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THE MEANING OF ἀνορμίζω  
AND THE POSSIBLE *ADDENDUM LEXICIS* ἀνορμέω

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 86 (1991) 35–40

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## The meaning of ἄνορμίζω and the possible *addendum lexicis* ἄνορμέω

The verb ἄνορμίζω is found in surviving ancient Greek literature only four times, all of the occurrences being in the *Roman History* of Dio Cassius; it has also been read in two freight contracts written on papyrus.<sup>1</sup> Although the instances in the papyrus texts may actually be attestations of a word not yet recorded in the *lexica*, \*ἄνορμέω, they nonetheless support the redefinition of ἄνορμίζω to be proposed here. All six passages in which these words occur would make better sense, I believe, if ἄνορμίζω were understood to mean *moor upstream* or *offshore*.

The entry in LSJ<sup>9</sup> s.v. ἄνορμίζω reads as follows:

*take* [ships] *from* their *moorings*, ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τὰς ναῶς D.C.48.48:- Med., *put to sea*, Id.42.7:- Pass., *anchor above*, ὑπὲρ τόπον Id.71.<sup>2</sup>

The definition of the Passive, which is intended presumably to have an intransitive meaning, implies the Active and transitive meaning *to moor* [a ship] *above*; but this meaning is inconsistent with Liddell and Scott's definitions of the Active and Middle which indicate departure from anchorage.<sup>3</sup> The following passage from 71.2 shows that the Passive for its part has been correctly interpreted. Dio is describing the Romans' procedure for bridging rivers:

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<sup>1</sup> See the discussion below for references to the papyri. The occurrences in Dio Cassius (42.7.2, 42.7.3, 48.48.2, and 71.2 which is preserved as an excerpt in the *Suda* s.v. ζεῦγμα) were found through a computer search generously carried out by the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* project at the University of California, Irvine, in September, 1986. The search was carried out on all Greek texts available in computer-readable form at that time and it was reckoned that all instances of ἄνορμίζω would be caught by searching on the character strings ἀνορμι-, ἀνωρμι- and ἠνωρμι-.

I am grateful to Dr J.A.L. Lee of the University of Sydney and to Professors C.P. Jones and E.I. Robbins of the University of Toronto for the helpful suggestions made by them at various stages in the writing of this note.

<sup>2</sup> Equivalent definitions are given, s.v., by the new *Diccionario griego-español* fasc. II. ἄλλα - ἀποκοινώνητος ed. F. Rodríguez Adrados (Madrid, 1986): under a first meaning are given the definitions 'soltar amarras, hacer partir' (Active, D.C. 48.48) and 'hacerse a la mar' (Middle, D.C. 42.7); a second meaning is defined as 'anclar más arriba' and exemplified by the Passive (D.C. 71.2).

<sup>3</sup> The inconsistency in the definitions may be due to the fact that the citation and definition of the Passive were added later, not appearing until LSJ<sup>9</sup>.

It is evident that for the Passive the etymology of the verb was conceived to be ἀνά + ὀρμίζω (*to moor upstream*). This etymology would not fit Liddell and Scott's definitions of the Active and Middle. Their definition of the Active (if based on etymology as well as context) implies an etymology either ὀρμίζω with alpha privative (*to un-moor*) or ἀνά + ὀρμίζω (*to take* [a ship] *from its mooring out to sea*) in which ὀρμίζω would have the opposite of its normal meaning. Although in Liddell and Scott's definition of the Middle there may be a recognition of ἀνά in its meaning *out to sea*, the absence of this idea in their definition of the Active and the difficulty of taking ὀρμίζω in its contrary sense make the second alternative unlikely. As Professor C.P. Jones has pointed out to me, however, Liddell and Scott themselves observe, s.v. ἄ- I, that the privative alpha is 'very rarely' used in the formation of verbs. Nevertheless perhaps Liddell and Scott were influenced by the adjective ἄνορμος, which certainly has a privative sense, though with a different meaning ('*without harbour*').

ἔστι δὲ ὁ τρόπος (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντα εἰδέναι) τοιόσδε. πλατεῖαι μὲν εἰσιν αἱ νῆες δι' ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς ζεύγνυται, ἀνορμίζονται δὲ ὀλίγον ἄνω τοῦ ρεύματος ὑπὲρ τὸν μέλλοντα ζεύγνυσθαι τόπον. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ σημεῖον δοθῆ, ἀφιᾶσι πρώτην μίαν ναῦν κατὰ ῥοῦν φέρεσθαι πλησίον τῆς οἰκείας ὄχθης.<sup>4</sup>

The procedure (for not everyone knows it) is as follows. The ships by which the river is bridged are broad, and they are moored a little upstream above the place to be bridged. When the signal is given, they let first one ship be carried down the stream near the friendly bank.

The passage goes on to explain that when the first ship has been secured at the place of bridging, they let another ship go (ἀφιᾶσι), and so on. Μέλλοντα and the ἐπὶ clause show that πλατεῖαι μὲν εἰσιν and ἀνορμίζονται describe attributes of all the ships prior to their individual release, so that it seems simplest to take ἀνορμίζονται as opposed to ἀφιᾶσι (the contrast being expressed vaguely by the μὲν and the second δέ) and as referring to mooring.<sup>5</sup> Ἄνά is here most naturally understood as expressing the same idea as ἄνω τοῦ ρεύματος and ὑπέρ, a sense which is well attested for other ἀνά compounds in the nautical vocabulary, such as ἀνάγω, ἀναγωγή, ἀναπλέω and ἀνάπλους.

In all these ἀνά compounds the prefix can also mean *out to sea* and this may be what lies behind Liddell and Scott's definition of the Middle for D.C. 42.7.2-3, '*to put to sea.*' Their meaning gives tolerable sense to the passage, but the meaning *to moor at a distance from the shore* is more plausible. Both definitions express the notion of movement away from the shore; what is in question is whether the ships are thought of as stationary once they have been moved away from the shore.<sup>6</sup> Caesar has arrived at Alexandria in pursuit of Pompey with only a part of his forces:

... καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας θορυβουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτου εὐρών, οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνορμισάμενος ἀνεῖχε μέχρις οὗ τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδεν. οὕτω δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἠπειρον θαρσύντως προσέσχεν, ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τινες τὰ ὅπλα ἀφηρέτησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνωρμίσαντο αὐθις, ἕως πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες ἐπικατήχθησαν.

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Another possible influence is the definition of ἀνορμίζω given in Stephanus' *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* 3rd ed. rev. K.B. Hase *et al.* (Paris, 1865): *Ex portu educo*. See also note 8 below.

The definition in F. Passow's *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* 5th ed. rev. V.C.F. Rost and F. Palm (Leipzig, 1841; reprinted Darmstadt, 1970) is 'vor Anker legen.' This contains the idea of mooring, but does not express the force of ἀνά.

In dwelling on the etymology of the word I do not wish to place more importance on the etymology than on usages. As I hope to demonstrate below, the actual occurrences show that Dio was sensitive to the meaning of the prefix.

<sup>4</sup> All quotations of Dio are taken from *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt* ed. U.P. Boissevain in 5 vols (1895-1931).

<sup>5</sup> If one took ἀνορμίζονται to mean 'they are freed from their moorings,' its clause would be a general statement of the particulars that follow; but in that case one would expect ἐπὶ γὰρ rather than ἐπὶ δέ. For δέ standing for γὰρ, however, see J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1958) pp.169 f.

<sup>6</sup> The movement implied by ἀνά comes to an end with the act of mooring.

... and finding that the Alexandrians were in an uproar over Pompey's death, he did not dare at once to disembark onto land, but mooring offshore he waited until he saw his [Pompey's] head and ring which were sent to him by Ptolemy. Then it was that he went ashore with confidence, but when the people became angry towards his lictors, he himself gladly fled ahead into the palace, while some of his soldiers had their arms taken from them; and because of this the rest moored offshore again until all the other ships landed as well.

Could Caesar have had the head and ring of Pompey brought to him if he was sailing about on the high seas? Despite Dio's evident intention to play up Caesar's anxiety, it seems more likely that he has portrayed Caesar as waiting on board his ship moored offshore until the evidence is brought. And can we understand Dio to be saying that Caesar's troops sailed away leaving their commander surrounded by a hostile populace? It would make better sense to imagine that the warships had at first been moored close in and that the troops later moved their ships and themselves away from the easy reach of the Alexandrians.

The meaning *moor offshore* is equally appropriate in D.C. 48.48.1-2, but cannot be demonstrated conclusively:

τούτου δὲ τοιούτου συμβάντος, ἄνεμός τις τῆ ὑστεραία ἐξάισιος τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ Σαβίνῳ καθ' ἐν ὀρμουσιν ἐπιπεσὼν σμικρὸν τὸ πρότερον πάθος αὐτῶν ἀπέφηνε. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Σαβίνου ναυτικὸν ἦττον ἐπόνησεν· ὁ γὰρ Μηνᾶς, ἅτε ἐκ πολλοῦ θαλαττουργὸς ὢν, τὸν τε χειμῶνα προείδετο καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος εὐθὺς τὰς ναῦς ἀνώρμισε, καὶ αὐτὰς ἀγκύραις χαλαραῖς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ σχοινία τεινόμενα διαρραγῆ, διαλαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνεμον ἀντήρητε.<sup>7</sup>

Such was the outcome [of the sea battle], but on the following day a violent wind came upon Caesar and Sabinus as they lay at anchor together and made their previous trouble seem insignificant. The fleet of Sabinus suffered less. For Menas, since he was a seaman of much experience, foresaw the storm and immediately moored the ships out to sea, and having placed them at intervals with loose anchors in order that the cables might not stretch and snap, he rowed straight into the wind.<sup>8</sup>

There is no doubt here that Sabinus' fleet is both moored and away from the shore, but both of these features of the story can be understood from elements of the sentence other than ἀνώρμισε. The fact that Sabinus' fleet is moored (ὀρμουσιν) and is then moved from this anchorage lends

<sup>7</sup> Boissevain notes in his apparatus that R. Stephanus printed ἀνώρμισε whereas the eleventh-century manuscripts Laurentianus 70,8 and Marcianus 395 have ἀνώρμησε; since the Active of ἀνορμάω is attested only by intransitive uses (see LSJ<sup>9</sup>, s.v. ἀνορμάομαι) and \*ἀνορμέω (for which see below) would not take an object, it is necessary to read ἀνώρμισε here.

<sup>8</sup> The notion of fixed position implied by mooring might better be expressed by translating 'moored the ships out at sea;' my translation is an attempt to reproduce the idea of motion expressed by ἐς. E. Carey renders the clause to which ἀνώρμισε belongs in this way: '[Menas] immediately shifted his ships to the open sea and moored them there' (*Dio's Roman History* vol.5 [Loeb Classical Library; London, 1917] p.323). Although Carey's translation of the Middle forms in 42.7 agrees with Liddell and Scott's definition, 'put to sea,' Carey seems here to have translated ἀνώρμισε by 'moored' and drawn 'shifted' from a pregnant force in the ἐς.

some plausibility to Liddell and Scott's definition of the Active;<sup>9</sup> but this meaning is otherwise unsupported, both in this passage and in the others. The meaning of ἀνορμίζω cannot be fixed by this passage, but the aptness in this context of the meaning *moor offshore*, which is more clearly established by the other passages, and its etymological propriety weigh in its favour.

Support for the notion of mooring in ἀνορμίζω also comes from two freight contracts on papyrus. Among the fifty-nine such contracts known to me there are eight which contain what A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer calls a Navigationsklausel.<sup>10</sup> This clause usually binds the ship's captain with a prohibition against sailing at night or in storms and with a requirement to moor each day in designated safe harbours.<sup>11</sup> The clause differs slightly in the eight contracts and we find a variety of words for mooring: ὀρμ[ι]εῖ, the future of ὀρμίζω (in *P. Ross. Georg.* II 18, xlii), κα]θορμίζων (*P. Laur.* I 6), προσορμίζων (*P. Oxy. Hels.* 37), προσορμίζω[v] (*P. Oxy.* XLIII 3111), ἀνορμ[ι]ζοντες (*SB XIV* 11552), and ἀνορμίτω (*P. Oxy.* XLV 3250).<sup>12</sup>

The editors of *P. Oxy.* XLV 3250 and *SB XIV* 11552 have translated ἀνορμίτω and ἀνορμίζοντες respectively by the verb *to weigh anchor*. Designated harbours, however, are more naturally thought of as places at which to arrive than ones to leave. Consequently the stipulation that captains should weigh anchor in safe harbours seems at least an awkward way of expressing the requirement to moor there.<sup>13</sup> Given the unambiguous parallels of the other words in this context, it seems hard to resist taking these two as also referring to mooring. The inappropriateness of the meaning *weigh anchor* led the editor of *P. Oxy.* XLV 3250, M.A.H. El-Abbadi, to suggest

<sup>9</sup> The explanation of Liddell and Scott's definition as privative receives some slight support from the proximity of ὀρμοῦσιν and ἀνώρμισε: they may have seen here a contrast between mooring and 'un-mooring.'

<sup>10</sup> A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im Griechischen und Römischen Recht (Studia amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia* 13; Zutphen, 1978) p.91; cf. p.55. Meyer-Termeer lists fifteen Ptolemaic and forty-two Roman-period freight contracts on papyrus (pp.90-103) and mentions three other possible examples (p.85). I am aware of two more contracts which have become known since the appearance of Meyer-Termeer's list: *P. Köln III* (1980) 147 (provenance unknown, time of Augustus), and *P. Oxy.* XLIX (1982) 3484 (AD 27-33).

The eight contracts which contain the 'navigation clause' are: *P. Oxy.* XLV (1977) 3250 (c. AD 63); *P. Laur.* I (1976) 6 (provenance unknown, AD 97/8-116/7); *P. Ross. Georg.* II (1929, reprinted 1966) 18, vi, xxix, xlii (Fayum, January? AD 140); *P. Oxy. Hels.* (1979) 37 (13 August? AD 176); *SB XIV* 11552 (Oxyrhynchus, 1 September, AD 221); *P. Oxy.* XLIII (1975) 3111 (15 May, AD 257).

*P. Oxy. Hels.* 37 is referred to in Meyer-Termeer as *P. Oxy.* inv. nr 21 3B 25G (2-4) a<sup>33</sup>. *SB XIV* 11552 was first published by P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp in 'Documents on transportation by ship,' *ZPE* 20 (1976) 157- 165, in particular 162-165 and Plate 7.

<sup>11</sup> The usual phrase concerning the harbours is ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτων ὄρμων. For a brief summary of what is known about 'designated harbours' see *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* with introduction, translation and commentary by L. Casson (Princeton, 1989) pp.272-274. In *P. Hibeh* II (1955) 198 (c. 245-240 BC) we find ordinances which stipulate the measures to be taken by captains of royal transports in order to avoid attack by pirates if they cannot moor in the 'designated places' (ἐν τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις τόποις, col.v, line 112). These 'designated places' have been taken to be harbours protected by guards.

<sup>12</sup> *P. Ross. Georg.* II 18, vi and xxix are both damaged where the verb for mooring would occur.

<sup>13</sup> For this reason it would make little difference to replace the usual ἐπί which governs ὄρμων with the ἐκ or ἀπό that might be expected with a verb of departure. Ἐπί is securely read in *P. Oxy.* XLV 3250; in *SB XIV* 11552 the editors print ἐπ]ι̅.

in his note to lines 22-23 of that text that several words had been omitted through scribal error.<sup>14</sup> He went on to propose two reconstructions which added a verb meaning *to moor*; neither of the reconstructions, however, is paralleled by the other freight contracts. He proposed either μηδὲ χειμῶνος ὄντος ἀνορμιζέτω. καὶ ὀρμείτω κτλ.; or μηδὲ ... ἀνορμ(ε)ίτω. (καὶ ὀρμείτω) κτλ.<sup>15</sup> The difficulty is more simply solved, however, if one allows ἀνορμίτω to refer to mooring. The text may then be read as ἀνορμιζέτω, meaning ‘let him moor’;<sup>16</sup> or, following El-Abbadi’s suggestion that ἀνορμίτω is from \*ἀνορμέω, we may read the text as it stands meaning ‘let him be moored.’ In *SB XIV 11552*, therefore, the restoration ἀνορμ[μοῦντες] may be proposed as a possible alternative to the editors’ ἀνορμ[μίζοντες].<sup>17</sup> In either case, however, the translation by the editors, ‘weighing anchor’, will need to be altered to ‘mooring’.

The appearance of ἀνορμίζω or \*ἀνορμέω in these contexts where the meaning *moor* is required lends further support to the proposal that ἀνορμίζω refers to mooring in the passages from Dio Cassius. The existence of \*ἀνορμέω will need to be confirmed by more secure examples, but the entry in *LSJ* for ἀνορμίζω ought to be altered to read:

*moor* [a ship] *upstream* or *offshore*, ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τὰς ναῦς D.C. 48.48:- Med., intr. *moor offshore*, Id. 42.7:- Pass., *be moored upstream*, Id. 71.2.

As a subsidiary point it is worth noting that, although the forces of the prefixes in the various compound forms seem to be lost in the papyrus texts, examination of Dio’s use of compounded forms of both ὀρμίζω and ὀρμέω shows that he was sensitive to the different meanings of the prefixes. For example, the notion of coming to land implied by κατά presumably governs the choice of prefix in πρὸς τὴν γῆν καταφυγὼν καθορμίσαστο (48.47.5) and again in οὐδεὶς αἰγιαλὸς ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι αὐτοῖς εὐρίσκετο (48.49.5). Opposition is expressed by the ἐπί

<sup>14</sup> As he has printed it the relevant portion of lines 22-24 reads: καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ νυγτοπλοεῖν μηδὲ ἢ χειμῶνος ὄντος. ἀνορμίτω καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσφαλεστάτων ὄρμων (‘And let it not be permissible for him to sail at night, nor when there is stormy weather. Let him anchor each day in the safest harbours.’ [My translation.]) I give no force to the ἀνά here, because in the other navigation clauses the verbs for mooring seem to be used with no detectable difference in meaning, regardless of the presence of prefixes (προσ- and καθ-) or their absence.

<sup>15</sup> I.e., ‘nor is he to weigh anchor in foul weather. And is he is to lay up each day in the most secure anchorages’ (El-Abbadi’s translation).

El-Abbadi has suggested that ἀνορμίτω may be from \*ἀνορμέω, an *addendum lexicis*, reading -ίτω as a variant spelling of -είτω. For examples of iota for ει in the papyri see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* vol. I *Phonology* (*Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’ antichità* 55, 1; Milan, 1976) pp.189 f.

<sup>16</sup> This would require us to understand the Active in an intransitive sense, as is necessary for all the other ‘mooring’ words found in navigation clauses. We seem to have here an example of the difference between the literary language of post-Classical Greek, as exemplified by Dio, and the level of language found in the documentary texts. The latter reflect the tendency in the history of the Greek language for the Middle forms to disappear. On the voices in Modern Greek and the increase in the use of Active forms with intransitive meanings see Albert Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache* 2nd ed. (Strasburg, 1910) §§175-177 (or the same section numbers in the English translation, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular* [Edinburgh, 1912; repr. Chicago, 1964]). On the use of Active for Middle forms in papyri see E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* vol. II, 1 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926) § 29; for examples of deponent verbs found in the papyri with Active forms see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* vol. II *Morphology* (*Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’ antichità* 55, 2; Milan, 1981) 325-327.

<sup>17</sup> The Middle, ἀνοορμίζόμενοι, is hypothetically a third possibility; but see previous note.

in ἐφορμέω (37.3.3, 47.12.3 and 50.12.5) and by ἀντί in ἀνθορμέω (49.2.1). Προσορμίζω seems to imply motion towards, ‘to come to anchor’ at a place (e.g., 41.48.3; 64.1.3); and the use of ὑφορμέω (49.2.1) fits the definition given by Liddell and Scott, ‘to lie at anchor in wait for.’

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