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NOTES ON THE LEAD LETTERS FROM EMPORION

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Two inscriptions on lead, one certainly, the other probably a letter, have been found in Ampurias (Emporion) in recent years; they were published by two scholars from Barcelona, E.Sanmartí (ES) and R.A.Santiago (RAS). Here is a bibliography:

1. Letter found in 1985; SEG 37, 838.

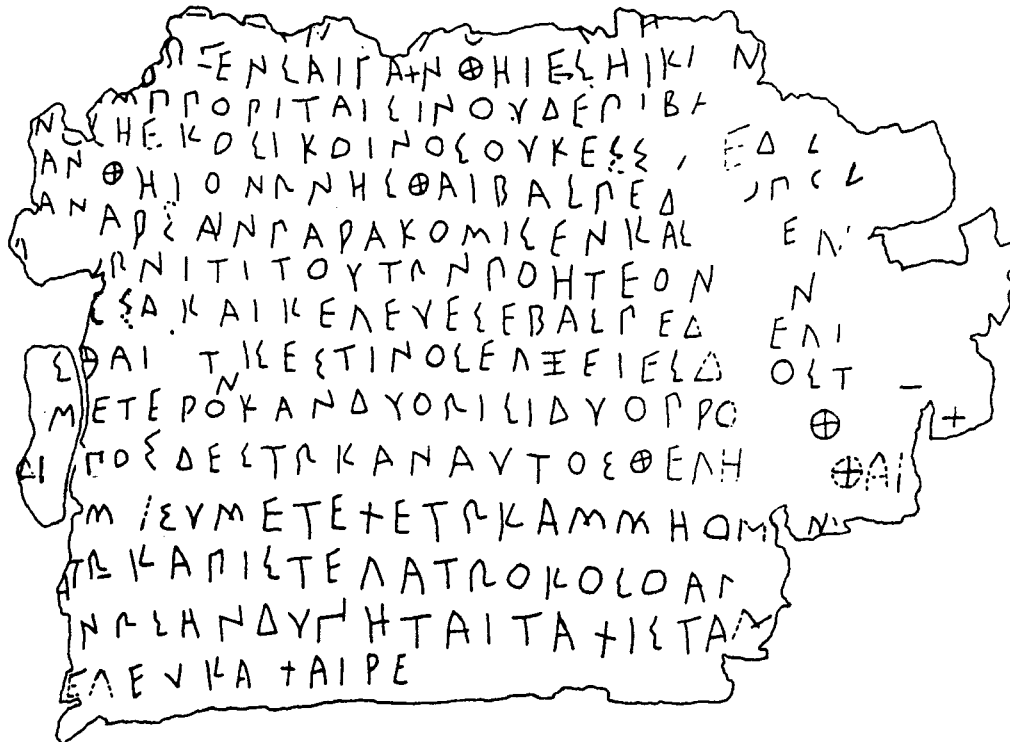
ES/RAS 1987, 'Une lettre grecque sur plomb trouvée à Emporion (fouilles 1985)', ZPE 68, 119-127.

RAS/ES 1988a, 'Notes additionnelles sur la lettre de plomb d'Emporion', ZPE 72, 100-102.

ES/RAS 1988b, 'La lettre grecque d'Emporion et son contexte archéologique', RevArchNarb 21, 3-17.

RAS 1990a, 'Encore une fois sur la lettre de plomb d'Emporion (1985)', ZPE 80, 79-80.

There is a drawing, different from the one in ES/RAS 1987 which I reproduce below, in the second edition of LSAG (revised edition with a supplement by A.W.Johnston, Oxford 1990, pl. 78 nr. 3); a photograph in ES/RAS 1988b, 10 fig. 7.



0 5 cm.

2. Letter(?) found in 1987; SEG 39, 1088.

RAS/ES 1989, 'Une nouvelle plauquette de plomb trouvée à Emporion', ZPE 77, 36-38.

RAS 1990b, 'Notes additionnelles au plomb d'Emporion 1987', ZPE 82, 176.

Unless otherwise indicated, these notes refer to the first document; when necessary, they are differentiated as 'the 1985 letter' and 'the 1987 letter' (RAS/ES 1989 are surely right in supposing that the 1987 document is a letter). The 1987 letter is a relatively uninformative strip of lead; the 1985 letter, while not nearly as spectacular as the Berezan letter SEG 27, 845, has considerably extended our knowledge of what will here be called Northeast Ionic, an alleged dialect group consisting of Chios and Erythrae plus Phocaea and its colonies. Concentrating on this document, I intend to test how tenable this group is. But first I will discuss the date of the 1985 letter.

ES/RAS 1987 dated the 1985 letter 'dans la première moitié du Ve s. av. J.C., et, peut-être bien, dans le premier quart de ce siècle' (120), but they add that the form of some letters may suggest an older date. In RAS/ES 1988a they have become more certain: because of the form of some of the letters and of 'les archaïsmes linguistiques' (a putative short-vowel aorist, but cf. below on line 8) the letter is now dated 'vers le dernier tiers du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.C.' (101); in 1988b this is specified as 'dans la deuxième moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle - peut-être dans le dernier quart' (12). A.W.Johnston gives as the date 'c. 500?' (LSAG<sup>2</sup> 464).

The letter forms adduced ES/RAS 1987, 121 n. 4 (cf. 1988b, 12 n. 31), are: crossed theta, which disappears in most areas before 450 BCE (LSAG<sup>2</sup> 29) - in Ionia dotted theta 'was evidently regular by the fifth century' (325). Barred xi is the older form, besides which the simple three-stroke xi is attested in Ionia 'in the 6th (rarely) and 5th c.' (ibid.). To my mind, this implies that there is nothing surprising about barred xi in the fifth century. As to the form of rho, ES/RAS cite Jeffery's words that 'it is normal in the early period' (34); it is, however, also the normal form throughout the archaic and classical periods; the same holds for four-barred sigma (cf. LSAG<sup>2</sup> 325 on Ionia). Regarding ypsilon, they quote a statement about the V-shaped form, but the letter has in fact the later form designated 'υ3' at LSAG<sup>2</sup> ibid., 'common in the 5th c., occurs in the 6th c.' Finally they quote a remark on omega without telling us that it is about the normal form of omega. Obviously, only the argument about theta has some value, but Johnston records crossed theta in an inscription of Elea, another Phocaeen colony, dated '500-450?' (LSAG<sup>2</sup> 465), and the 1987 letter, found in a stratum datable to the first half of s. iv (RAS/ES 1989, 36), perhaps contains a similar theta in line 3, which is why RAS/ES say about the 1987 letter: 'On pourrait donc dater notre inscription encore dans le Ve s. av. J.C., dans le dernier quart peut-être' (1989, 36 - judging from the drawing in RAS/ES 1989, I am rather sceptical of theta altogether). Thus, the early date of the 1985 letter becomes highly dubious indeed.

As for omega, ES/RAS apparently have not realised that its shape in the 1985 letter is pretty unique: I have seen no parallel in the illustrations in LSAG<sup>2</sup> of an omega standing on its left leg (Ϝ). This is a missing link between epigraphic omega and omega as seen in

the earliest papyri, especially the Berlin Timotheus (where it is written ϣ) - indeed, it is more advanced than in the Timotheus. I would be surprised if such a form existed already before the fifth century (the omega of the 1987 letter is much more conventional). Similarly, ny extending its right-hand vertical upward, as it regularly does here, is equally familiar from early papyri; it is not infrequent in inscriptions, either, but I have not found it before s. v BCE (this form is also found occasionally in the 1987 letter, as well as in an inscription in the same dialect, found at Pech-Maho near Narbonne, dated ca. 450 BCE: J.Pouilloux, CRAI 1988, 532 f. Both the Pech-Maho text and the 1985 Emporion letter mention Ἐμπορίται). Epsilon and my have the classical form, in use in Ionia 'by the early 5th c.' and 'normal by c. 480' respectively (LSAG<sup>2</sup> 325). With all the necessary reserve about the value of letter forms for dating texts, the data seem to me to indicate a date between 500 and 400, with a marked preference for the latter.

Below, I print a text of the 1985 letter, based mainly on RAS 1990a; major changes are discussed in the subsequent notes.

- [---]ωϣ ἐν Καίγανθη ἔσθι, καν[---]  
 [---] Ἐμπορίταισιν οὐδ' ἐπιβρα[---]  
 [---]νεσ ἢ ἕκοσι κοῖνος οὐκ ἔ. ϣ[... ]δ[---]  
 4 [--- Καίγ]ανθη ὀνωνῆσθαι Βασπεδ[... ]π[---]  
 [---]αναρχσαν παρακομίσει καν[... ]ε[---]  
 [---]ωνι τί τούτων ποητέον [... ]ν[---]  
 [---] ϣα καὶ κελεύει σε Βασπεδ[... ]ελ[---]  
 8 [---]σθαι [εἶ] τίς ἐστιν ὃς ἔλξει ἐς δ[... ]οστ[---]  
 [---]μέτερο ἄν· κἄν δύο ὄμι, δύο προ[... ]θ[... ]χ[---]  
 [---]... ος δ' ἔστω· κἄν αὐτὸς θέλη[... ]θ[---]  
 [---τῶ]μυς μετεχέτω· κἄμ μὴ ο[... ]μ[---]  
 12 [---]τω κάπιςτελάτω ὀκόσο ἄν [---]  
 [---]ν ὡς ἄν δύνηται τάχιςτα [---]  
 [---κεκ]έλευκα. χαῖρε.

2. Ἐμπορίταισιν. The double pi indicates that the syllable boundary was felt to lie after the onset of the p, not before it. Compare Schwyzer DGE 707 (Ephesus, s. vi BCE) ἐκ τῶν ἠνεύχθησαν ὀκτώ etc. This is different from spellings like πικτός, which are found nearly everywhere in the Greek world, inasmuch as in our case it is the second consonant which is geminated, not the first. Gemination of the first consonant is in fact so unusual within Greek phonology that scholars have thought of influence of some Anatolic language (P.Kretschmer, Glotta 4, 1913, 315 f., compares similar forms in Lycian). In any case, our

letter shows that the phenomenon was East Ionic in general and gives the first example of geminated sonorant before explosive. The Pech-Maho text has the standard spelling Ἐμποριτέων.

The ending -αιτιν was not attested before in Northern Ionic. It is regarded as an Aeolism by ES/RAS 1987, 121. It should be noted that in East Ionic, which has -οι -οιτι in the second declension, -αι -αιτι might theoretically be the result of analogy. But since there are certain Aeolisms in the letter, there is no good reason to deny Aeolic influence in this case. If so, the dialect of Phocaea differed in this respect from that of Chios and Erythrae, which had -ηιτι: Schwyzer DGE 688 b 4 ἡμέρηιτιν, c 19 Εὐάδηιτιν (Chios, s. v BCE); Inschr. von Erythrai 6, 5 Ἐρυθρηιτιν (394 BCE). This is not surprising, as Phocaea is geographically closer to the Aeolid than Chios and Erythrae.

4. ES/RAS originally read ὄν ὠνήσθαι (I can make nothing of ονανησθαι, suggested by the drawing in LSAG<sup>2</sup>). But the infinitive directly after the relative sounds rather rhetorical to me. The change to ὄν ὠνήσθαι 1988b, 14 (participle of εἰμί) introduces a form which is perhaps not entirely impossible, given ὦιτι in line 9, but still very suspect: a change εω > ω is much easier to account for than εο > ο. RAS 1990a proposes Καίγ]ανθηῖον ὠνήσθαι [l. Καίγ]ανθηῖον or -ήϊον], an adjective of the place-name which she convincingly identifies as Καίγανθα, later Saguntum. But the suffix -ήϊος, (the contracted form -ήϊος is rare; the suffix is not restricted to Ionic - rather it does not occur in Attic) is found primarily in adjectives derived from nouns in -εύς (βασιλήϊος etc.), and secondarily those derived from names of other occupations (μαντήϊος) and classes of human beings (ἀνδρήϊος, παρθενήϊος) - there is no parallel for a formation in -ήϊος/-ήϊος derived from a toponym as supposed by RAS. For data, cf. Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. I 468; P.Chantraine, La formation des noms en grec ancien, Paris 1933, 52 f.; C.J.Ruijgh, Etudes sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien, Amsterdam 1967, 284 f. I propose we supply Καίγ]άνθηι at the beginning of the line, as ES/RAS did in 1987, and leave it at that.

For the rest of the line, an alternative reading is ὄνωνησθαι, a perfect with Attic reduplication, cf. SEG 12, 391, 14 ὄνονημένα (Samos, ca. 525 BCE or perhaps earlier, cf. LSAG<sup>2</sup> 480; written by people from the Samian colony Perinthus). D.Ringe, Glotta 62, 1984, 53 f. explains this form as ὄνῶνημένα, or ὄνονημένα, forms that he claims reflect the original Ionic-Attic \*ὄνέομαι. However that may be, the form under discussion has a more regular Attic reduplication of the sole attested form, Ionic-Attic ὠνέομαι. There is a dubious parallel in Cos: [[ὄν]]ωνημένα Schwyzer DGE 251 B 6 (ca. 350 BCE). It may be useful to point out that we don't actually know the 'regular' East Ionic perfect of ὠνέομαι: no form comparable to Attic ἐώνημαι is attested and ES/RAS' ὠνήσθαι is just a guess.

The 1987 letter, in which RAS 1990b, 176 reads ]ον ὠνήσθαι, may just possibly be another instance of ὄνονησθαι, this time with a short second syllable as in the Perinthian text. But given the fragmentary nature of the document, this must remain a speculation. In

addition to ὀνή[α]ι in line 4, RAS 1990b reads ὄν[η]θ̄ε in line 3 - the dubious crossed theta -, which seems rather overdone.

I am inclined to agree with E.Schwyzler (Gr. Gr. I 86) that the form is an Aeolism, built on the Aeolic present \*ὄννημαι (cf. ὄννα = ὄνή). As I have shown *Mnemos.* 32, 1979, 245-247, Lesbian has 'Attic' reduplication where other dialects lengthen initial vowel also in forms of ἄπτω. An Aeolism in Perinthian is paralleled from δυωδέκων in the same inscription (inflected numerals are also found in Chios).

5. I cannot believe in ἄρσαν as an epic aorist of ἀΐρω/ἀείρω (Chadwick ap. RAS/ES 1988a, 100; 1988b, 14). In the drawing in LSAG<sup>2</sup> the rho looks very doubtful.

We have to accept the irregular sigmatic (infinitive) παρακομῖεν, but not the translation 'pour transporter des marchandises'. A future infinitive can never have a final value; for that, you have to use either the future participle (with verbs of movement) or the present or aorist infinitive (in prose: with verbs of giving only).

It seems likely to me that the future κομίζω is another Aeolism. In Lesbian, verbs in -ίζω have a future in -ίccω or - with partial adaptation to the Koine -ίcω (Inscr. von Erythrai 122, 56 χαρίccονται, Mytilenaeen decree found at Erythrae, early s. ii BCE; IG XII Suppl. 139, 55 ἐμφα[νί]cει, Methymnaean decree found at Miletus, first half s. ii BCE). As Ionic single s often corresponds to Aeolic double s (ἔκομαι : ἔccομαι), the form was easily adapted, but the single sigma remained. Likewise in Homer: ὀπλίccουσι (ζ 69) : ὀπλιccόμεθα (μ 292), the latter an artificial form, a compromise between Aeolic -ίccω and Ionic -ίω or -ίῶ. Elsewhere, futures in -ίcω are attested in inscriptions only from s. iii BCE on, and very rarely at that (data in H.W.Hauri, *Kontrahiertes und sigmatisches Futur*, Göttingen 1975, 108-155; under κομίζω add, with ES/RAS 1987, 123 n. 14, IG XI (4) 1027, 4; Delos, s. iii BCE; under χαρίζομαι and ὀρκίζω subtract the Arcadian instances, as Arcadian has -ίω as an alternative to -ίζω); in papyri, futures in -ίcω are not found before the imperial age (cf. B.Mandilaras, *The verb in the Greek non-literary papyri*, Athens 1973, 172 f.).

7. ES/RAS 1987, 124 interpret κελευε as κελεύε, i.e. κελεύει. Since ἔκοσι (= εἴκοσι, a word containing a true diphthong) seems fairly certain in line 2, there is no reason to doubt this; ἔλξει in the next line is no counter-argument, since ε and ει (ο and ου) spellings regularly occur side by side, even if they spell diphthongs. The spelling ε for the diphthong is the rule in the Berezan letter, which is slightly older than this one. I see no advantage in the new interpretation (1988a, 100; 1988b, 14) ἐρώ]τα καὶ κέλευε 'demande et commande'. As in the Berezan letter (ὁ πατήρ τοι ἐπιτέλλε ... ἕτερα δέ τοι ἐπιτέλλε), the writer may be referring to himself in the third person; if so, with κελεύε he introduces an order which he rounds off with κεκ]έλευκα in line 14. This would be an argument against first-person forms in the body of the texts, as argued for in RAS/ES 1989, 37 (with regard to the 1987 letter, line 7; withdrawn for other reasons RAS 1990b, 176).

8. ἔλξει was interpreted as future ES/RAS 1987, 124, as subjunctive aorist 1988a, 100; 1988b, 14. Even of the latter were possible, it would not be, as they claim, an archaism, since short-vowel subjunctives are the rule in East Ionic for the sigmatic aorist. What would be not so much archaic as poetic is the omission of ὄν in the relative clause in [εἴ] τίς ἐστιν ὃς ἔλξει, which RAS/ES do not comment upon. As a matter of fact, the predicate in a relative clause in a context of the type 'there is someone who will ...' must be a future indicative, cf. K.-G. I 175. And finally, the East Ionic subjunctive aorist would surely have been ἐλκύσει, not ἔλξει.

9. δύο: it is a misunderstanding to say (ES/RAS 1987, 124) that δύο is regular in Ionic. In inscriptions, one finds δωδέκα but always δύο, the former being a contamination, found in many dialects, of original δώδεκα with δύο.

ὦιαι (the spelling ὠῖαι is incorrect): the Aeolic (better: Lesbian) character of this form is rightly stressed by ES/RAS. Since the sound change that underlies it was probably quite late (ns remains unchanged in many Greek dialects), the presence of this form is an argument against explaining the Aeolisms of Northeast Ionic as vestiges of a pre-Ionic population. It looks rather as if we have to do with a borrowed morpheme: all three relevant forms, πρήξοιαι λάβωιαι in Chios (Schwyzer DGE 688, a 16; 20; b 15; s. v BCE) and this one, are third person plural finite-verb forms - it may even be significant that all three forms are subjunctives. Other manifestations of the 'second compensatory lengthening', for example plural accusatives of the first and second declensions in -αια or -οια, are not found in Northeast Ionic.

The contraction of εω to ω is found, sporadically, in Northeast Ionic, not elsewhere in the Ionic area: Schwyzer DGE 687 a 3 δημαρχῶν (Chios, ca. 600 BCE); DGE 688 c 11 Ἄννικῶ, d 4 Πυθῶ, d 17 Λυκῶ (Chios, s. v BCE); Inschr. von Erythrai 2 C 9 ἀληθῶν (before 454 BCE).

12. ὀκόω is now paralleled by ὄκω in the Pech-Maho inscription, line 7. The κ-forms are therefore certain for Phocaea as well as for Erythrae (Inschr. von Erythrai 205, 380-360 BCE, 11 ὀκοῖα) and, as an isolated Ionicism, for Aegae in the Aeolid (Schwyzer DGE 644, 8 ὀκοων, early s. iii BCE). Still, it is misleading to say, as Chadwick does in his polemic against M.L. West's theory of the West Ionic origin of epic Greek (JHS 110, 1990, 175) that 'it is clear therefore that it [κ for π] belongs in origin to the north of the East Ionic area' (so also R. Janko, *The Iliad, A commentary, IV*, Cambridge 1992, 18 n. 33). In inscriptions, indubitable pre-Koine examples with π have not been found elsewhere in the East Ionic area, and the transmission of Callinus, Hipponax, Anacreon, Heraclitus and Herodotus suggests that the κ-forms were typical of East Ionic in general. Their absence from the text of Homer and Hesiod remains a serious problem.

It may be useful to append a list of features that might identify Northeast Ionic. 'Aeolis' is meant to include Lesbos. Perinthus is mentioned only where relevant, as are other Ionic communities outside the Northeast area. Testimony not given in this paper is found in



Thumb-Scherer. Cf. R.Hodot, *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie*, Paris 1990; K.A.Garbrah, *A grammar of the Ionic inscriptions from Erythrae*, Meisenheim 1978.

1. First-declension dative plural in -αιτι: Aeolis, Phocaea, -ηιτι: Chios, Erythrae.
2. Third-person plural active endings (primary) in -ιτι: Aeolis, Phocaea, Chios. No (early) data: Erythrae.
3. Inflected numerals from 5 to 90: Aeolis, Chios, Perinthus. No inflection: Erythrae; no data: Phocaea.
4. Interrogative/indefinite pronominal stem κο-: [Aeolis?] Erythrae, Phocaea. No data. Chios.
5. Attic reduplication of ὠνέομαι: Perinthus, Phocaea, [Cos?]. No data: Aeolis, Chios, Erythrae.
6. Future of -ίζω verbs in -ίω: Phocaea. -ίω: Aeolis. -έω: Erythrae. No data: Chios.
7. Use of αἶ instead of εἶ: Aeolis, Chios. No (early) data: Phocaea, Erythrae.
8. Tendency to spell εω as ω: Chios, Erythrae, Phocaea. No such tendency: Aeolis (where εω is of course much rarer than in Ionic areas).
9. Tendency to geminate second consonant of clusters in proper names (instead of compensatory lengthening, type Ἄργεννον): Chios, Erythrae, Thasos (Bechtel III 32; 43). The norm in Aeolis. No such tendency elsewhere in Ionia, but not uncommon in some West-Greek areas (Sparta, Rhodes).
10. Use of ἶρος and derivations instead of ἱερός: Aeolis, Chios, Erythrae, [Thebes on Mycale?], Abdera, Amphipolis, Thasos. No data: Phocaea.
11. Use of ἐκλόσ and derivations: Aeolis, Chios, Erythrae (proper name). No data: Phocaea.
12. Δι- > Ζι- in Διόνυκος and derivations: Phocaea. Δι- > Ζι- Aeolis. Δι- > Δε- Erythrae, Thasos, Maronea, Abdera, Anacreon. No data: Chios.

It will be seen that there is little that unites the three northeastern dialects. (4) is very probably common East Ionic, (8) is about isolated spellings, (9) and (11) concern proper names, (10) is spread over a much wider area. A case could be made for a restricted Northeastern group, consisting of Chios and Phocaea (this would, of course, contradict Herodotus' testimony that Chios and Erythrae form one subgroup of East Ionic, I 142), but the only thing they have in common is (2). On the present evidence, the notion of a separate northern subgroup of East Ionic is unwarranted: in all three cities, isolated Aeolisms have filtered through, but different ones (except for (2)) and to a different extent.