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The subordinate conjunction *kathōsper* ‘just as’ in the Boeotian dialect of Ancient Greek: Innovativeness and formulaicity in inscriptions

Toru Minamimoto

1. Introduction

Minamimoto (2017: 81–82) found that the subordinate conjunction *kathōsper* ‘just as’, formed by adding the emphatic particle *per* to the conjunction *kathōs* ‘as’, is attested in a Boeotian dialectal inscription dated to the second century BCE. In addition to the extreme rarity of *kathōsper* in the 1st millennium BCE, its mystery is doubled by the fact that this conjunction appears in only one of the two nearly identical texts inscribed in the same stone. Minamimoto (2017) was unable to give any account of why *kathōsper* was used in this inscription. This article aims to solve this mystery by focusing on the collocation *kathōs gegraptai* “as is written”. The appearance of *kathōsper* in Boeotian, though apparently an innovation, can in fact be explained as the result of a crossing of two formulaic expressions, *kathaper* ... *gegraptai* “just as is written” and *kathōs gegraptai* “as is written”.

2. Background and the issue

According to Minamimoto (2017: 81–82), a decree from Akraiphia, Boeotia is the only attestation of the subordinate conjunction *kathōsper* ‘just as’ in Greek dialectal inscriptions. The text was first published by Pedrizet (1899: 90–91) and later included in *DGE*, and will hereafter be identified as *BCH* 1899 #1. The text is given in (1):

- (1) *BCH* 1899 #1: Biōnos arkhontos: / proxeniē: ty polemarkhy / kē soundiky elexan / [P]anphilo(n) Pamphilō Khal/⁵/kideia proxenon eimen / kē euergetan tas polios / Akrēphieiōn kē auton / kē eggonōs kē eimen au/tys eppasin gas kē wy/¹⁰/kias kē asoulīan kē as/phalian kē polemō kē iranās / kē kata gan kē kata / thalattan **kathōsper** / kē tys allys proxenys /¹⁵/ kē euergetēs gegra[ptē.]

“Bion being the Chief, proxenies. The *polemarchoi* and the *syndikoi* moved that Pamphilos son of Pamphilos, man of Chalcis, be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the city of the Akraiphians, both himself and his offspring, and that they have the right of possession of land and residence, safety and security, both in times of war and peace, both in land and on sea, **just as** is written for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors.”

The original editor dated the inscription to around 200 BCE, whereas a slightly earlier dating (the second half of the third century) is given by Vottéro (2001: 125).

The appearance of *kathōsper* in this decree is mysterious for two reasons. First, as already noted by Minamimoto (2017: 81–82), *kathōsper* is extremely rare not only in Boeotian but in Greek inscriptions more in general. Within Boeotian, *kathōsper* is far outnumbered by its synonym *kathaper*, which is attested 44 times (Minamimoto 2017: 268–272); with the scope extended to the entire Mainland Greece in the period BCH, *BCE* 1899 #1 was the only attestation of *kathōsper*, the only other known epigraphic instance being an inscription from Scythia Minor dated to as late as 160 CE, both geographically and chronologically distant from the Boeotian text (Minamimoto 2017: 81):

- (2) *IScM I*, 378 (Scythia Minor, 160 CE), face B, L. 8: hēmas mēketi dy/
nasthe exypēretein **ka**/¹⁰/[**th**ō[s]**per** kai ouk exypē/retēsan ho[i] ek tou
lego/men[o]u Laikou Pyrgou

“You were no longer able to support us, **just as** those coming from the
so-called Laic Tower did not support (us)”

The rarity is, in fact, not even limited to inscriptional materials: in the standard dictionary LSJ, the only testimony given in the entry for *kathōsper* is Himerius, a 4th century CE figure; my TLG searches confirm that this form, either as a one-word unit (*kathōsper*) or as a sequence of two words (*kathōs per*), does not go back to the period BCE, the New Testament being among the earliest attestations.

The second mystery, once again noted already by Minamimoto (2017: 82), is that the text in question is one of the two nearly identical texts inscribed in one stone: *BCH* 1899 #1 is closely paralleled by *BCH* 1899 #2, shown in (3), the only two differences being the name of the honorand and the choice of the conjunction ‘just as’.¹

- (3) *BCH* 1899 #2: Biōnos arkhontos: / proxeniē: ty pole[mar]/khy kē
soundiky ele[xan] / Nikoklein Poliagrō Khal[ki]/⁵/deia proxenon eimen
kē [euer]/getan tas polios Akr[ēphi]/eiōn kē auton kē eggo[nōs] / [k]ē
eimen autys eppas[in] / [g]las kē wykias kē asouli[an kē] /¹⁰/ asphalian
kē polemō k[ē ira]/nas kē kata gan kē kata [tha]/lattan **kathaper** kē
t[lys al]/lys proxenys kē euer[getēs] / gegraptē.

“Bion being the Chief, proxenies. The *polemarchoi* and the *syndikoi*
moved that Nikokleis son of Poliagros, man of Chalcis, be a *proxenos*
and benefactor of the city of the Akraiphians, both himself and his

offspring, and that they have the right of possession of land and residence, safety and security, both in times of war and peace, both in land and on sea, **just as** is written for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors.”

The two texts are otherwise unsurprising² proxeny decrees, where foreigners with memorable contributions to the city are given the status of *proxenoi* along with the privileges associated with the status. The texts follow the same pattern: the dating formula (“Bion being the Chief”), the declaration of the nature of the decrees (“proxenies”), the motion formula (“the *polemarchoi* and the *syndikoi* moved that ...”), the name of the honorand (two men of Chalcis), the status and privileges conferred to the honorand, and then the generalizing formula (“just as the other *proxenoi* and benefactors”). It is therefore quite surprising that *BCH* 1899 #1 deviates from the parallelism by using the form *kathōsper*.

Since the word in question is part of a formula, it is worthwhile to describe this formula here in some details and discuss the possible variability of this formula with regard to the conjunction that introduces it. The generalizing formula is commonly found in proxeny decrees, ensuring that the honorand shall have the same privileges enjoyed by other honorands. A typical expression would be *hosa kai tois allois proxenois* “(the honorand shall have) so much privileges as (are given) to the other *proxenoi*”. The conjunction that introduces the formula (*hosa* ‘so much as’ in the example just given) can vary; in Boeotia, the formula has been found with *kathaper* ‘just as’, *kathōsper* ‘just as’, *hosa* ‘so much as’, *hopotta* ‘so much as’, and *hopottaper* ‘just so much as’. Of the five possibilities, *kathaper* is the norm for this formula in Boeotia: Morpurgo Davies (1999) provided an analysis of the geographic distribution of the variants of this formula, and found that the variant using *hosa* is frequently used in Delphi

and Delos, whereas instances of *kathaper* abound in Boeotia and Euboea. Therefore the relatively infrequent appearances of *hosa* in Boeotian can be explained as a foreign element coming from its neighbor, and *hopotta* and *hopottaper* as its Boeotianized versions (Minamimoto 2017: 147–149). For *kathōsper*, on the other hand, there has not been any proposed explanation as to what motivated its appearance in *BCH* 1899 #1. The same meaning could have been conveyed, of course, by the more frequent *kathaper*, or by *hōsper* ‘just as’ as well. The latter is not so frequent in Boeotia, but is attested twice in a lead curse tablet written in Boeotian:

- (4) *SEG* 37: 389 (Boeotia, Hellenistic period) L. 1: **hōsper** tyn, Theonnaste, adynato[s es]si kheirōn po[d]ōn / sōmatos praxē ti kē <oi>konomeisē ti philimenparginēkata/idemen(?), houtōs kē Zōilos adynatos genoito(?)

“Just as you, Theonnastos, are incapacitated in your hands (and) feet for doing anything with your body, (or) for managing the household ..., likewise Zoilos be incapacitated”

- (5) *SEG* 37: 389, L. 8: **hōsper** kē ho molybdos houtos ...

“Just as this (piece of) lead ...”

And it is abundantly found in inscriptions outside of Boeotia, as well as in non-epigraphic sources from the oldest period of Alphabetic Greek (examples can be found in LSJ). To quote some passages in neighboring regions:

- (6) *SEG* 47: 561 (Aitolia – Thermos, ca. 269–261 BCE) L. 8: **hōsper** e[n tois nomoi]s gegraptai

“**Just as** is written in the laws”

- (7) *Syll.*³, 306 (Delphi, 324 BCE) L. 14: ei de pleon apekhōn ho kapos esti plethrō, tōni to hēmi/sson lambanetō, **hōsper** kai tōn allōn khōriōn gegra/ptai.

“But if the orchard is more than a *plethron* away, he shall take half of it, **just as** is written for other pieces of land.”

In the situation described so far, the choice of the unparalleled *kathōsper* by the drafter of *BCH* 1899 #1, in preference to the other, presumably more readily available options (*kathaper*, *hōsper*, *hopottaper*, etc.), is a mystery that needs to be explained.

3. Proposal of a possible solution

One easily imaginable scenario is that *kathōsper* had already come into existence in the spoken language by the 2nd century BCE, but was somehow not recorded in written documents until the 1st millennium CE with the sole exception of the Boeotian inscription. However, even though the discrepancy between the written and spoken varieties of a language is always an issue in studying a language known only by means of written records, this scenario is not convincing in the case of *kathōsper*: it is unlikely that an innovative feature in the language, to finally enter the written records centuries later, miraculously made its unique appearance in no other place but in an inscription, nowhere else but in a formula, where conservatism prevails.

It is therefore more likely that the appearance of *kathōsper* in Boeotian was independent from the later emergence of the same form. Given that the two ingredients, the subordinate conjunction *kathōs* ‘as’

and the emphatic particle *per*, are both commonplace words, it is not astonishing to find their combinations surfacing twice in the history of the Greek language, independent of each other. On the first occasion in Boeotian, the combination never gained much popularity; perhaps it was felt as a possible but unidiomatic expression. A few centuries later, the same combination was more grounded than its precursor.

What then caused the appearance of *kathōsper* in the Boeotian inscription? Although it remains unclear what caused the difference between *BCH* 1899 #1 (with the surprising *kathōsper*) and #2 (with the unsurprising *kathaper*),³ a key factor that contributed to the appearance of *kathōsper* in this inscription can, I think, be identified. In fact, it is probably not accidental that this form was created in Boeotia. The key is held by the verb *gegraptē* ‘is written’.

It has long been known that, in Boeotian, the finite verb found in the generalizing formula is *gegraptē* ‘is written’, although the verb is more frequently omitted than explicitly inscribed (Clafin 1905: 93). In addition to *BCH* 1899 #1 and #2, other representative examples can be quoted:

- (8) *IG* 7, 3166 (Boeotia – Orchomenos, ca. 222–205 BCE) L. 3: dedokthē toi damoi, Sōsibion / Dioskoridao Alexandreia proxenon eimen /⁵/ kē euergetan tas polios Erkhomeniōn, kē ei/men auty gas kē wykias eppasin kē aspha/lian kē asoulian kē kata gan kē kata thalattan / [kē] p]olemō kē iranas iōsas kē auty kē eggonois, / kē [t]a alla panta **kathaper** kē tois allois pro/¹⁰/xenys kē euergetēs **gegraptē**.

“Be it resolved by the People, that Sosibios son of Dioskoridas, man of Alexandria, be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the city of the Orchomenians, and that he have the right of possession of land and residence, safety and security both in land and on sea, both in

times of war and peace, both himself and his offspring, and (they have) everything else **just as is written** for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors.”

- (9) *IG* 7, 4128 (Boeotia – Akraiphia, *ca.* 200–150 BCE) L. 3: pro]xenōs eimen kē euergetas tas polios [Akrēphieion] / [kē autos] kē ekgonō[s, kē eimen autys ta timia kē ta alla] /⁵/ [philanthrōpa p]anta **katha** kē tys allys proxenys kē [euergetēs] / [tas polios Ak]rēphieion **gegraptē**.

“That they be *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city of the Akraiphians, both themselves and their offspring, and they have the honor and all the other privileges **as is written** for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city of the Akraiphians.”

The choice of the verb is unique to Boeotia, as other regions used verbs like *esti* ‘is’, *hyparkhei* ‘exists’ and *dedotai* ‘is given’ in the generalizing formula (Minamimoto 2017: 147). This choice brought the Boeotian generalizing formula closer to a collocation which used the same verb.

A search on the *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* shows that the verb *gegraptai* ‘is written’ (*gegraptē* being its Boeotian dialectal form) is frequently used in combination with *kathōs* ‘as’, both in Boeotia and elsewhere. In Boeotia, although the combination does not appear to be strongly established as a formula, it can be found repetitively in the inscription *IG* 7, 3073, dated by Vottéro (2001: 87) to either the second half of the third century or the second century BCE. In this inscription, the mason involved in the construction project is instructed to work “as is written”:

- (10) *IG* 7, 3073 (Boeotia – Lebadeia) L. 72: embalei / de kai eis toutous

gomphous demata kai perimolybdokhoēsei kai er/[ga]tai panta **kathōs**
kai peri tōn epanō **gegraptai**

“And he shall run clamps onto these bolts, too, and apply lead around them, and work out everything **as is written** about the above matters.”

- (11) *IG 7, 3073, L. 81*: lēpsetai kai toutōn tēn dosin, hypoli/pontes to epidekaton, **kathōs** kai peri tōn epanō **g[e]graptai**.

“He shall take the payment for them, too, leaving one-fifth aside, **as is written** about the above matters.”

Similar, though not identical, usages can be found later in the same inscription:

- (12) *IG 7, 3073, L. 112*: er/gazomenos tas hypotomas **kathōs** kai peri tōn baseōn **gegraptai**

“... working out the cut surfaces **as is written** about the foundations”

- (13) *IG 7, 3073, L. 144*: **kathōs** kai peri tōn apiontōn [harmōn] /¹⁴⁵/
gegraptai.

“... **as is written** about the back faces”

- (14) *IG 7, 3073, L. 150*: eiten thēsei tous katastrōtēr[as, erga]/zomenos **kathōs** **gegraptai**,

“Then he shall place the pavement-slabs, working out **as is written**”

Formulaicity of the phrase *kathōs gegraptai* “as is written” is more noticeable in manumission inscriptions from Delphi, where the manumitting slaveowner retains the right to punish the manumitted slave if the latter fails to perform the tasks “as is written”:⁴

- (15) *SGDI* 2014 (Delphi, 188 BCE) L. 6: ei de ti ka mē poiēi Ana tōn poti/[t]assomenōn hypo Philōnos **kathōs gegraptai** dynata ousa, exestō Philōni kolazein / kathōs ka autos thelēi

“But if Ana fails to do any of the tasks assigned by Philon **as is written**, despite her being capable, Philon may punish her as he wishes.”

- (16) *SGDI* 2066 (Delphi, 188 BCE) L. 7: ei de ti ka mē poiēi Sōstra/ta tōn potitassomenōn hypo Kallikrateias **kathōs gegrapt[ai dy]nata ou/sa**, exestō Kallikrateiai ko[l]azein kathōs ka auta deilētai

“But if Sosistrata fails to do any of the tasks assigned by Kallikrateia **as is written**, despite her being capable, Kallikrateia may punish her as she wants”

- (17) *SGDI* 2233 (Delphi, 188/187 BCE) L. 6: ei de ti ka mē poiēi Rhodion tōn potitassomenōn / hypo Aristokrateias **kathōs gegraptai** dynata ousa, exestō Aristokrateiai kolazein kathōs ka auta thelēi

“But if Rhodion fails to do any of the tasks assigned by Aristokrateia **as is written**, despite her being capable, Aristokrateia may punish her

as she wishes”

It is true that the attestations of *kathōs gegraptai* “as is written” in Delphian manumission inscriptions (188 BCE) are slightly later than *BCH* 1899 #1, but given that the oldest known Delphian manumission inscription comes from the very end of the third century (201/200 BCE according to Jacquemin, Mulliez & Rougemont 2012: 234), greater emphasis should be placed on the fact that the formula *kathōs gegraptai* was used with multiple occurrences already in the oldest layers of Delphian manumission inscriptions. This suggests that *kathōs gegraptai* had been established as a readily available phrase in the epigraphic language. Other combinations with similar semantics, such as *hōsper gegraptai* “just as is written” and *kathaper gegraptai* “just as is written” (as in 18 below), are also attested but with far lesser frequency.

- (18) *FD* 3, 2: 139 (Delphi, ca. 125–100 BCE) L. 3: ean / de tis tōn en tais polesin oikount[ōn], ē xenos ē politēs ē doulos, anēr / ē gynē, mē dekhētai mēde didōi **kathaper geg[rap]tai**, ho men doulos mastigōthētō / hypo tōn arkhontōn, ho de eleutheros apotinet[ō dr] akhmas argyriou diakosias.

“But if anyone living in the cities, either a foreigner or a citizen or a slave, either a man or a woman, should reject (the Attic coin) and not make payments (with it) **just as is written**, a slave shall be whipped by the Chiefs, and a free man shall pay 200 drachmas (as a fine).”

The appearance of *kathōsper* in *BCH* 1899 #1 can therefore be considered to have resulted from the crossing of two formulas, *kathaper* ... *gegraptē* ‘just as is written’ and *kathōs gegraptē* ‘just as is written’. The former, i.e. the

generalizing formula, was a stock expression in proxeny decrees whereas the latter was presumably available in the epigraphic language more in general. Crucially, the distance between the two formulas was smaller in Boeotia than in any other Greek regions due to the choice of the verb *gegraptē* in Boeotian proxeny decrees; thus it was not coincidental that the creation of *kathōsper* took place in Boeotia.

4. Conclusion

In this article I argued that the appearance of *kathōsper*, a subordinate conjunction which is extremely rarely found in Greek inscriptions, was the result of a crossing of two formulaic expressions, *kathaper ... gegraptai* “just as is written” and *kathōs gegraptai* “as is written”. The crossing was facilitated by the shared verb, *gegraptai* ‘is written’, and therefore could have taken place only in Boeotia, as other regions used other verbs in the generalizing formula (such as *dedotai* ‘is given’ and *hyparkhei* ‘exists’).

Notes

1. Minamimoto (2017: 81–82) incorrectly identifies these texts as “DGE 546, decree I” and “DGE 546, decree II”. Since only the Text #1 was included in *DGE* under the entry 546, the correct identifications should be “*BCH* 1899 #1 = *DGE* 546” and “*BCH* 1899 #2”.
2. The original editor notes that these decrees are not ordinary in that they were not proposed by orators but by city officials (Pedrizet 1899: 91).
3. As a mere possibility, I wonder whether this could be linked to the fact that these decrees were moved by city officials (Note 2 above) rather than professional orators: could the city officials have been not so well-versed in the epigraphic language, resulting in the mismatch between the two texts and the appearance of the unfamiliar form *kathōsper*?
4. As Mulliez (2019: 93) notes, these three and three other manumission records

from the same period follow the same pattern, not only in this passage but in the entirety of the texts. These inscriptions show that *kathōs* can also appear in the phrase “as s/he wishes”, but that is not the issue here.

Online resources

Packard Humanities Institute, The. *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*. <https://inscriptions.packhum.org/>

TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>

Abbreviated references

DGE = Eduard Schwyzer. 1923. *Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel [Reprint 1960, Hildesheim: G. Olms].

FD 3, 2 = Gaston Colin (ed.). 1909–1913. *Fouilles de Delphes*, Vol. 3: *Épigraphie*, Fasc. 2: *Inscriptions du trésor des Athéniens*. Paris: Fontemoing.

IG 7 = Guilelmus (Willhelm) Dittenberger (ed.). 1892. *Inscriptiones graecae*, Vol. 7: *Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae*. Berlin: Reimer.

ISCM 1 = D. M. Pippidi (ed.). 1983. *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graece et latine*, Vol. 1: *Histriae et viciniae*. Bucharest: Romanian Academy.

LSJ = Henry George Liddell & Robert Scott (eds.). 1968. *A Greek-English lexicon* (9th edn. with a revised supplement). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SEG = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*.

SGDI = Hermann Collitz (ed.). 1884–1905. *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. (4 vols.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

*Syll.*³ = Guilelmus (Wilhelm) Dittenberger. 1915–1924. *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*. (3rd edn., 4 vols.) Leipzig: S. Hirzel.

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The subordinate conjunction *kathōsper* ‘just as’ in the Boeotian dialect
of Ancient Greek: Innovativeness and formulaicity in inscriptions

Toru MINAMIMOTO

古代ギリシア語の従属接続詞 *kathōsper* ‘just as’ は、従属接続詞 *kathōs* ‘as’ に強調の小辞 *-per* が加えられたもので、紀元前 1 千年紀のギリシア語ではボイオティア方言の顕彰碑文に 1 度だけ現れる。この碑文は、顕彰される人の名を除いてほぼ同じパターンに従う 2 つのテキストを含んでいて、その一方にのみ *kathōsper* が現れ、もう一方のテキストでは対応する位置に *kathaper* ‘just as’ が用いられていた。この箇所は、顕彰対象者に「ほかの功労者と同様の特権を」を与える旨が書かれる定型句であり、ボイオティア方言では *kathaper* を用いるのが普通で、*kathōsper* は定型句の面でも珍しい。なぜ極めて稀な従属接続詞がこの碑文に現れたのかは謎であった。本論文では、ボイオティア地方ではこの定型句に「ほかの功労者に対して書かれている (*gegraptai*) のと同様の特権を」という表現が用いられる点に着目し、*kathōs gegraptai* 「書かれているのと同様に」という表現が「ほかの功労者に対して書かれているのと同様の特権を」という定型句に混じることで、*kathōsper* という語形が成立したものとする。

Keywords : Ancient Greek, Boeotian, subordinate conjunction, epigraphy, formula
キーワード : 古代ギリシア語、ボイオティア方言、従属接続詞、碑文、定型句