

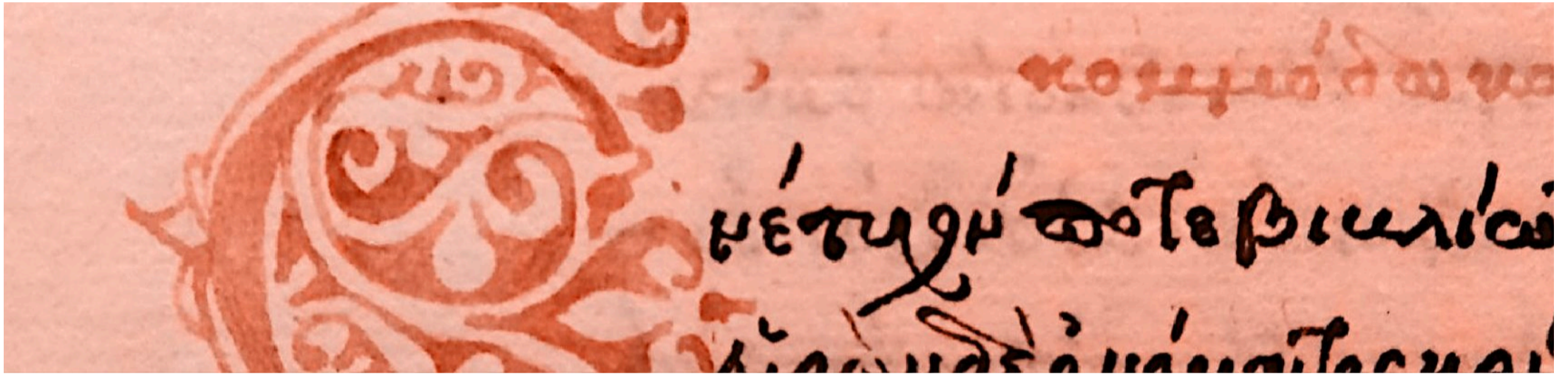


Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism



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



Lexicographic Entries



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

Lexicographic entries

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εἶμι, ἐλεύσομαι

(Phryn. *Ecl.* 24, Phryn. *Ecl.* 161, Poll. 5.155, Moer. α 29)

A. Main sources

(1) Phryn. *Ecl.* 24: ἀπελεύσομαι παντάπασι φυλάττου· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ δόκιμοι ῥήτορες οὔτε ἡ ἀρχαία κωμῳδία οὔτε Πλάτων κέχρηται τῇ φωνῇ· ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἄπειμι χρῶ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοιοειδέσιν ὡσαύτως.

Keep yourself from ἀπελεύσομαι in all situations. Neither the well-regarded orators, nor ancient comedy, nor Plato use this form. Instead, use ἄπειμι and similarly the verbs of the same kind.

(2) Phryn. *Ecl.* 161: ἐπεξελευσόμενος· ἄλλος οὗτος {ἦν} Ἡρακλῆς· τοῦτ' οὖν ἔσυρεν ἐκ τριόδου Φαβωρίνος. χρή γὰρ ἐπεξιῶν εἰπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέξειμι λέγεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπεξελεύσομαι.

ἐπεξελευσόμενος: Here is another mistake (lit. 'Here is another Heracles'). Favorinus (fr. 139 Amato) has drawn this from the intersection of streets. For one must say ἐπεξιῶν, as indeed one says ἐπέξειμι, but not ἐπεξελεύσομαι.

(3) Poll. 5.155: εἶμι, ἦξω, ἀφίξομαι, παρέσομαι παραγενήσομαι. ἀπαντήσομαι, ἐπάνειμι ἐπανήξω· τὸ γὰρ ἐλεύσομαι Ὅμηρος μὲν εἶρηκεν, τῶν δὲ καταλογάδην οὐχ οἱ κεκριμένοι.

εἶμι, ἦξω, ἀφίξομαι, παρέσομαι παραγενήσομαι. ἀπαντήσομαι, ἐπάνειμι ἐπανήξω: Homer indeed uses ἐλεύσομαι often, but approved prose-writers do not.

(4) [Hdn.] *Philet.* 288: ἦξει καὶ ἀφίξεται, οὐχὶ ἐλεύσεται· ἰωνικὸν γὰρ τοῦτο.

[Use] ἦξει and ἀφίξεται, not ἐλεύσεται: for this is Ionic.

(5) Moer. α 29: ἄπεισιν Ἀττικοί· ἀπελεύσεται Ἕλληνες.

Users of Attic [employ] ἄπεισιν, users of Greek [employ] ἀπελεύσεται.

(6) Philemo (Laur.) 354: ἄπεισιν· οὐ δεῖ λέγειν ἀπελεύσεται.

ἄπεισιν: one must not say ἀπελεύσεται.

(7) Philemo (Vindob.) 393.29: εἴσειμι <κᾶξιμι>· ἐξελεύσομαι πάρες.

[Use] εἴσειμι and <ᾶξιμι>, avoid ἐξελεύσομαι.

(8) Philemo (Vindob.) 395.35: πρόσειμι· οὐ προσελεύσομαι.

[Use] πρόσειμι, not προσελεύσομαι.

(9) Orus fr. B 62 (= *Su.* ε 1698 = *Phot.* ε 1136, *ex Σ*): ἔξειμι, οὐκ ἐξελεύσομαι λέγουσιν Ἀττικοί.

Users of Attic employ ἔξειμι, not ἐξελεύσομαι.

(10) Thom.Mag. 109.11–2: ἐπεξελευσόμενος φασί τινες [καὶ ὁ Φαβωρίνος]· σὺ δὲ ἐπεξιῶν καὶ ἐπέξειμι, ὡς Ἀττικά.

Some people say ἐπεξελευσόμενος [as does Favorinus]. But you should use ἐπεξιῶν and ἐπέξειμι since these are the Attic forms.

B. Other erudite sources

(1) Hdn. Περὶ Ὀδυσσειακῆς προσωδίας GG 3,2.134.8–9: ἤδη γὰρ τρίτον ἐστὶν ἔτος, τάχα δ' εἴσι τέταρτον· προπερισπαστέον τὸ εἴσι· σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ διελεύσεται.

'For it is already the third year, and the fourth will come soon' (Hom. *Od.* 2.89): εἴσι must have a properispomenon accent, for it means διελεύσεται ('it will pass').

(2) Schol. Thuc. 2.20.3 Hude (= P.Oxy. 6.853.col. xii.27–39 = [TM 62878](#) [late 2nd century CE]): εἰ ἐπεξίασιν· ἀντὶ τ[ο]ῦ εἰ ἐπεξ[ελεύ]σονται], τὸν ἐνεστῶτα ἀντὶ το[ῦ μέλλοντος [...].

εἰ ἐπεξίασιν: Meaning εἰ ἐπεξελεύσονται, the present for the future [...].

(3) Phot. ε 1424: ἐπεξιῶν· {περισπωμένως} τὸ ἐπεξελευσόμενος. Θουκυδίδης· '{καὶ} ὡς ἐπεξιῶν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις'.

ἐπεξιῶν: {Perispomenon}. (It means) ἐπεξελευσόμενος. Thucydides (3.27.2.2): '{and} intending to attack the Athenians'.

(4) Schol. Thuc. 3.27.2 Hude: ὡς ἐπεξιῶν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις: ὡς κινηθησόμενος κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

‘With a view to attack the Athenians’: (It means) ‘with a view to move against the Athenians’.

(5) Manuel Moschopoulos *In Hesiodi Opera* 197 Grandolini: καὶ τότε δὴ ἡ αἰδῶς καὶ ἡ νέμεσις, καταλιποῦσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἵτον, ἤγουν ἐλεύσονται, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γένος τῶν θεῶν.

And then αἰδῶς and νέμεσις, abandoning mankind, ἵτον (‘will go’), that is, ἐλεύσονται, to heaven among the race of gods.

C. *Loci classici*, other relevant texts

(1) Lys. 22.11: ἀλλὰ {μὲν} γάρ, ὧ ἀνδρες δικασταί, οἴομαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἐλεύσεσθαι.

But in fact, judges, I think that they will not come to this argument.

(2) Aristid. 2.137.1–4 Lenz–Behr (= 45.42.20–3 Dindorf): ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδὲν μετατίθεμαι οὔτε Πλάτωνι συγχωρῶ τὸ μηδὲν μετεῖναι ῥητορικῆ τέχνης, ἀλλ’ ὅσον αὐτῆ τέχνης, χρήσομαι γάρ τοῖς Πλάτωνος αὐτοῦ ῥήμασι, τοῦτ’ ἐπέξειμι.

But I neither take back anything of what I had said before, nor do I agree with Plato that rhetoric does not partake in any feature of a craft, but I will examine what of a craft is in it (i.e rhetoric), to use Plato’s own word.

(3) Luc. *Trag.* 293–4:

εἰ γὰρ σαφῶς τόδ’ ἐστὶν ἀντίξουν ἐμοί,
λιποῦσα γαίαν εἰς μυχοὺς εἶμι χθονός.

For if this is patently hostile to me, leaving the world I shall go to the innermost part of the earth.

(4) Luc. *Dom.* 1: οἶκον δέ τις ἰδὼν μεγέθει μέγιστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον [...] οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθυμήσειε λόγους ἐν αὐτῷ διαθέσθαι [...], ἀλλὰ περισκοπήσας ἀκριβῶς καὶ θαυμάσας μόνον ἄπεισι κωφὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλογον καταλιπὼν [...];

For if someone sees a house that is big in size and wonderful in beauty [...] would he not desire to write speeches in it [...] or, rather, having looked around carefully and admired it, will he simply go away, leaving it (i.e the house) mute and deprived of speech [...]?

(5) Luc. *Symp.* 9: εἰ γὰρ με, φησὶν, ὧ Ἀρισταίνετε, δεύτερον ἄξις Ἑρμῶνος τουτουί, ἀνδρός, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν εἶπω, Ἐπικουρείου, ἄπειμι ὅλον σοι τὸ συμπόσιον καταλιπὼν.

‘For if you, Aristaenetus’, he says, ‘will regard me as second to this Hermon here, an Epicurean (not to deliver another insult), I will leave, abandoning your whole symposium’.

(6) Luc. *Sat.* 18: δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἔστ’ ἂν αὕτη ἡ στήλη μένη, οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε λοιμὸς οὔτε πυρκαϊὰ οὔτε ἄλλο χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῖς.

One must know that as long as this slab stands, neither famine nor plague nor a fire nor any other evil will enter their house.

(7) D.Chr. 48.3: καὶ γὰρ δὴ νῦν μὲν ἄπεισι μετὰ τὴν τήμερον ἴσως ἡμέραν, ἀφικνεῖται δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

And, in fact, perhaps now he will leave after today and will come back a little later.

(8) D.Chr. 34.14: νῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπέξειμι δι' ἃ πλείονος σκέψεως [ἦς] φημι δεῖσθαι τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρόν.

Now I will also investigate the remaining aspects, because of which I say that the present circumstances require more detailed attention.

(9) Philostr. VA 8.26: ἐγὼ δὲ εἶμι προσευξόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶδον.

But I go to thank the gods for the things I saw.

(10) Philostr. VA 5.24: ὁ δεῖνα γὰρ καταψευθεῖς ἄπεισι.

For a man who is the object of false accusations will walk free.

(11) D.H. Ant. Rom. 11.15.4: ἀλλ' ἀνασκευασάμενος ἅπαντα τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἰς Σαβίνους ἄπειμι, πόλιν οἰκήσων Ῥήγιλλον.

But, removing all my belongings and my people, I shall move to the Sabines and inhabit the city of Regillum.

(12) D.H. Ant. Rom. 19.17.5: ἢ τῶν καλῶν τινος ἔτι μεθέξεις τῶν ὀφειλομένων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄπει μάλιστα μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μή γ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς;

Or will you continue to partake of the good things that are due to good people but not indeed leave the city or, if not that, then at least the agora?

(13) App. BC 2.16.114: ὁ μὲν δὴ καιρὸς ὑπερήπειγεν ὡς Καίσαρος ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας.

The circumstances were pressing, since in three days Caesar would be leaving for the campaign.

(14) Ios. BJ 4.378: χαλεπὴ δ' ἦν ἡ φυγὴ φρουραῖς διειληφόντων τὰς διεξόδους πάσας καὶ τὸν ὀπωσοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀλισκόμενον ὡς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπιόντα διαχρωμένων.

Escape was difficult because of the guard-posts of the soldiers who occupied all the routes out and killed whoever they caught there on the suspicion that he was going off to the Romans.

(15) Longus 2.22.3: ποίοις ποσὶν ἄπειμι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἄνευ τῶν αἰγῶν.

With what feet shall I go to father and mother without the goats?

(16) Longus 2.23.4: συνήθης γὰρ στρατοπέδοις μᾶλλον ἡμῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη πολέμους ἐπολέμησε τὴν ἀγροικίαν καταλιπὼν· καὶ ἄπεισι τοῖς Μηθυμναίοις οὐκ ἀγαθὸς πολέμιος.

For he is more accustomed than us to military camps, and he fought many a war after leaving the countryside. To the inhabitants of Methymna, he will come as a bad enemy.

(17) Eus. *PE* 14.5.10: καὶ εἶμι ἐκεῖσε ἢ δὴ φροῦδος ἀναδραμεῖν δοκῶ μοι.

And I will go there, lest I seem to be running away.

(18) SB 16.12579.22–3 (= [TM 26736](#)) [Toka, last quarter of the 3rd century CE]: παρὰ ποταμὸν | εἶμι[ι ἐάν] εἰ[ύρισκ]ηται πλοῖον ἐκεῖ.

I shall go by river if a boat is found there.

(19) P.Princ. 3.162. 3–4 (= [TM 17271](#)) [provenance unknown, 87 CE]: [κα]ὶ ἐπεὶ βουλῆ εἶμι εἰς Ἀλεξ[άν]δρειαν.

And since you wish, I shall go to Alexandria.

(20) Anna Comnene *Alexiad* 3.6.3: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντα οὐ παχυμερῶς τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πράξεις καὶ τὰ θεσπίσματα παραπέμπειν χρή, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν καταλεπτύνειν, ὡς ἐνόν, τὰ δ' ἐκείνοις δεδογμένα ἐκτίθεσθαι, εἶμι καὶ αὐτῆ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ τοῦ ῥηθέντος χρυσοβούλλου ἐκθησομένη τὰς τοῦ γραφέως μόνον κομψείας περιελούσα.

But since the writer of history should not summarily pass over the deeds of good men and their decrees but rather make them more enjoyable, as far as is possible, and explain the decisions such men have taken, I too in this manner will present the content of the aforementioned chrysobull, minus only the refinement of the writer.

(21) Anna Comnene *Alexiad* 2.5.3: ἀπειμι γοῦν εἰς τὰς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆ αὐτῶν χρωμένη, καθὼς ἂν δυναίμην, ἐπαρωγῆ. κάκειθεν ἀύγαζούσης ἡμέρας ἀπελεύσομαι πρὸς τὰ βασιλεια.

I go, therefore, to the holy church, making use, as much as I might, of their aid. And from there, when the day comes, I will go to the palace.

D. General commentary

The topic of these Atticist lemmas is the correct way to say ‘I will go’ in proper Attic. The use of present-tense εἶμι and its compounds to indicate futurity is standard Attic. However, Post-classical Greek exhibits two strong tendencies: not only does εἶμι progressively lose ground in favour of ἔρχομαι, which becomes the preferred verb to express motion (as also in Modern Greek ἔρχομαι), but it also becomes increasingly rare for εἶμι to have a future meaning. Atticist lexicographers therefore recommend the use of εἶμι and its compounds to signal a future meaning, rather than the common Greek use of ἐλεύσομαι and its compounds (Lobeck 1820, 37 takes Phrynichus’ criticism as a tout-court condemnation of ἐπεξέρχομαι, but this is not the case; on εἶμι and ἔρχομαι as part of a larger discussion of verbal suppletion in Greek, see Kölligan 2007, 134–71). Since the compound forms of εἶμι are far more frequent than simple εἶμι in Post-classical Greek, most examples discussed by Atticist sources are, unsurprisingly, concerned with the compounds of this verb. In general, the examples given by the lexicographers do not refer to specific *loci classici*, though the situation may be more subtle in one of Phrynichus’ glosses ([A.2](#)),

where Phrynichus' criticism of Favorinus may hide an implicit attack against Favorinus' inability to imitate properly Thucydidean language (see [F.1](#) for this interpretation). The criticism of ἐλεύσομαι as a Homeric and Ionic form ([A.3](#), [A.4](#)) is matched in Homeric and Hesiodic exegesis, where the use of εἶμι with a future meaning is explained through comparison with ἐλεύσομαι ([B.1](#), [B.5](#); see further [Plu.] *De Hom.* 2.54 and schol. *Hom. Od.* 89 c1, d1, and d3, with the parallels collected by Pontani *ad locc.*). Other erudite materials are likely to be of Atticist derivation ([B.2](#), [B.3](#), [B.4](#); see [F.2](#) and [F.3](#)).

The fact that ἐλεύσομαι and its compounds were regarded as poetic forms of Ionic origin explains why their frequent occurrences in tragedy does not provide sufficient proof for Atticist lexicographers that they are good Attic forms. In addition, the first occurrence of ἐλεύσομαι and its compounds, which are unattested in Attic historiography, comedy, and oratory, is in Lysias ([C.1](#)), who was not regarded as an approved Attic model. The tendency to use ἐλεύσομαι instead of εἶμι is already clear in Hellenistic prose. In Polybius, there is no example of εἶμι with a future meaning, and the future is regularly expressed through compounds of ἐλεύσομαι (4.9.5 ἐξελεύσεσθαι, 21.14.7 προσελεύσεσθαι, 24.9.15 κατελεύσεσθαι). Crönert (1903, 253–4) only identifies one example of a compound of εἶμι with a future meaning in one of the Herculaneum papyri. Diodorus too uses only ἐλεύσομαι and its compound forms (20.91.8 ἐλεύσεσθαι, 13.31.5 μετελεύσεσθε, 18.10.3 τοὺς ἐπελευσομένους), and there is no documented case of εἶμι and its compounds with the future meaning.

The situation becomes more nuanced in imperial literary prose, where clearly Atticising tendencies come into play. One can identify roughly three main groups of authors. The first comprises stricter Atticising writers, such as Aristides and Aelian, who never use future ἐλεύσομαι or its compounds; εἶμι and compounds are used with a future meaning by Aristides (e.g., ἐπέξειμι, as prescribed by Phrynichus, in [C.2](#)), while I have been unable to find examples of either usage in Aelian. The second group of authors consists of less strict Atticising writers, such as Lucian, Dio Chrysostom, and Philostratus, who use both ἐλεύσομαι and εἶμι (and their compounds) to express the future. Lucian uses -ελεύσομαι compounds several times (*Dom.* 15 διεξελεύσεσθαι, *JTr.* 17 ἐπεξελεύσεσθαι, *Gall.* 3 ἀνελευσόμενον, *Anach.* 38 ἐπελεύσεσθαι, *Hist.Constr.* 27 μετελεύσομαι, *Nav.* 38 μετελεύσομαι, *DMort.* 5.2 μετελεύσομαι, 15.2 μετελεύσομαι, 16.5 προελεύσονται, 20.13 μετελευσόμεθα; see also Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 1, 231), but we also have examples of compounds of εἶμι with a future meaning ([C.2](#), [C.4](#), [C.5](#), [C.6](#)). Dio Chrysostom employs ἐλεύσομαι and its compounds relatively often (*Or.* 4.66 περιελεύση, 32.25 διελεύσομαι, 33.56 ἀπελεύσεσθε, 38.33 ἐλευσομένην, 47.19 διελεύσομαι, 66.24 περιελεύση; see also Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 1, 84), but compounds of εἶμι may also be used with a future meaning ([C.7](#), [C.8](#)). Similarly, Philostratus uses both compounds of -ελεύσομαι (*VA* 4.4 παρελεύση, 5.36 ξυνελευσόμεθα; see also Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 35) and εἶμι and its compounds to indicate a future meaning ([C.9](#), [C.10](#)). It is important to add that Favorinus, the object of Phrynichus' criticism for his use of ἐπεξελευσόμενος ([A.2](#)), also falls into this second category, in that he uses compounds of ἐλεύσομαι (besides ἐπεξελευσόμενος, see also *Ex.* 10.34 ἐπανελεύσεσθαι) and a compound of εἶμι with a future meaning (*Ex.* 18.46–7 πρόσεισι). Finally, a group of least Atticising writers is made up of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Herodian, Appian, and Josephus, who, despite isolated examples of εἶμι and its compounds with a future meaning by some of these authors, use ἐλεύσομαι as the standard form for the future; the only evidence I have been able to find for ἄπειμι with a future meaning is in Dionysius of Halicarnassus ([C.11](#), [C.12](#)) and occasionally in passages of Appian and Josephus, where ὡς + the participle of compound forms of εἶμι indicates purpose or a future action ([C.13](#), [C.14](#)).

This diverse picture is mirrored in the Greek novel, where the distribution of εἶμι, ἔρχομαι, and ἐλεύσομαι varies across individual authors (I have selected only Longus, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus for the purposes of the present enquiry). Longus alone uses εἶμι and its compounds with a future meaning ([C.15](#), where the tone is pathetic, [C.16](#)), while he avoids future ἐλεύσομαι and its compound forms. Conversely, in Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, we have no example of εἶμι or its compounds with a future meaning, and only -ελεύσομαι forms are

attested (Ach.Tat. 4.7.3 ἐξελεύσομαι, Hld. 2.19.1 ἐλευσόμεθα, 4.2.1 ἐπελευσόμενον, 5.22.4 μετελεύσομαι, 9.13.1 ἐπελευσόμενος). Despite these general tendencies, and even though εἶμι is a recessive form in Greek (especially the simple verb), later (educated) writers such as Eusebius may occasionally use εἶμι with a future meaning ([C.17](#)).

In middle and lower koine texts, not only does the use of ἔρχομαι outstrip that of the simple verb εἶμι, which survives only in compound forms, but the compounds of εἶμι rarely have a future meaning. This is matched by the evidence in the Septuagint, the New Testament, and the apocryphal writings of the New Testament. Helbing (1907, 108) counts no examples of εἶμι with a future meaning in Septuagint Greek. Blass, Debrunner (1976, § 99.3) also stress that ἔρχομαι is the favourite choice for expressing motion in the New Testament, and that εἶμι occurs exclusively in Luke's gospel, Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, and the *Acts of the apostles*, and here only in its compound forms and never with a future meaning. In the apocryphal writings of the New Testament, similarly, simple εἶμι is never employed: these texts only make use of the compounds, and never with the future meaning (see Reinhold 1898, 87–8). Evidence of εἶμι from papyri and inscriptions is collected by Mayser (*Gramm.* vol. 1,2, 126–7), Gignac (1981, 288–9), Schweizer (1898, 177), and Nachmanson (1903, 157). It appears that in Ptolemaic papyri, the inscriptions of Pergamum, and the inscriptions of Magnesia, no example of εἶμι with a future meaning is attested. The situation is more nuanced in imperial papyri. Besides the fact that ἔρχομαι may occur with a clearly futural meaning, Gignac (1981, 288–9) points out that although ἐλεύσομαι is the rule, 'εἶμι occurs very frequently' with a future sense, usually in the participle but occasionally also in the indicative; beside the vagueness of this remark, it is uncertain whether the examples with the participle, in cases such as τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους ('in the coming year') or τῆς ἐπιούσης ἰνδικτίωνος ('in the following indiction'), actually provide straightforward evidence of εἶμι with a future meaning. As evidence for the indicative with a future meaning Gignac refers to P.Oxy. 529.16–7, though we may add a few more examples with the simple verb ([C.18](#), [C.19](#)). Yet, it is not always clear whether εἶμι has a future or a present continuous meaning. For instance, in a case such as that of P.Phil. 35.24–5 (= [TM 27218](#)) [provenance unknown, last quarter 3rd century CE] ἵνα γεινώσκητε ποῦ | εἶμι καὶ ἰς [*lege* εἰς] ποῖν [*lege* ποῖον] τόπον εἶμι, it is not immediately clear whether the sense is 'In order for you to know where I am and where I will go' or 'In order for you to know where I am and where I am going' (although given that the linguistic competence of this text is very poor, one would incline towards the present continuous meaning).

E. Byzantine and Modern Greek commentary

Since εἶμι and its compounds are recessive forms in Post-classical Greek, their very use by Byzantine writers counts as a marked, classicising choice. Overall, the compound forms of εἶμι are far more frequently attested than the simple verb, in accordance with a tendency that can already be noticed in ancient Greek. Thus, the use of the simple verb may be an element of solemn language. Consider, for instance, the passage of Anna Comnene's *Alexiad* ([C.20](#)): this is the only occurrence of the present indicative of simple εἶμι as part of a periphrasis with the future participle, and this lexical choice is arguably tailored to the solemn tone of this metaliterary reflection on the practice of the historian. Conversely, the use of ἐλεύσομαι and its compounds becomes standard even in learned writers, such as Photius, Arethas, Michael Psellus, and Eustathius, in whose corpora I have been unable to find evidence for the use of εἶμι and compounds with a future meaning (equally, no occurrence is recorded in the available indexes to the editions of these texts). If one takes the *Alexiad* as a sample case, it is also clear that the compound forms of εἶμι and ἐλεύσομαι may be used in the same context to indicate a clear opposition between present and future motion ([C.21](#)).

F. Commentary on individual texts and occurrences

(1) Phryn. *Ecl.* 161 ([A.2](#))

The proverbial expression ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς ('Here is another Heracles') is used for someone who shares the same physical qualities as Heracles, but it may well be used also by antiphrasis to make fun of someone who is weak. In Phrynichus, the sense is clearly antiphrastic, and it means something like 'Here is another mistake'. Amato (2010, 413), who also provides further bibliography on the proverb, convincingly refutes earlier attempts at taking ἄλλος οὗτος {ἦν} Ἡρακλῆς as a quotation from Favorinus rather than as Phrynichus' own words. Phrynichus may have devoted special attention to Favorinus' ἐπέξελεύσομαι because the proper Attic equivalent ἐπέξειμι with a future meaning is attested twice in Thucydides, in passages which attracted the interest of (Atticising) lexicography ([B.2](#), [B.3](#), [B.4](#), on which see [F.2](#) and [F.3](#)). Thucydides is a model which Favorinus clearly has in mind and to which he openly alludes more than once (a most useful examination is provided by Barigazzi 1966, 40–7, 51–2, and 65, who points out that the degree of Thucydidean inspiration in Favorinus is particularly remarkable). To mention just one exemplary case, in a passage of *On exile* (1.44–2.7), Favorinus rather magniloquently first alludes to Thuc. 342.2 then reproduces Thucydides' claim that his work is a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί, before finally reproducing Thucydidean syntax (see Barigazzi 1966, 413 and Wilhelm Schmid's notes on this passage, recently published by Amato 2015, 67; other passages where Favorinus quotes Thucydides or alludes to him are collected by Barigazzi 1966, 52). Given that Thucydides was a model which Favorinus sought to imitate with special zeal, Phrynichus may have found it particularly tempting to point out Favorinus' shortcomings at imitating his model.

(2) Schol. Thuc. 2.20.3 Hude (= P.Oxy. 853.col. xii.27–39 [late 2nd century CE]) ([B.2](#))

An Atticist origin for this remark is a strong possibility. Other linguistic comments found in the same papyrus commentary are of Atticist derivation (see schol. Thuc. 20.4 [= P.Oxy. 853.col. xiii.1–2] and further Kleinlogel 2019, 55). However, even though Ἀττικοί would seem like a most reasonable restoration at col. xii.29... [.]τικοί, it apparently 'does not suit the vestiges' (Grenfell, Hunt 1908, 145).

(3) Phot. ε 1424 ([B.3](#)), schol. Thuc. 3.27.2 Hude ([B.4](#))

These discussions of ἐπεξιῶν are also likely to derive ultimately from Atticist sources. In the case of Photius' gloss ([B.3](#)), Theodoridis does not go as far as suggesting what its possible source might be. The scholium to Thucydides probably derives from late manuscripts (see Hude 1927, IV), and the available critical editions do not provide further documentation regarding the sources of these materials.

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a philological and linguistic commentary on the words εἶμι and ἐλεύσομαι discussed in the Atticist lexica Phryn. Ecl. 24, Phryn. Ecl. 161, Poll. 5.155, and Moer. α 29.

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