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(Citation)

国際文化学研究 : 神戸大学大学院国際文化学研究科紀要, 61:65-82

(Issue Date)

2024-03

(Resource Type)

departmental bulletin paper

(Version)

Version of Record

(JaLCD0I)

<https://doi.org/10.24546/0100487338>

(URL)

<https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14094/0100487338>



Aphou ‘since, after’: a possible Peloponnesian formula in Ancient Greek treaties recorded in dialectal inscriptions^[*1]

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This article investigates the Ancient Greek subordinate conjunction *aphou* ‘since, after’ used in inter-state agreements, and pursues the possibility that the use of this conjunction in collocations meaning “**after** this agreement comes into effect” may have been a stock expression in drafting such documents. Supporting evidence comes not only from epigraphic sources but from literary works as well.

1. Background

1.1 *Aphou* ‘since, after’ and its variant

Etymologically, the conjunction *aphou*^[*2] ‘since, after’ is the combination of the preposition *ap(o)* ‘from’ and *hou*, the genitive case-form of the relative pronoun. This form then underwent the semantic development ‘from the point where’ → ‘since, after’, and still survives in this meaning in Modern Greek. Herman (1912: 21–22), the classic survey of subordinate conjunctions in Ancient Greek dialects, included seven instances from various Greek dialects, of which a typical instance is the following (this example also illustrates how Greek texts will be presented in this article: the relevant passage is underlined; the relevant subordinate conjunction is shown in **boldface**; and the subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction is double-underlined. All English translations of Greek texts are mine):

- (1) *IG* 12,4,4: 4044 (Cnidos [found in Calymna], early 2nd c. BCE), face A, L. 66ff.

aposteilantō de / toi prostatai tam [m]en en Kōi martyrhētheisan
martyrian pasan an/[ti]grapha, ta men es[phr]agismena tai damosiai
sphragidi, ta de asphragis/[ta] epi tous pros[t]atas tous en Kalymnai en
amerais ikati **aphou** ka egmar/[tur]ēthēi.

“The administrators shall send the copy of all testimonies made
in Cos, either sealed with the public seal or unsealed, to the
administrators in Calymna within twenty days **after** (the testimonies)
are testified.”

Here *aphou* is used to establish the starting point for counting future time
(“within twenty days **after** ...”). Now, another passage that contains *aphou*,
also known to Hermann (1912), will be central to the present article^[3]:

- (2) *IG* 5,2: 344 (Arcadia – Orchomenos, shortly after 235 BCE) L. 11ff.

Tōn de labontōn en Or[kho]/[menōi] klaron ē oikian, **aphou** Akhaioi
egenonto, mē exestō mētheni apallotriō/[sa]i eteōn eikosi.

“From those who have obtained a piece of land or a house, no one
must alienate (their properties) within twenty years **after** they became
Achaean (= citizens of the Achaean League).”

This inscription is a treaty whereby the Arcadian city of Orchomenos joins
the Achaean League, and the passage above refers to the prohibition that
would be enforced “within twenty years after” the treaty comes into effect.
This phraseology is the target of the present study.

Since Hermann’s (1912) data is seriously outdated, I made a
supplementary investigation as my dissertation research (Minamimoto
2017). Collecting occurrences of various subordinate conjunctions in Greek

dialectal inscriptions, I added another instance of *aphou*, found in an agreement between Delphi and the Achaean city Pellene^[4]:

- (3) *FD* 3,1: 486 (Delphi, 285–280 BCE) L. 20f.

ta de al[l]a ekklēmata panta [hosa mēpō ...] / [dialythēnai entrisin etesin **aphou** to sybbolon e[gl]eneto, ai ka mē p[olemu] genomenou. ...]
 “And all the other disputes (that have not been settled?) shall be resolved within three years **after** this treaty is concluded, unless war breaks out.”

Despite different wordings, the overall meaning of the passage is very similar to the treaty for Orchomenos seen in (2): “X years after this treaty comes into effect.”

Furthermore, a related form is found in an inscription from Arcadia published in 1987. This is a treaty of city union (*sympoliteia*) between two Arcadian cities, Mantinea and Helisson:

- (4) Te Riele (1987) (Arcadia – Helisson, early 4th century BCE) L. 10ff
 τὰς [δ]ίκας διῶ/[ξ]αι τὸς Ἑλισφασίος καὶ τὸς Μαντινέας ἀλλάλοις καὶ τὸς νόμος
 / τῶν Μαντινέων, ἀφῶτε Μαντινῆς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἑλισφάσιοι, τῶι / ὕστερον·
 tas dikas diō/[x]ai tos Heliswasios kai tos Mantineas allalois ka tos
 nomos / tōn Mantineōn, **aphōte** Mantinēs egenonto hoi Heliswasioi,
 tōi / hysteron.

“Justice shall be sought by Helissonians and Mantineans against one another in accordance with the laws of the Mantineans, **after the** Helissonian (citizens) became Mantinean (citizens), onward.”

The editor of the inscription interpreted *aphōte* as the Arcadian equivalent to *aphou* (the Arcadian vowel *ō* straightforwardly corresponds to Standard

Greek *ou*) with the innovative addition of *-te*, emphasizing its temporal function (similar to Ionic *epeite* ‘when’, with the addition of *-te* even though *epei* alone means ‘when’). The phraseological similarity with the 3rd century BCE treaties presented above is striking: with the difference that the Arcadian passage lacks the stipulation of specific time-limits (like “within twenty years”) and instead refers to indefinite future (“onward”), all three passages refer to the conclusion of the treaty with the conjunction *aphou* ‘since, after’. The two treaties from Arcadia (Te Riele 1987 and *IG* 5,2: 344) are also similar in referring to the conclusion of the treaty by the wording “since the (newly joining state’s) citizens became (the existing organization’s) citizens”.

1.2 Summary of the background

The three attestations of *aphou* and its dialectal variant can be summarized as in Table 1 below:

Identity	Te Riele (1987)	<i>IG</i> 5,2 344	<i>FD</i> 3,1 486
Nature of the inscribed text	Treaty of union between Mantinea and Helisson (both in Arcadia)	Treaty for Orchomenos (in Arcadia) to join the Achaean League (found at Orchomenos)	Treaty between Pellene (in Achaea) and Delphi (found at Delphi)
Language of the text	Arcadian dialect	Achaean Common Greek	Achaean Common Greek
Date	Early 4 th century BCE	Shortly after 235 BCE	285–280 BCE
Relevant passage	<u>aphōte Mantinēs egenonto hoi Heliswasioi, tōi / hysteron.</u> “(Lawsuits must proceed in accordance with the Mantinean laws) after the Helissonians became Mantinean citizens, onward. ”	<u>aphou Akhaioi egenonto, mē exestō mētheni apallotriō/[sa] i eteōn eikosi.</u> “no one must alienate (their properties) within twenty years after they became Achaean citizens. ”	[dialythēnai en trisin] etesin <u>aphou to sybbolon e[g]eneto.</u> “(Unsettled disputes) shall be resolved within three years after this treaty is concluded. ”

Table 1: Three treaty inscriptions and the relevant passages therein

These instances share some striking similarities. They all appear in treaties, and they all establish the time of the conclusion of the treaty as the starting point from which to measure a period of time (virtually “since = from the time when the treaty comes into effect”). Given such phraseological and contextual similarity as well as the geographical proximity of the occurrences (two from Arcadia, which lies at the center of the Peloponnese, and one in a treaty between Delphi and Pellene, the latter of which is a city in Achaëa, Northern Peloponnese), I suggested the possibility that this common expression may have been a stock expression used in drafting treaties in this region (Minamimoto 2017: 108). Yet the issue was left inconclusive, because the small number of attestations and the rather large temporal gap (three instances scattered over 150 years or longer) made me hesitant.

Therefore in this article I attempt to make further investigation into the possibility that *aphou* ‘after, since’ might have been a stock expression in the drafting of treaties. The investigation indeed gave a stronger support to the claim that *aphou* was in fact a relatively fixed expression found in the language of treaties.

2. Arguments

2.1 Preliminaries

Given that stipulations such as “X years after the treaty comes into effect” or “ever after the treaty is concluded” is not unexpected in the text of treaties, it may appear to the reader that the appearances of *aphou* in such passages might have nothing noteworthy. In order to argue that, to the contrary, the choice of the word *aphou* in treaty inscriptions is deliberate and noteworthy, it is necessary to clarify the relation among subordinate conjunctions that are capable of conveying similar semantic content: *aphou*, *epei(dē)* ‘when, after, since’ and *hysteron ē* ‘later than, after’. In

the following paragraphs I will show that all the three conjunctions were available options in the relevant context, and that, therefore, the consistent choice of *aphou* in the three treaty inscriptions was likely a deliberate one.

It should first of all be noted that *aphou* ‘since, after’ is far less frequent than its near-synonym *epei(dē)* ‘when, since, after’. A search on Searchable Greek Inscriptions gives some 252 instances of *aphou* in the epigraphic corpus available for searching, in stark contrast to more than 4,000 counts for *epeidē*. What is more, about a half of the occurrences of *aphou* are found in two or three inscriptions in the same category: chronology. The texts are extremely repetitive, describing mythological and historical events from the remote past to the recent, as in:

- (5) *IG* 12,5: 444 (Paros, 263/2 BCE) L. 1.3b ff.

aphou Kekrops Athēnōn ebasileuse kai hē khōra Kekropia eklēthē, to proteron kalou/menē Attikē apo Aktaiou tou autokhthonos, etē X HHHΔΠIII. / *aphou* Deukaliōn para ton Parnasson en Lykōreiai ebasileuse, [ba]sile[u]/[o]ntos Athēnōn Kekropos, etē XHHHΔ. / *aphou* …
“Since Cecrops became the king of Athens, and the country that used to be called Attica after Actaeus the indigenous was renamed Cecropia, it has been 1,358 years. Since Deucalion became the king of Lycoria, near Parnassos, during the kingship of Cecrops in Athens, it has been 1,310 years. Since …”

In fact, this single inscription quoted above (*IG* 7,5: 444) accounts for one hundred instances of *aphou*, and another chronological inscription (*IG* 14: 1297) likewise has 23 repetitions of the same conjunction. As for *epeidē*, on the other hand, as this conjunction is extremely common for providing the reason for passing a resolution (“Since X did such contributions to the city, therefore he should be commended as a benefactor of the city …”), the

large number cannot be due to repetition in a small number of inscriptions. The search results contain other problems as well (duplicate hits of a single passage, the inclusion of passages that are restored by modern scholars, etc.), but the overall picture is not surmountable: *aphou* is far less frequent than *epeidē*. This alone suggests that, when the idea ‘since ...’ needed to be written, the first choice would have been *epeidē*, and therefore the appearances of *aphou* might have been the result of deliberate selection by the drafter.

2.2 Non-epigraphic evidence

Since, in the 2020s, we still lack convenient tools for epigraphic sources that would allow complex searches like “any inflected form of the word ‘year’ appearing within five words from the conjunction *epeidē*”, it is difficult to find evidence of *aphou*, *epei(dē)* or *hysteron ē* used in the context relevant to the present issue in the epigraphic materials. Still, the reasoning in the previous section, which suggested that the consistent use of *aphou* in treaty inscriptions is not coincidental, can be supported by some facts in non-epigraphic sources. Here, even though my search is far from exhaustive, at the very least I can provide positive evidence, by the aid of the powerful searching tool TLG, that *aphou*, *epei(dē)* and *hysteron ē* were all available options in contexts “X years since such-and-such took place”.

As the first step, the standard dictionary LSJ mentions the passage in the tragedy *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus (5th century BCE) to demonstrate that *epei* could be used in this context:

- (6) Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 40f.

dekaton men etos tod’ *epei* Priamou / megas antidikos, / Menelaos
anax ēd’ Agamemnōn, / dithronou Diothen kai diskēptrou / times

okhyron zeugos Atreidan / stolon Argeiōn khilionautēn, / tēsd' apo khōras / ēran, ...

“It is now the tenth year since King Menelaus, the great opponent of Priam, and Agamemnon, the strong pair of sons of Atreus, with the two-throned and two-sceptred honor from Zeus, raised from this land the fleet of one thousand ships with Argive soldiers, ...”

Furthermore, I have been able to find relevant pieces of evidence in the 5th century prose writers Herodotus and Thucydides. First, Herodotus has the following passages:

(7) Herodotus, *Histories* 2.44.3

ephasan gar hama tyrōi oikizomenēi kai to hiron tou theou hidrythēnai, einai de etea apou Tyron oikeousi triēkosia kai diskhilia.
 “They said that, upon the first establishment of Tyrus, the temple of the god was founded, and it has been 2,300 years since they have inhabited Tyrus.”

(8) Herodotus, *Histories* 2.43.4

hōs de autoi legousi, etea esti heptakiskhilia kai myria es Amasin basileusanta, epeite ek tōn oktō theōn hoi dyōdeka theoi egenonto tōn Hēraklea hena nomizousi.
 “As they (= the Egyptians) themselves claim, it has been 17,000 years in the reign of Amasis since the Twelve Gods, of whom they consider Heracles to be one, were established, in a change from the former Eight Gods.”

These passages indicate that, for Herodotus, whatever subtle nuances the two variants may have had, in principle both the two conjunctions *aphou*

and *epeite* could be used to express “since” in the construction “X years since …”. The Herodotean evidence thus shows that a single author could, in a single work, use both versions with apparent interchangeability.

Similarly, Thucydides provides one passage where the conjunction *epeidē* can be used in the expression “X years since”:

- (9) Thucydides, *Histories of the Peloponnesian War* 3.68.5

kai ta men kata Plataian etei tritōi kai enenēkostōi *epeidē* Athēnaiōn xymmakhōi egenonto houtōs eteleutēsen.

“And in this manner the Plataean affairs ended, in the ninety-third year since they became Athenian allies.”

I have not been able to find a passage where Thucydides uses the other conjunction, *aphou*, in this context. The absence of evidence for *aphou* has little demonstrative power (it may very well be that there are some passages that escaped my search due to my query being poorly written), whereas the passage (9) gives positive evidence showing that *epeidē* could be used in this context. *A fortiori*, therefore, it can be argued that the choice of *aphou* in the treaty inscriptions, in preference over *epeidē*, may have been deliberate.

A picture similar to Thucydides, and perhaps a stronger support, is provided by Polybius. Born at the very end of the 3rd century BCE^[5], he is chronologically closer to the two 3rd century BCE inscriptions at issue^[6], and therefore has greater weight in the present investigation than Herodotus or Thucydides. Just as was the case for Thucydides, there is a passage where Polybius uses *epeidē* in establishing the starting point of year-counting:

- (10) Polybius, *Histories* 1.2.3

Lakedaimonioi pollous amphisbētēsantes khronous hyper tēs tōn
 Hellēnōn hēgemonias, epeidē pot' ekratēsan, molis etē dōdeka
 kateikhon autēn

“The Spartans, though they had been claiming the leadership of the
 Greeks over many years, after gaining it by force, held it for no more
than twelve years.”

This passage, in addition to the earlier writers Herodotus and Thucydides,
 provides further support strengthening my claim.

If one looks at a different genre of Greek literature, the works of the
 orator Demosthenes (4th century BCE) contain several passages where
aphou is used to mean ‘since’ in the context “X years since …” (Speech
 22: 66, Speech 24: 173, Speech 33: 4, Speech 38: 6)¹²⁷. In the present
 argumentation, then, instances of the competing conjunctions *epei(dē)*
 or *hysteron ē* playing the same role would be desired as a support for
 my claim. Unfortunately, the only instances I was able to find come from
 speeches which, by scholarly consensus, are likely to be composed by a
 contemporary figure Apollodorus (see, for example, MacDowell 2009: 99):

(11) Pseudo-Demosthenes 52 (*Against Callippus*) 13

houtos de ho axiōn hyph' ymōn pisteuesthai hōs alēthē legōn, tria etē
dialipōn epeidē to proton dialekhthentos tou patros tōi Arkhebiadēi
kai tois allois tois Kēphisiadou epitēdeiois ouk ephasan Kallippōi
prosekhein ton toun oude hois legei, epeidē ēistheto …

“This man, claiming to be worthy of your trust as speaking the truth,
 did nothing for three years since my father for the first time spoke to
Archebiades and other friends of Cephisiades but they refused to pay
attention to Callippos or to what he says, but when he learned that … ”

(12) Pseudo-Demosthenes 46 (*Against Stephanus*) 13

ho de Phormiōn Athēnaios egeneto epi Nikophēmou arkhontos,
dekatōi etei **hysteron ē** patēr hēmōn apethanen.

“And Phormion became an Athenian citizen during the archonship of
 Nicophemus, on the tenth year **since** our father died.”

Despite the doubted authenticity of these speeches as works by Demosthenes, at least these passages show that *epei(dē)* and *hysteron ē* in the context “X years since ...” were acceptable alternatives in the forensic language. Once again, it gives further support to the claim that the consistent choice of *aphou* in treaty inscriptions is significant rather than coincidental.

2.3 Further epigraphic evidence

Further analysis of epigraphic evidence is now needed. The treaty inscriptions themselves offer some more support for my claim. Two of the three treaty inscriptions at issue here contain other temporal expressions in addition to *aphou*, and this suggests that, while *aphou* was a stock expression specifically used for stating “after this treaty comes to effect”, there appears to have been greater liberty outside of this context. First, the Arcadian treaty of unity between Mantinea and Helisson has the following passage:

(13) Te Riele 1987 (Arcadia – Helisson, early 4th century BCE) L. 21ff.

an de tis tōn apugraphentōn mē phatoi / tina ēnai Heliswasion,
 exest[i]n imphanai tois thesmotoarois in / tōi **hysteron** wet[el]i ē Nikēs
edamiorgē.

“If, however, any of the registered members should claim that
 someone is not a citizen of Helisson, he may appeal to the Law-

keepers in the year after Nikēs was the *demiourgos*.”

This passage is similar to the one where *aphou* was used, in that they both make reference to a possible future event after the treaty comes into effect (and thus former citizens of Helisson are recognized as citizens of Mantinea), but the passage (13) does not use *aphou*, and the crucial difference seems to be that the starting point is not established in terms of the conclusion of the treaty but something else (tenure of the office of *demiourgos* by certain Nikēs). This suggests that the pressure to use *aphou* was particularly strong in passages given in Table 1, but not so much elsewhere.

A slightly different situation can be found in the inscription from Orchomenos. In the case of the Arcadian treaty above, references to *future* events were shown to be under different degrees of pressure for using stock expressions. In the case of Orchomenos, the contrast does not lie *within* future events, but rather *between future and past* events:

(14) *IG* 5,2: 344 L. 11 ff.

Tōn de labontōn en Or[kho]/[menōi] klaron ē oikian, aphou Akhaioi egenonto, mē exestō mētheni apallotriō/[sa]i eteōn eikosi. Ei de ti ek tōn **emprosthe** khronōn ē hoi Orkhomenioi Akhaioi ege/[non] to Nearkh[ō]i enklēma gegonen ē tois yiois, hypotoma eimen panta, kai m[ē] / [dikaze]sthō mēte Nearkhōi mētheis mēte tois hyiois autou mēde Nearkhos mēde [tōn] / [hyi]lōn autou mētheis peri tōm **proteron** enklēmatōn ē hoi Orkhomenioi Akhaioi eg[e]/[no]n[t]o.

“From those who have obtained a piece of land or a house, no one must alienate (their properties) within twenty years after they became Achaeans. If there is any accusation made during the time before the Orchomenians became Achaians against Nearchos or his

sons, all (such accusations) shall become invalid; no one shall seek judgement against Nearchos or his sons, nor shall Nearchos or any of his sons (seek judgement against anyone) about complaints before the Orchomenians became Achaeans."

The first sentence in this passage is the sentence containing *aphou*; and the following clauses are now shown. As can be seen, two clauses use *emprosthe ē* ‘earlier than, before’ and *proteron ē* ‘earlier than, before’. Morphological parallelism with *proteron ē* ‘before’ might have offered *hysteron ē* as an alternative for ‘later than, after’^[*8], but this expression was not chosen, the favor being given to *aphou*. If there was any factor that facilitated the choice of *aphou* in preference to the more pairwise recognizable *hysteron ē*, it could very well have been conservatism, i.e. fixed formulaic expression in bureaucracy. This contrasts with the freedom with which this passage alternates between *emprosthe ē* ‘before’ and *proteron ē* ‘before’: apparently there was no pressure for uniformity in the latter case.

3. Conclusion

In this article, I took over what I left behind in Minamimoto (2017: 108) and investigated the possibility that *aphou* ‘since, after’ in three treaty inscriptions from the Peloponnese might belong to a stock expression to express something close to “after this treaty comes into effect.” Examination of both non-epigraphic and epigraphic data suggested that, indeed, *aphou* in these inscriptions were deliberately chosen to conform to a conservative pattern: comparison with non-epigraphic sources shows that *aphou* was chosen even though *epeidē* ‘since’ and *hysteron ē* ‘later than’ were available alternatives; closer investigation of the inscriptions themselves indicates that the phrase “after this treaty comes into effect”

was under a special pressure of conservatism, unlike other contexts with “after” or in contexts with “before”. Thus what I suggested in Minamimoto (2017: 108) is now more strongly supported.

Notes

[*1] A preliminary version of this work was presented as a poster presentation on the occasion of the International Colloquium on Ancient Greek Linguistics held in 2018 at the University of Helsinki.

[*2] In this article this word is represented as a single word (*aphou*) in pursuit of simplicity, but in Ancient Greek texts, it is printed as a sequence of two words: *aph' ou*, (ἀφ' οὗ) i.e. a preposition followed by the relative pronoun. Of course there are passages where *aphou* should be interpreted as a preposition-pronoun sequence, as in *IG* 5,1: 1433 (Messenia, 39 BCE) L. 28f: *loipon, aph'ou dei pesein tan oktobolon eisphoran: khilia diakosia tessarakonta talanta, tessares mnai, ...* “Remaining (amount), from which the payment of eight obols must go: 2,400 talants, 4 minas, ...”

[*3] The Appendix to Minamimoto (2017), which is expected to include all the attestations of subordinate conjunctions known at the time, failed to include this passage.

[*4] Minamimoto (2017: 108) identified Pellene as a city in northern Laconia, but according to Bourguet, the editor of *FD* 3,1, the city mentioned here is an Achaean city of the same name (“[*Pellaneus*] se rapporte à la ville d’Achaïe”, *FD* 3,1 p. 236).

[*5] Polybius was born in 205 BCE or perhaps a few years earlier (Montanari 2022: 904).

[*6] 3rd century BCE prose writers, such as the historiographer Timaeus and the Alexandrian librarian Callimachus, might have provided precious pieces of evidence, had their works survived to the present day.

[*7] Since the proof of existence for *aphou* is less important, the passages are

reproduced here in the note:

● Demosthenes 22 (*Against Androtion*) 66

etōn ontōn pleionōn ē triakont’ aphou sy politeuei, kai en toutōi khronōi pollōn men stratēgōn ēdikēkotōn tēn polin, pollōn de rhētōrōn, …

“as more than thirty years have passed since you have become a politician, during which time many Generals as well as orators have done injustice to the city …”

● Demosthenes 24 (*Against Timocrates*) 173

ō Timokrates kai Androtiōn, etōn ontōn pleionōn ē triakont’ aphou ho g’ heteros hymōn politeuetai, kai en toutōi khronōi pollōn men stratēgōn ēdikēkotōn tēn polin, pollōn de rhētōrōn, …

“O Timocrates and Androtion, as more than thirty years have passed since one of you has become a politician, during which time many Generals as well as orators have done injustice to the city …”

● Demosthenes 33 (*Against Apatourius*) 4

egō gar, ō andres dikastai, polyn ēdē khronon epi tēs ergasias ōn tēs kata thalattan, mekhri men tinos autos ekindyneuon, oupō de etē estin hepta aphou to men plein katalelyka, metria d’ ekhōn toutois peirōmai nautikois ergazesthai.

“O judges, I have been into the sea business for many years, to the extent that I myself went through some dangers, but it has not been seven years since I retired from seafaring and, with a moderate mount, have been trying to work in trades…”

● Demosthenes 38 (*Against Nausimachus and Xenopeithes*) 6:

hōste tettarōn men kai dek’ etōn gegenēmenōn aphou ton pater’ hēmōn apheisan, eikosi de kai dyoin aphou tynkhanousin engegrammenoi, …

“so that it has now been fourteen years since they released our father, and twenty-two years since they prosecuted him…”

[*8] The morphological opposite to *emprosthe ē* ‘earlier than, before’ would be *opisthe ē* ‘later than, after’, but the temporal use of *opisthe* ‘behind; after’ was not

widespread in prose and must have been obsolete by this time (LSJ q.v.).

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Aphou ‘since, after’: a possible Peloponnesian formula in
Ancient Greek treaties recorded in dialectal inscriptions

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本稿では、Minamimoto (2017), Subordinators and supradialectal formulas in the dialectal inscriptions from Mainland Greece (excluding Attica). (UCLA dissertation) が未解決のまま残した問題の解決を図る。その問題とは、古代ギリシア・ペロポネソス半島から発見された3点の都市間条約碑文において、*aphou* ‘since, after’ を含む表現（おおまかには「この条約が発効して以降は」を意味する）が定型的であるか否かである。Minamimoto (2017: 108) は、用例が少数にとどまることと、その3点の碑文の時間的分布が150年程度と拡散してしまっていることを理由に、結論を出すことを避けた。本稿では、古代ギリシア語の複数の世代における散文を分析し、さらに問題の条約碑文の文言をさらに詳細に分析することで、*aphou* の用例は実際に定型的であると判断すべきかを検討する。その結果、*aphou* は他の可能な表現（*epeidē* ‘since’ や *hysteron ē* ‘later than, after’）を差し置いて選択されており、その選択には理由があったものと考えられる。したがって、わざわざ *aphou* を選択したからには、それは定型表現として定着していたからであろうと考える。

Keywords : Ancient Greek, dialect, inscription, formula, subordinate conjunction.
キーワード：古代ギリシア語、方言、碑文、定型句、従属接続詞