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Alexander's *Patrius Sermo* in the Philotas Affair

The present study¹ looks at the context in which Alexander's *patrius sermo* occurs in Curtius' [Q. Curtius Rufus'] account of the Philotas affair and what its significance may be, as far as a Makedonian mode of speech is concerned. When Curtius' account of the Philotas affair is read, one cannot but notice its long, detailed narrative, colored with dramatic overtones.² However, before analyzing Curtius' account of the Philotas affair, it would be of considerable interest to see first what space has been allotted to this affair by Arrian, Plutarch, Diodoros, and Justin.

In Arrian (3.26.1-4), the Philotas-Parmenion affair is only 36 lines + 2 words long (these and the ones below are L(oeb) C(lassical) L(ibrary) lines). Of the 36 lines + 2 words, only 20 lines or about 132 words directly involve Philotas (5 lines yielded an average of 6.6 words/LCL line). Arrian states that he was following Ptolemy who wrote that Alexander accused Philotas who in turn defended himself. As a comparison, the Kleitos episode in Arrian (4. 8. 1-9. 9) involves 135 LCL lines + 17 words, or about 138 LCL lines of about 910.8 words (6.6 words/LCL line). Why was Arrian so frugal with the Philotas affair? Or was this frugality perhaps in his source Ptolemy?

Plutarch yields 86 LCL lines + 3 words to the Philotas-Parmenion affair (*Alex.* 48. 1-49. 7); of these 79 LCL lines + 2 words, or about 515.5 words (6.5 words/LCL line), are on Philotas, which also includes the affair with Antigonā of Pella, who also figures in *On the Fortune of Alexander*, (339) e-f, with 21 LCL lines + 4 words. Even though Plutarch was writing biography of a limited length, nevertheless his account of the Philotas affair is longer than Arrian's (above). Plutarch's Alexander hiding behind a curtain when Philotas was being interrogated under torture (*Alex.* 49. 11-12) is reminiscent of the theater. The Kleitos episode in Plutarch (*Alex.* 50. 1-52. 7) extends to 119 LCL lines + 24 words, or about 809.4 words (6.6 words/LCL line).

Diodoros, writing a universal history, yields 37 LCL lines + 8 words for the Dimnos-Kebalinos conspiracy and only 8 LCL lines + 1 word for the Philotas affair (17. 79. 1-6. 80. 1-2). This is indeed a very abbreviated account of the Philotas affair.³ This is also true of Justin, whose coverage of that affair consists of 14 lines + 4 words (M. C. J. Miller text, 12.5.1-8),⁴ with only 2 lines on Philotas. However, Justin's constriction falls within the proper bounds of an epitomizer, in this instance of Pompeius Trogus.

Curtius' account of the Philotas affair, on the other hand, amounts to 619 LCL lines + 81 words, or about 4537.8 words (6.7-11.40). To these should be added 14 LCL lines + 1 word from 7.1.1-5, or about 101.8 words, for a subtotal of about 4639.6 words (10 lines gave an

¹Greek names have been Hellenized, with exceptions. Dates are AD, unless indicated otherwise.

²Cf. Aischylos, *Choeph.* 980-989 (Orestes displaying the robe in which Agamemnon had been killed); Polybios, 2.16.13-14: ..., ὅς φασι τὰς ἐσθῆτας εἰσέτι νῦν φορεῖν τοιαύτας ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Φαίθοντα πένης, καὶ πάσαν δὴ τὴν τραγικὴν ταύτη προσεοικίαν ὕλην, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ὑπερρησόμεθα, διὰ τὸ μὴ λίαν καθῆκειν τῷ τῆς προκατασκευῆς γένει τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκριβολογίαν. Cf. Jon A. P. Grissel, *C & M* 46 (1995) 215-236.

³Diodoros' account of the Kleitos episode has not been preserved.

⁴M. Junianus Justinus: *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum*, Books VII to XII, etc., tr. by John S. Watson and ed. by M. C. J. Miller (Chicago, 1992).

average of 7.2 words/LCL line). By comparing the Philotas affair to the Kleitos episode, the latter occupies in Curtius 156 LCL lines + 24 words, or about 1022.4 words in 8. 1. 19-2. 12 (8 lines produced an average of 6.4 words/LCL line). Of course, the Philotas affair went through a trial paraphernalia in contrast to the episode involving Kleitos, and this may explain in part Curtius' longer account of the Philotas affair, but at the same time the trial scene provided ample room for dramatization and invention.⁵

One of the questions that arises out of Curtius' inflated account of the Philotas affair is "Where did Curtius find all this information, with all its details and melodrama?" Were records of the trial's proceedings available, which could have been used by Curtius' source(s) or Curtius himself? Probably no minutes of the trial would have been kept at the time, and this is especially true since Curtius does not allude to any records of the trial in existence.⁶ Consequently, what has been invented or inflated for purposes of amplification and dramatization, although still preserving the basic truth of the affair? The basic truth is the conspiracy itself with its authentic names and Alexander accusing Philotas who in turn defends himself. Curtius' account, of course, has been expanded by the narration of the conspiracy's machinations, the accusations of Alexander, Amyntas, Bolon and Koinos, and by Philotas' own defense and finally by his gory torture. However, all of these are elements prone to invention and amplification.⁷

In any event, to comprehend as best as possible Curtius' account of the Philotas affair, it becomes necessary to dissect its structure in a synoptic style. This will bring forth the steps involved in the construction of the details and dramatic techniques therein. One such dramatic technique is when Alexander, unexpectedly so-to-speak, asks Philotas whether he (Philotas) was to defend himself in the *patrius sermo*, because the Makedones were to pass judgement on him. Curtius does not specify in what language Alexander addressed Philotas, but it has been inferred that it was in the *koine*. This is, of course, arbitrary inference, as Philotas, too, does not indicate in what language Alexander addressed him, although from the context neither of them was speaking in the *patrius sermo* of therein.

Alexander's question to Philotas whether the latter was to address the Makedones in the *patrius sermo* (6.9.34) and Philotas' reply (below) to Alexander's accusation that he (Philotas) hated the *patrius sermo* and did not learn it (ibid. 9.36) are in themselves contradictory. When Alexander asked Philotas about the *patrius sermo*, Philotas responded that he was going to speak in the same language as Alexander, presumably the *koine* (above), because, besides the Makedones, there were also many others present and because Alexander's language was understood *a pluribus* (ibid. 9.35). This response by Philotas would imply that there was a *patrius sermo* and that Philotas knew it, but he preferred to speak in the language Alexander had used for greater comprehension, unless this was a ploy on the part of Philotas to cover up his not knowing the *patrius sermo*, as accused by Alexander and later by Bolon (below). The contradiction in the *patrius sermo* motif shows up later, too, when Philotas in defending

⁵Cf. above, n. 2.

⁶This may appear to give credence to Curtius' account of the trial, since he does not attempt to support it with documentation, but this must simply be a reflection of his source(s), which he does not name. Cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1983=1985), 136-137.

⁷For example, Athenian procedures in a trial lent themselves to exaggeration, as exemplified by Aristophanes' *Wasps* 967-978.

himself (6.10.23) says that the *patrius sermo* had become obsolete because of the intercourse with other nations (*Iam pridem natus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit*), with the comment *tam victoribus, quam victis peregrina lingua discenda est*, which may be rendered into Greek as καθάπερ νικῶσιν, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡττημένοις ξένη γλῶσσα (διάλεκτος?) μαθητέα.⁸

How could Philotas state in the *contio* that the *patrius sermo* was no longer spoken, if it was still in vogue as suggested by Alexander's question? And how could Alexander pose such a question if the *patrius sermo* was no longer spoken as Philotas declared? What is the balance here? Or is this *patrius sermo* motif a dramatic introduction by Curtius' source(s) or even Curtius himself?⁹ Plutarch, for example, has preserved evidence of this "*patrius sermo* motif" in such expressions as μακεδονιστί, μακεδονιστί τῇ φωνῇ and τὸ μακεδονίζειν (see No. 4 below).

Bolon accused Philotas of hearing men of his own language through an interpreter (6.11.4: *qui* (sc. Philotas) *non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae per interpretem audire*). But as queried elsewhere, in what language was Bolon speaking?¹⁰ Bolon follows the line of Alexander's accusation (above), but this adds to the contradiction therein, because of Philotas' defense that the *patrius sermo* had gone out of use, although it may be indicated otherwise by an inscription of the early third century (No. 16 below). However, how could Philotas deny the *patrius sermo* when it was still spoken in his time according to Alexander and Bolon? In any case, there was room, as also indicated above, for invention in the *patrius sermo* motif, and this should become clearer from the synopsis of Curtius' account of the Philotas affair.

Curtius' account of the Philotas affair begins with the conspiracy against Alexander:

Dymnus-Nicomachus-Cebalinus-Philotas, 6.7.1-27.¹¹

Dymnus-Cebalinus-Philotas-Alexander, *ibid.* 7.28-30.

Alexander-Philotas-Cebalinus-Dymnus, *ibid.* 7.31-35.

Alexander-*advocato consilio amicorum*, *ibid.* 8.1-22.

(the *consilium* takes up the conspiracy)

Alexander -- *postero die rex edixit omnes armati coirent* – *ibid.* 8.23: *VI milia fere militum venerant, praeterea turba lixarum calonumque impleverant regiam.*

Armigeri cover Philotas *agmine suo* that he might not be seen *a vulgo* before the king (rex) addressed the soldiers (*milites*) - *ibid.* 8.24.

De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat rex, iudicabat exercitus, (*rex, iudicabat* added by Hedicke, LCL) - *in pace erat vulgi* - *ibid.* 8.25.

Dymnus' corpse is brought into the assembly - *ibid.* 8.26. (Dymnus had died through a self-inflicted wound and in the presence of Alexander who was interrogating him - 6.7.29-30).

⁸E. N. Borza, "The Ancient Macedonians: A Methodological Model," *MeditArch* 7 (1994='95) 19, has taken '*peregrina lingua*' to mean Greek. However, at least to this writer, it is not clear what Philotas, or whoever put that complex sentence into his mouth, had in mind, even though it comes as an epilogue to the preceding *nativus sermo* (*nativus sermo* <> *peregrina lingua*). Cf. Polybios, 3.4.4: ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ αὐτοτελεῖς εἰσιν οὔτε περὶ τῶν κρατησάντων οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἐλαττωθέντων αἱ ψιλῶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνισμάτων διαλήψεις, and 63.9-10 (νικήσαντας-ἡττημένους).

⁹Kleitarchos, who wrote about Alexander in at least 12 books, could have been Curtius' source, for example. Cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *Phoenix* 50.2 (1996) 136, under n. 25, and *ABSA* 91 (1996) 366, n. 14.; A. B. Bosworth, *AHB* 10.1 (1996) 19-20, n. 3, and "In Search of Kleitarchus: Review discussion ..." in *Histos*, August 1997; and W. Heckel's brief remarks in *BMCR* 97.4.7, [p. 3] (Internet).

¹⁰ Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1993 (1995) 18.

¹¹Curtius' rendering of the names is retained.

Alexander enters the *contio*, with a sad expression, the sadness being manifested by his friends (*amicorum*), too. For a long time Alexander stares at the ground, then he begins to speak *ibid.* 9.1-2.

Alexander's speech - *ibid.* 9.3-24.

Alexander orders Philotas to be brought - he is led in with hands bound behind and covered (*velatum*) with an old cloak (*obsoleto amiculo*) - *ibid.* 9.25.

Philotas' wretched plight moves the assembly - yesterday the commander of the cavalry (*ducem equitatus*), today bound and tried. The assembly also thinks of Parmenio, the great general, who had lost two other sons (Hector, Nicanor) before this - *ibid.* 9.26-27.

Amyntas with his speech breaks the assembly's mood of pity, haranguing against Philotas, but it was not entirely pleasing to Alexander, as Amyntas reminded the Makedones of their wives (*coniugum*) and motherland (*patriae*) - *ibid.* 9.28-29.

Coenus, married to Philotas' sister, also inveighs against Philotas and is ready to cast the first stone against him, but Alexander stops Coenus. Philotas must be given the opportunity to defend himself - *ibid.* 9.30-31.¹²

Philotas is ordered to speak, but *sive conscientia sive periculi magnitudine amens et attonitus, non attolere oculos, non hiscere audebat* - then a flood of tears overtakes him and falls into the arms of the man holding him - with his cloak (*amiculo*) his tears are dried and gradually recovers himself to the point of speaking - *ibid.* 9.32-33.

Alexander breaks in, asking Philotas: "*Macedones,*" *inquit* (sc. Alexander), "*de te iudicaturi sunt; quaero, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usus.*" - *ibid.* 9.34 (see below).

Philotas, replying: "*Praeter Macedones,*" *inquit* (sc. Philotas), "*plerique adsunt, quos facilius quae dicam percepturos arbitror, si eadem lingua fuero usus qua tu egisti, non ob aliud, credo, quam ut oratio tua intellegi posset a pluribus.*" - *ibid.* 9.35.

Alexander: "*Ecquid videtis adeo etiam sermonis patrii Philotan taedere? Solus quippe fastidit eum discere. Sed dicat sane utcumque ei cordi est, dum memineritis aequae illum a nostro more quam sermone abhorrere.*" Alexander then departs from the *contio* - *ibid.* 9.36.

Philotas begins his defense - *ibid.* 10.1-37.

23 (Philotas replies to the charge of not knowing the *patrius sermo*): "*Mihi quidem obicitur quod societatem patrii sermonis asperner, quod Macedonum mores fastidiam.*

Sic ego imperio quod dedignor, immineo! Iam pridem nativus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit; tam victoribus, quam victis peregrina lingua discenda est" (see above). 36-37: Philotas replies to one of the bystanders (*unus e circumstantium turba*).

Bolon inveighs against Philotas - *ibid.* 11.1-7.

Bolon is described as *pacis artium et civilis habitus rudis, vetus miles, ab humili ordine ad eum gradum in quo tunc erat promotus* (*ibid.* 11.1). Although, as described, of a rough, uncultured nature, Bolon is shown a powerful speaker (below). 4, one of Bolon's accusations against Philotas was: *Ludibrio ei fuisse rusticos homines, Phrygasque et Paphlagonas appellatos, qui non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae per*

¹²Cf. Euripides, *Trojan Women* 906-913: ΕΚΑΒΗ' ἀκουσον αὐτῆς (sc. 'Ελένης), μὴ θάνῃ τοῦδ' (sc. τοῦ λέγειν) ἐνδεῆς, / Μελέλαε, καὶ δὸς τοῦς ἐναντίους λόγους / ἡμῖν κατ' αὐτῆς' .../.../... / ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ' σχολῆς τὸ δῶρον' εἰ δὲ βούλεται λέγειν, / ἔξεστι. .../...

interpretem audire.¹³

Bolon's speech inflames the *contio* - the bodyguards (*corporis custodibus*) want to tear Philotas to pieces - *ibid.* 11.8.

Alexander, however, has returned to the *contio* and *concilium in posterum diem distulit* - and *amicos convocari iubet* - *ibid.* 11.9.

The rest (*ceteris*) want Philotas to be stoned to death according to the Makedonian custom (*Macedonum more*), but Hephaestio, Craterus and Coenus propose that the truth be obtained through torture; the others also accept this course. *Consilio ergo dimisso*, and Hephaestio with Craterus and Coenus proceed to put Philotas to the interrogation (*quaestionem*). Alexander, having talked with Craterus, withdraws into his quarters where he awaits until late at night the interrogation's results - *ibid.* 11.10-12.

Philotas' torture - *ibid.* 11.13-33. Philotas' reactions during the torture, and the others'. Philotas' confession.

Alexander orders that Philotas' confession be read the following day and that Philotas be present (he had to be carried in, since he could not walk) - *ibid.* 11.34.

Philotas acknowledges all (*omnia agnoscente eo*) - then Demetrius is led in and denies any participation in a conspiracy - *ibid.* 11.35.

Philotas turns to Calas who loses any power of speech - the Makedones suspect Philotas is attempting to besmirch Calas who eventually confesses his participation with Demetrius in the conspiracy - *ibid.* 11.36-37.

Omnes ergo a Nicomacho nominati, more patrio, dato signo saxis obruti sunt. - *ibid.* 11.38.

Curtius' own observations on the affair - *ibid.* 11.39-40.

* * * * *

Philotas dead, the soldiers' (*milites*)' hatred changed to pity (*invidia in misericordiam vertit*), being moved by Philotas' distinction and his father's (Parmenio's) old age. Parmenio's services to Alexander are also recalled. Mutinous voices (*seditiosaeque voces*) are reported to Alexander. He summons all to come to his quarters (*omnes in vestibulo regiae praesto sint*) and enters the *contio* - Atarrhias asks that Lyncestes Alexander be brought before them - 7.1.1-5.

Thoughts on Parmenio and his end - and on Philotas

whether he told the truth through torture or simply confessed to put an end to his torments - *ibid.* 2.33-34.¹⁴

The preceding synopsis, without having gone into a detailed paraphrasing, amply illustrates the melodramatic elements of potential amplification in Curtius' account of the Philotas affair, although preserving the affair's kernel, as stated above. However, the critical question that must be asked is what is the Greek equivalent which Curtius has rendered into *patrius sermo*. Curtius has Alexander say (6.9.34 above): "*Macedones*," inquit, "*de te* (sc. Philotas) *iudicaturi sunt; quaero, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usurus*," which may be turned into Greek as "*ὁ Μακεδόνες, ἔφη, ἡ περὶ σοῦ κρίνειν μέλλουσιν. ἐρωτῶ (σε), ἔὰν παρ' αὐτοῖς τῆ πατρώα φωνῆ*

¹³In a different context, Curtius, 10.3.6, mentions an interpreter, when Alexander addressed the foreign troops: *At ille* (sc. Alexander) ..., *peregrinorum militum contionem advocari iubet*, ..., *adhibito interpretetalem orationem habuit*, as he does in 6.5.19: *per interpretem pronuntiari* (when Bucephalas had been captured) and 7.10.4: *qui* (sc. Sogdiani) *ubi* (*ubi* added by Hedicke, LCL) *per interpretem cognoverunt iussu regis ipsos ad supplicium trahi* (cf. REG 109 [1996] 338, nn. 72, 74 and 75).

¹⁴Cf. E. Badian, *TAPA* 91 (1960) 331-332 [324-338].

(γλώσση?) χρή." In the Greek sources there are found μακεδονιστί, μακεδονιστὶ τῆ φωνῆ, τὸ μακεδονίζειν, μακεδονίζων τῆ φωνῆ, ἡ φωνὴ Μακεδόνων, πατρῶα φωνῆ, κτλ. (Nos. 1-25 below). With the exception of the last example, the other evidence cited here and below with a reference to a Makedonian mode of speech cannot reproduce Curtius' *patrius sermo*. At any rate, the references to a Makedonian mode of speech are all late, as the evidence presented below shows.

[a. before 425 B.C. Herodotos, 7.73: οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῆιοι ἔοντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ... τὸ ὄνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας; cf. also the Βρύγοι in *idem* 6.45 and 7.185. See under No. 5 below].

[b. Feb. 425 B.C. Aristophanes, *The Acharnians* 233-235: καὶ βλέπειν/ Βαλλήναδει/ καὶ διώκειν γῆν πρὸ γῆς. See under No. 5 below].

[[c. ca. 264/3 B.C. "Macedonian tongue." Poseidippos. F. W. Walbank. *SCI* 15 (1996), p. 129. Guido Bastianini, with whom the writer corresponded, replied that there is no "Macedonian tongue" in the Poseidippos epigrams, only the mentioning of Eordaia. Bastianini very generously sent the writer a copy of *CA' DE SASS* 121 (March 1993), in which he published with Claudio Gallazzi (pp. 34-39) photographs of the new Poseidippos papyrus, and the fragment which clearly shows ΕΟΡΔΑΙΑ appears on pp. 38 and 39. My sincerest thanks to Professor Bastianini, and Professor Walbank for bringing this matter to my attention]].

1. [323 B.C.-] 3rd cent. Μακεδονιστί. Βίος Ἀλεξάνδρου (*The Alexander Romance*), ed. W. Kroll (Berlin, 1958), p. 138, 32.14-15: Πευκόλαος δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ τῷ μὲν εἶδει οὐκ ἀπρεπῆς, ἰδιώτης δὲ καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς τάξεως ὑψηγούμενος, πλησίον σταῖς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου <εἶπεν>· "Ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μὲν σου Ἀλέξανδρε Φίλιππος τῆς Μακεδονίας <ἤρξεν>, ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ δὲ καὶ σύ." Μεταλαβὼν τὴν φωνὴν μακεδονιστὶ εἶπεν δακρύων (15) "Σὺ ἡμᾶς ἐὰν ἀπολείψῃς, ἀπόλωλε Μακεδονία· σοῦ τελευτῶντος καλὸν ἔστι καὶ Μακεδόνας συναποθανεῖν σοι τῷ ποιήσαντι Μακεδονίαν ἀξίαν τοῦ Διός." Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος δακρύων ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ λαβὼν τοῦ Μακεδόνα τῆς χειρὸς ἐμοίειτο παρακλήσεως. In K. Müller, *The Fragments of the Lost Historians of Alexander the Great*, etc. (Chicago, 1979), the μακεδονιστὶ part is mentioned in the notes, p. 147 (Ps.-Kallisth., 3.32.8).

1a. First cent. B.C.: Didymos, below, under No. 5 and notes 17, 18 and 19.

41-49/ 2. *Macedonicus sermo*. L. Annaeus Seneca, the Younger, *Consolatio ad Helviam Matrem* 7.1: *Quid sibi volunt in mediis barbarorum regionibus Graecae urbes? Quid inter Indos Persasque Macedonicus sermo?* Cf. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1993 (1995), p. 28, under V, for an explanation of Seneca's *Macedonicus sermo*.

3. Reign of Claudius (41-54) or later. *Patrius sermo*. Curtius, above. Philotas' trial, where the *patrius sermo* occurs, belongs to 330 B.C.

4. ca. 73-120. Μακεδονιστί, μακεδονιστὶ τῆ φωνῆ, τὸ μακεδονίζειν. Plutarch, (a) *Alex.* 51.6: ἀναπηδήσας (= Ἀλέξανδρος) ἀνεβόα μακεδονιστὶ καλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς (τοῦτο δὲ ἦν σύμβολον θορύβου μεγάλου)¹⁵ [Kleitos episode of 328 B.C.], (b) *Eum.* 14.5: εὐθύς ἀσπασάμενοι (= οἱ Μακεδόνες τὸν Εὐμένη) μακεδονιστὶ τῆ φωνῆ τάς τε ἀσπίδας ἀνείλοντο, κτλ. [321 B.C.], and (c) *Ani.* 27.4: τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς (= Κλεοπάτρας) βασιλέων οὐδὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἀνασχομένων παραλαβεῖν διάλεκτον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ μακεδονίζειν ἐκλιπόντων.

¹⁵ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1993 (1995) 14; N. G. L. Hammond, *AHB* 9.3/4 (1995) 111-116, and *ibid.* 10.1 (1996) 38; A. B. Bosworth, *ibid.* 10.1 (1996) 19-30.

5. ca. 73-120: Καθάπερ Μακεδόνες· Plutarch, *Moralia* 292e (The Greek Questions): τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔχει οὕτως. οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ φ τῷ β χρῶνται Δελφοί, καθάπερ Μακεδόνες "Βίλιππον (Βίλιππον γὰρ)" καὶ "Βαλακρὸν" καὶ "Βερονίκη" λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ π. See [a] above.

This may be echoed in (1) time of Marcus Aurelius: Herodianos, ed. A. Lentz, *Gram(matici) Graeci*, III.1 (1867=Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 281, 10-13: Βέροια πόλις Μακεδονίας, ἦν Φέρωνα κτίσαι φασίν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὸ φ εἰς β μεταποιεῖν, ὡς Φάλακρον Βάλακρον καὶ Βίλιππον καὶ Κεβαλίνον. ἄλλοι ἀπὸ Βεροίας τοῦ Βέρητος τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο [=St. Byz., s.v. Βέροια (6th cent.) = Herodianos, ed. A. Lentz, *Gram. Graeci*, III.2 (1870=Hildesheim, 1965), p. 379, *667], and 318, 12: καὶ τὸ κεβλή ἀπὸ τοῦ κεφαλῆ γέγονε (12 cent., *Etym. Magnum*.¹⁶ s.v. Κέβλη: Ἐκ τοῦ κεφαλῆ γίνεται κατὰ συγκοπήν; 11th cent.: M. Psellos, *Anecdota Graeca*, ed. J. Fr. Boissonade, I [Paris, 1829], p. 239: Κέβλη, ἢ κεφαλῆ, and III [Paris, 1831], p. 225, 445: Καὶ κέβλην μὲν τὴν κεφαλῆν; (2) sixth cent: St. Byz., s.v. Βρίγες, ἔθνος Θρακικόν. Ἡρόδοτος ἐβδόμῃ (see above under [a]), and Φρυγία, ... οἱ ἐξ ἐκατέρας λέγονται Φρύγες καὶ Μυσοί· λέγονται καὶ Βρίγες = Herodianos, ed. A. Lentz, *Gram. Graeci*, III.2 (1870=Hildesheim, 1965), p. 379, under *668.); (3) 12th cent.: *Etym. Magnum*, under s.v. Ἀμορβῆς καὶ Ἀμορβές: ..., καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ φ εἰς β, ὡς ἐν τῷ κύφος, κύβος· φερενίκης, βερενίκης ... Μεθόδιος; (4) Herodianos, ed. A. Lentz, *Gram. Graeci*, III.2 (1870=Hildesheim, 1965), p. 367, under *607=Ep. Cr. I 37, 26 [1st cent. B.C.-180]¹⁷, E. Gud. 97, 30 [11th cent.]¹⁸, E. M. 179, 3 [12th cent.]¹⁹, Ἀφροδίτη: ... ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος [1st cent. B.C.] παρὰ τὸ ἀβρὸν τῆς διαίτης· τὸ γὰρ β τῷ φ συγγενές ἐστὶ· δῆλον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνα μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον Βίλιππον καλεῖν καὶ τὸν φαλακρὸν βαλακρὸν καὶ τὸν Κεφαληνὸν Κεβαληνὸν καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας Βρύγας καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διὰ τὸ φυσᾶν φυσητὰς δντας βύκτας. καὶ Ὀμηρος "βυκτῶν ἀνέμων" [k 20]; (5) 12th cent.: *Etym. Magnum*, Βέροια: Πόλις Μακεδόνων, ἦν φασίν ἀπὸ Φέρητος τινὸς κτισθεῖσαν, Φέροια, καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνας (No. 25 below), Βέροια, τροπὴ τοῦ φ εἰς β, ὡς Φερενίκη, Βερενίκη, ἢ γυνὴ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου· τοῦ φ τραπέντος εἰς β. Καὶ τὴν κεφαλῆν, κεβαλήν λέγουσι=Herodianos, ed. A. Lentz, *Gram. Graeci*, III.2 (1870=Hildesheim, 1965), p. 379, note ad fr. *667 [see also Otto Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* (Hildesheim, 1974), pp. 22, note 19, and 50, note 27], and *Notae Crit. (Etym. Magnum*, p. 561): 39. Πτολεμαίου] Addit V. ἐστὶ δὲ κατὰ Μακεδόνας (Nos. 13, 25 below) τὸ δνομα, οἱ τὸ φ τρέπουσιν εἰς τὸ β./ ib. καὶ τὴν] τοῦ φ τραπέντος εἰς β τὴν D ... ib. λέγουσι] καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον Βίλιππον λέγοντες V; (6) 12th cent.: Eustathios, *Commentarii ad Dionysion Periegeten*, under line 458: ἀμφιλαφὲς δὲ κυρίως ἐστὶ

¹⁶The citations from the *Etym.(ologicum) Magnum* are from T. Gaisford's ed. of 1848=Amsterdam, 1962.

¹⁷*An. Ox.* 1 (1835=Amsterdam, 1963) 37 [26-31]-38 [1-8]: Ἀφροδίτη· (. Γ. 380) Εὐριπίδης παρὰ τὸ ἀφροσύνη ...· καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτος παρὰ τὸ ἀφραδές, ...· ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος παρὰ τὸ ἀβρὸν τῆς διαίτης· τὸ γὰρ β τῷ φ συγγενές ἐστὶ· δῆλον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνα μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον Βίλιππον καλεῖν, καὶ τὸν φαλακρὸν βαλακρὸν, καὶ τοὺς Βρύγας. καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους, διὰ τὸ φυσᾶν φυσητὰς, βύκτας, Ὀμηρος βυκτῶν ἀνέμων (κ 20) ...· οὕτω Δίδυμος.

¹⁸*Etym. Gudianum*, ed. A. de Stefani, I (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 245-246, Ἀφροδίτη· ... ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος <p. 401, 3 Schmidt> παρὰ τὸ ἀβρὸν τῆς διαίτης. τὸ γὰρ β τοῦ φ συγγενές ἐστὶ, δῆλον <δὲ> ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς Μακεδόνας μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον Βίλιππον καλεῖν καὶ τὸν φαλακρὸν βαλακρὸν καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας Βρύγας καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους, διὰ τὸ φυσᾶν φυσητὰς δντας, βύκτας καὶ Ὀμηρος <k 20> "βυκτῶν ἀνέμων" ...

¹⁹*Etym. Magnum*. s.v. Ἀφροδίτη: ...· Ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος, παρὰ τὸ ἀβρὸν τῆς διαίτης ... Τὸ β τῷ φ συγγενές ἐστὶ. Δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδόνα μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον Βίλιππον καλεῖν, καὶ τὸν φαλακρὸν, βαλακρὸν· καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας, Βρύγας· καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διὰ τὸ φυσᾶν φυσητὰς, βύκτας. Ὀμηρος, Βυκτῶν ἀνέμων.

τὸ δασύ, οὐ ἔστιν ἀμφοτέρωθεν λαβέσθαι, τραπέντος τοῦ β εἰς φ, Μακεδόνων ἔθει (No. 12 below), οἱ καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον Βίλιππὸν φασι, and *idem*, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, I (1825=Hildesheim, 1960), p. 326, 1618, 40: ... νῦν δὲ ἀρκεῖ πρὸς δεῖξιν τὸ, Φίλιππος Βίλιππος, καὶ τὸ, Παλληνικὸν βλέπειν ἡγουν Βαλληνικὸν ἀπὸ Παλλήνης τῆς κατὰ Θράκην τῆς καὶ Βαλλήνης ... λέγεται δὲ ὅτι τε ἡς γλώττης ἔστιν ὁ Βίλιππος ἀντὶ τοῦ Φίλιππος, τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ Βαλλήνη ἀντὶ τοῦ Παλλήνη (see [b] above; and Athenaios, 649c-e: ψιττάκια-βιστάκια-πιστάκια-φιττάκια (πιττάκια, note 6)-βιστάκια [Loeb]), ... (*Index in Eustathii Commentarios in Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam*, by M. Devares (1828=Hildesheim, 1960), p. 87, s.v. Βίλιππος ἀντὶ τοῦ Φίλιππος κατὰ γλώσσαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ β πρὸς τὸ φ συγγένειαν) and under No. 6 below; (7) ca. end of 10th cent.: Souda, s.v. κεφαλή ... καὶ ὁ Ἴπποκράτης δὲ κύβητον. Μακεδόνες δὲ κέβην, τὸ β ἀντὶ τοῦ φ λαμβάνοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ Φερενίκης, Βερενίκης = *An. Ox.* 2 (1835= Amsterdam, 1963), p. 456, 27-30, κεφαλή: ... καὶ Ἴπποκράτης κύβητον Μακεδόνες δὲ κέβλην, τὸ β ἀντὶ τοῦ φ λαμβάνοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Βερενίκης, Φερενίκη γὰρ ἔστιν; and (8) date?: Marius Geymonat, *Scholias in Nicandri Alexipharmaca* (Milan, 1974), pp. 152, under 424c: <κεβληγόνου ὃ ἔστι τοῦ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχοντος τὸν γόνον. κέβλη γὰρ ἢ κεφαλή ἐν συγκοπῇ τοῦ α καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ φ εἰς β> (see *notae crit.* therein), and 154, under 433a: κέβληγόνου τῆς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸν γόνον ἔχούσης, ... συγγενὲς <γὰρ> τὸ β τῷ φ. καὶ Καλλιμάχος (fgm. 657 Pfeiffer): ἀμφὶ τε κέβλην/ εἰργμένος ἀγλίθων οὐλον ἔχει στέφανον ... <καὶ Εὐφορίων περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (fgm. 127 Scheidw., 108 Powell): κέβληγόνου Ἀπρυτώνης> [see *notae crit.* therein]. A. Panayotou in *Η Γλώσσα τῆς Μακεδονίας*, ed. G. Babiniotes (Athens, 1992), pp. 190-191 (ξ 190=k 190).²⁰

6. First cent. (100). Μακεδόνων διάλεκτος. Herakleides (Milesios)=Eustathios, *ad Odysseam*, under No. 5 above, pp. 375-376, 1654, 19-20: τὸ δὲ φῶ παραχθὲν εἰς τὸ φάξω ἐξ οὐ ἢ φάσις, ... ἄλλως δὲ μεταληφθὲν Μακεδόνων φησὶ (sc. Ἡρακλείδης) διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἐξενεχθὲν διὰ τοῦ β, ποιεῖ τὸ βῶ βάζω Σικελικῶς κατὰ τὸ σιγῶ σιγάζω ... ἐκ δὲ τοῦ βάζω, καὶ ἢ βάξις Δωρικώτερον [cf. *An. Par.* 3 (1841=Hildesheim, 1967) 364, under 540]. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φῶ Μακεδονικῶς [No. 7 below] γέγονε τὸ βῶ. οὐδὲ ποτε γὰρ φησι κατ' ἀρχᾶς λέξεων ἐκεῖνοι (sc. Μακεδόνες) τῷ φ χρῶνται, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δηλαδὴ τὸ β. ὡς καὶ ὁ Βί*λιππος δηλοῖ καὶ ἄλλα εἰρημμένα ἐτέρωθι.

7. First cent. Μακεδονικῶς. Herakleides (Milesios)=Eustathios, under No. 6 above.

8. 103. Μακεδονίζων (τῇ φωνῇ) Dio Chrysostom, *The Fourth Discourse on Kingship*, 55: Ὁ πάντων ἔφη (=Διογένης), δυσμαχώτατος, οὐ περσίζων, οὐ μηδίζων (=λυδίζων) τῇ φωνῇ, καθάπερ οἶμαι Δαρείος, ἀλλὰ μακεδονίζων τε καὶ ἑλληνίζων (replying to Alexander) [Alexander would have met Diogenes at the end of 336 B.C.].

9. Middle 2nd cent. Μακεδονικὰ ὀνόματα (Nos. 23, 24 below). Arrian, Ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου, 7.11.3 [event of 324 B.C.]: καὶ τὰ μακεδονικὰ ὀνόματα ἀγρημά τι Περσικὸν καλούμενον καὶ πεζέταιροι Πέρσαι καὶ ἀσθέτεροι ἄλλοι καὶ ἀργυρασπίδων τάξις Περσικὴ καὶ ἢ τῶν ἐταίρων Ἴππος καὶ ταύτης ἄλλο ἀγρημα βασιλικόν (Loeb, Brunt). The ἀσθέτεροι are separate from the πεζέταιροι.

10. Middle 2nd cent. Μακεδονίζων τῇ φωνῇ. Papyrus fragment, PSI 12.2 1284, identified

²⁰The writer knows of no attested epigraphic specimen of Βίλιππος (=Φίλιππος), but cf. SEG 38 (1988=1991), Nos. 583, 587, 600, 670 and 682, for names which may be from φίλος=βίλος [φιλος βίλος].

as from Arrian's Τὰ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον²¹ [*Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*, ed. A. G. Roos, with *Addenda et Corrigenda* by G. Wirth, II (Teubner, 1968), p. 324 [event attributed to 320 B.C.]: πέμπει (=Εὐμένης) αὐθις Ξεννίαν ἀνδρα μακεδονίζοντα τῇ [φ]ωνῇ (to address the opposing Makedones)]; cf. the writer's study in 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1993 (1995), pp. 13-30. Could Xennias be the Xanthus (=Xanthi) of Ps.-Kallisth. 1.42 (Latin text in K. Müller, *The Fragments*, under No. 1 above)?

If Xennias was a Makedon, then the phrase ἀνὴρ μακεδονίζων τῇ φωνῇ stands for Μακεδών, as the writer originally argued in 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1993 (1995), pp. 17 and 19; otherwise it becomes a superfluous designation, if a Makedon (cf. A. B. Bosworth's comments in *AHB* 10.1 [1996], pp. 25, note 18, and 26, note 22, but Xennias' nomenclature is entirely different from the examples cited therein). On the other hand, Xennias may have hailed from some other Greek area, as the name indicates ('Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1993 [1995]=BÉ 1997, No. 350), and he simply spoke in the Makedonian fashion, which of course implies a form of Makedonian speech, which the evidence identifies as a Greek dialect (below). The Makedonian attire and mode of speech could be assumed by others, as shown by Plutarch, *Pyrr.* 11.4: ἦσαν δέ τινες οὗς αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐγκαθίει προσποιουμένους εἶναι Μακεδόνας, καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι νῦν καιρὸς ἐστὶ τῆς Δημητρίου βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι, κτλ. Cf. Aischylos, *Choeph.* 563-564: ἀμφω δὲ φωνῆν ἡσομεν (=οἴσομεν) Παρνησιίδα, / γλώσσης αὐτὴν Φωκίδος μιμουμένω (Orestes to Pylades) [On γλώσσα-διάλεκτος, cf. Th. Harrison's "Herodotus' Conception of Foreign Languages" in *Histos* 2, 1998 (Internet)].

11. Middle 2nd cent. Φωνή. Pausanias, *Messenika*, 29.3: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δπλων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς Μακεδόνας καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φιλίππου γνωρίζουσιν (=οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ) ὄντας κτλ. Cf. Polybios, 3.19.7-11 [event of 214 B.C.].

12. Middle 2nd cent. Μακεδονικὸν/Μακεδόνων ἔθος. Apollonios Dyskolos, eds. R. Schneider and G. Uhlig, *Gram. Graeci*, II (1910=Hildesheim, 1965), p. 301, 214b: ... ἢ ἀντεστραμμένως, ὅτε ἡ κλητικὴ ἀντ' εὐθειῶν παραλαμβάνεται κατὰ μακεδονικὸν ἔθος ἢ θεσσαλικόν, ὡς οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιστώσαντο, αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι {B 107} ... Cf. Eustathios, *ad Dionysion*, under No. 5 above, (6): τραπέντος τοῦ β εἰς φ, Μακεδόνων ἔθει.

13. Middle 2nd cent. (?). Κατὰ Μακεδόνας [see under Nos. 5.5 above and 25 below]. *Scholion* to Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 455 (ὄν χάρωνος ὠμηστοῦ δορά): χάρωνος ἡ χάρων ὁ λέων κατὰ Μακεδόνας (ed. E. Scheer, II [Berlin, 1958], p. 168).

14. ca. 180. Ἡ φωνὴ Μακεδόνων. Cornelianus, *Philetaerus*=Sonya Argyle, *CQ* 39 (1989), p. 526: 121 Βασίλισσαν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας. ἔστι δὲ ἡ φωνὴ Μακεδόνων (see also p. 533, *197) [the κατὰ Νεαίρας dates from the middle of the fourth cent. B.C.]. Cf. Eustathios, *ad Odysseam*, under No. 5 above, p. 70, 39-40: ἀλλὰ καὶ βασί*λισσα κατὰ Αἴλιον Διονύσιον Ἀττικῶς (=Index in Eustathii, under 5 above, p. 85, s.v. βασιλεύς).

15. ca. 200. Μακεδονίζοντες. Athenaios, *Deipnosoph.*, 121f-122a: καὶ ὅς (=Κύνουλκος) " ... καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι τοῖς σφόδρα ἐλληνίζουσιν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν καὶ Περσικὰ ὀνόματα .../... μακεδονίζοντάς τ' οἶδα πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀττικῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν ..."

²¹Could PSI 12.2 1284 be instead from Dexippos' Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον? Arrian, with the exception of Μακεδονικὰ ὀνόματα (No. 9 above), makes no reference to a Makedonian mode of speech, although in 2.10.7 Arrian speaks of τὰς γένησι τῷ τε Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ (Issos; 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1993 [1995] 24-25, under N).

16. after 212. Φωνή μακεδονική(ν). M. B. Hatzopoulos, *BCH* 111 (1987), p. 411 (BÉ 1988, under No. 826), lines 7-10: πεδίου/νόματι Νίκην ὡς(ς) μη/νῶν δύο, φωνή μακε/δονική(ν) (manumission inscription from Macedonia).

17. Fourth cent. Μακεδόνων γλώσσα. Eudaimon Pelousiotes = Eustathios, *ad Odysseam*, under No. 5 above, p. 113, 1457, 19-20: Καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἱππότα δέ, ποιητικῆς ταύτης εὐθείας τῶν ἐνικῶν. ..., ὁ τοξότα, ὁ ἱππηλάτα, καὶ τὰς ὁμοίας, Εὐδαίμων ὁ Πηλουσιώτης Μακεδόνων γλώσσης εἶναι λέγει. οἱ τρέ*πουσιν εὐθειῶν κλινομένων διὰ τῆς ου, τὸ ης εἰς ἄλφα, ... (= *Index in Eustathii*, under No. 5 above, p. 1: α λήγουσαι ... κατὰ γλώσσαν Μακεδόνων, ...). W. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, I (Oxford, 1855), p. 124, under 68: ἱππότα] Εὐδαίμων ὁ Πηλουσιώτης εἶναι λέγει Μακεδονικόν, οἱ δὲ Αἰολικόν. P (see therein note 20) [cf. *An. Ox.* 4 (1837 = Amsterdam, 1963) 334, 9; and *An. Par.* 3 (1841 = Hildesheim, 1967) 338, 175].

18. Fourth cent., probably. Κατὰ Μακεδόνων φωνήν (*bis*). *Scholion to Peri tēs parapresbeias*, C. Müller and J. Hunziker, *Oratores Attici. Fragmenta Oratorum Atticarum*, II (Paris, 1858), p. 627, 390, 1: Πέλλη] Ἰστέον ὅτι Πέλλη ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ βοῦς εὐρησθαι τὴν προσηγορίαν πελλῆς τὸ χρώμα, ὃ ἐστὶ τεφρῶδες κατὰ τὴν Μακεδόνων φωνήν, ἢ παρὰ τοὺς πέλλας, τοὺς λίθους κατὰ τὴν Μακεδόνων φωνήν. ATCV. Cf. C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera* (Teubner, 1967), p. 38, 26 [e'] πέλλας: καὶ Πέλλη Μακεδονίας, ὅτι βοῦς αὐτὴν εὔρε πέλλη τὸ χρώμα = *Etym. Magnum*, s.v. Πέλεια: ... καὶ Πέλλη, πόλις Μακεδονίας, ὅτι βοῦς αὐτὴν εὔρε, πέλλη τὸ χρώμα ... Cf. *Etym. Magnum* (1848 = 1962), p. 1865, under 35 (*notae crit.*): ... Codex Havn. 1971. ... καὶ Πέλλη πόλις Μακεδονική, ὅτι βοῦς αὐτὴν εὔρε, πέλλη τὸ χρώμα,

19. Fifth cent., it seems. Μακεδόνες/Macedones. Makedonian words in Hesychios; see Jean N. Kalléris, *Les anciens Macédoniens: étude linguistique et historique*, I and II (Athens, 1954 and 1976) [and vol. III]; Otto Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, under No. 5 above.²²

20. Fifth cent., it seems. Φωνή Μακεδονική. Hesychios, s.v. ματτύης (Artemidorus. Molpis) ἡ μὲν φωνή Μακεδονική <Λακω->, ὄρνις, κτλ. Cf. Athenaios, 140e-141e, and 662f (... καὶ περὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις κωμικοῖς ματτύης ἦν Θετταλῶν φησιν εἶναι εὐρημα, ἐπιχωριάσαι δὲ κὰν ταῖς Ἀθήναις κατὰ τὴν Μακεδόνων ἐπικράτειαν [Loeb])--664f.

21. Sixth cent. Μακεδόνων ὁ τύπος. Steph. Byzan., s.v. Δῖον ... τὸ ἐθνικὸν Διεύς. Πανσανίας δὲ Διάστας φησί Μακεδόνων γὰρ ὁ τύπος ὄρεσται, Λυγκησταί; Herodianos, ed. A. Lentz, *Gram. Graeci* III.1 (1867 = Hildesheim, 1965), p. 78, 14-17: Τὰ διὰ τοῦ εσθης ... Διέσθης - Πανσανίας δὲ Διάστας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ - Μακεδονικὸν ἔθνος ὡς καὶ ὄρεσθης παρ' Ἐκαταίῳ Εὐρώπῃ, κτλ. [Arkadios, under No. 23 below, p. 27, 6-8]. Pausanias, *Boiotika* 30:7-8: Μακεδόνων δὲ οἱ χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Πιερίαν ἔχοντες καὶ πόλιν Δῖον, .../....., καὶ ὄνομα Βαφύρας ἀντὶ Ἐλικῶνος λαβῶν ... τοῦτον οἱ Διασταὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιρρεῖν ... φασι. Cf. *IG* II² 3289, lines 7-9: D[i]ensium (*hedera*) per legatum/ C. Memmium Lycum./ Διεστῶν (132).

22. Sixth cent. Πατρώα φωνή. Steph. Byzan., s.v. Βορμίσκος, χωρίον Μακεδονίας, ἐν ᾧ κυνοσπάρακτος γέγονεν Εὐριπίδης ὅς κύνας τῇ πατρώα φωνῇ ἑστερικὰς (= ἑστερίσκας R) καλοῦσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὃ δὲ ποιητῆς τραπεζῆας. Cf. *FGH* III C, 776. Anhang; Gellius, *NA*, 15.20.10; Athenaios, 598d-e. Euripides died in 406 B.C.

²²Words identified as Makedonian by "Μακεδόνες/Macedones" are not listed here, as the present enumeration is concerned with phrases specifically indicative of a Makedonian mode of speech.

23. ca. 850-893. Μακεδονικὸν τοῦνομα (Nos. 9 above, 24 below). Photios, *Lexicon*, ed. S. A. Naber, II [Leidae, 1865], p. 164, s.v. σκοῖδος ἑταμίας τις καὶ διοικητής. Μακεδονικὸν δὲ τοῦνομα διόπερ Μένανδρος ἐν Κιθαριστῇ σκοῖδον Διόνυσον λέγει. Cf. *IG XII(5)*, No. 92, line 1: Σκοιδία Καλλιπόλει Σωσάνδρα κτλ. (1st or 2nd cent.), and Th. Rizakis and G. Touratsoglou, *Επιγραφές ἀνω Μακεδονίας* (Athens, 1985), No. 74, line 3: [---]ς σκοίδου (3rd-2nd cent. B.C., from Agios Georgios, Grevena). Hesychios, sc. σκοῖδος ἄρχή τις παρὰ Μακεδόσι τεταγμένη ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων. Ἡ λέξις κείται ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου; Pollux 10.16: τοῦτον (sc. σκευοφύλακα) δὲ καὶ σκοῖδόν τινες ὠνόμαζον, τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σκευῶν ἐν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς ἀποσκευαῖς κτλ. [*Pollucis Onomasticon*, ed. E. Bethe (Teubner, 1931)]; Herodianos, ed. A. Lentz, *Gram. Graeci*, III.1 (1867=Hildesheim, 1965), p. 142, 6: σεσημείωται τὸ κοῖδος παρὰ Μακεδόσιν, ὁ οἰκονόμος=Arkadios (Theodosios, 4th cent.?), ed. E. H. Barker (1820=Leipzig, 1970), p. 47, 27-28. J. Kalléris, I, under No. 19 above, pp. 262-264, No. 141.

24. ca. end of 10th cent. Μακεδονικὸν τὸ ὄνομα (Nos. 9, 23 above). Σούδα, s.v. ἀορτήν λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀβερτήν. Μακεδονικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ σκεῦος καὶ τὸ ὄνομα.

25. Twelfth cent. Κατὰ Μακεδόνας (see also under No. 5.5, and No. 13 above). *Etym. Magnum* [=O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, under No. 5 above, p. 62], s.v. Ἄττα: Ἐπίφθεγμα τιμητικὸν νεωτέρου πρὸς παλαιότερον. Εἰρηται παρὰ τὸ ἀππὰ κατὰ Μακεδόνας, τροπή τοῦ π εἰς τ=Dindorf, *Scholia in Odysseam* (No. 17 above), II, pp. 622-623, under 31 (cf. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, ed. W. Dindorf, III [1877], p. 315, under 518) [BÉ 1993, under No. 440]; *Notae Crit.* (*Etym. Magnum* [1848=1962], p. 476, 33): εἰρηται etc.] Ὅμηρος. ἄττα γεραίε [see *Il.* 9.607: "Φοῖνιξ, ἄττα γεραίε"] εἰρηται παρὰ τὸ παππὰ, ὃ δηλοῖ κατὰ Μακεδόνας τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τροπήν τῶν δύο π π εἰς τὸ β ττ. V; and *ibid.*, under s.v. Βέροια (κατὰ Μακεδόνας), under No. 5 above, and Ἐέλωρ ... παρὰ τὸ θέλω, τοῦ θ τραπέντος εἰς δ, κατὰ Μακεδόνας, καὶ ὑπερθέσεως γενομένης ... [cf. AEMΘ 5 (1991=1994), p. 89: Δάρρων=Θάρρων; Hesychios, Δάρρων Μακεδονικὸς δαίμων, ᾧ ὑπὲρ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἐδχονται (=SEG 44, 1994=1997, No. 546)]. Cf. Eustathios, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, ed. M. van der Valk, II (Leiden, 1976), p. 815, 777, 50: Τὸ δὲ <<ἄττα>>, κείμενον καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα, γλώττης φασὶ Θετταλῶν οἱ παλαιοί, προσφώνημα ὃν ἐκ τινος νεωτέρου ὡς πρὸς τροφέα κτλ. (=Index in Eustathii, under No. 5 above, p. 75, s.v. ἄττα; and p. 63, s.v. ἄργος, ὅτι πᾶν πεδῖον ἄργος ἐκάλουν Μακεδόνες καὶ Θετταλοί=Eustathios, *ad Odysseam*, under No. 5 above, p. 177, 1845, 15: ὡς δὲ οὐχ' ἐν Ἄργος, ἀλλὰ πολλά, καὶ ὡς νεώτεροι Μακεδόνες καὶ Θετταλοὶ Ἄργος καὶ τὸ ἀπλῶς πεδῖον φασί, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται).

These instances of evidence of a Makedonian mode of speech date, more or less, from the Roman imperial period and later, although their roots may possibly go back to the time of Alexander and after. In any event, the significance that could be attached to Curtius' *patrius sermo* as testimony of a separate Makedonian language²³ is compromised by its lateness and by its introduction in a highly charged context, as also observed above. Moreover, with the contradiction noted above Curtius' *patrius sermo* motif is cancelled out and is of no particular

²³A. B. Bosworth, under No. 10 above; cf. also E. N. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus: The Emergence of Macedon* (Princeton, 1990=1992) 92.

importance as to the Makedones' mode of speech.²⁴ And this is the more true because of the overwhelming evidence, principally onomastic and epigraphic, that the speech of the Makedones was Greek.²⁵

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²⁴For the variety of Greek, cf. Valerius Maximus [14-37], 8.7.6: *C. Crassus, cum in Asiam ad Aristonicum regem debellandum cos. uenisset, tanta cura notitiam Graecae linguae comprehendit, ut eam in quinque genera diuisam per omnes partes ac numeros penitus cognosceret, quaque lingua fuerat appellatus apud tribunal, eadem decreta reddebat* (Teubner, 1888)= Quintilian [ca. 35-90's], 11.2.50: *vel Crassus ille Dives, qui, cum Asiae praeesset, quinque Graeci sermonis differentias sic tenuit ut, qua quisque apud eum lingua postulasset, eadem ius sibi redditum ferret.*

²⁵SEG 43 (1993 [1996]), No. 434., and O. Masson's overview in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1996) 905-906: Macedonian language. SEG 45 (1995 [1998]), No. 719.