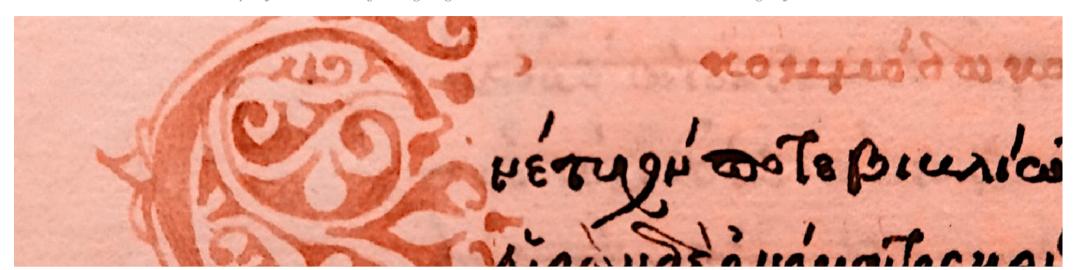# Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism

PURA. *Purism In Antiquity: Theories Of Language in Greek Atticist Lexica and their Legacy*

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The **Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism** is one of the research outputs of **PURA**, a five-year ERC Consolidator project (grant agreement no. 865817), which began in January 2021 at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. PURA investigates the theories of **linguistic purism** that were developed in ancient Greek culture, and the way in which they were received in later periods. The focus of our analysis is **Atticist lexica**, ancient 'dictionaries' that collect linguistic features to be cultivated or avoided in correct Greek.

DEA contributes to the three main objectives of PURA:

1. to provide a comprehensive mapping of **Atticist purism** by analyzing the linguistic theories of Atticist lexica;

2. to study the intellectual and cultural **legacy** of Atticism in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the early modern age by charting the history both of the lexica as **books** and of their authors;

3. to make the theories of these specialist and intricate texts more approachable and **accessible** outside the traditional format of critical editions.

To fulfil these objectives, the three sections of DEA, all of which are **open-access**, collect our work on the lexicographic entries in the Atticist lexica and their linguistic history; the major scholars and works of the ancient and Byzantine Atticist debate; and the transmission of the lexica in the medieval and early modern periods. Visit About DEA for more information.

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ἀρχῆθεν

(Phryn. *Ecl.* 66, Phryn. *PS* 9.9–11, *Antiatt.* α 138, Σ^b α 2201)

A. Main sources

(1) Phryn. *Ecl.* 66: ἀρχῆθεν ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν, τῶν δὲ καταλογάδην δοκίμων οὐδείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

The poets say ἀρχῆθεν ('from the beginning'), but none of the approved prose writers [does. They use] ἐξ ἀρχῆς instead.

(2) Phryn. *PS* 9.9–11: ἀρχῆθεν· παρὰ μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις διαλέκτοις εὑρίσκεται, Ἀττικοῖς δὲ οὐ φίλον. διὸ οὔτε Πλάτωνα οὔτε Θουκυδίδην ἔστιν εὑρεῖν λέγοντα τοῦτο.

ἀρχῆθεν: [This form] is found in the other dialects, but [it is] not loved by Attic [writers]. Thus, it is not possible to find that either Plato or Thucydides used this [form].

(3) *Antiatt.* α 138: ἀρχῆθεν· Ἡρόδοτος ζʹ.

ἀρχῆθεν: Herodotus [used] it in the seventh book (7.104.1).

(4) Σ^b α 2201 (= Phot. α 2928, *ex* Σ‴, Orus fr. B 46, Phryn. *PS* fr. 264): ἀρχῆθεν· οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, πλὴν παρ᾽ Αἰσχύλῳ. παρ᾽ Ἡροδότῳ δὲ ἔστι καὶ τοῖς Ἴωσιν.

ἀρχῆθεν: [It] does not occur in Attic writers, except in Aeschylus (fr. 416 = **C.1**). It does occur in Herodotus, though, and in Ionic [writers].

B. Other erudite sources

(1) Apoll.Dysc. *Adv*. *GG* 2,1.188.3–7: τὰ εἰς θεν λήγοντα ἐπιρρήματα παραλήγεται φωνήεντι, ᾧ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς γενικῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος […] ἀρχῆς ἀρχῆθεν.

> The adverbs which end in -θεν have in the penultimate syllable a vowel with which the final syllable of the genitive of the noun [also ends]: […] ἀρχῆς ἀρχῆθεν.

C. *Loci classici*, other relevant texts

(1) Aesch. fr. 416 = Σᵇ α 2201 re. ἀρχῆθεν (A.4).

(2) Hdt. 7.104.1: ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχῆθεν ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθείη χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω.

> King, I knew from the beginning that I will not say things [which are] pleasant to you if I stick to the truth (cf. A.3).

(3) D.Chr. 31.8: ταῦτα τοίνυν ἡγεῖσθε, ἄνδρες Ῥόδιοι, πάνυ φαύλως παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἔχοντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀξίως, τὰ περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας λέγω καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἀρχῆθεν ὑμῶν οὕτω τῷ πράγματι χρωμένων.

> It is in regard to these matters, men of Rhodes, that I ask you to believe that the situation here among you is very bad and unworthy of your state, your treatment, I mean, of your benefactors and of the honours given to your good men, although from the beginning you did not handle the matter in this way. (Transl. Cohoon, Lamar Crosby 1940, 13 with modifications).

(4) Anna Comnene *Alexiad* 12.4.5: ἐπεκράτησε δὲ ἡ ἀρχῆθεν τεθεῖσα προσηγορία τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ ἤτοι Ἀνήλιος ἢ Ἀνθήλιος ὑπὸ πάντων ἐλέγετο.

> The name originally given to the statue prevailed, and thus it was known by all as Anelios or Antelios.

D. General commentary

Atticist lexicographers disputed the acceptability of ἀρχῆθεν. This form is very common in post-classical literature (see below). However, given that ἀρχῆθεν is unattested in classical Attic prose while occurring in tragedy (albeit rarely) and Herodotus, rigorous Atticists, such as Phrynichus (A.1, A.2) and possibly also Orus (A.4, though see F.1), proscribe such a form. By contrast, more open-minded lexicographers – typically represented by the *Antiatticist* (A.3) – are inclined toward the view that the form's attestations in Herodotus are sufficient to support its approval.

Adverbs ending in -θεν are characteristically ablative in function (i.e., they indicate the origin of a movement), and so the adverbial suffix can be attached to nouns (e.g., οὐρανόθεν 'from heaven'), pronouns (e.g., ἄλλοθεν 'from another place'), and prepositions (e.g., πρόσθεν 'before') (the standard treatment of these formations is that by Lejeune 1939; on the accentuation see Ringe 1977). In archaic and classical texts, these adverbs are typically poetic and are amply employed in Homeric epic (see Chantraine 1958–1963 vol. 1, 241–3). In classical Attic, they enjoy more limited use but are by no means unattested. As Lejeune (1939, 149–51) demonstrated, they are largely confined to poetry, but some fixed forms also occur in prose. To give a concrete example, the adverb ἀγρόθεν (which occurs twice in the *Odyssey*, at 13.268 and 15.428) occurs only twice in Attic texts – once in Euripides (*Or*.

866) and once in the comic poet Alcaeus (fr. 19.1) – while the standard Attic expression is ἐξ ἀγροῦ. However, since Alcaeus is parodying Euripides' line, the use of ἀγρόθεν functions as an element of parodic poetic vocabulary that is used to mark the difference with ordinary speech (see further Orth 2013, 92). In some cases, however, the situation is reversed. For example, while ἔωθεν is unattested in tragedy, it occurs several times in comedy (18x) and more rarely in 4th-century prose (1x in Demosthenes and 1x in Aeschines but never in Lysias or Isocrates, for instance) (see Lejeune 1939, 172–3). In Attic inscriptions, the adverbial suffix -θεν is common (even standard, in some cases) in toponyms (Ἀθήνηθεν, Ἐλευσίνοθεν, etc.) and prepositions (ἔξωθεν, πρόσθεν, etc.), but no examples with common nouns are attested to date (see Threatte 1996, 397–404). This general situation changes in post-classical times, in that adverbs ending in -θεν that are derived from common nouns become increasingly ubiquitous. Lobeck (1820, 93–4) conveniently lists several such forms, focusing on those that occur in prose during the Hellenistic and – particularly – the imperial periods (see also the interesting observations by Lejeune 1939, 171 regarding παιδ(ι)όθεν in Septuagint Greek and documentary sources).

The case of ἀρχῆθεν wholly aligns with these tendencies. It is rendered less conspicuous by the relative rarity of temporal adverbs in -θεν (see Lejeune 1939, 170), and this is the only such form that is continuously attested from the late archaic to the Byzantine period (for an overview, see also Lejeune 1939, 170–1). In archaic and classical literature, ἀρχῆθεν is attested only in Pindar (ἀρχᾶθεν in *O*. 9.55, in *I*. 3/4.25), Aeschylus (C.1), and Sophocles (fr. 126.3), while in prose, it occurs only in Herodotus (C.2, plus six further instances) and once in the *corpus Hippocraticum*. In post-classical prose, ἀρχῆθεν is well-attested in the high koine (Polybius: 4x; LXX: 1x, 3*Ma*. 3.21 which is written in high koine; Dionysius of Halicarnassus: 4x; Josephus: 5x; Plutarch: 3x; Galen: 4x; Sextus Empiricus 23x) and in documentary sources: *IG* 12,9,4.6 [Euboea, 1st century BCE], *IOSPE* I².404.23 [Chersonesus, 185/186 CE], P.Oxy. 66.4526.6 (= TM 78598) [69/70 CE], P.Lund. 3.10.24 (= TM 63054) [provenance unknown, 98 CE], P.Oxy. 22.2341.10 (= TM 22213) [208 CE], SB 14.11899.12 (= TM 26548) [Oxyrhynchus, 2nd century CE]. Similarly, ἀρχῆθεν is common or very common in Christian writers (Theophilus, Tatianus, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Basilius, Procopius of Gaza, etc.). In contrast to this increasing diffusion, however, ἀρχῆθεν occurs only occasionally in Atticist writers (Appian 1x; Dio Chrysostom: C.3 plus two more instances; Libanius: 2x; see Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 1, 149). The only known instance of ἀρχῆθεν in post-classical poetry occurs in the early Hellenistic writer Rhianus (*CA* 13.2). Two passages from Eusebius and one from Philo of Carpasia attest the reinforced syntagm ἐξ ἀρχῆθεν (Eus. *Demonstr. Evang.* 8.1.33 and *Comm. in Psalm. MPG* 23.905.2, Philo Carpasius *Enarratio in Canticum Canticorum* 117.8).

E. Byzantine and Modern Greek commentary

Throughout the Byzantine age, the adverb ἀρχῆθεν is well attested across all genres and in various registers (for an early instance in high-level prose, see, e.g. Procop. *Vand.* 3.16). Compared to the hundreds of occurrences of ἀρχῆθεν known from the 11th to the 13th centuries, during this phase the form's occurrence is not particularly common (although not wholly unattested) in the writers who use the high language (Photius: 3x; Arethas: 5x; Michael Psellus: 14x; Anna Comnene: C.4 plus 3 further instances; Nicephorus Basilaces: 8x; Michael Choniates: 1x; Nicephorus Blemmydes: 4x; Nicetas Choniates: 6x). It becomes more ubiquitous in Palaeologan writers (including George Pachymeres: 63x; Theodore Metochites: 11x; Nicephorus Gregoras: 24x). ἀρχῆθεν does not survive in Modern Greek with the exception of certain dialects (see *ILNE* s.v.).

F. Commentary on individual texts and occurrences

(1)   Σ^b α 2201 (= Phot. α 2928, *ex* Σ''' = Orus fr. B 46 = Phryn. *PS* fr. 264) (A.4)

De Borries previously considered this lemma to be a fragment of Phrynichus' *PS*, which he printed as *PS* fr. 264. However, Alpers (1981, 67 n. 64) refuted this interpretation based on the following argumentation. In the entry the *PS* (A.2), Phrynichus does not proscribe the use of ἀρχῆθεν, which is a tragic word used by Aeschylus and Sophocles (see D.), both of whom Phrynichus treats in the *PS* as approved models of Attic language. However, the lemma in the *Synagoge* is openly critical of Aeschylus' use of this form, making its derivation from the *PS* unlikely. It is generally assumed, however, that Orus did not admit Aeschylus and Sophocles in his canon of approved Attic authors, since these authors are never mentioned in the fragments which are normally ascribed to his lexicon. Accordingly, Alpers infers that the entry in the *Synagoge* is more likely to derive from Orus' lexicon than from Phrynichus' *PS*. Alpers' argumentation is sound, though we should at least admit the possibility that the lemma does in fact derive from one of Phrynichus' lexica. First, although Phrynichus includes Aeschylus and Sophocles in the canon of approved Attic authors (see, e.g., *PS* 125.12–4), it does not necessarily follow that he will also admit those forms that he regards as foreign to Attic. In this regard, ἀρχῆθεν may be particularly suspect because adverbs ending in -θεν as a whole are largely foreign to Attic (see D.), making it difficult to approve of such a form. Moreover, it is difficult to agree with Alpers' assertion that the formulation παρὰ μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις διαλέκτοις εὑρίσκεται, Ἀττικοῖς δὲ οὐ φίλον ('[This form] is found in the other dialects, but [it is] not loved by Attic [writers]') in the entry of the *PS* (A.2) should not be regarded as a proscription, particularly in the light of the subsequent remark about the absence of ἀρχῆθεν in Plato and Thucydides. Thus, Ἀττικοῖς δὲ οὐ φίλον may well indicate that ἀρχῆθεν cannot be approved based solely on its (admittedly rare) occurrence in tragedy. Finally, Alpers assumes that if Phrynichus is the author behind the entry in the *Synagoge*, then the specific source can only be the *PS* (see Fischer 1974, 48 and Alpers 1981, 64). However, we cannot firmly exclude the possibility that the entry in the *Synagoge* derives from the *Eclogue*, in which Phrynichus openly rejects ἀρχῆθεν (A.1). In considering this option, one must be open to the possibility that the surviving *plenior* redaction of this lexicon is actually an epitome rather than the complete text (see Tribulato 2022) and that the *Eclogue* did not entirely disappear in the pre-Palaeologan age (on its circulation in pre-Palaeologan Byzantium, see also Alpers 2013, 146–8).

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a philological and linguistic commentary on the adverb ἀρχῆθεν discussed in the lexica Phryn. Ecl. 66, Phryn. PS 9.9–11, Antiatt. α 138, Σb α 2201.

KEYWORDS

Adverbs   Poetic language   Tragic language   -θεν

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