

## IN SEARCH OF ATTICUS' GREEK

NEIL O'SULLIVAN

*University of Western Australia\**

**Abstract:** Cicero's friend and correspondent Titus Pomponius Atticus was a key figure in the Graeco-Roman cultural life of his time, and knowing about the Greek that he used would give us insight not only into this broader culture, but also into the Greek language itself at this crucial point of its history. However, no writings by him survive, and his Greek can only be reconstructed from Cicero's letters. The only previous attempt to do this was made nearly a century ago and was generously inclusive but lacking in discernment. The current study seeks to distinguish the different types of evidence on this question that Cicero's letters can offer. It provides a list of those Greek words we can be most confident featured in Atticus' letters and suggests some criteria for judging the more numerous doubtful instances. Finally, it points to some conclusions about Atticus' Greek, and how this may have differed from Cicero's.

**Keywords:** Greek, Koine, Atticus, Cicero

### I. Introduction: *ut Athenis natus uideretur*

Some attention over the years has been paid to the Greek which Cicero uses,<sup>1</sup> but much less to that of his chief correspondent, Titus Pomponius Atticus.<sup>2</sup> This omission is hardly surprising, given that no complete letters of Atticus survive, and to reconstruct his language we must rely on Cicero's responses. Absent to this point has been a systematic presentation of the evidence for the Greek Atticus actually used and of the different levels of confidence we should have in attributing particular words to him rather than to Cicero. It is a major aim of this paper to discuss some principles which we might follow in separating Atticus' Greek words from Cicero's. In it I mention all those words about which I think we can be very confident, although for reasons of space I discuss only a few of the many more words which some have thought to be Atticus', but for which clear evidence is lacking.<sup>3</sup> My title will make it clear that this is largely an exploratory process, albeit with some conclusions which tend to confirm what earlier studies have tentatively suggested, amongst which is his liking for Hellenistic Greek, rather than Attic (where these can be distinguished), perhaps in contrast to Cicero.<sup>4</sup>

\* neil.osullivan@uwa.edu.au; <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6918-2015>. I thank the journal's readers for their helpful observations and suggestions. Unless otherwise specified, all references in this paper are to Cicero's letters to Atticus, for which I use the text and (sometimes adapted) translation of Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970). Much of the discussion in notes refers to other ancient authors, whose use of words studied here can be easily found using, for example, *TLG*. To save space, therefore, I mention the authors but usually omit detailed references to their texts.

<sup>1</sup> Still indispensable are Steele (1900) and, despite deficiencies, the works of Rose (1921) and McCall (1980). More recent valuable contributions have been made especially by Swain (2002) and Adams (2003), particularly in their investigations of the circumstances in which Cicero uses Greek rather than Latin. A simple lack of evidence prevents our looking at Atticus' Greek with this focus.

<sup>2</sup> There are *obiter dicta* in our commentaries on the letters, and some remarks by O'Sullivan (2017) 94–95

and Font (1894) 37–38, but the only real discussion is the work of Friedrich Kredel (1922). Contrary to custom, this dissertation was not typeset, but Kredel's manuscript was reproduced and is now available at [archive.org](https://archive.org/details/4624628/page/n1) (<https://archive.org/details/4624628/page/n1>). Mention should also be made of Consoli (1913), who attempts to reconstruct Atticus' letters from Cicero's answers to them, but he does not pay much attention to the Greek in their correspondence.

<sup>3</sup> I hope to explore more of these doubtful cases elsewhere, along with the allusions to Greek literature and proverbs which Atticus seems to have employed in his letters to Cicero. Establishing workable criteria in the current study should help later investigation of both these areas.

<sup>4</sup> Kredel (1922) 18; O'Sullivan (2017) especially 94–95. By 'Hellenistic Greek' in this context I mean what is generally called Koine, that widespread post-Classical form of the language, based largely on earlier Attic but simplified and not consciously imitative, used to describe a broad range of registers from colloquial to literary (for

Ancient judgements on Atticus' command of Greek are found in two contrasting, but perhaps complementary, sources: Nepos and Cicero. The former's biography is fulsome in its praise of its subject's talents, not least in this respect (4.1). Explaining Sulla's fondness for Atticus' company while in Athens, and perhaps implying that the latter acted as interpreter (*enim*), Nepos says:

sic enim Graece loquebatur, ut Athenis natus uideretur ... poemata pronuntiabat et Graece et Latine sic, ut supra nihil posset addi.

For he spoke Greek in such a way that he seemed to have been born in Athens ... he recited poetry in both Greek and Latin so well that it could not be improved.

These are the most positive judgements on Atticus' Greek, but we should bear in mind their source: in the opinion of one of his editors, Nepos' Greek is 'weak' and he has no real interest in the language.<sup>5</sup> His high opinion, then, needs to be treated with caution. Furthermore, it is worth noting that even Nepos restricts himself to comments on Atticus' *spoken* Greek,<sup>6</sup> which was presumably that aspect of the language most impressive to someone who struggled with Greek himself. In another section of the biography (18.6) he records, without saying anything of its contents or quality, that Atticus wrote one book in Greek on Cicero's consulship.

It is this book which forms the basis of the other ancient judgement on Atticus' Greek, for Cicero gives us his reaction to it in 2.1.1. His judgement of Atticus' writing is initially surprising:

... horridula mihi atque incompta uisa sunt, sed tamen erant ornata hoc ipso quod ornamenta neglexerant ...

... a trifle rough and unkempt, but it was embellished by its very neglect of ornament ...

However, the lack of polish Cicero detects here is not, as he says, necessarily a bad thing,<sup>7</sup> and is arguably consistent with the spoken fluency Nepos attests.<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting that, prior to reading this pamphlet, Cicero had sent Atticus his own account in Greek of his time in office, and the accompanying letter (1.19.10) is apologetic about the quality of the expression therein and apparently deferential to Atticus' greater command of the language. However, the tone of this deference is facetious, punning on his correspondent's *cognomen*,<sup>9</sup> and we should note that neither here nor anywhere else does Cicero ask (at least explicitly) for Atticus' advice or correction on any matter of the Greek language.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, in matters of literary judgement, and even of the Latin language itself, Atticus was his Aristarchus (1.14.3).<sup>11</sup>

a recent overview, see Horrocks (2010) chapter 4). We would expect Atticus' Greek to span that range, but lack of evidence may prevent us from determining the position on the continuum of any particular word or phrase. Although Koine and Attic overlap to a high degree, a lack of exclusively Attic words in his Greek would suggest its contemporary orientation.

<sup>5</sup> Horsfall (1989) xviii, xxi.

<sup>6</sup> Despite the misreporting by Feger (*RE* Supplement 8.523): 'Att. sprach und schrieb das Griechische wie seine Muttersprache (Nep. Att. 4,1).' The emphasis on spoken Greek is evidence of Atticus' command of Koine and says nothing about his Attic. Although they have much in common and Koine also has a literary form (see above n. 4), by the first century BC 'Attic Greek' can only be understood as having a literary rather than colloquial existence.

<sup>7</sup> See the ever-useful work of Ernesti (1797) 196–97

on *horridus* as a term of rhetorical criticism.

<sup>8</sup> The roughness of composition to which Cicero's criticisms allude (see above n. 7) seems to correspond to qualities of the 'spoken' (in Aristotelian terms, 'agonistic') style, as opposed to the 'written', in Greek. This critical dichotomy stretches back to the Classical age (see O'Sullivan (1992) especially 42–62).

<sup>9</sup> *si quid erit quod homini Attico minus Graecum eruditumque uideatur*; for a similar pun, but with a stylistic nuance, see 1.13.5.

<sup>10</sup> Kredel (1922) 11 claims that Cicero sent this text to Atticus 'ad corrigendum', but that goes beyond what Cicero says in the letter. Even for the dry subject of Greek accentuation, Cicero's enthusiasm seems at least to match that of his friend (although the tone of 12.6.2 is elusive: see Johnson (2012) 473).

<sup>11</sup> For a few examples of Cicero's respect, see Buckley (2002) 27–28.

This work on Cicero's consulship appears to have been the only literary work Atticus composed in Greek, as indeed is implied by Nepos (18.6: *est etiam unus liber Graece confectus*). There is no evidence to support the claim that he composed epigrams in Greek.<sup>12</sup>

Before we turn to Atticus' Greek as recorded by Cicero, I would like to take two clear – perhaps extreme – examples of Greek in Cicero's letters that are not quoting from Atticus but which will highlight some of the problems we face. The first example illustrates the paradoxical axiom that even the most explicit attribution of Greek to someone in Cicero's letters need not necessarily be taken as evidence for Greek usage. At 8.8.2, Cicero says:

at ille tibi πολλά χαίρειν τῷ καλῷ dicens pergit Brundisium.

But [Pompey], waving adieu to Honour [πολλά χαίρειν τῷ καλῷ dicens], is making for Brundisium.

The facts that he is explicitly attributing a Greek phrase to Pompey, and that he cannot mean this literally, are equally obvious: Pompey is not saying χαῖρε πολλά to anyone or anything, let alone to τὸ καλόν, except metaphorically. Few instances, however, are as clear as this one and, as we will see, it is often not clear if Cicero is repeating Atticus' actual Greek or describing a situation in his own terms.

A second example is further evidence of how speculative this investigation must be. *Epistulae ad Familiares* 15.19 (January 45) is a letter from Cassius, in the context of his recent conversion to the school of Epicurus (2):

difficile est enim persuadere hominibus τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν esse.

It is difficult to persuade people that the good is desirable for its own sake [τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν esse].

There is nothing in the letter to indicate to us that Cassius is quoting Cicero's own words back at him, a fact we only know because Cicero's original letter from earlier in the year happens to survive (*Fam.* 15.17.3):

Pansa noster paludatus a.d. III Kal. Ian. <ita> profectus est, ut quiuis intellegere posset, id quod tu nuper dubitare coepisti, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν esse.

Our friend Pansa left town in military array on 29 December, in such a way that anyone might be able to understand the very thing which you have recently begun to doubt, that the good is desirable for its own sake [τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν esse].

The maxim was established in a number of philosophical schools before Cicero,<sup>13</sup> so he himself is quoting from some other source. Be that as it may, it is clear that Cassius is quoting Cicero's own Greek back at him, although we know this not from anything Cassius says, but from the

<sup>12</sup> Verses are mentioned only twice: at 1.16.15, Cicero bemoans the failure of two Greek writers to produce anything in his praise, and says that he will have to make do with Atticus' epigrams as displayed at his property in Epirus. It seems obvious that Cicero does not imply that these epigrams were in Greek – it is simply the lack of any literary acclaim he laments – but that is the usual view (e.g. Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) *ad loc.*). These may have been the verses which Nepos (*Att.*

18.5–6) mentions as published with illustrations of prominent figures from Roman history and which would naturally have been in Latin (as Nepos' narrative clearly implies). The Elder Pliny (*HN* 35.11.2) mentions a book by Atticus *de imaginibus*, but says nothing of verses.

<sup>13</sup> As he himself was to point out within a few months of this letter (*Fin.* 3.36, where *honestum* translates τὸ καλόν; see *TLL* 6.3.2910.69–73).

chance survival of Cicero's own letter. The two examples thus prove that even the most explicit attribution of Greek cannot always be taken as evidence of actual usage, but may just be a Ciceronian spin on what was being said or done, and also that, in Cicero's circle of correspondents, when you quoted someone's Greek back at him you did not need to point out that this is what you were doing.

## II. Atticus' Greek i: independent direct quotations

With these caveats in mind, let us turn to Atticus' Greek as preserved in Cicero's letters. The most reliable of these must be those containing passages where Cicero seems to be quoting several sentences at once from Atticus' *ipsissima verba* – thus not mixing Atticus' sentences with his own – and where the Greek is embedded in Atticus' Latin. There are a few letters which seem to have exactly Atticus' sentences included in them,<sup>14</sup> and two of them show him using Greek words within Latin sentences, just as Cicero himself does, and just as other correspondents do in the corpus.<sup>15</sup> A key passage in this context is 9.10.4, dated to 18 March 49, where Cicero is very explicit that he has taken out his copy of Atticus' earlier (evidently archived) correspondence:

Nam cum ad hunc locum uenissem, euolui uolumen epistularum tuarum quod <sub> signo habeo seruoque diligentissime. erat igitur in ea quam X Kal. Febr. dederas hoc modo: 'sed uideamus et Gnaeus quid agat et illius rationes quorsum fluant. quod si iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male et, ut ego existimo, ἀλογίστως, sed tum demum consilia nostra commutanda erunt.'

Having arrived at this point I unrolled the roll of your letters, which I keep under seal and preserve most carefully. Well, the one you dispatched on 21 January contains this passage: 'But let us see what Gnaeus is doing and where Caesar's plans tend. If your man abandons Italy, he will act wrongly and in my judgement irrationally [ἀλογίστως]; but then will be the time to change our plans.'

In this letter Cicero actually quotes verbatim from eight of Atticus' letters, in six of which Greek words occur. In addition to ἀλογίστως (which occurs in two of Atticus' letters, both quoted in 4) we find the following: (5) ἄσπονδον, (7) νέκυια, ἀπορῶ, στερκτέον, (8) τὸ μέλλον, καταδοκίσεις, (9) ἀσμενιστόν. Note that most of these words are Classical, but none is obsolete in the sense of being absent from Koine prose.<sup>16</sup> Significantly for the methodology of this paper, Cicero can be shown to quote Atticus' Greek back at him in this letter (9.10.5):

'ego, si Pompeius manet in Italia nec res ad pactionem uenit, longius bellum puto fore; sin Italiam relinquit, ad posterum bellum ἄσπονδον stui existimo.' huius igitur belli ego particeps et socius et adiutor esse cogor quod et ἄσπονδον est <et> cum ciuibus!

'If Pompey remains in Italy and there is no composition, I think the war will last a pretty long time; but if he leaves Italy, then I judge a war to the death [ἄσπονδον] later on is in the making.' So I must needs be joint partaker and abettor in this war to the death [ἄσπονδον] with my fellow countrymen!

<sup>14</sup> Consoli (1913) vii–ix lists 26 letters in which he believes Cicero quotes verbatim from Atticus, but he tends to overlook isolated Greek words which are explicitly attributed to him. In any case, I will argue that the distinction between quotation of several sentences and of mere phrases is worth making in this context.

<sup>15</sup> For example Antony in 10.8a.1; Caelius in *Fam.* 8.3.3.

<sup>16</sup> A search in *TLG* shows the words occurring in these authors (amongst others): ἀλογίστως: Lysias, Epicurus, Polybius; ἄσπονδος: Thucydides, Polybius,

Philo; στέργω: Plato, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus (but the gerundive in -τέος, still found in more literary Koine, e.g. Polybius, was extinct in the spoken language: O'Sullivan (2017) 98); νέκυια is post-Classical, probably first in the Ps.-Platonic *Minos*; τὸ μέλλον: Thucydides, Polybius (very frequent), NT; καταδοκέω: Xenophon (single instance in Attic prose), Polybius, Diodorus Siculus; ἀσμενιστός seems first here (the extract from Clement of Alexandria printed as Chrysippus *fr.* 1123 in *SVF* does not even mention the Stoic's name).

We must always be open to the possibility that some of the Greek Cicero uses to Atticus is similarly quoting it back to him, particularly in contexts which suggest a methodical working through the latter's correspondence. Usually, of course, the clear proof of this offered in the example above is lacking, and a sensitive judgement is required; more on this below.

There is only one other letter from Cicero which explicitly quotes a sentence or more from Atticus' correspondence containing Greek words. That letter (16.7) was, as its closing indicates, written on board a ship on 19 August 44, as Cicero was returning from the south of Italy after changing his mind about going abroad in the aftermath of Caesar's assassination. According to the letter (1), the event which swayed him was a meeting with a party from Rhegium who brought fresh news from Rome and, perhaps, a letter<sup>17</sup> from Atticus. In any case, he then (2–5) goes through a recent letter from his correspondent, quoting bits of it and echoing the Greek in response (just as we have seen him do in 9.10), specifically *σχόλιον*, the first recorded instance of that word dear to all true lovers of antiquity.<sup>18</sup> Another Greek word quoted from the same letter, *εὐθανασία*, is attributed by Atticus to Cicero himself.<sup>19</sup>

Later in 16.7, Cicero quotes another Latin sentence from Atticus embedding a Greek word, but makes it clear that this is from a different letter (6: *aliis litteris*).<sup>20</sup> The Greek word here is *δυσχρηστία*, first found in Polybius, who uses it often in the general sense of 'difficulty', but in Atticus' usage it appears to have the special meaning of 'tightness of money'.<sup>21</sup>

We see, then, that only a dozen Greek words can be attributed with maximum confidence to Atticus (and one of these is itself quoting Cicero), from the somewhat more than 900 Greek words found in Cicero's works. That is obviously an inadequate foundation for an understanding of the topic, and it is not surprising that the only real study so far did not stop there. Kredel (1922) 20–22 actually lists over 100 words, an impressive feat the author could only achieve through lack of discrimination between the different claims Greek words in Cicero have to an origin in Atticus' letters. Although Kredel's position needs much refinement, it is highly likely that the letters *do* contain more of Atticus' Greek than the few examples so far given. How can we go about increasing the findings, after exhausting our surest resource?

### III. Atticus' Greek ii: explicit indirect quotations

We can start by observing what Cicero does with some of those few words we have already collected. It is helpful to note that two of them occur elsewhere in the correspondence, and in contexts which explicitly acknowledge that they are Atticus' words. In 9.10.7, Cicero had quoted a sentence from Atticus in which his friend refers to Caesar's supporters as a *νέκυνια*, drawing on the designation of *Odyssey* 11 by that name.<sup>22</sup> Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) translates as 'Underworld', and explains that these reprobates had 'now emerged from the shades of bankruptcy or *ἀτιμία*' under Caesar's patronage. The next letter Cicero wrote to Atticus, two days later, takes up the term, incorporating it into his own sentence, but explicitly acknowledging its origin as he describes Matius' suspicious attitude to the Caesarian party (9.11.2):

<sup>17</sup> The mention of Atticus' letter in the context of that meeting suggests this.

<sup>18</sup> *cf.* Lobeck's arch letter to Meineke of 10 April 1821 in Friedländer (1861) 67: rather than visiting Italy, 'bleibe ich lieber hinter meinem warmen Ofen sitzen und lese griechische Scholiasten, was doch eigentlich die Bestimmung des menschlichen Lebens ist.'

<sup>19</sup> Possibly, however, this is Atticus' Greek translation of Cicero's Latin: see below n. 23.

<sup>20</sup> Since he is quoting it verbatim while on board a ship, it must have been a letter he was carrying with him, and so to be dated after he left Rome in early April 44;

he was not to return until the end of August (Marinone (2004) 232–33). Consoli (1913) 90 speculates that this second extract was from a letter to which Cicero had previously responded in 16.2 (11 July).

<sup>21</sup> So LSJ (following Tyrrell and Purser (1879–1933), with no parallels, but *cf.* Adrados and Somolinos (1980–) *s.v.* for new epigraphic support.

<sup>22</sup> As mentioned in n. 16 above, the designation is probably first found in the *Minos*. Other (fragmentary) Hellenistic texts seem to use it, and the title was certainly employed by Atticus' contemporary Diodorus Siculus (e.g. 4.39.3).

quam ille hoc non probare mihi quidem uisus est, quam illam νέκυια, ut tu appellas, timere!

To me at any rate he seemed very far from approving what is going on, and very apprehensive of the Underworld [νέκυια], as you call them.

A week or so later, he uses the same term, again pointing to the origin of the label (9.18.2):

reliqua, o di! qui comitatus, quae, ut tu soles dicere, νέκυια!

For the rest, gods! What an entourage, what an Underworld [νέκυια], to use your favourite expression!

Here then is a clear instance of Cicero's attribution of an individual Greek word to Atticus that is verified by a separate and full quotation from Atticus' original letter. Nor is this the only example. The key letter 9.10, written on 18 March 49, also contains (9) a verbatim extract from a letter of Atticus of 5 March, featuring the very rare word ἀσμενιστόν. Now, when he responds initially to that letter, on 8 March, Cicero quotes that Greek word, again explicitly acknowledging its origin (9.2a.2):

confido igitur aduentum nostrum illi, quoquo tempore fuerit, ut scribis, ἀσμενιστόν fore.

So I am confident that my coming will, as you say, be acceptable [ἀσμενιστόν] to him, happen when it may.

These two examples, then, confirm that sometimes when Cicero attributed a Greek phrase to Atticus he was quoting him verbatim.<sup>23</sup> On this basis, and with all due caution, we can press on to collect some other Greek words that Cicero attributes to Atticus, albeit not in the same secure environment of quotations of entire sentences. I give a brief account of the words' appearances elsewhere, culled from *TLG*, and so do not repeat the references here, but it is worth pointing out that none of these instances from Atticus appears in the *TLG* database itself. Given how poorly attested Hellenistic Greek is, the larger absence of the Ciceronian Greek corpus from that essential resource for our study of the language is an issue that needs to be addressed. There are dozens of Greek words which first occur in Cicero's works, and many of these are not found elsewhere.<sup>24</sup>

5.4.1:

de illo altero quem scribis tibi uisum esse non alienum, uereor adduci ut nostra possit, et tu <a>is δυσδιάγνωστον esse.<sup>25</sup>

As for the other man, whom you say you think not unsuitable, I doubt whether my girl could be brought to consent, and you say it's difficult to decide [δυσδιάγνωστον].

<sup>23</sup> 'Sometimes' of course does not mean 'always', and on occasion Cicero might have used a Greek expression to render a Latin word or phrase from Atticus, loosely attributing the former to him, as Atticus perhaps paraphrases Cicero's *spes mortis melioris* (15.20.2) with the word εὐθανασία at 16.7.3 (so Tyrrell and Purser (1879–1933); Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970)): *tu qui εὐθανασίαν* [sc. *dicis*]. But it is not certain that this is what Atticus was doing, and there is no clear indication that Cicero ever translated his correspondent's Latin into Greek for him: the switch between ἀσελγής in 2.12.2 and *delicatum* in 2.14.1 is discussed below.

<sup>24</sup> Rose (1921) classifies 44 of Cicero's Greek words

as *hapaxes* and 71 as the first occurrences of items found elsewhere. While Rose is careless and both figures are too generous, there remain many members of both categories. Cicero is not entirely absent from *TLG*, and is found hundreds of times where he is a source for (usually translated) fragments of earlier Greek literature, especially philosophy. The key point, however, is that he and his correspondents are ignored when they are using their own Greek words. A related phenomenon, harder to address in *TLG* but also limiting its comprehensiveness, is the many loanwords in Latin which appear only later, or not at all, in Greek texts (see, e.g., Leumann (1949)).

<sup>25</sup> *tu ais* Turnebus: *tuis* Ω.

This is the first occurrence of a word that is next found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The word had a medical sense – Galen uses it more than any other writer – and *TLG* shows that it is also used more generally in Byzantine literature which eschews the niceties of strict Atticism.<sup>26</sup> Further evidence of its currency in non-literary Greek is its appearance as a gloss, a more easily understood word explaining a difficult one,<sup>27</sup> and its survival into modern Greek.

Pretty much the same can be said about our next word (12.1.2):

reliqua quae exspectabam ex tuis litteris cognoui omnia; sed quod scribis ‘igniculum matutinum <γεροντικόν>’, γεροντικώτερον est memoriola uacillare.<sup>28</sup>

On all the other items of which I was expecting news your letter put me up to date. But when you say that ‘a little fire in the morning suggests old age’ [γεροντικόν], a little lapse of memory suggests old age even more [γεροντικώτερον est].

γεροντικόν is restored from our understanding of Cicero’s habit of competitively echoing his correspondent’s Greek, defensively or playfully as the situation requires.<sup>29</sup> The word’s occurrences strikingly match those of δυσδιάγνωστος: virtually absent from Attic prose, with a distinct medical flavour, it crops up in glosses and survives into the modern language.<sup>30</sup>

There remain further Greek words that Cicero ascribes to Atticus in this way (‘ut scribis’ *aut sim.*). 6.1.20:

scribis enim sic, ‘τί λοιπόν;’, deinde me obsecras amantissime ...

You write ‘what else?’ [τί λοιπόν;] and then beg me affectionately ...

While both words are extremely common at almost all stages of the language up to today (although λοιπός does not occur in Homer or Hesiod), the combination is quite unusual, and in this simple form of a two-word sentence is only found once before Atticus, in a fragment (1.34 KA) of the poet from Middle Comedy, Sotades, where the tone is informal and apparently vernacular.<sup>31</sup> An informal aura would also suit its appearance in Cicero’s letter, which seems to express a concern about the discrepancy between an apparently off-hand phrase and Atticus’ subsequent warning.

13.10.2:

ad Dolabellam, ut scribis, ita puto faciendum, κοινότερα quaedam et πολιτικώτερα.

For Dolabella I think I must do as you say and find some material of a more general [κοινότερα] and political flavour [πολιτικώτερα].

Both adjectives are exceptionally common in Attic Greek, but also in all later forms of the language and continue in use today.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, the anonymous 10th-century treatise on siegecraft (*De strategematibus* by ‘Heron Byzantius’ in *TLG*), now edited by Sullivan (2000): the first chapter, which programmatically boasts of the book’s simple and clear language, uses δυσδιάγνωστος twice.

<sup>27</sup> *Suda s.v.* δυσεκλογίστων; Σ Aesch. *Supp.* 126 (δυσάγκριτοι) and elsewhere.

<sup>28</sup> γεροντικόν add. Lamb. (marg.).

<sup>29</sup> cf. 16.7.3 (see above), citing Atticus: *uelimσχόλιον aliquod elimes ad me ...*, then responding: *etsi*

*quid iam opus est σχολίω?*

<sup>30</sup> Sole Attic occurrence is Pl. *Leg.* 761c6, but fairly common in Galen (11 times) and the medical commentator Stephanus (*BNP* 9) (28 times); it glosses, for example, πρεσβυτικός in Σ Ar. *Plut.* 1050 and γηραιός in Σ Eur. *Phoen.* 302.

<sup>31</sup> cf. Demosthenes 41.18 τί ἔτι λοιπόν; where the tone also seems conversational.

<sup>32</sup> On πολιτικός in Cicero’s writings, see Swain (2002) 156–57; and now O’Sullivan (2018) 510–12.

13.19.1:

... in quibus illud mihi gratissimum fuit, quod Attica nostra rogat te ne tristis sis, quodque tu ἀκίνδυνα esse scribis.

... in which I am particularly glad to read that our dear Attica asks you not to fret, and your statement that there is no cause for alarm [ἀκίνδυνα esse].

The adjective is in Attic prose, but not much earlier. The medical meaning of 'unthreatening' (perhaps 'benign') is clearly the sense here, and is amply attested in the Hippocratic corpus and Galen, and this medical sense of 'harmless' continues into modern Greek.<sup>33</sup>

Our next example of a Greek word explicitly attributed to Atticus by Cicero will provide us with a transition to considering others of less certain origin. We saw above that Cassius could quote Cicero's Greek back to him, without acknowledging that he was using the latter's own phrase, and we would expect similar instances in the correspondence with Atticus. In fact, we have proof of this in the case of the extremely rare word ἐγγήραμα, meaning 'a place to grow old in'.<sup>34</sup> The word occurs only once in *TLG*, in Plutarch *Cato Maior* 24.11, but the first place the word is found is Cicero's letter of 21 March 45, which concludes with the comment (12.25.2):

nam quod scribis 'ἐγγήραμα', actum iam de isto est; alia magis quaero.

As to your talk of a retreat for my old age [ἐγγήραμα], that's all over and done with. I have other objects in mind.

*quod scribis* tells us that this word is Atticus', as does its next occurrence, written just a few days later on 25 March (12.29.2):

uel tu illud ἐγγήραμα, quem ad modum scripsisti, uel ἐντάφιον putato.

Call it a retreat for my old age [ἐγγήραμα], as you did in your letter, or a shroud [ἐντάφιον], as you please.

The word occurs once more in Cicero's correspondence, nearly two months later (13 May), and this time there is no recognition of Atticus' authorship (12.44.2):

mihi uero et locum quem opto ad id quod uolumus dederis et praeterea ἐγγήραμα.

You will be giving me an ideal site for my purpose and a retreat for my old age [ἐγγήραμα] into the bargain.

Obviously, if the two earlier letters had not survived, we would regard ἐγγήραμα as Cicero's word, not Atticus'.

#### IV. Atticus' Greek iii: possible quotations not indicated as such

So far I have highlighted a score of words that can be attributed to Atticus, but it must be asked how many others may be lurking in Cicero's letters that (like our last instance above) are not announced as coming from him. As already mentioned, Kredel's dissertation takes a generous view of this question, and suggests that more than five times as many Greek words in Cicero's letters as are listed above can be sourced to Atticus. Now that we have examined the two clearest criteria for

<sup>33</sup> Hellenistic usage is attested but limited; in addition to the examples from *TLG*, papyrus documents show the word's survival in the legal sense of 'guaranteed'

(Adrados and Somolinos (1980–) s.v. 2).

<sup>34</sup> So Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) 5.404–13; followed by LSJ Revised Supplement.



Atticus' Greek – quotations of whole sentences and explicit attribution of individual phrases – it must be admitted that we are faced with much uncertainty in trying to determine what originated with him. There is no simple process available, and I am put in mind of A.E. Housman's likening of the textual critic searching for corruptions to a dog hunting for fleas.<sup>35</sup> Still, if we need to base our investigation from this point to some extent on instinct, it is as well to acknowledge this limitation, and to hope that we can make it a bit less subjective by introducing some arguments where we can. The rest of this paper discusses some of those Greek words in Cicero's correspondence that lack clear indication of attribution to Atticus but have sometimes been thought to have this origin. For reasons of space, I take only a few instances of many, but those chosen give a reasonable sample of the issues to be encountered. Kredel (1922) 20–22 conveniently if uncritically lists almost all the Greek words in Cicero's letters that have any claim at all to be quoted from Atticus.

We start with some examples of words that Cicero uses to allude to the contents of a letter from Atticus, without (as in the examples above) explicitly quoting from it. Towards the end of 9.13 occurs this sentence (5):

illa ἀλίμενα uideo tibi non probari; quae ne mihi quidem placebant; sed habebam in illis et occultationem et ὑπηρεσίαν fidelem.

I see that you don't like those harbourless places [ἀλίμενα]. Neither do I, but in them I have the means of hiding and a reliable crew [ὑπηρεσία].

In the context of replying to Atticus' letter, the first clause suggests (I do not think we can put it more strongly) that the Greek word was Atticus'. The word is certainly Classical, but Kredel (1922) 20 usefully points out that the word is in Polybius too. In fact, he argues (18–19) for Atticus' particular fondness for Polybius' Greek, although it is probably not Polybius *per se* that Atticus keeps drawing on, but rather the general stock of inherited literary Koine, for which Polybius is easily our greatest source.<sup>36</sup>

Let us return to 9.13.5. Cicero's verb *uideo* makes us think of direct inspection of Atticus' letter, and the second Greek word (ὑπηρεσίαν), certainly Cicero's, is actually evidence that the first word is Atticus', rather than Cicero's Hellenizing twist on what his friend had written in Latin. We could cite examples of Cicero's responding in Greek to Atticus' use of the language from the safest evidence we have, 9.10 and 16.7. These quote passages from Atticus' letters and intersperse them with Cicero's own Greek,<sup>37</sup> indicative of the ludic and slightly competitive edge of Greek in Cicero's letters.<sup>38</sup>

Cicero has other ways of referring to the contents of Atticus' letters, but it may be difficult to determine from which writer a particular Greek word comes. 7.12.2 refers to the feared tyrannical behaviour of Caesar:

nam istum quidem cuius Φαλαρισμὸν times omnia taeterrime facturum puto.

As for the man whose Phalarism [Φαλαρισμός] you dread, I expect nothing but atrocities from him.

<sup>35</sup> Housman (1922) 68–69: 'A textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motions of the planets: he is much more like a dog hunting for fleas. If a dog hunted for fleas on mathematical principles, basing his researches on statistics of area and population, he would never catch a flea except by accident. They require to be treated as individuals; and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique.'

<sup>36</sup> For instance, Polybius uses ἀλίμενος three times, which is as many as Thucydides, but Strabo, a younger

contemporary of Atticus, uses the word 22 times, admittedly while dealing with subject matter more likely to require it.

<sup>37</sup> For example 9.10.4 quotes ἀλογίστως from two letters and then analyses a (Latin) phrase from one of them with ὑποκορίζη, while 16.7.3 quotes Atticus' request for a σχόλιον which is then paraphrased in Cicero's Greek with the promise ἀπολογισμὸν συντάξομαι.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the references of Adams (2003) 345 to 'game', 'pretentiousness' and 'showing off'.

This *hapax*<sup>39</sup> may be Atticus', but Cicero is rather fond of this sort of abstract noun formed on the basis of verbs with a suffix -ιζ-,<sup>40</sup> and this may be his term for the kind of behaviour Atticus had described.

A different type of fear, expressed with a different sort of Greek word, occurs in 16.11.2:

quod uereris ne ἀδόλεσχος mihi tu, quis minus?

As for my finding you a chatterbox [ἀδόλεσχος], you are the last person who need be afraid of that.

ἀδόλεσχος is, significantly, a later form of the Classical ἀδολέσχη;<sup>41</sup> although a restoration here, the -εσχος ending at least is sure. At the risk of arguing in circles, it can be pointed out that there is a lack of evidence that Cicero used Hellenistic words where equivalent Classical forms were available,<sup>42</sup> and this may incline us to view ἀδόλεσχος here as his accurate report of the fear Atticus had expressed in his letter.

Sometimes Cicero's attribution appears more explicit, with Atticus as the subject of a verb of writing or saying, but certainty is usually elusive. In 14.11.1 he is going through Atticus' most recent letter:

nunc ad ea quae proxime. uelim me hercule Asturae Brutus. ἀκολασίαν istorum scribis. an censebas aliter?

Now to answer your latest. I certainly wish Brutus had gone to Astura. You write about the licence [ἀκολασία] of these people [sc. the Caesarians]. What did you expect?

It has been generally thought, and not just by Kredel, that ἀκολασία is Atticus' own word.<sup>43</sup> That seems plausible, although a direct object of *scribis* in Cicero's letters may equally refer to content, not exact words.<sup>44</sup> This may then be his gloss on what Atticus had written.

A similar uncertainty surrounds 12.45.2:

id enim ipsum putaram quod scribis, ut cum ingenium amici nostri probaretur, ὑπόθεσις uituperandi Catonis irrideretur.

My idea was exactly what you say, that while our friend's literary talent would be recognized, his theme [ὑπόθεσις], abusing Cato, would only excite derision.

The unanswerable question is whether *id ipsum quod scribis* refers to the actual language of Atticus' letter or merely the idea which Cicero is paraphrasing. Cicero had already used the Greek term ὑπόθεσις – common in prose from Attic onwards – in two earlier letters (1.14.4; *QFr.* 2.16.4).

<sup>39</sup> But see Herrmann (1982), who would restore the word in other places.

<sup>40</sup> He shows six other instances (ἀπολογισμός, Ἀττικισμός, ἐκτοπισμός, Λακωνισμός, νεωτερισμός, ὑπομνηματισμός) and, while none is a neologism, he adds to the two based on proper nouns a new, linguistic meaning. As Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) *ad loc.* points out, we need to see the passage in the light of 7.20.2, written a fortnight later about Caesar: *qui quidem incertum est Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus*. Φαλαρισμός = *imitatio Phalaridis*, with Cicero swapping between Greek and Latin expressions of the same idea,

but we cannot tell whether he owes the first to Atticus.

<sup>41</sup> Moeris α 49, Thom. Mag. *Ec.* 12.2. On the Attic -λέσχη form, see Fraenkel (1910–1912) 2.103–04.

<sup>42</sup> So O'Sullivan (2017) 96.

<sup>43</sup> So Tyrrell and Purser (1879–1933) *ad loc.*; Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) on 13.37.4. The word is philosophical and prosaic, common in Isocrates and Plato, but is also Hellenistic (e.g. Philodemus).

<sup>44</sup> So the very frequent construction *quod (quae) scribis de aliquo*: 1.4.3, 1.5.2, 1.20.2; *Fam.* 1.9.24, 2.17.4, 10.26.1, 11.21.5, etc.

Even more explicit attestation may still be open to dispute. At 15.4.3, Cicero writes:

‘at’ inquis ‘Ἡρακλείδειον aliquod’.

You say I might do something in the style of Heraclides [Ἡρακλείδειον].

The reference is to the literary dialogues of Heraclides of Pontus, and *prima facie* it seems clear that this adjective (unattested outside this correspondence) was used by Atticus in this suggestion.<sup>45</sup> However, the context of this passage in 15.4 is that Cicero has rejected Atticus’ idea of writing a speech for Brutus, and this is now presented as a more acceptable alternative, but perhaps one put into the mouth of Atticus by Cicero himself. In the correspondence, significantly, ‘*inquis*’ is normally used with *imaginary* sayings,<sup>46</sup> and that may be the case here.

Sometimes there are good reasons for thinking a word originates from Atticus, even where Cicero in responding has made no direct reference to this. Technical terms from Greek philosophy, for instance, must have been used by Atticus in his letters when discussing their Latin equivalents with Cicero.<sup>47</sup> On other occasions we are faced with a Greek word for which there simply is no Latin equivalent, and we reasonably conclude that Atticus must have used the same Greek word, or else a less elegant Latin paraphrase. The word ἀλίμενα (9.13.5), for instance, quoted above in another context, cannot be put into a single word in Latin. So too ἀχαριστία (9.7.4), one of the few words plausibly attributable to Atticus that are omitted by Kredel.<sup>48</sup> A number of these words that Latin lacks are medical terms, which eventually find their way into the language as transliterations, but which do not seem to have been regarded as Latin words when Cicero and Atticus were exchanging letters. So when we find the former expressing concern about δυσουρία *tua* (10.10.3) or ἀκηδία *tua* (12.45.1), it seems fairly certain that he is quoting the Greek term used by the latter.<sup>49</sup>

But where Latin can supply an appropriate translation, and there is no explicit acknowledgement of quotation, we simply cannot be as confident that Cicero’s Greek word in the context of replying to Atticus is an echo of the latter. An interesting example is 2.12.2, where Cicero is assuring his friend that he would much rather receive a letter from him than have a conversation with Curio. He lists the contents of Atticus’ recent gossip letter, which include a mention of a dinner party:

quantam porro mihi exspectionem dedisti conuiui istius ἀσελγοῦς!

And how you excite my expectations about that raunchy [ἀσελγής] dinner party!

<sup>45</sup> Subsequently it occurs five more times in the letters, without any indication that it is a quotation from Atticus.

<sup>46</sup> Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) on 9.2a.1 (his italics), with further references.

<sup>47</sup> For example Atticus’ suggestion of *inhibere* as the correct translation of ἐπέχειν as related in 13.21.3 and the discussion of *officium* as the equivalent of καθήκον in 16.11.4 and 16.14.3. For ἐπέχειν, cf. the double report of previous correspondence: ἐπέχειν *te scripseras/scribebas* (6.6.3/6.9.3), where the repeated philosophical term, noted by commentators, seems to suggest that the original word is being quoted by Cicero. For Atticus’ interest in these questions as reflected in Cicero’s published work, see Rawson (1985) 102.

<sup>48</sup> But cf. Consoli (1913) 44. The strongest argument for the attribution is Shackleton Bailey’s observation ((1965–1970) *ad loc.*): ‘here Greek comes to aid in a genuine case of *patrii sermonis egestas*’. The word is

Attic but found throughout Hellenistic prose (Polybius, Philodemus) and later.

<sup>49</sup> Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) *ad loc.* complains that the Greek passages cited by ‘lexica’ do not support the evident meaning of ἀκηδία here, which is that of its medieval descendant *accidie*. But Shackleton Bailey’s discussion of Greek in the correspondence is marred, here and elsewhere, by his lack of interest in the light which early Christian Greek can throw on the language’s use by Cicero and Atticus. On ἀκηδία with its ‘medieval’ meaning in that corpus already, see Bauer et al. (2000) (*‘apathy, melancholy’*) and especially Lampe (1969) *s.v.* (*‘listlessness, torpor, boredom, “accidie” ... t.t. for a special temptation of monks and hermits’*). Nevertheless, Shackleton Bailey’s point, that Atticus does not use the word in its earlier sense, is consistent with what we have seen elsewhere about his Greek. Instead, he anticipates the psychological sense of ἀκηδία so important in later times: see Wenzel (1967); Post (2011).

Cicero goes on to say that he is looking forward to hearing about it in person. Kredel concludes that ἀσελγοῦς is Atticus' own description, repeated by Cicero, and perhaps it is. But in another letter, which must have been written around the same time, he again hopes to hear about a dinner party, mentioned but only in passing by Atticus' letter (2.14.1):

quantam tu mihi moues expectationem de sermone Bibuli ... quantam etiam de illo delicato conuiuio!

How you whet my appetite about your talk with Bibulus ... and that apolaustic dinner party too!

We are surely talking about the same dinner party, mentioned in the same letter from Atticus. But the dinner is described with a Greek adjective in one letter and with a Latin word in the other. We can hardly be sure what language Atticus used to describe it, but the switch here suggests that, whichever of the two was in the original, Cicero did not feel that he had to reproduce it in his own work.<sup>50</sup>

Kredel, then, makes many reasonable suggestions about words in Cicero's letters that may owe their origin to Atticus, although their uncertainty always needs clear acknowledgement. Some of his attributions, however, if not demonstrably wrong (and how could they be in the absence of Atticus' originals?), at least seem to me highly unlikely. Again, Housman's canine metaphor may help: some of these ideas just smell wrong.

We can start again with a letter we have previously quoted because it contains extended extracts from Atticus' correspondence (9.10.5):

sequitur χρησιμὸς VI <Kal.> Febr.: 'ego, si Pompeius manet in Italia nec res ad pactionem uenit, longius bellum puto fore; sin Italiam relinquit, ad posterum bellum ἄσπονδον strui existimo.'

Then follows an oracle [χρησιμὸς], on 25 January: 'If Pompey remains in Italy and there is no composition, I think the war will last a pretty long time; but if he leaves Italy, then I judge a war to the death [ἄσπονδον] later on is in the making.'

ἄσπονδον, as we have already seen, is Atticus' word if anything in Cicero's correspondence belongs to him. But Kredel (1922) 22 also concludes that χρησιμὸς is being quoted from Atticus, and this is not the only time he seems to mistake the tone of the correspondence. Atticus is surely not claiming prophetic status for his somewhat lame prediction, but rather this is Cicero's tongue-in-cheek description of it; if the description was originally Atticus' in self-mockery, would we actually expect Cicero to repeat the little joke? As with the earlier attribution to Pompey of χαῖρε πολλά, this is simply Cicero's own gloss on the situation, not a direct quote from someone else.

On 4 May 49 Cicero replied to a letter from Atticus containing some comments about Cicero's brother Quintus, Atticus' own brother-in-law. Cicero takes the criticism on board but clearly tries to see the best in his sibling (10.11.1):

quae de fratre meo scribis, sunt ea quidem parum firma sed habent nihil ὑπουλον, nihil fallax, nihil non flexibile ad bonitatem, nihil quod non quo uelis uno sermone possis perducere.

What you say about my brother no doubt argues a certain infirmity, but nothing treacherous [ὑπουλον] or deceitful, nothing that may not be bent over to good, nothing you could not lead where you liked in a single talk.

<sup>50</sup> If *delicatum* is the equivalent of ἀσελγής, it cannot mean *elegans*, as it is classified in *TLL* s.v. II A 1, since the Greek word does not mean this; rather, we should think of II B 1 (*libidinosus, lasciuus*). The distinctly

sexual sense of ἀσελγής seems Hellenistic (Adrados and Somolinos (1980–) s.v. I 3 'depravado, licencioso', first attested in Polybius; cf. ἀσελγεια in NT and the continued sense in modern Greek).

Kredel (1922) 22 claims that ὕπουλον, a nasty word originally meaning 'festering' or 'purulent' in reference to a wound and thence applied in a moral sense to deceit, was used by Atticus in this context. How would this be possible? Either he used the word of his brother-in-law Quintus to Quintus' own brother, and Marcus was driven to contradict him, or else he said that Quintus' behaviour was not ὕπουλος and Marcus just blandly repeated it. Neither of these scenarios is convincing. Before their great quarrel in 48, Marcus never speaks of his brother so negatively, and whatever Atticus may have thought about his brother-in-law, he had too much tact to put any criticism as bluntly as this.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, would we expect Cicero simply to echo so plonkingly, without any kind of acknowledgement, his agreement with his correspondent?

There are other contexts in which the tone of a Greek word seems to rule out its use by Atticus. One of his important contributions to Roman culture was the work on the chronology of Roman families,<sup>52</sup> and on a number of occasions Cicero had reason to refer to his expertise on a matter of Roman history. A letter from June 45 records one such occasion. The details are obscure and do not matter here: the point is that Atticus had shown Cicero had misunderstood something from Roman history. Cicero readily admitted it, although with the enthusiasm of a true antiquarian pedant he pointed out that Atticus himself had also been mistaken (12.5b):

... idque ego secutus hunc Fannium qui scripsit historiam generum esse scripseram Laeli. sed tu me γεωμετρικῶς refelleras, te autem nunc Brutus et Fannius.

... following which I wrote that the historian Fannius was Laelius' son-in-law. But you refuted me mathematically [γεωμετρικῶς], and now Brutus and Fannius refute you.

Atticus' correction had been as certain as a geometric proof, says Cicero. But Kredel (1922) 20 attributes the adverb to Atticus, which must mean that the latter not only corrected his friend but explicitly claimed for his correction this certainty. He may well have believed it – but would he have said it so bluntly? Of course there are elements of competition in their correspondence, but there must be a difference of etiquette between attributing infallibility to a friend's argument and claiming it for your own.

## V. Conclusion

We now sum up what this study has suggested about the evidence for Atticus' Greek. In the first place, we noted that the two surviving ancient judgements of it appear to be complementary, inasmuch as one praises his spoken Greek, while the other is critical of his written style. To a limited extent, this seemed to be consistent with such modern work as there has been on his command of the language. We then proceeded to make distinctions about the reliability of different parts of Cicero's letters as testimony for Atticus' Greek, placing most weight on those passages where he quotes several sentences at once from his correspondent. We expressed a more limited confidence when Cicero, within his own sentences, explicitly refers a Greek word to Atticus: the possibility of a Hellenizing turn by Cicero must always be kept in mind. Finally, we entered the much less clear areas where Cicero, writing in a context of replying to Atticus, might be quoting his Greek but does not say so directly. Because this category is likely to be the largest of all, and yet composed of the most varied types of indication of Atticus' authorship, only a few exploratory instances were considered in the space available.

<sup>51</sup> On their falling out, see Shackleton Bailey (1971) chapter 19. Such criticism as Marcus makes before then is chiefly of Quintus' hot temper (e.g. 6.2.2, from April 50).

<sup>52</sup> *Nep. Att.* 18 with Horsfall (1989) *ad loc.*

The necessarily limited analysis above has, I think, pointed to Atticus' Greek as indeed being more contemporary than Classical. By this I mean that his written use of it reflects the living state of late Hellenistic Greek, from the more 'literary' and technical to the lower end of the everyday spoken Koine, and there is no evidence that he turned from these in favour of the Greek of fifth- and fourth-century Athens. Of course, there is a huge overlap between late Hellenistic Koine and Classical Attic, and the use by Atticus of many Classical words cannot be taken as evidence that his Greek was not 'contemporary' unless those words are otherwise unattested in the Hellenistic language. But the evidence above does not show a single clear example where this is the case. On the other hand, there are certainly quite a few examples of his employment of words which are unattested in Attic. Now, Atticus' exclusive use of the Greek of his own era would seem to be quite unremarkable, were it not for the rise of Atticism in his own lifetime, and for the rather more Classical tastes in the language exhibited by his friend and correspondent Cicero.<sup>53</sup> As these counter-examples show, writing Greek in a less contemporary way would certainly have been an option for him, but we have not seen any evidence that it appealed to him.

In this context we can end with a textual problem at 10.1.3 on which our tentative conclusions may be able to shed some light. Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) prints and translates the penultimate sentence of that passage as follows:

Trebati, boni uiri et ciuis, uerbis te gaudeo delectatum, tuaque ista crebra ἐκφώνησις 'ὑπέρευ' me sola adhuc delectauit.

I am glad Trebatius' language pleased you. He is a good man and a good citizen. Your oft repeated exclamation 'bravissimo' [ἐκφώνησις 'ὑπέρευ'] has pleased me like nothing else so far.

Was ὑπέρευ a favourite expression of Atticus? If so, it appears to be an exception to the general picture which has emerged so far. Although lively and conversational, it is Attic and very early Hellenistic, and does not emerge again until the nascent Atticism of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It is absent from the NT and the papyri.<sup>54</sup>

However, the word is only a conjecture in the text of 10.1.3. Here is the same edition's *apparatus criticus* for the sentence: 'tuaque s: tuque (tu quae) Ω ὑπέρευ *Corradus*: ὑπέρει Z<sup>(1)</sup>: ΠΙΠΕΠΙ M: ΠΙΠΕΠΙ R: τέρπει O δ delectauit s: -abit Ω'. In the MSS tradition, the best attested Greek reading, and the only one which makes sense as Greek, is τέρπει. It is curious that, tense aside (about which the tradition is divided anyway), this corresponds to the end of the sentence in Latin, *delectauit*. Is the last word of the sentence as it now appears based on a gloss of τέρπει? If so, perhaps we should read

tuaque ista crebra ἐκφώνησις τέρπει me sola adhuc.

and your frequent acclamation [ἐκφώνησις]<sup>55</sup> (sc. of Trebatius) is the only thing that brings me any pleasure [τέρπει] so far.

If this restoration is correct, we are spared an Atticus using the kind of outdated Greek idiom we find him writing nowhere else.

<sup>53</sup> See O'Sullivan (2017) especially 99: 'Cicero's own use of Greek is in fact suggestive of that return to Classical Greek which we know as Atticism, and which first emerges into the historical record in the Roman orator's own lifetime, and, moreover, in Rome itself.'

<sup>54</sup> So once in Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes and Menander, who elsewhere first attests the post-Classical ὑπέρευγε.

<sup>55</sup> For ἐκφώνησις as 'acclamation', see LSJ s.v. I 2, citing for this exact sense the famous decree of Germanicus declining divine honours.

## VI. Appendix

Greek words used by Atticus in his correspondence with Cicero, classified according to the divisions in this paper.

i = direct quotation within larger passage (complete list)

ii = explicit indirect quotation (complete list)

iii = possible quotation (small selection only, and some very doubtful, as discussed above)

References are given only to occurrences where there is a possible allusion to Atticus' letters (i.e. Cicero's independent uses of the words are not listed).

<i>Greek word</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Classification</i>
ἀδόλεσχος	16.11.2	iii
ἀκηδία	12.45.1	iii
ἀκίνδυνα	13.19.1	ii
ἀκολασίαν	14.11.1	iii
ἀλίμενα	9.13.5	iii
ἀλογίστως	9.10.4 ( <i>bis</i> )	i
ἀπορῶ	9.10.7	i
ἀσελγοῦς	2.12.2	iii
ἀσμενιστόν	9.2a.2, 9.10.9	i
ἄσπονδον	9.10.5	i
ἀχαριστία	9.7.4	iii
<γεροντικόν>	12.1.2	ii
γεωμετρικῶς	12.5b	iii
δυσδιάγνωστον	5.4.1	ii
δυσουρία	10.10.3	iii
δυσχρηστία	16.7.6	i
ἐγγήραμα	12.25.2, 12.29.2 <i>cf.</i> 12.44.2	ii
ἐπέχειν	6.6.3, 6.9.3 <i>cf.</i> 13.21.3	ii*
Ἡρακλείδειον	15.4.3	iii
καθηῆκον	16.11.4, 16.14.3	iii
καραδοκήσει	9.10.8	i
κοινότερα	13.10.2	ii
νέκυια	9.10.7, 9.11.2, 9.18.2	i
πολιτικώτερα	13.10.2	ii
στερκτέον	9.10.7	i
σχόλιον	16.7.3	i
τί λοιπόν	6.1.20	ii
τὸ μέλλον	9.10.8	i
ὑπόθεσις	12.45.2	iii
ὑπουλον	10.11.1	iii
Φαλαρισμόν	7.12.2	iii
χρησμός	9.10.5	iii

\*All uses of ἐπέχειν, explicit and assumed, are discussed in n. 47.

As mentioned, this paper excludes Atticus' allusions to Greek literature and proverbs. For lack of certainty I have left out of the table εὐθανασίαν (above n. 23) and the conjectures ὑπέρεν (see above, Conclusion) and ἀριστεία (14.19.1; see Shackleton Bailey (1965–1970) 6.309–10 in support); if accepted, the first would be in category i and the others in category ii.

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