one part garum, with seasonings; see Apicius 2.2.5 and Grocock and Grainger (2006: 347).

11g   ἐλαιόγαρον/*impensam*: LSJ give 'fish preserved in oil' for ἐλαιόγαρον, but that would not be served in a vinegar-cup: some kind of liquid is needed here, and Dalby (2003b: 196) identifies it as a dressing made of olive oil and garum. Latin *impensa* has a variety of meanings, the most plausible of which in the present context is 'sauce' (see André 1974: 230).

11g   εἰς τὸ ὀξυβάφιον/*ad acetabulum*: Classical Latin grammar would require *in*, and Ferri (2008a: 144) suggests that *ad* here could be due to literal translation from the Greek, as Greek εἰς is the equivalent of both *in* and *ad*. But in this text, as elsewhere, the most common Greek equivalent of *ad* is πρός, not εἰς; the problem with the Latin is thus unlikely to be related to the Greek. In fact usage of *ad* in Latin is more fluid than is often recognized; in this text, for example, it occurs with the meanings 'concerning' or 'on account of' (6j), 'with' or 'at the house of' (9h), 'in' or 'at' (9h), 'in' or 'according to' (11i), and 'into' (10o). On the meanings of *ad*, including a 'with' sense that could be relevant here, see Adams (forthcoming: chapter XIII).

The term *acetabulum* can be used for a measurement (two and a half fluid ounces), but here it must be used in its normal sense of a cup of the type used for vinegar; cf. Grocock and Grainger (2006: 84).

11g   *ungellas*: For the use of this word specifically for pigs' feet see Apicius 7.1.5 (who treats pigs' feet as a delicacy) and Adams (1995b: 106–7). The form, which is derived form *ungula* 'hoof', used to be considered late but is now first attested *c.* 100 AD in the Vindolanda tablets (233 A.3). See André (1981: 137 n. 43) and Ferri (2008a: 136).

11g   κοιλίδιον/*aqualiculum*: This is a pig's stomach; for information on how such a dish was prepared see Apicius 7.7.1–2.

11g   πλεκτὴν ἐξ ὕδατος/*chordam ex aqua*: The Greek πλεκτή is otherwise unattested in this sense (it normally means 'string' or 'coil'), but the idiom ἐξ ὕδατος for 'boiled' is found in Athenaeus (94c), where boiled tripe is χορδαὶ ἐξ ὕδατος. The phrase ἐξ ὕδατος/*ex aqua* also occurs in a dinner scene at Mp 18b. Apart from that passage, which may be related to this one, Latin *ex aqua* does not appear to have such a meaning elsewhere (see *TLL* s.v. *aqua*) so it may be a translation of the Greek.

11h   It is not completely clear what is going on here.

11h   ἰδὲ εἰ ἔχεις/*vide si habes*: These constructions, though not in conformity with the classical rules of either language, are well paralleled in non-standard texts, so neither language need be a translation of the other here. Latin indirect questions formed with *vide si* + indicative occur in both Plautus (*Trin.* 748) and Terence (*Ad.* 239); see E. Löfstedt (1911: 327–8). Greek ἰδὲ εἰ with indirect question is found in the Septuagint (e.g. Genesis 37:14), Epictetus (3.6.4), etc.

11h   πεπερᾶτον/*piperatum*: A dressing or dip made of crushed pepper; see Apicius 2.2.8, 4.2.21, 7.10 André (= 7.9.3 Milham).

11h   συκωτόν/*ficatum*: These terms have a complex history. The standard view is that the Greek one is earlier; it began as an adjective meaning 'fattened on figs' (first attested in the second century AD, Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus* VI.704.3 Kühn), which was normally applied to the livers of pigs or poultry that had been force-fed on figs and which then became usable as a noun meaning 'fig-fattened liver' (also first attested in the second century, Galen, *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria* XV.657.2 Kühn). Then the

Latin *ficatum* was formed as a calque on the Greek (see *TLL s.v.* 646.20–2); the earliest attestation of the Latin seems to be in AD 301 in the Edict of Diocletian (4.6, p. 105 Lauffer). Later both the Greek and the Latin terms were extended to mean simply 'liver', as evidenced by modern Greek συκώτι 'liver', French *foie* 'liver', and Italian *fegato* 'liver'. By the fourth century AD Latin *ficatum* meant 'liver' so thoroughly that it could be used for the livers of humans as well as animals (see André 1991: 152; Adams 1982b: 106); for many centuries, however, this usage was not common (see *TLL s.v.* 646.35–8). André (1991: 152) is doubtful, however, about the priority of the Greek term, given the sources in which it is attested: it is possible that the Latin is the original (particularly as the practice of force-feeding to produce foie gras seems to have been a Roman invention both in the case of poultry and in the case of pigs: see Pliny *Nat.* 10.52, 8.209). If the Greek is the calque, the Latin term would have to have existed for some time before its earliest surviving attestation.

Here the reference is probably to the livers of pigs fattened on figs (cf. Apicius 7.3.1–2); if one adheres to the standard view of the history of *ficatum*, the use of the Latin word would date the composition of this passage to the fourth century or later, but given André's doubts it is perhaps better not to put much weight on the lack of attestation of *ficatum* before AD 301.

11h κίχλας/*turdos*: Both these words could refer either to thrushes or to wrasses (a kind of fish); see Athenaeus 64f, 304e–305d and Columella 8.10, 8.17.8; cf. Dalby (2003a: 327, 361–2).

11i κλάσει . . . εἰσοίσει: The future indicative is used here to give a command (cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1950: 291); though the first of these verbs could in theory be an aorist subjunctive (indeed the E manuscripts have κλάσῃ), the second is unambiguously future and so makes it likely that the first is also a future (cf. Ferri 2008a: 149). It is interesting that the Latin text has present subjunctives here (*frangat, inferat*), whereas in 6j, where the Latin seems to have a future indicative in imperative sense, the Greek appears to have an optative (see *ad loc.*)

11i *canistellum*: A diminutive of *canistrum*; cf. Ferri (2008a: 135).

11j *utique*: This term is often weakened in late Latin, where it becomes an equivalent of Greek ἄν, but here it appears to be used in its classical sense (see Langslow 2005: 316–17 and Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 492–3). Ferri (2008a: 157–8) observes that this is the only Latin affirmative particle anywhere in the colloquia.

11k τριχίους: This word is given by both M and E but is not otherwise attested; Haupt's emendation τριχίας is a variant (attested at Athenaeus 328e) of τριχίδας 'anchovies'.

11k λόβια/*suriacas*: The Greek term is an uncommon one referring to a particular kind of bean (most likely the kidney bean (see Dioscorides, *De materia medica* 2.146 and LSJ *s.vv.* λόβιον, σμῖλαξ), though Dalby (2003a: 192) identifies Dioscorides' description of λόβια with the seeds of the lablab bean). The Latin is also an uncommon word and, to judge by the meanings of its Romance descendants, could be either a generic word for 'bean' or a term for a particular variety; if the latter, the variety would be the dolichos rather than the kidney bean. See André (1985: 252) and Adams (1994: 110–11), who suggests that the use of *suriacae (fabae)* for 'beans' may have been a regionalism originating in southern Italy. (The term *suriacae (fabae)* is likely also to be connected with *faba Syriaca*, which refers to the nettle-tree (*Celtis australis*; see André 1985: 101 and Adams 1994: 110–11), but that other sense is clearly not appropriate here.) The use of the term *siliqua Syriaca* (Pliny, *Nat.* 14.103) for the fruit of the carob, which is normally known simply as *siliqua*, may have been behind Goetz's emendation of the reading here to *siliquas*; cf. Dalby (2003a: 74). E's *lobia* is otherwise unattested in Latin.

11k ὄρμενον/*cyma* refers to sprouts or shoots of a type of broccoli or cabbage; see Apicius 3.9.1, André (1974: 155–6, 1981: 23), Grocock and Grainger (2006: 343–4), and Dalby (2003a: 67).

11k ἔλαιον Σπανόν/*oleum Spanum*: see on 9d.

11k γογγυλωτόν/*rapatum*: The Latin refers to meat coated with grated turnip (see Apicius 6.2.3); the Greek is otherwise unattested, but as γογγυλίς means 'turnip' the meaning of the Greek is likely to match the Latin.

11k ὄρνιν/*gallinam*: Although the Greek in theory means 'bird', in practice it was commonly used for 'chicken' (see Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus*vi.700.4–7 Kühn); in Roman-period papyri there is a division between ὄρνις meaning 'chicken' and ὄρνεον meaning 'bird' (Gignac 1981: 54). The Greek and Latin are therefore perfectly equivalent here.

11k ψιλήπλευρα διὰ ζωμοῦ/*ofellas iuscellatas*: The Greek means literally 'cutlets in soup'; Latin *ofella* refers to a bite-sized piece of food, most often meat. In Apicius *ofellae* are made by marinating pork belly, roasting it, and then cutting it into bite-sized pieces and simmering it in sauce (see Apicius 7.4.1–6, Grocock and Grainger 2006: 354).

Ferri (2008a: 135) observes that forms of *iuscellatus* are not attested before the fifth or sixth century AD; cf. *TLL s.v.*

11k τεμάχια/*copadia*: The Greek term originally referred to slices of fish but was later extended to slices of meat; meat is more likely than fish here because similar foods seem to be grouped together in this passage and the terms before and after this one definitely refer to meat. The Latin is a form of *cupedia* or *cuppedia* and can refer in general to a tid-bit or attractive morsel of food, but here it probably has a more specific meaning, probably the one found in Apicius (though it is not entirely clear what that meaning is). See Apicius 7.6.1–12, André (1981: 147), and Grocock and Grainger (2006: 342–3).

11k δέλφακα/*porcellum*: The Latin term clearly refers to a piglet (cf. *TLL s.v.*). The Greek originally referred to a full-grown pig (see LSJ *s.v.*), but in Byzantine Greek it came to mean 'piglet' (Dalby 2003b: 195; cf. C 52a; the lengthy discussion of the animal's age in Athenaeus (374d–375b) could imply that the meaning 'piglet' was common already in his day), while the ancient word for 'piglet', χοῖρος, came to mean 'pig' (Dalby 2003b: 203; cf. C 52a).

11l δίσκον/*discum*: A round, flat platter for serving foods without sauce (André 1974: 225).

11l μετὰ τρωξίμων/*cum scarias*: The Greek means 'with raw vegetables' in the classical language, but 'with endives' in Byzantine Greek. The Latin is a substantival use of *escarius* 'for eating', which came

to mean chicory or endive, with loss of initial *e-* as often in late Latin (cf. *TLL s.v.*). It is possible that the Greek was originally intended in the classical sense (as apparently at C 51b), but that as the meaning of the Greek term changed an updated Latin translation was added; the context here, however, would make reference to a specific vegetable natural at any period.

Latin *cum* takes the ablative in the classical period, but later a general use of the accusative after prepositions develops (the accusative as 'prepositional case' – see Adams 1977: 36–7), and although that use is not attested elsewhere in ME it seems to occur here; cf. Ferri (2008a: 145–6). The E adaptor wrote *scariis*, correcting the prepositional case and leaving the aphaeresis, but in most E manuscripts this was changed to *escariis* to correct the aphaeresis as well.

11l ῥαφάνους: This term meant 'cabbage' in classical Attic; the use for 'radish' found here was condemned by Atticists (Phrynichus, *Eclogues* 111 Fischer) but started relatively early (cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.79.22, second century BC).

11l τυρὸν νεαρόπαστον/*caseum prosalsum*: Both these words are otherwise unattested, except that in the M version of the capitula there is an entry *neropastos/presalsum* (Goetz 1892: 184.18), and in the Mp version an entry νηροπαστον/*praesulsum* (Goetz 1892: 314.72). On the basis of these entries Krumbacher (followed by Goetz) emended the Latin to *praesalsum* here, suggesting that the meaning is 'freshly salted' (Krumbacher 1891: 362); Funck (1896: 305) objected to the emendation on the grounds that the reading *pro-* is guaranteed by its occurrence in both M and E and that this passage is important evidence for the fundamental equivalence of the prefixes *prae-* and *pro-*. The term *praesalsus* (or *praesulsus*) is attested elsewhere and seems to mean 'very salty' (cf. *TLL* s.v. *praesulsus*), but this meaning seems impossible to apply to Greek νεαρόπαστον, which ought to mean 'recently sprinkled' and for which 'freshly salted' is therefore a much better fit. Dalby (2003a: 80) suggests that the Greek term could refer to newly curdled cheese, i.e. something like cottage cheese, but it would be very difficult to find this meaning in the Latin.

11l ὕδνα/*tubera*: On truffles in antiquity see Helttula (1996).

11m   There is a parallel at Mp 19a.

11m   ὑπηρετήσασιν/*ministrantibus*: Roman banqueting required the attendance of a large number of servants in the dining room itself (in addition to those in the kitchen); for their duties see Dunbabin (2003: 150–6), and for their conditions of service D'Arms (1991).

11m   καὶ τραγήματα/*et bellaria*: The foods eaten in the last portion of the meal, corresponding to the symposium in ancient Greek practice; they were not necessarily sweet, including dishes like sow's uterus as well as nuts, fruit, cakes, and other sweets. On the Greek term see Kramer (2011: 319–39).

11m   ὑπηρέτησεν/*ministravit*:   This is E's reading, confirmed by the parallel passage at Mp 19a. M has *servierunt* in the Latin, referring back to the servants rather than the cook, and Krumbacher extended this to the Greek by emending to ὑπηρέτησαν; the servants are in many ways a more obvious subject, but for that very reason the agreement of Mp (in which the parallel is close enough that there is a similar temptation to make the servants the subject) makes it virtually certain that the singular is the original reading.

11n   δότεὕδωρεἰςχεῖρας/*dateaquammanibus*: See commmentary on Mp 18e.

11n   κατάμαξον τήν τράπεζαν/*terge mensam*: There are parallels in P. Berol. inv. 10582 line 6–9 (for which see volume II of this work) and Mp 12c.

11n   πρόσφατον/*mometum*: The text must be corrupt here. In the Greek M and E agree, but the word means 'fresh' and makes little sense here without a noun to modify. Dalby suggests (2003b: 225) that in Byzantine Greek πρόσφατος could be a noun meaning 'fresh cheese kept in brine'; his evidence is a passage from a poem attributed to Michael Psellos (*Carmen de re medica* 208–10, Ideler 1841: 209), which reads: ἅπας τυρὸς δύσπεπτος, ἐκτρέφων λίθους· |ὁ πρόσφατος δέ, συμμέτρως ἁλῶν ἔχων, | μαλακός, ἡδὺς καὶ τρόφιμος τυγχάνει. This appears to mean 'All cheese is hard to digest and produces stones; but πρόσφατος, when moderately salty, is soft, sweet, and nourishing.' On the basis of that passage Dalby's suggestion is attractive but unverifiable: πρόσφατος

does seem to function as a noun there, but perhaps only because of the presence of τυρός in the previous line, and little precise information about its nature is conveyed. In the Latin M's *mometum* is otherwise unattested, E's *recentem* is clearly a translation of the Greek, and Krumbacher's *da temetum* 'give intoxicating liquor' is ingenious but difficult to reconcile with the Greek. Probably a line is missing above this one.

11n   ἁπλοπότην/*phialam*: The Greek otherwise occurs only in the glossary attached to this colloquium, where M has *aplopotin fiola* (Goetz 1892: 198.5); this could well be for ἁπλοπότιον, which is attested (unfortunately not in a way that makes its meaning clear) in *P.Ryl.* IV.627.88 (fourth century AD). It is possible that here as well M's reading *aplopotin* should be read as ἁπλοπότιον; on the -ιν ending see above on 11b ποτῆριν. One would expect such a word to mean something like 'cup holding a single draught'.

The reading of T and W is *filiolam*, which because of the glossary entry quoted above is thought to be for *fiolam* (a misspelling of *phialam*) by dittography (*TLG* s.v. *phiala* 2020.11; on the problems with Krumbacher's interpretation *phialulam* see Bücheler 1897: 395).

11n   νηρόν/*recentem*: The word for 'water' in ME is normally the classical ὕδωρ/*aqua* (2b, 2t, 3d, 9l, 11b, 11n), but here and at 11d we have νηρόν/*recentem*. The Greek word comes from νεαρός 'fresh' and is the ancestor of modern Greek νερό 'water'. (Although the standard spelling for this term as an ancient word is with eta, Krumbacher is probably right that the ME archetype spelled it with epsilon as in Byzantine and modern Greek, since the M manuscripts have *e* rather than *i* both here and at 11d). The development from 'fresh' to 'water' occurred via an intermediate stage where the term meant 'fresh water' or 'cold water', and that seems to be its sense here. In the second ME colloquium (sections 4–12) there is a division between νηρόν, which refers only to cold water for drinking, and ὕδωρ, which refers to all other types of water: note for example that water for hand-washing is called ὕδωρ earlier in this same section (cf. Kretschmer 1927: 64). In the first colloquium (sections 1–2 and the repetition in 3), on the other hand, ὕδωρ is used for all types of water (note particularly the use of ὕδωρ ψυχρόν for chilled drinking water in 2t). For other uses of this and related terms in the colloquia see LS 11b, C 57c, and Mp 16c.

In the second century AD Phrynichus (*Eclogues* 27) condemned an adjectival use of νηρόν with ὕδωρ for 'fresh water', thus indicating that this usage had developed by the second century, but the earliest substantival uses of the word come from the fifth century AD (e.g. *P.Oxy.* LVI.3865.35); as the usage is reasonably common from then onwards its absence earlier is unlikely to be accidental, and therefore the passages containing this word were probably not composed before the fifth century. Although reservation of the term for certain kinds of water is not apparent in the papyri, in the seventh century it was possible to use θερμὸν καὶ νερόν for hot and cold bath water (Leontius, *Life of Symeon the fool* 1713c, p. 83.8 Festugière and Rydén). On the history of the word see further Shipp (1979: 402–3), the notes to *P.Oxy.* LVI.3865.35, and Krumbacher (1891: 362–3).

The occurrence in this text of a Greek word not attested before the fifth century indicates that the text was still being influenced by native speakers of Greek, or at any rate by speakers of contemporary rather than purely literary Greek, at this period.

Latin *recens* is much less well attested as a word for 'water' or 'fresh water'; although there are some traces of it outside the colloquia (see Ferri 2008a: 132–3), it may be primarily a translation of the Greek here. The related form *recentaria* is used for νηρά at C 57c; at LS 11b both *recens* and νεαρόν are probably adjectives.

11n βαυκιδίου/**gillone:** The Latin is rare and late (*TLL* s.v. *gello*), and the Greek is otherwise unattested in this sense, though it appears in the LSJ supplement as a kind of shoe. Ferri (2008a: 133 n. 80) suggests that the Greek form is a corruption of βαυκαλίου (genitive of βαυκάλιον 'narrow-necked vessel that gurgles when water is poured in or out'). A diminutive or corruption of βαυκάλιδος (genitive of βαύκαλις 'vessel for cooling wine or water') is also possible: Johannes Cassianus (*De institutis coenobiorum* 4.16.1) equates (accusative) *gillonem* with *baucalem*.

110 There are several possible interpretations of this section. I have taken each line to be a separate speech in a discussion between a guest and the host (or a waiter): the guest asks for a hot drink, the host asks about the size of cup to use, the guest clarifies this, the host politely agrees to make the mixture, and the guest justifies his wish. Goetz, however, interpreted everything from εἰς τὸ μικρόν/*in minore* onwards as one speech, in which the guest first

expresses his preference about cup sizes, qualifying this with ἡδέως/*libenter* (which on this interpretation would mean 'preferably'), and then goes on to justify his wish. For a parallel for ἡδέως/*libenter* used in the way I postulate, see 11p below.

110 ἄλλην/**aliam:** The feminine is peculiar; none of the words for 'drink' that could easily be understood here are feminine.

110 πεῖν: This is an aorist infinitive of πίνω, well attested in post-classical Greek; the widespread use of an aorist rather than a future infinitive after ἐλπίζω is also a post-classical feature (cf. Jannaris 1897: 486). E's ἰδεῖν translates a corruption in the Latin (see below).

110 *bibere:* Both M and E have *videre* here, but *bibere* must be correct. The interchange of *b* and *v*, which had the same pronunciation in late Latin and are therefore often confused in non-literary texts, occurs elsewhere in M's version of this text (e.g. 11m *villaria* for *bellaria*), but the source of the *d* is less certain. Krumbacher (1891: 364) suggested that *bibere* became *vivere* via the phonetic confusion, and this was then changed to *videre*. Another possibility is that the *d* arose directly from the *b*, since confusion of *b* and *d* is common in minuscule script (cf. Lindsay 1896: 84): an original *vibere*, with the first *b* written *v* because both letters were pronounced the same way, became *videre* because it looked like *videre*. If the latter explanation is correct, this word provides the only example in the colloquia of minuscule confusion going back to the ME archetype; it would show that the archetype was written in minuscule script and thus date it to the eighth century or later. But given the possibility of alternative explanations for the error, and the absence of any other examples of minuscule confusions in the ME archetype, it would be unsafe to put much faith in such an argument for dating.

The rules of classical grammar indicate that a future infinitive should be used with *spero*, but the present also occurs, especially in later texts (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 357–8).

11p προπίνω σου: This verb takes the dative in classical Greek; on the replacement of the dative by the genitive see above on 4a τοῦ φίλου.

11q *quare:* Here M has a classically correct form and E the rare but definitely ancient *ut quid* (for the

use of *ut quid* for 'why?' see Wölfflin (1887), Lyne (1978: 225), and e.g. Cicero, *Att.* 7.7.7, Martial 3.77.10). This situation is unusual; perhaps M's text has been corrected and E preserves the original reading, or perhaps the E adaptor was motivated to insert *ut quid* because of its greater parallelism to Greek διὰ τί.

11q Given the general emphasis on politeness in this scene it is notable that this revelation of a major breach of hospitality is not followed by any move on the part of the host to get the deprived guest a drink; presumably the reason is that the phrases he would use to do so have all been illustrated earlier (cf. above on 4a–c).

11r πλακούντια/*placenta*: Probably cheese-cakes; see Athenaeus 449c and Cato, *Agr.* 76. The Latin word normally belongs to the first declension and therefore should be *placentam*, but M's reading here cannot be due simply to omission of final -*m*, as the adjective *dulcia* is unmistakeably neuter plural; the scribe of M must have been thinking of *placenta* as neuter plural. The word is very occasionally attested in the neuter (see *TLL* s.v. *placenta* 2255.33–7); here there may be influence from Greek πλακούντια. E corrects to *dulcem placentam*.

11s The timely end of the dinner, with the guests fit to go home by themselves and the host able to go to bed in time to get up at cockcrow, conflicts with many ancient descriptions of banqueting (see Stein-Hölkeskamp 2005: 253–8). Though descriptions of dining excess were no doubt exaggerated by moralizing writers, exaggeration in another direction is possible in a text used for teaching. Several other versions of the colloquia, however, contain references to drunken misbehaviour and embarrassment (see H 21g–h and the extended scolding scene at C 66–8).

11s κανδῆλαν/*lampadam*: This is M's text, which illustrates the extent to which late Latin and late Greek were using each other's vocabulary by giving a word with a Latin etymology for the Greek and a word with Greek etymology for the Latin. This interchange is not due to any corruption in transmission, as both borrowings are well attested from a fairly early period; likewise the first-declension form of the Latin is reasonably well attested; cf. *TLL* s.v. 908.76–83. E has purified both by changing the Greek to λαμπάδα and the Latin to *faculam*.

11s καλῶς ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες/*bene nos accepisti*: There are parallels in P. Berol. inv. 10582 lines 20–4 and Mp 19a; see commentary on Mp 19a.

12 Though some of the other colloquia mention closing up the house and going to bed (Mp 20e–f, C 65, C 69), this is the most extended description of those activities.

12a πάντα/*omnia*: The arrangement of the text in M suggests that this is to be taken with what precedes ('collect all these things'), but Krumbacher has another possible interpretation, placing a comma before this and taking it with what follows ('collect these things, put everything back').

12a τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις/*suis locis*: Ferri (2008a: 143) considers this a further example of confusion between locative and directional expressions (see above on 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*), though this passage is perhaps more of a borderline case than some of the others.

12c *pigriter*: For E's *segniter* see section 2.3.2 above; in this case neither word has direct descendants in Italian, but words related to *pigriter* survive in Italian while words related to *segniter* do not.

12c ⟨ἐποιήσατε⟩/⟨*fecistis*⟩: It is normally thought that a verb must be supplied here, but it is just possible that the transmitted text is sound and the verb was elided rather than expressed in the original. Omission of *fecisti* after an adverb such as *probe* is not uncommon in classical Latin (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 5.4.2, 15.2.2): see Heidemann (1893: 57–63).

12c ἐκτρέψῃ/*ineptiat*: These are Krumbacher's emendations, and they may not be right since the Latin and the Greek do not match each other, but nothing better has yet been proposed. The M manuscripts have *estrepsi/inepte* (or just *nepte*), and E has ἐξέλθοι (or ἐξέλθη)/*exeat*, which are almost certainly emendations on the part of the E adaptor.

12d τούτου: The object of συγχωρέω would normally be in the dative; for replacement of dative by genitive see on 4a τοῦ φίλου.

In all manuscripts except A and N the Hermeneumata finish at this point; A and N have the capitula here.

Part Three

Colloquium Leidense–Stephani

INTRODUCTION TO THE COLLOQUIUM LEIDENSE–STEPHANI

Like the colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia, this work is often thought of as two separate entities. The primary witness to it is a ninth-century manuscript in Leiden, one of the earliest and most important sources for the Hermeneumata as a whole. The only other witness is the sixteenth-century edition published by Henri Estienne, which is based on two lost manuscripts. The Leiden manuscript is much to be preferred as a source where both are available, and this makes the edition largely useless for most of the Hermeneumata. For the colloquium, however, Estienne's edition is indispensable, since the latter part of the colloquium text is missing from the manuscript: the edition is the only surviving source.

3.1 SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

3.1.1 THE LEIDEN MANUSCRIPT

The Leiden manuscript (**L**) is Leidensis Vossianus Gr. Q. 7, copied in the second quarter of the ninth century and currently housed in Leiden University Library (plate 12).[1] It contains the colloquium at the very end of the Hermeneumata, on folios 37v–39r. The text in L breaks off at the end of section 8e; this is unlikely to have been the original end of the colloquium (see 3.1.2 below), but it must have been where the text ended in the exemplar from which L was copied, for the break comes in the midst of a page, with another text following on the same page. The manuscript is clearly written and generously spaced, with four columns per page and few abbreviations (apart from words for 'and', which are often abbreviated in both languages, and from the omission of nasals, which is marked with a horizontal line). The Greek, which occupies the left-hand column of each pair, is in Greek uncials; the Latin is in minuscule. In the colloquium (though not always in the rest of the manuscript) words are left undivided in both languages (when there is more than one word on a line), and the Greek has no diacritics.

Goetz and Flammini assert that the entire manuscript is in the same hand,[2] but Bischoff[3] finds that the first hand stops at the end of the first column on folio 37v, and that from the second column on that folio onwards, in other words from the beginning of the colloquium, the texts (the colloquium and the other material that follows, which is not part of the Hermeneumata) are written by a series of other hands, also from the ninth century. It is clear that Bischoff is right about the change of scribe at the start of the colloquium (see plate 12): at this point in the manuscript the colour of the ink changes from black to brown, the letters become larger and more separated from one another, the shapes of some letters alter (particularly ξ, ζ, ψ, λ, π, and καί[4] in the Greek and &, h, g, and x in the Latin), and the scribe ceases to divide words.[5] The change of scribe suggests a change of exemplar, and a different exemplar is also indicated by a shift in the spelling errors: the scribe who copied the colloquium was faced with graphic ambiguities in his exemplar different from those that had affected the previous scribe.[6] Therefore the colloquium came from a source different from that which furnished the rest of the

---

[1] For further information on L see Bischoff (1998–2004: II.48 = no. 2182), whose date I follow; Goetz (1892: vii–viii); and Flammini (1990: 9–34, 2004: x–xvii); the manuscript is also discussed by Krumbacher (1883: 35–46).

[2] Flammini's statement about the single hand (2004: x) is clearly due to his having followed Goetz on this point; Goetz's statement (1892: viii) is probably due to reliance on the work of Gundermann, who made the transcription of L that Goetz printed (see Goetz 1892: viii).

[3] 1998–2004: II.48; Nigel Wilson (personal communication) agrees with Bischoff on this point.

[4] This word is abbreviated in three of its eight occurrences in the colloquium, but I cannot find this abbreviation anywhere in the earlier pages of the manuscript.

[5] In the earlier portions of the manuscript, lines containing more than one word per language frequently have the Greek words divided with raised dots (or, less often, spaces), while the Latin words are usually separated by spaces (or, less often, raised dots); both these means of indicating word division are conspicuously absent from the pages containing the colloquium.

[6] The colloquium contains repeated errors of upsilon for tau (four times in the approximately one and a half folios of text occupied by the colloquium: Title A3 συναασυροφης for συναναστροφῆς, 2d1 νιτυω for νίπτω, 3a1 πρωυον for πρῶτον, 6d2 εσυιν for ἐστίν), but I cannot find this error even once in the preceding ten folios.

Greek	Latin
ΚΑΙ· ΔΙΑΣ·ΤΕΛΜΟΝΟΣ	et aie etelamonuis
ΣΥΝΕΖΗΛΤΑΝ	stanter fuerunt
ΤΟΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΣ ΘΩΡ	tunc et nestor
ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΓΕΡΑΣ	propt senectutem
ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΣ ΕΤΙΜΟΘΗ	honeste honoratus e.
ΟΠΛΟΙΣ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΙΟ ΟΜΗΔΗΣ	armis iteru diomedes
ΔΙΑΣ ΟΗΛΕΤΣ	oeila
ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΜΟΝΙΟΙΣΙ ΣΟΙΣ	et telamonios equalis
ΔΩΡΟΙΣ ΤΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ	primus honoratus sunt
ΑΠΕΧΩΡΗΣΕΝ	discesserunt
ΔΙΣΚΩ ΠΟΛΥ ΠΟΙΤΗΣ	disco polr pela
ΤΟΞΩ ΤΕ ΚΡΟΣ	sagitate ucror...
ΚΔΙΑΚΟΝΤΙΩ	et iaculo
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝ	agamemnon
ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΝΗ ΘΗ	et laudatus est
Υ ΠΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ	et achille
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΧΙΛΛΕΤΣ	et tunc achillis
ΤΟ ΤΟΓ ΕΚΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΠΙΩΜΑ	hectoris corpus
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΓ ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΥ	circu patrocli
ΤΑΦΟΝ	tumulum.
ΤΡΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΟ ΣΥΡΕΝ	
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ	
ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΛΟΙΠΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ	
ΕΡΑΝΕ ΜΕΜΨΑΤΟ	
ΟΤΙ ΤΟΓ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΗ ΗΡΕΣΚΕΝ	
ΗΡΕΣΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΛΟΙΠΟΣ	
ΙΝΑ ΔΙΕΡ ΜΟΡ·	
ΤΟΤΟΓ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ	
ΑΦΕΛ ΚΥΣΟΝ ΡΟΣΣΩΜΑ	

Greek	Latin
INCIPIT HERMENE	
...ΜΑΤΑ ΙΔ· LIBRI XII.	
ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗΣ	de conuersatione
ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ	cotidiana
ΣΥΝΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ	conuersatio
ΗΜΕΡΑ	**dies**
ΕΛΕΙΟΣ	sol
ΑΝΕΤΙΔΕΝ	ortus est
ΗΛΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ	sol is ortus
ΦΩΣ	lux
ΦΑΟΣ	lumen
ΗΔΗ ΦΩΤΙΖΙ	iam lucet
ΗΩΣ	aurora
ΠΡΟΦΑΟΣ	ante lucem
ΠΡΟΕΙ	mane
ΕΓΡΟΜΑΙ	surgo
ΗΓΕΡΘΗ	surrexit
ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΛΕΙΝΗΣ	de lecto
ΚΛΕΙΝΗ	lectum
ΕΓΡΗΓΟΡΗΣΕΝ	uigilauit
ΕΚΘΕΣ	heri
ΕΠΙΠΟΛΟΙ	diu
ΕΝΔΥΣΟΝ ΜΟΙ	uestime
ΔΟΣ ΕΜΟΙ	da mihi
ΥΠΟΔΗΜΑΤΑ	calciamenta
ΚΑΤ ΟΥΣ ΠΕΙΛΟΙΣ	& udones
ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΞΥΔΑΣ	& brachas
ΗΔΗ ΥΠΟΔΗΘΗΝ	iam calciatus sum

Plate 12 (Leiden University Library: codex Vossianus Gr. Q. 7), folio 37v.
Printed by kind permission of Leiden University Library.

Hermeneumata material in the Leiden manuscript. This colloquium was probably originally associated with the Bruxellensia version (with which it appears in S), and the colloquium Harleianum was probably the original colloquium of the Leidensia version of the Hermeneumata (see 1.2.5 above).

At the start of the colloquium L has a title in Latin only: *incipit hermeneumata id est libri XII* 'Here begin the Hermeneumata, that is, 12 books'. This is a title for the entire Hermeneumata, not the colloquium, and indicates that the colloquium stood at the beginning rather than the end of the Hermeneumata in the exemplar (see 1.2.5 above). In this context it is significant that this colloquium stood at the start of the Hermeneumata in one of the sources on which S is based (see 3.1.2 below).

One other feature of the Leiden manuscript is worthy of note even though it is not relevant to the history of the colloquium itself. At the very beginning of the text portion of the Hermeneumata (the preface to the texts and the start of the *Hadriani sententiae*, folios 17v–18v), many of the Greek words are marked with accents. The accent marks, which seem to have been written at the same time as the letters themselves,[7] follow a monotonic system: the accented syllable receives an acute accent, regardless of whether the accent ought to be acute, grave, or circumflex. This is very different from both ancient and medieval Greek practice: Byzantine manuscripts use the full three-sign accent system[8] rather than a monotonic one, and in Byzantium accentuation normally goes with the use of minuscule script, so uncial Greek like that in L would not be accented.[9] So the accent marks are strikingly out of line with contemporary Greek scribal practice, but at the same time they are completely in accord with contemporary Greek pronunciation: the distinction in sound between acute and circumflex, being tied to the pitch accent, had vanished by the end of antiquity as the pitch accent was replaced by the stress accent used in modern Greek.

The person responsible for the accents in L must have known how the Greek words involved were actually pronounced: the accents are almost all on the correct syllables, and only someone with actual experience of spoken Greek would have used a monotonic accent system. The monotonic accents do not necessarily prove that the writer was unfamiliar with the usual accent system of written Greek – in theory, he or she might just have felt that a simplified system would be easier for learners – but it does point in that direction. The combination of accents and word division, in a script that traditionally used neither of these features, suggests a special effort made for learners of Greek.

At the time when these features were added, then, the Hermeneumata Leidensia must have been being used to learn Greek, rather than Latin. Clearly this was the case in the ninth century when L was copied, but neither accents nor word dividers give the impression of having been superimposed by a later scribe on a pre-existing text; they seem to have been written with the text. Therefore the copying of L itself was probably not the occasion on which use of the Hermeneumata shifted from learning Latin to learning Greek; the text had probably been adapted earlier, and such adaptation must have involved the assistance of someone with a good knowledge of contemporary spoken Greek. But as the colloquium was probably not part of the same text as the rest of the Hermeneumata material when the accents and word dividers were added, these facts are useful only for understanding the history of the rest of the Hermeneumata Leidensia, not of the colloquium.

I have examined L both in person and via photographs.

3.1.2 THE STEPHANUS EDITION

The edition (**S**) is entitled *Glossaria duo e situ vetustatis eruta: ad utriusque linguae cognitionem & locupletationem perutilia*; it was published in Paris by Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) in 1573 and contains both this colloquium (on pp. 281–6) and a second one (for which see Part 4 below).[10] In his preface,[11] Estienne

---

[7] Sometimes the accent mark is written slightly to the right of the letter rather than directly above it, and in those words the scribe usually leaves a small gap before beginning the next letter, in order to avoid writing it on top of the accent. This procedure (which is not found in Byzantine manuscripts) suggests that the accent was written before the following letter.

[8] This system was invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium in the early second century BC and maintained for writing the contemporary language until the twentieth century AD (with a few modifications, chiefly involving the use of the grave).

[9] It is however worth remembering that by the ninth century, when L was written, the use of minuscule was common in Byzantium; therefore the writing of accents is not in itself surprising at this date.

[10] See Dionisotti (1985: 313–18) for an insightful study of this publication and its sources.

[11] Pp. 235–6, partially quoted by Goetz (1892: xiv–xv) and Dionisotti (1985: 314–15).

says that for this portion of the work he made use of two old manuscripts (*interpretationes in antiquis pergamenis depravatissime scriptas*), both of which are now lost. One of these came from Fleury and contained the LS colloquium at its beginning, with the Latin in the left-hand column and a title closely resembling that found in L; the other had the same colloquium (though with a different title) near the middle, with the Greek in the left-hand column. Estienne mentions that a certain amount of the Greek material was in Latin transliteration (*in depravatis porro vocabulis, quorum magnus numerus erat, praesertim quum literis Latinis pleraque scripta ibi essent . . .).*, and Dionisotti (1985: 315) has found evidence that his second manuscript (the Greek–Latin one) was transliterated and contained capitula of the Bruxellensia version.

Estienne's edition of the capitula gives two versions of each section, one from each of his source manuscripts, but he gives only one version of the colloquium, which his preface specifies was found in both sources; from this we can conclude that the text of the two manuscripts resembled one another more closely in the colloquium than in the capitula. He presents the colloquium (and the other Hermeneumata material) with the Latin in the left-hand column, he prints the Greek in Greek script, he places the colloquium in the middle of the Hermeneumata, and he gives it only the title that does not resemble that in L. (To this is prefixed the heading 'Colloq. ι/Ὁμιλ. α′' to distinguish the LS colloquium from the other one he prints, but it is clear from the preface that this heading is Estienne's own addition.) In the first two of these features he appears to be following the Fleury manuscript, but in the second two features he seems to be following the other manuscript. As order of works and choice of titles is a matter of deeper significance for the composition of a text than order of columns and choice of scripts (Estienne would have printed Greek in Greek script no matter what his sources had), we can suspect that the text Estienne printed may have been derived more from his second manuscript than from the Fleury one – though as it is likely that the two manuscripts had a very similar text this distinction may not make much difference.

Estienne's preface indicates that he made considerable editorial intervention into the texts of the glossaries (correcting corrupt words, changing their arrangement, and sometimes adding words from other sources), and it is this information that has caused modern editors to have little faith in S as

a witness when it differs from L. In the text of the colloquium, however, Estienne seems to have made very few alterations apart from correcting spellings, restoring the Greek alphabet where the text was transliterated, and adding diacritics to the Greek. (That the Greek accents were added by Estienne can be inferred from his statement (1573: 236) that he left corrupt Greek words unaccented.) This lack of interference is evident from the closeness with which the text of S agrees with that of L – apart from the omission of a few lines (see commentary on 1d ἐγρηγόρησεν/*vigilavit*), which is probably accidental, there are only two places where the text of S differs from that of L in any substantive way (see commentary on 6e and 8e). Particularly notable are the glaring errors in the Greek that Estienne did not correct (see commentary on 7b and 7d). This restraint was probably due to the fact that the kind of reorganization and expansion that Estienne applied to the glossary entries was not appropriate to a continuous text. Such indication of fidelity to his sources in the portion of the colloquium that survives in L is strong grounds for belief that Estienne's text is equally faithful in the portion of the colloquium that does not survive in L.

I have examined S both in person (using three copies in the Bodleian library, Oxford) and via photographs.

3.1.3 Modern editions

There are a number of more recent editions of the LS colloquium. Estienne's edition was several times reprinted under various names (see Goetz 1892: xvi for the list), but the next actual edition of the work was that of Eduard **Böcking** (Δοσιθέου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἑρμηνευμάτων βιβλίον Γ′/*Dosithei magistri interpretamentorum liber tertius*, Bonn 1832). This work contains various non-glossary texts from the Leidensia version of the Hermeneumata, including this colloquium on pp. 89–95. Böcking was very much aware of Estienne's edition of the colloquium, as this had been reprinted in recent works and was therefore much better known than the other Hermeneumata material he presented. He felt that given its availability some justification for his republication of the colloquium was required, and offered the fact that his text was based on L, which had some differences from Estienne's lost sources (1832: xxvii, cf. xxiii). It looks as though Böcking's need to make his text different from Estienne's may have influenced some of his editorial

decisions (see commentary on 8e). Nevertheless he clearly made use of S in correcting the text of L, as he refers on occasion to S's readings in his apparatus. In general Böcking's transcription of L is accurate, but his occasional mistakes caused trouble later (see commentary on 2e).

The best-known edition is as usual that of **Goetz** (1892). As with the Monacensia–Einsidlensia colloquia, Goetz dealt with the differences between various versions by printing three separate texts: the L version of the colloquium can be found both as a transcription of L (1892: 69–71) and in a restored version with Greek diacritics (1892: 637–8), while the S version appears only as a transcription (1892: 376–9). The transcriptions are generally accurate, but not completely so. Goetz's restored version is based on Böcking's text, which it follows very closely (cf. 1892: xxxv). It is probably for this reason that the restored version ends where L breaks off, since Goetz's footnote saying the text is incomplete and referring readers to his transcript of S (1892: 638 n. 1) indicates that he did not end it where he did for scholarly reasons.

Recently **Flammini** (2004) has produced a Teubner text of the complete Hermeneumata Leidensia; the colloquium appears on pp. 121–5 of this edition. Flammini gives some consideration in his apparatus to parallel passages in the other colloquia, but he ignores S entirely, on the grounds that Goetz and Krumbacher had demonstrated it to be of very little value in emending the text of L (2004: viii). As regards the glossaries Flammini's decision to ignore S may have been a sensible one, but as regards the colloquium it is unfortunate. Like Goetz's and Böcking's editions, Flammini's ends at 8e, where L breaks off – but unlike earlier editors Flammini does not alert the reader to the fact that the rest of the colloquium is extant elsewhere. Another consequence of Flammini's refusal to take S into account is that in his apparatus he attributes to modern editors, apparently as emendations, readings that those editors took from S.[12]

Flammini's reporting of the readings of L is less complete and accurate than that of Goetz; there are a few wrong readings in the apparatus (e.g. 2a1 επενκε for L's ενενκε, 2a2 *aqua* for L's *aquā = aquam*; this is

a common abbreviation in L), and not infrequently a normalized form is given in the text without any indication in the apparatus that the manuscript has something different (e.g. 1c κλίνης and κλίνη for L's κλεινης and κλεινη, 4b μανθάνω for L's μαθαννω). The replication of the line division of L is also frequently incorrect.

3.2 THE NATURE OF THE COLLOQUIUM

3.2.1 THE VOCABULARY LISTS

LS differs from ME in several important ways. It is much shorter – not only does it have fewer scenes, but each individual scene is much briefer – and it contains frequent vocabulary lists intermingled with the narrative. These vocabulary lists clearly arose from the fact that the colloquia were used to teach vocabulary in context; the lists consist of words related to the sentence just given. Sometimes a word that occurs in an oblique form in the sentence then appears as a vocabulary item in its citation form (e.g. the repetition of the word for 'bed' in 1c), but more often the extra word or words is or are an alternative or related idea to the one in the sentence (e.g. the alternative words for 'go' and 'student' in 2f and 3b, or the list of types of seat in 3d). Sometimes these two techniques are combined, as in 4a, where 'I sat' is an alternative for the past-tense verb meaning 'I got it first', and then 'I sit' gives the citation form of that alternative. Sometimes the citation form of a verb (first-person singular present indicative active) is followed by the second person singular, to show how the verb is conjugated (e.g. 4b), or a pronoun or adjective is given a variety of forms to illustrate its declension, as in 4d–f. Different scenes have varying proportions of narrative to vocabulary list; the last scene, the dinner, consists of only a tiny amount of narrative with an enormous vocabulary list.

The vocabulary lists are probably not part of the original design of the colloquia, since most colloquia do not have them. At the same time they are probably not a very recent addition, since there are similar vocabulary lists in C and in one place a vocabulary list in C may have a historical relationship to one in LS (see commentary on 2f–8c). One of the scenes in LS has no extra vocabulary (see commentary on 10a–e); this scene is likely to have not been part of the same text as the other scenes at the time when the

---

[12] Thus φάους in 1b3, *sordidae sunt* in 2b2, ἐνιψάμην in 2d2, ἔμαθον in 7a1, *domum* in 7b4, *balneum* in 8c4, and ἔδραμον in 8e2 are attributed to Böcking, while με in 1e1 and *graphium* in 6f4 are attributed to Goetz.

vocabulary was added, a fact that indicates that the addition of extra vocabulary stopped before the LS colloquium reached its final form.

The presence of the vocabulary lists, which are not separated from the narrative typographically in either L or S, makes it much more difficult to make sense of the text; one has to work out which words to take as part of the narrative and which to take as parenthetical. In some cases there is more than one legitimate interpretation (see commentary on 8e).

3.2.2 THE GREEK ORTHOGRAPHY

The L version of the colloquium contains numerous misspellings in the Greek; the S version has almost none, presumably owing to correction by Estienne, and is therefore of little use in a consideration of orthography. Some of the spelling errors in L are simply graphic confusions arising from the process of textual transmission, but many have a phonetic basis. These fall into several groups:[13]

(1) Confusion of iota and epsilon iota[14] is extremely common. This error results from a sound change that took place early in the Hellenistic period and would therefore have been completed when the colloquium was first composed, on any possible dating for that original composition.

(2) Confusion of epsilon and alpha iota[15] is less common than the first type of mistake but still reasonably frequent; confusion of upsilon and omicron iota[16] is rare but present. These errors result from sound changes that took place around the second century AD.

(3) Confusions resulting from late antique sound changes are rare but not entirely absent: L contains one example of confusion of upsilon and iota (2b ριπαραι for ῥυπαραί), to which could perhaps be added another in a section of the text preserved only in S (11m πηλαμίς for πηλαμύς).

(4) Confusion of epsilon and eta is fairly common;[17] these two sounds never merged in spoken Greek, but they are often confused by Latin-speaking scribes copying Greek. The most striking example of this confusion in L is ηις for εἰς in 8e; a native speaker, who would have read ει as one sound, could not have made that mistake.

We can draw several conclusions from this pattern. The Greek underwent a period of transmission by native speakers of Latin; this was presumably the final phase in its transmission. At the same time a native speaker, or at least someone who knew how to pronounce Greek like a native speaker, must have participated in the transmission process after the end of the Roman period, since there is at least one spelling mistake that belongs to native Greek pronunciation of the late antique and Byzantine periods. Since misspellings attributable to such a late date are so rare, however, the person responsible for them must not have had much effect on the text. (It is not possible that the person responsible was a Byzantine who made substantial alterations but was an excellent speller and almost never made mistakes, owing to the very large number of spelling mistakes attributable to earlier periods: if the text had received substantial alteration from a Greek who knew how to spell correctly, he or she would have cleaned up those other errors.)

Lastly, the large number of spelling mistakes deriving from sound changes that had taken place by the middle of the imperial period suggests that the text was substantially reworked in or after the second century AD. In fact a date before the second century AD is not feasible for any part of the colloquium preserved in L, owing to the fairly even distribution of Roman-period spelling errors across sections 1–8. (Because of the lack of original spellings in S, no conclusions can be drawn from the orthography of sections 9–11.) The text therefore reached something close to its current form in the middle or late imperial period, and the

---

[13] I leave out of consideration confusion of omicron and omega, which is fairly common (1c προει for πρωΐ, 2c πηλως for πηλός, 4g αποδειδομει for ἀποδίδωμι, 4g απεδοκα for ἀπέδωκα, 5b ρομαεικα and ρομαιστι for Ῥωμαικά and Ῥωμαιστί, 6d απαλων for ἀπαλόν, 8e ερχωμενους for ἐρχομένοις), because this error could be due either to a phonetic confusion or to Latin influence like the confusion of epsilon and eta. Also left out of consideration is confusion of eta and iota (or epsilon iota), which occurs but is not common (4a εκαθισα for ἐκάθισα, 5b4 ελλινικα for Ἑλληνικά, 6d κειριν for κηρίον), because this error is due to a sound change of disputed date.

[14] E.g. 1b φωτιζι for φωτίζει, 1c προει for πρωΐ, 1c κλεινη for κλίνη, 2a χιρας for χεῖρας.

[15] 3b χερε and χερεταις for χαῖρε and χαίρετε, 3c δοται for δότε, 4a προσχωρειται for προσχωρεῖτε, 4g δυναμε for δύναμαι, 6e λειενω for λειαίνω, 6f ειματαις for ἱμάντες, 8a πες for παῖς, 8c διερχομε for διέρχομαι, 8d προσερχομε for προσέρχομαι, 8e αιδραμα for ἔδραμον.

[16] 1d πολοι for πολύ.

[17] 1a ελειος for ἥλιος, 2b χιρης for χεῖρες, 2f απηρχομαι for ἀπέρχομαι, 3a αντεσπασατο for ἀντησπάσατο, 4c ημην for ἐμήν, 4e ημητερος for ἡμέτερος, 5b1 ελλενικα for Ἑλληνικά, 6f σελιδης for σελίδες, 7a ειλεφα for εἴληφα, etc.

Greek had very little influence from native speakers after the end of the Roman empire.

3.2.3 OTHER ASPECTS OF THE LANGUAGE

Apart from the orthographic mistakes discussed above, the text contains very few datable linguistic features; the vocabulary is overwhelmingly classical in both languages. There are however a few features of interest, most notably that in the vocabulary list at the end two entries are Byzantine words unattested before the ninth century (see commentary on 11g περιφόρημα and 11p πυρίστατον) and one is unattested before the seventh century (11p θερμοφόρον). Apart from these words I can find only four with first attestations later than the third century AD: three of these are first attested in the fourth century (see commentary on 10b ἁπλουστάτως, 11f μάκτρον, and 11l βόϊνον) and one in the sixth century (see commentary on 11c ἀψίνθινον). It is notable that these late features cluster towards the end of the colloquium: more than half of them, including all the Byzantine terms, are found in the vocabulary list at the very end, two more occur in the final scene just before that vocabulary list, and the last is found in the next to last scene. Not only is the section of the colloquium covered by L free from late vocabulary, but so is the immediate continuation of that section in S.

The grammar and syntax of both languages is also generally classical; most portions of the text were evidently composed by someone who had a good command of the written standard in both languages. Particularly notable in the Greek are classically correct forms of difficult irregular verbs (e.g. 1d ἐγρηγόρησεν, 4g ἐδυνήθην and ἀποδοῦναι, 10d εὑρεθήσομαι), a third-person imperative (11d τιθέσθω), an optative (9b γένοιτο), a gerund (8c ἰτέον), a genitive absolute (11a ἐπανελθόντων ἡμῶν), and an articular infinitive (11d τὸ πιεῖν). There are however a few lapses in the Greek, most strikingly at 4a, 7, and 10a–c, in each of which places there is a cluster of errors (see commentary *ad locc*). The few post-classical Greek features found elsewhere in the text (e.g. 6c οἶδας) were widespread in Roman-period writing by native speakers and are not incompatible with the high level of Greek generally attained in the colloquium, but some of the problems in sections 7 and 10a–c point to a person with a lower level of education than the one who wrote the rest of the text; in 7 in particular the writer could not

be a native speaker of Greek. The concentration of such errors into a few places, together with the generally high quality of the Greek elsewhere, suggests that a person or persons with a less good command of Greek than the original writer made a few limited alterations to the text after its composition.[18]

The Latin has very few errors of any kind; in most places it is remarkably correct in both grammar and spelling, by the standards of the other colloquia, and it matches the Greek closely. In one place the Latin was apparently interfered with by someone who knew no Greek and not a great deal of Latin (see commentary on 2b), but such interference must have been very limited.

Because the writer's level of knowledge of both languages was generally good, and because the syntax is in general not elaborate, there are very few passages that show evidence of translation from one language to the other. In five or six places the Greek may translate the Latin (see commentary on 7b, 7d, 7e, 8c, 9b, 11n; perhaps also 5a), and in three others the Latin may translate the Greek (see commentary on 11d, 11g, 11p). It is notable that all three of the latter come in the last scene of the colloquium, with two of them in the vocabulary list with which it ends.

The combination of this apparent shift in direction of translation with the evidence of the late vocabulary strongly suggests that the end of this text is a later addition. The difficulty is in determining the point at which the original material ends and the addition begins. One might be tempted to assume that it coincided with the end of L (8e), but this solution is unlikely both because that ending is so manifestly a break rather than a proper ending, and because the immediate continuation of that scene in S (9a–b) is not at all linguistically suspicious. The text after section 9 has the following relevant features:

Section 10: This, the oath-taking scene, is the only section of the colloquium that does not contain any vocabulary lists. The Greek is noticeably less classicizing than that elsewhere in the colloquium, and there is one form not attested before the fourth century.

---

[18] This person(s) was probably not the same as the one(s) who introduced the late spelling error(s), since (1) those are not in the same places as the grammatical errors, and (2) phonetic spelling errors suggest a good grasp of spoken Greek, perhaps a native speaker, while grammatical errors point in the opposite direction.

Sections 11a–f: This is the first part of the dinner scene, before the long vocabulary list. The Greek is noticeably more correct and elegant than that elsewhere in the colloquium, for three of the five especially impressive constructions noted above occur in this section. There is one place in which the Latin seems to be a translation of the Greek, and two late vocabulary items, one unattested before the fourth century and one unattested before the sixth.

Sections 11g–p: This is the long vocabulary list with which the colloquium ends. It has no syntax, classical or otherwise, but contains four of the seven late vocabulary items, including all three of the very late ones. In two places a Latin word seems to be a translation of the Greek, and in one a Greek word seems to be a translation of the Latin. Some of the words are in the wrong case, as if they had been borrowed from another source and inserted here by someone not capable of changing their forms.

These features suggest that the end of the colloquia may contain text from three different sources, probably added one by one to the end of an earlier narrative. First section 10 was added, probably by someone with less education in Greek than the original writer(s), in or after the fourth century; the composer of this section may also have been the person who introduced errors to the Greek of section 7. Then sections 11a–f were added, probably by a particularly well educated Greek speaker, in or after the sixth century; the composer of this section may have been the person who introduced the late Greek spelling error in section 2b, but it is also possible that this section was composed independently of the colloquium and attached to our text by someone other than its writer. Finally, in or after the ninth century, sections 11g–p were added by someone who compiled a list of dining vocabulary from a variety of sources.

3.2.4 CONCLUSIONS

The bulk of the LS colloquium seems to have been written in the second and/or third century AD, with the final sections added later at different times. The relationship between the two sources for the text is illustrated by the stemma given in figure 3.1.
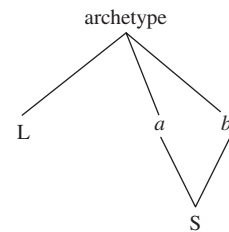
Figure 3.1 Stemma for LS colloquium

TEXT, TRANSLATION,
AND CRITICAL APPARATUS

INDEX SIGLORUM

L	Leidensis Vossianus Gr. Q. 7 (9th century)
S	Stephanus 1573
Böcking	Böcking 1832
ac	before correction
del.	deleted by
om.	omitted by
pc	after correction
ut vid.	reading uncertain
( )	parenthetical material in the text
< >	editorial supplements to the text
[ ]	editorial additions to the translation

In the text, line divisions follow L from 1a1 to 8e3 and follow the pattern established by L elsewhere; accents, breathings, and iotas subscript follow S; capitalization and punctuation are editorial. Spelling is normalized (with original spellings in the apparatus), but morphology and syntax are not normalized. The section numbers are those given by Goetz in his restored version (1892: 637–8), but for convenience I have divided them into smaller units marked with letters. All corrections to the text after 8e3 are my own.

In the apparatus, readings of L and S are always given when either of them differs from the text printed (except that abbreviations have been silently expanded when there is no doubt about the correct expansion), so the text can be assumed to have the authority of both those sources up to 8e3, and of S thereafter, if there is no indication to the contrary.

In S the Latin is on the left and the Greek on the right.

COLLOQUIUM LEIDENSE–STEPHANI

Title A		Incipit Hermeneumata, id est libri xii.	Here begin the Hermeneumata, that is, 12 books.
	Περὶ συναναστροφῆς. καθημερινὴ συναναστροφή.	De conversatione. cottidiana conversatio.	Concerning conversation. Daily conversation.
Title B	Ἀρχώμεθα γράφειν ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας συναναστροφήν.	Incipiamus scribere totius diei conversationem.	Let us begin to write the whole day's conversation.

Morning

1a	Ἡμέρα· ἥλιος ἀνέτειλεν. (ἡλίου ἀνατολή, φῶς, φάος)	Dies: sol ortus est. (solis ortus, lux, lumen)	Day: the sun has risen. (the rising of the sun, light, light)
b	ἤδη φωτίζει. (ἠώς, Πρὸ φάους)	iam lucet. (aurora, ante lucem)	It is already light. (dawn, before daylight)
c	Πρωῒ ἐγείρομαι. ἠγέρθη ἐκ τῆς κλίνης (κλίνη).	mane surgo. surrexit de lecto (lectum).	In the morning I get up. He got up from the bed (bed).
d	ἐγρηγόρησεν ἐχθὲς ἐΠὶ Πολύ.	vigilavit heri diu.	He was up late yesterday.
e	ἔνδυσόν μοι· δὸς ἐμοὶ ὑΠοδήματα καὶ τοὺς Πίλους καὶ ἀναξυ<ρί>δας. ἤδη ὑΠεδέθην.	vesti me: da mihi calciamenta et udones et bracas. iam calceatus sum.	Dress me: give me [my] shoes and socks and trousers. Now I am shod.

Title A om. S, sed unus antigraphorum S dicitur (praefatio Stephani p. 235) lineas 3 et 5 huius tituli habuisse
2 *humata* L^{ac}*jd*÷ L, quod *id est* significare intellexit Lachmann (1837 = 1876: 198 n. 3)3 συνανασυροφης L
4 *cotidiana* L **Title B** om. L, habet S ex solo uno antigraphorum (praefatio Stephani p. 235) praecedit
in S ὁμιλ. α΄. *colloq.* 1. **1a**2 ελειος L 3 ανετιδεν L **1b**1 φωτιζι L^{pc}: φωτις vel φωτισζι L^{ac}
3 Προφαος L **1c**1 Προει L 2 εγρομαι L 4 εκτησκλεινης L 5 κλεινη L lineam om. S
1d1 lineam om. S 3 Πολοι L **1e**1 με S 3 υΠοδημλτα L 4 lineam om. S
5 κατουσΠειλοις *etbrachas* L lineam om. S 6 ηδηυΠοδηθην *iamcalciatussum* L lineam om. S

2a	ἔνεγκε	affer	Bring
	ὕδωρ Πρὸς χεῖρας.	aquam manibus.	water for [my] hands.
	(ὕδωρ,	(aqua,	(water,
	κόγχη)	concha)	little vessel)

b	χεῖρες	manus	The hands
	ῥυΠαραί εἰσιν.	sordidae sunt.	are dirty.

c	(ῥύΠος,	(sordes,	(dirt,
	Πηλός,	lutum,	mud,
	σήΠων,	sapo,	soap,
	λίΠος,	unctum,	grease,
	λελιΠωμένον)	unctatum)	greased)

d	νίΠτω·	lavo:	I wash:
	ἤδη ἐνιψάμην	iam lavi	now I have washed
	τὰς ἐμὰς χεῖρας	meas manus	my hands
	καὶ τὴν ὄψιν.	et faciem.	and face.

e	καταμάσσω.	tergo.	I dry.
	(ἀκμὴν οὐ κατέμαξα,	(adhuc non tersi,	(I have not yet dried,
	κατέ<μ>αξα)	tersi)	I have dried)
	Προέρχομαι	procedo	I go
	ἔξω	foris	out
	ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος.	de cubiculo.	of the bedroom.

School

f	Ἔρχομαι	Venio	I come
	(ἀΠέρχομαι)	(vado)	(I go)
	εἰς τὴν σχολήν.	in scholam.	to school.

3a	Πρῶτον	primum	First
	ἀσΠάζομαι	saluto	I greet
	τὸν διδάσκαλον,	magistrum,	the teacher,
	ὃς ἐμὲ	qui me	who returned my greeting.
	ἀντησΠάσατο.	resalutavit.	

b	Χαῖρε, διδάσκαλε.	Ave, magister.	'Hello, teacher.
	χαίρετε, συμμαθηταί	avete, condiscipuli	Hello, fellow students
	(μαθηταί).	(discipuli).	(students).

2a1 ενενκε *adfer* L   2 χιρας L   3 lineam om. S   4 κονχη *cuncha* L   **2b**1 χιρης L
2 ριΠαραιεισιν L   *sordidaest* L^{pc}: surdidaest L^{ac}   **2c**2 Πηλως L   3 σάΠων *sapon* S   4 λειΠος L
5 λελειΠομενον L   lineam om. S   **2d**1 νιΠυω L   2 ηδηνιψαμην L   3 τοσμασχιρας L
2e1 *tergeo* S   3 lineam om. S et Böcking, del. Flammini   5 *foras* S   6 εκτουκουνος L
2f2 αΠηρχομαι L   3 *scolam* L S   **3a**1 Πρωυον L   3 τόν om. S   5 αντεσΠασατο L
3b1 χερε L   2 χερεταισσυμμαθηται L: χαῖρε, συμμαθητά S *ave, condiscipule* S   3 μαθησται L

c	συμμαθηταί,	condiscipuli,	Fellow students,
	τόΠον	locum	give me my place!'
	ἐμοὶ	mihi	
	δότε	date	
	ἐμόν.	meum.	
d	(βάθρον,	(scamnum,	(bench,
	ὑΠοΠόδιον,	scamillum,	stool,
	δίφρος)	sella)	seat)
	σύναγέ σε.	densa te.	'Squash yourself together!'
4a	Ἐκεῖ Προσχωρεῖτε·	Illuc accedite:	'Go over there:
	ἐμὸς τόΠος ἐστίν,	meus locus est,	[this] is my place,
	ἐγὼ	ego	I
	Προκατέλαβον.	occupavi.	got it first.'
	(ἐκάθισα,	(sedi,	(I sat,
	κάθημαι,	sedeo,	I sit,
b	μανθάνω,	disco,	I learn,
	μανθάνεις,	discis,	you learn,
	μελετῶ,	edisco,	I study,
	μελετᾷς)	ediscis)	you study)
c	ἤδη κατέχω	iam teneo	Now I grasp
	τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάγνωσιν.	meam lectionem.	my reading.
d	(ἐμός,	(meus,	(my (m.),
	ἐμή,	mea,	my (f.),
	ἐμόν,	meum,	my (n.),
	ἐμοί,	mihi,	to me,
e	ἡμέτερος,	noster,	our (m.),
	ἡμετέρα,	nostra,	our (f.),
	ἡμέτερον,	nostrum,	our (n.),
	ἡμῖν,	nobis,	to us,
f	σόν,	tuum,	your (n.),
	σός,	tuus,	your (m.),
	σοί,	tibi,	to you,
	ὑμεῖς,	vos,	you (pl.),
	ἡμεῖς,	nos,	we,
	ὑμέτερον)	vestrum)	your (pl.))

3c4 δοται L   **3d**2 υΠοΠοθιον L^pc: υΠοΠοθεον L^ac *scamellum* L^ac S: *scabellum* L^pc   **4a**1 εκιΠροσχωρειται L
2 ἐστί S   4 *praeoccupavi* S 5 εκαθησα L   **4b**1 μαθανω L   2 μανθαννις L   lineam om. S
4 lineam om. S   **4c**2 ημην L   **4d**2–3 lineas om. S   **4e**1 ημητερος L   2–3 lineas om. S
4 ημειν L   **4f**1 lineam om. S   3 *sibi* L

g	ὑμῖν λέγω.	vobis dico.	'I am speaking to you.'
	ἤδη δύναμαι	iam possum	Now I am able
	(ἐδυνήθην)	(potui)	(I was able)
	ἀποδοῦναι.	reddere.	to produce [my work].
	(ἀποδίδωμι,	(reddo,	(I produce,
	ἀπέδωκα)	reddidi)	I produced)
5a	Ἄλλαξόν μοι,	Muta mihi,	'Translate [this] for me,
	γράψον.	scribe.	write!'
	(γράφω,	(scribo,	(I write,
	γράφεις,	scribis,	you write,
	γραφή,	scriptura,	writing,
	γραφεύς,	scriptor,	writer,
	γράμμα,	littera,	letter,
	γράμματα,	litterae,	letters,
b	Ἑλληνικά,	Graeca,	Greek,
	Ῥωμαικά)	Latina)	Latin).
	Ῥωμαιστὶ ἐλάλησεν.	Latine locutus est.	He spoke in Latin.
	γράμματα Ἑλληνικά.	litterae Graecae.	Greek letters.
c	(συλλαβαί,	(syllabae,	(syllables,
	ὄνομα,	nomen,	name,
	ὀνόματα)	nomina)	names)
6a	ἔλαβον	accepi	I received [an assignment]
	καὶ ἀπέδωκα	et reddidi	and gave [it]
	Πάλιν.	iterum.	back [completed].
b	στίχους	versus	Afterwards I began to read
	ὕστερον	postea	verses.
	ἠρξάμην	coepi	
	ἀναγινώσκειν.	legere.	
c	Παραγράφειν	Praeducere	'I don't know how to rule
	οὐκ οἶδα·	nescio:	lines.
	σὺ ἐμοὶ	tu mihi	You rule them for me,
	Παράγραψον,	praeduc,	
	ὡς οἶδας.	quomodo scis.	as you know.'

4g1 υμειν L   2 δυναμε L   3 lineam om. S   5 απΠοδειδομει L   6 απΠεδοκα L   **5a**4 lineam om. S   7 *litera* S   8 *literae* S   **5b**1 ελλενικα L   *Greca* L: *Graecae* S   2 ρομαεικα L *Latinae* S   3 ρομαιστιελαλησεν L: Ῥωμαιστὶ ἐλάλησε S   4 γραμματαελλινικα *litteraegrece* L lineam om. S   **5c**3 lineam om. S   **6a**2 απΠοδοκα L   3 Παλειν L   **6b**3 *coepi* L^pc: *coepit* L^ac   4 αναγινωσκιν L   **6c**5 ωσοιδες L *quomodoscis* L^pc: *quomodscis* L^ac

d	Κηρίον	Cera	'The wax
	σκληρόν ἐστιν,	dura est,	is hard;
	ἁΠαλὸν	mollis	it should have been soft.'
	ὤφειλεν	debuit	
	εῖναι.	esse.	
e	(δέλτον,	(tabula,	(tablet,
	λειαίνω,	deleo,	I erase,
	γράφω,	scribo,	I write,
	σὺ ἐμοί,	tu mihi,	'You [do this] for me',
	σελίς,	pagina,	page,
f	σελίδες	paginae	many pages,
	Πολλαί,	multae,	
	ἱμάντες,	corrigiae,	lashes,
	γραφεῖον)	graphium)	stylus)
7a	ἤδη ἔμαθον,	iam didici,	Now I have learned
	ὅΠερ	quod	what
	εἴληφα.	acceperam.	I received [as an assignment].
b	Παρεκάλεσα	rogavi	I asked [the teacher]
	ὡς ἐμὲ	ut me	to let me
	ἀΠολύσῃ	dimitteret	go
	οῖκον	domo	home [Lat.: away from his house]
	εἰς ἄριστον·	ad prandium,	for lunch,
c	καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ	et ille me	and he
	ἀΠέλυσεν.	dimisit.	dismissed me.
d	ἐγὼ ἐκεῖνον	ego illi	I said goodbye to him;
	εὐρωστεῖν	bene valere	
	ἔφην,	dixi,	
	ἀντησΠάσατό με.	resalutavit me.	he returned my farewell.
e	ἐΠεὶ	postquam	After
	ἡριστήκειν,	pranderam,	I had eaten,
	ἐΠανελθὼν	reversus	having returned [to school]
	ἀΠέδωκα.	reddidi.	I produced [my work].
8a	Ὁ Παῖς ἐμοῦ,	Puer meus,	'My boy,
	δὸς ἐμοὶ	da mihi	give me
	δέλτον.	tabulam.	a tablet.'

6d1 ante hanc lineam habet S λειαίνω *deleo* (cf. infra 6e2)   κειριν L: κηρός S   2 σκληρονεσυιν L: σκληρός ἐστι S   3 αΠαλων L^{pc}(aliquid inter ω et ν habuit L^{ac}): ἀΠαλός S   4 ωφιλεν L
6e2 λειενω L   lineam om. S sed supra habet (cf. 6d1)   3 γράψον *scribe* S   5 σελίδα *paginam* S
6f1 σελιδης L   3 ειματαις L   4 γραφιον *grafium* L   **7a**1 εμαθα L   3 ειλεφα L: εἰλήφειν S
acciperam L   **7b**3 αΠολυσε L   4 *domum* S   5 εισαρειστον L   **7c**1 καιεκινοσεμε L: καὶ ἐκεῖνός με S
2 εΠελεσεν L^{pc} ut vid.: εΠελ σεν L^{ac}   **7d**1 εκινον L   4 αντεσΠασατο L   7e4 εΠεδωκα L
8a1 οΠεσεμου L: ὁ Παῖς μου S: ὢ Παῖς ἐμοῦ Böcking   2 μοι S

b	καὶ ἄλλοι	et alii	And the others
	ἐν τάξει	in ordine	in order
	ἀΠοδιδοῦσιν	reddunt	produce their [readings]
	κατὰ διαστολήν.	ad distinctum.	with proper pauses.
c	καὶ ἐγὼ	et ego	And I
	διέρχομαι	transeo	go through
	ἀνάγνωσιν·	lectionem;	my reading;
	εἰς βαλανεῖον	in balneo	for it was [time] to go to the
	ἰτέον	eundum	baths.
	ἦν γάρ.	erat enim.	

Going to the baths

d	Τότε Προσέρχομαι	Tunc accedo	Then I come
	καὶ ἐκέλευσα	et iussi	and I ordered
	ἀρθῆναι	tolli	the towels to be picked up,
	σαβάνια,	sabana,	
e	καὶ ἠκολούθησα	et secutus sum	and I followed
	(τότε ἔδραμον)	(tunc cucurri)	(then I ran)
	ἤδη ἐρχομένοις	iam venientibus	those already coming
	εἰς βαλανεῖον,	ad balneum,	to the baths,
9a	οὓς ἠσΠασάμην	quos salutavi	whom I greeted
	(οἷς ἔφην)	(quibus dixi)	(to whom I said)
	κατὰ ἕνα,	singillatim,	individually,
	καὶ ὁμοῦ,	et simul,	and at the same time,
b	Καλῶς σοι γένοιτο	Bene tibi sit	'May it be well for you!'
	(καλῶς λοῦσαι,	(bene lava,	('Have a good bath!',
	εὐδείΠνει,	bene cena,	'Have a good dinner!',
	εὐδειΠνηκέναι).	salvum cenasse).	'Well dined!').

Taking an oath

10a	Εἰ οὐ ἐΠίορκος,	Si non periurus,	'If you [are] not a perjurer,
	ὤμοσόν μοι.	iura mihi.	swear for me.'
b	καὶ ἐγὼ	et ego	And I
	ὤμοσα	iuravi	swore
	ἀΠλουστάτως,	simpliciter,	frankly [Gk: most frankly],
	καὶ οὐκ	et non	and I did not
	ἐΠιώρκησα·	periuravi:	swear falsely:

8b2 ταξι L 3 εΠοδιδουσειν L; post *reddunt* habet L signum *a* in margine 4 καταδιαλτολην L
8c2 διερχομε L 3 αναγνσιν L, cum signo ·ι· R· in margine 4 *balneum* S 5 ειτεον L 6 ενγαρ L
hanc lineam ante **8c**4 transposuit Böcking, credens se signum transpositionis in margine vidisse
8d1 Προσερχομε L 3 αροηναι L **8e**2 τοτεαιδραμα L 3 ερχωμενους L: ἐρχόμενος Böcking
venientibus S: *veni* L: *veniens* Böcking 4 ηισβαλενιον L post hoc deest L usque ad finem

c	Νὴ τὸν θεὸν κύδιστον, Πληθυντικόν· οὕτως ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἵλεως· νὴ τὴν σωτηρίαν οὐδήΠοτε·	Per deum optimum, maximum; sic mihi deus propitius; per salutem cuiuslibet:	'By the best, the greatest [Gk: plural] god; so [may] the god [be] propitious to me; by the health of anyone you please:
d	ὅτι ἐΠίορκος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὅρκῳ οὐχ εὑρεθήσομαι.	quod periurus in hoc sacramento non inveniar.	that I shall not be found perjured in this oath.'
e	τότε ἐμοὶ ἐΠίστευσεν.	tunc mihi credidit.	Then he believed me.

Dinner

11a	Ἐπανελθόντων ἡμῶν ἠξίωσα κεράσαι. Κέρασόν μοι. (κιρνῶ·	Reversis nobis rogavi miscere. Misce mihi. (misceo:	When we returned I asked [a servant] to mix [wine]. 'Mix [a drink] for me!' (I mix:
b	θερμόν, χλιαρόν, ψυχρόν, νεαρόν, ζεστόν, εὔκρατον,	calidum, tepidum, frigidum, recens, fervens, temperatum,	warm, lukewarm, cold, fresh, hot, at a moderate temperature,
c	οἶνον, ἄκρατον, ὑδαρές, ἀρτυτόν, ἀψίνθινον, ῥόδινον.)	vinum, merum, aquatum, conditum, absinthium, rosatum.)	wine, unmixed wine, wine mixed with water, spiced wine, wine flavoured with absinth, rose-flavoured wine.)
d	μετὰ τὸ Πιεῖν με, τράΠεζα ἔμΠροσθεν τιθέσθω.	postquam biberam, mensa anteponatur.	After I drink [Lat.: had drunk], let a table be set in front [of me/us].
e	(ἀνάκλισις, στρωτόν, χαμαί, ταΠεινῶς)	(discubitio, stratum, deorsum, humiliter)	(couch for reclining on, spread out, on the ground [Lat.: down], lowly)

f	Περίκλιτρον	torale	A couch-cover
	(μάκτρον,	(mappam,	(a napkin,
	ἐΠιτραΠέζιον)	mantile)	a tablecloth)
	Προσηνέχθη ἡμῖν.	adlatum nobis est.	was brought to us.
g	(Περιφόρημα,	(ferculum,	(a tray,
	δίσκος,	discum,	a platter,
	μαζονόμοι,	lances,	plates,
	ὀξυβάφιον,	acetabulum,	a vinegar-cup,
	† αλχαριον, †	scutella,	a pan,
	σκεῦος,	vas,	a vessel,
	κοχλιάριον,	cochliarium,	a teaspoon,
	μύστρον,	ligulam,	a spoon,
	μαχαίριον,	cultellum,	a little knife,
h	ῥάφανος,	radix,	a radish,
	θέρμια,	lupini,	lupines,
	λοβοί,	faselia,	bean-pods,
	σταφυλή,	uva,	a bunch of grapes,
	σταφίς,	uva passa,	raisins,
	στρόβιλοι,	nuclei,	pine nuts,
i	ἄΠιον,	pirum,	a pear,
	κάρυα,	nuces,	nuts,
	κυνάρα,	card<u>us,	an artichoke,
	γάρος,	liquamen,	garum,
	ἔλαιον,	oleum,	olive oil,
	ἐλαῖαι,	olivae,	olives,
j	ἔψημα,	sapa,	grape syrup,
	ὄξος,	acetum,	vinegar,
	λάχανον,	holus,	a vegetable,
	μολόχια,	malvae,	mallows,
	Πρά<σ>σα,	porri,	leeks,
	κράμβαι,	caules,	cabbages,
k	θαλασσοκράμβη,	holus marinus,	sea-kale,
	κολοκύνθη,	cucurbita,	a gourd,
	σίκυες,	cucumeres,	cucumbers,
	τέμαχος,	frustum,	a slice of fish [Lat.: piece],
	τεμάχιον,	frustellum,	a little slice [Lat.: little piece]

11g4 *acitabulum* S   8 *legulam* S   **11h**3 *fasilia* S   5 σταφυλίς S   **11i**1 *perum* S   3 κυνάρας S

l			
	βόϊνον,	bubulum,	of beef,
	χοίρειον,	porcinum,	of pork,
	μόσχειον,	vitulinum,	of veal,
	ἐλάφειον,	cervinum,	of venison,
	ἀτταγᾶς,	attagena,	a francolin,
	ὄρνις ἀγρία,	rusticula,	a woodcock,
	ἀλέκτωρ,	gallus,	a rooster,

m			
	ὄρνις,	gallina,	a chicken,
	νεοσσός,	pullulus,	a chick,
	ἰχθύς,	piscis,	fish,
	τάριχος,	salsum,	salt fish,
	Πηλαμύς,	sarda,	young tuna,
	θρίσσαι,	sardinae,	shad [Lat.: sardines],

n			
	ψιλόΠλευρον,	ofella,	a cutlet,
	ἀλλάντια,	lucanicae,	sausages,
	μυστίλη,	misisulae,	a piece [Lat.: pieces] of bread scooped out as a spoon,
	κίχλα,	turdus,	a thrush,
	κόσσυφος,	merulus,	a blackbird,

o			
	λοΠάς,	patella,	a plate,
	χύτρα,	olla,	a pot,
	Πανθέψης,	caccabus,	a cooking pot,
	θυεία,	mortarium,	a mortar,
	ἀλετρίβανος,	pistillus,	a pestle,

p			
	Πυρίστατον,	tripodem,	a tripod,
	θερμοφόρον,	cucuma,	a saucepan,
	χοῖνιξ,	modius,	a corn-measuring vessel,
	ξέστης,	sextarius,	a measuring cup,
	χοῦς)	congi<u>s)	a big measuring vessel)

11l5 ἀτταγάς *attagina* S   **11m**5 Πηλαμίς S   **11n**1 ψειλοΠλεύριον S   3 μιστύλλη *missisulae* S
11o3 Πάνθεψις S   4 θυῖα S   5 ἀλατρίβανος S   **11p**1 *tripedem* S

COMMENTARY

COMMENTARY

Title   The three sources for this colloquium had significantly different titles: L has the A version of the title, S has the B version, which Estienne found in only one of his source manuscripts (Stephanus 1573: 235), and Estienne's other source manuscript had a reduced version of the A title (lines 3 and 5 only). The first two lines of the A version are likely to be a later addition because they appear only in Latin; they are important for understanding the history of this text (see above, section 1.2.5). There are parallels for the rest of the title in the ME, H, and C versions of the colloquia; see commentary on ME 1n and 3a. The Greek title for the original colloquium was probably περὶ ὁμιλίας καθημερινῆς (see commentary on ME 3a); the A version of the title of LS is probably descended from that, with the addition of the nominative συναναστροφή/*conversatio* at the end as a vocabulary item. Presumably συναναστροφή replaced ὁμιλία because it was morphologically equivalent to Latin *conversatio*, though in meaning it is a less good equivalent. The fourth line, καθημερινή/*cottidiana*, now agrees with the last line (συναναστροφή/*conversatio*), but if the original form of this title was as above, the adjective originally agreed with the preceding rather than the following noun.

Title B   ἀρχώμεθ ἀγράφειν/*incipiamusscribere*: This is a formulaic phrase, on which see the commentary on ME 1n.

1a   φῶς, φάος/*lux, lumen*: Latin *lux* and *lumen* are genuinely different words, whereas Greek φῶς is simply a contracted version of φάος. This equation shows the writer, whichever language he was thinking in, making an effort to avoid giving the same gloss for two words that in his opinion had the same meaning.

1c   There are parallels at ME 2a, C 4a–b, and perhaps S 3a; see commentary on ME 2a. The bizarre change from first to third person is not found in the parallels, which remain in the first person throughout, and therefore is likely to be an innovation in LS. Section 1d remains in the third person, and section e returns to the first person. As 1d has no parallels in the other surviving colloquia, while 1e has a parallel in C 10 (in the first person), it is possible that

1d was imported from a no longer surviving version in the third person, and the second part of 1c was then changed to third person to harmonize with it; the change of person, while bizarre in the current arrangement, would have been even stranger had it occurred at the start of 1d.

1d   ἐγρηγόρησεν/*vigilavit*: This line is omitted in S; as the passage makes sense with the line and no sense without it, the omission must have been accidental. Accidental omission of a line seems more likely on the part of a medieval copyist than on the part of Estienne, but Estienne claims to have been using two exemplars, and it is inconceivable that they could both have omitted this line independently. Perhaps this situation indicates that Estienne's two sources had a common ancestor, but it is also possible that Estienne relied primarily on one of his manuscripts and paid little attention to the other – so the omission might have been only in the manuscript Estienne favoured. In any case, the clearly accidental nature of this omission indicates that at least some of the other missing lines in S (1c5, 1e4–6, 2a3, 2c5, 2e3, 4b2, 4b4, 4d2–3, 4e2–3, 4f1, 4g3, 5a4, 5b4, 5c3) are probably also accidental rather than deliberate interventions on Estienne's part.

1e   There is a parallel at C 10.

1e   μοι: We would expect με, since ἐνδύω in the causative sense 'clothe' takes a double accusative (LSJ *s.v.* II); S has με, but this is probably Estienne's correction. The decline of the dative in post-classical Greek led not only to the use of other cases when the dative would be expected (cf. above on ME 4a τοῦ φίλου), but also to hypercorrect use of the dative when other cases would be expected.

2a   There is a possible parallel at C 12a.

2b   *manus sordidae sunt*: L has the singular *sordida est*; this must be wrong, as the Greek is plural in both L and S, and the error must have arisen from emendation by a copyist who did not recognize *manus* as a fourth declension nominative plural. This problem demonstrates that the Latin of

L contains errors of emendation that are not present in S – though of course we cannot know whether their absence from S is due to their absence from S's sources or to Estienne's correction.

2e   κατέ ⟨μ⟩αξα/*tersi*: This line is omitted from most editions of the colloquium, probably without good reason. Certainly it is extraneous, and certainly it is absent from S, but so are many other lines in the text, and this is the only one systematically omitted from modern editions. The reason for its omission, I believe, goes back to Böcking, who seems to have left it out accidentally, as his apparatus does not indicate any deletion and misattributes the misspelling in this line to the preceding line (Böcking 1832: 91). Goetz includes this line in his transcript of L (1892: 70.19) but omits it in his restored version (1892: 637), probably because that version follows Böcking. Flammini (2004: 122) was probably the first editor to delete the line consciously, which he did on the authority of Böcking and Goetz.

2e   There is a parallel for 'I go out of the bedroom' at ME 2e.

2e   *foris*: The classically correct form (found in S) would be *foras*, since motion is clearly involved here. This is an example of the confusion of locative and directional adverbs common in post-classical Latin and Greek; see on ME 4j ἐκεῖ/*ibi*.

2f–8c   The school scene is by a considerable margin the longest and most detailed scene in the LS colloquium. It has affinities to two other colloquia at the start; most of these correspondences are in very obvious material and look as though they could be coincidental, but the fact that the correspondences stop abruptly after 3d and do not begin again until 8b suggests that the ones at the start are not coincidental. (The other indication that the correspondences are not coincidental is that they do not extend to the H and Mp colloquia, which have a different beginning to the school scene; at the start of the school scene H and Mp are evidently related to each other but apparently not to these three colloquia. To complicate matters, S 10a has some similarity to this passage, but as that really might be coincidental I omit it from consideration here.) The parallels in question are set out in figure 3.2; they indicate that certain features of the text of LS are older than one might have thought. For example, the change of tense from present to past in 'First I greet the teacher, who returned my greeting' seems bizarre, but it must be original, as it could hardly have developed independently in LS and C. At the start of the scene LS seems to have ἔρχομαι as the principal verb of the narrative, with ἀπέρχομαι as an extra vocabulary item, and one might want to conclude from that that ἔρχομαι was original and ἀπέρχομαι was added later, but the fact that ἀπέρχομαι and not ἔρχομαι appears in ME suggests that this conclusion would be unwise. The parallel with C 21 includes a vocabulary list, the words for different kinds of seat; this is unusual, for normally parallels between the different colloquia are found only in the narrative and dialogue sections. Perhaps some of the vocabulary lists were added to the colloquia very early, before the different versions were separated, but it is also possible that the resemblance in the vocabulary list is coincidental.

3c   ἐμόν/*meum*:   S punctuates to take this with what follows, i.e. 'Fellow students, give me a place! My bench, stool . . .' If LS is taken in isolation this interpretation is attractive, eliminating the hyperbaton, which is very rare in the colloquia (though this is not the only example; see on ME 4g ἡμέραν . . . τὴν σήμερον/*diem . . . hodiernam*), and it may well be what was understood by various copyists. But the parallel with C 21 suggests that originally, at least, the possessive qualified the place rather than an item of furniture. The lack of an article with the possessive is non-standard in Greek (see below on 4a ἐμὸς τόπος), but this problem remains the same whatever the possessive modifies.

4a   ἐκεῖ/*illuc*:   The Latin has a classically correct directional adverb, while the Greek has a locative adverb, incorrect here by classical standards. On the interchange of locative and directional adverbs in the colloquia see on ME 4j ἐκεῖ/*ibi*.

4a   ἐμὸς τόπος: In classical Greek the article would be expected with a possessive adjective; there are relatively few articles in the LS colloquium, but possessive adjectives often do have them: 2d τὰς ἐμὰς χεῖρας, 4c τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάγνωσιν (but nb 3c ἐμόν). See on ME 6b φίλον τὸν ἡμέτερον.

4g   ἀποδοῦναι/*reddere*:   This is a technical term for demonstrating that a student has completed an assignment; see on ME 2j.

LS 2f–3d	ME 2g	C 19	C 21a–c
ἔρχομαι (ἀπέρχομαι) εἰς τὴν σχολήν.	ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὴν σχολήν. εἰσῆλθον, εἶπον·	εἰσῆλθον εἰς σχολὴν καὶ εἶπον·	
πρῶτον ἀσπάζομαι τὸν διδάσκαλον, ὃς ἐμὲ ἀντησπάσατο.			ἀσπάσομαι αὐτὸν καὶ συμμαθητάς, καῖ κεῖνοι ἐμὲ ἀντησπάσαντο.
χαῖρε, διδάσκαλε.	χαῖρε, καθηγητά, καὶ αὐτός με κατεφίλησεν καὶ ἀντησπάσατο.	χαῖρε, διδάσκαλε, (καθηγητά). καὶ κεῖνός με ἀντησπάσατο.	
χαίρετε, συμμαθηταί (μαθηταί). συμμαθηταί, τόπον ἐμοὶ δότε ἐμόν. (βάθρον, ὑποπόδιον, δίφρος)			τότε ἐκάθισα τῷ τόπῳ μου (τῷ ἐμῷ τόπῳ) ἐπάνω βάθρον (ἢ δίφρον ἢ βαθμὸν ἢ ὑποπόδιο⟨ν⟩ ἢ καθέδραν).
venio (vado) in scholam.	eo in scholam. introivi, dixi:	intravi in scholam et dixi:	
primum saluto magistrum, qui me resalutavit.			saluto illum et condiscipulos, et illi me resalutaverunt.
ave, magister.	Ave, magister, et ipse me osculatus est et resalutavit.	ave, magister (ave, praeceptor). et ille me resalutat.	
avete, condiscipuli (discipuli). condiscipuli, locum mihi date meum. (scamnum, scamillum, sella)			tunc sedi in loco meo (meo loco), super scamnum (aut sellam aut gradum aut scabellum aut cathedram).

Figure 3.2 Comparison of school entry scenes

5a ἄλλαξον**/muta:** Latin *muto* can mean 'translate' (*OLD s.v.* 12), and it is difficult to see what other meaning would fit the context here. Greek ἀλλάσσω, though it is a good match for *muto* in its basic meaning 'change', does not appear to have the meaning 'translate'; perhaps the Greek is here based on the Latin.

5b In imperial Latin pronunciation the diphthong *ae* was monophthongized to *e*, so there was no difference between the adverbial ending -*e* and the feminine plural ending -*ae* (cf. Coleman 1971; Adams 1977: 11–12; Adams forthcoming: chapter IV). The adverb in *Latine locutus est* must therefore have been hard to distinguish from the plural in *litterae Graecae*, and yet they had very different equivalents in Greek. The point of this section is therefore to illustrate two different ways that the ambiguous forms *Latine* and *Grece* could be translated into Greek (cf. the homonyms translated in P.Sorb. inv. 2069, Dickey 2010a).

6b στίχους**/versus:** S punctuates to take this with what precedes: 'I received verses [to learn] and returned [them, i.e. recited them]. Later I began to read.' In this text, as in most late Latin (cf. on ME 1b–e), verbs normally precede their objects, and S's punctuation causes this passage to follow that pattern rather than be an exception to it. (Admittedly most of the verbs with objects in LS are imperatives or have personal pronouns as objects, and both those situations differ from the one here in that the verb would be expected to precede its object even in classical Latin. But there are three other places in LS where a non-imperative verb has an object other than a personal pronoun – 2d, 3a, 4c – and in all three of those passages the verb precedes its object.) Additionally S's punctuation allows the verb for 'read' to be the one that has to be taken intransitively, rather than those for 'receive' and 'give back'. Nevertheless I have retained the punctuation used by Böcking and subsequent editors because I feel too uncomfortable about the extra words between the first verb and its object that result from S's punctuation.

6e λειαίνω**/deleo:** As it stands here (following the reading of L) this word has to be just a vocabulary item; in S it stands at the beginning of 6d and makes sense in context: 'I erase (my tablets by rubbing the wax). The wax is hard . . .'. Cf. on 6e γράφω, σὺ ἐμοί, σελίς/*scribo, tu mihi, pagina.*

6e γράφω, σὺ ἐμοί, σελίς**/scribo, tu mihi, pagina:** This is the text of L, which can only be read as a series of disconnected phrases. The text of S is much more attractive: it reads γράψον σὺ ἐμοὶ σελίδα/*scribe tu mihi paginam*, 'write me a page'. It is notable that the only two instances in which S presents a text that makes noticeably more sense than that of L occur so close to one another (cf. on 6e λειαίνω/*deleo*); perhaps they are Estienne's corrections, and perhaps he looked more closely at this passage than at the rest of the colloquium.

6f ἱμάντες**/corrigiae:** Punishment by flogging was a normal part of ancient education; see Augustine, *Confessions* 1.9.

6f γραφεῖον**/graphium:** See on ME 2h.

7b παρεκάλεσα ὡς ἐμὲ ἀπολύσῃ**/rogavi ut me dimitteret:** Indirect commands take an infinitive construction in classical Greek; in late Greek a clause with a subjunctive is possible after certain verbs, but this usage is relatively rare with παρακαλέω, and such clauses are normally introduced with ἵνα rather than with ὡς (see Danker *et al.* 2000: 287; Blass and Debrunner 1979: 319–21). It is thus likely that the Greek is translating, or at least influenced by, the Latin here.

7b οἶκον**/domo:** It is rare in LS for the Latin and the Greek to have different meanings, so something is probably wrong here. The simplest solution would be to dismiss *domo* as a transmission error and accept the *domum* in S; that form is correct by classical standards and has the same meaning as the Greek, but for those very reasons it is likely to be Estienne's correction rather than the original reading. If *domo* is the original reading, and if this passage is a late addition to the text (which there is other evidence that it may be: see 3.2.3 above), *domo* could be simply a phonetic error for *domum*: in the late antique period final -*m* ceased to be pronounced and the sounds of *ŭ* and *ō* merged, leading to widespread confusion between the endings -*ŭm* and -*ō* (see below on 8c εἰς βαλανεῖον *in balneo*). Another possibility is that *domo* is a locative (for *domi*); the locative use of *domo* is well attested (*TLL s.v.* 1962.16–51; Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 145; Adams 1977: 38–9), and a locative here could be taken in its literal sense ('let me go to a lunch at home') or involved in a confusion of locative and directional

forms (unusual in LS but common elsewhere; see on ME 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*). The third possibility is that there is nothing wrong with *domo* and the writer actually intended to express 'from the house' (i.e. the teacher's house): although in the ME and C versions of the colloquia it is specified that the schoolboy goes home for lunch, such a specification is not necessary and is not found in the H version, where lunch is mentioned without a location (10f; in the S and Mp versions no lunch is mentioned).

The Greek, which seems to mean 'to home' and thus to favour the interpretation of *domo* as a phonetic or transmission error for *domum*, is also problematic: although in Latin the prepositions *ad*, *in*, and *ab* are regularly omitted with forms of *domus*, in Greek the usual forms of οἴκος require prepositions; the prepositionless directional form is οἴκαδε, not οἴκον, which should be preceded by εἰς or a similar preposition. The writer of this passage evidently had a limited command of Greek; he may have known what he was doing enough to use the accusative for motion towards, but this cannot be guaranteed.

7d ἐγὼ ἐκεῖνον εὐρωστεῖν ἔφην/*ego illi bene valere dixi*: This ought to mean 'I said goodbye to him', and the Latin could have that meaning, but the Greek has to mean 'I said that he was well'; cf. Ferri (2008a: 119–20). Perhaps the Greek is translating the Latin here.

7e ἐπεὶ ἠριστήκειν/*postquam pranderam*: The Greek pluperfect was never as common as the Latin pluperfect and became even rarer in the Roman period (Blass and Debrunner 1979: §347); moreover, the use of the pluperfect in such a temporal clause would have been unlikely even in the classical period. The Greek seems therefore to translate the Latin here.

8a ὁ παῖς ἐμοῦ/*puer meus*: The Greek article, though generally required with possessives, is unexpected with a vocative; moreover the vocative of παῖς would normally be παῖ. Perhaps the phrase was moved into the vocative at a relatively late stage of its transmission, for there is a parallel passage (C 22a–b; cf. ME 2h) in which the same phrase occurs in the nominative and is thus perfectly in line with classical norms: ἐπιδίδει ὁ παῖς μου . . . δέλτον/*porrigit puer meus . . . tabulam*. An associated problem is the use here of the emphatic ἐμοῦ rather than enclitic μου as in C 22, for there is no reason to emphasize posses-

sion; perhaps the construction here is a conflation of the genitive of ἐγώ with the possessive adjective ἐμός, which always has the ἐ-. In any case it seems likely that the writer responsible for this phrase had a limited knowledge of Greek.

8b–c This passage has close parallels in ME 2n–o and C 40b–41b; see on ME 2n–o.

8c εἰς βαλανεῖον/*in balneo*: In Latin the classically correct form would be the accusative *balneum*, but the usage found here is a common one. Even classical authors occasionally use the ablative rather than the accusative after *in* with a verb of motion (see Cic. *Fin.* 5.92 and Goodyear 1972: 216), and in late Latin such interchange is common, as it was driven both by the general confusion between locative and directional forms (see above on ME 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*) and, eventually, by a phonetic merger: owing to loss of final -*m* and merger of -*ō* and -*ŭ* the endings -*ō* and -*ŭm* were pronounced identically in the late antique period (Väänänen 1981: 36–7, 66–7). Unless this passage was added later than the rest of the text, however, the phonetic merger is probably not relevant, as it did not appear until around the fourth century (Adams forthcoming: chapter III). It is possible that the mistake here was made not by the original writer but by a later scribe copying L: S has *balneum*, though this could be Estienne's correction.

8c ἰτέον ἦν/*eundum erat*: The Greek gerund, although not incorrect, is not very idiomatic and is likely to be a translation of the Latin, as gerunds were far more often used in informal Latin than in an equivalent register of Greek.

8c γάρ/*enim*: The word order here is peculiar – neither γάρ nor *enim* should be postponed to this extent – and moreover a word for 'for' is unexpected, as the student is thereby saying that he worked because it was time for him to leave school. It may be that some corruption is present.

8d–9b The bathing scene is sadly truncated in comparison to the bath scenes in the other colloquia: ME 10, Mp 14–16, C 55–64 (but H 21a is also short).

8e S punctuates to take the first line of this section with what precedes: 'Then I come and I ordered the

towels to be picked up, and I followed.' If the narrator is a child, which is not implausible given the immediately preceding context, one can imagine that he follows his father or a paedagogue to the baths; he might also be following the slaves who carry the towels, though in either case the phrasing is slightly peculiar without an object. The next sentence is then taken to begin with 'then I ran', which assumes the status of the main verb of the sentence; as neither in Latin nor in Greek is the word for 'run' used with an object in the dative, one has to imagine an omitted participle meaning 'meeting' to govern the datives: 'Then I ran, [meeting] those who were already coming to the baths.'

L has no punctuation and breaks off at the end of section 8e; where S has the datives ἐρχομένοις and *venientibus* L has ερχωμενους and *veni*. This is clearly corrupt, and the traditional solution (first applied by Böcking and followed by both Goetz and Flammini) is to emend to ἐρχόμενος and *veniens*, producing a text that ends with '. . . and I followed. Then I ran, already coming to the baths' – i.e. the boy breaks into a run when he comes within sight of the entrance. Such a solution works well when the text ends here, but it cannot be the original reading, as clearly the text did not originally end here, and this wording makes nonsense of the relative clauses that follow in 9a.

It is interesting that Goetz should have adopted these readings in his restored version of the colloquium, while adding to them a footnote pointing out that the text did not originally end here but continued as in S; this seems an internal contradiction. The reason must have been that Goetz's restored version is essentially a reprint of Böcking's text. Böcking, of course, also knew that the colloquium did not originally end here, but he had good reasons for ending his own edition here: having justified publication of the colloquium on the grounds that his version was different from Estienne's (see section 3.1.3 above), he could hardly print the second half of the colloquium directly from Estienne's edition. As there was no other source from which he could take it, he was forced to omit the second half.

My solution, to take 'then I ran' as parenthetical (a piece of extra vocabulary following on from 'I followed'), makes it possible to understand the text of S as it stands without altering anything except the punctuation (which is no doubt Estienne's). This solution, however, is not without its own drawbacks: the presence of 'then' in the extra vocabulary is unusual, and Latin *sequor* should take an accusative rather than a dative.

9b **γένοιτο:** Note the correctly used optative.

9b **εὐδείπνει, εὐδειπνηκέναι:** These should be the present imperative and the perfect infinitive active of a verb εὐδειπνέω, but no such verb is attested elsewhere; indeed there is no verb at all formed on the εὐδειπν- stem. These verbs must therefore be translations of the Latin.

9b ***salvum cenasse*:** The Latin is an acclamation used to compliment someone on having had a good dinner or, as here, to wish him/her a good dinner; cf. *salvum lotum* at Mp 16e and C 63b.

10a–e The oath-taking scene is different from the other scenes in LS in that every word is part of the narrative; no extra vocabulary is inserted (unless the multiple oaths in 10c can be considered to be a vocabulary list – but those oaths could have been used together in a way that the vocabulary given elsewhere in this colloquium could not). These features indicate that section 10 has a different source from at least some of the rest of the colloquium and was joined to the other scenes after the date at which extra vocabulary was inserted into those others; see section 3.2.3 above. Oath-taking scenes are rare in the colloquia; the only other one is at H 23g–h, a far less detailed description in the context of an attempt to recover a loan. The lack of context here – we never learn what the narrator is swearing to and why – might suggest that this scene is a fragment of a larger episode the rest of which is lost; on the other hand it might just be another manifestation of the general avoidance of specific details in the colloquia.

10a **εἰ οὐ ἐπίορκος, ὤμοσόν μοι:** In classical Greek the negative μή, rather than οὐ, is used in the protasis of a conditional, but οὐ becomes common from the koiné period (Jannaris 1897: 429), so its use here does not necessarily point to composition by a non-native speaker of Greek. Likewise the classical form of the aorist imperative would have been deaugmented ὄμοσον rather than ὤμοσον, but the use of the augment for classically non-augmented forms is well attested in Roman-period papyri, particularly for

verbs beginning with omicron (since the phonetic difference between omicron and omega had disappeared; see Gignac 1981: 232–3).

We would expect οὐκ rather than οὐ as the next word begins with a vowel, but the omission of the final kappa in such circumstances is well attested as a Roman-period spelling error (Gignac 1976: 317–18).

10b ἁπλουστάτως: In classical Attic the superlative adverb would have been ἁπλούστατα, but ἁπλουστάτως occasionally occurs in late texts; the earliest example dates to the fourth century (Ps.-Macarius, *Sermones* 21.3 Berthold and Klostermann).

10c πληθυντικόν/*maximum*: This is a strange equation, as the Greek means 'plural' and the Latin 'greatest'; 'plural' might conceivably be an epithet for a god, but there is no evidence that it actually was, whereas 'greatest' was common. One is inclined to suspect corruption, perhaps begun when an overtly pagan oath was rewritten to avoid conflict with Christian sensibilities(?).

11a–p The dinner scene is particularly incoherent; there is little in the way of dialogue or narrative even at the start, and before long it degenerates entirely into a vocabulary list. It has little obvious relationship to the other dinner scenes in the colloquia (ME 11, Mp 11–12, Mp 16f–19b, and C 47–54). For the likelihood that it is composed of two separate later additions to the text see section 3.2.3 above.

11c ἀψίνθινον: The earliest datable attestation of this word comes from the sixth century (Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* I.551.6 Puschmann).

11d μετὰ τὸ πιεῖν με/*postquam biberam*: The Greek construction is an articular infinitive; this is a relatively sophisticated construction not found elsewhere in the colloquia and is used correctly here, suggesting a writer with a good knowledge of Greek. The Latin is a simple temporal clause; this is a natural way to translate the Greek infinitive construction, which has no counterpart in Latin, whereas the Greek construction would be a surprisingly non-literal way of translating the Latin. The Greek was therefore probably uppermost in the writer's mind here. The Latin pluperfect is surprising in its Latin context, as

the main verb is a present subjunctive; the tense may be a reflection of the aorist infinitive in the Greek.

11f περίκλιτρον: This word is found only as a translation of *toral(e)*, which designates a piece of cloth used to cover a bed or couch.

11f μάκτρον: This word is attested only from the fourth century AD; see LSJ suppl. *s.v.*

11f ἐπιτραπέζιον: There are no other clear indications of this word meaning 'tablecloth'.

11g–p From here to the end of the colloquium the text turns into a list of items useful in a dinner, both food and implements. The list is clearly intended to be in the nominative (singular or plural as appropriate for the item concerned) and could be thought of as syntactically attached to προσηνέχθη ἡμῖν/*adlatum nobis est* in 11f, or simply as a detached vocabulary list. It is notable that a few terms are in the accusative rather than the nominative, and sometimes the accusative is found one language but not the other: 11g δίσκος/*discum*, 11g μύστρον/*ligulam*, 11g μαχαίριον/*cultellum*, 11i κυνάρα/*card⟨u⟩us*, 11p πυρίστατον/*tripodem* (see commentary *ad locc*). Evidently the list was compiled from sources in which at least some of the elements appeared in the accusative. Most of the accusatives appear at the beginning of the list, and the fact that two of these terms appear next to each other suggests that those two at least were probably taken from the same source. Since in most of the dinner scenes in the other colloquia food and eating implements occur in the accusative, the sources of this list may have included some type of dinner scene, though probably not any of those in the extant colloquia as they currently stand. On the late date of this list see 3.2.3 above.

11g περιφόρημα: The earliest datable attestation of this word comes from the ninth century (Photius, *Lexicon* M 137 Theodoridis).

11g δίσκος/*discum*: The Greek is nominative and the Latin accusative. For the implement see on ME 11l.

11g μαζονόμοι/*lances*: The Greek refers to a very specific type of plate, one for holding barley-cakes; the word is normally neuter, and the mascu-

line form used here is otherwise attested only in a papyrus of the third century AD (*P.Oxy.* XII.1449.60). The Latin is a more general term for a metal plate, which could suggest that the Latin is a translation of the Greek.

11g αλχαριον/*scutella*: The Greek word is otherwise unattested and probably corrupt; its lack of accent indicates that Estienne considered it corrupt (cf. Stephanus 1573: 236).

11g μύστρον/*ligulam*: The Latin is accusative in a list consisting largely of nominatives (see above on 11g–p); the Greek could be nominative or accusative.

11g μαχαίριον/*cultellum*: Again the Latin is accusative and the Greek is ambiguous as to case.

11h θέρμια/*lupini*: For lupins see on ME 10t.

11h λοβοί/*faselia*: The Greek refers to beans with edible pods; the Latin is not otherwise attested with precisely this meaning but seems to be a transliteration of Greek φασήλιον. Cf. André (1985: 196).

11h σταφίς/*uva passa*: Here S has σταφυλίς in the Greek; as this is a synonym of σταφυλή, which appears in the preceding line, I have deleted two letters to produce a Greek word that matches S's Latin.

11i κυνάρα/*card⟨u⟩us*: These terms can refer both to the flower of the cardoon plant (the portion of that plant now normally thought of as the artichoke) and to other edible portions of that plant; the ancient version of the plant itself was somewhat different from the New World variety cultivated today. On the plant see André (1981: 25–6, 1985: 50), Dalby (2003a: 28), and for recipes Apicius 3.19.1–3. In S (the only source at this point) the Greek is in the accusative plural (κυνάρας) and the Latin appears to be missing a *u* (though a late nominative *cardus* is independently attested); it is possible that the Latin was originally not *carduus* but *carduos*, accusative plural to match the Greek (cf. on 11g–p).

11i γάρος/*liquamen*: For garum see on ME 9d.

11j μολόχια: This variant of the word for 'mallow' (normally μαλάχη or μολόχη) is otherwise found only in Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus* 2.124.2; cf. LSJ

suppl. *s.v.* μαλάχιον), a writer of the second and third centuries AD.

11j πρά⟨σ⟩σα/*porri*: For leeks in antiquity see André (1985: 206).

11k θαλασσοκράμβη/*holus marinos*: The sea-kale, a cabbage-type plant that grows near the sea (*convolvulus soldanella*), was considered a type of wild cabbage in antiquity; it also appears at C 52b with the name κράμβαι θαλάσσιαι/*caules marini*. Both these Greek names are found elsewhere (see LSJ s.vv. κγάμβη and γαλασσοκγάμβη), but the Latin name for this plant is normally *brassica marina*. See André (1985: 38, 54).

11k κολοκύνθη/*cucurbita*: Gourds (similar but not identical to modern marrows) were often considered a cheap food suitable for slaves, though their use in aristocratic cooking is demonstrated by recipes in Apicius (3.4.1–8). They are not pumpkins (a New World plant), though sometimes so translated. See André (1981: 41–2, 1985: 80), Grocock and Grainger (2006: 343), and Dalby (2003b: 206).

11k σίκυες/*cucumeres*: Although Latin *cucumis* can refer to several distinct types of vegetable, the correspondence with σίκυες makes it likely that the reference here is to cucumbers in the modern sense; see André (1981: 41, 1985: 80).

11l βόϊνον: This word is first attested in the fourth century (Oribasius, *Eclogae medicamentorum* 18.1, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum* VI.2.2 p. 191 Raeder).

11l ἀτταγᾶς/*attagena*: The francolin, a type of marsh bird, was considered a delicacy in antiquity; see André (1981: 122) and LSJ *s.v.*

11l ὄρνις ἀγρία/*rusticula*: These terms designate some kind of game bird (partridge, grouse, woodcock), but it is not entirely clear which one (cf. André 1981: 123–4). The Greek ὄρνις is evidently being used in its meaning 'chicken', for which see on ME 11k.

11m ὄρνις/*gallina*: See on ME 11k.

11m πηλαμύς/*sarda*: For the difficulties attending the precise identification of these fish, see Dalby (2003a: 292, 333–7).

11n   *ofella*: See on ME 11k.

11n   ἀλλάντια/*lucanicae*: The Greek is a general term for sausages, the Latin a particular type of sausage (André 1981: 137); the Greek may therefore be a translation of the Latin.

11n *misisulae*: For the meaning of this term see Heraeus (1899: 10 with n. 4).

11n   κίχλα/*turdus*: see on ME 11h.

11n   κόσσυφος/*merulus*: Both the Greek and the Latin can refer either to a blackbird or to a kind of fish. The Latin is a variant of *merula*.

11o   The list of implements seems to be related to that in ME 9f, *q.v.*

11p   πυρίστατον/*tripodem*: The Greek term is rare, and the earliest datable example comes from the ninth century (Photius, *Lexicon* E 1720 Theodoridis). Its use here is surprising because Greek τρίπους, from which Latin *tripus* is evidently borrowed, is much more common than πυρίστατον and would be the obvious

word to use as a translation of this Latin; the use of a rare word indicates that πυρίστατον is the original lemma and the Latin a translation of it. The Latin form is accusative (see on 11g–p); the Greek could be nominative or accusative.

11p   θερμοφόρον: The only datable attestation of this word is from the seventh century AD (Paulus Aegineta, *Epitomae medicae libri septem* 7.16.15 Heiberg).

11p   χοῖνιξ/*e*: The *modius* was a measuring vessel holding 16 *sextarii*, i.e. about 16 modern pints; the χοῖνιξ on the other hand held only about 2 pints. The equation may have been made because both were commonly used as measures of grain.

11p   ξέστης/*sextarius*: The *sextarius* was a measure approximately equal to a modern pint; ξέστης is a Greek borrowing of *sextarius* and is therefore an equivalent measure.

11p   χοῦς/*congi⟨u⟩s*:   The *congius* was a measure holding 6 *sextarii*, i.e. about 6 modern pints; the χοῦς held about the same amount.

Part Four

Colloquium Stephani

INTRODUCTION TO THE COLLOQUIUM STEPHANI

This colloquium is found only in a sixteenth-century printed edition and has received very little scholarly attention. It is worthy of more consideration, because it is much older than the source in which it appears, indeed probably earlier than some of the other colloquia.

4.1 SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

The only source for this colloquium is *Glossaria duo e situ vetustatis eruta: ad utriusque linguae cognitionem & locupletationem perutilia*, published in Paris by Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) in 1573. This is the same work that is one of two witnesses to the colloquium Leidense–Stephani (siglum therefore remains **S**); for more information on it, see section 3.1.2 above. The colloquium Stephani (or colloquium Stephani II, as it is sometimes called to distinguish it from LS, the Stephanus version of which is often called 'colloquium Stephani I') follows immediately after LS in Estienne's edition, of which it occupies pp. 286–94. I have examined Stephanus' edition both in person (using three copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford) and via photographs.

In his preface Estienne provided a considerable amount of information about his sources for the LS colloquium, but he said nothing explicit about this second colloquium. We can infer (see 4.4 below) that he found it in at least one of the two old manuscripts (now both lost) that he said were his sources for the rest of the material with which the colloquium is grouped; Dionisotti (1985: 316) has found evidence that it was the manuscript from Fleury that contained this colloquium. We can also infer that Estienne's level of editorial intervention in this colloquium was about the same as that which he exercised for the LS colloquium (see 3.1.2 and 4.4): the orthography, accentuation, and punctuation of this text are probably Estienne's, and he may have made a few alterations to the wording, but changes beyond that are unlikely.

In Estienne's edition the Latin is on the left and the Greek on the right; this arrangement was probably also that of his source (cf. Dionisotti 1985: 315–16). I have reversed this order for ease of comparison with the other colloquia.

Estienne's edition of the colloquium was reprinted by Vulcanius in 1600 (Vulcanius 1600: 286–94), effectively verbatim (the only changes are *adtenti* for *adtendi* in 11c1, which must be a misprint, and ὑποθείσης for ὑποτεθείσης in 15a2, a plausible reading that in isolation might be a deliberate correction but in the context of an otherwise uncorrected text is more likely to be a mistake). Part of the colloquium (sections 26–36) was also reprinted by Jahn (1873: 121–2) with a few corrections (see apparatus to 27a4 and 33b3).

The only other edition is that of **Goetz** (1892: 379–84), which is very minimal. Goetz offers simply a transcription of Estienne's edition, without a restored version such as he gave for the other colloquia.[1] The transcription is generally accurate.

Barrow (1976: 77) has published what purports to be a translation of 'a copy of an essay written by a Roman schoolboy in about AD 200'; although no reference to the source is given, Barrow's version is evidently an epitome of sections 3a–10a of this colloquium.

4.2 NATURE AND LANGUAGE OF THE COLLOQUIUM

This colloquium has an unusual format: it contains only the 'schoolbook' sections (the morning and the school scenes; see section 1.3 above), without any trace of the 'phrasebook' sections found in the other colloquia but with major digressions in the school scene. Apart from the digressions, the text is narrated in the first person by a boy, in response to the question 'What did you do today?' The absence of a phrasebook and Estienne's conflation of two Hermeneumata versions in his edition (resulting in a situation where we cannot tell which of the other texts in that edition were originally found with this colloquium) means that this colloquium, unlike any of the others, shows no significant evidence of Eastern influence: it may be a Roman schoolbook that was never used in the Greek world.

---

[1] Goetz considered a restored version of this colloquium unnecessary, since Estienne had in effect already provided one by adding accents and punctuation and fixing misspellings (Goetz 1892: xxxv).

In sharp contrast to LS, this colloquium has no vocabulary lists; it is a connected and reasonably coherent narrative. The orthography is very good in both Greek and Latin; as the spellings are probably due to Estienne they cannot be used to date the work's composition. The grammar, which is more likely to predate Estienne, is generally classical in Latin, with only a few non-standard features, all of which are common in subliterary language of the early empire (see commentary on 5a, 12a, 28a, 32b), and a few oddities probably due to an attempt to match the Greek (see commentary on 3c, 9a). The Greek is more variable in quality. The optative, a hallmark of good education in Greek from the later Hellenistic period onwards, appears four times (at 17c and 26a it is correct in both form and usage, at 14b it is correct in usage but not in form, and at 11d it is correct in form but not in usage), and once a singular verb is used with a neuter plural subject (21b ὅσα . . . κατελέχθη – but elsewhere plural verbs are used; cf. below on 5d ἐπήρχοντο), a construction that is also indicative of particularly good education since it was absent from ordinary speech in the Roman period. Forms of difficult verbs are generally correct by classical standards, the cases traditionally taken by particular verbs and prepositions are respected even when those differ from their Latin equivalents (e.g. 8a, 32b), and the genitive absolute construction is correctly and even frequently employed (8a, 15a, 33b, 38a, 38c). On the other hand there are a number of places where the syntax of the Greek seems to be just an imitation of the Latin: the use of the present tense with a conjunction meaning 'while' (14a, 21d, 36b, and perhaps 37a), the subjunctive at 25c, and apparently a dative absolute at 10a. Other apparent translations from Latin to Greek occur at 9a, 17d, and 23b. There are also numerous places where the Latin seems to translate the Greek: see commentary on 3c, 9a, 13c, 29a, 31b, 34a, 34b.

The syntax of the colloquium is interesting; most of it is simple and straightforward, as in the other colloquia, but one of the digressions is composed of very long, elaborate sentences (see 4.3 below). The vocabulary is less diverse than that of the other colloquia: the vast majority of the words in both languages are very common, basic, classical vocabulary, and no words are datable to later than the third century AD, with very few datable even to that century (see on 9b, 30b).

4.3 THE DIGRESSIONS

The S colloquium contains two significant digressions, sections 23–5 on grammar and sections 26–36 on the Trojan War (effectively a Trojan War narrative, but completely unrelated to the Trojan War summary found among the Leidensia version texts, for which see 1.2.4 above). The first of these digressions resembles the rest of the colloquium linguistically, but the second is notable for its elaborate syntax and long sentences, which are particularly striking when contrasted with the short, simple sentences normally found in the colloquia (see commentary on 26–35). This sharp linguistic difference makes it likely that the second digression has a different origin from the rest of the colloquium.

The digressions are also interesting for their orientation towards Greek. The first one seems to be a discussion specifically of Greek rather than Latin grammar, but at the same time it seems to have been written by a Latin speaker rather than a Greek speaker (see commentary on 23 and 24). The second, on the other hand, contains a large number of places in which the Latin seems to translate the Greek: there are five such places in this section (29a, 31b (bis), 34a, 34b), as opposed to three in the rest of the colloquium (3c, 9a, 13c). Since at least one of the latter group is a passage in which the Latin manifestly translates a corruption in the Greek – in other words it is a translation that arose in the course of transmission and therefore tells us nothing about the original process of composition – it is possible that the main narrative was composed by someone thinking primarily in Latin but that the Trojan War digression was translated from Greek to Latin before the two were joined. The Trojan War story, however, contains one construction that seems to be translated from Latin to Greek (36b), so if this theory of origins is right there must have been some reworking of the story after it was originally composed. As the Latinism occurs near the end of the digression, in a section where the sentences are shorter and the syntax less elaborate than in 26–35, it is possible that this last section was simply added later, perhaps when the digression was joined to the rest of the colloquium.

There is no particular evidence that the first digression was not originally composed with the rest of the narrative; the sharp discontinuity at its beginning and end naturally make one suspicious, but nothing

else about it suggests a different origin. The focus on Greek grammar is no evidence, for elsewhere in the colloquium the language learned also seems to be Greek (38b). Under these circumstances it is unwise to make positive claims of a different origin for anything except the second digression.

4.4 THE DATE OF THE COLLOQUIUM

The first question that naturally arises in trying to date this colloquium is whether it was composed by Estienne himself. This possibility can be excluded, not only because of the internal diversity visible between the second digression and the rest of the narrative, but also because the colloquium as printed by Estienne is manifestly corrupt. In some places it makes no sense at all, and in a number of places (13c, 14a, 22a–b, 32a) one can work out with reasonable confidence what the original readings were and how the corruptions arose. Such corruptions cannot have been produced during the typesetting and printing process, both because they are too complex and because the printing process for this colloquium must have been the same as that for the one immediately preceding it, where comparison of Estienne's edition with the Leiden manuscript makes it clear that few if any errors were introduced by the printers. (Likewise the volume in which the colloquium appears contains material indubitably composed by Estienne himself (e.g. prefaces), and this material is easily legible with no obvious corruptions.) Therefore the corruptions in the colloquium, and hence the text itself, must predate Estienne.

Indeed the corruptions demonstrate that Estienne exercised an admirable level of editorial restraint in his handling of this work. He marked as corrupt, but left unaltered, several words that he must have felt tempted to emend (see commentary on 9b, 11d, 13c, 27b), and he must have felt and resisted an urge to excise or rewrite the seriously corrupt sections (e.g. 5b, 10b, 37a, 39a). The presence of these corruptions, like the agreement between Estienne's text of the LS colloquium and that in the Leiden manuscript, indicates that Estienne reproduced his source with considerable fidelity.

In Estienne's edition the colloquium appears in the middle of Hermeneumata material that he explicitly states came from two old manuscripts. Although neither of those manuscripts now survives, Estienne's claim that he based his edition on manuscript sources can largely be verified by the fact that two extant manuscripts not used by him, L and Paris Lat. 6503 (which has no colloquia but overlaps with Estienne's edition in other material), contain material strikingly similar to other portions of Estienne's Hermeneumata collection. In these circumstances the chances are overwhelming that Estienne was telling the truth in his preface and that he took this colloquium, like the rest of his Hermeneumata material, from one or both of the lost manuscripts.

Unfortunately Estienne tells us little that would allow us to date those manuscripts, beyond mentioning that his sources were *interpretationes in antiquis pergamenis depravatissime scriptas* (Stephanus 1573: 235). The term *antiquus*, of course, need not imply a large number of centuries; quite possibly Estienne could have used it of a manuscript written only two or three centuries before his own day. At the same time, however, he is unlikely to have used the term *antiquis pergamenis* of Renaissance documents. And as it happens, the production of extant Hermeneumata manuscripts was unevenly distributed over time: we have a substantial amount of material from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and a substantial amount from the twelfth century or earlier, but almost nothing in between.[2] Given the number of surviving Hermeneumata manuscripts, and the extent to which their distribution matches that of manuscripts of other literary texts, the chronological pattern cannot be coincidental, and therefore lost manuscripts as well are unlikely to have been produced in the thirteenth or fourteenth century: Estienne's sources must have been either from the fifteenth/sixteenth century or from the twelfth century or earlier. The former possibility is excluded by his description of the manuscripts as ancient, leaving us with the very strong probability that the source(s) on which Estienne's edition is based was a manuscript(s) copied no later than the twelfth century.

One of Estienne's source manuscripts came from Fleury; the origin of the other is not specified. Nevertheless, as all extant Hermeneumata manuscripts come from Western Europe – there are no examples

---

[2] Dionisotti (1982: 87) lists twenty-nine (roughly) datable manuscripts, of which sixteen come from the twelfth century or earlier, twelve from the fifteenth century or later, and only one from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries combined.

at all from Byzantium – it is virtually certain that both Estienne's lost manuscripts were copied in the Latin West as well.

We can therefore assume with reasonable confidence that the S colloquium, in a form very similar to that in which we have it, was Written out by a Western European scribe no later than the twelfth century. That scribe cannot possibly have been the actual composer of the colloquium, as the Greek is much too good to have been written by a medieval Westerner. Indeed the vocabulary and grammar of both the Greek and the Latin halves of the work are far too classical to come from the twelfth or any other medieval century, whether in the East or in the West: if a text of this length contains not a single word or construction datable to later than the third century AD, it cannot have been written in the Middle Ages. Such a text might have been produced in the fourth century, but not later. In other words, this colloquium has the same general date range for composition as all the other colloquia, without the evidence of later interference that can be detected in most of the others.

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND
CRITICAL APPARATUS

INDEX SIGLORUM

S	Stephanus 1573
Oakley	personal communication from Stephen Oakley
West	personal communication from M. L. West
( )	parenthetical material in the text
< >	editorial supplements to the text
[ ]	editorial additions to the translation

In the text, line divisions, capitalization, and punctuation are editorial. Spelling is normalized (with original spellings in apparatus), but morphology and syntax are not normalized. The section numbers and letters are my own, as are all corrections to the text unless otherwise noted.

In the apparatus, all divergences from S in wording, spelling, aspiration, and accentuation are noted in the apparatus (except that abbreviations have been silently expanded when there is no doubt about the correct expansion, and final grave accents before a comma have regularly been changed to acutes).

In the original the Latin is on the left and the Greek on the right.

COLLOQUIUM STEPHANI

Title	Ὁμιλ. β΄	Colloq. II.	Colloquium II
1	Ἀνάγνωθι καλῶς.	Lege bene.	Read well!
2	σήμερον τί ἐποίησας;	hodie quid fecisti?	What did you do today?

Morning routine

3a	Ἠγέρθην πρωῒ ἐξυπνισθείς, καὶ ἐκάλεσα παῖδα.	Surrexi mane expergefactus, et vocavi puerum.	I got up in the morning, having been woken up, and I called a [slave] boy.
b	ἐκέλευσα ἀνοῖξαι τὴν θυρίδα· ἤνοιξεν ταχέως.	iussi aperire fenestram; aperuit cito.	I told [him] to open the window; he opened [it] quickly.
c	ἐγερθεὶς ἐκάθισα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνηλάτου τῆς κλίνης.	elevatus assedi supra sponda⟨m⟩ lecti.	Having gotten up, I sat on the frame of the bed.
4a	ᾔτησα ὑποδήματα καὶ περικνημῖδας· ἦν γὰρ ψῦχος.	poposci calciamenta et ocreas; erat enim frigus.	I asked for shoes and leggings, for it was cold.
b	ὑποδεθεὶς οὖν ἔλαβον ὠμόλινον. ἐπεδόθη καθαρόν.	calciatus ergo accepi linteum. porrectum est mundum.	So then having been shod I received a linen towel. A clean one was handed [to me].
5a	προσηνέχθη ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν εἰς ὀρνόλην.	allata est aqua ad faciem in urceolum.	Water was brought for my face in a little jug.
b	ᾧ ἐπιχυθεὶς πρῶτον χεῖρας, εἶτα κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν ⟨ἐνιψάμην⟩· καὶ τὸ στόμα ἔκλεισα.	cuius superfusu primum manus, deinde ad faciem ⟨lavi⟩; et os clausi.	Doused by which [water], first [as to my] hands, then onto my face, ⟨I washed⟩; and I closed my mouth.

3c2 *adsidi* S   **4a**1 ᾔτησα S   4 ψύχος S   **5a**3 *orciolum* S   **5b**4 supplevi

c	ὀδόντας ἔτριψα καὶ οὖλα.	dentes fricui et gingivas.	I scrubbed [my] teeth and gums.
d	ἐξέπτυσα τὰ ἄχρηστα ὥς τινα ἐπήρχοντο, καὶ ἐξεμυξάμην.	exspui inutilia sicut superveniebant, et emunxi me.	I spat out the undesirable stuff as it accumulated, and I blew my nose.
e	ταῦτα πάντα ἐξεχύθησαν.	haec omnia effusa sunt.	All these things were expelled.
6a	ἐξέμαξα τὰς χεῖρας, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν, ἵνα καθαρὸς προέλθω.	tersi manus, deinde et brachia et faciem, ut mundus procedam.	I dried my hands, then also my arms and my face, in order to go out clean.
b	οὕτως γὰρ πρέπει παῖδα ἐλεύθερον μαθεῖν.	sic enim decet puerum ingenuum discere.	For thus it is fitting for a freeborn boy to learn.
7a	μετὰ ταῦτα γραφεῖον ἐπεζήτησα, καὶ σωμάτιον;	posthaec graphium requisivi, et membranam;	After this I asked for a stylus and [my] book;
b	καὶ ταῦτα παρέδωκα ἐμῷ παιδί.	et haec tradidi meo puero.	and I handed over these things to my [slave] boy.
8a	ἑτοιμασθεὶς οὖν εἰς πάντα, προῆλθον καλῇ κληδόνι, ἀκολουθοῦντός μοι παιδαγωγοῦ,	paratus ergo in omnia, processi bono auspicio, sequente me paedagogo,	So having been prepared for everything, I went forth with a good omen, with my paedagogue following me,
b	ὀρθῶς διὰ τῆς στοᾶς ἥτις ἦγεν εἰς τὴν σχολήν.	recte per porticum quae ducebat ad scholam.	straight through the colonnade that led to the school.

c	εἴ τινές μοι γνωστοὶ
	ὑπήντησαν,
	
	ἠσπασάμην αὐτούς·
	καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐμὲ
	ἀντησπάσαντο.
		sicubi mihi noti
		occurrerunt,
		
		salutavi eos;
		et illi me
		resalutaverunt.
			If any acquaintances of mine met
			   [me] [Lat.: if acquaintances of
			   mine met [me] anywhere],
			I greeted them;
			and they
			greeted me in return.

5d1 *expui* S   3 ἐπιήρχοντο S   **7a**2 *grafium* S   4 *membranum* S

9a	ὡς δὴ ἦλθον πρὸς τὴν κλίμακα, ἀνέβην διὰ τῶν βαθμῶν, ἀτρέμα, ὡς ἔδει.	ut ergo veni ad scalam, ascendi per gradus, otio, ut oportebat.	So when I came to the staircase, I went up step by step, unhurriedly, as was proper.
b	καὶ ἐν τῷ προσχολίῳ ἀπέθηκα βίρριον. καὶ κατέψηξα τρίχας.	et in proscholio deposui birrum: et demulsi capillos.	And in the school vestibule I deposited [my] cloak; and I smoothed down [my] hair.

School

10a	Καὶ οὕτως ἠρμένῳ κέντρωνι εἰσῆλθον, καὶ πρῶτον ἠσπασάμην καθηγητάς, συμμαθητάς.	Et sic elevato centrone introivi, et primum salutavi praeceptores, condiscipulos.	And thus I lifted the curtain and entered, and first I greeted the teachers [and my] fellow students.
b	καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν προκόπτειν μὴ ὑφέλκωσιν.	etenim inde proficere non subtrahant.	For it is from this . . . ?
11a	ἔγραψα οὖν ἐμὸν ὄνομα·	scripsi ergo meum nomen;	So I wrote my name;
b	καὶ οὕτως ἐστάθην, ἕως οἱ προάγοντες ἀπέδωκαν,	et ita steti, donec antecedentes reddiderunt,	and I stood like that until those ahead of me produced [their work],
c	καὶ προσέσχον ὑποκρίσεις καθηγητοῦ καὶ συμμαθητοῦ.	et attendi pronuntiationes praeceptoris, et condiscipuli.	and I paid attention to the pronunciations of the teacher, and of [my] fellow student.
d	καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν προκόπτομεν, προσέχοντες ἄλλοις, εἴ τι αὐτοῖς δεικνύοιτο.	etenim inde proficimus, attendentes aliis, si quid ipsi monentur.	For it is from this that we progress, [from] paying attention to others, if something is demonstrated to them [Lat.: if they are advised of something].
e	τόλμη ἔνθεν γίνεται, καὶ προκοπή.	audacia hinc fit, et profectus.	Self-confidence arises from this, as does progress.

9b1 *proscolio* S   2 βιρρίον S   3 *demulsi* TLL v.1. 512.29: *demunxi* S   **11c**1 *adtendi* S
11d5 *monuntur* S

12a	ὡς δὴ τῷ ἐμῷ τόπῳ προσῆλθον, ἐκάθισα,	ut ergo meo loco accessi, sedi,	So when I reached my place, I sat down,

b	προήνεγκα
	χεῖρα δεξιάν,
	ἀριστερὰν
	ὑπέστειλα
	πρὸς τὰ ἱμάτια.
		protuli
		manum dextram,
		sinistram
		perpressi
		ad vestimenta.
			I extended
			[my] right hand,
			I drew back the left one towards
			    [Lat.: I pressed the left one
			    against] my clothing.

13a	καὶ οὕτως ἠρξάμην ἀποδοῦναι	et sic coepi reddere	And thus I began to produce [my work],
b	καθὼς εἰλήφειν ἀναλήμματα·	quomodo acceperam ediscenda:	just as I had received it to be learned:

c	στίχους
	πρὸς ἀριθμὸν
	καὶ στιγμὸν
	
	καὶ ὑποστιγμήν,
		versus
		ad numerum
		et distinctum
		
		et clausulam,
			[reciting] verses
			rhythmically
			and with proper pauses for full
			    stops
			and for commas [Lat.: ends of
			    sentences],

d	μετὰ προσπνεύσεως ὅπου συνέφερε, καὶ μετάφρασιν.	cum aspiratione ubi oportebat, et metaphrasin.	with the sound *h* pronounced where it should be, and [giving] a paraphrase.
14a	ἐν ὅσῳ ἀποδίδωμι ⟨ἐδιορθώθην⟩ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθηγητοῦ,	dum reddo ⟨emendatus sum⟩ a praeceptore,	While I was reciting ⟨I was corrected⟩ by the teacher,

b	ἵνα καὶ φωνὴν
	ἑτοιμασαίμην
	ἐγγυτέραν.
		ut et vocem
		praepararem
		propiorem.
			so that I would also develop a
			    faculty of speaking closer [to the
			    standard].

15a	προσῆλθον, ὑποτεθείσης χειρὸς δέλτον ἀπέδωκα,	accessi, et posita manu tabulam reddidi,	I came forward, and having put down [my] hand I handed over the tablet [containing my lesson],
b	⟨καὶ ἀπέδωκα⟩ μνήμῃ ὑπογραφὴν αὐτῶν ὅπου ἔπραξα.	⟨et reddidi⟩ memoria subscriptionem eorum ubi egeram.	⟨and I produced⟩ from memory an outline of the things I had done.

13a1 *cepi* S   **13c**4 ὑποστιγμήν Roensch (1887: 12): ὑποστεγην S *et clausulam* Oakley: *et casulam* S
13d3 *metafrasin* S   **14a**2 ἐδιορθώθην et *emendatus sum* supplevi   3 *ad praeceptorem* S
14b2 ἑτοιμασοίμην S   3 *propiorem* West: *propriam* S   **15b**1 καὶ ἀπέδωκα et *et reddidi* supplevi

16a	μετὰ ταῦτα	post haec	Afterwards,
	ἀπολυθεὶς	dimissus	having been dismissed,
	συνεκάθισα	consedi	I settled down
	ἐμῷ τόπῳ.	meo loco.	in my seat.

b	βιβλίον ἔλαβον,	librum accepi,	I took the book,
	ἔγραψα	scripsi	I wrote out
	καθημερινά.	cottidiana.	everyday idoms.

17a	ἐπερώτησα,	interrogavi,	I asked questions,
	καὶ διορθωθεὶς	et emendatus	and having been corrected
	ἀνέγνωκα	legi	I read
	ἀνάγνωσιν τὴν ἐμήν,	lectionem meam,	my reading,

b	ἣν ἐμοὶ	quam mihi	which [the teacher]
	ἐξέθετο	exposuit	explained to me
	ἐπιμελῶς,	diligenter,	carefully,

c	ἕως νοήσαιμι	donec intelligerem	until I understood
	καὶ πρόσωπα	et personas	both the characters
	καὶ διάνοιαν	et sensum	and the meaning
	ῥημάτων	verborum	of the poet's words.
	τοῦ ποιητοῦ.	au⟨c⟩toris.	

d	εἶτα	deinde	Then [I read]
	ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ	ab oculo	at sight,
	ταχέως	citatim	quickly,
	ἄγνωτον	ignotum	an unknown [work]
	καὶ ὃ	et quod	and [one] that is
	σπανίως	rare	rarely
	ἀναγινώσκεται.	legitur.	read.

18a	ταῦτα ἐπράχθη	haec acta sunt	These things were done
	καθ᾽ ἕνα	per singulos	individually
	καὶ πάντας,	et universos,	and for everyone,

b	καθ᾽ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου	iuxta unius cuiusque	according to the abilities and
	δυνάμεις	vires	progress of each individual,
	καὶ προκοπήν,	et profectum,	
	καὶ καιρούς,	et tempora,	and the appropriate times,
	καὶ ἡλικίαν	et aetatem	and the age[s]
	συμμαθητῶν.	condiscipulorum.	of [my] fellow students.

19a	εἰσὶ γὰρ	sunt enim	For there are
	καὶ φύσεις ποικίλαι	et naturae variae	also different natures
	φιλοπονούντων,	studentium,	of those studying,

16b3 *cotidiana* S

b	καὶ δυσχερεῖς θελήσεις πρὸς κόπον γραμμάτων,	et difficiles voluntates ad laborem litterarum,	and difficult dispositions with regard to the hard work of literary study,
c	ἐν οἷς ὅτε πολὺ προκόπτεις,	in quibus cum multum proficias,	in which when you make big progress,
d	πλέον λείπει ἵνα ἐπ’ ἄκραν ἔλθῃς προκοπήν.	plus superest ut ad summum venias profectum.	there is still more remaining in order for you to arrive at the summit of progress.
20a	ἄλλοι οὖν ὀνόματα, ἄλλοι στίχους ἀνηγόρευσαν,	alii ergo nomina, alii versus recitaverunt,	So some of them [recited] nouns, others recited verses,
b	καθὼς εἰώθασιν γράφειν.	quomodo soliti sunt scribere.	as [i.e. at the level that] they are accustomed to write [them].
c	ἠγέρθησαν καὶ ἐστάθησαν πρὸς τὸν πίνακα.	surrexerunt et steterunt ad titulum.	They got up and stood at the board.
21a	ἤδη ἐμπείρῳ οἱ λοιποὶ ὁμοῦ ἀπεκρίνοντο.	iam perito reliqui pariter respondebant.	The rest in the same way were answering one who was already experienced.
b	ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους κατελέχθη αὐτοῖς,	quaecumque ad incipientes praebita sunt eis,	Whatever was provided [Gk: dictated] to them [in the category of] ‘for the beginners’,
c	καὶ τὰ χρήζοντα καὶ ἀριθμούς, δακτύλους καὶ ψήφους,	et necessaria et numeros, digitos et calculos,	both essential things and numbers, fingers and counting-stones,
d	ταῦτα, ἐν ὅσῳ ἀποδίδομαι, οὗτοι ἔπραττον.	haec, dum reddo, ei agebant.	these things they were doing while I was producing [my work].
22a	οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐξηγήσεσιν καὶ ἐπερωτήσεσιν ηὐκαίρουν,	reliqui autem expositionibus et interrogationibus vacabant,	But the rest [of the pupils] had free time for explanations and for [asking] questions,

19b4 *literarum* S **19c**2 *quum* S **20c**1 ante hanc lineam habet S συλλαβαί *syllabae* **21b**1 *quaecunque* S **21c**1 χρήζοντα West: χρήζοτα S **22a**3 hanc lineam infra post

b	κατὰ δύο τάξεις,	per duas classes,	in two classes,
	βραδύτεροι	tardiores	the slower ones
	καὶ ταχύτεροι.	et velociores.	and the faster ones.

Some grammar

23a	Ὀνομάτων	Nominum	There are five cases of nouns:
	πτώσεις πέντε·	casus quinque:	
	ὀνομαστικός,	nominativus,	nominative,

b	γεγεννημένος,	genetivus,	genitive,
	δοτικός,	dativus,	dative,
	αἰτιατικός,	accusativus,	accusative,
	κλητικός,	vocativus,	vocative,
	ἀφαιρετικός.	ablativus.	ablative.

24a	ὀνόματι	nomini	Let the number for a noun be
	δοθήτω	detur	given:
	ἀριθμός·	numerus:	

b	ἑνικός,	unalis,	singular,
	ἑνί·	uno;	for one;
	δυϊκός·	dualis;	dual [for two];
	πληθυντικός.	pluralis.	plural [for three or more].

25a	ποῖον ῥῆμα;	quod verbum?	What verb [is it]?
	πόσα καὶ	quot et	Also, how many
	πρόσωπά εἰσί;	personae sint?	persons are there?

| b | λέγεις· δευτέρου. | dicis: secundae. | 'You say': second person. |
| | λέγει· τρίτου. | dicit: tertiae. | 'He says': third person. |

| c | τίς λέγῃ; | quis dicat? | 'Who would say?' |
| | τίς, τίνος. | quis, cuius. | 'Who?', gen. 'whose?'. |

The Trojan War

26a	Υἱὸς εἴη	Filius sit	May he be a [worthy] son
	τούτων	eorum	of those ancient men [about]
	οὓς ἀναγινώσκομεν	quos legimus	whom we read
	ἀρχαίους	antiquos	
	παρὰ Ὁμήρῳ,	apud Homerum,	in Homer,

b	καὶ μεγίστους	et maximos	[who were] both the greatest
	βασιλεῖς	reges	kings
	καὶ ἡγεμόνας	et duces	and leaders
	Ἑλλήνων,	Graecorum,	of the Greeks,

22b3 habet S; transposui   **23b**1 *genitivus* S

c	καὶ φρονίμους,	et prudentes,	and prudent,
	νέους	iuvenes	[both] youths
	καὶ γέροντας·	et senes;	and old men;
27a	οἵτινες,	qui,	who,
	ὕβριν	iniuriam	judging an injury to one citizen
	ἑνὸς πολίτου ἰδίου	unius civis sui	of their own [to be an injury]
	πάγκοινον	omnium communem	common to all,
	κρίναντες,	iudicantes,	
b	ὁμόψυχοι,	uno animo,	unanimously,
	† ἐντετευγμενοι †	destinati	determined
	ἢ ἀπολέσθαι	aut perire	either to perish
	ἢ κολάσαι	aut punire	or to punish
	Ἀλέξανδρον	Alexandrum	Alexander
28a	(ὅστις ἀπὸ Τροίας	(qui a Troia	(who having sailed with a fleet from
	ναυσὶν πλεύσας	navibus navigans	Troy
	εἰς Ἑλλάδα,	in Graeciam,	to Greece,
	καὶ ξενισθεὶς	et hospitatus	and having been entertained as a
			guest
	ἐν βασιλείᾳ Μενελάου	in regno Menelai	in the kingdom of Menelaus
	εἰς Λακεδαίμονα,	in Lacedaemonem,	in Sparta,
b	ἐπιλαθόμενος	oblitus	forgetful of [Menelaus']
	εὐεργετημάτων	benefactorum	good deeds [towards him]
	καὶ ξενίας	et hospitalitatis	and of [his] hospitality
	καὶ πάσης	et omnis	and of all
	φιλανθρωπίας,	humanitatis,	feeling of humanity,
c	ὡς βάρβαρος	tamuam barbarus	like a barbarian
	καὶ ἄφρων	et imprudens	and unthinking [man]
29a	ἥρπασεν Ἑλένην	rapuit Helenam,	snatched away Helen,
	ἄλοχον Μενελάου,	uxorem Menelai,	Menelaus' wife,
	καὶ διεκόμισεν	et transduxit	and took [her] across
	εἰς Τρωάδα	in Troiam	to the Troad
b	(χώραν	(regionem	(the country
	τῶν Τρώων,	Troianorum,	of the Trojans,
	ὧν ἐβασίλευεν	quorum regnabat	over whom his father Priam ruled)
	Πρίαμος	Priamus	
	ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ)	pater eius)	
	καὶ πόλιν Ἴλιον),	et urbem Ilion),	and [to] the city Ilion),
30a	ἐσπευσμένως	festinanter	with haste,
	μετὰ στρατοῦ	cum exercitu	with a [great] army
	καὶ ναυσὶν	et navibus	and likewise [with] many ships
	ὁμοίως πολλαῖς	similiter copiosis	

27a4 πάγκοινον S   *communem* Verwey (apud Jahn 1873: 121): *communio* S   **28c**1 *tanquam* S

	Greek	Latin	English
b	(αἵτινες κεχωρήκασιν τὸν ὄχλον ἐκ πολλῶν ἠθροισμένον, ἤτοι νήσων ἐνοίκους),	(quae ceperunt populum ex multis adunatum, sive insularum incolas),	(which contained the multitude [of ordinary soldiers] gathered together from many [places], or the inhabitants of the islands),
31a	βασιλεῖ Ἀγαμέμνονι ὑποτεταγμένοι, μετὰ πολλῶν ἡγεμόνων,	regi Agamemnoni subditi, cum multis ducibus,	under the command of King Agamemnon, with many leaders,
b	ὧν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις θαυμάζομεν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐπαινοῦμεν,	quorum et virtutes miramur et sapientiam laudamus,	whose prowess we admire and [whose] wisdom we praise,
c	ἔπλευσαν εἰς Τρωάδα,	navigaverunt ad Troiam,	sailed to the Troad,
32a	ὅπου δὴ πλεῖστα καὶ ἄξια μνήμης διετέλεσαν,	ibique multa et digna memoria peregerunt,	where [Lat.: and there] they accomplished many [Gk: very many] things worthy of memory,
b	ἔτεσιν ἐννέα μαχόμενοι κατέναντι τῶν Τρώων·	annis novem pugnantes adversus Troianos;	fighting for nine years against the Trojans;
33a	δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησαν,	decimo autem urbem eorum expugnaverunt,	but in the tenth [year] they destroyed their city,
b	ἁπάντων ἀνῃρημένων ὑπερεχόντων,	universis interfectis eminentibus,	all the important people being killed,
34a	χωρὶς Αἰνείου (ὅστις διαφυγὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν	praeter Aeneam (qui fugatus in Italiam	except Aeneas (who, having escaped [Lat.: having been put to flight] to Italy,
b	ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο τῆς ἐπιτάξεως Ῥωμαίοις)·	dux fuit imperii Romanis);	became the founder [Lat.: leader] of their rule for the Romans);
35	καὶ οὕτως Ἕλληνες ἀπέλαβον Ἑλένην.	et sic Graeci receperunt Helenam.	and in this way the Greeks took Helen back.

32a1 δὴ West: ἂν S   **32b**3 καταέναντι S   **33a**1 post hanc lineam addit S ἔτει
33b3 ὑπερεχόντων Jahn (1873: 122): ἀνυπερεχόντων S

36a	ἐκ τούτων	ex his	As a result of these things
	πολλοὶ	multi	many men,
	καὶ ἐξέχοντες	et eminentes	outstanding
	δυνάμει	virtute	in prowess
	καὶ τῷ γένει	et genere	and in birth,
b	ἐν πολέμῳ	in bello	fell in the war,
	ἔπεσαν,	ceciderunt,	
	καὶ ὕστερον	et postea	or [lit. 'and'] afterwards
	ἐν ὅσῳ ὑποστρέφουσιν	dum revertuntur	while they were returning
c	ἐν θαλάσσῃ	in mari	perished in the sea from storms
	χειμῶσιν	tempestatibus	
	ἀπώλοντο,	perierunt,	
	καὶ ἀνελπιστίᾳ ψυχῆς.	et desperatione animi.	and from despair of soul.

School resumed

37a	Ἐν τούτοις οὖν	In his	While we were exercising [Gk: So
	γυμναζόμεθα,	dum exercemur,	we exercise] ourselves in these
	καὶ ἄλλοις ποικίλοις,	et aliis variis,	things, and in various other
	καὶ μελλόντων	et pertinentibus,	things, . . . ? . . .
	ἐπῆλθεν ὥρα.	advenit hora.	the time came.
38a	ληφθεισῶν οὖν	sumptis ergo	So taking up [my] writing-tablets
	πινακίδων	pugillaribus	
b	ἔγραψα	scripsi	I wrote [an extract]
	ἐκ λόγου	de oratione	from a speech
	Δημοσθένους	Demosthenis	of Demosthenes
c	ἐπαγορεύοντος	dictante	with the teacher dictating,
	καθηγητοῦ,	praeceptore,	
	ὃ ἐπήρκει	quod sufficiebat	as much as was enough
	καὶ ὥρα ἐπέτρεπεν·	et hora permittebat;	and as the time allowed;
d	ἔστιξα	distinxi	[and] I put in punctuation marks
	ὡς ἔδει.	ut oportebat.	as was proper.
39a	⟨ ⟩	⟨ ⟩	⟨I watched the others (?)⟩
	ἀναγορεύοντας	recitantes	reciting
	πρῶτον,	primum,	first,
b	καὶ αὐτὸς	et ipse	and [then] I myself
	ἀνηγόρευσα μόνος.	recitavi solus.	recited on my own.

COMMENTARY

COMMENTARY

Title   This is evidently Estienne's addition; he added a similar heading to the LS colloquium. The ancient title, if there was one, has been lost.

1–2   This short introduction may be related to a longer one in the H colloquium; see on H 1a–2d.

3a–b   There are parallels at ME 2a (see commentary thereon), LS 1c, and (the closest) C 4b and 6a–b.

3c   ἐγερθείς/*elevatus*: In Greek the passive of ἐγείρω regularly means 'wake up', but the same is not true of Latin *elevo*: *elevatus* ought to mean 'having been raised up', as if the servants had lifted the speaker out of bed and placed him in a sitting posture. It is possible, of course, that this meaning was intended (the speaker is probably awoken by servants rather than waking up by himself; cf. the instructions at ME 12d), but it seems more likely that the Latin has been distorted by an attempt to achieve a close match for the Greek.

4b   ὡμόλινον/*linteum*: The normal usage of both the Latin and the Greek works suggest that the item here cannot be a garment and must be a towel (see LSJ, *OLD*, and Lewis and Short 1879 *s.vv.*), so it has traditionally been interpreted as a towel (so e.g. Dionisotti 1982: 108). Nevertheless it is peculiar both that clothes other than shoes and leggings are not mentioned at all and that the towel is provided before the boy has started to wash (it is not used until 6a); a shirt would really be more appropriate than a towel here. In these circumstances it may be significant that at C 5a Latin *linteum* is equated to Greek λινούδιον 'linen shirt' and used in a context where a shirt is far more likely than a towel: perhaps the item here too was intended to be a shirt. On the other hand, it is also possible that a dressing scene has been lost from this colloquium, particularly since even with a shirt the boy would scarcely be fully dressed – though the dressing scenes of the colloquia do not necessarily produce a properly dressed character, for at LS 1e the boy ends up wearing only shoes, socks, and trousers, while at ME 2d he puts on too many garments.

5a   εἰς ὀρνόλην/*in urceolum*: In both languages the construction used suggests that the water was brought *into* the jug, i.e. brought in something else and then poured into the jug. It is not impossible that this is what the writer was trying to express, but given the common interchange of locative and directional expressions in both nonstandard Latin and postclassical Greek (see commentary on ME 4i 'ς τὸ φόρον 2 and 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi*) it is more likely that such an interchange has occurred here, and the water was simply brought in the jug.

5b   This section is corrupt. The minimum necessary change is the insertion of a finite verb for the first half of the sentence, as adopted here, but this still leaves a surprising construction at the start of the sentence, which may well conceal further corruption. If the text at the start of the sentence is correct as it stands, the Latin and the Greek are not parallel: the Greek has an aorist passive participle agreeing with the speaker and a dative of means ('having been poured over by which'), while the Latin has the ablative of the supine and a genitive ('by the pouring over of which'). This is possible, but only just barely. One is inclined to suspect that an *-s* is missing from the Latin, because *superfusus* would be a much better match for ἐπιχυθείς, but replacing the *-s* would make the Latin genitive even more difficult to deal with. For the supplement compare ME 2b, LS 2d, and C 11a.

5d   ἐπήρχοντο: In classical Attic a neuter plural subject would require a verb in the singular, but this convention is not generally followed in post-classical writing; see commentary on ME 1q ὑποτεταγμένα εἰσίν, but note the exception below at 21b (ὅσα . . . κατελέχθη).

5e   ταῦτα πάντα ἐξεχύθησαν/*haec omnia effusa sunt*: The meaning seems to be that all the unpleasant bodily fluids are gotten rid of by the procedures just mentioned – or perhaps this is a euphemism for urination.

6b   This sentence could mean either that it is appropriate for a freeborn boy to learn to wash properly in the morning before he goes out, or that it is appropriate for a freeborn boy to attend school (learn) in a well-washed state.

7a γραφεῖον/*graphium*: see on ME 2h.

7a σωμάτιον/*membranam*: The Latin word normally refers to parchment but can also indicate a book (see *TLL s.v.* 630.82–631.32); the Greek must refer to a book.

7b ἐμῷ παιδί: In Greek, even late Greek, the article is expected with possessives, and their omission seems to be characteristic of bilingual texts; see commentary on ME 6b φίλον τὸν ἡμέτερον. In this text the use of articles with possessives is haphazard: they appear at 12a τῷ ἐμῷ τόπῳ and at 17a ἀνάγνωσιν τὴν ἐμήν, but do not appear here, at 11a ἐμὸν ὄνομα, and at 16a ἐμῷ τόπῳ.

8a μοι/*me*: The writer demonstrates a good knowledge of the cases taken by the verbs he uses in both languages, by correctly using different cases in Greek and Latin.

8c There is a close parallel at C 16.

9a κλίμακα/*scalam*: The Latin is normally plural and seems to have been made singular here to provide a better match for the Greek. The steps concerned are probably at the entrance to the school, leading up from the street level.

9a διὰ τῶν βαθμῶν, ἀτρέμα/*per gradus, otio*: The point is that the boy did not run up the stairs, a practice still frowned upon by schoolteachers today. The Latin expression *per gradus* is well attested in this sense, but the Greek is not and is probably a translation of the Latin here. This use of Latin *otio* is somewhat non-standard (*per otium* would be more normal in such a context, cf. Livy 21.55.1) but is paralleled in Petronius (51.4 *phialam otio belle correxit*; cf. the gloss (Goetz and Gundermann 1888: 325.40) ηρεμα *lente pedetemptim otio* and Heraeus 1899: 23 n. 4).

9b προσχολίῳ/*proscholio*: The Greek is found only here and the Latin is almost as rare, occurring only here and in an undatable collection of shorthand symbols for Latin words (*Not. Tir.* 101.8; cf. Heraeus 1899: 23–4 and *TLL s.v*).

9b βίρριον: This diminutive of βίρρος 'cloak' was not otherwise attested until recently; therefore Estienne declined to put an accent on it, to mark it

as corrupt (cf. Stephanus 1573: 236). Now, however, the word has turned up in a papyrus of the third or fourth century AD (*P. Giss. Univ.* III.32.17; cf. LSJ suppl. *s.v.*). The fact that Estienne did not take the obvious route of emending this word to βίρρον is an indication of his restraint from editorial interference with this text.

9b *demulsi*: S has the hapax *demunxi*; one would expect this to come from a verb *demungo*, but no such verb is known, and if one did exist it would be unlikely to have the right meaning. Emendation to *demulsi*, perfect of *demulceo*, is suggested by Heraeus (1899: 23 n. 5) and in the *TLL* (s.v. *demulceo* 512.29).

10a There are possible parallels in several other colloquia; see on LS 2f–8c.

10a ἠρμένῳ κέντρωνι/*elevato centrone*: Greek κέντρων has a variety of meanings, none of which is entirely suitable here; the most appropriate is 'patchwork' or 'rag', but it is unlikely that the model child described here would have been dressed in rags. Latin *centro* is found only here, but it is clearly related to *cento* 'rag'. The *TLL* entry (*s.v.* 822.55) equates *centro* with *vestis* 'garment' on the basis of this passage; the translation implied by that equation is 'with my garment raised', presumably on the assumption that the boy is wearing a long garment and lifts it to avoid tripping on the threshold. It is more likely, however, that the *centro* is a curtain at the entrance to the school, which the student lifts in order to enter: see Augustine, *Confessions* 1.13 *at enim vela pendent liminibus grammaticarum scholarum.*

The Latin construction here is an ablative absolute; the literal meaning is 'and thus I entered with the curtain lifted'. The Greek seems to be a literal translation of it, with the dative standing in for the ablative case (though one could argue that the writer was aiming at a dative of manner rather than an absolute construction) and a perfect passive participle rather mechanically slotted in for the Latin perfect passive participle. There is a perfectly correct Greek genitive absolute matching a Latin ablative absolute at 8a.

10b If the extant text is sound, its meaning must be something like 'if you greet people nicely they do not prevent you from making progress in your studies'. This is, however, both unlikely in terms of

meaning and difficult syntactically (the subjunctives ὑφέλκωσιν/*subtrahant* seem to be dependent on a main verb that has since disappeared), so probably the text is corrupt here. There is a partial parallel for this passage in 11d below.

11c ὑποκρίσεις/***pronuntiationes***: The Greek usually means 'answer' but can also refer to the tone or delivery of a speech; the Latin usually means 'pronouncement' but can also refer to delivery or pronunciation. Under these circumstances the easiest interpretation is that the pupil paid attention to how the teacher pronounced words (presumably words in the language he was learning). It is also possible, however, indeed perhaps more likely, that the writer intended to say that the pupil paid attention to the teacher's answers, or to his pronouncements, and mistranslated this idea into the other language by using a glossary in which these two words were equated because of a different meaning.

11d εἴ τι αὐτοῖς δεικνύοιτο/***si quid ipsi monen-tur***: The Latin and the Greek have the same basic meaning but very different syntax; such concessions to differences in idiom between the languages are unusual in S and suggest that this portion was written by someone with a good knowledge of both languages. Also indicative of a high level of competence is the Greek optative, a mood that had disappeared from ordinary use before any time at which the colloquia might have been written. Its use here does not, however, seem very well motivated; it is not the generalizing (indefinite) construction, owing to the primary sequence, so it must be the future less vivid (remote future), 'if something should be demonstrated' – yet this implies a scepticism on the part of the writer that anything ever would be demonstrated in a school, which seems at variance with the rest of his opinions. One is inclined to suspect that the writer either borrowed this clause as a unit from some other context, or used the optative in order to display his command of the form, without a real understanding of its meaning.

The Latin verb is spelled *monuntur* in S; this must be connected to spellings such as *habunt* and *debunt* found in the Vindolanda tablets and other Latin documentary texts (cf. Adams 2003c: 544–5). This spelling must have been in Estienne's source (whether from the original composer of the passage or a later copyist is uncertain), for Estienne is most unlikely

to have independently produced a misspelling characteristic of documentary texts of the imperial period. It is noticeable that he did not correct it.

12a τῷ ἐμῷ τόπῳ/***meo loco***: For the interchange of locative and directional expressions see on ME 2s ἐπανέρχομαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ/*venio domi* and cf. above on S 5a εἰς ὀρνόλην/*in urceolum*. This passage is somewhat different from the others, for the Greek has no preposition as well as having a dative where an accusative would be expected.

13b ἀναλήμματά/***ediscenda***: The Greek has no attested meaning appropriate to the context, though in general a derivative of ἀναλαμβάνω, which can mean 'learn by rote', would fit well here. Perhaps ἀναλήμματα is a corruption of the gerundive ἀναληπτέα, or perhaps ἀναλήμματα genuinely had the meaning 'material to be learned'.

13c στιγμόν/***distinctum***: It is unclear exactly what this means. Probably the πρός/*ad* of the preceding line is to be understood here (and in the next line) as well, so we have essentially the phrases πρὸς στιγμόν and *ad distinctum*. The Latin *ad distinctum* is attested several times in the colloquia (LS 8b, C 27b), but in those places it is equated with Greek κατὰ διαστολήν; although the exact translation is uncertain it must be something like 'with proper pauses'. Here the Greek equivalent, στιγμόν, is a word otherwise unattested in any relevant sense; the best one can do is to equate στιγμόν to στιγμήν, which means 'punctuation mark' and specifically 'full stop', the latter of which meanings would give the necessary contrast with ὑποστιγμήν in the next line.

13c ὑποστιγμήν/***clausulam***: S has ὑποστεγην/ *casulam*; the lack of accent on the Greek shows that Estienne believed it to be corrupt (cf. Stephanus 1573: 236), and as both words mean 'cottage' they are clearly inappropriate here. The Greek can be convincingly restored to ὑποστιγμήν 'comma' (Rönsch 1887: 12, supported by Goetz 1899: 188 and *TLL* s.v. *casula* 572.34–35); the only close Latin equivalent of that is *subdistinctio* (Schad 2007: 381, 451), but it is hard to see how that could have been corrupted to *casulam*. Oakley's *clausulam*, while not a perfect match for the Greek, is the most plausible restoration for the Latin; the only real alternative is *subdistinctionem*.

13d   The implication of the insistence on proper aspiration is that omission and/or incorrect use of the sound *h* was common at the time this section was written. Unfortunately this information is of no use in dating the colloquium, nor even in determining which language is under discussion here: the dropping and hypercorrect use of *h* was common in Greek during the Roman period (cf. Gignac 1976: 133) and continued throughout the Byzantine period, resulting in the complete loss of aspiration in modern Greek, while in Latin the phenomenon goes back to the classical period (Leumann 1977: 173–4; Adams forthcoming: chapter VII).

14a   Something must be missing here: there is no main clause in section 14, and the passage as it stands in S makes neither sense nor grammar. There is also a significant difference between the Latin and the Greek in S's readings: ὑπὸ τοῦ καθηγητοῦ/ *ad praeceptorem*. Although any amount of material might in theory have disappeared, the simplest solution is to assume the loss of one line meaning 'I was corrected', 'I was encouraged', *vel sim.*; the words supplied here are found in 17a. (The past tense is needed to motivate the secondary/historic sequence in 14b; it is not ideal in Greek with the present tense of ἐν ὅσῳ ἀποδίδωμι at the start of this section, but the present there is simply a reflection of the Latin, where the present indicative is usual with *dum* meaning 'while' – cf. 21d and 36b below.) Then after the line was lost a copyist changed the resulting and bizarre *reddo a praeceptore* to the more usual *reddo ad praeceptorem*. This copyist must have been someone with little or no knowledge of Greek, as the Greek half of the text was left unaltered and the Latin was changed to differ from it; therefore he was not Estienne but a predecessor.

14b   ἑτοιμασαίμην: The use of the optative indicates a writer well educated in classicizing Greek (cf. above on 11d; here the use of the mood is much better motivated, at least if I am right about the supplement to 14a). The text of S has ἑτοιμασοίμην, an aorist stem with a present ending; it could be corrected either to ἑτοιμασαίμην (aorist) or to ἑτοιμαζοίμην (present), and I have chosen the first on the grounds that in the aorist the middle is distinct from the passive, and the middle would provide a better match for the Latin here.

14b   ἐγγυτέραν/ ***propiorem***:   S has *propriam* for the Latin, which at first glance is much more attrac-

tive than the emendation: it is easier to construe, and it paints a more liberal and pleasing picture of the instruction offered, indicating that the teacher helps the student develop his own unique style of delivery. Unfortunately, however, this reading leaves a serious discrepancy with the Greek, and that discrepancy probably arose through corruption: the Greek does not match *propriam* but is a good equivalent of *propiorem*, and *propiorem* could very easily have been corrupted into *propriam*. The liberal instruction is thus probably an accidental replacement of one in which the teacher tries to get the boy to develop a delivery style closer to some established standard. The standard itself is not expressed; perhaps we are missing a line in which it was specified, but it is also possible that there is an implicit reference to the teacher's own style.

15a–b   Something is clearly missing here, but the restoration is far from certain. The basic problem is that there is only one verb, ἀπέδωκα/ *reddidi*, available to govern both δέλτον/ *tabulam* and ὑπογραφήν/ *subscriptionem*, so a second verb must be supplied to go with one or the other. If a second ἀπέδωκα/ *reddidi* is supplied the omission can be explained as one of haplography and ὑποτεθείσης χειρός/ *posita manu* can mean that the student stopped writing, a sense that can to a certain extent be paralleled (cf. the idiom *manum de tabula* and Benediktson 1995). The disadvantages of this solution are that it involves a use of ἀπέδωκα/ *reddidi* somewhat atypical for the colloquia, that the student ought to stop writing before coming forward rather than afterwards, and that the first verb follows its object (in this text verbs normally precede their objects rather than following them as in Ciceronian prose; on word order in the colloquia see commentary on ME 1b–e); the explanation via haplography is also not terribly compelling in a text where a number of other lines are missing without that explanation being a viable option.

The other possibilities are to supply a different verb for either the first or the second object; if the first is chosen one could solve the word order problem by restoring the verb before rather than after δέλτον/ *tabulam*. The meaning then might be 'putting down my hand ⟨I covered⟩ the tablet', i.e. in order to make it clear to the teacher that the student recites from memory. If the second is chosen the missing verb could be explained as part of more widespread corruption affecting 15b, which is suspicious in other ways (see below).

15b ὑπογραφὴν αὐτῶν ὅπου ἔπραξα/*subscriptionem eorum ubi egeram*: The meaning of these phrases is uncertain. Both Greek ὑπογραφή and Latin *subscriptio* have a variety of meanings, but those meanings do not overlap in any sense that would fit the context here; the most appropriate meaning of the Greek is 'outline', and the most appropriate meaning of the Latin is 'entry', i.e. the text under a heading (*OLD s.v.* 2) – but that meaning seems to be restricted to a particular classical legal context.

A second problem concerns ὅπου and *ubi*. In the classical versions of both languages these terms mean 'where', but that meaning will not fit the context here; the sense required is 'which'. This sense is possible for *ubi* in informal Latin from Plautus onwards (strictly speaking the relative meaning that is attested for *ubi* is not accusative 'which' but an ablative 'in which', 'with which', etc. – but it is possible to take it in that sense with *egeram* here, even if an English translation 'with which I had done' sounds clumsy). In Greek the use of ὅπου as a relative pronoun is well attested from the later Byzantine period (indeed the modern Greek relative pronoun που is a shortened form of ὅπου). But the point at which ὅπου became a relative pronoun is very much disputed: Horrocks (2010: 186–7) maintains that there are a few examples in the fifth and sixth centuries and then none until the twelfth, but Gignac (1981: 179) claims that relative use of ὅπου is classical, while at the same time denying that it is found in Roman-period papyri. Under these circumstances the use of ὅπου cannot be used to date this text, particularly as it may here be a translation of the Latin.

16b ἔγραψα καθημερινά/*scripsi cottidiana*: This expression may refer to copying out a colloquium like this one.

17 Two comprehension exercises are described here, as opposed to the declamation exercise in 13. The first involves close study of a difficult text, and the second is an exercise in reading at sight. It is unclear what language the texts are in: it may be that these are exercises in translation from a foreign language, but the texts might also be in the pupil's native language. Because ancient books so often consisted of nothing but the bare words of the text – sometimes without even word division or punctuation, and usually without any equivalent of our capitalization, quotation marks, speaker designations, parentheses, or italics – reading and understanding a text in one's native language

was not a simple task in antiquity. There is also the possibility that the texts were in a language nominally the same as the pupil's native language but in practice noticeably distinct from it: when a Roman child of the fifth century AD read Virgil he or she faced a task similar to that of a modern English-speaking child reading Shakespeare, while a Greek child of the second century AD reading Homer had an even more difficult task.

17a καὶ διορθωθείς/*et emendatus*: In context the meaning of this must be something like 'when my questions had been answered', though that is not quite what one would expect from this phrase in isolation. Probably the uncertainties that caused the student to need to ask questions are seen as errors to which the teacher's answers provide corrections.

17c νοήσαιμι: The optative is correct by classical standards in both form and usage.

17c πρόσωπα/*personas*: The point is that the student understands which characters speak which lines; as ancient dramatic texts did not indicate speakers their identification was one of the major challenges for readers. Cf. on ME 2p.

17d There may be a line missing here, containing a verb meaning 'I read', but the verb could always have been understood rather than expressed. In Latin this meaning of *ab oculo* is attested from the first century AD (Petronius 75.4, cf. Heraeus 1899: 34), but I can find no other examples of Greek ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ with the sense 'at sight', so the Greek is probably a calque of the Latin.

19 This digression does not appear to be aimed at the child reader like the rest of the colloquium, but rather at teachers. Sections 18 and 19 explain what a good teacher ought to do and why, just as most of the other sections explain what a good boy ought to do (and sometimes, though not always, why). The inclusion of material like this suggests that the writer was not merely compiling aids for use in his or her own classroom but expected this work to be used by other teachers; it thus implies publication in some organized fashion.

19a εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ φύσεις ποικίλαι φιλοπονούντων/*sunt enim et naturae variae studentium*: The

meaning must be that there are individual differences among students.

20a   There are parallels at ME 2n and C 40b–c; see on ME 2n–o.

20a   There may be a distinction between the verbs for 'recite' used here and the more common ἀποδίδωμι/*reddo*: as the latter implies recitation from memory as a means of demonstrating that a lesson has been learned, the verbs used here may indicate repeated recitation or chanting (either individually or in unison) as a means of memorization. It is not entirely clear what ὀνόματα/*nomina* refers to; perhaps it is the declensions of nouns, but perhaps it is a vocabulary list (on the memorization of such lists in antiquity see Debut 1983). The 'nouns and verses' appear in both parallel passages, demonstrating that they are not a corruption but an old feature of the colloquia that was presumably maintained because it meant something to the people who reworked the text. In at least one of those versions, however, the students write the ὀνόματα/*nomina* rather than reciting them, opening up the possibility that these could be the children's own names, the writing of which was a school task in ancient as in modern times (cf. 11a above).

20b   If the text is sound, the meaning seems to be that pupils at different stages of training in writing recite verses at different levels of difficulty. On the other hand there may well be corruption here; the presence of a completely nonsensical line immediately after this section (see below on 20c) indicates that something has gone wrong. There might be a lacuna before this section ('others recited verses ⟨and did something else⟩ as they were accustomed to write') or after its second line ('others recited verses, as they were accustomed to do; ⟨something else requiring an infinitive⟩ to write').

20c   ἠγέρθησαν/***surrexerunt***: S has συλλαβαί/*syllabae* before this line, apparently saying 'The syllables got up and stood at the board.' It is possible that the syllables belong several lines earlier, in 20a, but if so they must originally have been accusative: ἄλλοι οὖν ⟨συλλαβάς, ἄλλοι⟩ ὀνόματα, ἄλλοι στίχους ἀνηγόρευσαν/*alii ergo ⟨syllabas, alii⟩ nomina, alii versus recitaverunt*. (Both the ME and C parallels contain the accusative *syllabas*, though neither has exactly this context.)

20c   πίνακα/***titulum***: From what we know of ancient classrooms this must be not a blackboard but a teacher's model text that the student copies; as the writing on a model is smaller than that on a blackboard the student needs to go stand near it to see the writing well enough to copy it. On teachers' models see Cribiore (1996: 121–8).

21a   One of the more advanced pupils teaches the beginners. This system is mentioned in the ME colloquium as well, in a passage that may be related to this one: see ME 2m.

21b–d   This passage is difficult; my interpretation takes it as a relative–correlative construction, meaning 'While I was producing my work, they were doing whatever was provided/dictated to them in their capacity as beginners, that is, essential things, numbers, fingers, and counting-stones.'

21b   ὅσα ... κατελέχθη: Unusually, the writer has here used the classical Attic agreement of singular verb with neuter plural subject; cf. above on 5d ἐπήρχοντο.

21c   χρήζοντα/***necessaria***: This must here be a technical term for some school activity or object.

21d   The word order here is surprising; in order to make sense of the passage one must assume that ταῦτα/*haec* is the object of ἔπραττον/*agebant*, with a temporal clause intervening between the two. Word order in the colloquia is usually very simple, with all the words for each clause kept together, and moreover in Latin the word order here strongly suggests that *haec* should be the object of *reddo*. It is possible that some rearrangement of the text has occurred, and that it originally read ταῦτα οὗτοι ἔπραττον ἐν ὅσῳ ἀποδίδομαι/*haec ei agebant dum reddo*, or that more serious corruption is present and part of this section originally had some other function.

   The present tense of ἀποδίδομαι/*reddo* is expected in Latin after *dum* meaning 'while', but in Greek it must be due to the influence of the Latin; the same construction occurs at 14a, 36b, and perhaps 37a.

22b   The division into two classes is also found in ME and C, but it is uncertain whether the passages in question are related; see on ME 2n–o.

252

23–5 This section consists of basic grammatical information that would be taught at school. Its connection with the rest of the narrative is minimal and consists only in the fact that some of the information is conveyed in question-and-answer format, in one case (cf. below on 25a) apparently including an indirect question; probably we are to understand that the boy narrator is describing the teacher asking the questions and himself answering them.

23 The writer first states that there are five cases, and then goes on to list six. The most likely reason for the discrepancy is that one case was added later by someone who thought the list of five looked incomplete and failed to notice the statement at its start. The added case is probably the ablative: section 24 is apparently intended to describe Greek rather than Latin, and if this section was written from the same perspective it would have been natural to list only the Greek cases.

The cases are given here in their usual ancient order (for the reasons why modern students often learn them in a different order see Allen and Brink 1980), and most of them have their usual ancient names, but the genitive is normally γενικός rather than γεγεννημένος in Greek; the latter appears to be a perfect passive participle of γεννάω 'beget', and I can find no other attestation of its use in this sense. The most likely explanation for its presence is that it is an attempt on the part of someone who did not know the Greek case names to form a calque of Latin *genetivus*. If this explanation is correct, someone with little or no background in the Greek educational tradition (almost certainly a Latin speaker) composed or modified this section.

24 The writer of this section is probably thinking about teaching Greek rather than Latin, as the dual is included.

25a εἰσί/*sint*: The Latin subjunctive suggests that this was originally an indirect question; it may have belonged to a fuller version in which the student said something like 'The teacher asked me . . . how many persons there are.'

25c τίς λέγῃ/*quis dicat*: The use of the subjunctive makes sense in Latin but not in Greek, so the Greek is probably a translation of the Latin.

25c τίς, τίνος/*quis*, *cuius*: This seems to be simply a vocabulary item to help the reader with the first word of the previous sentence. Though vocabulary lists are common in some of the colloquia, S does not normally have them, and it is possible that these words are an originally marginal note that has accidentally been incorporated into the text.

26–36 The story of the Trojan War is so long that the narrative of a boy's day at school might seem to have been given up altogether, but the boy's day eventually resumes at 37a. The Trojan story seems to be attached to the narrative at both ends: at the start by the wish that the schoolboy be a worthy successor to the Homeric heroes, and at the end by a reference to it in the next sentence. Nevertheless it cannot originally have been part of the colloquium, for its language is markedly different from that of the surrounding narrative and indeed from the normal language of the colloquia. The writer of the Trojan story uses sentences of immense length with multiple nesting clauses, and his Latin seems to translate his Greek, while in the surrounding narrative the syntax is much simpler and the Latin much less derivative; indeed sometimes the Greek seems to translate the Latin (see 4.2 and 4.3 above).

26–35 These sections are all one very long sentence. In general sentences in the colloquia, including this colloquium, are very short and avoid complex syntax and nesting constructions. This sentence, however, is long even by the standards of Cicero and Demosthenes, and the number of nesting clauses would have made it difficult to follow even for ancient readers; Estienne's punctuation shows that even he did not manage to understand it entirely (see below on 28–9). It is notable that despite the sentence's length and complexity it contains only fairly simple constructions: the length is created by a combination of relative clauses, participial phrases (these relatively short), apposition, and parataxis.

26a εἴη: The optative is correct in both form and usage (optative of wish).

26a τούτων οὓς ἀναγινώσκομεν ἀρχαίους/ *eorum quos legimus antiquos*: This interesting construction, with the main antecedent incorporated into the relative clause and a pronoun not incorporated, has classical parallels in both languages (*Iliad* 21.441–5, *Odyssey* 2.119, Plautus, *Mil.* 155).

27a οἵτινες/*qui*: These words introduce an extraordinarily long relative clause, whose verb is ἔπλευσαν/*navigaverunt* in 31c.

27a πάγκοινον/*omnium communem*: The single word in Greek with periphrasis in Latin suggests that the Latin translates the Greek.

27b ἐντετευγμενοι: This word is obscure and seems to be corrupt; its lack of accent in S indicates that Estienne considered it a corruption.

28–9 This massive parenthetical explanation, enclosing a second parenthetical explanation, must have been very difficult for language learners to follow. Even Estienne seems to have gotten lost in it, as he punctuated at the end of the inner parenthesis and capitalized to take the last line of the outer parenthesis, καὶ πόλιν Ἴλιον/*et urbem Ilion*, with what follows, although no sense can be made by doing so.

28a εἰς Λακεδαίμονα/in Lacedaemonem: For the case see above on 5a.

29a Τρωάδα/*Troiam*: A contrast is clearly intended between these words, which refer to the region, and Ἴλιον/*Ilion* in 29b, which refer to the city; the Greek words used normally do have these meanings, but the contrast works less well in Latin, where *Troia* is more likely to be the equivalent of Greek Τροία (as in 28a above) and designate the city than to refer to the region. Probably the Latin translates the Greek.

29b *quorum regnabat*: The use of a genitive with *regno* is probably due to Greek influence, but not necessarily to Greek influence on the author of this particular passage, as the construction also occurs in Horace (see *Odes* 3.30.12 and Nisbet and Rudd 2004 *ad loc.*).

30b *adunatum*: This is one of the few datable words in the S colloquium, for the verb *aduno* seems not to have been in use much before the third century AD (see *TLL* s.v. *aduno* 888.36–8).

31b δυνάμεις/*virtutes*: The equation of these two words makes more sense if the Latin is translating the Greek than in the reverse scenario, for one would expect ἀρετή as the translation of *virtus*. The same equation occurs in 36a.

31b φρόνησιν/*sapientiam*: The equation of these two words makes more sense if the Latin is translating the Greek than in the reverse scenario, for one would expect σοφία as the translation of *sapientia*.

32b ἔτεσιν ἐννέα/*annis novem*: In both languages the classically correct case here would be the accusative, the Greeks having fought *for* nine years, but in both languages these alternative cases start to be used so early that they are not helpful for dating the colloquium. See Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 148) and Blass and Debrunner (1979: §201).

33b ὑπερεχόντων S's reading is ἀνυπερεχόντων, but whereas ὑπερέχων means 'eminent' and so is an excellent match for the Latin, ἀνυπερέχων is not otherwise attested and would mean 'not eminent' (all the words in ἀνυπερ- listed in LSJ have the ἀν- as an alpha privative). The addition of ἀν- is probably the result of a scribe's repeating it from the beginning of the previous line (ἀνῃρημένων).

34a διαφυγών/*fugatus*: The Latin and the Greek have different meanings, either of which would work in the context. But the Greek would be inexplicable as a translation of this Latin, whereas the Latin makes good sense as a translation of this Greek: as Latin has no perfect active participles a literal translation of 'having escaped' was not possible, and the substitution of a perfect passive participle with a similar meaning was the only solution if the writer wanted to maintain syntactic parallelism by using a participle.

34b ἀρχηγός/*dux*: The Greek word can mean both a leader in the synchronic sense and an initial founder in the diachronic sense; the latter makes far more sense here, but the Latin *dux* has only the meaning 'leader'. Probably the Latin translates the Greek.

36b ἐν ὅσῳ ὑποστρέφουσιν/*dum revertuntur*: The use of the present indicative in secondary sequence after a conjunction meaning 'while' is standard in Latin but not in Greek, suggesting that this section was composed by a Latin speaker. The same construction is found at 14a, 21d, and perhaps 37a below.

37a Something is seriously wrong here. The Latin, taken by itself, seems reasonably coherent: 'While

we were exercising ourselves in these things and in various other related matters, the hour arrived.' The Greek, however, seems to say 'Therefore we exercise ourselves in these things and in various other matters, and the hour of those delaying [the hour of the future?] arrived.' This cannot be right, and its incoherence suggests that the apparent coherence of the Latin could be due to scribal emendation rather than to preservation.

The most serious problem is μελλόντων/*pertinentibus*; here the equation of a Greek genitive with a Latin form that could be ablative suggests that we may have the remnants of an absolute construction, though a genitive could also be used with 'hour' to explain what sort of time had come. In any case the Greek genitive is probably original here (though μελλόντων itself may not be; μελόντων would provide a better match for the Latin), and something is probably missing. Perhaps the original was something like ποιητῶν ἡμῖν μελόντων/*poetis ad nos pertinentibus* 'while we were concerned with the poets' – but this would still leave ἐπῆλθεν ὥρα/*advenit hora* without the qualification it seems to need.

Another problem occurs in the first clause, where the Latin has a subordinating conjunction and the Greek a connecting particle. One can make the two languages parallel fairly easily by restoring ἐν

τούτοις οὖν ⟨ἐν ὅσῳ⟩ γυμναζόμεθα/*in his ergo* ⟨*dum*⟩ *exercemur* 'So while we were exercising ourselves in these things'; the present tense in the Greek, which is bizarre in conjunction with the aorist ἐπῆλθεν, would then be explicable as the fourth example in this text of a Latinate present with 'while' (cf. above on 14a, 21d, and 36b). The disadvantage of this solution is that the beginning of the sentence becomes very clumsy in Greek; although the Greek of this colloquium is not very elegant it is rarely that ungainly.

38c ἐπαγορεύοντος/*dictante*: The Greek word is rare and not otherwise attested with the precise sense 'dictate'.

38d ἔστιξα/*distinxi*: The student adds punctuation to his transcript of the speech to show that he understands how the words should be construed.

39a Something seems to be missing here. One could punctuate at the end of 38c and take the people who recited first as the object of ἔστιξα/*distinxi*, but even if one assumes that this means the narrator is writing down their words and adding punctuation to them, the resulting scenario seems unlikely. Probably ἀναγορεύοντας and *recitantes* were the objects of a verb that has disappeared.

APPENDIX: COMPARISON OF CAPITULA SECTIONS

In each column are given the headings of the capitula sections in the Hermeneumata version in question, with the number of their sequence in the version where they appear and the page number(s) of each heading in Goetz (1892). (Headings of the Celtis version are taken by kind permission from the forthcoming edition of Rolando Ferri.) Note that the tables of contents to the capitula found in many manuscripts do not always match the actual capitula, and that this list follows whichever of the two appears to be older on each individual occasion; for the Celtis capitula, however, the contents list is normally followed as it seems to be significantly more conservative than the actual capitula (for some of the differences see Dionisotti 1982: 92–3). For versions other than Celtis, use of the contents rather than the actual capitula is signalled by a reference to page and line of the contents rather than to the page of the actual capitula. Where 'cf.' is given before a page number, the section can be found there but the heading is differently worded or absent. Transliterated Greek has been retransliterated, accents added, and orthography normalized where it poses comprehension difficulties, but otherwise the text has not been systematically corrected. The last column offers a tentative reconstruction of the original capitula; numbers are given only when I think there is a reasonable chance of our knowing the order. In this last column a question mark in front of an entry means the existence of the heading in the original is uncertain, a question mark after the number means its position is uncertain, and a question mark at the end means that the exact wording of the heading is uncertain.

Leidensia–Amploniana (order from L)	Monacensia–Einsidlensia (order from M)	Montepessulana	Stephani (including Fragmentum Bruxellense)	Celtis (according to table of contents)	Vaticana	Original?
		1. θεούς . . . τοὺς δώδεκα / deos . . . duodecim 289		1. περὶ θεῶν ἀθανασίων / de deis immortalibus		
1. θεῶν ὀνόματα / deorum nomina 82, cf. 8	1. θεῶν ὀνόματα / deorum nomina 167, 236	2. θεῶν λοιπῶν ὀνόματα / deorum reliquorum nomina 289	2. θεῶν ὀνόματα / deorum nomina 348, cf. 393	2. θεῶν ὀνόματα / deorum nomina	(1. divine epithets 422)	1. θεῶν ὀνόματα / deorum nomina
2. θεῶν ὀνόματα / dearum nomina 8, 83	2. θεῶν ὀνόματα / dearum nomina 168, cf. 236	(θεῶν 291)	3. θεῶν / dearum 348, 393	3. θεῶν ὀνόματα / dearum nomina		2. θεῶν ὀνόματα / dearum nomina
	περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἅιδη / de iis quae in inferno 237 (E only)					
	περὶ θεοσεβείας / de religione 237 (E only)					
3. περὶ οὐρανοῦ / de caelo 9, 83	3. περὶ οὐρανοῦ / de caelo 168, cf. 241		1. περὶ οὐρανοῦ / de caelo 347 (twice), 393	4. περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θεῶν / de caelo et divis	2. περὶ οὐρανοῦ / de caelo 425	3. περὶ οὐρανοῦ / de caelo
	4. περὶ ἄστρων οὐρανίων / de signis caelestibus 169, 241	5. περὶ ἄστρων οὐρανίων / de signis caelestibus 292		5. περὶ ἄστρων οὐρανίων / de signis caelestibus		4. περὶ ἄστρων οὐρανίων / de signis caelestibus

257

Leidensia–Amploniana (order from L)	Monacensia–Einsidlensia (order from M)	Montepessulana	Stephani (including Fragmentum Bruxellense)	Celtis (according to table of contents)	Vaticana	Original?
39. περὶ ζῳδίων ιβ′ / de signis xii 30	5. περὶ τῶν δώδεκα ζῳδίων / de duodecim signis 170, 241	3. περι των ιβ′ ζῳδίων / de duodecim signis 291 (narrative) and 6. ιβ′ ζῳδια / duodecim signa 293		8. περὶ δώδεκα ζῳδιακῶν / de duodecim signis	(cf. 425)	5. περὶ τῶν ιβ′ ζῳδίων / de duodecim signis
	6. περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων πλανήτων / de VII stellis errantibus 166.34, cf. 242	4. περὶ τῶν ζ′ ἀστέρων / de septem stellis 292		9. περὶ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων / de septem stellis		6. περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων / de septem stellis
	περὶ χρόνου / de temporibus 242 (E only)	10. χρόνοι ἐνιαυτοί / tempora et anni 295			(cf. 426, 427)	
	περὶ στοιχείων / de elementis 244 (E only)	7. περὶ χειμώνων / de tempestatibus 293			(cf. 425)	
4. περὶ ναῶν / de aedibus 83, cf. 9	7. περὶ ναῶν ἱερῶν / de aedibus festis 170, cf. 238	17. περὶ ναῶν / de aedibus 301	18. περὶ ναῶν / de aedibus 362	6. περὶ ναῶν ἱερῶν / de aedibus sacris		7. περὶ ναῶν / de aedibus
	8. περὶ θυσιῶν / de sacrificiis 171, 238			7. περὶ θυσιῶν / de sacrificiis		8. περὶ θυσιῶν / de sacrificiis
5. περὶ ἑορτῶν / de diebus festis 10, 83	9. περὶ ἑορτῶν / de diebus festis 171, 239	8. περὶ ἑορτῶν / de diebus festis 294	35. περὶ ἡμερῶν βιωτῶν / de diebus festis 371	περὶ ἑορτῶν / de diebus festis (not in contents; appears in text in place of no. 7)		9. περὶ ἑορτῶν / de diebus festis

6. περὶ θεωριῶν / de spectaculis 10, 84	18. περὶ θεωριῶν / de spectaculis 302	36. περὶ θεωριῶν / de spectaculis 371	36. περὶ θεωριῶν / de spectaculis	10. περὶ θεωριῶν / de spectaculis
7. περὶ ἀνέμων / de ventis 11, 84	9. περὶ ἀνέμων / de ventis 295	10. περὶ ἀνέμων / de ventis 354, 395	56. περὶ ἀνέμων / de ventis	11. περὶ ἀνέμων / de ventis
10. περὶ ἀνέμων / de ventis 172, 245			3. τῶν ἀνέμων τὰ ὀνόματα / ventorum nomina 426	
			4. περὶ γῆς / de terra 426	
περὶ θαλασσῶν / de maribus 245 (E only)		περὶ θαλάσσης / mare 396 (Brux. only)	(cf. 433–4)	
περὶ τῶν γλυκέων ὑδάτων / de aquis dulcibus 246 (E only)			15. περὶ ὑδάτων / de aquis 433	
11. ὅσα ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ / quae in theatro 172, 239				
12. ὅσα ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ / quae in stadio 172, 240				
13. ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ / quae in amphitheatro 173, 240				
14. ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρομίῳ / quae in circo 173, 240				

Leidensia–Amploniana (order from L)	Monacensia–Einsidlensia (order from M)	Montepessulana	Stephani (including Fragmentum Bruxellense)	Celtis (according to table of contents)	Vaticana	Original?
8. περὶ ἀνθρωπίνων / de membris humanis 11, 84	15. περὶ μελῶν ἀνθρωπίνων / de membris humanis 174, 246	23. περὶ μελῶν ἀνθρωπίνων / de membris humanis 310	5. περὶ μελῶν ἀνθρωπίνων / de membris humanis 349, 350, 394	10. περὶ μελῶν ἀνθρωπίνων / de membris humanis		12. περὶ μελῶν ἀνθρωπίνων / de membris humanis
	περὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν / de aetatibus 249 (E only)					
9. περὶ φύσεως / de natura 13, 86	17. περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης / de natura hominis 180, cf. 252	43. περὶ φύσεως σώματος ἀνθρωπίνου / de natura corporis humani 328	4. περὶ ἀνθρώπου / de homine 348	11. περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης / de natura humana		13. περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης / de natura hominis (?)
	16. περὶ τρόπων ἀνθρωπίνου / de moribus humanis 177, 249	44. περὶ τρόπων ἀνθρωπίνου / de moribus humanis 330	38. περὶ τρόπων / de moribus 372	12. περὶ τρόπων ἀνθρωπίνου / de moribus humanis		14. περὶ τρόπων ἀνθρωπίνου / de moribus humanis
	περὶ γάμου / de nuptiis 253 (E only)					
36. περὶ συγγενείας / de cognatione 28	περὶ συγγενείας / de cognatione 253, cf. 181	19. περὶ συγγενείας καὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας / de adfinitate et necessariis 303		14. περὶ συγγενείας / de cognatione		15 (?). περὶ συγγενείας / de cognatione
				42. περὶ ζωῆς καθημερινῆς / de victu quotidiano		
10. περὶ βρωμάτων / de escis 14, 87	19. περὶ βρωμάτων / de escis 182, 254	25. περὶ βρωμάτων / de escis 313		43. περὶ βρωμάτων / de escis		16. περὶ βρωμάτων / de escis

260

11. περὶ ποτοῦ/de potione 15, 87	20. περὶ ποτῶν/de potionibus 184, 255	26. περὶ ποτῶν/de potionibus 315	22. περὶ ποτῶν/de potionibus 364 (twice), 398	49. περὶ ποτῶν/de potionibus		17. περὶ ποτῶν/de potionibus
12. περὶ δευτέρας τραπέζης/de secunda mensa 15, 87	21. περὶ δευτέρας τραπέζης/de secunda mensa 184, 256	27. περὶ δευτέρας τραπέζης/de secunda mensa 315	37. περὶ τραγημάτων/de bellariis 372	48. περὶ δευτέρας τραπέζης/de secunda mensa		18. περὶ δευτέρας τραπέζης/de secunda mensa
13. περὶ κρέως/de carne 15, 88	24. περὶ κρέως/de carne 187, cf. 255	28. περὶ κρέως/de carne 316	21. περὶ κρέων/de carne 363, 364, 397	44. περὶ κρέων/de carne (no actual text)		19. περὶ κρέως/de carne
14. περὶ λαχάνων/de oleribus 16, 88	22. περὶ λαχάνων/de oleribus 185, 265	29. περὶ λαχάνων/de oleribus 316	15. περὶ λαχάνων/de oleribus 359 (twice), 397	47. περὶ λαχάνων/de oleribus	8. περὶ λαχάνων/de oleribus 430	20. περὶ λαχάνων/de oleribus
15. περὶ ἰχθύων/de piscibus 16, 88	23. περὶ ἰχθύων/de piscibus 186, 256	30. περὶ ἰχθύων/de piscibus 317	12. περὶ ἰχθύων/de piscibus 355 (twice), 396	46. περὶ ἰχθύων/de piscibus	17. περὶ ἰχθύων/de piscibus 436	21. περὶ ἰχθύων/de piscibus
16. περὶ ὀρνέων/de avibus 17, 89	25. περὶ ὀρνέων/de avibus 187, cf. 257	31. περὶ ὀρνέων/de avibus 318	16. περὶ ὀρνέων/de avibus 360 (twice), 397	45. περὶ ὀρνέων/de avibus	16. περὶ ὀρνέων/de avibus 435	22. περὶ ὀρνέων/de avibus
17. περὶ τετραπόδων/de quadrupedibus 18, 90	26. περὶ τετραπόδων/de quadrupedibus 188, 258	32. περὶ θηρῶν τετραπόδων/de bestiis quadrupedibus 320	17. περὶ θηρίων/de bestiis 361	50. περὶ θηρίων καὶ τετραπόδων/de bestiis et quadrupedibus	9. περὶ τῶν θηρίων/de bestiis 431	23. περὶ θηρίων τετραπόδων/de bestiis quadrupedibus (?)
27. περὶ κυνηγεσίας/de venatione 189, 259						
					10. περὶ κτηνῶν/de iumentis 431	

Leidensia–Amploniana (order from L)	Monacensia–Einsidlensia (order from M)	Montepessulana	Stephani (including Fragmentum Bruxellense)	Celtis (according to table of contents)	Vaticana	Original?
					11. περὶ βουκολίων/ de armentis 432	
				51. περὶ ἀγελῶν/ de gregibus	12. περὶ θρεμμάτων/ de pecudibus 432	
					13. περὶ χοίρων/ de porcis 432	
18. περὶ ἑρπετῶν/ de serpentibus 19, 90	28. περὶ ἑρπετῶν/ de serpentibus 189, cf. 259	20. περὶ ἑρπετῶν/ de serpentibus 305	40. περὶ ἑρπετῶν/ de serpentibus 376	53. περὶ ἑρπετῶν/ de serpentibus	14. περὶ ἑρπετῶν/ de reptilibus 432	24. περὶ ἑρπετῶν/ de serpentibus
				15. περὶ οἰκοδομιῶν/ de aedificiis (no actual text)		
19. περὶ οἰκήσεως/ de habitatione 19, 91	29. περὶ οἰκήσεως/ de habitatione 190, 268	24. περὶ οἰκήσεως/ de habitatione 312	23. περὶ οἰκήσεως/ de habitatione 364	16. περὶ οἰκήσεως/ de habitatione (no actual text)		25. περὶ οἰκήσεως/ de habitatione
20. περὶ πόλεων/ de civitatibus 20, cf. 91	39. περὶ πόλεων/ de civitatibus 196, cf. 267	21. περὶ πόλεων/ de civitate 305	9. περὶ πόλεων/ de civitatibus 353, cf. 395	17. περὶ πόλεων/ de civitate (no actual text)		26 (?). περὶ πόλεων/ de civitate (?)

	18. περὶ ἄστεως/ de oppido (no actual text)				
27. περὶ ἐνδομενίας/ de supellectile	24. περὶ ἐνδομενίας/ de supellectile	24. περὶ ἐνδομενίας/ de supellectile 365	40. περὶ ἐνδομενίας/ de supellectile 320	21. περὶ ἐνδομενίας/ de supellectile 196, 269	21. περὶ ἐνδομενίας/ de supellectile 20, 92
28. περὶ ἱματίων/ de vestimentis	25. περὶ ἱματίων/ de vestimentis	32. περὶ ἱματίων/ de vestimentis 369	33. περὶ ἱματίων/ de vestibus 322	22. περὶ ἱματίων/ de vestimentis 192, 272	22. περὶ ἱματίων/ de vestimentis 92, cf. 21
				περὶ πορφύρης/ de purpura 92 (A only)	
	περὶ Χρωμάτων (not in contents; appears in text after 25)			23. περὶ Χρωμάτων/ de coloribus 22, 93	23. περὶ Χρωμάτων/ de coloribus 22, 93
	26. περὶ ὀθωνίων/ de linteamine				
				34. περὶ ὀσπρίων/ de leguminibus 193, 266	
29. περὶ πλούτου/ de divitiis	27. περὶ πλούτου/ de divitiis	34. περὶ πλούτου/ de divitiis 370		44. περὶ πλούτου/ de divitiis 202, 274	
30. περὶ Χρυσέων/ de aureis	28. περὶ Χρυσέων/ de aureis	26. περὶ Χρυσέων/ de aureis 367	35. περὶ Χρυσέων/ de aureis 323	45. περὶ Χρυσέων/ de aureis 202 (M only)	24. περὶ Χρυσέων/ de aureis 22, 93
31. περὶ ἀργυρέων/ de argenteis	29. περὶ ἀργυρέων/ de argenteis	27. περὶ ἀργυρέων/ de argenteis 367	36. περὶ ἀργυρέων/ de argenteis 324	46. περὶ ἀργυρέων/ de argenteis 203 (M only)	25. περὶ ἀργυρέων/ de argenteis 22, 93

Leidensia–Amploniana (order from L)	Monacensia–Einsidlensia (order from M)	Montepessulana	Stephani (including Fragmentum Bruxellense)	Celtis (according to table of contents)	Vaticana	Original?
26. περὶ χαλκέων/ de aereis 23, cf. 93	47. περὶ χαλκέων/ de aereis 203 (M only)	37. περὶ χαλκέων/ de aeneis 325	28. περὶ χαλκέων/ de aereis 368	30. περὶ χαλκέων/ de aereis		32. περὶ χαλκέων/ de aereis (?)
27. περὶ σιδηρέων/ de ferreis 94, cf. 23	48. περὶ σιδηρέων/ de ferreis 204 (M only)	38. περὶ σιδηρέων/ de ferreis 325	29. περὶ σιδηρῶν/ de ferramentis 368	31. περὶ σιδηρέων/ de ferreis (no actual text)		33. περὶ σιδηρέων/ de ferreis
28. περὶ ὀστρακίνων/ de fictilibus 24	35. περὶ ὀστρακίνων/ de fictilibus 193, cf. 270	39. περὶ ὀστρακίνων/ de fictilibus 326	30. περὶ ὀστρακίνων/ de vasis fictilibus 369	32. περὶ ὀστρακίνων/ de fictilibus		34. περὶ ὀστρακίνων/ de fictilibus
			31. περὶ ἐρίων/ de lanis 369			
29. περὶ σκυτίνων/ de pellibus 24	36. περὶ σκυτίνων/ de scorteis 194, 273	40. περὶ σκυτίνων/ de scorteis 326	33. περὶ δερμάτων/ de pellibus 370	33. περὶ σκυτίνων/ de scorteis		35. περὶ σκυτίνων/ de scorteis
	37. περὶ ἀρωμάτων/ de odoribus 194, 273					
	38. περὶ ἐργαλείων/ de ferramentis 167.5, 262 (cf. 195)			41. περὶ ἐργαλείων/ de ferramentis		? 36. περὶ ἐργαλείων/ de ferramentis
30. περὶ φιλοπονιῶν/ de studiis 24			6. περὶ φιλοπονιῶν/ de studiis 351, 395			? 37. περὶ φιλοπονιῶν/ de studiis

περὶ γραμμάτων διδασκαλίας / de ludo litterario (?)	35. περὶ γραμμάτων διδασκαλίας / de ludo litterario	7. περὶ γραμμάτων διδασκαλίας / de ludo litterarum 351	41. περὶ διδασκαλείου / de ludo litterario 327	41. περὶ γραμμάτων διδασκαλείου / de ludo litterarum 198, 277	
περὶ εἰσαγωγῆς / de institutione (?)	34. περὶ ἀγωγῆς / de institutione	39. περὶ εἰσαγωγῆς τέχνης γραμματικῆς / de institutione artis grammaticae 375	42. περὶ εἰσαγωγῆς / de instructione 327		
περὶ τεχνιτῶν / de artificibus	40. περὶ τεχνιτῶν / de artificibus	25. περὶ τεχνιτῶν / de artificibus 366	22. περὶ τεχνιτῶν / ‹de› artificibus 306	43. περὶ τεχνιτῶν / de artificibus 200, cf. 271	31. περὶ τεχνιτῶν / de artificibus 25
περὶ δένδρων / de arboribus	52. περὶ δένδρων / de arboribus	14. περὶ δένδρων / de arboribus 358 (twice), 396	16. περὶ δένδρων / de arboribus 300	30. περὶ δένδρων / de arboribus 191, 263	32. περὶ δένδρων / de arboribus 25
	5. περὶ δένδρων / de arboribus 427				
	6. περὶ ὑλῶν / de silvestribus 428				
? περὶ ἀνθέων / de floribus	7. περὶ ἀνθέων / de floribus 429			31. περὶ ἀνθέων / de floribus 192, 266	
	(included in 52)			32. περὶ τρυγήτου / de vindemia 192, cf. 264	
				42. περὶ ἀγροικίας / de rusticatione 199, 260	
περὶ γεωργίας / de agri cultura	21. περὶ χωρίων / de agris	13. περὶ γεωργίας / de agri cultura 356 (twice), 396	15. περὶ γεωργίας / de agri cultura 299		33. περὶ γεωργίας / de agri cultura 26
	22. περὶ καρπῶν / de frugibus (no actual text)				

Leidensia–Amploniana (order from L)	Monacensia–Einsidlensia (order from M)	Montepessulana	Stephani (including Fragmentum Bruxellense)	Celtis (according to table of contents)	Vaticana	Original?
34. περὶ στρατιᾶς/de militia 27	52. περὶ στρατιᾶς/de militia 208 (M only)	14. περὶ στρατιᾶς/de militia 298	8. περὶ στρατείας/de militia 352, 395	39. περὶ στρατείας/de militia		περὶ στρατιᾶς/de militia
	περὶ πολιτείας/de civilitate vel re publica 274 (E only)					
				19. περὶ δυναμίας/de potestate		
35. περὶ ἀρχόντων/de magistratibus 28	18. περὶ ἀρχόντων/de magistratibus 182, 275	13. περὶ ἀρχόντων/de magistratibus 297	19. περὶ ἀρχόντων/de magistratibus 362	20 περὶ ἀρχόντων/de magistratibus		περὶ ἀρχόντων/de magistratibus
	περὶ νόμων/de legibus 276 (E only)					
37. περὶ ναυτιλίας/de navigatione 29	49. περὶ ναυτιλίας/de navigatione 204 (M only)	12. περὶ ναυτιλίας/de navigatione 296	11. περὶ ναυτιλίας/de navigatione 354 (twice)	55. περὶ ναυτιλίας/de navigatione	(cf. p. 434)	περὶ ναυτιλίας/de navigatione
38. περὶ ἰατρικῆς/de medicina 29	50. περὶ ἰατρικῆς/de medicina 205 (M only)	11. περὶ ἰατρικῆς/de medicina 296	20. ἰατρική/de medicina 362	54. περὶ ἰατρικῆς/de medicina		περὶ ἰατρικῆς/de medicina
	51. περὶ ἰαμένων ἰατρῶν/de ferramentis medicinis 207 (M only)					

53. περὶ ἱστουργίας / de confectione 209 (M only)

(cf. 72)

54. μῆνες Ἑλλήνων / menses Graecorum 210, cf. 243

55. μῆνες Ἀθηναίων / menses Atheniensium 167.22, 242 (cf. 210)

56. μῆνες Ἀντιοχείων / menses Antiocensium 210, cf. 242

μῆνες Ἑβραίων / menses Hebraeorum 243 (E only)

(cf. 72)

μῆνες Αἰγυπτίων / menses Aegyptiorum 243 (E only)

μῆνες Ἀσιανῶν καὶ Βιθυνίων / menses Asianorum et Bithynicorum 243 (E only)

περὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν / de diebus 243 (E only)

267

Leidensia–Amploniana (order from L)	Monacensia–Einsidlensia (order from M)	Montepessulana	Stephani (including Fragmentum Bruxellense)	Celtis (according to table of contents)	Vaticana	Original?
	περὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ / de vero deo 278 (E only)					
	περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων / de angelis 279 (E only)					
	περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ δυνάμεων αὐτῆς / de anima et virtutibus eius 279 (E only)					
		45. περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀγορὰν πραγμάτων / de forensibus negotiis 336		37. περὶ πραγματείας / de negotiatione		
				38. περὶ φορτίων / de mercibus		
				23. περὶ προσοδιῶν / de reditu (no actual text)		
				περὶ τέχνης μουσικῆς (not in contents)		
				περὶ μέτρων (not in contents)		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for Latin authors and works follow the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Abbreviations for papyrological publications follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*, online at http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html. Manuscript sigla are given at the start of each edition. In addition, the following abbreviations have been used.

C	Colloquium Celtis
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1863–)
GG IV	*Grammatici Graeci* IV = *Theodosii Alexandrini canones, Georgii Choerobosci scholia, Sophronii Patriarchae Alexandrini excerpta*, ed. A. Hilgard (Leipzig 1889–94)
H	Colloquium Harleianum
LDAB	*Leuven database of ancient books*, online at www.trismegistos.org/ldab/index.php.
LS	Colloquium Leidense–Stephani
LSJ	*Greek–English lexicon*, ed. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, 9th edn (Oxford 1940)
LSJ suppl.	*Greek–English lexicon: revised supplement*, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford 1996)
ME	Colloquia Monacensia–Einsidlensia
Mp	Colloquium Montepessulanum
*M–P*³	*The Greek and Latin literary texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, R. A. Pack, 3rd edn revised by P. Mertens *et al.*, online at www2.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/pages/mp3anglais.htm
Not. Tir.	*Commentarii notarum Tironianarum*, ed. G. Schmitz (Leipzig 1893)
OED	*Oxford English dictionary*, ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd edn (Oxford 1989)
OLD	*Oxford Latin dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford 1968–82)
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll *et al.* (Stuttgart 1894–1972)
S	Colloquium Stephani
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden 1923–)
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (Leipzig 1900–)

REFERENCES

Adams, J. N. (1976a) *The text and language of a vulgar Latin chronicle (Anonymus Valesianus* II*)* (London).
  (1976b) 'A typological approach to Latin word order', *Indogermanische Forschungen* 81: 70–99.
  (1977) *The vulgar Latin of the letters of Claudius Terentianus* (Manchester).
  (1982a) *The Latin sexual vocabulary* (London).
  (1982b) 'Anatomical terms transferred from animals to humans in Latin', *Indogermanische Forschungen* 87: 90–109.
  (1994) 'Latin and Punic in contact? The case of the Bu Njem ostraca', *Journal of Roman Studies* 84: 87–112.
  (1995a) *Pelagonius and Latin veterinary terminology in the Roman Empire* (Leiden).
  (1995b) 'The language of the Vindolanda writing tablets: an interim report', *Journal of Roman Studies* 85: 86–134.
  (1999) 'Nominative personal pronouns and some patterns of speech in republican and Augustan poetry', in J. N. Adams and R. G. Mayer (edd.), *Aspects of the language of Latin poetry* (Oxford) 97–133.
  (2003a) *Bilingualism and the Latin language* (Cambridge).
  (2003b) 'Petronius and new non-literary Latin', in J. Herman and H. Rosén (edd.), *Petroniana: Gedenkschrift für Hubert Petersmann* (Heidelberg) 11–23.
  (2003c) 'The new Vindolanda writing-tablets', *Classical Quarterly* 53: 530–75.
  (2005a) 'The *Bellum Africum*', in T. Reinhardt, M. Lapidge, J. N. Adams, and M. Winterbottom (edd.), *Aspects of the language of Latin prose* (Oxford) 73–96.
  (2005b) 'The accusative+infinitive and dependent *quod-/quia*-clauses', in Kiss, Mondin, and Salvi (2005) 195–206.
  (2007) *The regional diversification of Latin 200 BC–AD 600* (Cambridge).
  (forthcoming) *Non-standard Latin* (Cambridge).
Adams, J. N., Janse, M., and Swain, S. (edd.) (2002) *Bilingualism in ancient society* (Oxford).
Adrados, F. R. (1999–2003) *History of the Graeco-Latin fable*, trans. L. A. Ray and F. Rojas del Canto (Leiden).
Allen, P. S., and Allen, H. M. (edd.) (1913) *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* III (Oxford).
Allen, W. S., and Brink, C. O. (1980) 'The old order and the new: a case history', *Lingua* 50: 61–100.
Amelotti, M., and Migliardi Zingale, L. (1985) *Le costituzioni giustinianee nei papiri e nelle epigrafi*, 2nd edn (Milan).
André, J. (1974) *Apicius: L'Art culinaire*, 2nd edn (Paris).
  (1981) *L'Alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, 2nd edn (Paris).
  (1985) *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique* (Paris).
  (1991) *Le vocabulaire latin de l'anatomie* (Paris).
Andreau, J. (1987) *La vie financière dans le monde romain: les métiers de manieurs d'argent* (Rome).
Arias Abellán, C. (1995) 'Sobre el empleo de *si* en las interrogativas indirectas del latin tardio', in L. Callebat (ed.), *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif* IV (Hildesheim) 297–312.

Axelson, B. (1945) *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund).

  (1948) 'Die Synonyme *adulescens* und *iuvenis*', in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature, et d'histoire anciennes offerts à J. Marouzeau* (Paris) 7–17.

Axer, J. (1983) 'Reedition of the Viennese fragments of Cicero, *In Catilinam* I', in *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen National-bibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Vienna) 468–82.

Baehrens, W. A. (1922) *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur vulgärlatein-ischen Appendix Probi* (Halle an der Saale).

Baesecke, G. (1933) *Der Vocabularius sancti Galli in der angelsäch-sischen Mission* (Halle).

Balsdon, J. P. V. D. (1969) *Life and leisure in ancient Rome* (London).

Barrow, R. (1976) *Greek and Roman education* (London).

Barwick, K. (1964) *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis grammaticae libri* V, 2nd edn (Leipzig).

Bataille, A. (1967) 'Les Glossaires gréco-latins sur papyrus', *Recherches de Papyrologie* 4: 161–9.

Bellandi, F., and Ferri, R. (edd.) (2008) *Aspetti della scuola nel mondo romano* (Amsterdam).

Benediktson, D. T. (1995) '*Manum de tabula*: Petronius *Satyricon* 76.9', *Classical Philology* 90: 343–5.

Bennett, C. E. (1910) *Syntax of early Latin* I: *The verb* (Boston).

Bick, J. (1920) *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften* (Vienna).

Bischoff, B. (1998–2004) *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden).

Blass, F., and Debrunner, A. (1979) *Grammatik des neutestamen-tlichen Griechisch*, 15th edn, ed. F. Rehkopf (Göttingen).

Böcking, E. (1832) Δοσιθέου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἑρμηνευμάτων βιβλίον Γ΄: *Dosithei magistri interpreta-mentorum liber tertius* (Bonn).

Bodelot, C. (1987) *L'Interrogation indirecte en latin* (Louvain).

Bolkestein, A. M. (1995) 'Questions about questions', in D. Longrée (ed.), *De usu: études de syntaxe latine offertes en hommage à Marius Lavency* (Louvain-la-neuve) 59–70.

Bömer, A. (1897–9) *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten* (Berlin).

Bömer, F. (1969) *P. Ovidius Naso: Metamorphosen* I (Heidelberg).

Bonner, S. F. (1977) *Education in ancient Rome: from the elder Cato to the younger Pliny* (Berkeley).

Bonnet, G. (2005) *Dosithée: Grammaire latine* (Paris).

Boriaud, J.-Y. (1997) *Hygin: Fables* (Paris).

Botley, P. (2010) *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: grammars, lexica and classroom texts* (Philadelphia).

Boucherie, A. (1872) 'La Καθημερινὴ ὁμιλία de J. Pollux, d'après le ms. 3049 de la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 23.2: 478–94.

  (1879) 'Note additionelle sur les ἑρμηνεύματα et la Καθημερινὴ ὁμιλία de Julius Pollux', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres biblio-thèques* 27.2: 457–75.

Bowman, A. K., Thomas, J. D., and Adams, J. N. (1990) 'Two letters from Vindolanda', *Britannia* 21: 33–52.

Brashear, W. (1981) 'A Greek–Latin vocabulary', in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth international congress of papyrol-ogy* (Chico) 31–41.

Breen, A. B. (1991) 'The "Fabulae Hygini" reappraised: a reconsideration of the content and compilation of the work' (diss. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign).

Browning, R. (1983) *Medieval and modern Greek*, 2nd edn (Cambridge).

Brugnoli, G., and Buonocore, M. (2002) *Hermeneumata Vaticana (cod. Vat. Lat. 6925)* (Vatican).

Buberl, P. (1911) *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark, 1. Teil: die Stiftsbibliotheken zu Admont und Vorau* (Leipzig).

Bücheler, F. (1897) 'Altes Latein', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* NF 52: 391–8.

Cameron, Alan (2004) *Greek mythography in the Roman world* (New York).

Cameron, Averil (2009) 'Old and new Rome: Roman studies in sixth-century Constantinople', in P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (edd.), *Transformations of late antiquity: essays for Peter Brown* (Farnham, Surrey) 15–36.

Cavenaile, R. (1958) *Corpus papyrorum Latinarum* (Wiesbaden).

Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, I.-M., with Diethart, J. (1996–) *Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens* (Vienna).

Ciriello, S., and Stramaglia, A. (1998) '*PSI* VII 743 *recto* (Pack² 2100): *Dialogo di Alessandro con i ginnosofisti* e testo giurid-ico romano non identificato', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 44: 219–27.

Clackson, J. (2000) 'A Greek papyrus in Armenian script', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 129: 223–58.

  (2001) 'A Greek educational papyrus in Armenian script', in I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci (edd.), *Atti del* XXII *congresso internazionale di papirologia*I (Florence) 207–18.

Clarke, M. L. (1971) *Higher education in the ancient world* (London).

Clarysse, W., and Rochette, B. (2005) 'Un alphabet grec en caractères latins', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 51: 67–75.

Coleman, R. (1971) 'The monophthongization of /ae/ and the vulgar Latin vowel system' [no volume number], *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 175–91.

Cribiore, R. (1996) *Writing, teachers, and students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta).

  (2001) *Gymnastics of the mind: Greek education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton).

  (2002) review of Kramer (2001*a*), *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2002.05.08, online at http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2002/2002–05–08.html.

Croom, A. T. (2000) *Roman clothing and fashion* (Stroud).

Cugusi, P. (1992) *Corpus epistularum Latinarum* (Florence).

Curtis, R. I. (1991) *Garum and salsamenta* (Leiden).

Cuvigny, H. (2002) 'Remarques sur l'emploi de ἴδιος dans le *praescriptum* épistolaire', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 102: 143–53.

Cuzzolin, P. (1994) *Sull'origine della costruzione dicere quod: aspetti sintattici e semantici* (Florence).

Dalby, A. (2003a) *Food in the ancient world* (London).
   (2003b) *Flavours of Byzantium* (Totnes).

Daly, L. W. (1967) *Contributions to a history of alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Brussels).

Danese, R. M. (1989) 'Revisione del PVindob L 103 (Terenzio)', *Studi Classici e Orientali* 39: 133–57.

Danker, F. W., Bauer, W., Arndt, W. F., and Gingrich F. W. (2000) *A Greek–English lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature*, 3rd edn (Chicago).

Dareste, R. (1880) 'Fragments inédits de droit romain', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 4: 449–60.

Daris, S. (1991) *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, 2nd edn (Barcelona).

D'Arms, J. H. (1991) 'Slaves at Roman convivia', in Slater (1991) 171–83.

Debut, J. (1983) 'De l'usage des listes de mots comme fondement de la pédagogie dans l'antiquité', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 85: 261–74.
   (1984) 'Les *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana*: une méthode d'apprentissage des langues pour grands débutants', *Koinonia* (journal of the Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi, Naples) 8: 61–85.
   (1987) 'Les *Hermeneumata Monacensia*', *Les Études Classiques* 55: 180–93.

DeLaine, J. (1993) 'Roman baths and bathing', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6: 348–58.
   (1999) 'High status *insula* apartments in early imperial Ostia – a reading', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome: Antiquity* 58: 175–87.
   (2004) 'Designing for a market: *medianum* apartments at Ostia', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17: 146–76.

Della Corte, F. (1966) 'Tre papiri favolistici latini', in *Atti dell'XI congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Milan) 542–50.

De Nonno, M. (1982) *La grammatica dell'Anonymus Bobiensis (GL I 533–565 Keil)* (Rome).

De Ricci, S. (1912) 'Deux nouveaux papyrus juridiques', in *Études d'histoire juridique offertes à Paul Frédéric Girard* I (Paris) 273–82.

Di Benedetto, F. (1978) review of Pintaudi (1977), *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* NS 9: 113–21.

Dickey, E. (2000) '*O egregie grammatice*: the vocative problems of Latin words ending in *-ius*', *Classical Quarterly* NS 50: 548–62.
   (2001) 'Κύριε, δέσποτα, *domine*: Greek politeness in the Roman empire', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 121: 1–11.
   (2002) *Latin forms of address: from Plautus to Apuleius* (Oxford).

   (2003) 'Latin influence on the Greek of documentary papyri: an analysis of its chronological distribution', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 145: 249–57.
   (2004) 'The Greek address system of the Roman period and its relationship to Latin', *Classical Quarterly* NS 54: 494–527.
   (2006) 'The use of Latin *sis* as a focus-marking clitic particle', *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics* 11: 21–5.
   (2009) 'Latin influence and Greek request formulae', in T. V. Evans and D. Obbink (edd.), *The language of the papyri* (Oxford) 208–20.
   (2010a) 'The creation of Latin teaching materials in antiquity: a re-interpretation of P.Sorb. inv. 2069', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 175: 188–208.
   (2010b) 'Greek dictionaries ancient and modern', in C. Stray (ed.), *Classical dictionaries: past, present, and future* (London) 5–24.
   (2012) 'Latin influence on Greek: a preliminary analysis', in M. Leiwo and H. Halla-aho (edd.), *Variation and change in Greek and Latin* (Helsinki).
   (2013) 'Teaching Latin to Greek speakers in antiquity', in W. Brockliss, E. Archibald, and J. Gnoza (edd.), *Learning me your language*.

Dickey, E., and Chahoud, A. (edd.) (2010) *Colloquial and literary Latin* (Cambridge).

Dickey, E., and Ferri, R. (2010) 'A new edition of the Latin–Greek glossary on P.Sorb. inv. 2069 (verso)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 175: 177–87.
   (2012), 'A new edition of the *Colloquium Harleianum* fragment in *P.Prag.* 2.118', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*.

Dionisotti, A. C. (1979) review of Pintaudi (1977), *Classical Review* 29: 341–3.
   (1982) 'From Ausonius' schooldays? A schoolbook and its relatives', *Journal of Roman Studies* 72: 83–125.
   (1984) 'Latin grammar for Greeks and Goths', *Journal of Roman Studies* 74: 202–8.
   (1985) 'From Stephanus to Du Cange: glossary stories', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 14–15: 303–36.
   (1988) 'Greek grammars and dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in M. W. Herren (ed.), *The sacred nectar of the Greeks* (London) 1–56.
   (1996) 'On the nature and transmission of Latin glossaries', in Hamesse (1996) 205–52.
   (2007) '*Ecce*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 50: 75–91.

Dittenberger, W. (1920) *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* III, 3rd edn (Leipzig).

Dubuisson M. (1985) *Le latin de Polybe: les implications historiques d'un cas de bilinguisme* (Paris).
   (1992) 'Le grec à Rome à l'époque de Cicéron: extension et qualité du bilinguisme', *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 47: 187–206.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1993) 'Wine and water at the Roman convivium', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6: 116–41.

(2003) *The Roman banquet: images of conviviality* (Cambridge).

Estienne, H.: see Stephanus, H.

Fagan, G. G. (1999) *Bathing in public in the Roman world* (Ann Arbor).

Famerie, É. (1998) *Le latin et le grec d'Appien* (Geneva).

Feissel, D. (2008) 'Deux modèles de cursive latine dans l'ordre alphabétique grec', in F. A. J. Hoogendijk and B. P. Muhs (edd.), *Sixty-five papyrological texts presented to Klaas A. Worp on the occasion of his 65th birthday* (Leiden) 53–64.

Feltenius, L. (1977) *Intransitivizations in Latin* (Uppsala).

Ferri, R. (2008a) 'Il latino dei *Colloquia scholica*', in Bellandi and Ferri (2008), 111–77.

(2008b) 'New evidence on the meaning of ῥωμαιστής in IG xi.2 133: "Actor of Latin comedies"?', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 1 66: 155–8.

(2010) 'Textual and linguistic notes on the *Hermeneumata Celtis* and the *Corpus Glossariorum*', *Classical Quarterly* NS 60: 238–42.

(2011) '*Hermeneumata Celtis*: the making of a late-antique bilingual glossary', in R. Ferri (ed.), *The Latin of Roman lexicography* (Pisa) 141–69.

Filos, P. (2009) 'Studies in the morphology of Latin loan-words into Greek' (diss. Oxford).

Fischer, B. (1951–4) *Vetus Latina, die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel* ii: *Genesis* (Freiburg).

Flammini, G. (1990) 'Prolegomeni alla recensio plenior degli *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana*', *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 42: 3–43.

(2004) *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana Leidensia* (Munich).

Fögen, T. (2000) *Patrii sermonis egestas* (Munich).

Formentin, M. R. (1995) *Catalogus codicum Graecorum bibliothecae nationalis Neapolitanae* ii (Rome).

Fournet, J.-L. (2003) 'Langues, écritures et culture dans les *praesidia*', in H. Cuvigny (ed.), *La route de Myos Hormos: l'armée romaine dans le désert oriental d'Égypte* i (Cairo) 427–500.

Fressura, M. (2007) 'Note al papiro greco Rylands 478 (PRyl 478)', *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* 4: 77–97.

(2009a) 'Revisione di POxy viii 1099 e POxy l 3553', *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* 6: 43–71.

(2009b) 'PVindob l 62 identificato', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 168: 83–96.

Freyburger-Galland, M.-L. (1997) *Aspects du vocabulaire politique et institutionnel de Dion Cassius* (Paris).

Frier, B. W. (1977) 'The rental market in early imperial Rome', *Journal of Roman Studies* 67: 27–37.

Funari, R. (2008) '2 Sallustius 2 F: *Catil.* 10, 4–5; 11, 6–7', in *Corpus dei papiri storici greci e latini, parte B.1.2: Caius Sallustius Crispus* (Pisa) 51–62.

Funck, A. (1896) 'Praemiscuus = promiscuus und Ähnliches', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* 9: 304–5.

Gaebel, R. E. (1970) 'The Greek word-lists to Vergil and Cicero', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52: 284–325.

García Domingo, E. (1979) *Latinismos en la koiné* (Burgos).

Garmonsway, G. N. (1959) 'The development of the colloquy', in P. Clemoes (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (London), 248–61.

(1978) *Aelfric's colloquy*, 3rd edn (Exeter).

Gatti, P. (2006) 'Nomi di pesci negli *Hermeneumata Celtis*', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (=*Bulletin du Cange*) 64: 105–21.

Gentile, S. (1990) 'Sulle prime traduzioni dal greco di Marsilio Ficino', *Rinascimento* 2nd ser. 30: 57–104.

Gentile, S., Niccoli, S., and Viti, P. (1984) *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone: mostra di manoscritti stampe e documenti, 17 maggio – 16 giugno 1984: catalogo* (Florence).

Getzlaff, E. (1907) *Quaestiones Babrianae et pseudo-Dositheanae* (diss. Bonn).

Gignac, F. T. (1976) *A grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, i: *Phonology* (Milan).

(1981) *A grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, ii: *Morphology* (Milan).

Goetz, G. (1889) *Glossae codicum Vaticani 3321, Sangallensis 912, Leidensis 67F* (vol. iv of *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*; Leipzig).

(1892) *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana* (vol. iii of *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*; Leipzig).

(1892–3) 'De divi Hadriani sententiis et epistulis commentariolum', *Index scholarum hibernarum publice et privatim in universitate litterarum Ienensi a die xvii m. Octobris a.* mdcccxcii *ad diem* xviii *m. Martii a.* mcdddxciii *habendarum* (Jena) 3–8.

(1899) *Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum* (vol. vi of *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*; Leipzig).

(1923) *De glossariorum latinorum origine et fatis* (vol. i of *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*; Leipzig).

Goetz, G., and Gundermann, G. (1888) *Glossae Latinograecae et Graecolatinae* (vol. ii of *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*; Leipzig).

Goldman, N. (1994) 'Roman footwear', in Sebesta and Bonfante (1994) 101–29.

Goodyear, F. R. D. (1972) *The Annals of Tacitus: books 1–6* i (Cambridge).

Grant, M. (1996) *Anthimus, De observatione ciborum: On the observance of foods* (Totnes).

Gratwick, A. S. (2002) 'A matter of substance: Cato's preface to the *De agri cultura*', *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. 55: 41–72.

Grocock, C., and Grainger, S. (2006) *Apicius* (Totnes).

Gsell, B. (1891) *Verzeichniss der Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Stiftes Heiligenkreuz (= Xenia Bernardina* ii.1) (Vienna).

Gutmann, E. (1968) *Die Colloquia familiaria des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Basle).

Gwara, S. (1996) *Latin colloquies from pre-conquest Britain* (Toronto).

(2002) 'The *Hermeneumatapseudodositheana*, Latinoralfluency, and the social function of the Cambro-Latin dialogues called *De raris fabulis*', in Lanham (2002) 109–38.

(2004) *Education in Wales and Cornwall in the ninth and tenth centuries: understanding De raris fabulis* (Cambridge).

Gwara, S., and Porter, D.W. (1997) *Anglo-Saxon conversations: the colloquies of Ælfric Bata* (Woodbridge).

Halkin, L.-E., Bierlaire, F., and Hoven, R. (1972) *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* I.IV: *Colloquia* (Amsterdam).

Hamdy Ibrahim, M. (1992) 'Education of Latin in Roman Egypt in the light of papyri', in *Roma e l'Egitto nell'antichità classica: atti del I congresso internazionale Italo-Egiziano* (Rome) 219–26.

Hamesse, J. (ed.) (1996) *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge* (Louvain-la-neuve).

Harris, W.V. (2006) 'A revisionist view of Roman money', *Journal of Roman Studies* 96: 1–24.

Haupt, M. (1876) 'Index lectionum hibernarum 1874', in *Mauricii Hauptii opuscula* II (Leipzig) 508–20.

Heidemann, A. (1893) *De Ciceronis in epistulis verborum ellipsis usu* (diss. Berlin).

Helttula, A. (1996) 'Truffles in ancient Greece and Rome', *Arctos* 30: 33–47.

Heraeus, W. (1899) *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen* (wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Gymnasiums und der Realschule zu Offenbach A. M.; Leipzig); reprinted in J.B. Hofmann (ed.) (1937) *Kleine Schriften von Wilhelm Heraeus* (Heidelberg) 52–150.

Hering, J. (1935) *Lateinisches bei Appian* (diss. Leipzig).

Herman, J. (1963) *La formation du système roman des conjonctions de subordination* (Berlin).

(1989) 'Accusativus cum infinitivo et subordonnée à *quod*, *quia* en latin tardif: nouvelles remarques sur un vieux problème', in G. Calboli (ed.) *Subordination and other topics in Latin* (Amsterdam) 133–52.

(1996) 'A propos du si interrogatif: évolutions achevées et évolutions bloquées', in A. Bammesberger and F. Heberlein (edd.), *Akten des VIII. internationalen Kolloquiums zur lateinischen Linguistik* (Heidelberg) 296–307; reprinted in J. Herman, Du latin aux langues romanes II (Tübingen 2006) 65–75.

Hofmann H. (1989) *Die lateinischen Wörter im Griechischen bis 600 n. Chr.* (diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg).

Hofmann, J.B. (1951) *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, 3rd edn (Heidelberg).

Hofmann, J.B., and Szantyr, A. (1965) *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich).

Holzberg, N. (2002) *The ancient fable: an introduction*, trans. C. Jackson-Holzberg (Bloomington).

Honoré, A.M. (1965) 'The fragmentum Dositheanum', *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 3rd ser. 12: 301–23.

Horawitz, A. (1883) *Griechische Studien: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Griechischen in Deutschland* I (Berlin).

Horrocks, G. (2010) *Greek: a history of the language and its speakers*, 2nd edn (Chichester).

Hough, J.N (1945) 'The *numquid vis* formula in Roman comedy', *American Journal of Philology* 66: 282–302.

Hunger, H., and Hannick, C. (1994) *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Teil 4: Supplementum Graecum* (Vienna).

Husselman, E.M. (1957) 'A palimpsest fragment from Egypt', in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* II (Milan) 453–9.

Iddison, P. (1994) 'Azarole, oleaster and jujube', *Petits Propos Culinaires* 48: 29–36.

Ideler, I.L. (1841) *Physici et medici graeci minores* I (Berlin).

Irigoin, J. (1977) 'Georges Hermonyme de Sparte: ses manuscrits et son enseignement à Paris', *Bulletin de l'association Guillaume Budé* 36: 22–7.

Jahn, O. (1873) *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (Bonn).

Jannaris, A.N. (1897) *An historical Greek grammar* (London).

Jones, A.H.M. (1954) 'The date and value of the Verona list', *Journal of Roman Studies* 44: 21–9.

(1964) *The later Roman Empire* I (Oxford).

Joyal, M.; McDougall, I., and Yardley, J.C. (2009) *Greek and Roman education: a sourcebook* (London).

Kahane, H., and Kahane, R. (1982) 'The western impact on Byzantium: the linguistic evidence', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36: 127–53.

Kaimio, J. (1979a) *The Romans and the Greek language* (Helsinki).

(1979b) 'Latin in Roman Egypt', in *Actes du XV e congrès international de papyrologie* III (Brussels) 27–33.

Kaser, M., and Hackl, K. (1996) *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht* (Munich).

Kaster, R.A. (1988) *Guardians of language* (Berkeley).

Keil, H. (1857–80) *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig).

Kiss, S., Mondin, L., and Salvi, G. (edd.) (2005) *Latin et langues romanes: études de linguistique offertes à József Herman à l'occasion de son 80ème anniversaire* (Tübingen).

Kolb, F. (1973) 'Römische Mäntel: *paenula, lacerna*, μανδύη', *Mitteilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, roemische Abteilung* 80: 69–167.

Korhonen, K. (1996) 'On the composition of the *Hermeneumata* language manuals', *Arctos* 30: 101–19.

Kramer, J. (1983) *Glossaria bilinguia in papyris et membranis reperta* (Bonn).

(1984) 'Testi greci scritti nell'alfabeto latino e testi latini scritti nell'alfabeto greco: un caso di bilinguismo imperfetto', in *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* III (Naples) 1377–84.

(1990) 'Il glossario virgiliano bilingue di Vienna (P. Vindob. L 24)', in M. Capasso, G.M. Savorelli, and R. Pintaudi (edd.), *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della charta borgiana* (Florence) 331–4.

(1992) 'Roga', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 94: 185–90.

(1996a) 'I glossari tardo-antichi di tradizione papiracea', in Hamesse (1996) 23–55.

(1996b) 'Der lateinisch-griechische Vergilpalimpsest aus Mailand', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 111: 1–20.

(1999) 'Zwei lateinische Alphabete für Griechischsprachige: Neuausgabe von P. Ant. 1, fr. 1 Verso', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 45: 32–8.

(2001a) *Glossaria bilinguia altera* (Munich).

(2001b) 'Die Ämterliste aus dem Wiener Celtis-Glossar', in B. Palme (ed.), *Wiener Papyri als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer* (Vienna) 249–65.

(2004a) 'Lateinisch-griechisches Glossar: Celtis' Abschrift aus einem Papyruskodex', in J. M. S. Cowey and B. Kramer (edd.), *Paramone: Editionen und Aufsätze von Mitgliedern des Heidelberger, Instituts für Papyrologie zwischen 1982 und 2004* (Munich) 43–62.

(2004b) 'Essai d'une typologie des glossaires gréco-latins conservés sur papyrus', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 50: 49–60.

(2007a) *Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften* (Berlin).

(2007b) 'P. Amh. II 26, 25: *bulpeculam imfortunam*', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 53: 45–52.

(2010) 'Neuedition des lateinisch-griechisch-koptischen Gesprächsbuchs von Berlin (P. Berol. inv. 10582, LDAB 6075', in H. Knuf, C. Leitz, and D. von Recklinghausen (edd.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (Leuven) 557–66.

(2011) *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik* (Berlin).

Kresten, O. (1969) 'Andreas Darmarios und die handschriftliche Überlieferung des pseudo-Julios Polydeukes', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 18: 137–65.

(1976) 'Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 25: 207–22.

Kretschmer, P. (1927) 'Brot und Wein im Neugriechischen', *Glotta* 15: 60–5.

Kristeller, P. O. (1956) *Studies in Renaissance thought and letters* (Rome).

Kroll, W. (1926) *Historia Alexandri Magni (pseudo-Callisthenes)* I (Berlin).

Krumbacher, K. (1883) *De codicibus quibus Interpretamenta pseudodositheana nobis tradita sunt* (diss. Munich).

(1891) 'Colloquium Pseudodositheanum Monacense', in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft, Wilhelm von Christ zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern* (Munich) 307–64.

Lachmann, K. (1837) *Versuch über Dositheus* (Berlin) reprinted in Lachmann 1876: 196–216).

(1876) *Kleinere Schriften zur classischen Philologie* II, ed. J. Vahlen (Berlin).

Landgraf, G. (1914) *Kommentar zu Ciceros Rede pro Sex. Roscio Amerino* (Leipzig).

Langslow, D. R. (2005) 'Linguistic "highs" and "lows" in late Latin medical texts: L. *utique* and the dangers of generalizing', in Kiss, Mondin, and Salvi (2005) 313–25.

Lanham, C. D. (ed.) (2002) *Latin grammar and rhetoric* (London).

Lapidge, M. (2010) 'Colloquial Latin in the Insular Latin scholastic *colloquia*?', in Dickey and Chahoud (2010) 406–18.

Lauffer, S. (1971) *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin)

Law, V. (1982) *The Insular Latin grammarians* (Woodbridge).

Leiwo, M. (2010) 'Petronius' linguistic resources', in Dickey and Chahoud (2010) 281–91.

Lendinara, P. (1999) *Anglo-Saxon glosses and glossaries* (Aldershot).

Lewis, C. T., and Short, C. (1879) *A Latin Dictionary* (New York).

Leumann, M. (1977) *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, 6th edn (Munich).

Lewis, N. (1991) 'Hadriani sententiae', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 32: 267–80.

Liddell, H. G., and Scott, R (1843) *A Greek-English lexicon based on the German work of Francis Passow*, 1st edn (Oxford).

Lindsay, W. M. (1896) *An introduction to Latin textual emendation* (London).

(1907) *Syntax of Plautus* (Oxford).

Löfstedt, E. (1911) *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Uppsala).

(1936) *Vermischte Studien zur lateinische Sprachkunde und Syntax* (Lund).

Löfstedt, L. (1966) *Les expressions du commandement et de la défense en latin et leur survie dans les langues romanes* (Helsinki).

Luzzatto, M. J. (1997) 'Babrios', in H. Cancik and H. Schneider (edd.), Der neue Pauly II 383–4.

Lyne, R. O. A. M. (1978) *Ciris: a poem attributed to Vergil* (Cambridge).

McDonnell, M. (1996) 'Writing, copying, and autograph manuscripts in ancient Rome', *Classical Quarterly* 46: 469–91.

McNamee, K. (2007) *Annotations in Greek and Latin texts from Egypt* (New Haven).

Maehler, H. (1979) 'Zweisprachiger Aeneis-codex', in J. Bingen and G. Nachtergael (edd.), *Actes du* XV *e congrés international de papyrologie* II*: Papyrus inédits* (Brussels) 18–41.

Maltby, R. (2009) 'Priscian's etymologies: sources, function and theoretical basis: *Graeci, quibus in omnia doctrinae auctoribus utimur*', in M. Baratin, B. Colombat, and L. Holtz (edd.), *Priscien: transmission et refondation de la grammaire* (Turnhout) 239–46.

Markus, D., and Schwendner, G. W. (1997) 'Seneca's

Medea in Egypt (663–704)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117: 73–80.

Marrou, H.-I. (1965) *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 6th edn (Paris).

Mason, H.J. (1974) *Greek terms for Roman institutions: a lexicon and analysis* (Toronto).

Mawer, C.F. (1989) 'A lost Roman ring from Suffolk', *Britannia* 20: 237–41.

Mayser, E. (1926–38) *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (Berlin).

Meier, P.G. (1899) *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Einsidlensis O.S.B. servantur* I (Einsiedeln).

Merkelbach, R. (1977) *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, 2nd edn (Munich).

Meyer, G. (1895) *Neugriechische Studien* III: *Die lateinischen Lehnwörter im Griechischen* (Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Classe 132).

Meyer-Lübke, W. (1935) *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd edn (Heidelberg).

Millar, F. (1992) *The emperor in the Roman world*, 2nd edn (London).

(2006) *A Greek Roman empire* (Berkeley).

Moore, C.H. (1924) 'Latin exercises from a Greek schoolroom', *Classical Philology* 19: 317–28.

Morgan, T. (1998) *Literate education in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds* (Cambridge).

Moritz, L.A. (1958) *Grain-mills and flour in classical antiquity* (Oxford).

Mullach, F.W.A. (1860) *Fragmenta philosophorum Graecorum* I (Paris).

Müller, C.W., Sier, K., and Werner, J. (edd.) (1992) *Zum Umgang mit fremden Sprachen in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Stuttgart).

Nelson, H.L.W., with David, M. (1981) *Überlieferung, Aufbau und Stil von Gai Institutiones* (Leiden).

Neue, F. and Wagener, C. (1892–1905) *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 3rd edn (Berlin).

Neumann, G., and Untermann, J. (edd.) (1980) *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (Cologne).

Nielsen, I. (1990) *Thermae et balnea* (Aarhus).

Nisbet, R.G.M., and Rudd, N. (2004) *A commentary on Horace: Odes book* III (Oxford).

Nøjgaard, M. (1967) *La fable antique* II (Copenhagen).

Norberg, D. (1943a) *Syntaktische Forschungen* (Uppsala).

(1943b) *Faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un: recherches sur l'origine latine de la construction romane* (Uppsala).

(1944) *Beiträge zur spätlateinischen Syntax* (Uppsala).

Oakley, S.P. (1997–2005) *A commentary on Livy, books* VI–X (Oxford).

Omont, H. (1885) 'Georges Hermonyme de Sparte, maître de grec à Paris et copiste des manuscrits (1476)', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 12: 65–98.

(1898) 'Glossarium Andegavense: ms. 477 (461 de la bibliothèque d'Angers', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 59: 665–88.

Orme, N. (2006) *Medieval schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven).

Packer, J.E. (1971) *The insulae of imperial Ostia* (Rome).

Papendick, A. (1926) *Die Fischnamen in griechisch-lateinischen Glossaren* (diss. Würzburg).

Parker, D.C. (1992) *Codex Bezae: an early Christian manuscript and its text* (Cambridge).

Passalacqua, M. (1984) *Tre testi grammaticali Bobbiesi (GL* V *555–566; 634–654;* IV *207–216 Keil)* (Rome).

Pernot, L. (1979) 'La collection de manuscrits grecs de la maison Farnèse', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 91: 457–506.

Perrot, J. (1961) *Les dérivés latins en -men et -mentum* (Paris).

Perry, B.E. (1952) *Aesopica* (Urbana).

(1964) *Secundus the silent philosopher* (Ithaca).

(1965) *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Petersmann, H. (2002–3) 'Bedeutung und Gebrauch von lateinisch *fui*: eine soziolinguistische Analyse', *Die Sprache* 43: 94–103.

Pinkster, H. (2005) 'The use of *is* and *ille* in Seneca Rhetor', in Kiss, Mondin, and Salvi (2005) 57–64.

Pintaudi, R. (1977) *Marsilio Ficino, Lessico greco-latino: Laur. Ashb. 1439* (Rome).

Poccetti, P. (2010) 'Greeting and farewell expressions as evidence for colloquial language: between literary and epigraphical texts', in Dickey and Chahoud (2010) 100–26.

Potthoff, A. (1992) *Lateinische Kleidungsbezeichnungen in synchroner und diachroner Sicht* (Innsbruck).

Powell, J.G.F. (2007) 'A new text of the *Appendix Probi*', *Classical Quarterly* 57: 687–700.

Priester, S. (2002) *Ad summas tegulas: Untersuchungen zu vielgeschossigen Gebäudeblöcken mit Wohnheiten und Insulae im kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (Rome).

Radiciotti, P. (1998) 'Manoscritti digrafici grecolatini e latinogreci nell'antichità', in M. Capasso (ed.), *Ricerche di papirologia letteraria e documentaria* (Galatina) 108–146.

Rawson, B. (2003) *Children and childhood in Roman Italy* (Oxford).

Reeve, M.D. (1983) 'Hyginus', in L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and transmission: a survey of the Latin classics* (Oxford) 187–90.

Reichmann, V. (1943) *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung* (Leipzig).

Riché, P. (1976) *Education and culture in the barbarian West: from the sixth through the eighth century*, trans. J.J. Contreni (Columbia, SC).

Risselada, R. (1993) *Imperatives and other directive expressions in Latin* (Amsterdam).

Roberts, C.H. (1935) 'The Antinoë fragment of Juvenal', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21: 199–209.

Rochette, B. (1990) 'Les traductions grecques de l'*Énéide* sur papyrus: une contribution à l'étude du bilinguisme gréco-romain au Bas-Empire', *Les Études Classiques* 58: 333–46.

(1996a) 'Papyrologica bilinguia Graeco-Latina', *Aegyptus* 76: 57–79.

(1996b) 'Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', *Chronique d'Égypte* 71: 153–68.

(1997a) *Le latin dans le monde grec: recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'empire romain* (Brussels).

(1997b) 'Sur la signification des accents et des marques de quantité dans les papyrus latins', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119: 203–8.

(1998) 'Le bilinguisme gréco-latin et la question des langues dans le monde gréco-romain: chronique bibliographique', in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 76.1: 177–96.

(1999) 'Écrire en deux langues', *Scriptorium* 53: 325–34.

(2005) review of Flammini (2004), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 98: 585–90.

(2007) 'Grecs, Romains et barbares: contribution à l'étude de la diversité linguistique dans l'antiquité classique', in R. Oniga and S. Vatteroni (edd.), *Plurilinguismo letterario* (Rubbettino) 13–40.

(2008) 'L'Enseignement du latin comme L² dans la *Pars Orientis* de l'Empire romain: les *Hermeneumata pseudo-dositheana*', in F. Bellandi and R. Ferri (edd.), *Aspetti della scuola nel mondo romano* (Amsterdam) 81–109.

(forthcoming) 'Les *Diui Hadriani sententiae*: quel latin?', in ix^e *colloque international 'Latin vulgaire – latin tardif'*.

Ronconi, F. (2003) *La traslitterazione dei testi greci* (Spoleto).

Rönsch, H. (1875) *Itala und Vulgata*, 2nd edn (Marburg).

(1887) *Semasiologische Beiträge zum lateinischen Wörterbuch* 1 (Leipzig).

Rose, H. J. (1929) 'An unrecognized fragment of Hyginus, *Fabulae*', *Classical Quarterly* 23: 96–9.

(1933) *Hygini Fabulae* (Leiden).

Rosén, H. (2000) 'Preclassical and classical Latin precursors of Romance verb-stem suppletion', *Indogermanische Forschungen* 105: 270–83.

Rossiter, J. (1991) 'Convivium and villa in Late antiquity', in Slater (1991) 199–214.

Rössl, J. (1974), 'Studien zur Frühgeschichte und Historiographie Zwettls im 12. Jahrhundert' (diss. Vienna).

(1981), '229: Hermeneumata Monacensia. Glossarium Salomonis', in *Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung: Die Kuenringer: das Werden des Landes Niederösterreich: Stift Zwettl, 16. Mai – 26. Oktober 1981* (Vienna) 229.

Roussin, L. A. (1994) 'Costume in Roman Palestine: archaeological remains and the evidence from the Mishnah', in Sebesta and Bonfante (1994) 182–90.

Russell, D. A. (2001) *Quintilian: The orator's education, books 1–2* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Salomies, O. (1987) *Die römischen Vornamen: Studien zur römischen Namengebung* (Helsinki).

Salonius, A. H. (1920) *Vitae patrum* (Lund).

Scappaticcio, M. C. (2009) 'Appunti per una riedizione dei frammenti del palinsesto Virgiliano dell'Ambrosiana', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 55: 96–120.

(2010) 'Tra ecdotica e performance: per un *Corpus papyrorum Vergilianarum*' *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 56: 130–48.

Schad, S. (2007) *A lexicon of Latin grammatical terminology* (Pisa).

Schiller, A. A. (1971a) 'Vindication of a repudiated text: "Sententiae et epistolae Hadriani"', in *La critica del testo: atti del Secondo congresso internazionale della Società italiana di storia del diritto* (Florence) 717–27.

(1971b) '*Alimenta* in the *Sententiae Hadriani*', in *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Grosso* iv (Turin) 399–415.

Schmidt, J. (1940) 'Sosiades', in *RE* Supplementband vii 1220.

Schoenemann, J. (1886) *De lexicographis antiquis qui rerum ordinem secuti sunt quaestiones praecursoriae* (Hannover).

Schwyzer, E., and Debrunner, A. (1950) *Griechische Grammatik* ii (Munich).

Sebesta, J. L., and Bonfante, L. (edd.) (1994), *The world of Roman costume* (Madison).

Serbat, G. (1975) 'Les temps du verbe en latin', *Revue des Études Latines* 53: 367–405.

Sherwin-White, A. N. (1966) *The letters of Pliny: a historical and social commentary* (Oxford).

Shipp, G. P. (1979) *Modern Greek evidence for the ancient Greek vocabulary* (Sydney).

Sicherl, M. (1978) *Johannes Cuno: ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland* (Heidelberg).

(1985) 'Pseudodositheana', in C. Schäublin (ed.), *Catalepton: Festschrift für Bernhard Wyss zum 80. Geburtstag* (Basle) 183–202.

Siegert, H. (1952) 'Lat. *esse* und *adesse* als Bewegungsverba', *Museum Helveticum* 9: 182–91.

Silvestre, H. (1951) 'Une copie du xe siècle non utilisée du premier glossaire grec-latin *Abscida lucida*', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (= Bulletin du Cange)* 21: 159–70.

Sjögren, H. (1906) *Zum Gebrauch des Futurums im Altlateinischen* (Uppsala).

Slater, W. J. (ed.) (1991) *Dining in a classical context* (Ann Arbor).

Smyth, H. W. (1920) *Greek grammar* (Cambridge, Mass.).

Souter, A. (1949) *A glossary of later Latin to 600 AD* (Oxford).

Stein-Hölkeskamp, E. (2005) *Das römische Gastmahl* (Munich).

Stephanus, H. (ed.) (1573) *Glossaria duo e situ vetustatis eruta: ad utriusque linguae cognitionem & locupletationem perutilia* (Paris).

Stevenson, W. H. (1929) *Early scholastic colloquies* (Oxford).

Stramaglia, A. (1996) 'Fra "consumo" e "impegno": usi didattici della narrativa nel mondo antico', in O. Pecere and A. Stramaglia (edd.), *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino* (Cassino) 97–166.

Streckenbach, G. (1970) 'Paulus Niavis, "Latinum ydeoma pro novellis studentibus": ein Gesprächsbüchlein aus dem letzten Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 6: 152–91.

(1972) 'Paulus Niavis, "Latinum ydeoma pro novellis studentibus": ein Gesprächsbüchlein aus dem letzten Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts II', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 7: 187–251.

(1975) 'Das "Manuale scolarium" und das "Latinum ydeoma pro novellis studentibus" von Paulus Niavis: zur Interpretation spätmittellateinischer Prosa', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 10: 232–69.

Svennung, J. (1935) *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache* (Uppsala).

Tagliaferro, E. (2003) 'Gli *Hermeneumata*: testi scolastici di età imperiale tra innovazione e conservazione', in M. S. Celentano (ed.), *Ars / Techne: il manuale tecnico nelle civiltà greca e romana* (Alexandria) 51–77.

Thiele, G. (1910) *Der lateinische Äsop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phädrus* (Heidelberg).

Thomas, J. D. (2007) 'Latin texts and Roman citizens', in A. K. Bowman, R. A. Coles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, and P. J. Parsons (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: a city and its texts* (London).

Thomas, P. H. (1966) *Incerti auctoris epitoma rerum gestarum Alexandri magni cum libro de morte testamentoque Alexandri*, 2nd edn (Leipzig).

Väänänen, V. (1981) *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 3rd edn (Paris).

(1987) *Le journal-épître d'Égérie (Itinerarium Egeriae): étude linguistique* (Helsinki).

van Krevelen, D. A. (1966) 'Zu Hyginus', *Philologus* 110: 315–18.

van Oorde, W. (1930) *Lexicon Aetherianum* (Amsterdam).

van Rossum-Steenbeek, M. (1998) *Greek readers' digests?* (Leiden).

van Thiel, H. (1972) 'Alexanders Gespräch mit den Gymnosophisten', *Hermes* 100: 343–58.

Viscidi, F. (1944) *I prestiti latini nel greco antico e bizantino* (Padua).

von Rothenburg, K.-H. (2009) *Geschichte und Funktion von Abbildungen in lateinischen Lehrbüchern* (Frankfurt).

von Wartburg, W. (1934) *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* III (Leipzig).

Vulcanius, B. (1600) *Thesaurus utriusque linguae, hoc est Philoxeni, aliorumque veterum authorum glossaria Latino-Graeca & Graeco-Latina. Isidori Glossae Latinae. Veteres grammatici Latini & Graeci qui de proprietate & differentiis vocabulorum utriusque linguae scripserunt* (Leiden).

Ward, J. S. (2007) 'Roman Greek: Latinisms in the Greek of Flavius Josephus', *Classical Quarterly* 57: 632–49.

Weis, R. (1992) 'Zur Kenntnis des Griechischen im Rom der republikanischen Zeit', in Müller, Sier, and Werner (1992), 137–42.

Wessely, C. (1886) 'Bericht über griechische Papyri in Paris und London', *Wiener Studien* 8: 175–30.

West, M. L. (1973) *Textual criticism and editorial technique* (Stuttgart).

Willemsen, A. (2008) *Back to the schoolyard: the daily practice of medieval and Rennaissance education* (Turnhout).

Wills, J. (1996) *Repetition in Latin poetry: figures of allusion* (Oxford).

Wölfflin, E. (1884) 'Zu den lateinischen Kausalpartikeln', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* 1: 161–76.

(1885) 'Est videre', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* 2: 135–6.

(1887), 'Ut quid?', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* 4: 617–18.

(1896) 'Est invenire', *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* 9: 492.

Wouters, A. (1988) *The Chester Beatty codex Ac. 1499: a Graeco-Latin lexicon on the Pauline epistles and a Greek grammar* (Leuven).

Wuttke, D. (1970) 'Zur griechischen Grammatik des Konrad Celtis', in *Silvae: Festschrift für Ernst Zinn zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tübingen) 289–303.

Wyss, B. (1970) 'Pseudo-Dositheus bei Reuchlin: zur Basler Handschrift F VI 54', *Museum Helveticum* 27: 273–87.

Yegül, F. (1992) *Baths and bathing in classical antiquity* (New York).

(2010) *Bathing in the Roman world* (Cambridge).

Zgusta, L. (1980) 'Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich', in Neumann and Untermann (1980) 121–45.

Ziegler, C. (1992), *Zisterzienserstift Zwettl: Katalog der Handschriften des Mittelalters, Teil 1: Codex 1–100* (Vienna).

Zilliacus, H. (1935) *Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im oströmischen Reich* (Helsinki).

CONCORDANCES

Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition
69.39	LS title A	108.16	H 1d	110.77	H 10d
69.45	LS 1a	108.21	H 1e	110.79	H 10e
69.51	LS 1b	108.25	H 1f	110.81	H 10f
69.54	LS 1c	108.32	H 1g	111.5	H 10g
69.59	LS 1d	108.36	H 1h	111.8	H 11a
69.62	LS 1e	108.40	H 1i	111.11	H 11b
70.2	LS 2a	108.43	H 1j	111.18	H 12a
70.6	LS 2b	108.48	H 1k	111.22	H 12b
70.8	LS 2c	108.51	H 2a	111.27	H 12c
70.13	LS 2d	108.56	H 2b	111.32	H 12d
70.17	LS 2e	109.3	H 2c	111.35	H 12e
70.23	LS 2f	109.8	H 2d	111.40	H 12f
70.26	LS 3a	109.11	H 3a	111.43	H 13a
70.31	LS 3b	109.13	H 3b	111.49	H 13b
70.36	LS 3c	109.18	H 3c	111.53	H 14a
70.39	LS 3d	109.21	H 3d	111.57	H 14b–c
70.43	LS 4a	109.24	H 4a	111.63	H 14d
70.49	LS 4b	109.28	H 4b	111.66	H 15a
70.53	LS 4c	109.31	H 4c	111.68	H 15b
70.55	LS 4d	109.34	H 4d	111.74	H 15c
70.58	LS 4e	109.40	H 4e	111.77	H 15d
70.63	LS 4f	109.43	H 5a	111.81	H 15e
70.69	LS 4g	109.45	H 5b	112.3	H 15f
70.75	LS 5a	109.49	H 5c	112.6	H 15g
71.6	LS 5b	109.54	H 5d	112.11	H 16a
71.10	LS 5c	109.58	H 6a	112.15	H 16b
71.13	LS 6a	109.62	H 6b	112.19	H 16c
71.16	LS 6b	109.66	H 6c	112.22	H 16d
71.20	LS 6c	109.69	H 6d	112.25	H 16e
71.25	LS 6d	109.73	H 6e	112.26	H 16f
71.30	LS 6e	109.77	H 6f	112.29	H 16g
71.35	LS 6f	110.3	H 7a	112.32	H 17a
71.39	LS 7a	110.9	H 7b	112.34	H 17b
71.42	LS 7b	110.12	H 7c	112.36	H 17c
71.47	LS 7c	110.17	H 7d	112.39	H 17d
71.49	LS 7d	110.22	H 7e	112.41	H 17e
71.53	LS 7e	110.26	H 8a	112.45	H 17f
71.57	LS 8a	110.32	H 8b	112.49	H 18a
71.60	LS 8b	110.39	H 8c	112.52	H 18b
71.64	LS 8c	110.41	H 9a	112.55	H 18c
71.70	LS 8d	110.44	H 9b	112.59	H 18d
71.74	LS 8e	110.51	H 9c	112.60	H 18e
		110.54	H 9d	112.65	H 18f
108.1	H title	110.59	H 9e	112.69	H 18g
108.3	H 1a	110.64	H 10a	112.73	H 18h
108.7	H 1b	110.67	H 10b	112.76	H 18i
108.11	H 1c	110.72	H 10c	113.3	H 18j

Page and line of Goewtz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition
113.6	H 19a	119.1	ME 1a	212.37	ME 4o
113.11	H 19b	119.9	ME 1b	212.44	ME 4p
113.12	H 120a	119.20	ME 1c	212.46	ME 5a
113.16	H 21a	119.29	ME 1d	212.52	ME 5b
113.20	H 21b	119.38	ME 1e	212.58	ME 5c
113.26	H 21c	119.46	ME 1f	213.4	ME 5d
113.31	H 21d	120.9	ME 1g	213.13	ME 5e
113.34	H 21e	120.17	ME 1h	213.18	ME 6a
113.39	H 21f	120.32	ME 1i	213.27	ME 6b
113.46	H 21g	120.40	ME 2a	213.33	ME 6c
113.51	H 21h	120.50	ME 2b	213.40	ME 6d
113.55	H 22a	120.58	ME 2c	213.45	ME 6e
113.63	H 22b	121.2	ME 2d	213.49	ME 6f
113.68	H 22c	121.8	ME 2e	213.54	ME 6g
113.72	H 23a	121.15	ME 2f	213.59	ME 6h
113.77	H 23b	121.18	ME 2g	214.2	ME 6i
114.4	H 23c	121.23	ME 2h	214.8	ME 6j
114.11	H 23d	121.29	ME 2i	214.14	ME 7a
114.13	H 23e	121.39	ME 2j	214.17	ME 7b
114.19	H 23f	121.46	ME 2k	214.24	ME 7c
114.27	H 23g	121.53	ME 2l	214.29	ME 8a
114.33	H 23h	122.1	ME 2m	214.34	ME 8b
114.36	H 23i	122.9	ME 2n	214.37	ME 8c
114.46	H 24a	122.21	ME 2o	214.49	ME 8d
114.52	H 24b	122.26	ME 2p	214.52	ME 9a
114.55	H 24c	122.30	ME 2q	215.2	ME 9b
114.60	H 24d	122.35	ME 2r	215.6	ME 9c
114.63	H 24e	122.38	ME 2s	215.10	ME 9d
114.68	H 25a	122.43	ME 2t	215.16	ME 9e
114.71	H 25b	122.52	ME 2u	215.24	ME 9f
114.75	H 25c			215.33	ME 9g
114.78	H 25d	210.44	ME 3a	215.43	ME 9h
115.7	H 25e	210.46	ME 3b	215.46	ME 9i
115.13	H 26a	210.55	ME 3c	215.52	ME 9j
115.18	H 26b	210.61	ME 3d	215.55	ME 9k
115.28	H 26c	211.4	ME 3e	215.60	ME 9l
115.34	H 26d	211.11	ME 3f	216.4	ME 9m
115.39	H 27a	211.16	ME 4a	216.6	ME 9n
115.44	H 27b	211.23	ME 4b	216.10	ME 9o
115.48	H 27c	211.27	ME 4c	216.15	ME 10a
115.53	H 27d	211.31	ME 4d	216.22	ME 10b
115.58	H 27e	211.35	ME 4e	216.27	ME 10c
115.63	H 28a	211.41	ME 4f	216.30	ME 10d
115.68	H 28b	211.46	ME 4g	216.34	ME 10e
115.73	H 28c	211.52	ME 4h	216.38	ME 10f
115.76	H 28d	212.1	ME 4i	216.41	ME 10g
116.5	H 28e	212.8	ME 4j	216.47	ME 10h
116.9	H 28f	212.12	ME 4k	216.49	ME 10i
116.12	H 28g	212.22	ME 4l	216.54	ME 10j
116.16	H 28h	212.25	ME 4m	216.58	ME 10k
		212.31	ME 4n	217.3	ME 10l

Page and line of Goewtz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition
217.5	ME 10m	225.36	ME 2j	230.31	ME 8c
217.13	ME 10n	225.41	ME 2k	230.41	ME 8d
217.17	ME 10o	225.47	ME 2l	230.47	ME 9a
217.25	ME 10p	225.56	ME 2m	230.52	ME 9b
217.31	ME 10q	226.8	ME 2n	230.56	ME 9c
217.34	ME 10r	226.15	ME 2o	230.57	ME 9d
217.38	ME 10s	226.19	ME 2p	230.62	ME 9e
217.41	ME 10t	226.23	ME 2q	231.2	ME 9f
217.45	ME 10u	226.28	ME 2r	231.6	ME 9g
217.47	ME 11a	226.31	ME 2s	231.13	ME 9h
217.54	ME 11b	225.37	ME 2t	231.18	ME 9i
218.3	ME 11c	226.42	ME 2u	231.23	ME 9j
218.9	ME 11d	226.49	ME 3d	231.27	ME 9k
218.17	ME 11e	226.55	ME 3e	231.31	ME 9l
218.23	ME 11f	227.5	ME 3f	231.35	ME 9m
218.28	ME 11g	227.12	ME 4a	231.37	ME 9n
218.33	ME 11h	227.17	ME 4b	231.41	ME 9o
218.42	ME 11i	227.21	ME 4c	231.45	ME 10a
218.46	ME 11j	227.25	ME 4d	231.51	ME 10b
218.50	ME 11k	227.28	ME 4e	231.56	ME 10c
219.5	ME 11l	227.34	ME 4f	232.1	ME 10d
219.14	ME 11m	227.40	ME 4g	232.4	ME 10e
219.20	ME 11n	227.46	ME 4h	232.6	ME 10f
219.26	ME 11o	227.55	ME 4i	232.10	ME 10g
219.31	ME 11p	228.5	ME 4j	232.17	ME 10h
219.35	ME 11q	228.10	ME 4k	232.18	ME 10i
219.38	ME 11r	228.20	ME 4l	232.23	ME 10j
219.40	ME 11s	228.24	ME 4m	232.29	ME 10k
219.45	ME 12a	228.30	ME 4n	232.30	ME 10m
219.48	ME 12b	228.36	ME 4o	232.35	ME 10o
219.55	ME 12c	228.42	ME 4p	232.41	ME 10p
220.1	ME 12d	228.44	ME 5a	232.46	ME 10q
		228.49	ME 5b	232.48	ME 10r
223.1	ME 1a	228.54	ME 5c	232.51	ME 10u
223.3	ME 1b	229.2	ME 5d	233.1	ME 11a
223.12	ME 1c	229.7	ME 5e	233.7	ME 11b
223.20	ME 1d	229.11	ME 6a	233.12	ME 11c
223.29	ME 1e	229.18	ME 6b	233.19	ME 11d
223.37	ME 1f	229.23	ME 6c	233.25	ME 11e
224.2	ME 1g	229.30	ME 6d	233.30	ME 11f
224.18	ME 1h	229.34	ME 6e	233.34	ME 11g
224.33	ME 1i	229.40	ME 6f	233.42	ME 11i
224.40	ME 2a	229.45	ME 6g	233.45	ME 11j
224.47	ME 2b	229.51	ME 6h	233.49	ME 11k
224.54	ME 2c	229.58	ME 6i	234.3	ME 11l
224.62	ME 2d	229.64	ME 6j	234.10	ME 11m
225.4	ME 2e	230.6	ME 7a	234.16	ME 11n
225.10	ME 2f	230.9	ME 7b	234.22	ME 11o
225.15	ME 2g	230.16	ME 7c	234.27	ME 11p
225.22	ME 2h	230.23	ME 8a	234.31	ME 11q
225.26	ME 2i	230.28	ME 8b	234.35	ME 11r

Page and line of Goewtz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition
234.37	ME 11s	286.33	Mp 13e	377.20	LS 4b
234.42	ME 12a	286.39	Mp 13f	377.22	LS 4c
234.46	ME 12b	286.43	Mp 13g	377.23	LS 4d
234.53	ME 12c	286.45	Mp 14a	377.25	LS 4e
234.59	ME 12d	286.50	Mp 14b	377.27	LS 4f
		286.54	Mp 14c	377.32	LS 4g
283.1	Mp title	286.59	Mp 15a	377.36	LS 5a
283.2	Mp 1a	287.3	Mp 16a	377.43	LS 5b
283.8	Mp 1b	287.9	Mp 16b	377.46	LS 5c
283.13	Mp 1c	287.15	Mp 16c	377.48	LS 6a
283.19	Mp 1d	287.23	Mp 16d	377.51	LS 6b
283.25	Mp 2a	287.29	Mp 16e	377.55	LS 6c
283.32	Mp 2b	287.30	Mp 16f	377.61	LS 6d
283.36	Mp 2c	287.31	Mp 17a	377.63	LS 6e
283.43	Mp 2d	287.37	Mp 17b	377.67	LS 6f
283.50	Mp 2e	287.45	Mp 17c	377.70	LS 7a
284.3	Mp 2f	287.49	Mp 17d	377.72	LS 7b
284.10	Mp 2g	287.54	Mp 18a	378.2	LS 7c
284.14	Mp 2h	287.60	Mp 18b	378.4	LS 7d
284.20	Mp 2i	288.4	Mp 18c	378.8	LS 7e
284.24	Mp 3a	288.10	Mp 18d	378.12	LS 8a
284.26	Mp 4a	288.16	Mp 18e	378.15	LS 8b
284.31	Mp 4b	288.21	Mp 18f	378.19	LS 8c
284.35	Mp 4c	288.28	Mp 19a	378.24	LS 8d
284.39	Mp 4d	288.36	Mp 19b	378.28	LS 8e
284.45	Mp 4e	288.38	Mp 19c	378.32	LS 9a
284.54	Mp 4f	288.44	Mp 19d	378.36	LS 9b
284.57	Mp 4g	288.50	Mp 20a	378.40	LS 10a
284.66	Mp 5a	288.54	Mp 20b	378.42	LS 10b
285.4	Mp 5b	288.60	Mp 20c	378.47	LS 10c
285.12	Mp 6a	289.4	Mp 20d	378.54	LS 10d
285.16	Mp 6b	289.9	Mp 20e	378.58	LS 10e
285.19	Mp 7a	289.18	Mp 20f	378.60	LS 11a
285.24	Mp 7b			378.64	LS 11b
285.28	Mp 8a	376.47	LS title	378.70	LS 11c
285.33	Mp 8b	376.48	LS 1a	378.76	LS 11d
285.35	Mp 9a	376.52	LS 1b	378.79	LS 11e
285.39	Mp 9b	376.55	LS 1c	379.4	LS 11f
285.42	Mp 9c	376.57	LS 1d	379.7	LS 11g
285.45	Mp 10a	376.59	LS 1e	379.16	LS 11h
285.48	Mp 10b	376.61	LS 2a	379.22	LS 11i
285.55	Mp 11a	376.63	LS 2b	379.28	LS 11j
285.62	Mp 11b	376.64	LS 2c	379.34	LS 11k
285.65	Mp 12a	376.68	LS 2d	379.39	LS 11l
286.3	Mp 12b	376.71	LS 2e	379.46	LS 11m
286.9	Mp 12c	377.2	LS 2f	379.52	LS 11n
286.15	Mp 12d	377.4	LS 3a	379.57	LS 11o
286.17	Mp 13a	377.5	LS 3b	379.62	LS 11p
286.22	Mp 13b	377.8	LS 3c	379.67	S title
286.26	Mp 13c	377.11	LS 3d	379.68	S 1
286.29	Mp 13d	377.15	LS 4a	379.69	S 2

Page and line of Goewtz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition
379.71	S 3a	382.35	S 21a	638.5	LS 5
379.76	S 3b	382.36	S 21b	638.6	LS 6
379.79	S 3c	382.39	S 21c	638.7	LS 7
380.2	S 4a	382.43	S 21d	638.8	LS 8
380.7	S 4b	382.46	S 22a	638.1	H 1
380.11	S 5a	382.49	S 22b	639.2	H 2
380.15	S 5b	382.54	S 23a	639.3	H 3
380.21	S 5c	382.56	S 23b	639.4	H 4
380.23	S 5d	382.61	S 24a	639.5	H 5
380.27	S 5e	382.64	S 24b	639.6	H 6
380.29	S 6a	382.68	S 25a	640.7	H 7
380.35	S 6b	382.70	S 25b	640.8	H 8
380.39	S 7a	382.72	S 25c	640.9	H 9
380.43	S 7b	382.74	S 26a	640.10	H 10
380.45	S 8a	383.3	S 26b	640.11	H 11
380.51	S 8b	383.7	S 26c	640.12	H 12
380.55	S 8c	383.10	S 27a	641.13	H 13
380.60	S 9a	383.15	S 27b	641.14	H 14
380.66	S 9b	383.20	S 28a	641.15	H 15
380.69	S 10a	383.26	S 28b	641.16	H 16
380.76	S 10b	383.30	S 28c	641.17	H 17
381.2	S 11a	383.32	S 29a	642.18	H 18
381.4	S 11b	383.36	S 29b	642.19	H 19
381.7	S 11c	383.43	S 30a	642.20	H 20
381.11	S 11d	383.48	S 30b	642.21	H 21
381.17	S 11e	383.52	S 30c	642.22	H 22
381.20	S 12a	383.54	S 31a	643.23	H 23
381.24	S 12b	383.58	S 31b	643.24	H 24
381.28	S 13a	383.63	S 31c	643.25	H 25
381.31	S 13b	383.65	S 32a	644.26	H 26
381.34	S 13c	383.69	S 32b	644.27	H 27
381.38	S 13d	383.73	S 33a	644.28	H 28
381.41	S 14a	383.76	S 33b	644.1	ME 1
381.43	S 14b	383.77	S 34a	645.2	ME 2
381.46	S 15a	384.2	S 34b	647.3	ME 3
381.49	S 15b	384.3	S 35	647.4	ME 4
381.54	S 16a	384.5	S 36a	648.5	ME 5
381.58	S 16b	384.7	S 36b	649.6	ME 6
381.61	S 17a	384.9	S 36c	650.7	ME 7
381.64	S 17b	384.11	S 37a	650.8	ME 8
381.69	S 17c	384.15	S 38a	650.9	ME 9
381.74	S 17d	384.17	S 38b	651.10	ME 10
381.76	S 18a	384.20	S 38c	652.11	ME 11
382.3	S 18b	384.24	S 38d	654.12	ME 12
382.9	S 19a	384.26	S 39a	654.1	Mp 1
382.13	S 19b	384.28	S 39b	654.2	Mp 2
382.17	S 19c			655.3	Mp 3
382.20	S 19d	637.1	LS 1	655.4	Mp 4
382.24	S 20a	637.2	LS 2	655.5	Mp 5
382.28	S 20b	637.3	LS 3	656.6	Mp 6
382.32	S 20c	637.4	LS 4	656.7	Mp 7

Page and line of Goewtz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition	Page and line of Goetz 1892	Section of this edition
656.8	Mp 8	657.13	Mp 13	658.18	Mp 18
656.9	Mp 9	657.14	Mp 14	658.19	Mp 19
656.10	Mp 10	657.15	Mp 15	659.20	Mp 20
656.11	Mp 11	657.16	Mp 16		
656.12	Mp 12	658.17	Mp 17		

Flammini line	This edition	Flammini line	This edition	Flammini line	This edition
3068	LS title	3112	LS 3c	3155	LS 6c
3070	LS 1a	3114	LS 3d	3158	LS 6d
3075	LS 1b	3118	LS 4a	3160	LS 6e
3078	LS 1c	3123	LS 4b	3164	LS 6f
3081	LS 1d	3125	LS 4c	3167	LS 7a
3082	LS 1e	3127	LS 4d	3169	LS 7b
3087	LS 2a	3129	LS 4e	3172	LS 7c
3090	LS 2b	3131	LS 4f	3173	LS 7d
3091	LS 2c	3134	LS 4g	3175	LS 7e
3096	LS 2d	3139	LS 5a	3177	LS 8a
3100	LS 2e	3145	LS 5b	3179	LS 8b
3104	LS 2f	3149	LS 5c	3181	LS 8c
3106	LS 3a	3151	LS 6a	3184	LS 8d
3109	LS 3b	3153	LS 6b	3186	LS 8e