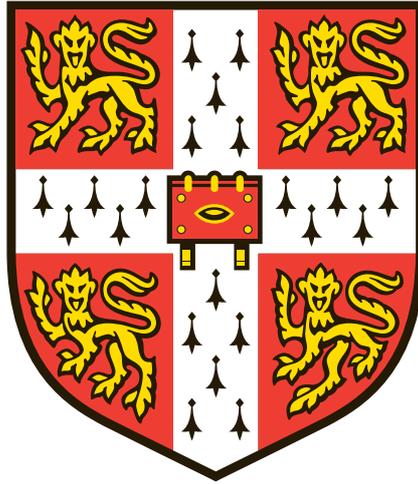


**Greek in Early Hellenistic Magna Graecia:  
Dialect Contact and Change in South Italy**



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**Summary**

This doctoral thesis investigates dialect contact, identity and change in the ancient Greek colonies of Magna Graecia in the fourth and third centuries BC, as evidenced in the surviving epigraphic sources. South Italy is an area of the ancient Greek-speaking world in which a comprehensive investigation of the linguistic evidence has not previously been attempted. By considering linguistic questions within their broader socio-historical environment, I propose a radical redrawing of the dialect map of this area. I first present the historical context, the linguistic evidence and the methodological framework of my research in the introduction. In the first chapter I reject previous hypotheses about dialect contact in South Italy around 300 BC on the basis of both historical and linguistic arguments. I then propose a new and empirically better supported explanation for the development of the ‘*severior*’ long-vowel system in the dialect of the southern city of Locri, which previous studies have generally attributed to influence from the dialect of the important northern city of Taras and taken as evidence for Taras’ linguistic influence over the rest of Magna Graecia, and possibly also for the existence of a local Doric *koina* (i.e. a common dialect). In the second chapter I offer a new analysis of the inscriptional record from Locri and show that, in the absence of compelling evidence for influence from the dialect of Taras, a high level of prestige remained attributed to the traditional local dialect until at least the mid-third century. At the same time, the southern colonies in general, including Locri, can be shown to have been exposed to the *koine* before the northern ones, such as Taras, as a result of frequent contact with the Greeks of near Sicily in the fourth and early third centuries. In the third chapter I complete my investigation by assessing the use of dialectal features in literary texts produced in South Italy around the same period (both metrical inscriptions and literary works transmitted in manuscripts). The evidence of these texts, combined with that of documentary inscriptions, provides a deeper insight into matters of dialect identity

and prestige in this area. After summarising the results of my research, I conclude my investigation with a brief discussion of the socio-historical reasons why a Doric *koina* did not develop in South Italy as in other areas.

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## **Declaration and Statement of Length**

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This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution.

This thesis does not exceed the prescribed word limit. It is 79,994 words in length, in accordance with the specifications of the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Classics, including footnotes and references, but excluding the title page, front matter and bibliography. The appendix, separately bound, is also excluded from the word count, with the permission of the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Classics.

## Acknowledgements

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## Conventions and Abbreviations

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### I. Linguistic conventions

/a/	phoneme
[a]	phone, allophone of phoneme
*a	unattested or reconstructed form
<α>	grapheme
<A>	epigraphic form

### II. Epigraphic conventions

α̣	partially visible letter(s), identifiable in context
+	traces of letter(s), not identifiable in context
[ <sup>-ca.3-</sup> ], [. . .]	damaged text, space for ca.3 letters
[---]	damaged text, unknown number of letters missing
<α>	letter(s) left un-inscribed in error, and supplied by the editor; or inscribed as different letter(s) in error, and corrected by the editor
{α}	letter(s) inscribed in error, removed by the editor
`α`	interlinear addition
ABΓ	letters are clear, but their significance is uncertain
<i>vac.</i>	space where no letters are inscribed

### III. Abbreviations

BNP	<i>Brill's New Pauly</i>
CID	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i>
Diels-Kranz	Diels-Kranz (1952)

FD III	<i>Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie</i>
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
Holloway-Jenkins	Holloway-Jenkins (1983)
I.Locri	Del Monaco (2013)
I.Reggio	D'Amore (2007)
IC	Guarducci (1935-1950)
ICS	Masson (1983)
ID	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGASMG I <sup>2</sup>	Arena (1994a)
IGASMG II <sup>2</sup>	Arena (2002)
IGDGG I	Dubois (1995)
IGDGG II	Dubois (2002)
IGDS I	Dubois (1989)
IGDS II	Dubois (2008)
IGLPalermo	Manni Piraino (1973)
IvO	Dittenberger-Purgold (1896)
Kassel-Austin	Kassel-Austin (2001)
Kraay-Hirmer	Kraay-Hirmer (1966)
Kunze	Kunze (1950)
LASG	Jeffery (1961)
Le Guen	Le Guen (2001)
Lindos II	Blinkenberg (1941)
Lhôte	Lhôte (2006)
Lobel-Page	Lobel-Page (1955)
Minon	Minon (2007)
OF	Bernabé (2005)
P.Oxy	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
Page	Page (1962)
PGM	Henrichs (2001)
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
Rizakis	Rizakis (2008)

Rutter	Rutter <i>et al.</i> (2001)
Schwenk	Schwenk (1985)
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
Thesleff	Thesleff (1965)
Tzifopoulos	Tzifopoulos (2010)

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## 0. Introduction

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This thesis aims to investigate the development of the Greek dialects in the ancient Greek colonies of Magna Graecia, in South Italy, around the fourth and the third centuries BC as evidenced in the surviving epigraphic sources.<sup>1</sup>

South Italy was colonised between the eighth and the sixth centuries by Greek settlers coming from different areas of mainland Greece and the eastern Mediterranean, who brought their local dialects with them. As a result, the forms of Greek across this region differed significantly: Ionic around the bay of Naples, in Siris on the Gulf of Taranto and in Rhegion on the strait of Messina; Laconian Doric in Taras and its sub-colony Heraclea, both on the Gulf of Taranto; Achaean Doric in a number of colonies in south Campania, Lucania and Bruttium (modern Campania, Basilicata and Calabria); Northwest Greek in Locri Epizephyrii, in the ‘toe’ of the Italian peninsula; and possibly Attic-Ionic in Thurii, a Panhellenic colony founded in the fifth century under the leadership of Athens. Thus this region poses interesting questions about the development of the dialects of the colonies compared to those of the motherlands, the effects of interaction between speakers of different varieties, dialect identity in the colonial environment, and the local reaction to the diffusion of the *koine* (the new ‘standard’ variety of Greek based on the dialect of Athens and employed by the increasingly dominant Macedonians) during the third century.

Such questions have not been convincingly answered yet. This is partly due to the paucity of the written evidence that has survived: the longest inscriptions available mostly date to the early Hellenistic period (i.e. around the fourth and the third centuries) and mainly come from Taras and its sub-colony Heraclea, and from Locri, while the number of dialectal (i.e. pre-*koine*) inscriptions from other sites is very limited. This prevents any comprehensive examination of the development of the Greek dialects of the South Italian colonies from the time of their foundation to the diffusion of the *koine*, and confines the focus of linguistic studies to the early Hellenistic period and to certain parts of the region. Thus compared to other areas of the ancient Greek-speaking world, the dialects of the ancient Greek colonies of South Italy have remained significantly understudied. However, besides the limitations of

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this study, all dates are intended as BC, unless stated otherwise.

the surviving inscriptions, the evidence available has been only superficially and unsystematically surveyed in previous studies: as a result, a number of assumptions that have generally remained unquestioned so far appear highly problematic upon closer inspection.

In this study I aim to rectify certain previous assumptions and to provide a novel assessment of the dialectal scenario of fourth- and third-century Magna Graecia by taking a new and comprehensive approach to the evidence available in the light of modern sociolinguistic theory.

### *0.1 Historical background*

The first Greeks to settle in South Italy were the Euboeans of Chalcis and Eretria, speakers of a West Ionic dialect. They first founded Pithecussae, on the island of modern Ischia, in the first half of the eighth century, which, however, appears to have been abandoned around 700.<sup>2</sup> The Chalcidians then founded Cumae, on the nearby coast, in the later eighth century; it is reported that they were joined by the Aeolians of Cumae in Asia Minor, although the colony would be later referred to as Euboean.<sup>3</sup> The Greeks of Cumae then founded Neapolis (modern Naples) around 474, having been joined by groups of Chalcidians and Athenians.<sup>4</sup> In the late eighth century the Chalcidians also founded Rhegion, on the strait of Messina, where they were joined by some of their fellow countrymen who had founded Zancle in Sicily, on the other side of the strait, and by a group of Messenian exiles.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, East Ionic speakers from Colophon settled in the coast of the Gulf of Taranto and founded Siris (near modern Policoro) in the early seventh century.<sup>6</sup> The Ionians of Phocaea founded Hyele (also known as Elea, later Velia), on the part of the

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<sup>2</sup> Dubois (1995: 19-20).

<sup>3</sup> Liv. 8.22.5-6; Strabo 5.4.4, 9; Dubois (1995: 34-35).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo 5.4.7; Dubois (1995: 62-63).

<sup>5</sup> Strabo 6.1.6; cf. Paus. 4.23.6; Thuc. 6.4; Dubois (1995: 94-95).

<sup>6</sup> Dubois (1995: 129-130).

Tyrrhenian coast corresponding to modern Cilento, as they fled their land following Persian occupation in 544.<sup>7</sup>

Doric speakers from Achaea founded Sybaris, on the western coast of the Gulf of Taranto, in the later eighth century.<sup>8</sup> Having rapidly become an important centre, Sybaris founded Poseidonia (later Paestum) in the area of Cilento (ca.600-580).<sup>9</sup> The Achaeans then founded Croton (modern Crotona) around 710, which soon emerged as a prosperous centre and founded a number of sub-colonies in the nearby area, including Crimisa, Skyllition, Terina and Caulonia.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the Achaeans founded Metapontion, on the Gulf of Taranto, in the early seventh century.<sup>11</sup> Towards the mid-sixth century, Sybaris, Croton and Metapontion jointly destroyed the Ionic colony of Siris;<sup>12</sup> but then a conflict arose between Sybaris and Croton, resulting in the destruction of Sybaris in 510. It is reported that the surviving Sybarites took refuge in Laos (generally located in the area of San Bartolo di Marcellina) and Skidros (presumably on the Tyrrhenian coast, not far from Laos), but it is not known whether these sites were founded by the retiring Sybarites, or if they were pre-existing foundations of Sybaris.<sup>13</sup> In 476 the Sybarites were again at war with Croton, presumably as they attempted to re-found their city.<sup>14</sup> According to Diodorus, Sybaris was re-founded in 453 with the help of the Thessalians, but then was destroyed again by Croton in 448.<sup>15</sup> In 446/5 the Athenians and other Greeks from various areas supported the re-foundation of Sybaris: the Sybarites, however, were soon expelled from the new settlement; the other Greek colonists therefore founded the Panhellenic colony of Thurii on the site of the ancient Sybaris in 444/3. The Sybarites themselves

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<sup>7</sup> Hdt. 1.164-167; Strabo 6.1.1; Dubois (1995: 134-136).

<sup>8</sup> Dubois (2002: 13-18).

<sup>9</sup> Strabo 5.4.13; Dubois (1995: 51-52).

<sup>10</sup> Strabo 6.1.12; Dubois (2002: 135-136).

<sup>11</sup> Dubois (2002: 81-82).

<sup>12</sup> Just. 20.2.3-9.

<sup>13</sup> Hdt. 6.20; Diod.Sic. 12.9-10; Strabo 6.1.13; BNP 7.307 (s.v. Laus), 13.981-982 (s.v. Sybaris [4]).

<sup>14</sup> Diod.Sic. 11.48.3

<sup>15</sup> Diod.Sic. 12.10.1-2.

then founded a new Sybaris shortly after on the river Traes (modern Trionto), on the Gulf of Taranto.<sup>16</sup>

Taras (modern Taranto) was founded by Doric-speaking colonists from Sparta at the time of the first Messenian war, around 706. Since the time of its foundation, Taras faced the hostility of the native populations of the Iapyges, Messapians and Peucetii, with whom the *polis* was periodically at war.<sup>17</sup> In 433/2 Taras founded its only sub-colony, Heraclea, on the site of ancient Siris, jointly with people from Thurii. Finally, colonists from Western and Eastern Locris, speakers of Northwest Greek (a variety of Doric), founded Locri Epizephyrii on the eastern coast of the ‘toe’ of Calabria in the early seventh century.<sup>18</sup> In the sixth century the colony experienced a period of particular prosperity, resulting in the foundation of the sub-colonies Medma and Hipponion, the occupation of Metauros (a sub-colony of Zancle on the Tyrrhenian coast, modern Petrace), and the victory over Croton in the battle of the Sagra, which Locri and Rhegion fought together presumably in order to prevent Croton from expanding in the south.<sup>19</sup>

In the late sixth century Pythagoras of Samos arrived in Croton and founded a philosophical school which had a significant influence over the local ruling class; from Croton, Pythagoreanism gradually spread to Metapontion, Caulonia and other colonies of South Italy.<sup>20</sup> The second half of the fifth century saw a number of anti-Pythagorean upheavals in several Achaean *poleis*, leading to internal *staseis* which were resolved through the intervention of the Achaeans of Greece; a league of Achaean colonies was then established under the leadership of Croton, including Caulonia and Sybaris on the Traes among its members, possibly in response to a growing concern for their security after the foundation of Thurii in the nearby territory (according to Iamblichus, Croton suffered an attack from Thurii), seeing that Thurii was backed by the Athenians, while the rival neighbour Locri had allied with Syracuse and Sparta.<sup>21</sup> Following the anti-Pythagorean revolts in the Achaean

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<sup>16</sup> Diod.Sic. 12.10.3; Dubois (2002: 16-17).

<sup>17</sup> BNP 14.138-139 (s.v. Taras [2]); Moggi (2002); Mele (2002); Lombardo (2002).

<sup>18</sup> Euseb. (*Ol.* 25.1; 26.4); Strabo 6.1.7; Musti (1977: 30-37).

<sup>19</sup> Strabo 6.1.5; Musti (1977: 108-109); Iannelli *et al.* (2010); Del Monaco (2013: 13).

<sup>20</sup> Rowett (2014: 113-122); BNP 12.284-285 (s.v. Pythagorean School).

<sup>21</sup> Polyb. 2.38-39; Iambl. *VP* 264; Wonder (2012).

colonies, it seems that from the late fifth century Taras became the major centre for Pythagoreanism.

Many of the South Italian colonies came to be involved in the events of the Athenian expeditions to Sicily (427-425, 415-413) during the Peloponnesian War: already in 433 Rhegion established an alliance with Athens, against Locri, Syracuse and Messina.<sup>22</sup> In 427 Rhegion became the basis for the Athenian operations, while Locri was on the side of Syracuse: in 425 Locri and Syracuse attacked Messina, where Locri sent *epoikoi* in 424.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, Croton remained neutral, offering provisions to the Athenians, but refusing them the passage through its territory.<sup>24</sup> Later in 413, Thurii and Metapontion offered support to the Athenians, while Locri and Taras denied them liberty of anchorage and water; instead, they offered assistance to the Spartan Gylippus and, in the case of Locri, to the Syracusans.<sup>25</sup>

In the first decades of the fourth century the South Italian colonies faced the military interventions of Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who sought to take control of the south of Magna Graecia, and simultaneously suffered attacks from the Lucanians, an Oscan-speaking population. Oscan-speaking populations began to spread on a wide scale into the south of the Italian peninsula during the fifth century;<sup>26</sup> already in the early fourth century the Lucanians appear to have been in control of Poseidonia.<sup>27</sup> During his campaigns in South Italy, Dionysius made an alliance with the Lucanians against the South Italian Greeks.<sup>28</sup> In response to the aggression from both Dionysius and the Lucanians, a league, generally referred to as the Italiote League, was established under the leadership Croton, which counted among its members Thurii, Caulonia, Metapontion, Heraclea, Rhegion, Terina and Hipponion.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Thuc. 3.86.2; see IG I<sup>3</sup> 53.

<sup>23</sup> Diod.Sic. 12.54; Thuc. 3.86, 103.3; 4.1; 5.5.1.

<sup>24</sup> Diod.Sic. 13.3; Thuc. 7.35.

<sup>25</sup> Thuc. 6.44, 144; 7.1, 25, 33, 35, 57.

<sup>26</sup> Strabo 6.1.2-3; Pliny *NH* 3.71; Wonder (2002: 40 n.1); McDonald (2015: 12-17).

<sup>27</sup> Strabo 5.4.13; 6.1.1-3; Wonder (2002); Isayev (2007: 110-114); Crawford *et al.* (2011: 50); McDonald (2015: 244-245).

<sup>28</sup> Diod.Sic. 14.100.

<sup>29</sup> Wonder (2012).

This league did not include Locri, which instead honoured its long-standing alliance with Syracuse and fought the league on the side of Dionysius. This alliance between Locri and Syracuse was further ratified by the marriage of Dionysius with the daughter of a Locrian aristocrat in 398.<sup>30</sup> By contrast, the policy pursued by Taras in the years of Dionysius' campaigns in South Italy is not completely clear on the basis of the testimony of ancient historians: the fact that Taras does not appear among the members of the league at this time and was not attacked by Dionysius suggests that it remained neutral.<sup>31</sup> This assumption seems further supported by the fact that Taras became particularly prosperous during the late fifth and the fourth centuries, probably as it took advantage of the simultaneous decline of Croton culminating in the defeat suffered at the hands of Dionysius in 379.<sup>32</sup>

Dionysius first attacked Rhegion in 390 with the aim of controlling the strait and preventing an alliance between this *polis* and the Carthaginians: this attack, however, failed thanks to the intervention of Croton.<sup>33</sup> In 389 the Lucanians, supported by Dionysius, inflicted a heavy defeat on Thurii.<sup>34</sup> Dionysius eventually conquered Rhegion in a second attack in 387 and repopulated it with Sicilian people;<sup>35</sup> then between 389/8 and 388/7 he seized Caulonia, Hipponion and Skyllletion and assigned their territories to Locri.<sup>36</sup> A few years later Dionysius conducted a second military intervention in South Italy against the Italiote League, now allied with the Carthaginians, and concurrently against the Lucanians as these were attempting to expand into Magna Graecia; in 379 Dionysius took Croton, which, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, remained under Syracusan domination for twelve years.<sup>37</sup>

Dionysius I was succeeded by Dionysius II, his son by his Locrian wife, when he died in 367. In the early years of his rule, Dionysius II continued the war with the

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<sup>30</sup> Diod.Sic. 14.44.6; Plut. *Dion* 3.2; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 5.1307a.37-40; Athen. 12.541c.

<sup>31</sup> Wonder (2012: 144 n.79, 147).

<sup>32</sup> Strabo 6.3.4.

<sup>33</sup> Diod.Sic. 14.100; De Sensi Sestito (2011: 30).

<sup>34</sup> Diod.Sic. 14.101-102; 15.7, 3-4; De Sensi Sestito (1984: 106-109).

<sup>35</sup> Diod.Sic. 14.106-108, 111; Strabo 6.1.6; Aristot. *Econ.* 2.1349b.

<sup>36</sup> Diod.Sic. 14.106.3, 107.2-3; Strabo 6.1.10; Dion.Hal. 20.7.3; De Sensi Sestito (1984).

<sup>37</sup> Dion.Hal. 20.7.3; De Sensi Sestito (1984: 112-119); Pugliese Carratelli (1996: 168-174).

Lucanians in Magna Graecia.<sup>38</sup> Before the mid-fourth century a new Italiote League was founded by Archytas of Taras with the aim of countering attacks from the Italic populations; this new league was under the leadership of Taras with its seat in Heraclea, and, apparently, had the approval of Syracuse.<sup>39</sup> On the basis of Plato's probably spurious letters, it has been suggested that in 366 an alliance was established between Archytas and Dionysius, presumably with the aim of defining the respective spheres of influence in Magna Graecia (i.e. Taras would control the north, Syracuse the south); however, no other evidence is currently available for this.<sup>40</sup> Dionysius was exiled from Syracuse in 356 and took refuge in Locri, where he remained until 346; he was then expelled following an upheaval, after which a democratic government was established in Locri.<sup>41</sup>

Around the mid-fourth century the Oscan-speaking Brettii began to expand into the south of Magna Graecia, taking control of a number of *poleis*: Sybaris on the Traes, Hipponion, Temesa, Caulonia, and probably also Skyllation and Terina, are known to have been taken around 346.<sup>42</sup> Thurii was attacked around 344, while Croton summoned the Syracusans for aid in 325.<sup>43</sup> After the death of Archytas in 347, Taras appealed to foreign rulers for help with fighting the Italic populations in the north of Magna Graecia: Archidamos of Sparta first intervened in 342-338, followed by Alexander Molossos in 335-330 and Cleonymos of Sparta 303-302. Towards the late fourth century, the Syracusan ruler Agathocles intervened against the Brettii in the south of Magna Graecia, having been summoned by a non-specified *polis*.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Diod.Sic. 16.5.

<sup>39</sup> Archytas T A2 Diels-Kranz (Suda  $\alpha$ 4121); Wonder (2012: 147).

<sup>40</sup> De Sensi Sestito (1990-1991; 1995: 52-54).

<sup>41</sup> Strab. 6.1.8; Plut. *Tim.* 13; Just. 21.3.1-9; Athen. 12.515; Musti (1977: 99).

<sup>42</sup> De Sensi Sestito (1995: 61-65; 2002: 401; 2004: 169-170; 2015).

<sup>43</sup> Diod.Sic. 16.15; 19.3; Strabo 6.1.5; De Sensi Sestito (1995: 61-70; 2002: 396-397, 403); Wonder (2012: 135-137).

<sup>44</sup> Past scholars have generally assumed that Agathocles' military intervention in South Italy also originated from a request from Taras, on the basis of a passage of Strabo (6.3.4) which mentions Agathocles among the foreign rulers that Taras summoned for help, listed after Cleonymos; see Urso (1998: 105 with n.1). A number of studies have now questioned this, observing that Strabo's list has some chronological inaccuracies (Archidamos is mentioned after Alexander Molossos), and might instead refer to the fact that Agathocles fought on the

Agathocles obtained control of Croton in 299 (at that time governed by the general Menedemos, who around 317 had become tyrant of the *polis*, after defeating the local aristocrats) and took Hipponion, Caulonia and other *poleis* from the Brettii around 295, establishing presiding garrisons.<sup>45</sup> But when he died in 289 the situation became critical again.

In the meantime, Taras had become increasingly concerned about Rome's expansion in South Italy, especially after Alexander Molossos made peace with the Romans in 332.<sup>46</sup> Cumae and Neapolis, which had been conquered by the Samnites in the late fifth century, entered into Rome's sphere of influence in 338 and 328 respectively, receiving the status of *civitas sine suffragio* (Cumae) and of *foederata civitas* (Neapolis).<sup>47</sup> Negotiations with the Romans were attempted by the Tarentines between 320 and 302, with the aim of preventing the Romans from extending their sphere of interest to Magna Graecia; in this period, it seems that Taras concluded a treaty with Rome, by which the Roman warships should not sail beyond Cape Lacinium, near Croton.<sup>48</sup> Thus when in 285 Thurii summoned the intervention of the Romans against the attacks of the Brettii and Lucanians, Taras attacked the Roman ships and, having intervened in Thurii, led the Roman garrison away.<sup>49</sup> In the meantime, other *poleis*, including Locri, Rhegion and Croton, sought Roman help against the Brettii and received a Roman garrison between 285 and 282.<sup>50</sup> The Romans declared war against Taras in 282. The Tarentines then appealed to Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, for help against the Romans (281-275); he allied with the

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side of the Tarentines as *strategos* of the mercenaries during his exile from Syracuse around 323/2, as also reported in Diod.Sic. 19.4.1-2. For discussion see Giannelli (1974: 371-374); Vattuone (1987-1988: 70); Urso (1998: 105-111); Bettalli (2004: 131); De Sensi Sestito (2015: 50 n.117). See also pp.121-122.

<sup>45</sup> Diod.Sic. 19.10; 21.4, 8; Strabo 6.1.5; De Sensi Sestito (2015: 58-59).

<sup>46</sup> Musti (2005: 332-347).

<sup>47</sup> Liv. 4.44; 8.14; Diod.Sic. 12.76; Strabo 5.4.4.

<sup>48</sup> Lomas (2007: 50).

<sup>49</sup> App. *Sam.* 7.1-3.

<sup>50</sup> Plin. *NH* 34.15; Liv. *Per.* 11; Dion.Hal. 19.13.1; 20.4.2; Just. 18.1.9; Zon. 8.6; De Sensi Sestito (2015: 59).

populations of Samnium and of Messapia and with the Lucanians, and also had the support of a number of Greek *poleis*, including Croton.<sup>51</sup>

Pyrrhus won a number of battles initially, including that at Heraclea in 280, which induced the Locrians to betray the Romans and pass over to Pyrrhus' side.<sup>52</sup> In 278 Pyrrhus moved to Sicily having left his son Alexander in Locri; this allowed the Romans to win a number of victories.<sup>53</sup> The Locrians passed again onto the Roman side in 277, and in the same year the Romans took Croton.<sup>54</sup> In 276 Pyrrhus sailed back to Italy, seized Locri and raided its temples, including, notably, the Persephoneion, but failed to take Rhegion, which was defended by the Roman garrison; he then retreated to Greece in 275.<sup>55</sup> Taras surrendered to the Romans in 272. Taras, Locri, Elea, Heraclea and Rhegion thus became *socii navales*;<sup>56</sup> on the other hand, Rhegion was made *civitas foederata*.<sup>57</sup> Poseidonia (by that time Paestum) received a Roman colony in 273.<sup>58</sup>

No military involvement of the South Italian Greek communities is known during the First Punic War (264-241), beyond the fact they assisted Rome by providing ships to move the army to Sicily in 264;<sup>59</sup> in 248 Locri and other sites of Bruttium were raided by Hamilcar Barca.<sup>60</sup> During the Second Punic War (218-202) a number of Greek *poleis*, including Taras, Locri, Thurii, Metapontum, Heraclea and Caulonia, deserted the Romans and allied themselves with Hannibal.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, Rhegion and Croton remained loyal to Rome; Croton was taken by Hannibal in the first year of war, which caused the Crotonians to flee to Locri.<sup>62</sup> Fighting in South Italy went on between 216 and 204, and by 206 the Romans had regained control of

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<sup>51</sup> Plut. *Pyrrh.* 13.6.

<sup>52</sup> Just. 18.1.9.

<sup>53</sup> Diod.Sic. 22.8.2; Just. 18.2.12.

<sup>54</sup> Zon. 8.6; Frontin. *Str.* 3.6.4.

<sup>55</sup> App. *Sam.* 12 3-6; Diod.Sic. 27.4.3; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 24.

<sup>56</sup> Polyb. 1.20.14; 12.5.2; Liv. 42.48.7; 26.39.5.

<sup>57</sup> Polyb. 1.7.11-13; Liv. 31.31.7. For this period see also Lomas (2007: 39-57).

<sup>58</sup> Strab. 5.4.13; Liv. *Epit.* xiv; Vell.Pat. 1.14.

<sup>59</sup> Polyb. 1.20.14; Lomas (2007: 61).

<sup>60</sup> Polyb. 56.1-3.

<sup>61</sup> Liv. 22.61.12; 27.12; App. *Hann.* 35; Fronza (2010: 188-233).

<sup>62</sup> Liv. 23.30.6; 24.3.14; 30.20.5.

the area.<sup>63</sup> Taras was recaptured in 209 by Q. Fabius Maximus, while Locri passed firmly to the Roman side as Q. Pleminius, one of the legates of Scipio, raided its Persephoneion in 205.<sup>64</sup> Metapontion was left deserted by Hannibal in 207 as he withdrew his forces, and part of the population of Thurii was displaced to Croton in 204, while the rest of the *polis* was plundered by the Carthaginian troops.<sup>65</sup> Caulonia was recaptured in 205, while the fate of Heraclea is not reported in ancient sources.<sup>66</sup>

According to Velleius Paterculus, the Romans had sent a colony to Hipponion already in 237;<sup>67</sup> if this is correct, it presumably did not last long, as we know that in 192 the Romans founded the colony of Vibo Valentia, having recaptured Hipponion from the Brettii, who had taken it from the Greeks.<sup>68</sup> Temesa and Croton received colonies in 194, Thurii in 193, while the colony of Neptunia was founded in the territory of Taras in 123.<sup>69</sup> Other sites, including Locri, Taras, Heraclea, Rhegion and Elea, became *municipia* in 89.<sup>70</sup>

## 0.2 Evidence

Some of the inscriptions surviving from South Italy are contained in the fourteenth volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG XIV), published in 1890. A number of collections of inscriptions have also been published since then, which include more recent findings as well as revised transcriptions and new interpretations of previously published inscriptions. Specifically, Arena has collected and edited inscriptions from the Achaean colonies, Locri, Taras and Thurii dating to the Archaic period, while Dubois has provided an edition of the dialectal inscriptions of the

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<sup>63</sup> Polyb. 11.1-3; Liv. 27.38-50.

<sup>64</sup> Plut. *Fab.* 22.3-8; Strabo 6.3.1; Liv. 29.19-21.

<sup>65</sup> Liv. 27.51; App. *Hann.* 57.

<sup>66</sup> Liv. 27.12; Fronda (2010: 234-279). For the history of the South Italian Greeks during the Punic Wars see also Lomas (2007: 59-76).

<sup>67</sup> Vell.Pat. 1.14.8.

<sup>68</sup> Liv. 34.53; 35.40; Strabo 6.1.5.

<sup>69</sup> Liv. 35.9.7; 40.5; Strabo 6.3.4; Vell.Pat. 1.15.4.

<sup>70</sup> Lomas (2007: 87-88, 94-95).

Achaean and Ionic colonies; the inscriptions of individual sites have been edited by Miranda (Neapolis), Vecchio (Elea), D'Amore (Rhegion) and Del Monaco (Locri), while monographs on specific inscriptions have been published by Uguzzoni (on the Heracleian tables), De Franciscis and Constabile (on the bronze tablets of Locri).<sup>71</sup> Besides these dedicated volumes, new findings and interpretations of known inscriptions have continued to appear in other scholarly contributions; these are annually collected in the volumes of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG).

The number of epigraphic texts from South Italy is comparatively low. Especially for the Archaic and Classical periods, the evidence is extremely limited: texts dating to these periods are very few, short and fragmentary, mostly consisting of short dedications, property marks, lists of names or objects, brief funerary inscriptions and other short texts on domestic objects or boundary stones. Some rare examples of legal or official documents are preserved, but these are also comparatively short. The evidence currently available is mostly concentrated between the fourth and third centuries. The longest dialectal inscriptions from South Italy come from Heraclea and Locri: these are the Heracleian tables (*Tabulae Heracleenses*, IG XIV 645) and the thirty-seven bronze tablets from Locri (I.Locri 1-37), dating to the late fourth and to the mid-fourth/mid-third century respectively. Both of these are official texts: the Heracleian tables contain decrees concerning the delimitation of lands belonging to the local temples of Dionysus and Athena Polias, while the bronze tablets of Locri are excerpts of decrees concerning financial transaction between the *polis* and the local sanctuary of Zeus. The evidence of these is supplemented by a number of shorter texts of various types dating around the same period; in particular, Taras, Heraclea and Locri have provided the most substantial number of inscriptions, followed by Croton, Metapontion and Rhegion. Other sites have provided either few or unhelpful texts; for instance, although a conspicuous number of inscriptions has been found in Elea, these are very short and fragmentary, and generally contain little more than personal names. A list of the inscriptions dating to the fourth and third centuries is presented below.

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<sup>71</sup> Uguzzoni (1968); De Franciscis (1972); Miranda (1990-1995); Constabile (1992); Arena (1994b; 1996; 1998); Dubois (1995; 2002); Vecchio (2003); D'Amore (2007); Del Monaco (2013).

Cumae: SEG 30:1149bis (4th c., bronze strigil).

Neapolis: IGDGG I 26 (4th c., funerary); 31 (375-350, property mark from Castelcapuano); 27 (4th/3rd c., funerary); 28 (242, decree). Cf. also 30 (ca.190, dedication from Marseille); 29 (1st c./1st c. AD, decree).

Poseidonia: IGDGG II 35 (ca.350, dedication); 32 (330-300, dedication?); SEG 35:1036 (after 330, signature on vase).

Elea: I.Velia 7 (400-350, cippus); 9 (4th c., cippus); 66 (4th c., boundary stone or funerary); 13 (4th c., dedication); 8, 10 (4th c., boundary stone); 67 (4th c., fragment of boundary stone or funerary stele); 12 (4th/3rd, boundary stone); 25-28 (4th/3rd c., funerary); 69 (4th/3rd c., quarry mark?); 32 (ca.300-250, funerary); 29-31, 46 (3rd c., funerary); 14-15 (3rd/2nd c., dedication); 33-40 (3rd/2nd c., funerary); 16 (Hellenistic period?, dedication to Hermes?); 17 (Hellenistic period?, dedication); 43 (Hellenistic period, fragment of stele); 44, 48-65, 68, 70 (Hellenistic period, funerary).

Taras: IGASMG V 15 (410-380, dedication); SEG 57:974 (5th/4th c., dedication); 50:1069 (400-300?, dedication); 33:812+45:1477 (4th c., dedication); 30:1218 (4th c., dedication); 42:956 (4th-3rd c., inscribed domestic objects); IG XIV 668a (4th c., dedication); 668 (4th/3rd c., curse tablet); SEG 41:883 (ca. 300, dedication); Lhôte 5 (350-280, oracular *lamella* from Dodona); SEG 50:1069 (4th c.?, dedication or contribution to a sanctuary); 45:1475,5 (early 3rd c., dedication); 16:579 (3rd c., names on marble slab); 19:620 (3rd c., funerary); 45:685 (3rd c., dedication); 30:1219 (3rd/2nd c., dedication); 44:802 (3rd/2nd c., dedication? from Budruntus). Cf. also 30:1220 (2nd/1st c., Latin-Greek bilingual dedication).

Heraclea: SEG 43:328 (late 5th/early 4th c., oracular *lamella* from Dodona); 326 (340-330, oracular *lamella* from Dodona); IG XIV 645 (= *Tabulae Heracleenses*; late 4th c., decrees); 646 (5th-3rd c., dedication); SEG 30:1150-1170 (5th-3rd c., dedications from the sanctuary of Demeter); 57:925 (Hellenistic period, fragment).

Metapontion: SEG 42:911 (400-350, inscription on a vase); IGDGG II 79 (early 4th c., oracular *lamella* from Dodona); 50 (4th c., dedication); 47, 49 (4th/3rd c., dedications); 72 (350-300, inscription on a tile); SEG 32:1019 (4th/3rd c., marks on stone blocks); IGDGG II 48 (3rd c., dedication); 64 (3rd c., names on ceramics); 60 (mid-3rd c., curse tablet); 61 (ca.200, funerary); 65 (Hellenistic period, tile stamp); 66 (Hellenistic period, weight).

Petelia: SEG 57:941 (3rd/2nd c., inscription for the construction of the stoa of the gymnasium).<sup>72</sup>

Croton: IGDGG II 88 (4th c., emancipation); SEG 40:830 (4th c., names? on bronze tablet); 831 (4th c., fragment of bronze tablet); 53:1077 (4th/3rd c., financial account).

Tiriolo: IGDGG II 95 (ca.300, curse tablet).

Terina: IGDGG II 98 (350-300, testament).

Medma: SEG 30:1174 (3rd/2nd c., dedication); 45:1446 (Hellenistic period, inscribed tile).

Caulonia: SEG 57:931 (389-300, abecedary).

Locri: I.Locri 82 (early 4th c., dedication); 45, 56-57, 62, 64, 65 (4th c., dedication); 102 (4th c. abbreviated name on *skyphos*); 72 (4th c. inscribed *oscillum*); 96 (4th c., inscribed silver circlet); 63 (late 4th c., dedication); 1-37 (= bronze tablets; mid-4th/mid-3rd c., financial accounts); 66-69, 77, 81, 85 (4th/3rd c., dedication); 91 (4th/3rd c., curse tablet); 84, 86 (4th/3rd c., fragment of dedication); 87 (4th/3rd c., votive inscription?); 99 (4th/3rd c., inscription on bronze strigil); 89 (3rd c., judicial prayer<sup>73</sup>); 83 (3rd c., fragment of dedication); 101 (3rd c., fragment of inscription on vase); 90 (late 3rd c., curse tablet); 108 (3rd/2nd c., tile stamp); 111-112 (3rd/2nd c., funerary); 113 (3rd/2nd c., fragment).

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<sup>72</sup> Cf. Ampolo (2008).

<sup>73</sup> See MacLachlan (2004-2005).

Rhegion: I.Rhegion 17-18 (4th c., dedications); 30-31, 33 (4th/3rd c., fragments of inscribed vessels); 19 (3rd c., curse tablet). Cf. also I.Rhegion 2-3, 5 (2nd c., dedication of statues); 1 (2nd/1st c., honorary decree); 6 (late 2nd/early 1st c., dedication); 4 (84-80, dedication).

A number of non-documentary inscriptions (i.e. containing literary texts) are also available for the fourth and third centuries. These comprise tablets and gold *lamellae* containing ritual texts in hexameters, and some fragments of other metrical inscriptions, such as epigrams on stone. These are listed below.

Metapontion: SEG 34:1005 (2nd half of the 4th c., fragment of epigram of a citizen of Taras); IGDGG II 71 (4th/3rd c., metrical fragment on a vase).

Taras: SEG 16:581 (3rd c., metrical verses on a stone slab).

Thurii: OF 487-490, 492 (4th c., 'Orphic' gold *lamellae*).

Petelia: OF 476 (4th c., 'Orphic' gold *lamella*).

Hipponion: OF 474 (ca.400, 'Orphic' gold *lamella*).

Locri: I.Locri 92 (ca.400, *Ephesia Grammata*); 38 (4th/3rd c., fragment of epigram).

The number of literary texts from South Italy dating to this period may be expanded to include the works of authors who lived in this area that have been transmitted in manuscript. These specifically comprise the epigrams of Nossis of Locri and Leonidas of Taras, both active around 300; the Pythagorean prose fragments of Philolaus (either from Croton or Taras), who lived between the late fifth and early fourth centuries, and of Archytas of Taras, active in the first half of the fourth century; and some fragments of the *phlyax* plays of Rhinthon, active in Taras in the fourth century.

However, while documentary texts provide primary evidence for the evolution of ancient languages, as they directly reflect the varieties that were locally used in different written registers (which could be more or less close to the spoken language)

in different periods, the evidence of literary texts is of lesser relevance to the investigation of ancient languages, since they are not directly comparable with the rest of the epigraphic material. The language used in literary texts is in fact usually mannered and conditioned by the traditional conventions of genre: this normally implies the usage of features that are not regularly found in contemporary documentary texts, such as archaisms, artificial forms and non-local features, and also the avoidance of features of the writer's dialect which were perceived as parochial or lacking prestige. Literary works transmitted in manuscript present a further interpretative difficulty, as the text has been liable to corruption and emendation over centuries of transmission, and it is often difficult to be certain whether a particular linguistic feature was originally used by the author or introduced later during transmission.

The investigation carried out in this study will therefore be primarily based on the evidence of the documentary texts surviving. Nevertheless, literary texts will not be excluded from my discussion. In fact, while they cannot be taken as direct evidence for the evolution of the local Greek dialects, literary texts still reflect particular linguistic varieties that were used in certain contexts by the same communities that produced the other epigraphic evidence. Thus the linguistic analysis of this type of text, when combined with the data from documentary texts, can provide important complementary evidence for our understanding of language usage in these ancient societies.

### *0.3 Previous scholarship*

Grammars of the ancient Greek dialects such as those by Bechtel, Thumb, Kieckers and Scherer, and Buck contain very little discussion of the South Italian colonies, most of which is based on the evidence of the Heracleian tables.<sup>74</sup> In a short article of 1975 Bartoněk first attempted an overall description of the dialects of the South Italian colonies on the basis of the very limited evidence available at the time (he was apparently not aware of the discovery of the bronze tablets of Locri, first

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<sup>74</sup> Bechtel (1921-1924); Thumb-Kieckers-Scherer (1932-1959); Buck (1955).

published in 1972).<sup>75</sup> Bartoněk hypothesised that extensive dialect levelling occurred among the Doric colonies on the grounds that the dialects of the motherlands had not yet undergone most of their distinctive developments when the colonists departed; therefore, he supposed, the dialects of the Doric colonies should not have been significantly different from one another, and therefore would naturally have been prone to convergence.<sup>76</sup> However, such an assumption was not supported by any compelling argument, and the new evidence available (especially the bronze tablets of Locri) has revealed that the colonies did in fact inherit a number of peculiar traits from the dialects of the motherlands, as we shall see later in this study (2.1).

Despite commenting on some peculiar linguistic forms in individual texts, the collections of inscriptions published so far have not provided any comprehensive discussion of the evidence from individual sites or of the evolution of the local dialects in general. This has, however, been attempted in a small number of articles and monographs: Landi has surveyed the dialect of Locri, of the Achaean colonies and of the Tarentine area, Blomqvist and Méndez Dosuna have discussed the dialect of Locri, Cassio has written on the dialect of Taras (including evidence from Heraclea) and Méndez Dosuna has published some observations on the dialect of the Achaean colonies.<sup>77</sup> The common assumption of several of these studies is that the prestigious dialect of Taras exercised influence over the rest of Magna Graecia. Such an assumption has relied chiefly on the fact that one particular linguistic feature familiar from the area of Taras is attested also in the distant *polis* of Locri: this is, namely, the reduction of the vowel system from one with four long mid-vowels (*'mitior'*) to one with two long mid-vowels only (*'severior'*), which Taras is supposed to have inherited from Laconia, but which Locri certainly developed after its foundation, as Locris of Greece attests instead to the non-reduced long-vowel system. This consistent attestation of the *severior* vocalism in fourth- and third-century inscriptions from Locri has therefore been commonly interpreted as the result of

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<sup>75</sup> Bartoněk (1975).

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 26.

<sup>77</sup> Landi (1964; 1966; 1968; 1979); Blomqvist (1975; 1978); Méndez Dosuna (1985; 1991); Cassio (2002a).

influence from Taras over the rest of Magna Graecia.<sup>78</sup> However, the precise circumstances under which influence from the dialect of Taras at Locri might reasonably have occurred have not been discussed in any of these studies.

An attempt at contextualising this alleged influence from Taras at Locri was made by Consani in two short articles.<sup>79</sup> He specifically hypothesised that the Tarentine dialect came to exercise an influence on the idiom of Locri, and presumably on that of other *poleis* as well, as Taras emerged as a prosperous and powerful centre during the fourth century and assumed the leadership of the military campaigns first against the Lucanians, and then the Romans. In this connection, Consani also postulated that a Doric *koina* based on the variety of Taras could have developed in the region.

The term ‘*koina*’ is generally used to indicate a regional variety of *koine* that developed in Doric-speaking regions as a temporary rival of the Attic-Ionic *koine* as the latter spread across the Greek-speaking world in the Hellenistic period. A number of regional Doric *koinai* are known to have emerged in the Hellenistic period: the Northwest *koina* developed in Northwest Greece and its use was particularly associated with the Aetolian League (ca.290-146); the Achaean *koina* developed in Achaia and is particularly attested in the documents of the Achaean League (ca.280-146); the Sicilian *koina* developed in Sicily between the late fourth and the first centuries; and the Southeast Aegean *koina* is attested in Rhodes and nearby islands, as well as in the Rhodian Peraia, from the third century up to the third century AD.<sup>80</sup> These *koinai* show generic Doric features mixed with selected *koine* elements and a number of local ‘markers’, which usually correspond to peculiar features of the pre-existing local dialects. Thus Consani hypothesised that the dialect of Taras could have similarly offered the basis for a South Italian *koina* as the local dialects came into contact with the *koine* in the early Hellenistic period.

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<sup>78</sup> Landi (1979: 75); Méndez Dosuna (1985: 36). On the other hand, on account of the *severior* vocalism, Blomqvist (1975; 1978) sought to deny that the dialect of Locri belonged to the Northwest group, and sought to associate it with the dialects of Laconia, Messenia and Heraclea instead, a hypothesis that has later been confuted (Méndez Dosuna 1985: 32-36).

<sup>79</sup> Consani (1995; 1996; see also 2016: 105-106).

<sup>80</sup> López Eire (1996); Bubeník (2007; 2013); Horrocks (2010: 87-88); for the Sicilian *koina* see 2.3.1.

However, Consani's assumptions were mostly based on the analysis of the linguistic evidence considered in isolation, with only a superficial attempt at contextualising these data within their broader socio-historical environment. Indeed, Consani did not support his claim that influence from Taras at Locri could have occurred in the period of Taras' prominence in the fourth century with any historical or archaeological evidence for contact between the two *poleis* at that time. In fact, when the extra-linguistic sources are surveyed, no such evidence can be found; moreover, the rest of the linguistic evidence itself contrasts with the assumption of dialect contact between Taras and Locri, as I shall discuss in the first chapter of this study. Therefore, although the hypothesis of Tarentine influence over the rest of Magna Graecia, including the reduction of the vocalism in Locri, seems plausible *a priori*, on close inspection it presents a number of problems. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that the dialect of Taras was attributed prestige in the rest of Magna Graecia has so far remained unquestioned, and has generally been taken for granted in discussions of the Greek dialects in South Italy.<sup>81</sup>

#### *0.4 Objectives and methodological framework*

Lack of contextualisation and unsystematic surveys of the surviving inscriptions in previous studies has negatively affected our understanding of the development of the Greek dialects in Magna Graecia. A new investigation of dialect contact and change in this area, taking into account the full array of data available, is therefore needed.

Research on modern languages has revealed strict connections between language and the context in which it is used; the social distribution of linguistic items has specifically been a major object of study of sociolinguistics. The use of language is obviously not homogeneous, and variation naturally occurs within a speech community. This is determined by contextual factors, including: the function of the communication and its social setting; the type of relationship with, and attitude towards, the interlocutor; and the gender, age, and educational background of the

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<sup>81</sup> See e.g. Salveschi (1995-1996: 94-5); Del Barrio Vega (1998: 266-7); Poccetti (2005: 131); Ruijgh (2007: 397, 402-403).

speaker.<sup>82</sup> The social prestige associated with different linguistic items is particularly connected with their distribution in the speech of different individuals and in different communicative contexts: linguistic forms that are attributed social prestige (usually those promoted by the local governments and educational institutions) are normally used in formal contexts and in association with high-status social groups. By contrast, linguistic items perceived as non-prestigious tend to be avoided in formal communicative contexts, while they are found in informal conversation and in association with low-status social groups; in such contexts, these features may be consciously preferred to express solidarity and identity with non-prestigious groups of speakers (covert prestige).<sup>83</sup> The social evaluation of linguistic forms on the part of the speakers thus plays a crucial role in determining the outcomes of contact between languages or dialects (i.e. regional varieties): if the external variety is attributed higher social prestige than the native, its features tend to replace the native forms in formal and high social contexts. By contrast, if it is the native variety that is attributed a higher social status, features from an external variety tend to be used in informal communicative contexts, or not at all.<sup>84</sup>

Such theoretical principles have been recognised to be particularly fruitful when applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the investigation of ancient languages. Although much sociolinguistic research has focused on the spoken language, collecting data through interviews and recordings, it is widely acknowledged that the written language too presents patterns of variation similar to those observed in spoken usage. Indeed, linguistic variation in written texts is determined by contextual factors such as the genre and function of the text, social setting, the relationship with and attitude towards the reader, and the gender, age and education of the writer.<sup>85</sup> Depending on these factors, writers consciously or unconsciously use different linguistic forms: again, forms that are perceived as socially prestigious tend to be used in formal

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<sup>82</sup> For sociolinguistic theory see Labov (1972); Hudson (1980); Chambers (1995); Coulmas (1997). For a sociolinguistic approach to the study of dialects in particular see Chambers-Trudgill (1980).

<sup>83</sup> Chambers-Trudgill (1980: 67-71); Bright (1997: 86-88); Sairio-Palander Collin (2012); Ash (2013: 361-364).

<sup>84</sup> Hickey (2010: 7); Winford (2010: 177-178); see pp.123-124 for further discussion.

<sup>85</sup> Romaine (1982: 13); Biber (1988: 3-46).

contexts and in situations in which writers aim to conform to the linguistic norms promoted by the culturally dominant group.<sup>86</sup> On these grounds, the last decades have seen a growing interest in applying a sociolinguistic theoretical framework to ancient languages, for which only written evidence is available; this has led to the emergence of the research field of historical sociolinguistics.<sup>87</sup> The fundamental assumption on which this discipline rests is that the nature and behaviour of languages remains constant through space and time, and that phenomena observed in modern languages can be expected in ancient ones as well.

In recent years a number of studies have demonstrated that our understanding of ancient languages can be considerably improved by the application of a sociolinguistic perspective; these include those by Adams on Latin, Mullen on Gaulish and McDonald on Oscan.<sup>88</sup> Following these examples, in this study I shall consider the linguistic sources for the Greek dialects in South Italy in the light of modern theories about variation in written language and how this is interrelated with the wider socio-historical context. A first attempt to apply sociolinguistic theory to the study of the ancient Greek dialects was made by the scholars of the so-called Nancy school, whose theoretical and methodological principles were presented in an article by Bile, Brixhe and Hodot published in 1984.<sup>89</sup> However, their research, in spite of programmatic assertions, has usually not been supported by appropriate contextualisation of the linguistic sources within their socio-historical environment. Examination of the socio-historical environment, including consideration of data from other disciplines such as archaeology and numismatics, alongside the type, function and register of individual epigraphic sources, is in fact essential for the identification of the context in which ancient texts were produced and therefore for a coherent interpretation of linguistic data.<sup>90</sup> This crucial principle will be observed throughout this study.

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<sup>86</sup> Sairio-Palander Collin (2012: 631-634).

<sup>87</sup> For historical sociolinguistic theory see Romaine (1982); Jahr (1999); Hernández Campoy-Conde Silvestre (2012).

<sup>88</sup> Adams (2003; 2013); Mullen (2013); McDonald (2015).

<sup>89</sup> Bile-Brixhe-Hodot (1984); see also Brixhe (2006; 2007).

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Tribulato (2012: 42-45).

As the sources for ancient languages consist exclusively of written texts, it is important to acknowledge that the assertions made refer specifically to written varieties, and that the spoken language remains largely inaccessible. Similarly, the specific linguistic usages of different social groups in ancient communities remain largely unknown to modern scholars, due to the lack of sufficient evidence. Nevertheless, the evidence available does allow us to identify some different linguistic registers (i.e. different varieties of language used in relation to different contextual factors): official documents such as decrees and financial accounts, but also private legal documents such as wills, are confidently assumed to reflect a high variety of language, while the language used in less formal documents such as private dedications, funerary inscriptions and curse tablets is presumably less controlled, even though these could contain elements of standardised or formulaic phraseology. By observing the distribution of linguistic items in different types of inscription we are therefore able to identify the prestige accorded to them: when compared with the known historical context, the results of such an examination provide important evidence for language contact, change, identity and vitality in ancient societies.

For the purposes of my investigation, a complete description of the language attested in the sets of inscriptions from different areas will not be provided; instead, I shall investigate the written sources with the specific aim of identifying the prestige and distribution of those features that provide the best evidence for dialect contact and change, or, by contrast, for a conservative attitude towards the traditional local dialects. Because of the chronological distribution of the evidence, I will concentrate on dialect contact in Magna Graecia in the fourth and third centuries in particular. I shall also focus on the areas that have provided us with the most significant evidence, namely Taras, Heraclea and Locri, followed by the Achaean colonies and Rhegion. By contrast, the Ionic colonies around the Bay of Naples (Cumae, Neapolis) will not be discussed; this, however, may be justified not only by the exiguous number of inscriptions surviving, but also by the fact that very little contact between these colonies and those further south is attested in the period under examination (note that both Cumae and Neapolis were taken by the Samnites in the fifth century).

### *0.5 Structure of this study*

I shall begin my investigation with a thorough reconsideration of previous assumptions about the development of the Greek dialects of Magna Graecia, and particularly of the hypothesis of Taras' dialectal influence over the other colonies in the region, which has been proposed primarily on the basis of the *severior* vocalism attested in the fourth- and third-century inscriptions from Locri. Thus in the first chapter I expose the weaknesses of this hypothesis on the basis of both historical and linguistic considerations. Then, having demonstrated the implausibility of these previous assumptions, I propose an alternative structural explanation for the appearance of the same long-vowel system at Taras and Locri, i.e. one not involving dialect contact between these colonies, on the basis of the comparative evidence from the other Greek dialects.

The second chapter therefore offers a new analysis of the fourth- and third-century inscriptions from Locri with the aim of determining what variety of language is attested in these in the absence of compelling evidence for influence from Taras. I then investigate whether certain features observed in the dialect of Locri are also attested in contemporary inscriptions from neighbouring areas, including both South Italian colonies and Sicily; on the basis of this investigation, embracing a comprehensive reconsideration of the question of the chronology of the bronze tablets of Locri, I propose a new hypothesis of dialect contact in South Italy which is consistent with both the linguistic and historical data.

Finally, in the third chapter, the new hypothesis formulated on the basis of the documentary inscriptions is compared with the evidence provided by literary sources. The language of metrical inscriptions is considered first; in particular, I determine whether peculiar local forms attested in documentary inscriptions also occur in these. A comprehensive linguistic examination of these texts, including both the *corpus* of gold *lamellae* and the tablets containing *Ephesia Grammata*, has never been attempted before, and will be provided here for the first time. The language of literary texts transmitted in manuscript is then considered and compared with that of both the documentary and the metrical inscriptions; again, this involves a comprehensive discussion of texts that in previous studies have not been systematically investigated, alongside the documentary material, as a source of evidence for the Greek dialects in Magna Graecia. The results of the investigation will be shown to provide us with a

deeper understanding of the matters of language and society discussed in the first two chapters.

I conclude my study with a completely new assessment of dialect contact, identity and change in fourth- and third-century Magna Graecia, including a denial of the development of a local *koina* in this area. I then address the question of why a *koina* did not develop in South Italy as in other areas in the Hellenistic period, and provide an explanation that is consistent with the relevant socio-historical considerations.

## 1. Reconsidering the Question of the Vocalism in Locri Epizephyrri

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One of the major questions about the development of the Greek dialects in Magna Graecia concerns the attestation of the five long-vowel vocalism (*severior*) in Locri. Since a vocalism with seven long vowels (*mitior*) is regularly attested in the dialectal inscriptions of Locris of Greece, Locri is expected to have originally inherited a seven long-vowel system from the mother-region, and to have undergone a reduction of this into one with five long vowels only at some later stage after its foundation.<sup>91</sup> The identification of the circumstances under which this occurred is clearly a matter of major significance in the investigation of the development of the Greek dialects in this area.

The *severior* vocalism in Locri is not detectable before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, which first appears in Locri and in the other South Italian colonies in the early fourth century, as the older local script did not distinguish between long and short, nor between primary and secondary mid-vowels, which were all represented through the signs <ε> and <ο>. Evidence for the reduced vocalism thus specifically occurs in thirty-six of the thirty-seven bronze tablets (I.Locri 1-37, mid-4th/mid-3rd c.) and in an inscription found in Bruttium and attributed to Locri, the so-called ‘Kollyra’s judicial prayer’ (I.Locri 89, 3rd c.). By contrast, the *mitior* vocalism is attested only in a few inscriptions dating to the late fourth and third centuries.<sup>92</sup> Since the *mitior* vocalism occurs in a minority of inscriptions, which usually also show a number of Attic-Ionic features, this seems more reasonably attributable to the initial diffusion of the *koine* than to the original dialect of the first settlers.<sup>93</sup>

Scholars have generally assumed that the *severior* vocalism in Locri was developed under the influence of the dialect of Taras.<sup>94</sup> Being a colony of Sparta,

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<sup>91</sup> For the vocalism of Northwest dialects see Bartoněk (1972); Méndez Dosuna (1985: 70-75).

<sup>92</sup> See p.103 for occurrences.

<sup>93</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 76-77). For Attic-Ionic features in these inscriptions see pp.102-104.

<sup>94</sup> See 0.3.

Taras is expected to have inherited a five long-vowel system from the Laconian Doric dialect of its mother-city. Indeed, in the inscriptions following the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, Taras and its sub-colony Heraclea consistently attest to a dialect with five long vowels, recording both primary and secondary long mid-vowels as <η> and <ω>.<sup>95</sup> However, the details of the supposed influence from the dialect of Taras at Locri have never been properly discussed, and the precise circumstance under which this should have occurred remains unspecified. Such an oversight turns out to be a major fault since, when the rest of the linguistic data available and the historical context are considered, the hypothesis of dialect contact between Locri and Taras seems rather problematic due to the several incongruities that emerge.

This chapter will thus reconsider and revise a question that has been generally taken as solved in studies of the last decades. These generally mention the case of Locri as an example of development of the vowel system under the influence of a neighbouring area, but do not provide sufficient evidence for this assumption. Such an investigation is a necessary prerequisite for a new and consistent assessment of the Greek dialects in South Italy in the early Hellenistic period. The first part of the chapter will discuss the reasons why the traditional explanation is not compatible with the data available, and illustrate the difficulties that arise in identifying a precise period in the history of Locri in which influence from Taras could have been experienced. Then, the second part will question whether this explanation is the only one available, and, in the light of a comprehensive survey of the development of the *severior* vocalism across the ancient Greek-speaking world, will propose an alternative solution for this development in Locri on the basis of structural linguistic arguments.

### *1.1 Weaknesses of the standard hypothesis*

The assumption that Locri experienced dialectal influence from Taras leaves a number of questions unsolved in the light of both contextual and linguistic factors. If

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<sup>95</sup> See IG XIV 668a (Taras, 4th c.?); SEG 36:900 (Taras, 3rd c.); 30:1219 (Taras, 3rd/2nd c.); 1220 (Taras, late 2nd/early 1st c.); 1162.13 (Heraclea, early 4th c.); IG XIV 645 (hereafter Tab.Heracl.I-II; Heraclea, late 4th c.).

the dialect of Taras ever exercised an influence on Locri, we would expect that this occurred as Taras acquired a prominent position in the political scenario of Magna Graecia, as Consani suggested.<sup>96</sup> Therefore we should postulate a date not earlier than the late fifth or early fourth century: in fact, it was only after the second half of the fifth century that Taras gradually emerged as the most powerful centre in northern Magna Graecia, reaching its culmination under the leadership of Archytas (first half of the fourth century). The growing importance of Taras in the political framework of Magna Graecia is first noticeable after the foundation of Thurii (444/3), when the Tarentines attempted to prevent the people of Thurii from occupying the territory of ancient Siris; although the dispute was eventually solved with a compromise, according to which the Tarentines and the Thurians jointly founded Heraclea in 432, this was effectively recognised as a colony of Taras.<sup>97</sup> Under the leadership of Archytas Taras assumed the role of defender from the Italic populations in the north of Magna Graecia, leading a league of *poleis* with its headquarters in Heraclea. After the death of Archytas in 347, such a policy was pursued by seeking help from Archidamos of Sparta (342-338), Alexander Molossos (335-330) and Cleonymos of Sparta (303-302). When the threat from Roman expansion became evident in the late fourth century, Taras directed its external policy towards anti-Roman objectives. On the basis of the late fourth-century treaty between the Tarentines and the Romans stipulating that Roman warships could not pass Cape Lacinium, it is plausible that in those years the northern part of Magna Graecia down to Cape Lacinium was under the tutelage of Taras.<sup>98</sup>

The historical accounts of the first half of the fourth century, corresponding to Taras' most prosperous period, do not provide evidence for any close political connection between Taras and Locri or between Locri and other southern Italian *poleis* that may have fallen into Taras' sphere of influence. By contrast, it is known that Locri entered into close alliance with Dionysius I and fought the Italiote League led by Croton on the side of Syracuse in the first decades of the fourth century. There is no evidence that Locri joined the league founded by Archytas to counteract the pressure from the Lucanians, presumably because the *polis* was not threatened by this

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<sup>96</sup> Consani (1995: 80; 2016: 105-106).

<sup>97</sup> Strabo 6.1.14 (= FGrH 555 f 12); Diod.Sic. 12.36.4.

<sup>98</sup> Musti (2005: 331-347).

population, or did not feel the necessity to seek protection from Taras since it was already defended by Syracuse. Closeness with Syracuse is also evidenced by the fact that Dionysius II was resident in Locri between 356 and 346.

In the second half of the fourth century Locri seems to have maintained its relations with Syracuse despite the upheaval against Dionysius II and the establishment of democratic government in 346. Archaeological findings demonstrate that Locri minted staters of the Corinthian type (the so-called *pegasi*) on the model of those minted in Sicily in the second half of the fourth and in the early third century, alongside staters of the local type. This presumably reflects the need to have coinage that could circulate in Sicily: in particular, the issues dating to the later fourth and early third centuries have been put in relation with the maintenance of Agathocles' garrisons defending the area from the Brettii.<sup>99</sup> References to the Agathoclean

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<sup>99</sup> Pozzi Paolini (1977: 221); Parise (1979: 203-204); Castrizio (1995); Filocamo (2012); Castrizio-Filocamo (2014). As Filocamo (2012: 113) observed, the *pegasi* were commonly used for the payment of mercenaries, since they were easily convertible into Attic tetradrachms. Such a hypothesis is supported by the fact that, most of these Locrian coins have been found in hoards from Sicily (about the 75%): see Pozzi Paolini (1977: 241). Moreover, the production of *pegasi* in Magna Graecia in the Agathoclean period was not restricted to Locri: these coins were also minted in Medma, Terina, Hipponion and Rhegion, and an isolated issue from Heraclea also survives. All of these issues seem ascribable to relations with Sicily and with Agathocles in particular: Medma, Terina and Hipponion in fact correspond to the areas where Agathocles intervened against the Brettii, while Rhegion had been re-occupied by the Syracusans in 387; cf. Stazio (1995: 149). The issue from Heraclea may be also plausibly attributed to relations with Agathocles, despite the testimony of the ancient historians not offering any evidence in this respect; in fact, economic relations between the Syracusan ruler and the north of Magna Graecia seem evidenced by the appearance of the *triskeles*, the three-legged symbol that Agathocles employed as his personal emblem, on coins from e.g. Neapolis, Poseidonia and Metapontion (Rutter 580, 1176-1177, 1622) as well as Terina (see pp.158-159) around 300, concurrently with adoption of the Syracusan weight standard. For a possible reconstruction of the historical context of such economic relations see De Sensi Sestito (2013-2014: 11-27); cf. Taliercio Mensitieri (1993b: 113-114). For the *pegasi* at Locri see Rutter 2336-2344; 2242 for Hipponion; 2424-2425 for Medma; 2643 for Terina; 2507 for Rhegion; 1382 for Heraclea. See also Taliercio Mensitieri (1993a: 127) for coinage of the Syracusan type minted in Croton after Agathocles' occupation

ponderal system also are provided in two of the bronze tablets.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, even the coins of local type minted in Locri, presumably intended for circulation in Magna Graecia, reproduce iconographic features of the Sicilian coinage at the time of Timoleon and Agathocles.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, Locri was not involved in the campaigns against the Lucanians led by Taras, while it was Agathocles who intervened against the Brettii in the territory around Locri.<sup>102</sup> Against the hypothesis of influence from Taras on Locri in this period, it is also worth remarking that both Locri and Rhegion requested and received a Roman garrison in 282, clearly in opposition to the alliance policy of Taras.<sup>103</sup>

Supposing that the *severior* vowel system of Locri developed under the influence of Taras in the fourth century is therefore hardly tenable from a historical perspective. It is equally difficult to postulate linguistic influence from Taras at an earlier stage, i.e. in the late fifth century: in fact, even though such a date would correspond to the years of the Athenian expeditions in Sicily, when both Locri and Taras allowed water to the Spartan Gylippus in 414, and when Locri joined Taras in sending a fleet to Sparta in 411, the idea of linguistic influence on the sole basis of a short-term military alliance seems hardly compelling, especially since Locri was also allied with Syracuse at the same time, and actively participated in the Syracusan campaigns during the first Athenian expedition. Assuming that Locri could have attributed prestige to the dialect of Taras at an even earlier stage seems implausible on account of the minor role played by Taras before the mid-fifth century, especially in the context of the evidence for Locri's closeness with Sicily and Syracuse since the Archaic period.<sup>104</sup> In the light of such long-standing relations with Sicily, if Locri was

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of the *polis* in 295. On the circulation and production of Corinthian *pegasi* in Sicily and Magna Graecia in general see Taliercio Mensitieri (1993c); Barelo (1993: 58-59, 61-63).

<sup>100</sup> See p.141.

<sup>101</sup> Filocamo (2012: 114-123).

<sup>102</sup> See pp.17-18, 86-87, 121-122.

<sup>103</sup> As Filocamo (2012: 132) has observed, there was probably a connection between the death of Agathocles in 289 and the necessity for Locri and Rhegion to appeal for the Roman intervention against the Brettii. Cf. also De Sensi Sestito (2015: 46 with n.74, 59). This would confirm that Locri was not in the area defended by Taras.

<sup>104</sup> Redfield (2003: 217-218, 347-348) has suggested that Locri had assumed the role of 'Sicilian outpost' already by the end of the sixth century on the basis of volcanic rock from

to experience some linguistic influence as the result of political choices and conditions, this is expected to have come from Sicily, rather than from the distant Taras.

The hypothesis of dialect influence from Taras on Locri is not only hindered by historical considerations, but also by the linguistic analysis of the inscriptions themselves. In fact, independently of the vocalism, the language of fourth- and third-century inscriptions from Locri appears very different from that attested in Taras and Heraclea around the same period. The Heracleian tables and the bronze tablets of Locri in particular are strictly comparable, since they are almost contemporary (late fourth and mid-fourth/mid-third century respectively) and both contain official texts, expected to reflect the variety of language that was considered most prestigious and appropriate for the documents of the local administration. Differences between these inscriptions are therefore particularly remarkable. The following contrasting developments can be specifically observed:<sup>105</sup>

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Etna found in the foundations of some late sixth-century houses at Locri, and of a number of early fifth-century *pinakes* discovered at Francavilla di Sicilia which are very similar to those produced in Locri around the same date, and a few of them are certainly imported from Locri. Redfield has also recalled that Athenaeus (542a) reports that Gelon owned a garden at Hipponion, Locri's sub-colony, while it is known from Diodorus Siculus (11.68.4) that when Thrasybulus was exiled from Syracuse he took refuge in Locri. Cf. also Barello (1993) for regular economic relations between Locri and Sicily in the Archaic and Classical periods evidenced by a number of fifth-century Sicilian coins found in Locri.

<sup>105</sup> The following discussion is based on the assumption that Taras and Heraclea had nearly the same dialect. In principle, such an assumption is by no means reliable; however, it seems legitimate to postulate that a similar dialect was spoken in Taras and Heraclea on account of the strict connection that Taras seems to have maintained with its sub-colony throughout the fourth century, on the basis that Heraclea was chosen as the headquarter for the league founded by Archytas and that a relationship of *isopoliteia* is attested between the two *poleis* in SEG 59:616 (340-330, oracular lamella from Dodona). Correspondingly, although the number of inscriptions from Taras is small, so far no differences have emerged between the language of these and that of the Heracleian tables, except for some minor Attic-Ionic traits in the dialect of Heraclea which had been possibly imported from Thurii; see pp.108-109.

- 1) A more systematic use of written aspiration in Taras and Heraclea than in Locri. In the inscriptions of Taras the ‘half-h’ sign (<F>) for aspiration is consistently written, including in the article, until at least 350-280 (Lhôte 5, oracular *lamella* from Dodona). It appears in personal names in IG XIV 668 i.12, 14, ii.4, 17 (ca.300, curse tablet), and in SEG 19:620 (3rd c., funerary inscription); it is no longer attested, at least in the article, in a late third- or early second-century dedication (SEG 30:1219). In Heraclea the aspiration mark is used in a personal name in SEG 30:1163 (late 4th/early 3rd c., dedication), and regularly in the Heracleian tables, with very few omissions perhaps attesting to some weakening in certain contexts.<sup>106</sup> In Locri aspiration is attested in a number of fourth-century dedications, but

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<sup>106</sup> The aspiration mark is inconsistently attested in the toponym of Heraclea since its foundation, particularly on coins. Aspiration is not found in Rutter 1362 (432-420), 1363-1374 (420/415-390), 1383-1384 (330/325-early 3rd c.), 1388, 1408, 1429, 1423-1425 (281-278), 1434 (276-250), 1436, 1442-1443 (period of Pyrrhus?), while it is written in 1358-1360 (432-420), 1375-1378, 1380 (390-340), 1382 (ca.300), 1385, 1389, 1392, 1411-22 (281-278), 1427 (278-276), 1428-1429, 1432-1433, 1435 (276-250), 1437, 1439, 1441, 1444, 1447 (period of Pyrrhus?). In the Heracleian tablets the aspiration mark in the toponym is written in all occurrences, while in two lead tablets from Dodona it is omitted (SEG 43:328, late 5th/early 4th c.; 326, 340-330). We may perhaps hypothesise that inconsistency in the use of the aspiration mark in this context has to be put in relation with the Ionic dialect and/or alphabet used by the Thurian part of the population. In the Heracleian tables aspiration is regularly written elsewhere, including in articles and relative pronouns (*passim*), and is extended to the numerals *ἡοκτώ* (*passim*) and *ἡεννέα* (*passim*) probably by means of analogy with *ἡεπτά*. Persistence of aspiration in initial position seems confirmed by assimilation in: I.10, 99, 153, II.9 *καθά*; 91 *ἐφ’ ἐκατέρω*; 149 *οὐχ ὑπογραψόνται*; I.131 *ἐφερξόντι*; 131-132 *ἀφερξόντι*; 152 *χ’ ὑπό*; II.30 *ἀφ’ ἄς*; 44, 69, 75, 94, 100 *πόθοδον*; 69 *ἀφ’ ἑκατομπῆδω*. Initial aspiration is also maintained in prepositional verbs and in compounds (I.105, II.35 *πενταῖτηριδα*; I.107 *παρῆξόνται*; 120 *παρῆξόντι*; 133 *συνῆρξόντι*; 153 *ἀνῆωσθαι*; 168, 176 *ἀνῆλόμενος*; II.16 *τριῆμιγύων*; 17 *τριῆμιγύα*; 19, 29 *τριῆμιγύων*). Aspiration is sometimes found in place of expected <f>: I.105, II.35 *πενταῖτηριδα*; I.107 *παρῆξόνται*; 120 *παρῆξόντι*; 131 *ἐφερξόντι*; 131-132 *ἀφερξόντι*; 133 *συνῆρξόντι*; 148 *ἡέκαστος*; 175 *ἡίσον*. Omissions occur in: *passim* *άλια*; I.50 <h>*α*; 57, *passim* *ῥοι*; 60 *ἀμαξιτῶ*; in compounds: I.60, 63, 68, 75, 78 *ἀντόρως*; 141 *παρῆξόντι*. See Uguzzoni (1968: 41).

may have been lost in the article in I.Locri 79 (5th c., dedication) and is completely absent in I.Locri 91 (late 4th/early 3rd c., *defixio*) and 89 (3rd c., judicial prayer); the bronze tablets show inconsistency in recording aspiration, but the tablets in which aspiration is written are the minority (ten out of thirty-seven), and, even when recorded, aspiration never occurs in the article.<sup>107</sup>

- 2) *Digamma* (<Ϝ>) is never attested in Locri, while it is still written in initial prevocalic position in a personal name in a curse tablet from Taras (IG XIV 668 i.17, ca.300). In the Heracleian tables initial *digamma* is also normally written, though with a few instances of omission and some confusion with aspiration.<sup>108</sup>
- 3) *Iota* in long diphthongs in final position is frequently omitted or misplaced in Locri, indicating that the second element in long diphthongs was no longer pronounced in the spoken language.<sup>109</sup> By contrast, final *iota* is regularly written in Taras and Heraclea: it occurs in a fourth-century dedication from Saturo (SEG 50:1069.2-3: τῶι Ἀθαναίῳι), in an oracular *lamella* from Dodona dating to 350-280 (Lhôte 5.1: τύχαι ἀγαθᾶι), in a dedication dating to the turn of the second century from Taras (SEG 30:1219.1: Ἀθάναι), in all occurrences in the Heracleian tables and in dedications from the sanctuary of Demeter at Heraclea: SEG 30:1162.3-4 (4th/early 3rd c.: τᾶι [Δά]ματῶι), 1163.3-4 (late 4th/early 3rd. c.: τᾶι Δ[ά]ματῶι), 1164 (4th/3rd c.: 2 Κόροι; 4 τύχαι τᾶι ἀγαθᾶι). The only possible evidence for uncertainty occurs in IG XIV 668 ii.20 (Taras, ca.300, curse tablet), where *iota* is erroneously placed in the nominative ending of a feminine personal name (after *omega*).

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<sup>107</sup> See pp.100-101.

<sup>108</sup> *Digamma* is written in: *passim* Ϝιδίαν, Ϝιδίαι; Ϝεξ(-); Ϝίκατι(-)/Ϝεικατί(-); Ϝέτος; I.152 ἐγϜηληθίωντι (compound); II.106 Ϝέκτα. For aspiration in place of *digamma* see n.106. Neither *digamma* nor aspiration are found in: I.149, 170 ἴσον; 177 ἔτεος. Οἰκία and compounds on this stem (*passim*) never have *digamma* in the tables (contrast SEG 42:955.13 from Taras, 600-550, dedication). Note also II.43 ἀμπελωργικά (< \*-ομε-), originally a compound, with contraction giving a *severior* secondary back long mid-vowel.

<sup>109</sup> See p.101.

- 4) Loss of syllabicity of the hiatus /eo/ is not generally attested in Locri, except for a few instances of development to /eu/ in the genitive singular ending of personal names and in names and nouns with first element θεο- and κλεο-.<sup>110</sup> By contrast, the Heracleian tables attest to a development of /eo/ and /εο:/ to /jo/ and /jɔ:/ (<ιo>/<ιω>) in *e*-stem verbs and in Doric future forms (< \*-se-o- in sigmatic forms, and < \*-es-o in asigmatic ones). Méndez Dosuna proposed to interpret this development as the result of loss of syllabicity of the front vowel ([e] > [i] > [j]) followed by compensatory lengthening of the short back vowel in open syllables.<sup>111</sup> Development to /eu/ is not attested in Taras or Heraclea.<sup>112</sup>
- 5) The Doric preposition ποτί (Att.-Ion. πρός) is shortened to ποί in Locri;<sup>113</sup> by contrast, the apocopated form ποτ is used in the Heracleian tables (*passim*) and also in a fourth-century dedication from Saturo (SEG 50:1069).
- 6) The tablets of Locri consistently attest to the preposition ἐν with the accusative, and archaism imported from the mother-region;<sup>114</sup> by contrast, the Heracleian tables and also SEG 43:326 (340-330, oracular *lamella* from Dodona) have ἐς.

<sup>110</sup> See pp.99-100.

<sup>111</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1993a: 117-130); see also Cassio (1999: 193-194). It can be observed in: Tab.Heracl. *passim* μετρωμένοι; I.118 ἀνανγελίοντι; 132 ἀνκοθαρίοντι; 134 ἐπικαταβαλίοντι; 138 ἀδικίων; II. 45 ἐμετρίωμες; and in forms of ποιέω: I.50 ποιόντασιν; 133-134 ποίοντι; 175 ποίων; II.19 ἐξεποίον (the standard accentuation of many of these forms is probably inaccurate; see discussion in Méndez Dosuna 1993a: 124) with <ι> representing [ij] (or perhaps a further simplification to [j]). Apparently, this development is only visible in asigmatic forms; Méndez Dosuna suggested that the reason why it is not also visible in sigmatic forms lies in the fact that in these the glide has been absorbed in the preceding sibilant: contrast e.g. I.134 ἐπικαταβαλίοντι < \*-baleonti < \*-balesonti and 145 κοψόντι < \*kopsjonti < \*kopseonti.

<sup>112</sup> See pp.107-108.

<sup>113</sup> See p.98.

<sup>114</sup> See pp.98-99.

- 7) The spelling μίστωμα instead of μίσθωμα regularly occurs in the bronze tablets of Locri, while μίσθωμα and μισθόω have the standard spelling in the Heracleian tables (*passim*).<sup>115</sup>
- 8) The term κεφάλωμα is used as the word for ‘total’, ‘sum’ in the Locrian bronze tablets, while the Heracleian tables have κεφαλά (I.36).<sup>116</sup>
- 9) The article is used with relative function in the bronze tablets and in Kollyra’s ‘judicial prayer’, while the relative pronoun is normally employed in Heraclea with very few exceptions.<sup>117</sup>
- 10) Locri attests to the element του- analogically extended to all forms of the demonstrative οὔτος, while the Heracleian tables have the regular form (I.28 ταύται).<sup>118</sup>
- 11) A larger number of probable *koine* features are attested in Locri compared to Taras and Heraclea.<sup>119</sup>

Besides the *severior* vocalism, the only marked feature attested both in Locri and Heraclea is the short third person singular subjunctive ending (-ει). However, the fact that this feature is regular in Locri and inconsistent in Heraclea does not support the hypothesis that it could have been imported in Locri from the Tarentine area.<sup>120</sup> In fact, comparative evidence from other Greek dialects suggests that this feature might have been developed independently in both areas.<sup>121</sup> Thus the linguistic evidence overall contrasts with the hypothesis of dialect influence from Taras at Locri.

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<sup>115</sup> See p.100.

<sup>116</sup> See p.101.

<sup>117</sup> See p.102; Uguzzoni (1968: 49).

<sup>118</sup> See p.99.

<sup>119</sup> See pp.102-104, 109-110.

<sup>120</sup> For occurrences at Heraclea see Tab.Heracl. I.104, 128 φέρει; 107 ἀρτύσει; 108 ποτάγει; 111 τελέθει; 128 νέμει; 130 λάβει; 151-152 ἀποθάνει; 161, 163-164, 176 πράξει; 159-160 εἶ. Inconsistency is noticeable in e.g. I.128-129: αἱ δὲ τίς κα ἐπιβῆι ἢ νέμει ἢ φέρει ... ἢ τῶν δεινδρέων τι κόπτει ἢ θραύει. At I.111 the third person singular subjunctive ἀμμισθωθῆι is better interpreted as a mistake rather than as a phonetic spelling for the shortened form; cf. Uguzzoni (1968: 56-57). See p.100 for occurrences at Locri.

<sup>121</sup> See p.78.

One alternative possibility might be to assume that the dialect of Taras was attributed prestige not within a political but rather in a cultural context. Such a hypothesis is worth serious consideration, in the light of the fact that Taras became the major centre of Pythagoreanism when the Pythagoreans were expelled from the Achaean *poleis* in the mid-fifth century. Philolaus was probably active in Taras in the late fifth century, while Archytas is supposed to have been in contact with Pythagorean doctrines in Taras around the same years.<sup>122</sup> Thus the diffusion of Pythagoreanism in South Italy after the late fifth century could perhaps offer the occasion for influence of the dialect of Taras on the language of the South Italian Greek *élites*. In fact, despite the episode narrated by Dicearchus (Porph. *VP* 56) about Pythagoras being rejected by the Locrian elders as he sought refuge in their *polis*, there is clear evidence that Pythagoreanism also spread to Locri. A list with the names of ten Pythagoreans from Locri is given in Iamblichus (*VP* 267), including, anachronistically but significantly, Locri's lawgiver Zaleucos himself, to whom a later pseudepigraphical script was also attributed. Similarly, the fact that the Pythagorean Timaios in Plato's *Timaeus* is said to come from Locri (Pl. *Tim.* 20a) indicates that a Pythagorean presence in the *polis* was acknowledged at least in the first decades of the fourth century.<sup>123</sup>

Even this suggestion, however, is not unproblematic. On the one hand, the fragments of Archytas' prose generally considered to be genuine attest to a literary Doric which avoided features of the epichoric language that were perceived as parochial or non-prestigious, such as synizesis of the hiatus /eo/.<sup>124</sup> It may therefore be tempting to suggest that the language of Archytas' prose reflected a Doric variety, based on the dialect of Taras but deprived of local peculiarities, that spread among the intellectual *élite* of South Italy as Taras became the major cultural centre of Magna Graecia. But even if this were the case, we should recall that, apart from the *severior* vocalism, the official inscriptions from Locri do not offer any other features attributable to this hypothetical supra-regional prestigious variety. If the Locrian ruling class had really aimed to model the language of administration on this, it would

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<sup>122</sup> See pp.208-209.

<sup>123</sup> For the spread of Pythagoreanism in South Italy see Musti (1993; 2005: 148-187, 193-4); cf. Mele (2007: 231-258).

<sup>124</sup> See 3.3.

be very surprising that they merged primary and secondary long mid-vowels while simultaneously retaining, for instance, the ancient local usage of  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  instead of  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  with the accusative. The importance of this point seems particularly clear when we consider that the Attic-Ionic *koine* spread quickly to the local administrative varieties of Greek as it became the prestigious language of the upper classes.<sup>125</sup>

In conclusion, historical and linguistic considerations together demonstrate that the attribution of the *severior* vocalism in Locri's inscriptions to influence from the dialect of Taras does not hold, despite the initial *a priori* plausibility of such an approach. The hypothesis that has long appeared the simplest, to the point that sustained and detailed analysis has never been considered necessary, is in fact highly problematic and extremely difficult to sustain. A reconsideration of the question on a new basis is therefore needed. The next sections of this chapter aim to offer an alternative explanation for the development of the *severior* vocalism in Locri that is consistent not only with the historical context and the full array of linguistic evidence but also with the general phonetic development of other Greek dialects.

### 1.2 A new hypothesis for the development of *severior* Doric dialects

If the attestation of a five long-vowel system in Locri cannot be convincingly ascribed to influence from Taras, the possibility of an independent development must be seriously considered. The hypothesis that a shift from a *mitior* to a *severior* vocalism could occur independently as a response to internal phonetic issues is by no means unlikely: as most scholars now recognise, the merger of primary and secondary long mid-vowels is a simplifying process that other ancient Greek dialects in mainland Greece and across the Aegean underwent independently from one another.<sup>126</sup> The following discussion thus aims to demonstrate that, on the basis of comparison with other dialects with a five long-vowel system, a development of this type appears to be the most plausible explanation for the situation attested in Locri.

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<sup>125</sup> Horrocks (2010: 83-84).

<sup>126</sup> Sheets (1979); Méndez Dosuna (1985: 274-278); Del Barrio Vega (1998); Thompson (2006); Ruijgh (2007: 403-406).

For this purpose, it is first necessary to investigate the reason why certain Doric dialects developed a five long-vowel system while others did not. Although the development of a *severior* system is generally acknowledged as a simplifying process that could be undertaken after the development of secondary long mid-vowels closer than the original ones, so far the specific circumstances triggering it have not been identified. At this point, it is opportune to give an overview of the Greek long-vowel system and the sound changes connected to the development of different dialectal vocalisms as attested from the earliest sources available to around the fourth century, i.e. after the adoption of the East Ionic alphabet and before the spread of the *koine*. I shall then consider factors that appear common to all Doric *severior* dialects and propose an explanation for the fact that these underwent a simplification of the long-vowel system at a certain stage. Having done this, it will be possible to determine whether such an explanation is applicable to the case of Locri.

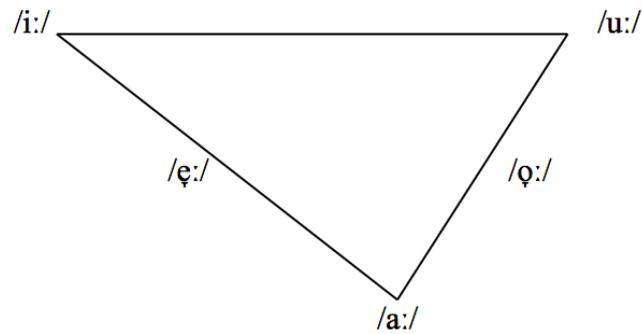
### 1.2.1 The development of closer secondary long mid-vowels

Proto-Greek is standardly argued to have had a five long-vowel system, consisting of the phonemes /i:/, /ɛ̄:/, /a:/, /ɔ̄:/ and /u:/ (Figure 1.1).<sup>127</sup> A vowel system of this type thus had only one mid-vowel on the front and the back axis respectively (/ɛ̄:/, /ɔ̄:/).<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Throughout the following discussion I conform to the conventional representations of phones and phonemes according to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), except for the central long mid-vowels postulated in the vowel system of Proto-Greek and of five long-vowels dialects, for which the IPA does not offer exact representations. For these I use the symbols [ɛ̄:] and [ɔ̄:], which more properly indicate lowered [e:] and [o:] respectively.

<sup>128</sup> Figure 1.1 shows the standard representation of the Proto-Greek inherited long vowel system. The back axis is assumed to be shorter than the front one, on account of the natural anatomical configuration of the back of the mouth allowing less space for articulation than the front.



**Figure 1.1** Proto-Greek long-vowel system

A number of phonetic processes in the history of the Greek dialects caused the creation of secondary (i.e. not inherited) long vowels. These were: compensatory lengthenings, vocalic contractions and monophthongisation of the inherited diphthongs. For the purposes of this study, I will specifically concentrate on the sound changes that created new long mid-vowels, as it is on the basis of the quality that these had in different dialects (i.e. closer or equal to the inherited ones) that Doric dialects have been classified into *mitior*, *severior*, and *media* types.<sup>129</sup>

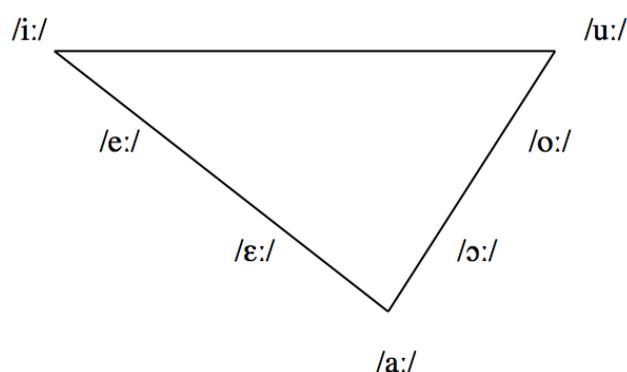
Dialects that show a graphic distinction between primary and secondary long mid-vowels (i.e. which after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet generally have <η> for the inherited front mid-vowel but <ει> for secondary front mid-vowels, and <ω> for the inherited back mid-vowel but <ου> for secondary back mid-vowels) point to a vowel system with secondary long mid-vowels that did not have the same quality as the inherited ones, and thus with seven phonemes. On the other hand, dialects that do not show such a distinction (i.e. in which after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet <η> and <ω> are used for both inherited and secondary mid-vowels) are expected to have merged the new long mid-vowels with the inherited ones, and to have thus developed a system with five phonemes similar to the original one (as in Figure 1.1).

Dialects that attest to a system with secondary long mid-vowels distinguished from the primary ones are: Attic, Ionic dialects, Doric *mitior* dialects (Northwest dialects, Achaean, East Argolic, Corinthian, Megarian, Sicilian Doric), Elean (front long mid-vowels only), Doric dialects of the *media* type (Theran, Rhodian, Coan,

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<sup>129</sup> The terms *mitior* and *severior* were first used by Ahrens (1843: 403-22); for the introduction of the term *Doris media* for Doric dialects showing both open and close secondary long mid-vowels see Bartoněk (1972: 117-118).

West Argolic; these merged some of the secondary long mid-vowels with the inherited ones, but kept others separate) and possibly Cypriot.<sup>130</sup> Secondary long mid-vowels are known to have been closer than the inherited ones in these dialects (thus /e:/, /o:/) since they are graphically represented in the same manner as the outcomes of monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ (i.e. <ει>, <ου>), a phenomenon that naturally produced markedly close mid-sounds.<sup>131</sup> It is now generally assumed that these dialects lowered the inherited /ē:/ and /ō:/ to /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ as a consequence of the introduction of the new closer mid-vowels in order to maintain equal space between points of articulation in the system and to maximise the distinctiveness of each phoneme (Figure 1.2).<sup>132</sup>



**Figure 1.2** Seven long-vowel system

By contrast, dialects that, before influence from the *koine* (based on the seven long-vowel dialect of Athens), show no graphic distinction for secondary long mid-vowels are Laconian, Messenian, Elean (back long mid-vowels only), Cretan,

<sup>130</sup> For Achaean see Méndez Dosuna 1991: 38-42. Our understanding of the quality of secondary long mid-vowels in Cypriot is hindered by the conventions of the local syllabic script, which did not distinguish long from short mid-vowels, or the primary from the secondary ones. Ruijgh (1988) argued for a seven long-vowel system with *mitior* outcomes of isovocalic contractions; cf. also Del Barrio Vega (1998: 260-261).

<sup>131</sup> Lejeune (1955: 199-200).

<sup>132</sup> Ruipérez (1956: 68); García Ramón (1975: 74); Thompson (2006: 83). Note that Figure 1.2 refers to an early stage after the introduction of closer long mid-vowels: this seven long-vowel system underwent further changes in a number of dialects, as I shall discuss later in this section.

Cyrenaean, South Italian Doric (Tarentine and Heracleean, colonial Achaean, Epizephyrian Locrian)<sup>133</sup>, Aeolic dialects and Arcadian. It may be the case that in these dialects the phonetic nature of the new vowels was very similar, if not necessarily identical, to the one of the inherited /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/, and that on the basis of this close similarity the former immediately merged with the latter. This seems plausible in the case of the Aeolic dialects (Boeotian, Thessalian and Lesbian), Arcadian and perhaps Cypriot: in fact, it is likely that in these dialects the short mid-vowels from which the secondary long ones derived had a ‘central’ articulation, so that the natural outcome of their lengthening was a mid-open long mid-vowel that could readily merge with the inherited ones. In all other dialects, by contrast, the point of articulation of short mid-vowels was possibly ‘higher’ and thus the outcome of their lengthening is expected to have been closer than the inherited long mid-vowels.

The hypothesis of a ‘central’ short mid-vowel system in certain dialects (i.e. with the point of articulation of short mid-vowels almost corresponding to that of the

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<sup>133</sup> The *severior* vocalism is also attested in the Achaean colonies after the adoption of the East Ionic script: see IGDGG II 32 (Poseidonia, 330-300): Διονυσίω; 47 (Metapontion, 4th/early 3rd c.): Μηλιχ[ίαυ]; 66 (Metapontion, Hellenistic period): ἡμί; 98 (Terina, 350-300): 5, 6 Ἴστιαίω; 11 τῶργυρῶ, τῶ; 13 πωλῆν. As in the case of Locri, the Achaean colonies are expected to have inherited a vocalism of the *mitior* type from the motherland (Méndez Dosuna 1991: 38-42). In the light of the evidence from Locri, the presence of the *severior* vocalism in these colonies has been also sometimes explained as the result of Taras’ dialect influence over the rest of Magna Graecia (Del Barrio Vega 1998: 267-268). But, again, this assumption seems problematic when the historical context is considered. We know that Taras intervened against the Lucanians in Poseidonia around 330 (Liv. 8.17), but it is questionable whether such an isolated event could have had major effects on the local dialect. Similarly, Alexander Molossos intervened against the Brettii at Terina (Liv. 8.22), but there is no evidence that this *polis* was under Taras’ tutelage, while the numismatic evidence attests to relations with Agathocles in the later fourth century (De Sensi Sestito 2009: 113-115); see n.99 and pp.158-159. Only the attestation from Metapontion may be compatible with some degree of authority attributed to Taras, in case this *polis* was in Taras’ sphere of influence in the later fourth century, as Fronza (2010: 195-196) has assumed. On the other hand, the alternative explanation proposed for the development of the *severior* vocalism Locri later in this chapter, not involving influence from Taras, can be applied to the Achaean colonies as well.

long mid-vowels) is based on the fact that in Aeolic, Arcadian and possibly Cypriot, as well as Mycenaean, the short vowel created from Proto-Greek syllabic liquids fell within the sphere of /o/, thus giving *or/ro* and *ol/lo* as a result, whereas other Greek dialects developed \*r and \*l to *ar/ra* and *al/la*.<sup>134</sup> As Allen, followed by Thompson, hypothesised, the latter development should have been the result of a short-vowel system skewed towards a close(r) articulation of sounds: on the basis of comparative evidence, he observed that syllabic liquids naturally tend to create a mid-close sound, rather than an open one, which therefore could be identified with /a/ only if /a/ was itself articulated as a not markedly open sound. Therefore, if \*r and \*l were developed to *ar/ra* and *al/la*, it is likely that /a/ had something close to a mid value, with the consequence that /e/ and /o/ would in turn have had a still closer articulation. If, by contrast, /a/ had a clearly open articulation, the natural outcome for the new vowel would have rather been /o/, which consequently is expected to have occupied a mid position in the system.<sup>135</sup>

If this is correct, it would follow that the Doric *severior* dialects, which all developed \*r and \*l to *ar/ra* and *al/la*, also created secondary closer mid-vowels from mid-close short mid-vowels at a first stage, as indeed is standardly assumed, and only later merged the primary (i.e. more-open) and secondary (i.e. closer) long mid-vowels into new ‘neutral’ mid-vowels. This assumption is supported by independent evidence, such as the fact that Elean acted as a *severior* dialect with regard to the mid-vowels on the back axis by merging primary and secondary together, but kept inherited and secondary long front mid-vowels distinguished, suggesting that parallel closer secondary mid-vowels initially occurred on the back axis as well.<sup>136</sup>

It is also crucial to note that, as Thompson has observed, despite having merged the result of the first compensatory lengthening (I CL) with the primary long mid-vowels, Cretan created secondary long mid-vowels from contraction and the third compensatory lengthening (III CL) which were initially distinguished from the inherited long mid-vowels and the secondary ones arising from the I CL that had merged with these. Clear evidence for this is available since the earliest inscriptions (7th c.), which show the spelling <ε> for /e/ and /e:/ arising from contraction and the

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<sup>134</sup> For outcomes in Cypriot see Egetmeyer (2010: 144-147, 149).

<sup>135</sup> Allen (1959); Thompson (2006: 92-94).

<sup>136</sup> García Ramón (1975); Méndez Dosuna (1980); Del Barrio Vega (1998: 263-4).

III CL, but <η> for the inherited and secondary front long mid-vowels arising from the I CL (expected to have shifted to /ε:/). Similarly, Thompson has showed that an attempt to distinguish close and open long back mid-vowels in writing can be observed in the inscriptions from Lyttos, which attest to different variants of the grapheme <o> along with some degree of consistency in their employment. This state of affairs did not last long, however, and fifth-century inscriptions attest to conflation of close and open mid-vowels in a restored three-grade system (thus of the *severior* type), with the inherited and secondary long vowels all represented through the same graphemes (<η> and <o>).<sup>137</sup>

Since Cretan initially created closer secondary long mid-vowels as the result of certain developments, it seems reasonable to assume that the outcomes of the I CL in this dialect had also been closer than the inherited mid-vowels at an early stage. The fact that secondary long mid-vowels were initially of a closer quality in all Doric dialects is also suggested by the fact that Gela, a Rhodian-Cretan colony in Sicily which, according to tradition, was founded in 689/8, regularly attests to close secondary mid-vowels from the I CL, while both Rhodes and Crete have merged the outcomes of the I CL with primary long mid-vowels in the surviving inscriptions. On the basis of the attestation of closer secondary long mid-vowels from the I CL in Gela, we may therefore assume that Rhodian and Cretan did not immediately merge primary with secondary long mid-vowels after the I CL, but underwent simplification of the long-vowel system after the departure of the colonists for Sicily.<sup>138</sup>

If all Doric dialects originally developed secondary long mid-vowels of a closer quality than the inherited ones, as the evidence suggests, we should therefore identify the reason why some of them merged primary and secondary long mid-

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<sup>137</sup> Thompson (2006: 94-100); see also Bile (1988: 92-98); Del Barrio Vega (1998: 264-266); Ruijgh (2007: 403-406).

<sup>138</sup> The earliest evidence for the outcome of the I CL in Gela is provided by IGDSMG II<sup>2</sup> 75 (550-500; see SEG 51:1194), which has εἰμύ with <εἰ> for the secondary long front mid-vowel (but cf. Thraette 1980: 176 for an alternative explanation of this spelling in early inscriptions from Attica). Close pronunciation of secondary mid-vowels from the I CL in Gela is unlikely to have been the result of influence from the *mitior* dialects of nearby Doric colonies, e.g. Syracuse, since until the fifth century it was Gela that exercised a hegemonic role in Sicily, and its influence over the other colonies is demonstrated by the spread of the Geloan 'red' alphabet across the island; see Mimbrera (2012a: 217-218).

vowels together while others did not. In principle, it is certainly possible to suppose that such a development was not conditioned by any specific factor: simply, speakers of certain areas at some stage unconsciously started pronouncing primary and secondary long mid-vowels in the same way, while others maintained the distinction. However, such an explanation must be tested, and the only way to do this is to investigate the development of secondary long mid-vowels in different dialects. If no common elements can be found in dialects that present the same treatment of secondary long mid-vowels, then the hypothesis of an unconditioned development would acquire some plausibility; but if recurring patterns can be identified, the possibility that merger and retention were triggered by specific circumstances should be seriously considered, and, all things being equal, preferred. The preliminary requirement for such an investigation is a brief survey of the sound changes producing secondary long mid-vowels in Greek, their chronology of appearance and their outcomes in the various Greek dialects.

Secondary long vowels created from the I CL were developed as the result of simplification of inherited clusters comprising *\*s* and a resonant in internal position. In most Greek dialects it caused the loss of *\*s* with lengthening of the preceding vowel; according to the standard definition, this happened by means of ‘compensatory lengthening’, in order to maintain the original quantity of the syllable to which the lost sound belonged.<sup>139</sup> The I CL was the earliest process to create secondary long vowels: this development traditionally takes the denomination of ‘first’ compensatory lengthening on account of the relative chronology that it is possible to establish between this and other sound changes in Greek. In particular, the I CL is expected to be earlier than the shift of /a:/ to /ɛ:/ in Attic and Ionic, since all secondary /a:/ created by the I CL eventually merged with /ɛ:/ in these dialects (e.g. *\*asmes* > Att.-Ion. ἡμεῖς, with <η> = /ɛ:/ < /a:/); shift of /a:/ to /ɛ:/ in these dialects is already attested in the earliest inscriptions available, dating to ca.725, which is therefore considered the *terminus ante quem* for this development.<sup>140</sup> Presumably, the I CL took place at a very early stage, which may be very approximately identified in the post-Mycenaean period, perhaps around 1000 BC. Such an assumption is based on the fact that some

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<sup>139</sup> See Batisti (2014: 11-44) for discussion of the actual phonetic and phonological processes resulting in vowel lengthening.

<sup>140</sup> See e.g. IGDGG I 2 (Pithecussae, ca.725).

degree of simplification of such clusters seems to have already been undertaken in Mycenaean.<sup>141</sup>

Lesbian and Thessalian are the only dialects that did not undergo the I CL, but attest to gemination of the resonant without vowel lengthening as the result of simplification of \*-Rs- and \*-sR- (e.g. \**esmi* > ἔμμμ, \**g<sup>w</sup>olsomai* > βόλλομαι). All other Greek dialects underwent the I CL and developed new long vowels. The dialects that later in the alphabetic period can be shown to have maintained a distinction between the secondary long mid-vowels from the I CL and the primary ones are Attic, Ionic, Doric *mitior* dialects and Elean (on the front axis). By contrast, Boeotian, Arcadian, Laconian, Messenian, West Argolic, Elean (in the back axis), Cretan, Cyrenaean, Theran, Rhodian, Coan and the dialects of the Doric colonies in South Italy merged these with the inherited long mid-vowels, whether immediately or after an interval.

Later secondary long vowels developed in several Greek dialects as the result of simplification of clusters consisting of \**n* followed by a non-inherited sibilant (i.e. those developed from assibilation or palatalisation of \**t*) and of inherited word-final \**ns*. The treatment of these clusters differed greatly. When occurring in final position, some dialects (Cretan, West Argolic, Elean in proclitics only, Theran, Cyrenaean, Thessalian, Arcadian, probably also Rhodian and Coan) developed no secondary long-vowels, but rather underwent simplification of the cluster before a consonant at word-beginning by dropping \**n*, so as not to have a sequence of three consonants. By contrast, before a vowel word-final \**ns* was retained as such; in Elean, the nasal

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<sup>141</sup> Ruipérez (1972) and Thompson (2006: 84-86) have suggested that the outcome of simplification of these clusters in Mycenaean was gemination of the resonant, without compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. Since Lesbian and Thessalian attest to gemination of the resonant without vowel lengthening instead of compensatory lengthening in this environment (see below), they hypothesised that gemination of the resonant was the first step in the process that led to ‘compensatory lengthening’ in most Greek dialects, and that Lesbian and Thessalian interrupted the process at an early stage. However, other scholars have argued that the evidence provided by the Mycenaean script is not unequivocal and, although it most probably indicates that clusters of \*-Rs- and \*-sR- were no longer articulated as such at least in some contexts, gemination of the resonant might not be the only possible explanation; see Méndez Dosuna (1985: 264-278); Ruijgh (2007: 407-410); Batisti (2014: 55, 57-58, 61, 74-75, 84-95, 121).

successively lost its occlusion and developed to /j/, forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. However, such distinctions seem to have been lost at an early stage, as most of these dialects show inconsistency in the respective uses and a tendency to generalisation of one or the other treatment.<sup>142</sup> In internal position, Arcadian, West Argolic and Cretan did not undergo any simplification of the secondary cluster *-ns-*, while Thessalian and Cyrenaean underwent the same simplifying process attested in Elean in final position before a vowel, giving a ‘lenition’ of the nasal as a result (e.g. *\*pant̄ia* > *\*pansa* > *παῖσα*). The same development is attested in Lesbian in all positions. Regrettably, evidence for the development in Theran, Rhodian and Coan in internal position is not unequivocal.<sup>143</sup> In internal position Elean underwent compensatory lengthening; the outcome of this maintained a closer articulation on the front axis, whereas on the back one primary and secondary long mid-vowels merged together.

Most dialects, however, did not distinguish between internal and final position and generally lost the nasal with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (e.g. *\*pant̄ia* > *\*pansa* > *πᾶσα*); these were: Attic, Ionic, Boeotian, Northwest dialects, Corinthian, Megarian, East Argolic, Achaean, Laconian, Messenian, and the Doric dialects of South Italy and Sicily. The development of secondary long vowels in these dialects is traditionally labelled the second compensatory lengthening (II CL), since chronologically it must have occurred after /a:/ had begun to shift to /ɛ:/ in Attic and Ionic. Otherwise, new /a:/ from the II CL would have become /ɛ:/ in these dialects (thus e.g. *\*pant̄ia* > *\*pansa* > *πᾶσα* > *<sup>x</sup>πῆσα*). A *terminus post quem* for the II CL may be provided by borrowings such as *Μῆδος*, from Persian *Māda*, in which a sound [a:] in the original language is rendered by [ɛ:] in Ionic Greek; this must have been borrowed into Ionic at a time before the creation of new /a:/ from the II CL, otherwise it would surely have been borrowed as *<sup>x</sup>Mᾶδος*. Since the Ionians are supposed to have encountered the Medes around the ninth and the eighth centuries,

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<sup>142</sup> Lejeune (1955: 110-113). See Minon (2007: 355-357) for Elean.

<sup>143</sup> The accusative endings *-ovς* and *-avς* are retained as such in Theran, Rhodian and Coan, but in internal position the evidence for the pre-Hellenistic period is lacking: thus the development of secondary close mid-vowels observed in non-final syllables could either reflect the dialectal use or be rather imported from the *koine*: see Del Barrio Vega (1998: 269-272).

the II CL should have not been earlier than the eighth century.<sup>144</sup> Secondary long mid-vowels arising from the II CL remained distinct from the inherited ones in Attic, Ionic, Northwest dialects, Corinthian, Megarian, Achaean, East Argolic and Sicilian Doric dialects;<sup>145</sup> while in Boeotian, Laconian, Messenian and South Italian Doric dialects these merged with the other mid-vowels.

Further secondary long mid-vowels were then created in all dialects as the result of isovocalic contractions (/e + e/, /o + o/). These produced secondary long mid-vowels that remained close (i.e. /e:/, /o:/) and were distinguished from the primary ones in Attic, Ionic, Doric *mitior* dialects, Elean (on the front axis), West Argolic, Theran, Rhodian and Coan.<sup>146</sup> By contrast, Thessalian, Boeotian, Lesbian, Arcadian, Laconian, Messenian, Elean (on the back axis), Cretan, Cyrenaean and the Doric dialects of South Italy merged these closer outcomes with the other long mid-vowels.<sup>147</sup> Vocalic contractions are generally supposed to be a relatively late development; in particular, in Attic-Ionic contraction of /a + e/ certainly occurred after completion of the shift of /a:/ to /ɛ:/ (since otherwise e.g. \*τιμάετε > τιμάτε > <sup>x</sup>τιμῆτε), which probably suggests a date in the eighth century, as in the case of the II CL.<sup>148</sup> This does not provide a secure hypothesis for isovocalic contractions as well, as these may have occurred earlier; however, the fact that in Cretan inscriptions of the seventh and sixth centuries the outcomes of /e + e/ and /o + o/ were still perceived as

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<sup>144</sup> Thompson (2006: 89) following Horrocks (1997: 216-217); cf. Crespo (1999).

<sup>145</sup> For Achaean see n.130.

<sup>146</sup> In West Argolic the outcome of contraction of /e + e/ in vowel-stem verbs is spelled <ι> in τελίτῶ and ἀφαιρίσθαι in IC I viii 4 b.6, 13 (from Knossos, ca.450); καλίσθαι in SEG 34:282.10 (from Nemea, 330-300), 3:312.11 (Mycenae, ca.200) and IG IV 497.11 (Mycenae, 197-195); this indicates closure to [i:], at least in these contexts: see Fernández Álvarez (1981: 74-85); Nieto Izquierdo (2009: 66-88, 120-123).

<sup>147</sup> Dobias-Lalou (2000) hypothesised that secondary long mid-vowels from contraction in Cyrenaean were closer than the outcome of other sound changes on account of the spelling <ε> in certain contexts where the result of /e + e/ is expected vis-à-vis the use of <η> for primary and other secondary long front mid-vowels. Nieto Izquierdo (2011) has argued against this hypothesis and proposed more supported explanations for such spellings, which are here accepted.

<sup>148</sup> Lejeune (1955: 229); Thompson (2006: 89).

closer than the other long mid-vowels may suggest a date not too far from 700 for the appearance of these new secondary mid-vowels, at least in this dialect.<sup>149</sup>

A few dialects also underwent a third type of compensatory lengthening (III CL) as a result of the loss of \**u* in internal clusters \**nu*, \**ru*, \**lu*, and \**su*: these are East Ionic and some Central Ionic dialects, West Argolic, Cretan, Cyrenean, Theran and probably Rhodian.<sup>150</sup> The development is certainly later than the accomplishment of the shift of /a:/ to /ɛ:/ in Attic-Ionic, since if \**u* in e.g. \**koruā* had disappeared before then, the resonant \**r* would have prevented the development of \**ā* to /ɛ:/ in Attic (thus \**koruā* > \**κόρα* instead of the attested *κόρη*, with no III CL). A date around the eighth century therefore seems plausible for this development as well. In Cretan in particular the III CL should have been almost contemporary to isovocalic contractions (thus around 700), since the outcomes of both developments were still close in the seventh and sixth-centuries, as we observed. As in Cretan, also in West Argolic the result of the III CL merged with the inherited mid-vowels.<sup>151</sup> By contrast, in Ionic dialects, in Theran and (perhaps) Rhodian the new secondary mid-vowels were retained as close, as in the case of the outcomes of contraction.

Finally, secondary long mid-vowels developed as the result of monophthongisation of the original diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/. The evidence for this development is generally provided by the use of the spellings <ει> and <ου> for secondary long mid-vowels after the adoption of the East Ionic alphabet, in which such spellings had first become conventional, indicating that the pronunciation of the original diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ had become identical to that of secondary long mid-vowels closer than the inherited ones. This phenomenon certainly occurred in most of the Greek dialects long before the adoption of the East Ionic alphabet in the late fifth or early fourth century: as Bartoněk has shown, evidence for monophthongisation is

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<sup>149</sup> See <ε> representing the outcome of /e + e/ (while in the same inscriptions <η> is regularly used for primary long mid-vowels) in e.g. IC IV 14 g-p 2 (Gortyn, mid-7th/end 6th c.): *ροσμεν*; II v 2.7 (Axon, 6th/5th c.): *καταμετροεν*; SEG 27:631 b.7 (Lytos, ca.500): *αιλεν* (Att. *αιρειν*).

<sup>150</sup> For the III CL in Rhodian see Del Barrio Vega (1998: 271); Nieto Izquierdo (2001: 19-21; 2002). For an explanation of this development see Lejeune (1955: 70-71, 192-193); Nieto Izquierdo (2002).

<sup>151</sup> Fernández Álvarez (1981: 54); Nieto Izquierdo (2009: 77-80).

already provided in certain dialects in the Archaic and early Classical periods by occasional confusion in the spelling of the original diphthongs and of secondary long mid-vowels, thus either by the spellings <ει> and <ου> for secondary close long mid-vowels or by <ε> or <ο> for the original diphthongs.<sup>152</sup>

Interestingly, ‘mistaken’ spellings <ει> and <ου> for secondary long mid-vowels and <ε> or <ο> for the diphthongs, indicating that both were pronounced [e:] and [o:], occur quite early in Greek dialects which attest to a seven-vowel system with (some) secondary long mid-vowels remaining closer than the inherited ones. This is the case for Attic, Ionic, Thera, West Argolic and Doric *mitior* dialects such as East Argolic, West Locrian, Phocian, Corinthian, Megarian and Sicilian Doric dialects. The earliest inscriptions attesting to such spellings in these dialects mostly date to the sixth or early fifth centuries, not implausibly, since relevant earlier inscriptions are extremely scant or not available for most regions; however, some attestations for the seventh century also survive (Thera, Corinth, Ambracia and Selinous).<sup>153</sup> In West Argolic the vowel originating from monophthongisation of /ei/ merged with the outcome of isovocalic contraction, and there is evidence for a tendency to close the resulting phoneme to /i:/, although such a development does not seem generalised.<sup>154</sup>

On the other hand, we may observe that monophthongisation must have been later than the conflation of other secondary long mid-vowels with the primary ones in those dialects that simplified the long-vowel system by merging inherited and secondary mid-vowels. If it were postulated that monophthongisation occurred before the merger of other closer mid-vowels with the primary ones, we would expect that the outcomes of monophthongisation also eventually collapsed into the neutral /ɛ:/

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<sup>152</sup> Bartoněk (1961; 1966: 77-88).

<sup>153</sup> For occurrences in these dialects see Bartoněk (1961; 1966: 77-88); Alonso Déniz (2015); Allen (1987: 69-79); Fernández Álvarez (1981: 74-85); Nieto Izquierdo (2009: 120-123); Méndez Dosuna (1985: 70-85); Del Barrio Vega (2009); Mimblera (2012a: 202-204; 2012c: 90).

<sup>154</sup> The spelling <ι> for monophthongisation of /ei/, as well as for the outcome of /e + e/, occurs in IC I viii 4 b.9 (ca.450: *hî* = εῖ, Att. ῆ; see Nieto Izquierdo 2009: 542-543) and occasionally later; cf. n.146. The fact that monophthongisation of /ei/ initially gave /e:/ is indicated by the spelling <ε> in Ἄργε (= Ἄργει) in SEG 11:329 (Argos, ca.475) and in Πολύκλητος in IvO 162.2 (from Olympia, 5th/4th c.).

and /ɔ:/, and that they were written as <η> and <ω> after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet in the same manner as all other secondary long mid-vowels. This, clearly, did not occur anywhere.

Evidence for monophthongisation of the original diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ before the adoption of the East Ionic script is available for very few dialects that merged primary and secondary long mid-vowels: these are Laconian, Boeotian and Thessalian. In all these cases, however, the evidence for the development is comparatively late, and the vowels originating from it appear to have merged, or at least tended to merge, with /i:/ and /u:/. In Laconian, possible evidence for development of /ei/ to /i:/ (<ι>) is found in fifth-century inscriptions.<sup>155</sup> In Boeotian, evidence for monophthongisation of /ei/ is attested in the fifth century, while no evidence for /ou/ is available before the fourth century; the outcome of monophthongisation of /ei/ is spelled <ι> in the later fifth century (at an earlier stage a special sign <ῑ> was used, presumably in order to represent a markedly close /e:/), while the spelling <ου> was used for both the outcome of monophthongisation of /ou/ and inherited /u:/ after the adoption of the East Ionic alphabet, indicating merger of the two phonemes.<sup>156</sup> In Thessalian, evidence for monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ is not earlier than the late sixth or early fifth century, and some phonetic spellings

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<sup>155</sup> Striano (1988: 40-42, 74-76) has assumed that Laconian monophthongised /ei/ already in the Archaic period on account of the spelling <ε> for the original diphthong in: IG V,1 919 (ca.525): Πλεσιτιάδας; LSAG p.199 no.16a (560-550): Δενόμαχος; IG V,1 1564 (403-399): Φεδύλας; cf. Lasso De La Vega (1956: 272). This is not unequivocal, however, since the second and the third examples could be attributed to the phonology of other dialects, as these inscriptions come from Rhodes and Delos respectively. The fact that the first one is attested in a dedication from Laconia does not provide secure evidence for monophthongisation either, as it occurs in a personal name: cf. Bartoněk (1966: 81). Some possible arguments could be available for the development of /ei/ to /e:/ and then to /i:/ in pre-consonantal position in δαρκικός/δαρκικός in IG V,1 1 (428-421), although the evidence may be possibly interpreted otherwise (Striano 1988: 53). On the other hand, the spelling <ι> instead of <ει> before a vowel in two fifth-century dedications (SEG 11:664: Καλικρατία; 905: ἠυπερ<τ>ελιάτας) may plausibly indicate development to /i:/ in this phonetic environment; cf. Méndez Dosuna (1993b). By contrast, there is no evidence that could suggest monophthongisation of /ou/ in Laconian (Striano 1988: 88-90).

<sup>156</sup> Ruipérez (1956); Bartoněk (1962).

may indicate that by the fourth century /e:/ and /o:/ from the former diphthongs had shifted to /i:/ and /u:/, at least in certain areas.<sup>157</sup>

It may be argued that evidence for monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ simply cannot be provided by the Greek dialects that merged primary and secondary long mid-vowels, unless the vowels originating from such a development merged with the closer phonemes /i:/ and /u:/. In other words, these dialects cannot offer direct evidence for monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ > /e:/ and /o:/ since there were no other secondary long mid-vowels (i.e. arising from compensatory lengthening and contraction) with which the outcome of monophthongisation could be identified. Therefore, when monophthongisation finally occurred in these dialects, local writers did not risk confusing the original spelling of the former diphthongs (i.e. <ει> and <ου>, now pronounced [e:] and [o:]) with that of the other long mid-vowels (i.e. pronounced [ɛ:] and [ɔ:] and written <ε> and <ο> before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, then <η> and <ω>). Accordingly, it may be assumed that in the absence of other evidence it is not possible to determine whether the original diphthongs underwent monophthongisation or were rather retained in these dialects.

However, the fact that some of the dialects that merged primary and secondary long mid-vowels show merger of the outcomes of monophthongisation with /i:/ and /u:/ already in the fifth century, while other dialects (with the partial exception of Attic-Ionic, which, according to the standard theory, underwent a chain shift of /ɔ:/ >

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<sup>157</sup> García Ramón (1987: 115-126), cf. Bartoněk (1962); Blümel (1982: 67-68). After a period of transition in which both <η>/<ω> and <ει>/<ου> were used for the inherited and secondary long mid-vowels merged together, all long mid-vowels in Thessalian dialectal inscriptions were written <ει> and <ου> in the Ionic alphabet. This apparently suggests merger of primary and secondary long mid-vowels (from contraction) with the outcome of monophthongisation. However, some evidence is available for merger of former /ei/ and /ou/ with /i:/ and /u:/: SEG 36:548 (Metropolis, second half 3rd c.) offers evidence for development of /ou/ to /u:/ (original /ou/ is written <υ> and original /u:/ <ου>), while IG IX,2 1202 (Korope, 6th/5th c.?) and 199 (Eretria, 5th c.) offer evidence for development of /ei/ to /i:/ (written <ι>). This seems to imply that, although <ει> and <ου> were used to represent long mid-vowels in general, in fact the outcome of monophthongisation had not merged with primary and other secondary long mid-vowels.

/o:/, /o:/ > /u:/ and /u:/ > /y:/),<sup>158</sup> generally retain closer mid-vowels at this stage is surely significant.<sup>159</sup> This suggests that dialects that had previously merged primary and secondary long mid-vowels generally failed to create stable /e:/ and /o:/ phonemes, with the phonemes developing from /ei/ and /ou/ tending to shift to /i:/ and /u:/ respectively. Indeed, if monophthongisation occurred after the merger of other secondary mid-vowels with the inherited ones, we must acknowledge that the dialects normally labelled as *severior* at that point had a seven long-vowel system: in other words, we expect that, as a first stage, monophthongisation produced new phonemes /e:/ and /o:/, and that the other mid-vowels either were pushed down to /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ or perhaps remained almost central /ɘ:/ and /ɔ:/, given the particularly close articulation of the former diphthongs. But in either case, a four-grade system of this type, with /e:/ and /o:/ representing the outcomes of monophthongisation only, would have been naturally unstable given the low frequencies involved in comparison to the functionally ‘heavier’ more-open mid-vowels, and speakers would have naturally tended to simplify it by merging the new close sounds with more ‘functional’ grades already established in the system, namely /i:/ and /u:/. This in fact seems to have been the case for the relevant dialects.

In Boeotian and Thessalian it is possible that the merger of /e:/ and /o:/ arising from monophthongisation with /i:/ and /u:/ was connected with more general upward shifts on either one or both axes. After the end of the sixth century Boeotian developed a new open long front mid-vowel from monophthongisation of the original diphthong /ai/; the development is indicated by the spelling <αε> in sixth- and fifth-century inscriptions, and eventually by the spelling <η> (thus /ɛ:/) after the early

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<sup>158</sup> See Thompson (2006: 89-90). But note that in a talk given at the conference ‘Archaia Grammata: The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Conference in Memory of L.H. Jeffery (1915-1986)’ (Oxford, 30th June-1st July 2016), Méndez Dosuna has argued against this reconstruction and hypothesised that /u(:)/ had already shifted to /y(:)/ in Proto-Greek, and then reverted to /u(:)/ in most dialects, while Attic-Ionic retained /y(:)/. I am most grateful to him for allowing me to read the manuscript of his paper before publication.

<sup>159</sup> In later periods merger of /e:/ and /o:/ with /i:/ and /u:/ would have been generally observed across the Greek-speaking world as a result of the spread of the Attic-Ionic *koine*. Merger of /e:/ with /i:/ in Attic-Ionic occurred between the fourth and the third centuries: see Allen (1987: 74-78).

fourth century. The outcome of monophthongisation of /ai/ did not merge with the primary and secondary long front mid-vowels that had previously coalesced (except for the outcome of monophthongisation of /ei/); instead, these were raised to /e:/, written <ει> in the East Ionic alphabet from the early fourth century onwards. It therefore seems possible that merger of the outcome of monophthongisation of /ei/ with /i:/ was the result of a chain shift on the front axis triggered by the introduction of the new /e:/ from /ai/.<sup>160</sup> In Thessalian all long mid-vowels were written <ει> and <ου> after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet: this indicates that either there was a real upward shift of the mid-vowels on both axes, so that former central /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ (comprising primary and secondary long mid-vowels developing from contraction) were raised to /e:/ and /o:/, or, as Scarborough has recently proposed, the position of /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ remained unchanged, but the spellings <ει> and <ου> were used since the articulation of the mid-vowels in the local dialect was perceived as closer to Attic-Ionic /e:/ and /u:/, than to Attic-Ionic /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/.<sup>161</sup> But in case a real raising occurred, it is possible that merger of /e:/ and /o:/ arising from monophthongisation with /i:/ and /u:/ (where attested) occurred as the result of the raising of the central mid-vowels.<sup>162</sup>

In both these cases, low functionality of /e:/ and /o:/ could have facilitated merger with /i:/ and /u:/. On the other hand, the Laconian merger of /e:/ arising from monophthongisation with /i:/ in the fifth century (possibly not fully generalised) cannot be put in relation with any upward shift on the front axis, and therefore seems best ascribed to a comparable lack of functionality of the phoneme /e:/ coming exclusively from monophthongisation. On these grounds, if monophthongisation occurred in dialects that had already merged primary and secondary long mid-vowels, it seems unlikely that the immediate outcomes of this development could have remained stable for long, and subsequent merger with /i:/ and /u:/ is expected. Thus, in the absence of phonetic spellings pointing to an upward shift, it is at least

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<sup>160</sup> Blumel (1982: 66-67).

<sup>161</sup> Scarborough (2014).

<sup>162</sup> Some areas of Thessaly seem to have also developed a new long front mid-vowel from monophthongisation of /ai/, similar to what happened in Boeotian: but since the earliest evidence for this development dates to the third century, the upward shift of the mid-vowels seems not related to this; see Blumel (1982: 159-161).

conceivable that monophthongisation simply did not occur in *severior* dialects before influence from the *koine*.<sup>163</sup> It is highly unlikely that the attestation of such a shift in *severior* dialects was simply inhibited by conservative spelling conventions, since such conventions clearly did not prevent occasional phonetic spellings betraying monophthongisation elsewhere, namely in Attic, Ionic and Doric *mitior* and *media* dialects.

On the other hand, there is good evidence that some dialects retained the original pronunciation of the diphthongs until a relatively late period. Note, in particular, that at least until the sixth and fifth centuries the diphthong /ou/ was still not monophthongised in Crete, as evidenced by the fact that it is normally spelled <οϝ> in inscriptions of the period.<sup>164</sup> It is also noteworthy that in Elean, which merged the back long mid-vowels only, thus developing a peculiar six long-vowel system, the secondary long front mid-vowel is spelled <ε> (<η> after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet), while the primary one is spelled <α> or <ε> (<η>). The fact that the closer secondary long mid-vowel is not written <ει>, which is the normal spelling in all other Greek dialects after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, probably indicates that the diphthong still had its original value before the spread of the *koine*.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, had Elean undergone monophthongisation of /ei/, it would be necessary to postulate that its long-vowel system had three mid-vowels on the front axis (i.e. /e:/: <ει>, /e̥:/: <η>, /æ:/: <η>/<α>), which seems highly implausible to the extent that such a system would have been extremely unbalanced and unstable (note that the back axis had only one mid-vowel as a result of merger between primary and secondary long mid-vowels).<sup>166</sup> Finally, it may be observed that the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ were probably still pronounced as such in Cypriot in the fifth and fourth centuries, since before the

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<sup>163</sup> Even if it was supposed that /ou/ could not be spelled <υ> in these dialects since the original /u:/ had shifted to /y:/, as in Attic-Ionic, this cannot be true at least for Laconian, which is known to have retained the original pronunciation of the inherited /u:/: see Thumb-Kieckers-Scherer (1932-1959: I,82); Striano (1988: 54-55).

<sup>164</sup> See e.g. IC II xii 3.5 (Eleutherna, 6th/5th c.: ὀϝτο[]); IC II v 5.4 (Axos, 6th/5th c.: ]κενηλοϝκ.); IC II v 1.9 (Axos, 6th/5th c.: σποϝδδάν); see Bile (1988: 105-106, 110-111).

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Del Barrio Vega (1998: 264 n.16) for the same observation.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Minon (2007: 303-305; 2014: 51 with n.52) for the hypothesis that monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ did not occur in Elean before the Hellenistic period.

spread of the *koine* the original spellings of the diphthongs are consistently preserved in inscriptions written in the Cypriot syllabary (e.g. *we-te-i* for  $\text{Ϝ}\epsilon\text{τ}\epsilon\text{i}$  in ICS 217 A.1, Idalion, ca.450; *o-u-ki* for  $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\acute{\iota}$  or  $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\chi\acute{\iota}$ <sup>167</sup> in ICS 306.5, Pyla, 400-325).<sup>168</sup> This could hardly reflect a conservative scribal practice, since in other cases the local writing conventions did keep track of sound changes in Cypriot inscriptions (for instance, in the omission in writing of a post-vocalic nasal before a consonant, possibly in order to represent nasalisation of the preceding vowel).<sup>169</sup>

Summarising the points made so far, it is possible to classify the Greek dialects as follows:<sup>170</sup>

- 1) Dialects that attest a seven long-vowel system in the alphabetic period and have secondary long mid-vowels from all phonetic developments distinguished (i.e. closer, pronounced [e:] and [o:]) from the inherited ones (more open, pronounced [ɛ:] and [ɔ:]):
  - i. Attic, Ionic, Doric *mitior* dialects  
Secondary long mid-vowels developed from: I CL, II CL, III CL (III CL in East and insular Ionic only), contractions, monophthongisation (earliest evidence available for the seventh and sixth centuries).
  
- 2) Dialects that attest a seven long-vowel system in the alphabetic period but do not have all secondary long mid-vowels distinguished (i.e. closer, pronounced [e:] and [o:]) from the inherited ones (more open, pronounced [ɛ:] and [ɔ:]), i.e. Doric dialects of the *media* type:
  - i. Theran, Rhodian, Coan  
Secondary long mid-vowels developed from:

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<sup>167</sup> Egetmeyer (2010: 456).

<sup>168</sup> Lejeune (1955: 199); Bartoněk (1961: 138; 1966: 82); Ruijgh (2007: 421); Egetmeyer (2010: 100-102, 106-107).

<sup>169</sup> Ruijgh (1988).

<sup>170</sup> Cypriot has not been included in this list due to the uncertain quality of secondary long mid-vowels in this dialect; see n.130.

- I CL: /ɛ:/, /ɔ:/
  - II CL (?): no secure evidence is available
  - III CL (evidence for Thera, probably Rhodes), contractions, monophthongisation (evidence for Thera only, already in the seventh century): /e:/, /o:/
- ii. West Argolic
- Secondary long mid-vowels developed from:
- I CL, III CL: /ɛ:/, /ɔ:/
  - Monophthongisation and contractions: /e:/, /o:/ (earliest evidence in the sixth and early fifth centuries); possibly, tendency to merge /e:/ and /i:/
- 3) Dialects that in the alphabetic period attest a system that retains secondary long mid-vowels distinguished from the inherited ones in the front axis, but merged together those in the back axis:
- i. Elean
- Secondary long mid-vowels developed from: I CL, II CL (in non-proclitics only), contractions. Plausible evidence for absence of monophthongisation before the spread of the *koine*.
- 4) Dialects that attest a five long-vowel system in the alphabetic period and have secondary long mid-vowels from all phonetic developments merged with the inherited ones (/ɛ:/, /ɔ:/):
- i. Lesbian
- Secondary long mid-vowels developed from: contractions. No evidence for monophthongisation before the spread of the *koine*.<sup>171</sup>
- ii. Arcadian

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<sup>171</sup> Hodot (1990: 57-59, 66-67, 69-72); cf. Blümel (1982: 38-78).

Secondary long mid-vowels developed from: I CL, contractions. No evidence for monophthongisation before the spread of the *koine*.<sup>172</sup>

iii. Cretan, Cyrenaean

Secondary long mid-vowels developed from: I CL, III CL, contractions. Evidence for absence of monophthongisation until at least the fifth century is available for Cretan, no evidence for monophthongisation before the spread of the *koine* in Cyrenaean.<sup>173</sup>

iv. Laconian, Messenian, South Italian Doric dialects

Secondary long mid-vowels developed from: I CL, II CL, contractions. No evidence for monophthongisation before the spread of the *koine* (with the possible exception of Laconian, with /ei/ > /i:/ in the fifth century).

5) Dialects that in the alphabetic period attest merger of primary and secondary long mid-vowels, except for secondary long mid-vowels from monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/, which tended to merge with /i:/ and /u:/ respectively:

i. Boeotian

Secondary long mid-vowels developed from:

- I CL, II CL, contractions: /ē:/, /ō:/; /ē:/ was then raised to /e:/ as a new /ε:/ was created from monophthongisation of /ai/ in the late sixth century
- Monophthongisation, complete after the mid-fifth century: /i:/, /u:/

ii. Thessalian

Secondary long mid-vowels developed from:

- Contractions: /ē:/, /ō:/
- Monophthongisation, complete by the fifth century: possibly /i:/, /u:/

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<sup>172</sup> No evidence for monophthongisation is reported in Dubois (1986), and, to my knowledge, more recent findings have not provided any either.

<sup>173</sup> Lonati (1990: 73); Nieto Izquierdo (2001: 24-25).

Having surveyed the development of secondary long mid-vowels in different dialects, it is now possible to investigate whether a correlation between the structure of the vowel system in different dialects and the merger or retention of secondary long mid-vowels can be established: specifically, whether the absence or the presence of any of the developments discussed above could influence the treatment of secondary long mid-vowels. Since the merger of primary and secondary long mid-vowels in Aeolic dialects (Thessalian, Boeotian, Lesbian), Arcadian and (possibly) Cypriot can be plausibly put in relation with a more central articulation of the short mid-vowels, as previously established, the following discussion will concentrate on possible discriminating factors in the Doric dialects, which all initially developed closer secondary long mid-vowels as the result of the phonetic processes described.

### 1.2.2 Merger of primary and secondary long mid-vowels in Doric dialects: a structural hypothesis

It has been argued that the introduction of closer secondary long mid-vowels produced ‘overcrowding’ of the back and front axes, i.e. created new mid-vowels that were phonemically distinguished from the original ones, but phonetically close to these; accordingly, it has been hypothesised that in some dialects overcrowding (leading to difficulty in distinguishing in pronunciation two vocalic phonemes which had little phonological space between them) led to collapse of phonemic distinction between primary and secondary long mid-vowels, with consequent merger of these into new central mid-vowels.<sup>174</sup> Such an explanation seems reasonable on the grounds of structural considerations; however, as we have seen, not all Greek dialects that developed secondary long mid-vowels that were closer than the inherited ones underwent such a process. What we must determine now, then, is the reason why some Doric dialects were less ‘tolerant’ of overcrowding than others.

As a first observation, we may note that all dialects that did not develop secondary long vowels from the II CL (West Argolic, Cretan, Cyrenaean, Thera, Rhodian and Coan) merged the result of the I CL with the inherited long mid-

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<sup>174</sup> Ruipérez (1956); Thompson (2006: 82 with n.3, 86 with n.19).

vowels.<sup>175</sup> It is difficult to regard the consistent concomitance of these two phenomena as purely coincidental. It is probable then that the absence of the II CL triggered the merger of the outcomes of the I CL with the primary mid-vowels. The reason for this could plausibly be identified in the comparatively low frequency of occurrence of secondary /e:/ and /o:/ originating only from the I CL, compared to the inherited long mid-vowels. We may observe that secondary /e:/ and /o:/ from the I CL occurred in a rather limited number of contexts and, crucially, in very few ‘function’ morphemes: in particular, these were characteristic of the aorist stem of nasal and liquid-stem verbs, but never occurred in verbal or nominal endings. On account of the small articulatory difference between primary and secondary long mid-vowels, it is reasonable to suppose that closer and more open long mid-vowels were naturally prone to confusion, unless the respective environments of occurrence involved significant functional contrast. In fact, it should be noted that closer secondary long mid-vowels from the I CL were not contrastive to the inherited long mid-vowels, i.e. the substitution of one sound for the other created no minimal pairs. Therefore, the shift to a more open articulation of secondary long mid-vowels from the I CL would not generally have conveyed a change of meaning.<sup>176</sup> The small articulatory space between non-contrastive sounds combined with low frequency of occurrence thus

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<sup>175</sup> See p.54 for dubious occurrence of the II CL in internal position in Thera, Rhodian and Coan.

<sup>176</sup> A number of studies have argued that the probability of merger between phonemes articulated in almost the same way is inversely proportional to their contrastiveness to each other (i.e. the capacity to distinguish minimal pairs); the level of contrastiveness of a phoneme is normally referred to as functional load. For the concept of functional load and the assumption that it plays a crucial role in preventing or influencing merger, see particularly Martinet (2005: 48-62); on the measurement of functional load see e.g. Hockett (1966); Surendran-Niyogi (2003; 2006). The hypothesis of a correlation between functional load and phonemic merger has found the opposition of a number of case studies; see e.g. King (1967); cf. Hocks (1991: 150-151). Its weakness seems to lie in the fact that it does not take into account the frequency and context of occurrence of contrastive phonemes. Nonetheless, recent surveys taking account of large *corpora* of data have generally offered support to the hypothesis that, in nothing else, low contrastiveness increases the probability of merger between similarly articulated phonemes: see Wedel-Kaplan-Jackson (2013a; 2013b).

plausibly accounts for the merger of /e:/ and /o:/ from the I CL with the primary long mid-vowels in those dialects which did not undergo the II CL.

Cretan and Cyrenaean then merged later secondary mid-vowels from contraction and III CL with the more open long-mid vowels (inherited and from the I CL), thus restoring a three-grade system. Theran, Rhodian, Coan and (partly) West Argolic, however, after merging the result of the I CL with the inherited mid-vowels, show a different treatment of the secondary long mid-vowels that developed at a later stage: these dialects, in fact, created new phonemes /e:/ and /o:/ for the secondary long mid-vowels developed after the I CL, which did not merge with the inherited ones (in West Argolic this only applies to the outcomes of contraction). The classification of *Doris media* has thus been attributed to these dialects, since they show a *severior* outcome for the mid-vowels produced by the I CL, but a *mitior* one for those created at a later stage.

It seems remarkable that dialects of the *media* type could develop stable /e:/ and /o:/ after the merger of the outcomes of the I CL with the inherited mid-vowels, while other Doric dialects failed to do so. It is useful to recall here that Cretan at first developed subsequent secondary long mid-vowels that were closer than those resulting from the merger of the inherited mid-vowels and the products of the I CL, as demonstrated by the fact that speakers attempted a graphic distinction between these and the more recent long mid-vowels. Nonetheless, by the fifth century this difference was no longer recognised in Cretan, and a five long-vowel system is attested thereafter. Against this background, we may observe that early evidence from Thera shows that the development of secondary long mid-vowels from contraction, the third compensatory lengthening and monophthongisation, at least of /ei/, had already occurred in the local dialect in the seventh century.<sup>177</sup> The development of closer secondary long mid-vowels in Cretan probably also occurred around the same date. Here, however, there is a crucial difference between the two dialects: while Theran underwent monophthongisation alongside contraction and III CL, Cretan, as previously discussed, did not undergo monophthongisation, at least of /ou/, until at least the fifth century. It therefore seems legitimate to hypothesise a correlation

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<sup>177</sup> See IG XII,3 536, 575 (7th c.); Nieto Izquierdo (2010). For the isolated reading τῶης with *severior* result of isovocalic contraction in IG XII,3 1640, which could be a hypercorrection, see Del Barrio Vega (1998: 271).

between the early development of monophthongs from /ei/ and /ou/ and the creation of more stable /e:/ and /o:/ phonemes.

A connection between retention of closer secondary long mid-vowels and early occurrence of monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ in dialects of the *media* type was already hypothesised by Nieto Izquierdo in 2001.<sup>178</sup> In particular, Nieto Izquierdo contrasted the *mitior* outcome of the III CL in Thera, Rhodes and Cos with the *severior* one in Crete and Cyrenae by observing that the former underwent monophthongisation (although evidence is available for Thera only) at a time close to the development of secondary close mid-vowels from the III CL, while the latter most probably did not undergo monophthongisation until a relatively late stage. Therefore, he assumed that in the case of Thera, Rhodes and Cos /e:/ and /o:/ from early monophthongisation attracted the outcomes of the III CL, as well as contraction, into their closer articulation, preventing in so doing any merger with the inherited long mid-vowels. He also hypothesised that the outcome of monophthongisation of /ei/ in West Argolis attracted the outcome of /e + e/, and that this secondary /e:/ then shifted to an articulation point close to [i:], so that the secondary long front mid-vowel derived from the III CL (apparently a comparatively late development in this dialect) could not be identified with this very close phoneme and instead merged with the inherited more open one.

We may expand Nieto Izquierdo's hypothesis by arguing that a connection between the chronology of monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ and the retention of secondary closer long mid-vowels seems relevant not only to the outcome of the III CL in dialects of the *media* type, but also to the development of the long-vowel system in all Doric dialects in general. In fact, if, as observed, monophthongisation in *severior* dialects must be later than the conflation of primary and secondary long mid-vowels, and given that it is hard to argue that these dialects underwent monophthongisation at a date earlier than the spread of the Hellenistic *koine* (unless indicated by the phonetic spellings <ι> and <υ>), it seems realistic to hypothesise that lack of secondary closer long mid-vowels resulting from monophthongisation could determine the collapse of any phonemic distinction between primary and secondary long mid-vowels, leading to the restoration of a five-vowel system. In particular, it is tempting to suggest that the survival of distinguished secondary close long mid-

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<sup>178</sup> Nieto Izquierdo (2001).

vowels from compensatory lengthening and contraction alone was prevented by the fact that by themselves these did not have a frequency of occurrence or functional load commensurate with a stable place in the system, a weakness compounded by the fact that the phonetic distance between these and the primary vowels was small.

Plausibly, early monophthongisation provided an appropriate alternative ‘target’ for the merger of the products of compensatory lengthening and contraction, which otherwise were prone to conflation with the inherited long mid-vowels. If secondary long mid-vowels were still realised as closer than the primary ones at the time when monophthongisation occurred, identification of these with the /e:/ and /o:/ from former /ei/ and /ou/ would then result in a shift to a phonetically closer articulation point, markedly distinct from /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/. As a consequence of this, merger with the more open inherited long mid-vowels would no longer have been possible, because of the much greater distance between the articulation points of the two pairs of phonemes; rather, at this stage secondary /e:/ and /o:/ could only merge with closer /i:/ and /u:/.

At the same time, monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ will have significantly increased the frequency of occurrence of /e:/ and /o:/, and provided these phonemes with greater functional distinctiveness. Indeed, the original diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ from which secondary close long mid-vowels developed occurred in several highly functional contexts in Greek; /ei/, for example, characterised function morphemes such as the third person singular active verbal ending and the dative singular ending of a number of consonant-stem nouns. The higher frequency of occurrence, the larger number of functional contexts and the more distinctively close articulation associated with the outcomes of monophthongisation can therefore very convincingly be put in relation with preservation of other long mid-vowels articulated in the upper parts of the two axes.

It seems legitimate, however, to question whether monophthongisation alone could produce this result. We have already observed that secondary long mid-vowels from the I CL had comparatively low frequency of occurrence and phonemic distinctiveness, and that their eventual merger with the inherited long mid-vowels was therefore predictable in those dialects that did not have the II CL. One might then wonder why the development of the II CL and other sound changes (excluding monophthongisation) was not enough to prevent merger in *severior* dialects such as

Laconian, by increasing the frequency and functional occurrences of /e:/ and /o:/. In fact, secondary long mid-vowels introduced by the II CL, vowel contraction and, in some cases, III CL are expected to have reinforced the /e:/ and /o:/ resulting from the I CL, particularly in function morphemes such as the *a*- and *o*-stem accusative plural endings (II CL) and in the *o*-stem genitive singular ending (contraction). From a functional perspective, we may observe that the load of /e:/ and /o:/ from compensatory lengthening and contraction alone was comparatively low, and as such inadequate for the preservation of two pairs of long mid-vowels: indeed, the number of minimal pairs is small and any risk of ambiguity resulting from substitution with the inherited long mid-vowels would easily have been prevented by the context of occurrence itself.<sup>179</sup> Moreover, the articulation point of these secondary long mid-vowels was presumably lower than that of /e:/ and /o:/ from monophthongisation, and therefore more similar to that of the inherited ones.

Furthermore, even though compensatory lengthening and contraction introduced a high number of closer secondary long mid-vowels in Doric dialects, their frequency of occurrence was still rather limited compared to other dialects. For instance, secondary long mid-vowels from the II CL occurred in fewer contexts than in Attic-Ionic, as secondary /o:/ did not develop in the third person plural ending from *\*-o-nti*, which underwent assibilation (*\*-o-nsi*) and later II CL giving /o:si/ (-ουσι) in Attic-Ionic, but remained /onti/ (-οντι) in Doric dialects. Likewise, in contrast to Attic-Ionic, Doric dialects generally either retained the hiatus /eo/ or underwent synizesis, and thus the occurrence of /o:/ was not reinforced by the result of non-iovocalic contraction. It is thus reasonable to hypothesise that, on account of the comparatively small number of tokens of /e:/ and /o:/ occurring in the spoken language, Doric dialects were particularly prone to phonemic merger with the inherited mid-vowels, unless monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ supplied the necessary higher frequency. As *severior* Doric dialects did not develop

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<sup>179</sup> An example could be the present indicative forms of vowel-stem verbs, which, in case contraction of /eo/ occurred, would have become homophones of the present subjunctive ones (e.g. ποιούμαι/ποιῶμαι). Semantic ambiguity in this case could have been easily prevented by the context, as subjunctive forms were often introduced by modal particles. However, note that Doric dialects generally tended to retain the hiatus or undergo loss of syllabicity.

monophthongisation at an early date, a direct connection between the two phenomena seems most plausible.

Therefore, we may suggest that if monophthongisation had not occurred by around the seventh or sixth century, /e:/ and /o:/ from other sound changes would tend to lose their distinctive articulation and merge with the inherited long mid-vowels, generally represented, after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, with <η> and <ω>.<sup>180</sup> If monophthongisation took place after this, the new close mid-vowels emerging from it failed to remain as firm /e:/ and /o:/ phonemes on account of their lower frequency of occurrence compared to the more open mid-vowels, comprising both primary long mid-vowels and the outcomes of CL and contraction; as a consequence, /e:/ and /o:/

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<sup>180</sup> In principle, it cannot be excluded that secondary /e:/ and /o:/ were in fact retained as such in *severior* dialects, but were spelled in the same manner as the primary long mid-vowels (i.e. <η>, <ω> after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet) since there was no alternative spelling available (as <ει> and <ου> still represented the real diphthongs). However, this would leave some questions unsolved: in particular, if there was no real merger between primary and secondary long mid-vowels in Cretan, it would be hard to account for the fact that in the fifth century the latter stopped being written differently from the former, after an initial attempt at graphic differentiation. Similarly, in dialects of the *media* type the result of the I CL (and of the III CL in West Argolic) must have merged with the primary long mid-vowels, since otherwise it would not be possible to explain why the outcomes of the I CL were spelled in the same way as the inherited long mid-vowels (i.e. <η>, <ω>) and not as later secondary long mid-vowels (i.e. <ει>, <ου>); see Méndez Dosuna (1985: 273 n.10). Further evidence for real merger might be provided by Doric dialectal speech reported in literary texts: for instance, the manuscript tradition offers secondary long mid-vowels mostly spelled <ω> and <η> in the speech of the Spartan characters in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, presumably with the purpose of reflecting the sounds of the Laconian dialect (spellings <ει> and <ου> occasionally occurring in manuscripts can be explained as corruptions). If closer secondary long mid-vowels were retained in both *mitior* and *severior* dialects, it would be difficult to account for the fact that secondary long mid-vowels are instead spelled <ει> and <ου> in the speech of the Megarian character in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 729-835 (occasional spellings <ω> and <η> transmitted in manuscripts are ascribable to 'hyper-Doric' corrections). Different spellings in Aristophanes' plays thus seem to indicate that secondary long mid-vowels were pronounced in different manners in Megarian and Laconian, i.e. similar to the Athenian pronunciation in Megarian, but with a more open articulation in Laconian; cf. Colvin (1999: 143-147, 150-155).

from monophthongisation would tend to merge with /i:/ and /u:/ on account of their very close articulation point, as happened in Boeotian, Thessalian and Laconian. By contrast, in those dialects, the majority, which exhibit early monophthongisation, the resulting phonemes played a crucial part in giving more stability to other secondary close mid-vowels, which thus remained distinct from the primary ones.<sup>181</sup>

In the case of Elean, which, as noted, most probably did not undergo monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ before the Hellenistic period, but developed a peculiar six long-vowel system with merger of the back mid-vowels only, we may suggest that lack of adequate frequency, functional load and phonetic distinctiveness attributed to the closer mid-vowels caused the merger of secondary /o:/ with the inherited long back mid-vowel, thereby solving the articulatory/perceptual difficulties related to the ‘overcrowding’ of the shorter back axis. Secondary closer front mid-vowels, however, could perhaps be retained as such even in the absence of monophthongisation, e.g. on account of the broader space for articulation in the front of the mouth; but it is crucial to note that the inherited long front mid-vowel in Elean seems to have been lowered to a more open position than in other dialects (thus to /æ:/ instead of /ɛ:/), as indicated by the spelling <α> in several occurrences. Therefore, it seems possible that the resulting increase in distance between the closer and the open front long mid-vowels resulted in the attribution of greater distinctiveness to the closer phoneme, preventing it from being absorbed into the articulatory space of the inherited one.

Resuming the points made so far, we have observed that in Doric dialects secondary long vowels originating from the I CL were rather limited in number and occurred in very few function morphemes, and that pronouncing the open long mid-vowels in their place would not have generated ambiguity; such circumstances could promote merger of primary and secondary long mid-vowels. The II CL and then contraction (and the III CL in some areas) created a larger number of secondary long mid-vowels and increased the frequency of occurrence, especially in function

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<sup>181</sup> In the case of Theran, for which evidence for monophthongisation is attested in seventh-century inscriptions, we need to assume that this development was later than the foundation of Cyrenae (640-630), which by contrast shows a five long-vowel system and does not provide phonetic spellings indicating monophthongisation before the influence of the *koine*: see Nieto Izquierdo (2001: 23).

morphemes, of the existing /e:/ and /o:/ from the I CL; this, we may suppose, played a significant role in delaying their merger into the primary long mid-vowels. Evidence for temporary retention of closer secondary long mid-vowels from contraction and III CL is clearly available for Cretan before the fifth century, but the phenomenon is expected in other dialects as well: in particular, in the case of Locri Epizephyrrii it is necessary to suppose that secondary long mid-vowels (derived from the I CL, and probably also from the II CL and contractions) were still articulated more closely than the inherited ones when the colony was founded in the early seventh century, since otherwise conflation of primary and secondary long mid-vowels would have been attested also in the motherland. By contrast, absence of secondary long mid-vowels from the II CL can be plausibly put in relation with the loss of phonemic distinctiveness of those generated from the I CL in the dialects of the *media* type.

At the same time, however, these /e:/ and /o:/ vowels did not have clear functional contrastiveness and a markedly distinguished articulation point compared to the primary long mid-vowels. As we observed, confusion on the part of the speakers seems more likely when the environments of occurrence of the closer pair of phonemes were not clearly distinguishable and substitution with the more open vowel would not alter the meaning conveyed. Therefore, it seems most likely that Doric dialects would eventually merge closer secondary long mid-vowels with the inherited ones, unless their position in the system received further support from other developments giving rise to long mid-vowels with a markedly close articulation and comparable frequency and functional distinctiveness, such as the monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/. It is therefore reasonable to assume a connection between early monophthongisation and the retention of a seven long-vowel system, and between absence of early monophthongisation and collapse into a five long-vowel system; and in fact, we have observed that monophthongisation in *severior* dialects is certainly later than the conflation of more open and closer long mid-vowels, while several *mitior* dialects provide evidence for monophthongisation at a date close to the development of other secondary long mid-vowels, and not later than the sixth century.

Thus loss of contrastiveness between primary and secondary long mid-vowels in Doric *severior* dialects can plausibly be put in relation with specific conditions of the phonological system. In the light of its explanatory potential, this structural hypothesis seems far preferable to assuming that speakers of certain areas undertook

simplification of the long-vowel system independently of any specific circumstance. At the same time, it is important to make the point that assuming a structural motivation for sound change does not entail viewing the development of *severior* Doric dialects as an entirely mechanical process; in fact, although a connection between merger of primary and secondary long mid-vowels in Doric dialects and absence of early monophthongisation can be successfully established, the same structural conditions did not necessarily produce exactly the same results across the dialects. For instance, Elean accomplished merger of long back mid-vowels only; but, despite not corresponding to the outcome observed in other dialects that do not attest early monophthongisation, the development in Elean is nevertheless compatible with the structural conditions outlined above (i.e. merger took place on the more problematical back axis, while the phonological space between more open and closer long front mid-vowels was probably greater than elsewhere). At the same time, it is entirely plausible that retention of two long front mid-vowels in this dialect was also conditioned by the socio-historical environment: for instance, contact with *mitior* neighbouring areas may have inhibited loss of the closer long front mid-vowel. Similarly, the chronology of merger might have been different in different dialects, although this cannot be demonstrated on the basis of the evidence available.

### 1.3 The development of the *severior* vowel system at Locri

Returning now to Locri, no evidence for monophthongisation is attested before the spread of the *koine* in the third century, nor is this available for other Doric (*severior*) areas in South Italy. By contrast, West Locris attests to monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ in inscriptions from the early fifth century onwards, IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 718 (Chaleion, 500-475, colonial law) being the earliest surviving attestation. Therefore, it should be assumed that this development was undertaken after the foundation of the colony (thus after the early seventh century), since otherwise phonetic spellings indicating it would have occurred also in Locri.<sup>182</sup> In case

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<sup>182</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 72-75). Since secondary long mid-vowels written <ει> and <ου> are found in this inscription, but not in the almost contemporary IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 609 (ca.500) and 717 (475-450), Méndez Dosuna concluded that monophthongisation was still not complete in

a connection between retention of diphthongs and simplification of the seven long-vowel system to a five-vowel one can be established, as argued above, the absence of monophthongisation in Locri may plausibly account for the shift from a *mitior* to a *severior* vocalism independently of any influence from Taras.

In particular, two sources of evidence point to the absence of early monophthongisation at Locri: on the one hand, the lack of any phonetic spelling in the local inscriptions to suggest monophthongisation, particularly in private documents, in which phonetic spellings are more likely to occur than in official contexts; and, on the other, the way in which the Greek alphabet was used by Oscan speakers for writing Oscan in South Italy. As we shall see in the next sections, although the absence of misspellings in local inscriptions does not in itself demonstrate the non-occurrence of monophthongisation in Locri, this assumption fits perfectly with the external Oscan data. Taken together, the internal and external evidence therefore strongly suggest that diphthongs were still pronounced as such in the fourth century.

### 1.3.1 Internal evidence for absence of monophthongisation in Locri

The number of inscriptions from Locri containing the original diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ and dating prior to the adoption of the Ionic alphabet is extremely limited. Nonetheless, it is still remarkable that the diphthongs are always spelled as such, and never written <ε>/<ι> or <ο>/<υ>. In particular, diphthongs are found correctly spelled in I.Locri 51 (second half 6th c., personal name: Δειγ[---]), 76 (early 5th c., dedication: Χείμαρ(ρ)ος), and 92 (5th/4th c., *Ephesia Grammata*: 3 ἐλα[ύ]νει, 12 οὔ, οὐδ'). Correspondingly, the digraphs <ει> and <ου> are never found in place of secondary long vowels, especially from the I CL, which had been certainly accomplished before the foundation of the colony, and produced close outcomes (/e:/

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the first half of the fifth century. However, lack of misspellings in these inscriptions does not prove in itself absence of monophthongisation, but may simply be the result of conservative orthographic conventions (the spelling <ει> and <ου> for secondary long vowels would not become standard before the fourth century). Cf. Brixhe (1989: 30-35) for monophthongisation and graphic conservatism in IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 718.

and /o:/) in the motherland: this can be observed in I.Locri 48 (mid-6th c.: Βύβιος ἐμί) and 80 (second half 6th c.: Εὐθύνα ἐμ[ί]).

No compelling evidence for misspellings indicating monophthongisation is found in the hexameters of the gold *lamella* from Hipponion either (OF 474, ca.400).<sup>183</sup> In this inscription, <η> and <ω> are still not used, and secondary long vowels are written <ε> and <ο>. The diphthong /ei/ is always spelled as such (1 ἐπέι, 6 ηευρῆσεις, 8 εἰρῆσονται, 9 ἐξερεεις, 10 εἶπον, 16 στείχῃσι), while no evidence occurs for /ou/. The only possible exception could be κλε<ε>ινοί (16) (< \*kleuesnoi), which has <ει> for the secondary long front mid-vowel originating from the I CL. However, as already observed in previous studies, this does not offer secure evidence for monophthongisation of /ei/ in the local dialect: the adjective κλεινός is in fact markedly poetic, and may have occurred with the spelling <ει> for the secondary long front mid-vowel in the model from which this text was copied (in some areas the spelling <ει> for the secondary front long mid-vowel became increasingly common from the mid-fifth century onwards).<sup>184</sup> If so, it is possible that the writer recognised it as a poetic feature and did not attempt to adapt it to the local use in this text. Indeed, it is important to note that this text contains a number of other forms of the Ionic epic tradition not corresponding to the use in the local Doric dialect.

Similarly, the text has <εις> in εις Ἄϊδαο δόμῳς εὐῆρας ἔστ' ἐπὶ δ<ε>ξιὰ κρήνα (2), which has been interpreted as either the preposition εἰς or the epic form of the second person indicative of the verb 'to go' (εἶς), although neither of these explanations is convincing.<sup>185</sup> Other *lamellae* with a text very close to this one have εὐρήσ{σ}εις δ' Ἄϊδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήνην (Petelia, OF 476, 4th c.) and εὐρήσεις Ἄϊδαο δόμοις ἐνδέξια κρήνην (Pharsalos, OF 477, second half 4th c.). It has therefore been suggested that εις... εὐῆρας in this text could have been generated from εὐρήσεις in the 'archetype' of these texts, either as a copying mistake or due to misremembering.<sup>186</sup> In case the writer intended or interpreted <εις> as the

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<sup>183</sup> See 3.1.1 for this text.

<sup>184</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 31-32 with n.6); cf. Colvin (2007: 23).

<sup>185</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (1974: 112); Zuntz (1976: 136-137).

<sup>186</sup> Janko (1984: 93) has particularly suggested that the reading originated as a result of misremembering. In either case familiarity with Homeric formulae such as εις Ἄϊδεω ἰέναι

preposition εἰς with secondary long front mid-vowel from the II CL, it may be easily observed that the form does not correspond either to the preposition ἐν of the Locrian dialect or to the Doric equivalent ἔς. A long syllable is metrically required at this point, and thus only the variant εἰς, widely attested in Homer, could be used. If <εἰς> was intended as a preposition, either the writer copied it from a non-local model (as in the case of κλεινός) or he was clearly familiar with the Ionic spelling, since otherwise the secondary long mid-vowel here would have been spelled <ε>, as elsewhere in the text.

When the Ionic alphabet was adopted in Locri, the digraphs <ει> and <ου> were only used for the diphthongs, which are never spelled differently, while secondary long mid-vowels are consistently represented with <η> and <ω>. On the basis of the internal evidence only, however, it is not possible to establish whether at this stage <ει> and <ου> still represented /ei/ and /ou/ or monophthongisation had occurred after the merger of primary and secondary long mid-vowels. A feature that could perhaps suggest that monophthongisation had still not occurred at the time of the bronze tablets may be the third person singular ending of the thematic subjunctive regularly spelled <ει> (in the form δοξεῖ) in I.Locri 7.12, 8.11, 22.12 and 36.13. We may observe that several Greek dialects (particularly Northwest dialects, Thessalian, Boeotian and Euboean) simplified the long diphthong in the *o*-stem singular dative ending to /oi/ by shortening the first element, and as a result the phonetic spelling <οι> is frequently attested in inscriptions. If an analogous simplifying development could be postulated for the long diphthong in the subjunctive third singular ending at Locri, it is possible then that the phonetic spelling <ει> here represents the short diphthong /ei/.<sup>187</sup> As previously mentioned, inconsistency in the spelling of the third person singular subjunctive ending is also attested in the Heracleian tables, which show oscillation between <ηι> and <ει> even in the same line, probably pointing to the writer's uncertainty in representing the spoken sound.<sup>188</sup> However, it cannot be entirely excluded that both the long and the short diphthongs had been

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δόμον εὐρώεντα (*Od.* 10.512) and εἰς Αἴδεω δόμον ἦλυθεν εὐρώεντα (*Od.* 23.322) could have influenced the corruption.

<sup>187</sup> Lejeune (1955: 196-197); Méndez Dosuna (1985: 413-463).

<sup>188</sup> See n.120.

monophthongised to /e:/ at that time, as seems to have been the case in fourth-century Attic.<sup>189</sup>

In general, before the influence of the *koine* no compelling evidence for monophthongisation is found in the other South Italian Doric *poleis* either. In the Achaean colonies, which, similar to Locri, probably had a seven long-vowel system inherited from the motherland at the moment of the foundation, <ει> and <ου> are always and exclusively used for the original diphthongs, which are never spelled otherwise.<sup>190</sup> In particular, before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet the correct spelling of the diphthong /ei/ is preserved in pre-vocalic position in Λυκείος (Metapontion, IGDGG II 37, 600-550; 38, 550-500; 40, 550-500), and with no exception in pre-consonantal position in the toponym Ποσειδανία. Likewise, secondary long vowels are always written <ε> and <ο> before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet: ἐμί (< \*es-m-) is regularly attested in Sybaris (IGDGG II 3, 600-550; 9, 525-500), Poseidonia (IGDGG II 29, 6th c.; 19, 575-550; 20, 550; 21, 550-500; 24, 530-520; 31, late 6th c.) and Metapontion (IGDGG II 39, ca.600; 37, 600-550; 46, late 6th c.; 45, early 5th c.; SEG 29:962, 450-400); μεδέξ (< \*-e-ns) then occurs in Poseidonia (IGDGG II 31); Μελίχιῶ (< \*mel-n-?) in Croton (IGDGG II 90, early 5th c.); ἐπόε and ἔχεν (< \*e-e) in Metapontion (IGDGG II 75, late 6th c.), while the *o*-stem genitive singular ending (< \*o-o) is always spelled <ο>. After the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, the Doric colonies of South Italy all attest to a *severior* vocalism with <ει> and <ου> regularly used for the original diphthongs only, before the spread of the *koine*.

Evidence provided by the inscriptions from Locri and from the other Doric colonies thus does not conflict with the supposition that monophthongisation occurred at a late stage in this area, and indeed tends to confirm this hypothesis. The use of the spellings <ει> and <ου> in Oscan inscriptions, however, suggests precisely a date in the late fourth century for this development in the area of Locri, corresponding to the spread of the *koine*.

### 1.3.2 Possible external evidence: the Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet

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<sup>189</sup> Allen (1987: 85).

<sup>190</sup> See n.133.

Oscan was an Indo-European language of the Sabellic family, attested in South Italy in the second half of the first millennium BC; specifically, Oscan speakers were located in Campania, Samnium, Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily. The alphabet in which their language was written differed across these regions: the writing system in use in the northern areas, Campania and Samnium, was derived from the Etruscan one and is normally referred to as the ‘national’ or ‘native’ Oscan alphabet. On the other hand, the southern regions, Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily, have offered a *corpus* of about a hundred Oscan inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet, mostly dating from the fourth to the early first centuries; these are mainly from Lucania and Bruttium, while those from Sicily are limited to a small group from Messina; a few inscriptions in the Greek alphabet have also been found in Campania.<sup>191</sup> These inscriptions in the Greek alphabet have not been generally considered in the context of linguistic discussion of Greek, although in fact they may represent an important source of evidence for the phonology of the Greek dialects of South Italy.

In fact, the choice of certain Greek letters for representing certain Oscan sounds should provide an indication about the phonetic value attributed by the local Greeks to such graphemes. This assumption must be true at least for the time when the Greek alphabet was first adopted for writing Oscan. As the East Ionic alphabet is consistently employed in the surviving Oscan inscriptions, we assume either that the Greek alphabet was adopted for writing Oscan in the fourth century, or that the Oscan writing conventions changed as the local Greeks began to use the Ionic alphabet in the early fourth century.<sup>192</sup> It is therefore conceivable that at least in the fourth century the

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<sup>191</sup> For an edition of the Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet see Crawford *et al.* (2011). Hereafter I refer to these inscriptions as printed in the aforementioned edition, although the phonological interpretation of individual forms relies on the analysis offered in Zair (2016), unless otherwise stated. Dates are also supplied as given in Crawford *et al.* (2011) unless differently discussed. I am immensely grateful to Nicholas Zair for allowing me to read proof versions of his book before publication, and for discussing the subject with me on several occasions.

<sup>192</sup> A couple fifth-century Sabellic (not Oscan) inscriptions from Lucania written in the Achaean alphabet (Blanda 1/Ps 20, Nerulum 1/Ps 1) may support the second hypothesis. Since no traces of the peculiar Achaean letterforms are found in Oscan fourth-century

Oscan phonetic value attributed to the Greek letters was analogous, where possible, to the one attributed to the same letters for writing local Greek. However, several arguments suggest that correspondence between the Greek and the Oscan value of the same grapheme persisted in later times.

In particular, the fact that the Oscan populations came to live in close contact with the Greeks after the occupation of a number of *poleis* during the fourth century strongly supports the assumption that the Greek letters used for writing Oscan represented similar sounds in local Greek and in Oscan.<sup>193</sup> Indeed, a number of inscriptions provide evidence for Osco-Greek bilingualism.<sup>194</sup> Moreover, the fact that in Oscan texts the Greek spellings <ψ>, <ξ> and <γγ> for [ps], [ks] and [ŋg], are sometimes used instead of <πσ>, <κσ> and <νγ> respectively, clearly points to acquaintance with Greek scribal practice.<sup>195</sup> In this respect, it is also worth noting that ‘half-h’ seems to have been introduced in Oscan inscriptions because it was the current sign for aspiration in contemporary Greek texts, and not as a result of an internal need to distinguish aspiration from *eta* with a vocalic value; this may be indicated by the fact that Buxentum 1/Lu 62 (300-200) attests to both <H> and ‘half-h’ for writing aspiration, but never uses <H> for representing a vowel. Furthermore, letterforms themselves appear influenced by those in contemporary Greek inscriptions: for instance, several Oscan inscriptions show *alpha* with the ‘broken’ cross-bar known from fourth and third-century Greek inscriptions, and *sigma* of the lunate shape.<sup>196</sup> These observations indicate that Oscan speakers did not simply adopt the Greek letters for writing their language at one point and then hand these down to later generations of Oscan writers, but that they constantly interacted with the scribal practice of the local Greeks.

Oscan had a six-vowel system consisting of the phonemes /i(:)/, /e(:)/, /ɛ(:)/, /o(:)/ and /u(:)/, with long vowels probably retained in initial or radical syllables only

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inscriptions, we need to assume that any local script previously in use was completely reformed when the local Greeks adopted the East Ionic alphabet.

<sup>193</sup> See pp.15-18.

<sup>194</sup> For these, see Zair (2013: 221).

<sup>195</sup> McDonald (2015: 82-90).

<sup>196</sup> See e.g. Potentia 13/Lu 16 (325-275 Crawford *et al.*; 325-200 Zair), Potentia 18 (225-200), Potentia 28/Lu 22 (300-200); Crimisa 3/Lu 44 (300-250).

(i.e. in stressed syllables). Crucially, the original five diphthongs with short first element are known to have been retained unchanged (i.e. non-monophthongised) in Oscan: these were /*ei*/, /*ai*/, /*eu*/, /*au*/ and /*ou*/.<sup>197</sup> In the light of the considerations above, the way in which the digraphs <ei> and <ou> were used in Oscan inscriptions should plausibly indicate whether such spellings represented real diphthongs or the results of monophthongisation in Greek. The picture emerging is of crucial importance to the present discussion.

Although a very few inscriptions are securely dated before the third century, it seems that until the later fourth or early third century /*e*/ was spelled <ε> or <ι>, and /*u*/ <ο>, while <ei> and <ou> were used for real diphthongs in Oscan inscriptions, and not for single vowels; the letters <η> and <ω> were not used.<sup>198</sup> The real diphthong /*ei*/ is spelled <ei> in Caulonia 2 (325-300) and in a number of texts dating around 300 (Vibo 2/Lu 25, ca.300; Potentia 13/Lu 16, 327-275; Potentia 19/Lu 36, 327-275). Correspondingly, the spelling <ouϜ> represents an ambisyllabic sequence /*ou.w*/ in διουϜει in Vibo 2/Lu 25 (ca.300) and ιουϜη in Paestum 1/Lu 14 (ca.300) (both dative singular, ‘to Jove’, from \**djouei*).<sup>199</sup> By contrast, in inscriptions dating from the late fourth century onwards the spellings <ei> and <ou> are frequently used for representing Oscan /*e*/ and /*u*/ respectively. The earliest surviving inscription in which <ei> represents /*e*/ is Laos 2/Lu 46 (330-320), followed by Anxia 1/Lu 39 (300-250), Buxentum 1/Lu 62 (300-200) and Potentia 40/Lu 13 (250-200), while the first occurrence of the digraph <ou> for /*u*/ appears in Petelia 2 (ca.300).

In the 1970s, Lejeune hypothesised that around 300 a reform in the Oscan writing system was undertaken, in accordance with which <ei> and <ou> were used

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<sup>197</sup> Buck (1928: 41-47); Lejeune (1975); Seidl (1994); Wallace (2007: 11-13); Zair (2016: 8-10).

<sup>198</sup> For /*e*/ spelled <ι>/<ε> before ca.300 see Metapontion 1/Lu 37 (400-375: <ι>); Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18 (375-350: <ε>); Caulonia 2 (325-300: <ε>). For attestations dating to the turn of the third century see Potentia 24/Lu 30 (325-275: <ε>), Numistro 1/Lu 4 (300-275: <ι>, <ε>). For /*u*/ spelled <ο> before the early third century see Laos 2/Lu 46 (330-320), Laos 3/Lu 63, Vibo 2/Lu 25 (ca.300); see Zair (2016) for detailed discussion.

<sup>199</sup> Zair (2016: 59-60, 193). Cf. <ou> for tautosyllabic /*ou*/ in τούτεικαις in Buxentum 1/Lu 62, 300-200).

for /e/ and /u/ on the basis of the phonology of *koine* Greek.<sup>200</sup> Against Lejeune, Zair has argued that the existence of such a standardised writing convention for Oscan is not supported by the epigraphic evidence: in fact, the spellings <ε> and <ι> for /e/, and /u/ for <ο> are still irregularly attested after 300 alongside <ει> and <ου>.<sup>201</sup> However, although Lejeune's hypothesis of a standard Oscan scribal practice does not seem tenable in the light of the surviving evidence, a general tendency to use <ει> and <ου> for Oscan /e/ and /u/ after ca.300 is undeniable.<sup>202</sup>

In fact, even though, as Zair has observed, it cannot be excluded that the absence of <ει> and <ου> for /e/ and /u/, alongside <ε>/<ι> and <ο>, in the surviving documentation before ca.300 might just be a matter of chance, since very few inscriptions in which /e/ and /u/ occur are earlier than the first attestations of the digraphs for these phonemes,<sup>203</sup> the hypothesis that <ει> and <ου> were not used for single vowels before at least the late fourth century is strongly supported by changes in the spelling of the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ around the same date: indeed, after ca.300, the sequences <ηι> and <ωϝ>/<ωυ>/<οϝ> are normally used for representing the real diphthongs instead of <ει> and <ου>.<sup>204</sup> Despite the admittedly scant volume of surviving evidence, if absence of pre-300 attestations of <ηι> for /ei/ and <ωϝ>/<ωυ> for /ou/ (<οϝ>, by contrast, is already attested in the late fourth century)

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<sup>200</sup> Lejeune (1970; 1972).

<sup>201</sup> Zair (2013: 222; 2016: 30-44).

<sup>202</sup> A more detailed discussion of the argument presented in this section is included in Tagliapietra (forthcoming).

<sup>203</sup> These are Metapontum 1/Lu 37 (400-375) and Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18 (375-350) (but possibly also Potentia 24/Lu 30, 325-275); see Zair (2016: 53).

<sup>204</sup> <ηι> for /ei/ first appears in inscriptions dating around 300 (Paestum 1/Lu 14, Paestum 2, Petelia 2), and is regularly used in later inscriptions such as Potentia 17/Lu 15 (300-275), Messina 6/Me 4 (ca.275), Anxia 1, Messina 4/Me 1&3, Messina 5/Me 2, Messina 7/Me 5 (ca.250), Crimisa 1/Lu 23, Crimisa 2/Lu 24, Potentia 12/Lu 27, Potentia 15/Lu 33, Potentia 31/Lu 59 (300-200), Potentia 40/Lu 13 (250-200), Vibo 5/tLu 3, Vibo 6/tLu 8 and Vibo 8/tLu 6 (before 200). <ωϝ> is found in Messina 4/Me 1&3, Messina 5/Me 2 (ca.250), Potentia 9/Lu 6 and Potentia 10/Lu 7 (200-175); <ωυ> is used in Crimisa 2/Lu 24 (300-200). <οϝ> is used for /ou/ in Petelia 2 (ca.300), Potentia 12/Lu 27 (300-200), Potentia 40/Lu 13 (250-200), but is already attested in earlier inscriptions such as Laos 2/Lu 46 (330-320) and Laos 3/Lu 63 (ca.300).

were regarded as pure coincidence, it would be very difficult to account for the fact that after ca.300 only <ηι> and <ωϕ>/<ωυ>/<οϕ> are attested as the spellings for /εi/ and /ou/. The only apparent exceptions to this are represented by Buxentum 1/Lu 62 (300-200), which, however, uses <ει> both for /e/ and /εi/ and <ου> for both /u/ and /ou/, thus indicating unawareness of the new spellings for the diphthongs; and, possibly, by Vibo 7/tLu 7 (300-275) which reads τουρειεις (genitive singular, either /tureeis/ or /turejeis/, gentilicium), just in case the correct interpretation is /tureeis/: in this case, the inscription would be parallel to Buxentum 1/Lu 62. Otherwise, the use of the same spelling for /e/ and /εi/ and /u/ and /ou/ is not attested anywhere.<sup>205</sup>

There seems then to be a connection between the adoption of the new digraphs for the real diphthongs and the use of <ει> and <ου> for /e/ and /u/ after ca.300. It is crucial to observe that <η> in Oscan inscriptions is exclusively employed for spelling the diphthong /εi/ (<ηι>), i.e. it is never used for /ε/ alone. This strongly suggests that <η> was intentionally adopted from the Greek writing system with the purpose of being specifically employed for the representation of the diphthong; the only situation

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<sup>205</sup> Dubious cases for the persistence of the use of <ει> and <ου> for the original diphthongs after the introduction of the new digraphs around 300 can be observed in a few inscriptions. One is Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2, reading δειτιν(ο) (/deiwin/), dated to 200-100 on account of the lunate shape of *epsilon*. The inscription is, however, of unknown provenance, and it cannot be excluded that the spelling shows influence from the ‘native’ Oscan alphabet used in northern regions: see Tagliapietra (forthcoming). Another possible instance of <ει> for /εi/ after the introduction of the new digraphs could be κotteεις in Vibo 5/tLu 3 (before 200), which represents either /kotteeis/ or /kottejeis/ (genitive singular, gentilicium), in case the second interpretation is correct. However, one might observe that the first diphthong could have been perceived by the writer as heterosyllabic, thus /kotte.jeis/. Finally, the date after 200 attributed to Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26 reading ηερεκλεις (/herεkleis/), with <ει> for /εi/, is highly questionable: see Zair (2016: 96-98). Similarly, <ου> for /ou/ exceptionally occurs in λουκανομ, written on coinage from Lucania minted during the Hannibalic War, in 207-204 (Lucani 1/nLu 1); however, this example is exceptional also in other respects, since legends on coins struck for the Oscan communities in the southern regions seem to have normally been in Greek (cf. Zair forthcoming); thus the unusual spelling may perhaps be put in relation with the unusual practice. In any case, we may observe that internal consistency is observed, since <ου> is used for /ou/ and not for /u/ in the genitive ending, which is spelled <ο>: see Zair (2016: 67-68, 81-83).

that could plausibly justify the development of the spelling <ηι> for /ei/, previously written <ει>, would be the need to distinguish the real diphthong from /e/ spelled <ει>. Accordingly, the appearance of both spellings <ει> for /e/ and <ηι> for /ei/ around the beginning of the third century could hardly seem a coincidence. The relatively substantial number of /o/ exclusively spelled <ο> before the third century also indicate that <ω> (used both in <ωφ>/<ωυ> for /ou/, and occasionally alone for /o/) was not adopted before ca.300.<sup>206</sup> The adoption of the signs <η> and <ω> around this date is surprising when it is considered that the Greek alphabet was adopted, or perhaps re-adopted, for writing Oscan after the importation of the East Ionic script on the part of the local Greeks (which happened around the early fourth century). This implies that <η> and <ω> were already used by the local Greeks when Oscan speakers first used the Ionic Greek alphabet for writing their own language. The appearance of <η> and <ω> in Oscan inscriptions thus seems strictly connected to the need to spell the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ once <ει> and <ου> had started to be used for /e/ and /u/. Such a need seems to have occurred around 300.

Even if an Oscan orthographic reform, as the one postulated by Lejeune, was never undertaken in South Italy, as effectively demonstrated by Zair, we still need to postulate the occurrence of some particular external circumstances that determined the new use of <ει> and <ου> for /e/ and /u/, and simultaneously the adoption of <η> and <ω>, around this date and not earlier. On the one hand, it might be observed that Oscan speakers came into close and frequent contact with the local Greeks precisely towards the late fourth century, with the occupation of a number of *poleis* in Magna Graecia. Accordingly, it might be hypothesised that it was only from around this date that Oscan speakers became literate in Greek on a wide scale, and consequently accustomed to Greek writing conventions, while previously the Greek letters had been simply mechanically assigned to the Oscan sounds by writers with little or no experience in writing Greek, implying that the monophthongised value of the digraphs <ει> and <ου> in Greek was not known to the majority of them.

We should, however, observe that some of the Greek sites that are known to have been taken by Oscan speakers in the second half of the fourth century still do not attest to <ει> and <ου> for Oscan /e/ and /u/ before the third century. Particularly

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<sup>206</sup> Zair (2016: 63).

remarkable are the inscriptions from Caulonia and Hipponion (later Vibo), which were taken by the Brettii around 346 (Table 1.1).

Inscription	Date	Text	Translation
Caulonia 2 Limestone block, dedication	325-300 (archaeological context)	φεζειε (/wenseis/)	Of Venus
Vibo 2/Lu 25 Bronze tablet, dedication	ca.300	διουφει φεσορει ταυρομ (/djowei wersurei taurom/)	A bull to Zeus Tropaios
Vibo 7/tLu7 Stamp	300-275	τουρειε (/turejis/ or /tureeis/)	Of Turius
Vibo 5/tLu 3 Stamp	before 200	κοττειε (/kottejis/ or /kotteeis)	Of Cottius
Vibo 6/tLu 8 Stamp	before 200	μαιε (/maieis/)	Of Maius
Vibo 8/tLu 6 Stamp	before 200	<h>ορτιε (/(h)ortieis/ or /(h)ort <sup>h</sup> ieis/)	Of Hortius

**Table 1.1** Oscan inscriptions from Caulonia and Hipponion providing evidence for /ei/ and /ou/

We recall that both Hipponion (a sub-colony of Locri) and Caulonia (founded by Croton) were destroyed by Dionysius in 389/8-388/7, who assigned their territory

to Locri. Around the mid-fourth century Hipponion was then occupied by the Brettii, possibly after having been taken from the Locrians and returned to the Hipponiates by the Carthaginians in 379, aiming to undermine the control of Syracuse and its allies in South Italy.<sup>207</sup> Agathocles then recaptured Hipponion around 295; according to Strabo (6.1.5), he had a harbour built in Hipponion on this occasion, presumably with the aim of using it as a base for his military operations in Italy, and Diodorus (21.8) reports that an occupying garrison was left in Hipponion as Agathocles returned to Syracuse. A long-term presence of the Sicilian army in the area may therefore be assumed for this period, and, as previously discussed, would find strong support in the fact that Locri and other nearby *poleis* (Hipponion, Medma, Terina), in this period minted coinage of the Corinthian type, plausibly in order to pay Agathocles' mercenaries.<sup>208</sup> On the basis of a proxeny decree from Delphi, dating to 315-280, for Demarchos Λοκρῶν ἐκ τῶν Ἐπι[ζε]φυσίων Ἴππωνιῆ (FD III 1:176), it has been hypothesised that the administration of Hipponion was then assigned to Locri; if this were correct, Locrian control over the *polis* probably ceased before 250, as the mention of Πρίμος Ἴππωνεΐτης, with no reference to Locri, in an inscription from Teos (SEG 2:635) seems to indicate.<sup>209</sup> According to the same passage of Diodorus, the Brettii eventually managed to free themselves from the forces left by Agathocles, although the historian does not mention whether this implied the re-occupation of Hipponion; it is certain however that the *polis* passed again under Brettian control, either on that occasion or later in the third century, since Livy (35.40) states that when the Romans founded the colony of Vibo in 192 they took it from the Brettii, who had taken it from the Greeks.<sup>210</sup>

In the Oscan inscriptions Caulonia 2 (325-300) and Vibo 2/Lu 25 (ca.300) the digraph <ει> is only used for the diphthong /ei/, while <ουϜ> is employed for spelling the ambisyllabic diphthong /ou.w/ before a vowel, and /u/ is spelled <o>. Caulonia 2 has been dated on the basis of the archaeological context, while Vibo 2/Lu 25 on account of the spelling of these vowels. Despite Zair's legitimate criticism on the circularity of dating the inscriptions on the basis of the spellings we aim to date, the

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<sup>207</sup> Diod.Sic. 15.24; De Sensi Sestito (2011: 40-44; cf. 1995; 2002: 396-397; 2013-2014).

<sup>208</sup> See p.37.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. SEG 40:421; Musti (1977: 114-120); Lombardo (1989: 448-450); Savalli (1989).

<sup>210</sup> De Sensi Sestito (2015: 54-55).

fact that in general <ει> for /ei/ is no longer found in Oscan inscriptions after ca.300 most plausibly suggests a date around the turn of the third century.<sup>211</sup> The *terminus ante quem* for this inscription is therefore plausibly provided by the occupation of Hipponion on the part of Agathocles in 295.

By contrast, in Vibo 7/tLu 7 (assigned to 300-275) <ου> is employed for /u/, and possibly <ει> for /e/ (it is uncertain whether <ει> in τΟΥΡΕΙΕΙC represents /e/ or /ei/, as the etymology is uncertain).<sup>212</sup> Also in this case, a date around 300-275 was proposed on the basis of the spelling <ει> for /ei/ instead of <ηι>. In the light of the general employment of <ηι> for /ei/ after ca.300 observed in the rest of the *corpus*, however, it seems conceivable to attribute a date in the early third century to this text: in fact, it seems that the digraph <ου> had started to be used for /u/, but <ηι> had still not become the common spelling for /ei/ at the time of this inscription. The spelling <ηι> for the diphthong in the genitive ending is then used consistently in Vibo 5/tLu 3, Vibo 6/tLu 8 and Vibo 8/tLu 6, which are not securely dated on archaeological grounds, but, considering the general adoption of <ηι> in the rest of South Italy, are most probably later than 300. These should be probably assigned a date in the period after the re-occupation of the area on the part of the Brettii in the third century and before the foundation of the Roman colony in 192.

Therefore the spellings <ει> and <ου> for /e/ and /u/ in Caulonia and Hipponion do not seem immediately connected with closer interaction with the local Greeks in the second half of the fourth century. If we suppose that before ca.300 <ει> and <ου> in the local Greek writing (at least in the area around Hipponion and Caulonia) did not represent monophthongs, and that around the turn of the century the diphthongs started to be monophthongised under the influence of the *koine*, it seems conceivable that Oscan speakers at this point felt the need to create alternative graphic sequences in order to represent sounds that no longer existed in Greek. If instead the local Greeks had monophthongised the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ at an earlier stage, it would be difficult to account for the fact that the digraphs <ει> and <ου> are not found as a variant for representing /e/ and /u/ in Oscan already towards the mid-fourth century, when these areas were occupied by the Brettii. Indeed, it is remarkable that the earliest attestations of *koine* features in the Greek inscriptions from near Locri

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<sup>211</sup> Zair (2016: 10-18).

<sup>212</sup> Cf. n.205 for κΟΤΤΕΙΗC in Vibo 5/tLu 3.

date precisely to the turn of the third century, and include the introduction of the spellings <ει> and <ου> for secondary long mid-vowels, as generally happened to other *severior* dialects in the early Hellenistic period.<sup>213</sup> The appearance of the *mitior* vocalism in the south of Magna Graecia around this period is also observable in a fragment of a financial account from Croton (SEG 53:1077), palaeographically dated to the late fourth or early third century.<sup>214</sup>

The simultaneous appearance of *koine* features in Locri and of the digraphs <ει> and <ου> for single vowels in Oscan inscriptions from neighbouring areas seems hardly attributable to coincidence. In the light of the closeness between Oscan and Greek speakers evidenced by linguistic and graphic features throughout the *corpus* of Oscan inscriptions (i.e. code-switching into Greek, imitation of letterforms and use of Greek peculiar ‘extra signs’ and sequences to represent the Oscan sounds), the introduction of the spellings <ει> and <ου> for single vowels in the local Oscan inscriptions at the beginning of the third century and not earlier is very plausibly attributable to changes in the phonology and orthography of the local Greek dialects under the influence of the *koine* in the same period. If this is correct, spellings in the Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet offer crucial external evidence for the absence of monophthongisation in the dialect of Locri before the late fourth century, strongly supporting the structural explanation for the development of *severior* Doric dialects proposed in this chapter.

#### *1.4 Conclusions: rejection of the hypothesis of dialect influence from Taras*

An independent phonetic development triggered by internal structural pressures seems the most convincing explanation for the *severior* vocalism attested at Locri. This solution does not conflict with the historical data available and ties in well with the rest of the linguistic evidence, as well as having the great advantage of not requiring the highly dubious invocation of influence from Taras. Simultaneously, such an account links Italian Locrian directly with the situation apparent in other five

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<sup>213</sup> See e.g. Brixhe (1996) for Laconian; Lanérès (2014) for Messenian; cf. Dubois (2014) for Arcadian. For occurrences in Locri see p.103.

<sup>214</sup> See p.110. For the date of this item see Lazzarini (2003: 81-83).

long-vowel Doric dialects, which generally seem to have simplified the vowel system as a result of the insufficient contrastiveness and frequency of occurrence of the secondary closer long mid-vowels. Specifically, the development of the *severior* vocalism in Doric dialects may plausibly be put in relation with the absence of monophthongisation at an early date (i.e. around the seventh or sixth centuries). In the case of Locri, there is good evidence for absence of monophthongisation in the local dialect before the spread of the *koine* in the early third century: this is provided by the lack of misspellings in inscriptions and the phonetic value attributed to <ει> and <ου> for writing Oscan in neighbouring areas.

If this nexus of argumentation is correct, we may conclude that at the time of its foundation in the early seventh century Locri had two pairs of long mid-vowels inherited from the motherland. Closer secondary long mid-vowels had arisen from the I CL, and most probably also from the II CL and isovocalic contractions at that time. The dialect(s) of Locris of Greece had clearly not undergone monophthongisation of /ei/ and /ou/ when the colonists departed; otherwise, the outcomes of monophthongisation would have merged with other secondary long mid-vowels in the dialect of the colony as well. Contrary to the motherland, Locri seems to have preserved the original pronunciation of the diphthongs. Thus, on the basis of our structural considerations, it is likely that in the absence of secondary long mid-vowels arising from monophthongisation, secondary /e:/ and /o:/ from other developments lost phonemic distinctiveness and merged with the inherited mid-vowels before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet. If this is correct, it follows that the development of a *severior* vowel system in Locri occurred independently of the dialect of Taras, since retention of the original diphthongs was inherited from the motherland in Locri at the moment of its foundation. This certainly does not exclude the possibility that interaction between speakers of neighbouring areas may have played a role in the preservation of the original diphthongs in the Doric colonies of Magna Graecia, namely in Locri, in the Achaean *poleis* and in Taras and Heraclea. The crucial observation that needs to be made, however, is that in all of these cases absence of monophthongisation was a feature of the language of the original founders, not the result of influence from external, supposedly more prestigious varieties.

This state of affairs was presumably maintained until the Attic-Ionic *koine* began to spread as a prestige model at the expense of the local dialect. Initial

influence from this supra-dialectal variety of Greek is first detectable in Locri, as well as in other parts of south Magna Graecia such as Croton, precisely around the turn of the century. The creation of new digraphs (<ηι>, <ωυ>/<ωφ>) for representing the true diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ in Oscan inscriptions from near Hipponion and Caulonia around the same period (just as <ει> and <ου> start to be used as graphic variants for /e/ and /u/ respectively) provides crucial, and original, external support for this scenario.

## 2. A New Investigation of Dialect Contact in Early Hellenistic Magna Graecia

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In the previous chapter it was argued that the *severior* vowel-system attested in the inscriptions from Locri after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet cannot plausibly reflect influence from the dialect of Taras. As a consequence of discarding this hypothesis, the entire reconstruction of dialectal areas in Magna Graecia around 400-300, as typically assumed in previous studies, also comes into question. Indeed, we recall that, in the absence of significant evidence from other sites of Magna Graecia, the attestation of the *severior* vocalism in Locri has been generally considered as evidence for Taras' dialect influence over the rest of Magna Graecia prior to the spread of the Hellenistic *koine*, perhaps even providing the basis for a local *koina*.<sup>215</sup> The dialectal landscape of fourth- and early third-century Magna Graecia thus needs to be redrawn; if the dialect of Taras had no impact on the other colonies, or at least its area of influence did not extend as far south as Locri, what alternative scenario, more compatible with the data available, can be proposed?

A related issue raised in previous scholarship concerns the time and the modalities through which the *koine* first spread to South Italy; indeed, investigating the impact of the Hellenistic *koine* in the area is an important complementary aspect within the context of investigation of dialect contact and prestige. In particular, defining the acceptance of, or resistance to, this external variety in different registers in the early Hellenistic inscriptions provides us with essential evidence for the vitality of the local Greek dialects at that time. In his contribution to the argument, Consani proposed that the *koine* in Locri infiltrated bottom-up, influencing the spoken language and lower written registers at first, with more resistance at the higher levels of society.<sup>216</sup> Such a hypothesis, however, was proposed without a thorough analysis of the epigraphic material available and systematic comparison with the data from the rest of Magna Graecia. A comprehensive re-evaluation of the question of the impact of the *koine* is thus needed in the context of a new assessment of the Greek dialects of South Italy around 300.

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<sup>215</sup> See p.27.

<sup>216</sup> Consani (1995: 81-82).

This chapter will attempt to answer these questions. For this purpose, I will first reconsider the fourth- and third-century inscriptions from Locri and determine what variety or varieties of language are employed in these. Having completed this analysis, evidence for contact with external varieties in this period will be evaluated and assessed through comparison with the contemporary inscriptions from neighbouring areas. The second part of the chapter will then deal with the interpretation of the data emerging from the survey, and ultimately offer a novel reconfiguration of dialectal areas in Magna Graecia.

### *2.1 Dialect contact and identity in Locri Epizephyrii*

A survey of the epigraphic material from Locri dating to the fourth and third centuries is the necessary prerequisite for determining the position of Locri within the linguistic landscape of early Hellenistic Magna Graecia, and thus for a new assessment of dialect contact and identity in the region.

The site of Locri has provided about a hundred inscriptions; due to the fragmentary and short nature of most of them, however, the dialect of Locri is primarily known from the *corpus* of thirty-seven bronze tablets from the local Olympieion, consisting of official documents recording financial transactions between the *polis* and the treasury of Zeus.<sup>217</sup> In the absence of references to any specific, chronologically fixed event or known dating system in the text of the tablets, the date of the *corpus* has been traditionally placed between the mid-fourth and the mid-third century on the basis of linguistic, palaeographical and general historical criteria.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> For the sake of clarity, the tablets hereafter will be referred to as numbered in Del Monaco's edition, but preceded by 'tab.' instead of 'I.Locri'. Before Del Monaco (1997), editions and studies referred to a total of thirty-nine tablets; Del Monaco recognised that three fragments, previously published as tabs. 35, 36 and 37, in fact belong to the same tablet, now I.Locri 35. Readings are supplied as printed in Del Monaco's edition, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>218</sup> Linguistic criteria include the preponderant use of features still attributable to the local Doric dialect, combined with a small minority of *koine* infiltrations, which suggests a date before the mid-third century. Evidence provided by the script consists in the employment of the Ionic alphabet, indicating a date after the early fourth century, and particular letter shapes (e.g. *alpha* with broken cross-bar) pointing to the later fourth and the third centuries: see De

The text of the Locrian bronze tablets is characterised by extreme conciseness and a high level of standardisation of the phraseology used, which occurs with little variation throughout the *corpus*. In fact, these documents were intended to be extracts from decrees concerning the borrowing of sums from the sanctuary of Zeus, with the function of recording just the relevant details of the transactions that had been ratified.<sup>219</sup> The variety of language they attest is therefore expected to correspond to that employed in the actual decrees to which they referred. This assumption is based primarily on the fact that, in three cases (tabs. 4, 5, 32), the text of the source is copied particularly closely, i.e. with little or no rephrasing. In particular, these three tablets after the prescript show the enactment formula ἔδοξε(ν) τᾷ βωλᾷ καὶ τῷ δάμωι expected in the actual decree, while elsewhere the ratification of the transaction reported is expressed through the paraphrase δόγματι βωλᾶς καὶ δάμωι or, occasionally, δόγματι βωλᾶς only (tabs. 1, 9, 34).<sup>220</sup> Since the language attested in these three tablets, which are closer to the original text, does not differ overall from that in the tablets with rephrased content, we take the view that the variety of language used for the bronze tablets was the same as that of the associated decrees, i.e. the official register of the *polis*.

The linguistic information conveyed in the tablets is slightly enhanced by the other available inscriptions; the relevant ones for the purposes of our study (i.e. not those consisting of unintelligible fragments or fragments offering no clue for the identification of dialectal varieties, nor those containing sigla or abbreviations only) comprise:<sup>221</sup>

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Franciscis (1972: 61-66); Guarducci (1976: 380 with n.1). Historical evidence is provided by references to the structures of a democratic administrative system, which is known to have been established in Locri after 346. Further evidence might be provided by the building work concerning the towers of the *polis* mentioned in a number of tablets, as this would be compatible with the fact that, as emerged from archaeological surveys, the city walls underwent a number of modifications around 300: see De Franciscis (1972: 75); Filocamo (2012: 127-128); Del Monaco (2013: 26).

<sup>219</sup> Costabile (1992: 114-123).

<sup>220</sup> The ratification phrase is omitted in tabs. 13, 21, 23, 27, 33.

<sup>221</sup> Dates are reported as in Del Monaco (2013).

- 1) Dedications: I.Locri 82 (early 4th c.); 59, 60, 61 (first quarter 4th c.); 46, 56, 57, 62, 64, 65 (4th c.); 66, 67, 68, 69, 77, 81, 85 (4th/3rd c.); 63 (late 4th c.).
- 2) *Defixiones*: I.Locri 91 (late 4th/early 3rd c.); 90 (late 3rd c.).
- 3) Kollyra's 'judicial prayer' (I.Locri 89, 3rd c.).
- 4) Tile stamps: I.Locri 108 (late 3rd/early 2nd c.).<sup>222</sup>
- 5) Funerary inscriptions: I.Locri 111 (late 3rd/early 2nd c.).

The bronze tablets as official documents are expected to reflect the variety of language considered most suitable for the non-literary, high local register at that time. Consequently, the regular recurrence of features from non-local varieties of Greek in such documents can reasonably be interpreted as evidence of their acceptability in such a context, and indeed as a reflection of the increasing prestige of the relevant varieties. The language of the official register thus provides us with essential evidence for the prestige attributed to external varieties and for the linguistic identity adopted and promoted at the upper levels of the society. Accordingly, official inscriptions can be useful for determining the stage at which non-local features acquired prestige in the high register; this, however, does not necessarily correspond to the moment when such features first appeared in the local idiom.

By contrast, the appearance of these same features in private inscriptions, such as curse tablets and dedications, is more likely to reflect the actual impact of external influences on the local spoken language of the time. Interpretation of non-local forms in these documents, however, is not as certain as in the case of the official ones: in fact, such features, especially if occurring in personal names, might rather be related to the non-local origin of the writers or people concerned in the inscription. Nonetheless, combination and comparison of the two sources of information can reasonably be expected to lead to the emergence of some illuminating scenarios.

The features of the language attested in the inscriptions from Locri have already been described in previous studies; particularly outstanding in terms of

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<sup>222</sup> The date of this piece has been suggested on the basis of *theta* with cross-bar at full length; an earlier date in the third century cannot be excluded, as this feature is also attested in I.Locri 83 (fragment of dedication), assigned to the late fourth or third century on the basis of the archaeological context: see Settis-Parra (2005: 325).

completeness and reliability is the discussion of individual features offered by Méndez Dosuna throughout his monograph on the Northwest dialects.<sup>223</sup> In this context, I will therefore only consider the features that are directly relevant to the purposes of the present research; likewise, discussion of the selected features will be constrained by the topic under investigation.

The Greek of the tablets is consistently Doric and normally attests to the five-vowel system of the *severior* variety, with the signs <η> and <ω> representing both primary and secondary long mid-vowels, as we saw in the previous chapter. Among the generic Doric phonological and morphological features, the tablets offer:

- i.
  - 1) Preservation of the inherited /a:/, with no exception in the bronze tablets: *passim*.<sup>224</sup>
  - 2) Contraction of /a: + o/ and /a: + ɔ:/ in /a:/: *passim*.<sup>225</sup>
  - 3) The hiatuses /eo/ and /eɔ:/ generally preserved (<εο>, <εω>), with a few exceptions (see iii.5).<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 30-257). Other descriptions of the dialect of Locri, including Landi (1964; 1966; 1968), De Franciscis (1972: 91-96) and Blomqvist (1975: 23-29), are now mostly outdated in respect of the interpretations offered.

<sup>224</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 40).

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.* 95. For the convenience of the reader, in this and in the following chapter long mid-vowels in the *severior* Doric dialects of the South Italian colonies are represented with the symbols for the open long mid-vowels (/ɛ:/, /ɔ:/), to which the spellings <η> and <ω> correspond in Attic-Ionic. A more precise representation of the long mid-vowels in *severior* dialects is the one adopted throughout our discussion at 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 (i.e. /ɛ:/, /ɔ:/).

<sup>226</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 85-86). Following Méndez Dosuna, I reject the readings  $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  (tabs. 2.1, 7.1, 12.1-2, 15.1, 17.1, 26.1) and  $\iota\alpha\rho\omicron\mu\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  (tab. 36.1) (genitive plural participle with contraction of /eo/ in /ɔ:/ <ω>, i.e. the expected *severior* secondary long mid-vowel), proposed in the *editio princeps* and accepted by Del Monaco. If contraction of the vowels in hiatus were read in these instances, it would be difficult to account for its occurrence in  $\iota\alpha\rho\text{-}/\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\omega$  only, while being regularly avoided in the other *e*-stem verbs occurring in the texts. Particularly noteworthy would be the fact that some of the tablets supposedly reading  $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  show preservation of the hiatus in other

- 4) Apocope of the prepositions *παρά* (*passim*) and *κατά* (tabs. 2.8, 10; 23.11; 31.9), the latter only when followed by a dental.<sup>227</sup>
- 5) The Doric adjective *ιαρός*, mostly attested in the compound *ιαρομνάμων* and *ιαρομναμονέω*, in thirteen tablets: tabb. 4.7; 8.3; 13.6; 14.1; 22.7; 23.1; 25.4; 30.5; 31.9; 32.1, 3; 33.4; 35.5; 36.1. The adjective also occurs in a few fourth-century dedications: I.Locri 82 (early 4th c.), 59, 60, 61 (first quarter 4th c.), 62 59, 60, 61 (4th c.), 68 (4th/3rd c.); and in Kollyra's inscription in the verb *ἀνιαρίζω* (9) (Att.-Ion. *ἀνιερίζω*).<sup>228</sup>
- 6) The masculine plural article *τοί*: tabb. 4. 10, 11; 7.9; 9.5; 32.3.<sup>229</sup>
- 7) The accusative plural *τρῖς* for the cardinal numeral (Att.-Ion. *τρεις*): tab. 36.8.<sup>230</sup>
- 8) The genitive singular (no evidence for the dative) of *i*-stem nouns inflected without ablaut (e.g. *πόλιος*, Att. *πόλεως*): tabs. 1.8; 6.4, 5-6; 7.6, 10; 8.4; 12.9; 14.24; 16.2; 20.20; 22.9; 24.4; 25.10; 36.10.<sup>231</sup>
- 9) The first person plural ending *-μες*: tabs. 3.11, 5.11, 14.3, 16.3, 26.8.<sup>232</sup>
- 10) The athematic infinitive ending *-μεν*: tabs. 7.11, 22.12, 32.2, 36.12.<sup>233</sup>
- 11) General absence of epheletic *nu*: tabs. 5.6, 33.7.<sup>234</sup>
- 12) The preposition *ποτί*, regularly shortened to *ποί* (see ii.1).

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genitive plural participles (e.g. *προδικεόντων* at tabs. 12.7, 15.5, 17.6, 26.6). As first suggested by Gigante (1979: 424-425) and Blomqvist (1978: 118), it is preferable to read the genitive plural form of the noun, i.e. *ιαρ-/ιερομναμόνων*, followed by the article *τῶν* connected with *ἐπὶ θησαυρῶι* which immediately follows in all of these occurrences, with the function of specifying that the *hieromnamones* concerned in these tablets are those in charge for the administration of the treasury. Close parallels for this reading can be found in: *τὼς ιερομνάμονας τὼς ἐπὶ τῶι σίτῳι* (tab. 5.7-8); *τὼς ιαρομνάμονας τὼς ἐπὶ θησαυρῶι* (32.1-2).

<sup>227</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 154-155).

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.* 59. On *ιαρός* see Garcia Ramón (1992).

<sup>229</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 194).

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.* 201.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.* 168, 170.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.* 203.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.* 219.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.* 162.

- 13) The Doric third person demonstrative pronoun τήνος, equivalent to Attic-Ionic κείνος/ἐκείνος; this is identifiable in ἐπίτηνα, a term occurring in tabs. 23.11, 30.14 and not attested elsewhere (presumably corresponding to Attic-Ionic ἐπέκεινα).<sup>235</sup>
- 14) The particle κα (Att.-Ion. ἄν): tabs. 7.12, 13; 8.11; 22.12.<sup>236</sup>
- 15) Temporal adverbs in -κα (Att.-Ion. -τε): tab. 7.13 (ὀπόκα).<sup>237</sup>

Features of the language of Locri that are not generally shared with all dialects of the Doric branch, including both archaisms inherited from the motherland and local innovations, are:

ii.

- 1) The preposition ποτί shortened to ποί: tabs. 7.5 (Ποιγένεος); 8.6; 9.12; 15.9-10, 10; 16.11-12 (ποιβόλωι); 21.1, 7 (ποικειμένω); 25.10; 36.9-10.<sup>238</sup>
- 2) The preposition ἐν, taking the accusative. This is an archaism imported from the motherland, where the original form of the preposition deriving

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.* 195-196; cf. Musti (1974: 5-7).

<sup>236</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 257).

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.* 251.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.* 238, 242. Following Lüttel (1981), Méndez Dosuna explains the form ποί as the result of dissimilation before a dental at word-beginning, later generalised in all occurrences. At tab. 15.9-10 the reading is debated: the preposition ποί occurring at the end of line 9 could be interpreted either as taking the accusative χρήστιν written in the interlinear space immediately below or with θεθέν at the beginning of line 10 (thus ποιθεθέν). Del Monaco (2013: 57-61) prints ἄλλο τὸ ποὶ `χρήστιν' | θεθέν ποὶ τοῖς καταβόλοις with De Franciscis (1972: 29), Gigante (1979: 51) and Landi (1979: 79). This interpretation is not unproblematic since χρήστιν is written below line 9, while elsewhere in the tablets, conforming to a common scribal practice, additions are written above the line to which they belong, even at line ending: cf. 23.7 and 24.3. It would be at least uncommon if χρήστιν belonged to line 9 rather than 10 (but an alternative location at 10 is not immediately obvious either). Blomqvist (1978: 118) and Migeotte (1988: 193 n.5) proposed to emend the sentence as: ἄλλαν χρήστιν τὸ ποιθεθέν. For (-)θεθέν see ii.15.

from \**en* was retained; other dialects innovated by adding *-s* and as a result developed εἰς (< \**en-s* with <εἰ> representing /e:/ from the II CL) and ἐς (/es/ shortened from εἰς /e:s/ before a consonant): tabs. 1.2; 3.11; 4.7; 6.9; 7.10; 9.13-14; 10.10-11; 11.10-11; 12.11; 13.10; 14.4; 15.8; 16.7, 11; 17.9-10; 18.9-10; 19.8-9; 21.10; 23.6; 24.9; 25.10; 26.8-9; 28.7-8; 29.10; 30.8; 31.5; 32.2; 37.11-12.<sup>239</sup> Sometimes ἐν with the accusative indicating the purpose for which the loan has been taken is substituted in the same function by the preposition ποί with the accusative: tabs. 8.6; 9.12; possibly 15.9-10 (see n.238); 21.1; 25.10; 36.9-10. Note particularly 36.9-10 ποὶ τὰν πυργοποιίαν καὶ τὰν ὀχύρωσιν, instead of ἐν τὰν πυργοποιίαν and ἐν τὰν ὀχύρωσιν attested elsewhere; at 25.10 both ἐν τὰν ὀχύρωσιν and ποὶ τὰ βέλεα are used in the same line, with no apparent difference in meaning.

- 3) The element του- analogically extended to all forms of the demonstrative οὗτος: tabs. 9.10 τοῦτα δέ;<sup>240</sup> 28.9 τούταν.
- 4) The analogical /ε:/ in the participle πωλημένω (tab. 15.12), generally assumed to be a Northwest inheritance.<sup>241</sup>
- 5) Occasional loss of syllabicity of /eo/, which is developed to /eu/ in nouns with first element θεο- and κλεο-, especially in personal names: tabs. 11.6, 17.8 (same person), 30.4 Θευδότω; 21.6 θευκόλω; 23.5 Κλευθήρω. It also occurs in the genitive ending of the names Πρωτογένευσ at tab. 3.3 and Ἄριστεῦς at 36.4, 6. But cf. tab. 20.12, 19 Θεοδότου, Θεοδώρωι; 21.3 Θεοδώρω; 6.8 Κλεοσθένης; 31.5

<sup>239</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 237; cf. 35, 234).

<sup>240</sup> So Méndez Dosuna (1985: 195 with n.108), accepting the reading proposed by Blomqvist (1975: 19); the alternative reading τοῦ τάδε, printed in De Franciscis (1972: 23), Landi (1979: 253) and Costabile (1992: 247), is preferred by Del Monaco (2013: 49). Although the pronoun τοῦ would suit the meaning of the clause ('of this [amount] (τοῦ) this [money] (τάδε) they returned (ἀπέδωκαν): etc. '), the *mitior* vocalism here would contrast with the rest of the inscription, which is consistently *severior*. On the other hand, the sentence would be perfectly acceptable if the reading proposed by Blomqvist was accepted ('this [money] (τοῦτα) they returned: etc. '). In support to this reading, cf. the parallel expression at tab. 36.12: τοῦτο δὲ ἀποδόμεν ('this [the *polis*] shall return').

<sup>241</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 489-506).

Κλεοσθένης; 21.6 Κλεομένους. While such a feature in personal names could be attributed to the non-Locrian origin or descendancy of the individual concerned, the spelling <ευ> in θευκόλω is remarkable and might point to a real development taking place in the local dialect, at least at the time when tab. 21 was inscribed. This development, particularly in the first element θεο- and κλεο-, as well as νεο-, is attested in the Hellenistic inscriptions from a number of different areas, including in Northwest Greek.<sup>242</sup>

- 6) The spelling <στ> instead of the standard Greek <σθ> in the word μίστωμα: tabs. 16.12, 23.10, 30.13, 31.9.<sup>243</sup>
- 7) The ‘short’ subjunctive third person singular ending: tabs. 7.12, 8.11, 22.12 δοκεῖ.<sup>244</sup>
- 8) The dative plural ending -οις of the *o*-stem declension extended to an *n*-stem noun in tab. 20.17 (ἰερομαμόνοις), possibly a Northwest inheritance.<sup>245</sup>
- 9) Sporadic recording of initial aspiration through the ‘half-h’ sign, which either points to loss of distinctiveness of /h/ at word-beginning in the spoken language, or simply to a change in the scribal practice, conforming to the Ionic and *koinē* orthographic conventions.<sup>246</sup> Initial aspiration is written only at tabs. 12.1, 2; 14.1; 15.1, 11, 13; 16.4; 17.1; 23.8, 9, 10, 11; 26.1; 27.6; 30.11, 13, 14; 35.5; in none of these, however, does it occur on the article, suggesting early loss in this position, possibly in agreement with the evidence provided by a fragmentary fifth-century dedication (I.Locri 79). The absence of written aspiration in ἰερομαμονεόντων at 15.1, 23.1 and 30.5, while it occurs in other terms in the same text, seems to suggest that recording of aspiration in the tablets was not spontaneous on the part of the scribes, but should rather be ascribed to the aim of conforming with conventions no longer in use, or in the process of being

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.* 80-85; Bubeník (1989: 102-106, 133-134, 194-195, 198, 211-213).

<sup>243</sup> For a possible explanation of this spelling see Méndez Dosuna (1985: 333-394).

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.* 440.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.* 473-487.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.* 105-106.

abandoned, outside the high register employed in the tablets.<sup>247</sup> The complete absence of written aspiration in Kollyra's 'judicial prayer' (presumably reflecting a less controlled register) might well confirm this assumption. The loss of (written) aspiration in words other than the article should have started in Locri during the later fourth century, on the basis of 'half-h' still found in *ἠαρός/ἠερός* in fourth-century dedications: I.Locri 82 (early 4th c.), 59, 60, 61 (first quarter 4th c.), 56, 57, 64 (4th c.).

- 10) *Digamma* (<Ϝ>) is never attested in Locrian inscriptions, except for the toponym of Locri's sub-colony Hipponion, both in a sixth-century dedication found in Olympia and in coins minted in the fourth century (SEG 11:1211, 525-500: Ϝειπῶνιῆς; Rutter 2243-2245: Ϝειπ/Ϝει). On fourth-century coinage it could be interpreted either as an archaism no longer reflected in the spoken language, or as an actual survival in the local phonology until a relatively late stage (cf. general retention with minor confusion in Heraclea in the late fourth century).<sup>248</sup>
- 11) Inconsistency and confusion in placing the second element in final long diphthongs -ωι and -ᾱι: in tab. 7.2 the long diphthong -ωι of the *o*-stem singular dative ending is written without final *iota*, while *iota* is erroneously placed after the *severior o*-stem genitive singular ending in 12.10, 15.8, 27.2-3. Inconsistency also occurs in Kollyra's 'judicial prayer': 5, 8, 14 τᾱι θεῶ, 6, 13 ᾠι, 11 τᾱι θεῶι, 12 μεδίμνωι λιβάνω{ι}, 15 ἰσαῶσα.<sup>249</sup> Misplacement of final *iota* after the *severior* genitive singular ending clearly points to a real loss in the spoken language.
- 12) The word κεφάλωμα ('sum', 'total'): tabs. 34.13, 37.19.

<sup>247</sup> The use of rough breathing throughout our discussion is purely editorial and does not imply presence of the aspiration mark in the inscriptions; actual recording of the aspiration mark here is transcribed as 'h'.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Méndez Dosuna (1985: 110). Alternatively, it has been suggested that *digamma* on these coins may reflect the Oscan phonology, in case they were struck during the Brettian occupation. On the spelling of the toponym in these coins see Lombardo (1989); Taliercio Mansitieri (1993a: 137-139); De Sesti Sensito (2011: 40-41).

<sup>249</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 439). Inscribed *iota* is editorial.

- 13) The term *χρήσις* for *χρήσις* ('loan'), not otherwise attested: tabs. 1.8; 4.8; 15.9-10; 25.10; but *χρησίων* at 20.22.<sup>250</sup>
- 14) The forms (-)θεθέν at tab. 15.10 and *κατεθέθη* at 21.9. Similarly assimilated (or perhaps non-dissimilated) forms of the same verb (Att.-Ion. *τίθημι*) are also attested in dialects of the Northwest group (Epirote, Aetolian, Delphian), leaving open the possibility of an inheritance from the motherland, as Méndez Dosuna has suggested.<sup>251</sup> But parallel attestations from other areas (cf. e.g. *ἐθέθεν* in IG XIV 862, Cumae, ca.500) might rather point to independent developments.
- 15) The definite article is used with relative force throughout the tablets (4.10; 9.6, 12; 23.11; 25.9), while the relative pronoun appears at tab. 7.11 only; in Kollyra's 'judicial prayer' the article with relative function occurs at 2-3 (*τὸ ἰμάτιον*] *τὸ πελλόν*, *τὸ [ἔλαβέ τις]*), and 10 (*τὼς τρεῖς χρυσέως*, *τὼς ἔλαβε Μελίτα*), but the relative *ὡί* is also found at 6 and 13.<sup>252</sup>

Finally, the Locrian inscriptions of this period show a relatively small number of *koine* features; in the bronze tablets these are particularly limited compared to less formal inscriptions, confirming what Consani had proposed, albeit without detailed discussion of the evidence:

iii.

- 1) <η> occasionally found in place of the original /a:/, limited to personal names (I.Locri 91, late 4th/early 3rd c.; 111 3rd/2nd c.) and names of deities (I.Locri 46, 4th c.; 63, late 4th c.; 81, 4th/3rd c.).
- 2) Ephelcystic *nu* at tab. 4.11 (*ἔδοξεν*). It also occurs in Kollyra's inscription (16 *εῖην*).
- 3) *Koine* ordinal numeral *πρῶτος* at tabs. 2.6, 16.7; the hybrid form *ἕκοσι* occurs at 35.8 (*πεντεκαικοσιλίτρων*).<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.* 120.

<sup>251</sup> Méndez Dosuna (2013b); cf. De Franciscis (1972: 93).

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Blomqvist (1975: 28).

<sup>253</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 200, 203).

- 4) The Attic-Ionic form *ἱερός* occurs more frequently than Doric *ἱαρός* in the tablets, specifically in the compound forms *ἱερομνάμων* and *ἱερομναμονέω*: these are found in twenty tablets, while those offering *ἱερομνάμων/ἱερομναμονέω* are thirteen (see i.5). Note that both *ἱερομνάμων* and *ἱερομναμονέω* are hybrid formations, using the *koine* adjective instead of the Doric *ἱαρός*, but also preserving the second element of the stem in the Doric form, with inherited /a:/ (Att.-Ion. *ἱερομνήμων*, *ἱερομνημονέω*); the same hybrid forms are attested in several other Doric Greek areas around the same period, including Epidauros and Delphi, as well as Sicily.<sup>254</sup> The form *ἱερός* also appear in fourth-century dedications, particularly dated towards the turn of the third century: see I.Locri 56, 64, 65 (4th c.); 66, 67 (4th/3rd c.).
- 5) *Mitior* vocalism at tab. 5.6 in the genitive ending of the personal name *Δεινάρχου* only; entirely *mitior* is tab. 20. Outside the tablets, the *mitior* vocalism occurs in the genitive ending of personal names in a *defixio* (I.Locri 90.11, late 3rd c.), in two dedications (I.Locri 66 and 69, 4th/3rd c.), and on a tile stamp (I.Locri 108, late 3rd/early 2nd c., but see n.222 for a possible earlier date); in Kollyra's 'judicial prayer' it occurs in the *koine* word *δυωδεκάπλουν* (5).<sup>255</sup>
- 6) Tab. 20 consists of a *unicum* in the *corpus*: besides consistently attesting to the *mitior* vocalism, it offers the *koine* dative singular of *i*-stem nouns in *Τιμασιπόλει* (20), the form *χρησίων* (22) and the adverb *ἔμπροσθεν* (23).
- 7) The relative pronoun is used at tab. 7.11 and inconsistently in Kollyra's inscription (see ii.15).
- 8) The particle *εἰ* in Kollyra's inscription (15) and I.Locri 91.3 (late 4th/early 3rd c.).<sup>256</sup>

<sup>254</sup> For Epidauros see e.g. IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 189.1; cf. Nieto Izquierdo (2014: 80-81). Delphi: e.g. CID 4:1.10, 13, 15, 17, 39 (380). Cf. also Brixhe (1993: 51-53) for Crete and Minon (1999) for Elis. See n.337 for Sicily.

<sup>255</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 203).

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.* 257.

- 9) The nominative masculine plural article *οἱ* in I.Locri 91.2 (late 4th/early 3rd c.).
- 10) The form *ἔστω* (i.e. *ἐς* + *-τω*) occurs in Kollyra's 'judicial prayer' (8, 14) instead of the expected *ἔντω* (i.e. *ἐν* + *-τω*), found in West Locris (IG IX,1<sup>2</sup> 3:718.15, Chaleion, 500-450).<sup>257</sup>

A great degree of uniformity emerges from this survey for the language of the tablets. On account of the consistent employment of the *severior* Doric dialect associated with a number of local 'marked' forms (i.e. very different from both those used in the majority of Doric dialects and their Attic-Ionic equivalents and, in several cases, corresponding to those of the motherland and thus interpreted as inherited features), it is possible to assert with certainty that the variety of language chosen for the text of the tablets was precisely the local dialect. Therefore, the epichoric Greek is to be identified as the variety considered most suitable for the official register around 300. This observation is of crucial relevance to our investigation of spheres of linguistic influence in pre-Roman South Italy: indeed, the language of the tablets points to a markedly conservative attitude and preservation of dialect identity in Locri, suggesting, once again, that higher prestige was not attributed to any external variety until at least the early decades of the third century.

Besides characteristics common to all Doric dialects, the features distinguishing the written language of Locri have not been found elsewhere in Magna Graecia so far. In the previous chapter we discussed how the fourth- and third-century dialect of Taras and Heraclea generally attests to practices or tendencies opposite to those observable in the Locrian inscriptions, with the sole exception of the *severior* vocalism and, possibly, the shortening of the long diphthong in the subjunctive third person singular active ending.<sup>258</sup> As neither of these shared features seems a credible contender for evidence of Tarentine influence, we have confidently concluded that the language of the tablets of Locri could not plausibly reflect influence from the Tarentine dialect.

Regrettably, the available documentation for the other Greek *poleis* of Magna Graecia does not offer comparanda for the peculiar features found in the Locrian

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<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.* 234-237.

<sup>258</sup> See pp.39-43.

tablets. Thus whether innovations such as the form ποί were shared with other areas of Magna Graecia, excluding Taras and Heraclea (for which negative evidence is available), remains unanswered at the moment due to lack of evidence. Nonetheless, the regular employment of ποί alongside traditional local elements inherited from the motherland at least points to its complete integration into the Locrian dialect by the second half of the fourth century. The fact that a late fourth-century testament from Terina (IGDGG II 98) attests to the regular spelling of the third person singular subjunctive active ending (10 μόληι; 12 δοκῆι), vis-à-vis the regular -ει ending in Locri, may point to the absence of influence of one area over the other.

A minority of inconsistencies and uses diverging from the traditional local dialect have also been observed in the texts of the tablets. These not only concern the few non-Doric exceptions mentioned above, i.e. the *koine* features and particularly the extensive use of the form ἰερός, which is found in a higher number of tablets than the Doric equivalent ἰαρός (twenty and thirteen respectively); but also the inconsistent use of the aspiration mark ('half-h') throughout the *corpus*, occasional omission and displacement of the second element of long diphthongs in final position, the alternative use of the preposition ποί instead of ἐν with the accusative, and the hiatus /eo/ occasionally developed to /eu/. These incongruities across the *corpus* of the bronze tablets seem particularly deserving of further analysis in the light of the context in which they appear: indeed, inconsistencies such as irregular recording of the aspiration mark and final *iota* most probably indicate a reduction of the scribes' familiarity with the written practice of the earlier period, presumably under the influence of change in lower registers.

Interference from lower registers (and presumably from the spoken language) appears evident when the language of the tablets is compared with that of contemporary non-official documents: in particular, it is significant that in Kollyra's inscription, a document meant to be displayed in public but not related to the local administration, the aspiration mark is consistently not recorded, and omission and confusion in placing final *iota* is more frequent than in the tablets (ii.9, 11). As both these features are unattested in the inscriptions of Locri prior to the late fourth century, and thus need to be interpreted as innovations occurring in the local idiom around the turn of the third century, it is evident that official inscriptions tended to remain more conservative than those from other contexts. This assumption is also

supported by the fact that the number of *koine* features in private inscriptions dating to this period, such as dedications and *defixiones*, is higher than in the tablets. Moreover, with regard to the form  $\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , this is also attested at an earlier stage in private dedications compared to the public inscriptions, occurring already in fourth-century documents (iii.4).

Inconsistent uses in the tablets thus provide evidence for changes occurring in the local idiom at that time, infiltrating into the conservative language of official inscriptions from lower varieties. It is of interest to this study to determine whether these developments were independently undertaken in Locri, or rather occurred as a result of contact with the speakers of neighbouring areas; and, in the case of the *koine* features, whether this external influence was being felt in South Italy in general around this time, or if some areas became exposed to it earlier than others. In what follows, I therefore attempt a comprehensive explanation of the inconsistent features in the tablets of Locri, which are considered as key evidence for the development of the local dialect in the early years of the third century; ultimately, a new assessment of language contact and spheres of influence in early Hellenistic South Italy will be provided on the basis of innovations shared, or not shared, with neighbouring areas.

## 2.2 Diffusion of the innovations: the north of Magna Graecia

Despite the documentation being very limited for other areas, nonetheless what survives suggests that the inconsistent features of the Locrian tablets were not evenly spread in the rest of Magna Graecia. With regard to the writing of the second element in final long diphthongs, there is a neat distinction between Locri and the northern regions: final *iota*, almost consistently written in Taras and Heraclea, as already observed in the previous chapter, is also never omitted in the Hellenistic inscriptions from the area of Croton (IGDGG II 98, Terina, 350-300, testament: 4  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$  γενεᾶι; 9  $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$ ; 10  $\mu\acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta\iota$ ; 12  $\delta\omicron\alpha\kappa\eta\iota$ ; 13  $\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\iota$ ; 95, Tiriolo, ca.300, *defixio*: 1  $\text{Ἰ}\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota$ ) and from Metapontion (IGDGG II 50.1, 4th c., dedication:  $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$  *η*ηρακλῆι; 49.6, late 4th/early 3rd c., dedication: *η*κεσίωι; 47.2, late 4th/early 3rd c., dedication: Ἀφροδίται; 48.3, 3rd c., dedication:  $\text{Ἰ}\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota$ ; 60.10, mid-3rd c., '*defixio* of the physicians':  $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$  βολίμωι).

Correspondingly, as in the case of Taras and Heraclea, where we observed that aspiration was still consistently recorded in the late fourth and early third centuries, Metapontion attests to regular writing of the initial aspiration in all occurrences in a fourth-century dedication (IGDGG II 50: 1 *ἠηρακλῆι*; 3 *ἠα*), and then shows the aspiration mark still in use around the turn of the third century, although, apparently, no longer in the article and inconsistently at that time (IGDGG II 49: 6 *ἠικεσίωι*, but 4, 5 *ἄ*; 48: 1, 2 *ἄ*; 3 *Ἐρμᾶι*). By contrast, the aspiration mark is never recorded in the Hellenistic inscriptions found in the area of Croton (IGDGG II 88, Capo Colonna, emancipation, 4th c.: 2 *Ἦρας*; 98: 5, 6, 7 *Ἰστιαίω*; 7 *ἦμισον*; 8 *ὑπάροχοντα*; 10 *ἀλικίαν*; 10, 12 *ἄ*; 95.1: *Ἐρμᾶι*<sup>259</sup>).<sup>260</sup>

Similarly, the development of /eo/ to /eu/, which we sporadically observe in the inscriptions from Locri, seems not at all common in the rest of Magna Graecia. In fact, the hiatus /eo/ in the contexts where the development occurs in Locri (i.e. nouns and personal names with first element θεο- and κλεο-, genitive ending of personal names) is preserved in Heraclea (Tab.Heracl. I.182-3 Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρω), while elsewhere in South Italy loss of syllabicity is attested in the ‘*defixio* of the physicians’ from Metapontion, almost entirely written in *koine* (12 Θεύδ[ωρος]; 14 Θευδωρίδ[ας]), and on some Rhodian and Knidian amphorae found in Taras (IG XIV 2393:393, 339, 336, 288a, 4th/3rd c.), which are, however, not locally inscribed and rather reflect a distinctive feature of the dialect in use in their areas of provenance.<sup>261</sup> Some further evidence for names in Θευ- elsewhere in South Italy is possibly available, again, from Metapontion, in SEG 30:1176.D1 (two circular *oscilla*, Hellenistic period), showing the sigla ΘΕΥ; and from Terina, where we have the beginning of a personal name in Κλευ- (IGDGG II 98.14). The development of /eo/ to /eu/ in Locri thus seems rather more widespread than in the north, as it occurs not just in personal names in Θεο- and Κλεο-, but also in the name of a religious

<sup>259</sup> Presumably a spelling mistake for *Ἐρμᾶι*; see Dubois (2002: 158).

<sup>260</sup> Absence of the aspiration mark in the area of Croton might be attributable to graphic conventions, rather than a real phonetic development, on the basis of the spelling <τ-εϱμα> in the final Greek lines of the Osco-Greek *defixio* Petelia 2 (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1475-1477; col. iv.4, ca.300), in case the Oscan writer here spelled the Greek word as heard in the local Greek dialect.

<sup>261</sup> See Bile (1996: 136-137, 142).

office (tab. 21.6 θευκόλω), and in the genitive ending of personal names (Πρωτογένευσ tab. 3.3; Ἀριστεύς 36.4, 6). Since it is mostly restricted to personal names, however, it seems likely that such a feature is linked with population movement to Locri; indeed, as we observed, the phenomenon is attested in the same onomastic environments in other parts of the Greek-speaking world in the Hellenistic period, particularly in Rhodes and in the Southeast Aegean, in Northwest Greece and in Sicily.

A generally greater level of resistance to the *koine* in Taras and Heraclea has been already observed in the previous chapter. In particular, possible *koine* features attested in these areas include: the Attic-Ionic adverb ἀεί in most occurrences, although at Tab.Heracl. I.134 ἄές occurs (Dor. expected αἰές); the particle εἰ instead of Doric αἰ at I.127 in εἴ τινές κα, combined with κα and the pronoun placed in between, according to the Doric rule, whereas αἰ occurs elsewhere; the masculine nominative plural article οἰ in three occurrences (I.107 (x2), 150 *hoi*), whereas the Doric equivalent τοί normally occurs elsewhere; the aorist in the form κατεσώισαμες (I.47, 48, 51) instead of the expected Doric analogical κατεσώιξαμες (which occurs at II.30). Finally, the form of the numerals is influenced by Attic-Ionic in I.40-41 τετρακοσίαι; II.15, 53, 70 τρεῖς (acc.); 35 διακοσίων; 49-50 τεσσαρά[κον]τα; 50 τεσσάρων; and the hybrid form 55, 57, 71, 75 (x2) φεικατί(-) alongside the equivalent Doric forms.<sup>262</sup> It is interesting, however, that the ordinal πρῶτος regularly occurs in the Doric form πρῶτος in Heraclea (*passim*), while Locri has the Attic-Ionic equivalent, as observed above.

With regard to the etymological, non-Doric aorist of the verbs in -ζω, it is noteworthy that this is also attested at a very early stage in Sicily, already in the fifth century (IGDS I 219.1), where at such a stage it cannot represent *koine* influence; it seems possible then that this external Attic-Ionic feature infiltrated in some Doric areas early, at a pre-*koine* stage.<sup>263</sup> In the case of Heraclea, derivation of this feature from the Thurian component of the local population cannot be excluded. Similarly, numerals could have been influenced by Attic-Ionic already at an early stage, for instance in the context of business affairs, and therefore may be not strictly related to the initial diffusion of the *koine* in the late fourth century. These features, moreover,

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<sup>262</sup> See Uguzzoni (1968: 51-52).

<sup>263</sup> See Mimbrera (2012b: 235).

would not be restricted to Heraclea in this period, as numerals in the Attic-Ionic form have also been observed in Locri in the bronze tablets and in the late-fourth century testament from Terina (see below).

The particle *εἰ* and the article *οἱ* sporadically found in Heraclea are also attested in Locri in Kollyra's inscription and in the *defixio* I.Locri 91. However, most of the other *koine* features observed in Locri are missing in Taras and Heraclea: namely, ephelcystic *nu* is never found, the adverb occurring as *ἔμπροσθεν* in Locri at tab. 20.23 is found in Heraclea in the Doric form *ἔμπροσθα* (Tab.Heracl. I.57, 101), the form *ἰερός* frequently used instead of *ιαρός* in Locri is never attested in Taras or Heraclea, where *ιαρός* is consistently employed, and, finally, no instances of *mitior* vocalism appear in Taras and Heraclea.<sup>264</sup> In addition, as mentioned above, the aspiration mark is regularly written in Taras and Heraclea in the fourth and third centuries. The presence of *koine* features in Taras and Heraclea around the turn of the third century thus seems very limited compared to Locri. Furthermore, it might be possible to question whether those in Heraclea can in fact be attributed to the *koine* at all, as one may argue that some Attic-Ionic forms may have been imported by the Thurian component of the population in Heraclea.<sup>265</sup>

In principle, a lower level of *koine* features in the Heracleian tables might be attributed to their slightly earlier date (i.e. late fourth century) compared to the Locrian bronze tablets (i.e. mid-fourth/mid-third century), so that the two *corpora* would not be entirely comparable in this respect. However, greater resistance to the *koine* in Taras and Heraclea is also suggested by the other, although scant, Hellenistic inscriptions that survive. In particular, while the written language of Taras is attested as *severior* in all the sources surviving, including a dedication of the late-third or early-second century (SEG 30:1219) and a Greco-Latin bilingual dedication of the late-second or early-first century (SEG 30:1220), we observed that several third-century recordings from Locri, crucially including the 'aberrant' tab. 20, an official document, attest to effective influence of the non-local *mitior* vocalism on the *polis* at

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<sup>264</sup> Exceptions to the general absence of *mitior* mid-vowels in Taras and Heraclea might be observed in Tab.Heracl. I.3, 96, II.2 *τριπους*, I.103 *χοῦς*, II.34 *ποῦς*, which, however, refer to the names of civic divisions and could be lexical borrowings (perhaps from the Thurian people who joined the Tarentines in the foundation of Heraclea).

<sup>265</sup> Cf. Uguzzoni (1968: 77-78).

this stage, with an associated reduction in the prestige attributed to the epichoric *severior* long vowel-system.

*Koine* features are also scarcely attested elsewhere in South Italy before the mid-third century, with the remarkable exception of Croton: here a fragment of a financial account dating to the late fourth or early third century (SEG 53:1077) contains the article *oi* and the *mitior* genitive singular ending, contrasting with previous attestations of the *severior* vocalism in the area of Croton and in the other Achaean colonies.<sup>266</sup> On the other hand, the testament from Terina dating to the second half of the fourth century (IGDGG II 98) shows a *severior* Doric dialect with only a couple of features ascribable to influence from Attic-Ionic, namely the particle *ei* (12), and the Doric-Attic hybrid form of the numeral ἴχουσι (3). The *defixio* from Tiriolo (IGDGG II 95, ca.300) does not attest to any *koine* element. The first document surviving in the north of Magna Graecia offering a significant number of *koine* features is the ‘*defixio* of the physicians’ from Metapontion (IGDGG II 60), dating to the mid-third century.

Infiltration of *koine* features thus does not generally appear to have occurred in northern Magna Graecia before at least the mid-third century, whereas in Locri and Croton this is already traceable towards the turn of the third century and even earlier in the case of the private dedications from Locri. On the basis of what survives, it therefore seems that the south of Magna Graecia had been exposed to the influence of the *koine* at an earlier stage compared to the north; at the same time, we noticed that the inconsistent uses attested in the Locrian bronze tablets, presumably reflecting changes occurring in lower registers and in the spoken language of the time, are not found elsewhere in South Italy in contemporary inscriptions, with the exception of the loss of the aspiration mark in Croton and its area. On these grounds, we may reasonably deduce that the developments undertaken in Locri around the late fourth and the early third centuries took place independently of the north of Magna Graecia.

A question immediately arises from such a scenario, and the answer we provide for this is of crucial importance to any new assessment of the Greek dialects in Magna Graecia in the early Hellenistic period: is it possible to define a context for such a discrepancy between north and south, particularly with regard to the exposure to and the emergence of a favourable attitude towards the *koine* around the beginning

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<sup>266</sup> See n.133.

of the third century? In the next section I shall attempt an explanation of the situation observed that is consistent with the historical evidence available; in particular, contact with the Greek of nearby Sicily, not previously considered, requires careful investigation in the light of the events that involved the island and the southernmost part of the Italian peninsula around this time.

### *2.3 Contacts with the Greek of Sicily?*

In the previous chapter, in the course of the discussion of the hypothesis of dialect influence from Taras on Locri, I observed in passing that dialect contact with the Greeks of Sicily is certainly not unexpected in Locri in the light of both the geographical and political closeness between Locri and Sicily. The possibility of language interaction between Sicilian and South Italian Greeks, however, has not been properly considered in the scholarly literature so far. In fact, although the last decades have seen a rise in research on the Greek of Sicily, studies have concentrated on the epigraphic sources from the island only and have not attempted to identify possible outreaches into the south of the Italian peninsula.<sup>267</sup> Correspondingly, linguistic discussions of Magna Graecia have tended not to consider contacts with Sicily, mostly treating the two areas as separate. As a result, the southern part of Italy still remains uninvestigated with regard to the possibility of linguistic contact with and influence from Sicily.

The possibility that any concomitance of linguistic developments in Locri and Sicily may not be accidental therefore demands serious consideration. Such a scenario, indeed, would be compatible with the fact that contact between the Greeks of Sicily and those living in the southernmost regions of South Italy is known to have been particularly frequent during the fourth and third centuries, first in the years of Dionysius' campaigns and then towards the turn of the third century, when Agathocles intervened against the Brettii and controlled the south of the peninsula with garrisons. Moreover, it is important to recall that Rhegion, Locri's neighbour, was conquered by Dionysius in 387 and repopulated by Sicilian Greeks afterwards. The hypothesis of a Sicilian dialectal outreach in the southernmost Italian regions thus

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<sup>267</sup> See particularly Curbera (1994); Consani (1996; 1997; 2004); Mimbrera (2012a-b-c).

needs appropriate evaluation in the investigation of the Greek dialects in early Hellenistic South Italy.

### 2.3.1 The Sicilian Doric *koina*

A preliminary requirement for the investigation of dialect contact between South Italy and Sicily is a brief description of the distinctive features of the Greek attested in the Hellenistic Sicilian inscriptions, now generally referred to as the Sicilian Doric *koina*. This is seen as the variety of Greek developed in the island as the result of considerable levelling among the number of local varieties followed by influence from the Attic-Ionic *koine*. The Sicilian *koina* has been the object of recent investigation by Mimblera, who has examined its characteristics in different registers, and accordingly defined it as a ‘relatively uniform Doric’ showing ‘different levels of compromise with the *koine* according to the type of documents, their place of provenance, the date in which they were written and, probably, the education and personal taste of the writer’.<sup>268</sup> Particular uniformity is found, not surprisingly, in the public inscriptions; nonetheless, although different registers and geographical areas attest to some variation, overall the Sicilian Doric *koina* is still identifiable as a coherent variety of Greek attested throughout the Sicilian inscriptions from the fourth to the late first century.

Although an extremely meagre number of fourth-century inscriptions survive, infiltration of Attic-Ionic features in Sicily seems to have started already before the turn of the third century, as suggested by a fourth-century dedication from Morgantina (SEG 16:575 + 51:1383) attesting to the form  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  instead of the local Doric  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . More significantly, the conspicuous number of third-century official inscriptions from the island, mostly decrees and contracts, attest to a higher number of *koine* features compared to the tablets of Locri, which chronologically extend until the mid-third century.<sup>269</sup> This more significant presence, and thus acceptance, of *koine* forms in the

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<sup>268</sup> Mimblera (2012b: 246-247).

<sup>269</sup> See IGDS I 204-205, 207-209, 211-212 (Entella, 254-241?, decrees); 206 (Nakone, 254-241?, decree); 117 (Camarina, 242, decree); 60 (Gela, 242, decree); SEG 55:1029 (Syracuse, after 241?, letter of Hieron II to the Syracusans); 39:1008 + 47:1462,comm (Morgantina, 3rd

high registers in Sicily in the third century suggests that the process of *koineisation* must have started at a comparatively early stage, perhaps already in the late fourth century. A significant infiltration of Attic-Ionic features in Sicily at that time should be probably connected with the repopulation of a number of *poleis*, including Syracuse, under Timoleon in 338, with people called in from various parts of the ancient Greek-speaking world.<sup>270</sup> The influx of mercenaries in Sicily already in previous times, and the importance of Sicily in the western trading routes in general, may have also exposed the island to influence from Attic-Ionic at an early stage.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Sicilian *koina* had a long-vowel system of the *mitior* type, corresponding to the vocalism presumably imported by the first settlers, both of Ionic and Doric origin; the Ionic dialect, however, disappeared early from the island.<sup>271</sup> As regularly observed for other Doric *koinai* that developed in the Hellenistic period, the Sicilian *koina* is characterised by the common employment of phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical features that are distinctive of Doric dialects in general; these include:<sup>272</sup> consistent preservation of inherited /a:/; contraction of /a: + o/ and /a: + ɔ:/ in /a:/; consistent retention of the hiatus /eo/, with a number of exceptions concerning development to /eu/ in anthroponyms beginning with Θεο- and a few instances of contraction;<sup>273</sup> Doric

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c., contract); 47:1434 (Camarina, 3rd c., contract); 1436 (Camarina, 250-200, contract); IGDS I 109 (Akrai, probably before 211, list); 97 (Syracuse, 207/206, decree).

<sup>270</sup> Plut. *Tim.* 22-23, 35; Diod.Sic. 16.82.5, 19.2.8; cf. Lomas (2006: 103, 112). We are informed of foreign settlers from Corinth, Italy and ‘the rest of Greece’ (Plut. *Tim.* 23); for Akragas and Gela Plutarch gives explicit information about settlers from Elea and Ceos (*ibid.* 35).

<sup>271</sup> Sicilian Doric colonies were founded by Corinthian, Megarian and Rhodian-Cretan settlers. For the Ionic colonies see Mimbbrera (2012a: 193-198).

<sup>272</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the features of the Sicilian Doric *koina* see Mimbbrera (2012b-c).

<sup>273</sup> For development to /eu/ see: SEG 4:35 (Akragas, 3rd c.); 39:996 (Camarina, 2nd/1st c.); 998 (Camarina, 3rd/2nd c.); 1002(2) (Camarina, 3rd/2nd c.); 1008 (Morgantina, 3rd c.); 1012 (Camarina, 3rd c.); 47:1462 (Akrai, 4th c.); 49:1287,6 (Herbessos, 3rd/2nd c.). Mimbbrera (2012c: 107-112) has considered this as an original feature of the dialect of the Rhodian colonies that had survived in personal names. However, this development is not attested in Sicily before the Hellenistic period, and also in Rhodes it first appears in fourth-century

prepositions ποτί and ἐς; /ss/ as the result of *-\*t̥-* and *-\*t̥u-* in e.g. ὄσσοϛ, ἥμισσον (Att.-Ion. ὄσσοϛ, ἥμισυ); original inflection of the *i*-stem nouns (e.g. πόλιος, πόλι); the possessive ἀμός (Att.-Ion. ἡμέτεροϛ); Doric modal particle κα consistently used instead of Attic-Ionic ἄν; ὄκα for Attic-Ionic ὅτε; ἔνεκα for Attic ἔνεκεν; Doric verbal endings (athematic active infinitive ending -μεν, in Syracuse and Camarina; first person plural active ending -μεϛ; non-assibilated third person singular athematic ending -τι and third person plural ending -ντι); aorist in -ξα- of dental-stem verbs in -ζω, on the analogy of velar-stem verbs in -ζω; ‘Doric future’; Doric forms of the numerals; ιαρός for Attic-Ionic ιερός (sporadic); apocope of the prepositions ἀνά, κατά, παρά and ποτί, very sporadic in decrees (only inconsistently IGDS I 206.18, Nakone, 254-241?), but consistent in contracts of this period, e.g. SEG 47:1436.5 (Camarina, 250-200); IGDS II 52.6 (Morgantina, 3rd c.); SEG 39:998.5 (Camarina, 3rd/2nd c.); 1001.6 (Camarina, 2nd/1st c.); 47:1435.6 (Camarina, Hellenistic period); 1414.2 (Agyrion, Hellenistic period).

Doric features are frequently combined or found in alternation with *koine* forms, especially in respect of function words and technical items of lexicon, while the influence of the *koine* on phonology and morphology is more occasional and limited. The employment of a limited set of *koine* features seems particularly standardised in public official documents, while a greater number and variety of *koine* forms is attested in some of the private inscriptions. The *koine* elements observable in the Sicilian inscriptions of the early Hellenistic period in particular include: the etymological aorist in -σα- aorist of dental-stem verbs in -ζω; sporadic contraction of the hiatus /eo/, particularly in the phrase διὰ τέλους, in the first and third person plural and in participle forms of *e*-stem verbs, and in Doric future forms; ιερός instead of Doric ιαρός; /s/ in forms originally containing *-\*t̥-* and *-\*t̥u-*; regular occurrence of the plural articles οί/αί, while Doric τοί/ταί are very sporadic; the adverb ἔμπροσθεν instead of Doric ἔμπροσθα (cf. Tab.Heracl. I.57, 101); numerals in the Attic-Ionic form; the preposition εἰς; non-apocoped prepositions; *koine*

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inscriptions: see Bile (1996: 136-137, 142). It is therefore preferable to attribute this development to more recent people migration, especially on account of its occurrence specifically in personal names in Sicily. For contacts between Rhodes and Sicily in the Hellenistic period see Giangiulio (1982).

inflection of the *i*-stem nouns (e.g. πόλει);<sup>274</sup> the Attic form ἐστία for Doric ἰστία; ἔνεκεν for Doric ἔνεκα; the conditional conjunction εἰ instead of Doric αἰ (earliest attestation in IG XIV 432.1, 2, Tauromenion, 2nd c., decree); <η> occasionally found in place of original /a:/.

As with other *koinai*, a few local (i.e. not common-Doric) peculiarities distinctive of individual areas spread across the island as the result of earlier dialect mixture, subsequently becoming distinctive features of Hellenistic Sicilian Greek; these ‘markers’ are: the dative plural ending -εσσι in stems in \*-nt, liquid, nasal, \*-i, \*-εμ and \*-u (but -οις in Tauromenion and once in Akrai);<sup>275</sup> the athematic infinitive ending -μεῖν (except in Syracuse and Camarina);<sup>276</sup> the reflexive pronoun αὐτόντα, developed from αὐτὸς αὐτόν. On the other hand, peculiar features occurring in the Hellenistic inscriptions, but not attested in the earlier period, are: the local term ἀλίασμα equivalent to δόγμα (‘decree’); the present endings extended to the perfect.

Another feature frequently occurring throughout the Sicilian inscriptions is inconsistency in recording the second element of long diphthongs in final position, which points to weakening of its pronunciation in the spoken language; this phenomenon is first sporadically attested in fifth-century inscriptions and then frequently in the Hellenistic period, particularly after the third century.<sup>277</sup> On account of the early date for the first attestation, it is possible that this phenomenon started in Sicily independently of the spread of the *koine*. However, the absence of evidence for this feature in Sicily in the earlier Hellenistic period prevents us from drawing definitive conclusions.<sup>278</sup> Finally, general absence of an alternative device to record

<sup>274</sup> Mimblera (2012b: 236; 2012c: 147-148) has interpreted it as an itacistic spelling; cf. Bubeník (1983b: 313-315) on the identical pronunciation of the local and the *koine* ending as /e:/ (here from monophthongisation of /ei/) merged with /i:/.

<sup>275</sup> For the form see Morpurgo Davies (1976); Bubeník (1983b: 300-313).

<sup>276</sup> This feature is considered to have spread from the Rhodian colonies (Gela, Akragas), where it was presumably imported from the motherland: see Buck (1955: 122); Curbera (1994: 95); Dubois (1995: 111; 2002: 148); Consani (1996: 124); Mimblera (2012b: 232-233).

<sup>277</sup> Mimblera (2012a: 204-205; 2012c: 88-89).

<sup>278</sup> For the appearance of this phenomenon in the *koine* see Teodorsson (1977: 234-235); Allen (1987: 84-88); Gignac (1976: 85 n.1); cf. Mimblera (2012c: 89) on the possibility of a pre-*koine* development in Sicily obfuscated by conservative writing conventions.

initial aspiration after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet towards the end of the fifth century is noteworthy; very limited instances of use of the ‘half-h’ sign have been found in the island.<sup>279</sup> Lack of the aspiration mark might be purely graphic, as the local script started to be modelled on the East Ionic one, though it may equally well indicate a real phonetic development. The few inscriptions showing ‘half-h’, however, suggest that if actual phonetic loss was involved, at least this was not evenly accomplished in Sicily before the late fourth century. Prior to the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, there are no omissions of the aspiration mark (<H>) to provide any compelling evidence for loss of initial aspiration.<sup>280</sup>

The distinguishing elements of Sicilian Hellenistic Greek listed above do not, overall, find correspondences in the dialect of Locri. However, it is remarkable that some of the uses that first appear inconsistently in the bronze tablets around the turn of the third century, namely the loss of initial aspiration and the infiltration of certain *koine* features, are also attested in Sicily comparatively early; by contrast, these are entirely absent in contemporary inscriptions from the north of Magna Graecia, namely in Heraclea, Taras and Metapontion, as previously discussed. On the other hand, these features are also attested around the same time in Croton as well as in Locri, both in the lower part of Magna Graecia. The possibility that such features spread to the south of Magna Graecia via Sicily is worth further investigation in the light of known historical events, beginning with the repopulation of Rhegion, on the Italian side of the strait, in the first half of the fourth century, which may provide a supporting factor in the context of contact between Sicilian and South Italian Greeks in the early Hellenistic period.

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<sup>279</sup> ‘Half-h’ is only attested in a fifth-century contract from Akragas (IGDS I 177.5, 450-400) in the numeral *ήκατι* (thus in the place of *digamma*; cf. *ἐφ’ ικάδα* in IGDS I 204, 205, 209, Entella, 254-241?) and in the article *hα*; in a dedication from the area of Akragas (IGDS II 78.2, 4th c.) in *ηηρακλει*; in a contract from Akrai, in the area of Syracuse (IGDS II 42, 4th/3rd c.), in *ησταμένου* (1) and in the relative *hάν* (4); finally, in the coins of Himera (Kraay-Hirmer 71). Cf. Dubois (1989: 10 with n.177); Ghinatti (2000). ‘Half-h’ is also used in a tablet containing *Ephesia Grammata*, possibly from Selinus dating to the late fifth or early fourth century: see pp.195-197.

<sup>280</sup> Mimblera (2012a: 207-208; 2012c: 125-128).

### 2.3.2 The Sicilian expansion in Italy: Rhegion

The site of Rhegion has preserved a very small number of inscriptions dating from the Archaic period to the third century, largely preventing the identification of the local dialectal features preceding the Sicilian occupation.<sup>281</sup> Nonetheless, despite the limited nature of the sources available, it is confidently assumed that until the early fourth century the written dialect of Rhegion generally maintained the phonology of the Euboean Ionic settlers on account of the consistent occurrence of <ε> (<η> after the adoption of the East Ionic script), representing /ε:/, where original /a:/ is expected, thus pointing to raising of inherited /a:/ and its merger with /ε:/, a distinctive feature of the dialects of the Ionic branch (I.Rhegion 26, 26b, 69, 66, 62). Some evidence possibly survives in these inscriptions for Doric features brought by the Messenians who joined the Chalcidian colonists in the foundation of Rhegion.<sup>282</sup> On the other hand, inscriptions dating from the third to the first centuries, slightly more substantial than the earlier ones in terms of both quantity and length, consistently attest to a dialect identifiable with Sicilian Greek. This is fully compatible with the conquest and occupation of the *polis* on the part of Dionysius in 387, as known from ancient writers.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> D'Amore (2007) counts one for the sixth century (I.Rhegion 16); seventeen for the fifth century (I.Rhegion 26a-b-c, 27, 29, 57, 63a-b, 64a-b, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70a-b); one dating to 425-375 (I.Rhegion 62); two for the fourth century (I.Rhegion 17, 18) and three dating to the fourth or third century (I.Rhegion 30, 31, 33).

<sup>282</sup> Strabo 6.1.6. In particular, the use of *digamma* in I.Rhegion 65 (ca.460), a dedication from Olympia of Mikythos 'of Rhegion and Messene', has been considered as a Messenian feature: see Collitz-Bechtel (1889: 498). Note, however, that the alphabet used in the inscriptions from Rhegion before the adoption of the East Ionic script is consistently Chalcidian; thus consistent attestation of the Chalcidian letterforms and, at the same time, the Ionic distinctive shift of inherited /a:/ to /ε:/ in the surviving inscriptions apparently points to cultural and linguistic predominance of the Euboean component of the population.

<sup>283</sup> Fourth-century inscriptions from Rhegion do not contradict Sicilian occupation, but the evidence they provide is not incompatible with the Ionic dialect of earlier times either: these consist in two one-word dedications with genitive singular *mitior* ending (I.Rhegion 17:

A *mitior* variety of Doric is attested in a third-century lead *defixio* (I.Rhegion 19), which shows the genitive singular ending -ου of the *o*-stem declension (4 τοῦ, 5 Καλλίστου), retained inherited /a:/ (2, 6 Γᾶν), contraction of /a: + o/ in /a:/ in the genitive singular of *a*-stem masculine names (4 Ἀγιάδα), and apocope of the preposition παρὰ (2, 6). The same features are attested in second-century dedications of honorary statues (I.Rhegion 2, 3, 5); in addition to these, I.Rhegion 5 also attests to the preservation of the hiatus /eo/ in the genitive singular γραμματέος (4). Although generic Doric characteristics such as those highlighted above do not point specifically to the Greek of Sicily, attribution of the local dialect to the Sicilian *koine* is confirmed by the presence of distinctive Sicilian features in the honorific decree for Gn. Aufidius (I.Rhegion 1) dating to the late second or early first century.<sup>284</sup>

The text is written in a *mitior* Doric dialect, with digraphs <ει> and <ου> representing secondary long mid-vowels, and retained inherited /a:/. It attests to retention of the hiatus /eo/ in *e*-stem verbs (1 προστατέοντος), generic Doric morphological features such as the pronoun ἄμᾱ (2) and the etymological genitive ending -ιος of the *i*-stem nouns (1 πρυτάνιος), and Doric lexical peculiarities such as ἄλία (1), equivalent to Attic ἐκκλησία. However, the term ἄλιασμα (5) and the athematic infinite ἀναθέμεν (5) are specifically attributable to the Sicilian Doric *koine*, as we observed in the previous section (2.2.1). Furthermore, the term ἐσκήτωι (2) occurring in this inscription, despite not being attested elsewhere in the epigraphic records, is known from Hesychius (ε6242) to refer to a Syracusan assembly.<sup>285</sup> Absence of the aspiration mark in this inscription, as well as in the article in I.Rhegion 2 (late 2nd c.), cannot be securely ascribed to the Sicilian Greek since at such a late stage the aspiration mark is generally no longer attested in any Greek-speaking area (although the overall context is perhaps suggestive).

The *koine* features occurring in the text also conform to those employed in Sicilian official inscriptions of the Hellenistic period: in particular, the numeral πρῶτος (3) instead of the Doric πρῶτος occurs in contracts from Camarina dating from the third to the first centuries (IGDS I 124.8; 125 *passim*; 126.2; II 51.7); the

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[Δ]ιονύσου; 18: Κεραυνου). I.Rhegion 30, 31, 33, dating to the fourth or third century, consist in very short fragments not providing any dialectal evidence.

<sup>284</sup> For Sicilian features in this text, see also D'Amore (2011).

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.* 516-517.

dative πόλει (3) instead of the Doric etymological form πόλι is also attested in a couple of decrees from Entella (IGDS I 204.8, 21; 205.9, 254-241?); ἔνεκεν (4) instead of ἔνεκα is frequently found in honorific inscriptions and decrees (e.g. IGLPalermo 127.5, Halaesa, 200-150; SEG 32:936.3, 937.3, Tauromenion, 150-100; IGDS I 161.22, 33, Phintias, 1st c.?) from the second century onwards; finally, the preposition εἰς with the accusative (5) in place of ἐς, or in alternation with it, is widely attested in the Sicilian inscriptions since the early Hellenistic period.

It is noteworthy that the use of the Sicilian term ἀλίασμα in Rhegion seems conservative if compared to the Sicilian inscriptions of this period: standard *koine* δόγμα is in fact the term employed in similar official contexts in contemporary inscriptions from Tauromenion (IG XIV 432.3, 10, 2nd c.), Centuripae (IGDS I 189.5, ca.70 or late 1st c.), and Phintias (IGDS I 161.24, 1st c.?; but also 4 ἀλίασμα). The choice of the dialectal form ἀλίασμα in Rhegion thus seems independent of the contemporary use in Sicily. The only context that could plausibly account for this scenario would be the spread of the Sicilian Doric dialect in Rhegion prior to the second century. Similarly, the mention of the ἔσκλητος in the prescript of the decree for Aufidius suggests that the Sicilian peculiarities in this inscription need to be attributed to a genuine local use, and not to simple imitation of the Sicilian idiom in the official register. Indeed, as previously discussed, the term is not found elsewhere in Sicilian inscriptions, but is known to refer to a Syracusan institution: it clearly must have had a real referent in Rhegion, and it seems most probable that the assembly and its name were established when the Sicilians repopulated the *polis* in the first half of the fourth century.<sup>286</sup> From the observations above, it is evident that the Sicilian dialectal features in the decree for Aufidius provide sufficient evidence for inclusion of Rhegion in the Sicilian dialectal area after Dionysius conquered it in 387. The absence of distinctively Sicilian ‘markers’ in earlier inscriptions should be in fact ascribed to the paucity and brevity of the surviving evidence.

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<sup>286</sup> Cf. Giangiulio (1982: 809-810). D’Amore (2011: 515-517) has also suggested that eponymous prytany in Rhegion attested in this decree may similarly point to the adoption of the administrative structure of Syracuse: cf. Sartori (1954: 334-335 n.50). See also D’Amore (2011: 512) for prosopographical data supporting the Sicilian repopulation of Rhegion known from ancient writers.

The current shortage of private Hellenistic inscriptions from Rhegion prevents us from estimating the extent to which non-official registers were also modelled on the Sicilian *koina*. Noteworthy in this respect is the absence of any Doric feature in a statue dedication of the artists of Dionysos (I.Rhegion 6, late 2nd/early 1st c.), dating to the same period as the decree for Aufidius. This suggests that towards the turn of the first century the Doric *koina* still found employment in local official inscriptions, while in non-administrative contexts the *koine* was employed at least by certain parts of the population. In the case of the artists of Dionysos in particular, it is probable that the employment of the *koine* should be ascribed to the non-local provenance of the individuals concerned.<sup>287</sup> Nonetheless, the official document for Aufidius undoubtedly indicates that, at a formal level, Rhegion still aimed to retain its traditional linguistic identity in the first century. The fact that the first century still offers a dedication (I.Rhegion 4, 84-80) showing the genitive singular ending  $-\bar{\alpha}$  in *a*-stem masculine personal names, retained inherited /a:/ and the uncontracted hiatus in the genitive  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  confirms that the local Doric had not completely died out at that time, at least in public written contexts. Later in the century, the Doric dialect presumably fell into disuse in Rhegion as well as in Sicily, as the epigraphic evidence for the first century AD regularly attests to *koine* Greek.

The identification of the *mitior* Doric observed in the Hellenistic inscriptions from Rhegion with the Sicilian *koina* is based on a strong argument and is fully compatible with the removal of the local population in 387 attested in our sources. Accordingly, we may conclude that from the early fourth century onwards the Sicilian linguistic area was no longer restricted to the island only, but comprised also the extremity of the Italian peninsula. In a context of contact between the southernmost Italian regions and the Sicilian Greeks this conclusion might further support the hypothesis of an infiltration of features such as loss of initial aspiration and certain *koine* uses into South Italy through the Greek of Sicily. We turn now to the primary argument for this scenario, namely the frequency of contact between Sicily and South Italy around the turn of the third century.

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<sup>287</sup> Inscriptions of guilds of artists in this period are written in *koine* also elsewhere in areas where the local variety was otherwise employed in public/formal inscriptions: cf. particularly IG XIV 12, 13 (1st c.) and Le Guen 76-77 (47-45 and late 1st c.) from Syracuse.

### 2.3.3 *Koine* via Sicily?

The hypothesis of an early spread of *koine* features to the southernmost regions of South Italy via Sicily appears by no means implausible when the frequent contact and interaction between Sicilian and South Italian Greeks in the early years of the third century, known from ancient writers and material sources, is considered. Here we recall Agathocles' interventions against the Brettii, who had occupied a number of Greek *poleis* in south Magna Graecia, and thus the long-term presence of his army in this region in the first decade of the third century. Agathocles' activity in Locri's near surroundings is proved by the construction of a harbour in Hipponion around 294/3 as a base for his operations, and is further confirmed by Diodorus' mention of a presiding garrison left in Hipponion when he returned to Syracuse.<sup>288</sup> The appearance of iconographic features typical of the Syracusan coinage in the coinage of Hipponion around the same period is further indicative of activity on the part of the Sicilian ruler in the area.<sup>289</sup>

A number of studies have now argued that, despite ancient writers never explicitly mentioning Locri in relation to Agathocles' intervention in South Italy, all the available evidence strongly suggests collaboration with the Sicilian army on the part of the Locrians.<sup>290</sup> The fact that the *polis* does not appear among those that Agathocles took from the Brettii does not exclude the possibility that, in fact, Locri did not fall under their attacks precisely because defended by the Syracusan army. Indeed, the presence of the Brettii in the area around Locri is well documented by archaeological findings as well as being assumed on the basis of the occupation of the near sites of Hipponion and Caulonia.<sup>291</sup> Consequently, it is only to be expected that the Locrians also experienced some pressure from them, or, at the very least, had some concern for their own *polis*. Considering Agathocles' interest in securing strategic control of the south of Magna Graecia, the importance of which was vital in

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<sup>288</sup> See pp.18, 86-87.

<sup>289</sup> Filocamo (2012: 137).

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.* 135-137; Castrizio-Filocamo (2014: 250-253); De Sensi Sestito (2015: 32-58).

<sup>291</sup> Note that a state of warfare between Locri and the Brettii around this period is also explicitly reported in an epigram of Nossis of Locri (AP VI 132); cf. p.201.

order to prevent the Carthaginians from allying with the Brettii or the Greeks of South Italy, his concern for Locri should have been no less than that for the *poleis* that had been occupied by the Brettii in the neighbouring area.<sup>292</sup> Accordingly, it seems highly improbable that Agathocles would have fought the Brettii in Magna Graecia without securing protection of the southernmost area, that closest to Sicily, comprising Locri and Rhegion. In this respect, it is worth mentioning a suggestion proposed by De Sensi Sestito, who has observed that it cannot be excluded that the *polis* which summoned Agathocles' intervention against the Brettii in fact was Locri, and not Taras as some scholars assumed in the past.<sup>293</sup>

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, it has been observed that the parallel issue of coins of the Italiote type and *pegasi* on the Syracusan model in Locri around the late fourth and early third centuries most probably suggests that the two series were meant to serve two different purposes: local use for the former, transactions with Sicily for the latter. The fact that in those years *pegasi* of the same type were also minted in Hipponion, Terina, Medma and Rhegion, corresponding to the area involved in Agathocles' operations, and the fact that most of the Locrian issues have been found in Sicilian hoards, points in particular to coinage specifically intended for the payment of Agathocles' soldiers.<sup>294</sup> The presence in the temple of Zeus in Locri of a mosaic realised with a technique commonly employed in third-century Sicily and displaying a *triskeles*, i.e. the symbol that Agathocles had apparently chosen as his personal emblem and which is regularly found in Syracusan coinage of his period, further supports, if not confirms, the hypothesis of an involvement of the *polis* in Agathocles' affairs.<sup>295</sup>

All this suggests not simply contact with speakers who had already been exposed to the prestige of Attic-Ionic (viz. Greeks of Sicily and possible external mercenaries employed by Agathocles) but also, presumably, a favourable attitude on the part of the Locrians towards such speakers, as defenders of their *polis* and nearby

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<sup>292</sup> Consolo Langher (2000: 315-317).

<sup>293</sup> De Sensi Sestito (2015: 52). See n.44.

<sup>294</sup> See p.37.

<sup>295</sup> Agostino *et al.* (2012: 38); De Sensi Sestito (2015: 53). For Agathocles' association with the *triskeles* see Wilson (2003: 727-728).

territory. On a linguistic level, this is expected to imply a willingness to facilitate communication through some degree of linguistic accommodation.

Clearly, neither loss of aspiration nor the presence of certain shared *koine* features point to a conscious intention to reproduce the language of the Greeks of Sicily in the local high-register because of its perceived prestige. Indeed, we deduced from the survey of the language of the bronze tablets that linguistic prestige was instead still attributed to the local dialect. Note in fact that other features regularly attested in the bronze tablets, such as the relative function of the article and retention of the Doric plural form τοί, are either unparalleled in Sicily or had disappeared by the fourth century. Nonetheless, some infiltration of external features is by no means incompatible with the conclusion that the Locrians did not explicitly aim to model their local official language on the Greek of Sicily.

Diffusion of linguistic forms from one language variety to another is widely recognised as a natural outcome of regular contact between speakers of different dialect areas, and represents a partly subconscious phenomenon in individuals' speech. Many dialectologists and sociolinguists have described the causes and modalities of this process through the concept of accommodation, intended as the reduction of dissimilarities between two speeches in contact through adjustment of one's own features and adoption of features from the other, which develops spontaneously as the result of interaction between speakers of different varieties of the same language who seek to associate with each other.<sup>296</sup> Accommodation thus occurs as the result of a favorable attitude towards the speakers of an external variety.

The degree and direction of linguistic concessions, which can be either symmetrical or not, are supposed to be directly related to the 'ethnolinguistic vitality' of each variety, a concept first formulated by Giles in the 1970s. The vitality of a variety, in particular, is determined by status factors (economic, social, historical and linguistic), demographic factors (i.e. the size of the community of speakers and its territorial distribution), and support received from the institutions (i.e. the promotion and acceptability of one variety in public and institutional contexts). In general, speakers of a variety tend to accommodate to the speakers of another variety the more

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<sup>296</sup> Giles-Taylor-Boorhis (1973); Giles (1979); Beebe-Giles (1984); Trudgill (1986: 39-41); Coupland (2008); Britain (2010). For a discussion of the application of Giles' theory to ancient Greek dialects see Colvin (1999: 3-12); cf. also Adams (2003: 295-296, 350-356).

this is perceived as prestigious or socially attractive, i.e. the higher its ethnolinguistic vitality is. It has been generally observed that in situations of long-term contact external features adopted through dialect accommodation naturally tend to become increasingly stabilised in an individual's speech, and, finally, these are considered permanent acquisitions once their use is no longer restricted to interaction with speakers of the external variety.<sup>297</sup>

In the light of the known historical context, a situation of long-term accommodation resulting in the acquisition of some external features would be expected in late fourth- and early third-century Locri. Moreover, the fact that the Locrians did associate some degree of prestige to the culture of the Sicilian Greeks seems to be indicated by the imitation of the Syracusan iconography in the coins of local type in the late fourth and early third century.<sup>298</sup> At the same time, however, despite collaboration and frequency of contacts, it is crucial to note that Locri never passed under the administrative control of Syracuse, lost its political independence, or suffered displacement/replacement of its population. Accordingly, if positive accommodation is to some extent expected in the spoken language of the Locrians, it is also expected that any motivation for attributing greater prestige to the external variety than to the epichoric dialect was not high. This would be compatible with the fact that the variety receiving most approval by the local institutions in the early third century remained the local dialect, markedly distinct from the Sicilian form of Doric in several respects, suggesting persistence of a strong local identity promoted at the highest levels of society. If some influence resulted from contact, this is thus expected to have been primarily experienced in the spoken language of Locrians with frequent interactions with external speakers, and consequently also in informal writing contexts. If all this is correct, such a situation would be perfectly represented in the surviving inscriptions, which show greater external influence in lower registers and a few inconsistent infiltrations in the language of administration.

Admittedly, loss of (written) aspiration and the spread of Attic-Ionic features do not represent in themselves decisive evidence for contact with Sicilian Greek, as these might be the result of a direct influence of the *koine* from the east reaching the south of Italy around this time. Nonetheless, it is significant that in the contemporary

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<sup>297</sup> Trudgill (1986); Chambers (1992); Kerswill (2002); Britain (2010).

<sup>298</sup> See p.38.

inscriptions from the north of Magna Graecia such developments are not attested, while these had occurred at an earlier stage in Sicily. *A priori*, then, the more likely possibility is that features in the Locrian bronze tablets shared with Sicily are to be interpreted as the result of infiltration from lower registers and attributed to proximity, political closeness and frequency of contacts and movement of population between the two areas. On account of sporadic occurrence in the tablets and more consistent attestation in contemporary inscriptions of private or less formal type, it is reasonable to suggest that these were becoming increasingly frequent in the dialect of Locri precisely around the time when the tablets were written, despite the apparent desire of the ruling class to retain the traditional conservative variety at the most formal levels. Such an interpretation of the features shared with Sicily in the Locrian inscriptions is particularly plausible on account of its compatibility with the known historical context.

Nonetheless, depending on the absolute and relative chronology attributed to the tablets, the inconsistent features in these texts might in principle be explained differently. For instance, if it were known that the tablets using the aspiration mark were all earlier than those without it, the reconstruction of the linguistic scenario would be different than if the two forms occurred in alternation throughout. In the former case, it would be assumed that traditional local practice had still not fallen into disuse in the official register at the earlier stages of the *corpus*, but that influence from external varieties or conventions occurred at some later point, conceivably during the first half of the third century. If so, such a date would be compatible with the initial stages of the expansion of the *koine*, and thus there would be no compelling reason for attributing loss of written aspiration to contact with the Sicilian Greeks rather than to the direct influence of *koine* writing conventions. On the other hand, if the second possibility proved to be the correct one, the choice of writing the aspiration mark or not would rather be attributed to the inclinations of the scribe or the magistrates in charge, indicating that the non-traditional forms had already infiltrated the local official register at the time the transactions started to be recorded, i.e. presumably in the late fourth century. This would be too early to assume direct influence from the *koine* in a peripheral area such as South Italy, and the likelihood of indirect spread via Sicily would be increased.

In order to be able to favour one hypothesis over the other, it is thus essential to determine a more precise distribution of individual tablets within the time span proposed for the entire *corpus*. The question of the chronology of the tablets is a long debated one, and probably destined to remain an open issue due to the nature and quantity of evidence. Nonetheless, on the basis of partial conclusions achieved in previous studies, it seems possible at least to suggest which of the possible scenarios seems the most plausible in terms of its explanatory potential when confronted with the full array of evidence and data.

#### 2.3.4 The chronology of the bronze tablets

The text of the Locrian bronze tablets has been long investigated for clues suggesting a more precise placement within the overall time span determined on the basis of the criteria previously mentioned.<sup>299</sup> Before proceeding with a discussion of the hypotheses and solutions that have been proposed, however, a brief, but more detailed presentation of the content of these documents is necessary for the sake of clarity.

In general, the texts open with the name of the eponymous magistrate in charge at the moment of inscribing the text and under whom, in most cases, the transaction took place.<sup>300</sup> This is followed by the names of the officials involved in the operation. Then the content of the decree is summarised, providing the details of the amount borrowed from the treasury of Zeus, of the exact source from which the sum is taken (i.e. whether from rent payments owed to the sanctuary, or the proceeds from the sale of agricultural produce, or other sources of income), and of the purposes for which the loan is sought.<sup>301</sup> The repayment of sums borrowed is recorded in a small minority of tablets only (tabs. 9, 20, 21, 33).

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<sup>299</sup> See n.218.

<sup>300</sup> Tab. 1 records a transaction that had taken place in the previous year, under a different eponym.

<sup>301</sup> For the operating system of the sanctuary see Musti (1977: 125-130; 1979: 221-225); Costabile (1992: 160-174).

Besides the eponym, magistrates regularly mentioned in the tablets and involved in the ratification and execution of the transaction are the *hieromnamones*, distinguished between those ἐπὶ θησαυρῶν (i.e. assigned to the administration of the treasury) and those ἐπὶ τῶν σίτῳν (i.e. assigned to the administration of the grain supply, mentioned in tab. 5 only), each consisting of three members, presumably reflecting a civic subdivision into three tribes; and the *proboloi proarchontes* and the *prodikoi*, again both occurring in the number of three. Magistrates irregularly mentioned in the tablets are the *phatarchoi*, a board of twelve members, each one presiding for a month, who generally appear as the consignees of the sums taken from the sanctuary (tabs. 8, 20, 22, 23, 34; tabs. 14 and 16 mention their seat, the φατάρχιον); occasionally mentioned are also, each in the number of three, the *epistatai* (tab. 3), the *toichiopoioi* (tab. 3), the *polemarchoi* (tabs. 20, 21), the *logisteres* (tab. 32) and the *episkeuasteres* (tab. 21). A *theukolos* is mentioned in tab. 21, presumably a religious office; finally, the *tamiai* are mentioned in tab. 23, apparently with the function of treasurers.<sup>302</sup>

Each magistrate is generally mentioned through his name and patronymic, preceded by a sigla of three letters indicating the civic subdivision, probably the *phratra*, to which he belonged. The patronymic is normally not reported in the case of the eponym, with the exception of those in tabs. 6 and 20, possibly in order to avoid confusion due to homonymy. Occasionally, the patronymic is omitted for other magistrates as well (tabs. 9, 10, 14, 21, 29, 34). Six tablets (tabs. 1, 13, 23, 25, 30, 31) mention a ‘*basileus*’ with no further detail, i.e. without personal name, patronymic or civic *sigla*. The identity and the role of this individual has been a matter of longstanding debate, as we shall see; in five occurrences the *basileus* occurs as the beneficiary of the sum that the *polis* borrows from the treasury; the purpose of the loan in these cases is thus indicated as βασιλεῖ ἐν τὰν συντέλειαν (‘for the contribution to the *basileus*’). In one case (tab. 25) the *basileus* is mentioned as the collector of a ninth of the produce of wheat, worth one talent, from the sanctuary.

While the contribution to the *basileus* is indicated as the reason for taking the loan from the Olympieion in the five instances mentioned, the majority of the tablets

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<sup>302</sup> On the Locrian magistracies see De Franciscis (1972: 133-142); Musti (1974: 12-19; 1977: 120-125; 2005: 221-228); Costabile (1992: 210-227); Antonetti (1995: 356-358); Del Monaco (2010a); Lazzarini (2011).

in the archive rather have ‘the building of the towers’ as the purpose for which the money is sought, through the expression ἐν τὰν πυργοποιίαν (written πυργοποιίαν in 3.11; 24.9; 29.10); these are tabs. 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26, 29, 36, 37. Tab. 18 also mentions a separate amount borrowed ἐν τὰν ἄλλαν οἰκονομίαν. Of the remaining tablets, tab. 7 reads ἐν τὰν ὀχύρωσιν τᾶς πόλιος (‘for the fortification of the *polis*’) as the purpose for which the loan is taken, while tab. 25 has ἐν τὰν ὀχύρωσιν τᾶς πόλιος καὶ ποὶ τὰ βέλεα (‘for the fortification of the *polis* and for the darts’); in tab. 8 the sum is intended ποὶ τᾶς εἰκόνας (‘for the images’, presumably statues or portraits). Finally, a number of tablets have no specified purpose for the loan taken (tabs. 2, 4, 5, 14<sup>303</sup>, 22, 27, 28, 32, 34, 35), and the original destination of the money taken from the sanctuary is not reported in the tablets recording restitution of sums borrowed (tabs. 9, 20, 21, 32).

The most fruitful attempt to establish a relative chronology within the archive was made by Fuda through the identification of individuals performing different offices in different tablets.<sup>304</sup> This dating method, first proposed by Lewis in 1970 and successively corrected by Musti and expanded by Fuda himself in his own contribution, relies on the assumption that the lowest position in the *cursus honorum* in Locri was occupied by the *hieromnamones*, above which were the *proboloi* and the *prodikoi*, and at the top of the hierarchy was the eponym.<sup>305</sup> The succession *hieromnamon* - *probolos/prodikos* - *eponym* seems reasonably secure on the basis of a number of considerations.

From the texts of the Locrian tablets it emerges that the *hieromnamones* are responsible for the transcription of the transactions (tabs. 4, 5, 32), as well as being in charge for giving and receiving back the sums borrowed from the sanctuary (and for the accounting and administration of the crops in the case of those ἐπὶ τῶι σίτῳ). Such tasks find correspondence in Aristotle’s mention of the *hieromnemones* among magistrates whose function was to record private contracts and legal proceedings; in fact, *hieromnemones* acting as archivists and administrators of temple and city finances are generally attested, with local variations, across the ancient Greek

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<sup>303</sup> See Del Monaco (2013: 57).

<sup>304</sup> Fuda (1992a).

<sup>305</sup> Lewis (1970: 248); Musti (1979: 119-120).

world.<sup>306</sup> By contrast, the *probouloi* (Att.-Ion. πρόβουλοι corresponds to *severior* Doric πρόβωλοι attested in Locri) are known from Aristotle to be present in certain constitutional governments (presumably moderate democracies) with a controlling function over the *boule* (*severior* Dor. βωλά), the assembly, having the faculty of ratifying its decisions.<sup>307</sup> Similarly, the *prodikoi*, scarcely attested elsewhere, appear in proxeny decrees from Corcyra in connection with the *probouloi*, with whom they seem to share some deliberative functions.<sup>308</sup> A connection with the assembly is especially suggested by the occurrence of πρόδικοι βουλᾶς in IG IX,1 694.114 (Corcyra, before 229); in particular, on an etymological basis, it is expected that the *prodikoi* were related to the judicial administration.<sup>309</sup>

Accordingly, it is assumed that both *proboloi* and *prodikoi* occupied a high position in the administrative system, presumably higher than that of the *hieromnemes*, whose role, mostly secretarial, should have involved a considerably lesser degree of authority.<sup>310</sup> Since the Locrian magistracies were non-reiterative, as the same person is never found performing the same office in tablets referring to different years, it seems hard to suppose that someone could be appointed *hieromnemon* after having been *probolos* or *prodikos*; the opposite is clearly more plausible, i.e. that the office of *hieromnemon* was performed at an earlier stage in one's political career, before proceeding into higher magistracies for which greater experience was required. On the same basis, it is assumed that the eponymous magistracy, whose exact title is unknown in Locri, was, at least formally, the most prestigious position one could attain, and, consequently, that it should have been performed after those of *probolos* and *prodikos*.

<sup>306</sup> Aristot. *Pol.* 6.1321b.25; Costabile (1992: 216-218); BNP 6.312 (s.v. Hieromnemes). For the attestation and function of the *hieromnemes* in other areas see RE 8.1490-1496 (s.v. Hieromnemes).

<sup>307</sup> Aristot. *Pol.* 4.1298b.26-30, 1299b.30-38; Costabile (1992: 216-218). Cf. BNP 11.894-895 (s.v. Proboulos).

<sup>308</sup> IG IX,1 682.12-13, late 4th c.; 683.11, late 3rd c.; 685.17, 2nd c.; 686.11-12, 2nd c.; 688.13-14, 2nd c.; cf. also IG IX,1 694.143, before 229. In these inscriptions the *prodikoi* and the *proboloi* are responsible for choosing the place where the inscription was to be set up; in IG IX,1 688 the decision is to be taken by *prodikoi*, *proboloi* and *strategoï*.

<sup>309</sup> RE 23.1283-1284 (s.v. Prodikos); Cf. De Franciscis (1972: 137); Crema (2007).

<sup>310</sup> Cf. Musti (1977: 213).

The fact that there was a standard progression in the holding of these offices, and that they were not performed at random stages during one's political career, is further suggested by the evidence of two pairs of tablets, namely tabs. 11 and 18, and tabs. 24 and 36. In tab. 11 Σκι Σωφρονίσκος Καλλιδάμω is mentioned in the function of *hieromnamon*, and in tab. 18 he appears as *prodikos*; simultaneously, the *prodikoi* Κυλ Εὐφραῖος Νικοδάμω and Ψαθ Ζωΐλος Ὀνασίμω of tab. 11 occur in tab. 18 as *proboloi*. Similarly, the *hieromnamon* Πυρ Ἀμεινοκλῆς Χαίρεσίλα in tab. 24 appears in tab. 36 as *probolos*, while at the same time the *probolos* Κρα Ἐπίγονος Ἀρίστωνος of tab. 24 is *prodikos* in tab. 36. In both pairs we therefore have the same individual mentioned as *hieromnamon* in one tablet and as *probolos/prodikos* in the other, while at the same time one of the *proboloi/prodikoi* of the first tablet is *prodikos/probolos* in the second; in other words, it is not the case that a *hieromnamon* in the first tablet is *probolos/prodikos* in the second and simultaneously a *probolos/prodikos* in the first tablet is *hieromnamon* in the second. Had this been the case, we would have concluded that either the three offices were on the same hierarchical level, or that there was no hierarchy at all, and their holding was not related to a particular stage in the political career; but this is not the case, and the evidence provided by two pairs of tablets seems hardly discardable as a coincidence. The two options that remain open thus both presume a progression: either from *hieromnamon* to *probolos/prodikos* or *vice versa*; on the basis of the observation above made, concerning the level of authority involved in these offices, the first option seems by far preferable.

By identifying the same individuals performing different offices in different tablets, Fuda established a number of progressive sequences of tablets on the basis of the career progression explained in the previous paragraphs. If the method followed is correct, as seems to be the case in the absence of compelling counterarguments, such sequences represent the most reliable source of evidence available for relative chronology within the *corpus*. Such evidence is still rather limited, however, since the number of years passing between the tablets of a sequence remains unknown, as is the correlation between different sequences, unless they link at some point through

mention of the same person. Fuda's relative sequences, further implemented by Del Monaco in his recent edition of the tablets, provide the following information:<sup>311</sup>

Tab.	Magistrate	Other occurrences	Sequence
1	Αστ Μενάλκης (e)	perhaps tab. 23: Αστ Μενάλκης Γοργίδα (h)	(?) 23 > 1
2	Λογ Φιλόστρατος Φίντωνος (pd)  Κοβ Χαρίξενος (e)	tab. 7 (h)  perhaps Κοβ Χαρίξενος Ὀναίω: tab. 36 (h); tab. 6: (pb)	7 > 2  36 > 6 > (?) 2
3	Ψαθ Σάτυρος Ἀριστοκρίτω (pb)	tab. 28 (h)	28 > 3
4	  Δυσ Εὔθυμος Φιλίστω (pb)	same magistrates as in tabs. 5 and 22  tab. 37 (pd)	4, 5 and 22 are contemporary
5		see tab. 4	
6	Τιω Πρωτογένης Καλλικράτεος (e)	tab. 19 (h)	19 > 6

<sup>311</sup> Below I present a summary of the sequences established by Fuda (1992a) and Del Monaco (2013), having collected and combined these together. (h): *hieromnamon*; (pb): *probolos*; (pd): *prodikos*; (e): eponym.

	Κοβ Χαρίξενος Ὀναίω (pb)	tab. 36 (h); perhaps tab. 2 Κοβ Χαρίξενος (e)	36 > 6 > (?) 2
	Δυσ Ζωΐλος Σωσίπρω (pb)	tab. 11 (h)	11 > 6
	Φαω Μενέδαμος Λαγίσκω (pd)	tab. 28 (h); tab. 17 (pb)	28 > 6
7	Λογ Φιλόστρατος Φίντωνος (h)	tab. 2 (pd)	7 > 2
8	Μνα Εϋφραστος Ξένωνος (pb)	same magistrates as in tab. 31  perhaps tab. 14 Μνα Εϋφραστος (e)	8 and 31 are contemporary  8, 31 > (?) 14
9		no correspondence	
10		no correspondence	
11	Σκι Σωφρονίσκος Καλλιδάμω (h)	tab. 18 (pd)	11 > 18
	Δυσ Ζωΐλος Σωσίπρω (h)	tab. 6 (pb)	11 > 6
	Ευρ Δορκίων Δορκίπρω (pb)	tab. 26 (pd)	
	Φαω Θέων Θευδότω (pb)	tab. 17 (pd)	

	Κυλ Εὐφραΐος Νικοδάμω (pd)	tab. 18 (pb)	
	Ψαθ Ζωΐλος Ὀνασίμω (pd)	tab. 18 (pb)	
12	Θρα Γλαυκίας Σωσιβίω (pd)	tab. 30 (h); tab. 27 (pb)	30 > 12, 27
	Αλκ Φαικίων Εὐπόλιος (pd)	perhaps tab. 26 Αλκ Φαικίων (e)	12 > (?) 26
	Μνα Κάλλιππος Καλλικράτεος (pd)	perhaps tab. 24 Μνα Κάλλιππος (e)	12 > (?) 24
	Σωτ Νικόδαμος Τίμωνος (pb)	tab. 25 (pd)	
13	Τηλ Φαΐσκος Φαώνος (h)	tab. 17 (pb)	13 > 17
	Θρα Κράτων Θήρωνος (pb)	tab. 25 (pd)	
14	Μνα Εὐφραστος (e)	perhaps tabs. 8, 31 Μνα Εὐφραστος Ξένωνος (pb)	8, 31 > (?) 14
15	Αλχ Ξένων Σωσίππω (h)	tab. 26 (pb)	15 > 26
	Αγκ Ἀντίδωρος	tab. 30 (h)	30 > 15

	Κράτωνος (pb)		
16	Γαψ Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστέος (h)	tab. 36 (pd)	16 > 36
	Σκα Σωσίλας Σιμία (h)	tab. 19 (pd)	16 > 19
	Θρα Θράσων Εὐκλείδα (pd)	tab. 28 (pb)	
	Λακ Εὐφραστος Σωσιπόλιος (pb)	tab. 24 (pd)	
	Σκι Σωσίνοσ (e)	perhaps tab. 33 Σκι Σωσίνοσ Ζωίππω (pd)	33 > (?) 16
17	Τηλ Φαίσκος Φάωνος (pb)	tab. 13 (h)	13 > 17
	Φαω Μενέδαμος Λαγίσκω (pb)	tab. 28 (h); tab. 6 (pd)	28 > 17, 6
18	Φαω Ὀναίος Χαρίλα (pd)	tab. 27 (h)	27 > 11
	Σκι Σωφρονίσκος Καλλιδάμω (pd)	tab. 11 (h)	11 > 18
	Κυλ Εὐφραίος Νικοδάμω (pb)	tab. 11 (pd)	
	Ψαθ Ζωίλος Ὀνασίμω (pb)	tab. 11 (pd)	

19	Τιω Πρωτογένης Καλλικράτεος (h)	tab. 6 (e)	19 > 6
	Σκα Σωσίλας Σιμία (pd)	tab. 16 (h)	16 > 19
20		no correspondence	
21		no correspondence	
22		see tab. 4	
23	Στρ Τίμων Τιμοκλέος (h)	tab. 25 (pd)	23 > 25
	Γαψ Σάμων Σαμίππω (pb)	tab. 32 (h)	32 > 23
	Αστ Μενάλκης Γοργίδα (h)	perhaps tab. 1 Αστ Μενάλκης (e)	23 > (?) 1
24	Τιω Καλλικράτης Πρωτογένεος (pd)	tab. 37 (h); tab. 26 (pb)	37 > 24, 26
	Πυρ Άμεινοκλής Χαιρεσίλα (h)	tab. 36 (pb)	24 > 36
	Κρα Έπίγονος Άρίστωνος (pb)	tab. 36 (pd)	
	Λακ Εϋφραστος	tab. 16 (pb)	

	Σωσιπόλιος (pd)  Μνα Κάλλιππος (e)	perhaps tab. 12 Μνα Κάλλιππος Καλλικράτεος (pd)	12 > (?) 24
25	Στρ Τίμων Τιμοκλέος (pd)  Θρα Κράτων Θήρωνος (pd)  Σωτ Νικόδαμος Τίμωνος (pd)	tab. 23 (h)  tab. 13 (pb)  tab. 12 (pb)	23 > 25
26	Τιω Καλλικράτης Πρωτογένεος (pb)  Αλχ Ξένων Σωσίππω (pb)  Ευρ Δορκίων Δορκίππω (pd)  Αλκ Φαικίων (e)	tab. 37 (h); tab. 24 (pd)  tab. 15 (h)  tab. 11 (pb)  perhaps tab. 12 Αλκ Φαικίων Εϋπόλιος (pd)	37 > 24, 26  15 > 26    12 > (?) 26
27	Φαω Όναιος Χαρίλα (h)  Θρα Γλαυκίας Σωσιβίω (pb)	tab. 18 (pd)  tab. 30 (h); tab. 12 (pd)	27 > 18  30 > 27, 12

	Λακ Σωσικράτης Ἀπημάντω (h)	perhaps tab. 37 Λακ Σωσικράτης (e)	27 > (?) 37
28	Ψαθ Σάτυρος Ἀριστοκρίτω (h)	tab. 3 (pb)	28 > 3
	Φω Μενέδαμος Λαγίσκω (h)	tab. 17 (pb); tab. 6 (pd)	28 > 17, 6
	Θρα Θράσων Εὐκλείδα (pb)	tab. 16 (pd)	
29		no correspondence	
30	Θρα Γλαυκίας Σωσιβίω (h)	tab. 12 (pd); tab. 27 (pb)	30 > 27, 12
	Αγκ Ἀντίδωρος Κράτωνος (h)	tab. 15 (pb)	30 > 15
31		see tab. 8	
32	Γαψ Σάμων Σαμίππω (h)	tab. 23 (pb)	32 > 23
33	Σκι Σωσίνοσ Ζωίππω (pd)	perhaps tab. 16 Σκι Σωσίνοσ (e)	33 > (?) 16
	Κυλ Ἀγέλοχος Ἀλεξιδάμω (pb)	tab. 35 (pd)	
34	[Θρα] Ἡράκλητοσ (e)	the sum borrowed under Θρα Ἡράκλητοσ (e) is	34 is immediately earlier than 1

		registered in tab. 1	
35	Κυλ Ἀγέλοχος [Ἀλεξιδ]άμω (pd)	tab. 33 (pb)	
36	Κοβ Χαρίξενος Ὀναίω (h)  Γαψ Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστεύς (pb)  Πυρ Ἀμεινοκλῆς Χαιρεσίλα (pb)  Κρα Ἐπίγονος Ἀρίστωνος (pd)	tab. 6 (pb); perhaps tab. 2 Κοβ Χαρίξενος (e)  tab. 16 (h)  tab. 24 (h)  tab. 24 (pb)	36 > 6 > (?) 2  16 > 36  24 > 36
37	Λακ Σωσικράτης (e)  Τιω Καλλικράτης Πρωτογένεος (h)  Δυσ Εὔθυμος Φιλίστω (pd)	perhaps tab. 27 Λακ Σωσικράτης Ἀπημάντω (h)  tab. 24 (pd); tab. 26 (pb)  tabs. 4, 5, 22 (pb)	27 > (?) 37  37 > 24, 26

**Table 2.1** Sequences of magistrates following Fuda (1992) and Del Monaco (2013)

The following sequences result from the combination of the observations above:

- 1) Tab. 32 > 23 > 25; perhaps tab. 23 > 1, in case the eponym of tab. 1 is the *hieromnamon* of tab. 23; if this is correct, since tab. 34 > 1, we would have either the sequence 32 > 23 > 25 > 34 > 1 or 32 > 23 > 34 > 1 > 25.<sup>312</sup>
- 2) Tab. 30 > 15 > 26; tab. 30 is also earlier than 12 and 27.
- 3) Tab. 27 is earlier than 11, which is earlier than 18 and 6; since tab. 30 is earlier than 27, the sequence is: 30 > 27 > 11 > 18, 6
- 4) Tab. 12 is possibly earlier than 24 and 26, in case the eponyms of these tablets correspond to magistrates occurring in 12; if this is correct, 12 is also earlier than 36 and 6.
- 5) Tab. 16 is earlier than 19 and 36, both earlier than 6; perhaps tab. 33 is earlier than 16, in case the eponym of tab. 16 appears as *prodikos* in tab. 33; if so, the sequence would be 33 > 16 > 19, 36 > 6.
- 6) Tabs. 13 and 28 are earlier than 17; tab. 28 is also earlier than 3 and 6.
- 7) Tab. 37 is earlier than 24 and 26; since 24 is earlier than 36, and 36 is earlier than 6, we have the sequence 37 > 24 > 36 > 6. In case tab. 27 is earlier than 37, on the basis of the possible identification of the eponym of 37 with a *hieromnamon* of 27, the sequence would be 30 > 27 > 37 > 24 > 36 > 6.
- 8) Tab. 6 occurs at the end of four sequences: 16 > 36 > 6; 16 > 19 > 6; 37 > 24 > 36 > 6; 11 > 6; 28 > 6. Accordingly, tab. 6 is later than 11, 16, 19, 24, 28, 36 and 37. Only tab. 2 possibly follows tab. 6, in case a *probolos* in tab. 2 is the eponym in tab. 2. It seems thus that tab. 6 belongs to a later stage of the *corpus*.
- 9) Tab. 7 is earlier than 2.
- 10) Tabs. 4, 5 and 22 were recorded under the same eponym and magistrates, and thus belong to the same year.
- 11) Similarly, tabs. 8 and 31 were recorded in the same year; perhaps these two tablets are earlier than 14, in case the eponym of 14 is one of the *proboloi* of 8 and 31.

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<sup>312</sup> Cf. Del Monaco (2013: 75).

A further observation might be made here: as we can observe in the table above, a number of individuals are attested, in different tablets, both as *proboloi* and *prodikoi*. Since, following this dating criterion, the two magistracies are considered on a comparable or equivalent level, it seems reasonable to assume that if the same individual performed both functions, not many years should have passed between the two offices. Accordingly, it is conceivable that two tablets mentioning the same person, one as *probolos* and the other as *prodikos*, should be not too distant in time. If we follow this hypothesis, the observations below can be made:

- 1) Tab. 11 shares three magistrates with tab. 18: in particular, a *hieromnamon* in tab. 11 becomes *prodikos* in tab. 18 (thus 18 follows 11), and two *prodikoi* in 11 become *proboloi* in tab. 18. Accordingly, the years to which tabs. 11 and 18 refer should be close in time.<sup>313</sup>
- 2) Tab. 11 also shares magistrates in the function of *proboloi* and *prodikoi* with tabs. 26 and 17. For the same reason, in turn, tabs. 26 and 17 should be not too distant from 24 and 6 respectively; and 24 exhibits a *probolos* occurring as *prodikos* in 36 (which follows 24) and a *prodikos* mentioned as *probolos* in 16, while a *prodikos* in 16 appears as *probolos* in 28.
- 3) The two points above thus suggest that tabs. 6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 24, 26 and 28, comprising a total of eight years, should not be placed far from each other.
- 4) Tabs. 4, 5 and 22, all referring to the same year, have a *probolos* occurring as *prodikos* in tab. 37; therefore, the year of tab. 37 should have been reasonably close to that of 4, 5 and 22.
- 5) Tab. 12 shows a *prodikos* occurring as *probolos* in tab. 27, and a *probolos* mentioned as *prodikos* in tab. 25; in turn, tab. 25 has a *prodikos* occurring as *probolos* in tab. 13; accordingly, tabs. 12, 13, 25 and 27 should not be too distant from one another.
- 6) Finally, one of the *proboloi* in tab. 33 appears as *prodikos* in tab. 35; the two tablets thus should be reasonably close.

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<sup>313</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 65.

If these points are combined with the sequences deduced by Fuda and Del Monaco, it appears that, on the basis of the sequence 30 > 27 > (?) 37 > 24 > 36 > 6, the tablets 6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 24, 26 and 28, which we assume to be relatively close to one another, refer to a later phase of the *corpus*. On the contrary, the tablets 4, 5, 22 and 37, might be located to an earlier stage on the basis of 37 occurring earlier in the same sequence. If the succession 27 > 37 is correct, then also tabs. 12, 13, 25 and 27 should be placed at an earlier stage than 6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 24, 26 and 28. Such an assumption seems particularly plausible when we consider that tabs. 4, 5, 22, 37 and 12, 13, 25, 27 do not share high magistrates (i.e. *proboloi* and *prodikoi*) with any of the tablets 6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 24, 26 and 28, suggesting distance between these groups. According to the same principle, if the possible sequence 33 > (?) 16 > 19, 36 > 6 is accepted, tab. 35, which above has been assumed to be close to 33, should also precede the later group.

Besides the indications offered by the progression of magistrates, other clues for chronology highlighted in previous studies comprise:

- 1) On the basis of references to the ponderal system of the Agathoclean period, tabs. 8 and 35 need to be placed before the death of Agathocles in 289; since tab. 31 is contemporary to 8, this also needs to be dated to the same period.<sup>314</sup>
- 2) The thirty-seven tablets were written in thirty-four different years, i.e. some tablets were recorded in the same year. But it is not possible to know whether these were consecutive, and it is generally assumed that there are gaps in our *corpus*, and that a period of no less than fifty years is comprised in the tablets.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Parise (1979: 203-204); Guzzetta (1992). Del Monaco (1998; 2010b); cf. Filocamo (2012: 133); Castrizio-Filocamo (2014: 247).

<sup>315</sup> Fuda (1992b) hypothesised that every year the eponymous magistracy was performed by a different civic division, the members of which could not be appointed eponym again before the beginning of a new cycle. If the civic divisions were thirty-six, a complete cycle of eponyms should have lasted thirty-six years: see Del Monaco (2013:15). Since the sigla  $\text{K}\rho\beta$  is associated with three eponyms in the tablets, then three cycles would be included in the tablets. The length of three complete cycles would be 108 years, but time span to which the

- 3) Tab. 33 could be two years earlier than 4-5-22.<sup>316</sup>

Other attempts to set a relative chronology of the tablets comprise the studies by Blomqvist, Ghinatti and recently Filocamo.<sup>317</sup> In particular, Blomqvist suggested that the tablets mentioning the *basileus* should be considered as a coherent group referring to a determined number of years. This group, which Blomqvist denominated ‘K’ (from ‘King’), thus would include tabs. 1, 13, 23, 25, 30 and 31. To this number Blomqvist added tabs. 8 and 34, since closely related to tablets mentioning the *basileus* (tab. 8 is contemporary to 31, while 34 is immediately before 1).<sup>318</sup> Observing that all these tablets have the Doric form  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  instead of *koine*  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ , Blomqvist suggested that the tablets of the K group should be considered as the earliest of the *corpus*.<sup>319</sup>

Here we need to briefly discuss the reason why Blomqvist presupposed that the K tablets should refer to the same period, an assumption that cannot be sustained without further argument. Notably, whether the tablets mentioning the *basileus* form a coherent group or not is strictly connected to the problem of the identity of the

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tablets refer could be much shorter in case one eponym of the Κοβ division occurred at the end of the first cycle, and another one at the beginning of the third one.

<sup>316</sup> Del Monaco (2013: 40). This is assumed on the basis that the amount of 654 talents borrowed in tab. 33 would correspond to that mentioned in 4 for the year of Τηλ Εὐθυμίδας and still not returned; however, it has also been observed that 33 mentions a return of the value of 30 talents, so that the final amount due in 33 is 624 talents, and not 654, which tab. 4 would be expected to reflect.

<sup>317</sup> Blomqvist (1978; 1979); Ghinatti (1998); Filocamo (2012); Castrizio-Filocamo (2014).

<sup>318</sup> Blomqvist also proposed the inclusion of 35 on the basis of possible restorations of this fragmentary tablet that could indicate contemporaneity with 1. This has now been excluded by a new reading offered by Del Monaco (1997; 1998; 2013: 97). Nonetheless, secure closeness between tabs. 8 and 35 can be assumed on the basis of reference to the ponderal system of the Agathoclean period.

<sup>319</sup> Blomqvist (1979: 77). Blomqvist tried to identify other distinguishing features shared by the tablets in this group, including the order in which the magistrates are listed, verbal forms and wording in general. However, most of the features which he considered distinctive of group K are in fact widely found throughout in the *corpus*, and therefore do not provide reliable criteria for relative chronology.

*basileus*. Over the years, scholars have either suggested a foreign ruler, variously identified with Dionysius II (who is known to have been resident in Locri between 356 and 346), Agathocles and Pyrrhus, or a local magistrate.<sup>320</sup> Clearly, if the *basileus* were identified with a foreign ruler, then the tablets referring to him would all date to the period in which this foreign ruler is known to have had a connection with Locri. On the other hand, if the *basileus* were a local magistrate, then there would be no compelling reason to assume that the tablets mentioning him are chronologically distinct from the rest of the *corpus*.<sup>321</sup>

The hypothesis of a foreign ruler has seemed preferable to most scholars since the mention of a local magistrate without personal name or civic sigla would be unusual, unless the *basileus* was in fact the eponym, as Musti observed.<sup>322</sup> Over the years, the range of possible candidates has been restricted to Agathocles only, since both Dionysius II and Pyrrhus would not be compatible with the fact that tab. 8, contemporary to tab. 31 which mentions the *basileus*, refers to the ponderal system of the Agathoclean period.<sup>323</sup> By contrast, in support of the thesis of a local magistrate,

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<sup>320</sup> Musti (1979: 211-215); Costabile (2007: 279-297); Filocamo (2012: 133-139) Del Monaco (2013: 28-29).

<sup>321</sup> Musti (1979: 213).

<sup>322</sup> Musti (1977: 130-131 n.48; 1979: 214); cf. Costabile (2007: 286-289) *contra* Musti; but see Del Monaco (2013: 163-164) *contra* Costabile; see also Antonetti (1995: 353-356). We may observe that the fact that the *basileus* is not named in the tablets certainly indicates that the information was not relevant to the purpose for which these were intended, i.e. as summaries of the ratified transactions. In case the *basileus* were a magistrate, the omission of his personal details would be really surprising when we consider that all other magistrates directly involved in the transaction are named. Specification of identity would be particularly expected as he was to receive and administrate the sum received: cf. tabs. 8, 22 and 34, which report the names of the *phatarchoi* receiving the money borrowed. On the other hand, if the *basileus* were external to the *polis*, and thus had no responsibility in the transaction between the *polis* and the sanctuary, the fact that his name is not reported would be only to be expected, at least in the shortened text of the tablets, since not of interest to the record of the *polis*' obligations towards the treasury of Zeus.

<sup>323</sup> Filocamo (2006); Costabile (2007: 281-284). Moreover, if the sequence 23 > 1 is accepted, the sum of the years comprised in the group of the *basileus* tablets (i.e. seven, since tab. 34 needs to be placed between 23 and 1) would exceed the maximum length of the period in

Costabile argued that in tab. 25 the *basileus* is said to have collected a ninth of the cereals, which, as Musti had observed, seems an activity more convenient to a local magistrate than to a foreign ruler, especially considering the low value of the grain collected (i.e. one talent).<sup>324</sup> Moreover, he noted that other magistrates are occasionally mentioned without personal name in the *corpus*, in particular the *hieromnamones* in tab. 4, and the *tamiai* and the *phatarchoi* in tab. 23.<sup>325</sup>

Blomqvist's assumption that the *basileus* tablets formed a consistent group relied on the identification with a foreign ruler; in particular, he was following De Franciscis in identifying the *basileus* with Pyrrhus, a possibility excluded in later studies, as mentioned.<sup>326</sup> Similarly, Ghinatti presupposed that the *basileus* appears in tablets chronologically close to each other and, in his attempt to establish a relative chronology, combined such a criterion with the presence or absence of the aspiration mark in the texts, assuming that the tablets recording initial aspiration are the earliest in the *corpus*.

Ghinatti's method is not obviously reliable as it contradicts several of the relative sequences established on the basis of the progression of magistrates.<sup>327</sup> Although the sequences obtained by Fuda and his followers remain based on a hypothetical assumption about the stages of the political career in Locri, still its

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which Pyrrhus could have been connected with Locri (i.e. six years, from 280 to 275): see Musti (1979: 216).

<sup>324</sup> Costabile (2007: 290-294); cf. Musti (1979: 217). Against this assumption, however, Filocamo (2012: 138) has observed that it is conceivable that a foreign ruler, i.e. Agathocles, bought from the Olympieion the ninth of the produce of cereals for the provision of his troops for an exceptionally low price (one talent).

<sup>325</sup> Costabile (2007: 289). Note, however, that elsewhere Costabile had observed that omission of the details of the *hieromnamones* in tab. 4 can be explained with the simultaneous recording of tab. 5, where such details are provided (Costabile 1992: 114-116). As for the *tamiai* and the *phatarchoi* in tab. 23, it is important to observe that they are not directly involved in the transaction itself, being only mentioned as the source from which the sanctuary has prelevated the sum borrowed to the *polis*. Therefore these cases do not provide a satisfactory parallel for the fact that the *basileus* is consistently reported without the name in every occurrence, as also observed by Filocamo (2012: 134 n.164).

<sup>326</sup> De Franciscis (1972: 75-84).

<sup>327</sup> Cf. Filocamo (2012: 127).

grounds are reasonably solid, and the presence or absence of the aspiration mark in itself does not offer a more compelling dating criterion, i.e. one solid enough to make us reject Fuda's sequences. Moreover, we should observe that tablets inscribed in the same year, such as tabs. 4, 5, and 22, present some linguistic differences one from another. For instance, we have ephelecytic *nu* and the form  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in tab. 4, but  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  and no ephelecytic *nu* in tab. 5, and the form  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  again in tab. 22. Such discrepancies in the language of three tablets dating to the same year point to different attitudes on the part of the writers rather than to a homogeneous transition from the employment of one form to another, as Ghinatti's method using the presence of the aspiration mark presumes. It follows that the presence of initial aspiration alone does not provide compelling evidence for an earlier stage of the *corpus*; similarly, if no decisive argument can be found for choosing between the hypothesis of the foreign ruler and that of the local magistrate, clearly there are no strong bases for considering the *basileus* tablets as a compact group.

The most recent contribution to the question of the chronology of the tablets has been made by Filocamo, who attempted to date some of the tablets on the basis of monograms readable on a number of coins from Locri, following a suggestion already made by Fuda.<sup>328</sup> Filocamo hypothesised that the monograms on fourth- and third-century coins could possibly be interpreted as standing for the names of the eponymous magistrates under whom these were struck.<sup>329</sup> Observing that the names of some of the eponyms occurring in the tablets were potentially compatible with the abbreviations on these coins, Filocamo proposed connections between a number of tablets and coins, suggesting in particular that the eponyms of tabs. 1, 11, 12, 19, 23, 24, 25 and 34 are most plausibly identifiable in monograms on coins dating to the first two decades of the third century.<sup>330</sup> Filocamo's hypothesis is certainly fascinating and not unreasonable; however, the connections proposed do not provide secure evidence

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<sup>328</sup> Fuda (1992c).

<sup>329</sup> For the date of these coins cf. Pozzi Paolini (1977; 1979).

<sup>330</sup> For the purposes of this study, I will not report here the full details of Filocamo's connections between tablets and coins. The connections here mentioned are assumed to be more reliable than others since the eponyms in these tablets would be the only compatible with the monograms on coins in the entire *corpus*; further connections are suggested by Filocamo on a more speculative basis.

for the dating of the tablets since the assumption that the monograms on coins refer to eponyms and not, for instance, to monetary magistrates, is not independently supported. Furthermore, there is the possibility, acknowledged by Filocamo, that no tablet was written in the year in which a series was struck; if this were the case, then it is not possible to be certain that a tablet has been correctly connected with a particular set of coins on the basis of it having the only eponym compatible with the monogram on these, as the eponym under which the series was struck may simply not appear in our tablets.

Thus, despite the extensive and wide-ranging discussion of the subject, the evidence available proves to be insufficient to solve definitively the questions of relative and absolute chronology. Nonetheless, previous contributions undoubtedly have the merit of indicating at least which of the possible options seem the most plausible, and which on the contrary are not tenable. Against this background we may propose a comprehensive new reconstruction. Leaving aside the question of the identity of the *basileus*, the hypothesis that the tablets connected with the *basileus* form a chronologically coherent group, rather than being scattered throughout the *corpus*, might find support in an observation of Musti. In particular, in the course of a discussion of the mutually exclusive presence of the *basileus* and the *phatarchoi* in the tablets, as the latter are occasionally mentioned as the recipients of the money borrowed from the sanctuary, but never occur when the loan is taken for the contribution to the *basileus* (on the basis that he was the consignee of the sum in such cases), Musti noticed that when the sum is sought for the contribution to the *basileus*, the *purgopoia* never appears as the purpose for which the loan is sought.<sup>331</sup>

It seems therefore that a loan for the *basileus* excludes one for the *purgopoia*; the motivations for this might be two: either the building of towers was not needed in the years of the contribution to the *basileus*, or the *basileus* himself would have been responsible for the fortification works. The first option would fit very well with the identification of this individual with Agathocles: indeed, we may hypothesise that the contribution was paid to him in exchange for military defence against the Brettii and, as a consequence of being protected by Agathocles' army, it seems conceivable that Locri was not in need of work on the towers. Here we should recall that two of the *basileus* tablets (tab. 8 via tab. 31 and tab. 35) are securely datable to the Agathoclean

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<sup>331</sup> Musti (1979: 218).

period on the basis of references to the Agathoclean ponderal system. The second option, on the other hand, would imply that in the years of the contribution the expenses for fortification works were administrated by the *basileus* rather than the *phatarhoi*, who elsewhere appear as recipients of the sums borrowed, in one case explicitly for the purpose of *purgopoiia* (tab. 16). In this case, however, the reason why the money for the *purgopoiia* is sometimes entrusted to the *basileus* would be unclear, unless it is assumed that in a certain period the *basileus*, and not the *phatarhoi*, had responsibility for the sums received.<sup>332</sup> Therefore, in both cases it seems that the *basileus* tablets form a coherent group within the *corpus*, either referring to the years of Agathocles' presence in the area of Locri, or related to a period in which the money for the fortification of the *polis* was not administrated by the *phatarhoi*.

In support of this supposition, it is significant that, according to the relative sequences based on succession of magistracies, the tablets mentioning or connected with the *basileus* are always earlier than those having ἐν τὰν πυργοποιίαν as the purpose of the loan, while it is never the case that a tablet mentioning the *purgopoiia* precedes one mentioning the *basileus*. In this connection, it is crucial that three of the tablets ascribable to the *basileus* group are securely datable to the Agathoclean period (tabs. 8, 31, 35). In addition, Blomqvist's observation that all the tablets mentioning this individual have the form ἰαρός instead of ἰερός would fit well with this suggestion. In fact, it is remarkable that nine of the total of thirteen tablets with the form ἰαρός in the *corpus* either mention the *basileus* or are related to tablets in which the *basileus* occurs (in particular: tab. 8 is contemporary to 31, which mentions the *basileus*; tab. 32 precedes 23, which mentions the *basileus*; tab. 33 is probably close in time to 35, which mentions the *basileus*; 34 precedes 1, which mentions the *basileus*). The fact that the majority of tablets reading ἰαρός are connected with the *basileus* is thus noteworthy and, if it is not merely a matter of chance, would further support the argument that the *basileus* tablets were all written around the same period.

Relative sequences displaying the anteriority of the *basileus* tablets compared to the *purgopoiia* ones, combined with the evidence for a date in the Agathoclean period for three out of eleven tablets comprised in the *basileus* group, together with the consistent use of ἰαρός instead of ἰερός (while ἰερός is frequently used in the rest

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<sup>332</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 217.

of the *corpus*), provides a consistent clue for considering the *basileus* tablets as a chronologically defined group, earlier than (most of) the rest of the *corpus*, which in the majority of cases reports the tower-building as the purpose of the loan. On this ground it seems legitimate to distinguish at least two groups within the archive, an earlier one located in the Agathoclean period or before (thus between the late fourth and the first decade of the third century) and a second one afterwards:<sup>333</sup>

Tab.	ιαϞ- /ιϞϞ-	<Ϟ>	Other notable features	Purpose	Sequence
32	ιαϞ-	no		decree; restitution; purpose not said	earlier than 23
23	ιαϞ-	yes (incon- sistent)		<i>basileus</i>	earlier than 25, perhaps earlier than 34-1
30	ιαϞ-	yes (incon- sistent)	/eo/ > /eu/	<i>basileus</i>	earlier than 12, 27 and 15, thus also earlier than 26, 11, 18 and 6.
8	ιαϞ-	no	ποί + acc.;	ποί τὰς εἰκόνας	Agathoclean
31	ιαϞ-	no		<i>basileus</i>	Agathoclean  perhaps earlier than 14
35	ιαϞ-	yes		<i>basileus</i>	Agathoclean
34	n/a	no		not said	one year earlier than

<sup>333</sup> The order in which the tablets are listed in the tables below is provided *exempli gratia*, although conformity to the known successions of magistrates has been attempted.

					1
1	n/a	no		<i>basileus</i>	
13	ιαϞ-	no		<i>basileus</i>	earlier than 17, close to 25
25	ιαϞ-	no	ποιί + acc.	ἐν τὰν ὀχύρωσιν τᾶς πόλιος καὶ ποιὶ τὰ βέλεα (the <i>basileus</i> collects a ninth of the cereals)	
33	ιαϞ-	no		not said; restitution	close to 35, perhaps earlier than 16
Total years represented in these tablets: 10					

**Table 2.2** Earlier group (*basileus*): late fourth/first decade of the third century

If the tablets referring to the *purgopoia* are all later than the *basileus* group, and thus ascribable to the early third century onwards, this second, later group would comprise tabs. 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26, 29, 36 and 37:

Tab.	ιαϞ- /ιεϞ-	<ι>	Other notable features	Purpose	Sequence
12	ιεϞ-	yes	misplaced final <i>iota</i>	<i>purgopoia</i>	perhaps earlier than 26
15	ιεϞ-	yes (incon- sistent)	ποι- + acc. (?) misplaced final <i>iota</i>	<i>purgopoia</i>	earlier than 26
16	ιεϞ-	yes		<i>purgopoia</i>	earlier than 19, 36 and 6
37	ιεϞ-	no		<i>purgopoia</i>	earlier than

					24, 26, 36, 6
24	ἰεϞ-	no		<i>purgopoiia</i>	close to 26, earlier than 36 and 6
26	ἰεϞ-	yes		<i>purgopoiia</i>	close to 24
36	ἰαϞ-	no	ποί + acc. /εο/ > /ευ/	<i>purgopoiia</i>	earlier than 6
11	ἰεϞ-	no	/εο/ > /ευ/	<i>purgopoiia</i>	close to 17, earlier than 6 and 18
17	ἰεϞ-	yes	/εο/ > /ευ/	<i>purgopoiia</i>	close to 6
6	ἰεϞ-	no		<i>purgopoiia</i>	close to 17, perhaps earlier than 2
18	ἰεϞ-	no		<i>purgopoiia</i> , ἐν τὰν ἄλλαν οικονομίαν	
19	ἰεϞ-	no		<i>purgopoiia</i>	
3	ἰεϞ-	no	/εο/ > /ευ/	<i>purgopoiia</i>	
10	ἰεϞ-	no		<i>purgopoiia</i>	
29	ἰεϞ-	no		<i>purgopoiia</i>	
Total years represented in these tablets: 15					

**Table 2.3** Later group (*purgopoiia*): after ca.290

Of the tablets remaining, there are four in which the purpose of the loan is not specified (tabs. 2, 14, 27, 28), one in which the purpose is ἐν τὰν ὀχύρωσιν τὰς πόλιος (tab. 7), three concerning repayments (tabs. 9, 20, 21), and another three, related to the same year, which possibly point to a period of food shortage (tabs. 4, 5, 22). Of these tablets, 14 can possibly be placed within or slightly after the tablets of our first group not only on account of the form ἰαϞός, but also as the eponym of this tablet is potentially identifiable with a *probolos* in tab. 8, which dates to the

Agathoclean period. Tab. 7 is known to be earlier than 2, which is possibly later than 6, in case the eponym Κοβ Χαρίξενος is identified with the *probolos* Κοβ Χαρίξενος Ὀναίω of tab. 6; if this is correct, tab. 2 can be placed at a relatively late stage in the *corpus*, and consequently tab. 7 is more likely to be placed among the tablets following the *basileus* ones; it also shows the form ἰερός normally occurring in the *purgopoiia* tablets, and the use of the relative pronoun instead of the article with relative force also points to a later date. Tab. 28 is earlier than a number of tablets belonging to the *purgopoiia* group, namely 3, 17 and 6, and one of the *proboloi* in this tablet appears as *prodikos* in tab. 16, which suggests that not many years separate tab. 28 from 16; as tab. 16 follows tab. 33, located in the first group since presumably close to 35, and at the same time precedes a number of tablets of the *purgopoiia* group, tab. 28 seems also likely to refer to the early years after the *basileus* tablets. The preference for the form ἰερός might further suggest a date later than the *basileus* group, provided that the use of ἰερός is generally indicative of an early stage, as we are assuming. We should also place tab. 27 among the earliest of the second group, which is later than 30 (in the first group) but earlier than 18 and possibly 37, if the eponym of 37 is identifiable in one of the *hieromnamones* of 27. Presumably tab. 27 is also close to 12, as the same individual is *probolos* in 27 and *prodikos* in 12. Since tabs. 37 and 12 are located in the earlier second group, tab. 27 should also belong to the period immediately after the *basileus* tablets.

Tabs. 9, 20 and 21 are distinct from the rest of the *corpus* since they offer no connections with other tablets and record restitutions instead of borrowings; the only other tablets attesting to a restitution are 32, among the earliest ones according to the sequences of magistrates, and 33, also close to the *basileus* group, which however records both a loan and a repayment. Tabs. 20 and 21 possibly offer evidence for a late date within the *corpus*, as 20 attests to the *mitior* vocalism and some *koine* features not found elsewhere (see particularly the standard form χρῆσις instead of the local form χρῆσις), while in 21 the weight of the gold returned to the sanctuary is given in Euboean *mnai* instead of the *sikelikon talanton* consistently used elsewhere in the tablets. Tabs. 20 and 21 are also the only ones in the *corpus* mentioning the *polemarchoi*, which may suggest a connection between the two. A later date for these tablets concerning restitutions (9, 20, 21) may also be suggested by the fact that repayment of debts might not be compatible with the troubled period implied in the

*purgopoiia* group. In fact, none of the tablets mentioning a sum borrowed for the *purgopoiia* also attests to repayment of older debts. Rather, a period of relative stability, such as the one immediately following the Pyrrhic war, would seem more appropriate to the repayment of debts on the part of the *polis*. This view is particularly plausible if we consider that the repayment mentioned in tab. 9 is intended for the realisation of some work in the temple of Zeus itself, since it is reported in Livy (29.8.9) that in 276 Pyrrhus raided Locri's temples, including, notably, the Persephoneion.<sup>334</sup> In this connection, note that the gold returned in tab. 21 is also intended for the gilding of a shield housed in the temple.<sup>335</sup>

Finally, tabs. 4, 5 and 22, all referring to the same year, might be possibly placed between the two groups, on account of a *probolos* in these tablets mentioned as *prodikos* in tab. 37, among the earliest of the *purgopoiia* group on the basis of relative sequences of magistrates. It is moreover possible that Τηλ Εὐθυμίδας occurring in tab. 4 as the eponym in office two years before 4 is to be identified with Τηλ Εὐθυμίδας eponym of tab. 33; if this were to prove correct, then 4, 2 and 22 would have been inscribed two years after 33, which is not distant from 35, securely dating to the Agathoclean period. The fact that tabs. 4 and 22 have the form *ιαρός* might suggest closeness to the *basileus* tablets, while tab. 5 with *ιέρος* and an instance of *mitior* vocalism in the genitive singular ending of a personal name seems to look forward to the later group.

Tab.	ιαρ- /ιέρ-	<ι>	Other notable features	Purpose	Sequence
4	ιαρ-	no		decree; importation of cereals	perhaps two years later
5	ιέρ-	no	<i>mitior</i> gen. sg. Δεινάρχου	decree; price reduction on wheat and beans	than 33, close to 37
22	ιαρ-	no		not said	
14	ιαρ-	yes		not said	perhaps the eponym is

<sup>334</sup> Del Monaco (2013: 49-50).

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.* 70-71.

					<i>probolos</i> in 8
27	ιεϞ-	yes	misplaced final <i>iota</i>	not said	later than 30, earlier than 18, perhaps earlier than 37, close to 12
28	ιεϞ-	no		not said	earlier than 3, 17 and 6, close to 16
7	ιεϞ-	no	omitted final <i>iota</i> relative pron.	ἐν τᾶν ὀχύρωσιν τᾶς πόλιος	earlier than 2
2	ιεϞ-	no		not said	perhaps later than 6
9	n/a	no	ποί + acc.;	restitution	
21	ιεϞ-	no	ποί + acc.;	restitution	
20	ιεϞ-	no	<i>mitior</i> <i>koine</i> features	restitution	
Total years represented in these tablets: 9					

**Table 2.4** Remaining tablets

Since the assumption that the tablets connected with the *basileus* are earlier than those mentioning the *purgopoiia* is supported by several different factors (i.e. conformity to the relative sequences of magistrates, some references to the Agathoclean period in three tablets, consistent use of ιαρός), while no convincing counterargument can be found, it seems reasonable to rely on this reconstruction for the interpretation of the irregular writing of the aspiration mark and of the *koine* features in the text of the tablets. In particular, it is our aim to identify the

chronological collocation of such features within the *corpus* in order to assess whether an influence via Sicily is the more plausible explanation for their presence.

Consistent use of the Doric form  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the tablets taken to be the earliest in the *corpus*, namely those connected with the *basileus*, has already been noted. Assuming a date in the late fourth and early years of the third century for these tablets, the use of  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  instead of  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  should probably be considered as a conservative feature of the official register on account of dedications from Locri already attesting to the form  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the fourth century: see I.Locri 56, 64, 65 (4th c.), 66, 67 (4th/3rd c.). According to this reconstruction, we postulate that the non-local  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  had not yet replaced the traditional form  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in all contexts when the transactions started to be recorded in the tablets, but that the scribes at least remained familiar with the old traditional usage at this early stage. In particular, if our succession of the two groups of tablets is correct, the replacement of the adjective  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  with  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the official language of the tablets would have occurred after the first decade of the third century.<sup>336</sup>

Since the form  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  first appears in fourth-century dedications, an initial date in the late fourth century should be postulated for the infiltration of the non-local form into the Locrian dialect. This would also conform with the attestation of the particle  $\epsilon\iota$  and the article  $\omicron\iota$  in I.Locri 91, a *defixio* dated to the late fourth or early third century on palaeographical and archaeological grounds, pointing to a first penetration of Attic-Ionic elements in the local dialect around this period. However, the introduction of  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the official language only in the post-Agathoclean years seems to indicate that appropriate circumstances for attribution of prestige to the foreign form did not exist before then. Such circumstances might be identified in the long-term contact with speakers of the Sicilian variety of Greek. In this respect, it is important to recall here that the form  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  is the one normally employed in Sicily from the early Hellenistic period, including in the hybrid formation  $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu/\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  also found in Locri.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Note that only one instance of  $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  is found among the *purgopoiia* tablets (tab. 36), which may be interpreted as an archaising feature.

<sup>337</sup> For  $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu/\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  specifically see: IGDS I 204, 209 (Entella, 254-241?); 206 (Nakone, 254-241?); IG XIV 291 (Segesta, Hellenistic period); 288a (Segesta, 2nd c.); SEG 49:1271 (Halontion, 2nd c.); IG XIV 423-430 (Tauromenion, 1st c. Manganaro 1988).

On the other hand, the number of instances of the written aspiration mark is no larger in the tablets of the *basileus* group than in those ascribed to a more advanced stage. In general, the employment, though sporadic, of the aspiration mark should be regarded as part of traditional local use, and for this reason used in official documents alongside other distinctive dialectal features. Although it remains unknown whether inconsistency reflects a graphic or a phonetic development, it is reasonable to suppose that recording of initial aspiration is connected with the scribe's familiarity with the old local practice and his intention to abide by it. Progressive disuse of the aspiration mark seems not attributable to direct impact of the *koine* orthographic practice on account of the sporadic examples already occurring in the *basileus* tablets, which indicates that the beginning of the development predates the archive. Since, as previously noted, fourth-century dedications still consistently have the aspiration mark (except, possibly, in the article), the initial date for general loss of aspiration should be placed towards the last decades of the fourth century. This, however, would seem a very early date for any direct influence from the *koine*, and the same would apply to the first attestations of clear *koine* features in Locri.

The continuing occasional occurrence of the sign in the group of tablets assumed to be later might either be explained as a conservative graphic feature employed by some of the scribes, or may suggest that an actual phonetic change was still in progress in the early third century, and that a minority of individuals could still produce and perceive aspiration at word-beginning and write it down according to the old usage (note that in Kollyra's inscription, dating to the third century, the aspiration mark is never recorded, presumably reflecting the less formal genre of the text). Again, while the phenomenon seems not directly ascribable to influence from the Attic-Ionic *koine*, the overall context supports the possibility that it occurred as the result of contact with the Sicilian Greeks in the late fourth century, or, at least, that contact documented in this period reinforced a local independent phonetic development. Indeed, we observed that evidence for dialect interference already towards the turn of the third century is provided by the appearance of the form  $\text{ἰεϞός}$  in fourth-century dedications. Also, the fact that in I.Locri 66 (4th/3rd c.) the adjective  $\text{ἰεϞός}$  occurs without the aspiration mark and in connection with a genitive ending of the *mitior* type, as opposed to the *severior* vocalism attested in the tablets and in

Kollyra's 'judicial prayer', might further suggest connection between loss of aspiration and contact with external varieties.

Although the evidence is not conclusive, when the chronological distribution of the tablets is considered and compared with that of the private inscriptions, inconsistent uses in the language of the Locrian tablets cumulatively provide very plausible evidence for dialect contact with the neighbouring areas in the late fourth and early third centuries. In particular, the emergence of  $\text{ἰεϞόϞ}$  in the official language of the tablets following Agathocles' intervention in South Italy can be connected with the presence of the Sicilians in South Italy in the early years of the third century. However, the appearance of *koine* features already in late fourth-century private inscriptions, i.e. at a date that seems too early for assuming infiltration from the east directly, together with loss of aspiration found in the earliest tablets, plausibly points to interaction with the Sicilian dialectal area already in the last decades of the fourth century, influencing first the spoken language and informal registers. Proximity to Rhegion and numismatic findings informing us of the Locrian mint striking coins in alignment with the Syracusan types since at least ca.330 support such a hypothesis by suggesting closeness and frequency of contact with the Sicilian area.<sup>338</sup>

The observed congruencies do not decisively rule out the possibility of an independent development in the case of loss of initial aspiration; in fact, this process is also observed elsewhere in Greek-speaking areas. Similarly, it might be possible to argue that the form  $\text{ἰεϞόϞ}$  is among the earliest *koine* features to spread.<sup>339</sup> However, the number of coincidences in the picture would be suspiciously high when the broader historical context is considered alongside the linguistic data; the advantage of the contact hypothesis over the non-contact one lies in its explanatory potential, as it draws all the relevant factors together in a coherent, realistic way. The supporter of the non-contact hypothesis, on the other hand, will have to recognise the minor inconsistencies in the language of the Locrian bronze tablets corresponding to uses of the Greek of Sicily around the same period, the contemporary involvement in the Sicilian affairs, the earlier and more frequent employment of such features in lower registers, and absence of these in contemporary inscriptions from the north of Magna

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<sup>338</sup> Note that the same type of coinage was struck in Rhegion around the same years; see n.99.

<sup>339</sup> Bubeník (1989: 84-86, 101-102, 109, 116, 130-131, 158-159); Bile (1996: 135).

Graecia, and offer a solid argument for considering these simply as a series of coincidences.

#### 2.4 *Koine via Sicily: Croton*

In our survey of parallel attestations of the inconsistent uses attested in Locri elsewhere in Magna Graecia, we observed that, while the northern regions do not present the same developments observed in Locri, Croton and its area also show influence from the *koine* at a comparatively early stage, as well as abandonment of the aspiration mark already in the fourth century. In fact, we noted that the degree of *koineisation* reached in Croton towards the turn of the third century seems even more advanced than that observed in Locri. In Croton the *mitior* vocalism already appears in a financial account, and thus in an official context, in the late fourth or early third century (SEG 53:1077), and the same inscription also shows the Attic-Ionic masculine plural article *oi*. The document, despite being very short and fragmentary, is of particular interest since it is contemporary with the Locrian bronze tablets and comparable to these in terms of register. It is thus crucial to observe that, by contrast, consistent employment of the *mitior* vocalism does not occur systematically in Locri's official inscriptions before tab. 20, plausibly attributable to the very latest stage of composition of the archive, alongside other *koine* features; the article *oi*, moreover, while occurring in a *defixio* dating to the turn of the third century (I.Locri 91), is not employed at all in the Locrian bronze tablets, which consistently have the Doric equivalent *τοί*. It is necessary thus to examine whether the evidence from Croton is also compatible with the hypothesis of an early spread of Attic-Ionic features to the south of Magna Graecia via Sicily.

In fact, as the historical events involving Croton during the fourth and the early third centuries are surveyed, this hypothesis acquires further plausibility: according to one ancient source (Dion.Hal. 20.7.3; but see also Liv. 24.3.8; Athen. 12.58), Croton experienced a twelve-year period of Sicilian domination after being defeated by Dionysius in 379.<sup>340</sup> The *polis* is then said to have requested and received aid from the Syracusans around 325 in order to counteract the attacks from the

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<sup>340</sup> De Sensi Sestito (1982: 17 n.15).

Brettii.<sup>341</sup> Support for a Sicilian presence in Croton around this time may be possibly found in the recovery of a fragmentary bronze *lamella* from the Heraion at Capo Colonna dating to the fourth century, probably recording an emancipation (IGDGG II 88), which attests to a *mitior* Doric Greek dialect and, most notably, to the athematic infinitive ending -μειν (εἴμειν) characteristic of the contemporary Greek of Sicily, conceivably suggesting Sicilian provenance of the writer.<sup>342</sup> Note further that Terina seems to mint coins based on the Sicilian ponderal system and types in those years.<sup>343</sup> In the later fourth century Croton was then ruled by the tyrant Menedemos, before being eventually taken by Agathocles in 299, who established a garrison. The *triskeles* appearing in coin issues from Terina dating to ca.300 further confirms the activity of Agathocles in the area of Croton around the turn of the third century.<sup>344</sup>

Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the political turmoil of the fourth century and the active involvement of the Syracusans in the local administration on

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<sup>341</sup> See p.17.

<sup>342</sup> Cf. Maddoli (1984) for the text of this inscription. The infinitive ending -μειν is not found elsewhere in the West outside Sicily. It is also attested in Rhodes, but in the light of the events known for this period, as well as geographical proximity, it seems more plausible to recognise the form as Sicilian, rather than attributing it to a Rhodian visitor. Salvaneschi (1995-1996: 89) considered the athematic infinitive ending -μειν as an isogloss that had spread from Sicily, without, however, accounting for the fact that it is not found elsewhere in South Italy. Dubois (2002: 148) argued for a Sicilian cultural influence on Croton, on the basis of the ending -μειν also being transmitted in the text of Epicharmus (see Rodríguez Noriega Guillén 1996: xxii; Cassio 2002b: 54-55). However, if this were the case, it would be hard to explain why a foreign literary form should have been used in this text, in the place of the local normal one. More plausibly, the presence of the Sicilians in the area of Croton in the fourth century (either following Dionysius' victory in 379, or around 325) would suit the recovery of this text in Sicilian Doric.

<sup>343</sup> De Sensi Sestito (2002: 399); cf. Talericio Mansitieri (1993a: 122-126; 1993b: 151).

<sup>344</sup> Holloway-Jenkins 106-115; Rutter 2641-2 (drachms); De Sensi Sestito (1999: 107-109, 110); Talericio Mansitieri (1993b: 157-159); Consolo Langer (1995: 102-103). For the relation with Agathocles implied by the appearance of the symbol in South Italian coinage see Consolo Langer (2000: 311-314); De Sensi Sestito (2015: 58).

several occasions could well have had an impact on the language of official documents, with consequent loss of peculiarities such as the *severior* vocalism to the advantage of the forms that occurred in Sicilian Greek and were acquiring increasing prestige across the Greek-speaking world. The early loss of written aspiration in Croton and its area fits neatly into the same context, supposing influence from the graphic conventions already adopted in Sicily. In the case of Locri on the other hand, it is essential to observe that, despite frequent contacts and a favourable attitude, the *polis* had never suffered conquest, foreign domination or population replacement, but preserved its political identity and autonomy at least until the Romans settled in Magna Graecia in the aftermath of the Pyrrhic war. Closeness with Sicily therefore never implied actual administrative control on the part of Syracusans, nor any necessity on the part of the Locrians to identify themselves politically with Sicily. The campaigns fought with Dionysius against the Italiote League did not create the necessity for linguistic alignment, as is also indicated by the absence of a unitary dialectal identity on the part of the League itself, comprising Rhegion as well as Croton, Thurii, Caulonia, Metapontion, Heraclea, Terina and Hipponion. Equally, supposed collaboration with Agathocles during his campaigns in Bruttium was directed against a non-Greek enemy, and thus the adoption of the dialect of their defender was certainly not needed by the Locrians as part of a political strategy.

Accordingly, the Locrian dialect remained the language of the local administration until a comparatively advanced stage, and offered a prestigious alternative to the *koine* in official contexts until at least the mid-third century. Acquisition of forms from the Sicilian *koine* is instead assumed, in accordance with modern theories of dialect accommodation, to have been the natural and subconscious result of frequent verbal interaction with speakers of this variety in a context of a positive attitude towards them on the part of the Locrian population; external features are expected to have first influenced the spoken language, and then gradually infiltrated into formal registers. The fact that Agathocles' army was more active in nearby areas at the same time, for instance in Croton, but presumably also in Hipponion (for which no epigraphic evidence survives for the period in examination), probably had an impact on the local dialects in terms of early *koineisation*, as the case of Croton suggests, and could also have been a determinant for the acceptance of these forms in Locri in the early years of the third century.

## 2.5 Conclusions: towards a new assessment of dialectal areas in early Hellenistic Magna Graecia

From a closer analysis of the epigraphic material dating to the fourth and third centuries it emerges that the dialect of Locri remained markedly local in written contexts until at least the first decades of the third century, and that the variety of language that was assigned prestige and promoted for the local administration was precisely the traditional local dialect. This was characterised by a number of features shared neither with Attic-Ionic nor with most other Doric dialects, including those of neighbouring areas; some of these were inherited from the motherland, such as the preposition ἐν with the accusative, others developed locally, for instance the preposition ποί and the *severior* vocalism itself.

At the same time, the fourth- and third-century inscriptions from this area also attest to a certain degree of change and innovation occurring in the local dialect, particularly observable in the private and less formal inscriptions but also emerging in the form of sporadic infiltration in the more controlled language of the bronze tablets. These changes, particularly with regard to the loss of initial aspiration and of the second element in final long diphthongs, along with *koine* features, seem to have been occurring in Locri independently of northern areas, including Taras, Heraclea and Metapontion, in this period. On the other hand, early *koine* features, as well as loss of the aspiration mark, are also observed in Croton in the same period. It seems therefore that the south of Magna Graecia experienced earlier exposure to *koine* features (i.e. already towards the end of the fourth century) compared to northern areas. In order to account for such a discrepancy, it is of crucial importance to observe that the Greek of nearby Sicily shows a comparatively significant and consistent use of Attic-Ionic features in third-century public inscriptions, presumably as the result of a large migratory influx towards the island under Timoleon, and that the historical context offers evidence for long-term contacts between Sicily and the south of Magna Graecia around 300. Indeed, any theory of a direct spread of the Attic-Ionic *koine* to South Italy at such an early time seems difficult to sustain, whereas indirect spread via Sicily as the result of frequent interaction would fit well with the full array of available data.

The inclusion of Rhegion, on the strait, to the Sicilian linguistic area from the first half of the fourth century might well have further influenced the spread of features from Sicily to the southernmost regions of South Italy.

While in Croton prestige seems to have been attributed to such external features already around the turn of the third century, as these occur in the language of an official document dating to that time, their use in the contemporary dialect of Locri is less in comparison, as the traditional local dialect here remained the variety employed for the official register. This difference between Locri and Croton in terms of acceptance and attribution of prestige to external features around 300, may be explained in the light of historical events: in the course of the fourth century Croton suffered a great degree of political turmoil, including the twelve-year Syracusan domination, before being eventually taken and guarded by Agathocles and his army in 299. It seems likely that such political and administrative changes had some effects on the variety of language promoted by the local institutions, and therefore that local linguistic peculiarities lost prestige at an earlier stage at Croton compared to Locri, where, by contrast, closeness and interaction with the Sicilian Greeks did not involve loss of local autonomy and identity and, consequently, of the prestige attributed to the local language. Therefore, the influence of external features in Locri remained primarily restricted to the lower registers (including, one assumes, the spoken language), but nonetheless sporadically infiltrated into the conservative higher language. Significantly, after the years of Agathocles' campaigns in South Italy, certain features, particularly the adjective *ἰερός*, seem to have gradually received the prestige necessary for acceptance in the official language in place of the older local form.

Further support for the hypothesis that contact with the Greeks of Sicily around the turn of the third century should be connected with the initial spread of *koine* features in the south of Magna Graecia is provided by the changes of spelling in the Oscan inscriptions from Hipponion and Caulonia dating around 300 that we discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>345</sup> We observed that the use of the digraph <ει> to spell Oscan /e/, and the development of the new spelling <ηι> for the Oscan diphthong /ei/, in the inscriptions from Hipponion most probably occurred after the first occupation of the *polis* on the part of the Brettii in the second half of the fourth

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<sup>345</sup> See 1.3.2.

century and before the second occupation in the third century. Therefore, the new writing practices seem to have been developed precisely after Agathocles' military intervention in the early third century. If this is correct, it would be reasonable to suppose a specific connection between the introduction of the monophthongised spellings <ει> and <ου> in the Oscan inscriptions in this area and the long-term presence of Agathocles' army in the region in the first decade of the third century. If, as we proposed, the use of the spellings <ει> and <ου> for real diphthongs in the Oscan inscriptions from Hipponion and Caulonia before ca.300 reflected the non-monophthongised value that these spellings had among the local Greek communities, and if the use of <ει> and <ου> for Oscan /e/ and /u/ after the turn of the third century is correctly put in relation with changes in the phonology and orthography of the local Greek dialects, a connection between Agathocles' military campaigns in south Magna Graecia and the initial spread of the *koine* in this area appears plausible.

We may observe that there are some other features in the language of the inscriptions of Locri (i.e. besides the infiltration of Attic-Ionic features and the loss of initial aspiration) that perhaps may point to contact with Sicily. One of these is the term *κεφάλωμα* for 'total' used in Locri and also attested in Akragas (IGDS I 177.2, 450-400), in contrast to *κεφαλά* found in Heraclea. Another one may be the dative plural ending *-οις* extended to the athematic declension, attested in Locri in *ἱερομναμόνοις* in tab. 20.17. This development, for which no further examples are extant in Locri's inscriptions, is in fact widely attested in the official inscriptions of Tauromenion (IG XIV 423-430 *passim*; 432.8, 1st c. Manganaro 1988) and once in a later dedication from Akrai (SEG 32:836.9; late 1st c./early 1st c. AD).

Méndez Dosuna considered the hypothesis of a possible influence of Locri on Tauromenion on the grounds that the analogical extension of the ending *-οις* is also attested in Northwest Greek (in Aetolia, Western Locris and the area around the Malian Gulf), and therefore could have been imported from the motherland in Locri.<sup>346</sup> On closer inspection, however, it is not a straightforward matter to determine whether this usage really spread from Locri to Tauromenion. In fact, Méndez Dosuna also observed that in the Hellenistic period this is attested in a number of regions independently of Northwest Greek dialects, e.g. in Laconia, Arcadia and Delphi, which were either not involved in the affairs of the Aetolian League or attest to the

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<sup>346</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 473-487); see also Curbera (1994: 95).

form before becoming involved in these.<sup>347</sup> Thus in these areas it seems to have spontaneously developed as an analogical formation meant to preserve a recognisable pattern in certain consonant-stem nouns throughout the declension.<sup>348</sup> Accordingly, occurrence in Locri is not in itself compelling evidence for Northwest inheritance, since it cannot be excluded that the phenomenon developed locally.<sup>349</sup> In either case, the presence of this feature both in Locri and Tauromenion may offer evidence for dialect contact between the two areas, unless it developed independently in both.

Omission or misplacement of the second element in final long diphthongs in Locri, occasionally observed in the text of the tablets and noticeable to a greater degree in Kollyra's inscription, could perhaps provide further evidence for contact with the Sicilian dialectal area, provided that this phenomenon in Sicily had started independently of the *koine* already in the fifth century; but the evidence available for this, as previously discussed, is not sufficient at the moment. Such misspellings in Locri are not found in the *basileus* tablets, while they occur in three of the tablets which we placed among the earliest of the second group (tabs. 12, 15 and 27) and in tab. 7, presumably in the later years of the group that we placed after Agathocles' campaigns. The appearance of this feature thus seems connected to a non-initial stage within the archive; in particular, if the earlier tablets of the second group are correctly dated around the second decade of the third century, the earliest date for this development should be identified in this period on the basis of its attestation in tabs. 12, 15 and 27. It is not plausible to attribute this to direct influence from the Attic-Ionic *koine*, as monophthongisation of the final long diphthongs  $-\omega\iota$  and  $-\bar{\alpha}\iota$  in the *koine* is generally not datable before at least the mid-third century.<sup>350</sup> Indeed, the 'defixio of the physicians' from Metapontion, dating to the mid-third century, despite being almost entirely written in *koine*, attests to *iota* in final long diphthongs in all occurrences, as previously discussed. Therefore, the development must be interpreted either as independent in Locri, or as due to, or reinforced by, contact with the Sicilian *koina* in the early years of the third century, provided that it had already occurred in Sicilian Greek at an earlier stage.

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<sup>347</sup> Cf. also Bubeník (1983b: 300-313).

<sup>348</sup> Méndez Dosuna (1985: 484-485).

<sup>349</sup> Mimblera (2012c: 153 with n.87).

<sup>350</sup> See n.278.

We should then remind ourselves that loss of syllabicity of the hiatus /eo/ in some onomastic environments, sporadically attested in Locri, also occurs occasionally in the Hellenistic inscriptions from Sicily, where it should be plausibly put in relation with external migrants settling in the island in the fourth century.<sup>351</sup> In this connection, the presence of this feature in both areas may perhaps be indicative of population movement between Locri and Sicily. Finally, a further clue for dialect contact may be offered by the preposition *ποί* with the accusative occasionally used instead of *ἐν* in the tablets. The phenomenon already appears in the group of the *basileus* tablets, precisely in tabs. 8 and 25, and thus the beginning of its use should date at least to the earliest stages of the archive. The use of *ποί* in this context is noteworthy, as no apparent semantic difference can be found between this and the equivalent expression using the preposition *ἐν* with the accusative: particularly indicative in this respect is the expression *ποὶ τὰν πυργοπούϊαν* in tab. 36, which regularly occurs elsewhere as *ἐν τὰν πυργοπούϊαν*. In this connection it is interesting to observe that the use of the preposition *ποτί* in a context where *ἐς/εἰς* would be expected, with the function of expressing purpose, is also attested in Sicily in a decree from Nakone (IGDS I 206.28-29, 254-241?: τὰ ποτὶ τὰν θυσίαν ὅσων χρεῖα ἐστὶ ὁ ταμίης παρεχέτω).<sup>352</sup>

While we can exclude influence from Taras in the southern regions of Magna Graecia, and it may be possible to identify, albeit cautiously in the light of what survives, some significant degree of contact with Sicily in these areas, the possibility that the dialect of Taras had a more restricted influence in neighbouring northern regions cannot be entirely ruled out on the basis of the known historical events; we mentioned Taras' role as defender of the north of Magna Graecia from the attacks of the Lucanians during the fourth century, exercised through the leadership of the

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<sup>351</sup> See n.273.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. the use of *ἐς/εἰς* in very similar phrases in e.g. IG XII,1 694.11-12 (Rhodes, shortly after 325); Schwenk 49.37-38 (Oropos, 329/8); SEG 28:103.31-32 (Eleusis, 332/1); IG II<sup>2</sup> 1264.24-27 (Attica, 300/299); II<sup>3</sup> 349.20-22 (Oropos, 332/1); XII,9 899 col.c.9 (Chalkis, 2nd c.); II,1 761.47-49 (Rhodes, 3rd c.). Compare IG V,1 1390 (Messenia, 92/91), reading: ὅσων χρεῖα ἐστὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὰ μυστήρια (143-145), but also, in the same inscription: ὅσων χρεῖα ἐστὶ ποτὶ τὰν τῶν μυστηρίων συντέλειαν (60), and: ὅσων χρεῖα ἐστὶ ποτὶ τὸ συντελεῖν τὰ μυστήρια (63-64), implying confusion and equivalence in the use of the two prepositions in this context, similar to what is observed in Locri; cf. in the same context ID 290.236 (Delos, 246).

league founded by Archytas.<sup>353</sup> We also mentioned that the treaty between the Tarentines and the Romans of the late fourth century, according to which Roman warships could not trespass beyond Cape Lacinium, might suggest that the northern part of Magna Graecia down to Cape Lacinium, immediately above Croton, was under the tutelage of Taras during the fourth century.<sup>354</sup> In principle, therefore, the historical context could support a theory of some degree of prestige attributed to Taras in the north, although we also need to bear in mind that actual Tarentine control of the local administration of neighbouring *poleis* seems never to have occurred. Accordingly, as in the case of Locri we may expect to see occasional and subconscious effects of long-term dialect accommodation rather than any deliberate or wholesale adoption of the dialect of Taras on the part of its allies.

Currently, the very small corpus of inscriptions from the area prevents us from attempting a detailed evaluation of dialect contact in the north. The only possible feature shared with the dialect of Taras that can be identified in the documentation is the short infinitive active thematic ending *-εν* attested in the fourth-century testament from Terina (IGDGG II 98.9: φυλάσσειν), in the area of Croton, and regularly in Heraclea (Tab.Heracl. I.116, 116-117 ἔχεν; 126 ἀνγράφεν; 157 παρέχεν; 170 ἠυπάρχεν).<sup>355</sup> The assumption that such a feature is attested both in the Tarentine area and in Terina as the result of the prestige exerted by the dialect of Taras on neighbouring areas, however, is far from unequivocal: indeed, the same feature could have been imported into the Achaean colonies from the motherland in Greece, if the reading ἔχεν in a third-century inscription from Dyme (Rizakis 6.3-4) is to be interpreted as a feature of the traditional local dialect; the paucity of the evidence available from Achaia in Greece further hinders our speculations.<sup>356</sup>

The outreach of our reconstructions is necessarily limited in the absence of new findings; nevertheless, in this chapter we have argued that some plausible explanatory scenarios can be traced through systematic comparison of the surviving

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<sup>353</sup> See p.17.

<sup>354</sup> See p.36.

<sup>355</sup> In the Tarentine dialect this feature was probably an innovation, as this is not attested in the inscriptions from the mother-city Sparta in Laconia; see Cassio (2002a: 447-448). For the development of this feature in general see García Ramón (1977).

<sup>356</sup> Méndez Dosuna (2013a).

linguistic data with the available historical and other contextual evidence. By systematically applying such an interdisciplinary approach, we have not only identified the weaknesses of previous hypotheses, but have also been able to establish which among competing alternative possibilities can most convincingly be proposed on the grounds of their compatibility with the full set of available data, both linguistic and historical.

### 3. Literary Dialects of Fourth- and Third-Century Magna Graecia

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In the previous chapters I have reconsidered the question of dialect contact in fourth- and third-century Magna Graecia and proposed a new hypothesis based on the evidence of the available documentary inscriptions. The points made so far have therefore concerned the language used in official and administrative contexts, which presumably carried high social prestige, and the language of less formal texts, which was presumably closer to the spoken idiom. The language of non-documentary sources such as metrical inscriptions and the literary works of authors who lived in this region has not yet been considered. This, as previously mentioned, is because linguistic choices in literary texts were made on the basis of quite different factors that require their language to be considered separately.

In particular, the employment of non-local varieties in literary texts is generally not indicative of straightforward influence from external varieties on the dialect of the author. Ancient Greek authors regularly used the linguistic forms conventionally associated with the genre in which they composed, even when these did not correspond to their native idioms; for instance, hexametric epic poetry was associated with the language of the Homeric/Ionic tradition, while the language of choral lyric primarily comprised Doric features, as the genre was developed in Doric-speaking areas.<sup>357</sup> Moreover, the language used in literary texts, despite being based on actual regional varieties, did not correspond to the dialect attested in the documentary inscriptions of any particular area at any specific time: in fact, archaic features, artificial forms and elements taken from other prestigious literary traditions could be used either because they were metrically convenient, or perhaps because they were felt to achieve specific stylistic effects. By contrast, features and developments that were peculiar to the spoken idioms of specific areas were normally avoided, presumably since they were perceived as parochial and non-prestigious in a literary context, despite being commonly used for local official documents and other types of inscription requiring a high variety.

Nonetheless, although different literary genres were conventionally associated with specific literary dialects, Greek authors did not always avoid features of their

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<sup>357</sup> Colvin (2007: 49-63); Horrocks (2010: 43-66); Tribulato (2010); Willi (2015).

native idiom when these did not correspond to the variety of Greek associated with their genre, especially before the fourth century. For instance, elegiac composers of non-Ionic origin whose work has been transmitted in manuscript (e.g. Tyrtaeus, Solon, Theognis) do attest to a minority of uses from their native dialects.<sup>358</sup> Likewise, epigrams on stone often show a mixture of local and non-local features (the latter mostly taken from the language of the epic Ionic tradition), especially before the fourth century.<sup>359</sup> In 1981 Mickey suggested that before ca.400 metrical inscriptions tended to be written ‘in a version of the local dialect which avoids dialect-characteristic features’, and that non-local features tended to be employed specifically when the equivalent local forms were not metrically suitable.<sup>360</sup> However, recent studies by Alonso Déniz and Nieto Izquierdo on the metrical inscriptions from Argolis, and by Guijarro Ruano on those from various areas of Peloponnese, have revealed that local peculiarities may occur, and therefore were not deliberately avoided, in this genre before ca.400.<sup>361</sup>

By contrast, in the course of the fourth century, the language of inscribed epigrams seems to have become increasingly associated with the Ionic literary dialect; unmarked Doric features could still occasionally occur in some areas after this date, but local peculiarities were no longer used (a few exceptions to this have been observed in votive epigrams from sanctuaries of Laconia and Argolis, and sporadically in Cretan epigrams).<sup>362</sup> We may therefore assume that before ca.400 local dialects were not considered wholly unsuitable in inscribed epigrams, but that during the fourth century literary Ionic emerged as the dialect conventionally associated with this genre at the expense of other varieties. At this stage, only supra-regional Doric forms, which sometimes did not correspond to the epichoric use in the idiom of the writer, were considered sufficiently prestigious to be used in such a context instead of Ionic.

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<sup>358</sup> Passa (2016).

<sup>359</sup> Palumbo Stracca (1987); Passa (2016).

<sup>360</sup> Mickey (1981: 55).

<sup>361</sup> Alonso Déniz-Nieto Izquierdo (2009); Guijarro Ruano (2015; 2016).

<sup>362</sup> Martínez Fernández (2006: 47); Guijarro Ruano (2016: 550).

The use of local features for literary purposes is therefore indicative of the prestige attributed to the local idiom in literary contexts. On these grounds, the investigation of local features in literary texts may provide important complementary evidence for dialect identity and prestige in South Italy. The use of Doric features in literary texts written in South Italy has been generally acknowledged; however, very few studies have investigated and discussed correspondences and differences between the language of literary texts from Magna Graecia and that of documentary inscriptions from specific areas.<sup>363</sup> A comprehensive examination of all the surviving literary texts produced in fourth- and third-century Magna Graecia, including both epigraphic texts and works transmitted in manuscript, remains to be attempted. Against the background of the documentary evidence, I shall therefore first analyse the language of metrical inscriptions from South Italy in the light of comparative evidence from other areas, and then the linguistic choices of contemporary authors whose texts have been transmitted in manuscript, all with the overall aim of determining what varieties had prestige in literary texts, and whether the language of these may provide any additional evidence for the scenario proposed on the basis of the documentary evidence.

### *3.1 Metrical inscriptions*

Fourth- and third-century metrical inscriptions from Magna Graecia consist almost entirely of ritual texts. These comprise seven inscribed gold *lamellae*, from Hipponion, Thurii and Petelia, and a lead table from Locri containing the so-called *Ephesia Grammata*.

The gold *lamellae* were found in burials, placed on the body of the deceased, and contain ritual texts in hexameters giving instructions to the departed soul about its journey to the underworld. The people with whom these objects were associated had presumably been initiated into some kind of religious mysteries; it has often been argued that these texts are likely to be connected with Orphism, but there is no

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<sup>363</sup> For partial investigations see Uguzzoni (1962-1963; 1964-1965); Cassio (1989; 2002).

general agreement on the matter.<sup>364</sup> The first of these *lamellae* was found in the area of Petelia around the mid-nineteenth century, and then five other examples were excavated at Thurii in 1879; the tablet from Hipponion, which currently represents the earliest exemplar of the *corpus*, was published in 1975. Tablets containing nearly the same texts have been found in Sicily, Crete, Thessaly and Rome; except for the *lamella* from Rome, which is ascribable to the second or third century AD, these documents have all been dated between the early fourth and the second or first centuries. The size of all of these *lamellae* is extremely small, ranging from 5.6 x 3.2 cm to 3.6 x 1.3 cm.

Textual similarities suggest that these *lamellae* reflect a tradition descending from a common origin. Pugliese Carratelli attempted a classification of the *lamellae* into two groups, one giving instructions about the encounter with Persephone and other underworld deities (Thurii OF 487-490, Rome OF 491), the other about the spring of Mnemosyne and its guardians (Hipponion OF 474, Petelia OF 476, Pharsalos OF 477, Eleutherna OF 478-483, Thessaly? OF 484, Crete OF 484a, Entella OF 475). However, there is no general agreement about this subdivision, and different groupings have been proposed.<sup>365</sup> The question of the origins of these texts, of their 'archetype', and of how they are related to each other are also highly debated. Some scholars have attempted to draw a *stemma* by applying the methodology conventionally adopted for manuscript traditions. This, however, has been criticised on the basis that, contrary to what is assumed for text manuscripts, textual variation across this *corpus* is likely to have been at least partly determined by the different contexts in which individual objects were produced and used, and therefore cannot be entirely attributed to mechanical corruptions occurring in the copying process.<sup>366</sup> Moreover, it is possible that these texts were transmitted orally, at least at an early

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<sup>364</sup> See Edmonds (2004: 36-46; 2011a); Graf-Johnston (2007: 50-65); Bernabé-Jimenéz San Cristóbal (2008: 179-205; 2011).

<sup>365</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (2001); Bernabé-Jimenéz San Cristóbal (2008: 6-7, 179-181); Edmonds (2011a).

<sup>366</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (1974); West (1975); Janko (1984; 2016); Edmonds (2004: 83); Di Benedetto (2004); Bernabé (2005: 13); Ferrari (2008a-b); Bernabé-Jimenéz San Cristóbal (2008: 227-240); Riedweg (2011).

stage.<sup>367</sup> Nonetheless, the theory that at least those *lamellae* that present nearly the same text must refer to a common archetype is now generally accepted.<sup>368</sup>

*Ephesia Grammata* is the name attributed in antiquity to a magical spell, possibly associated with Ephesus (Eust. at *Od.* 19.247). According to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 5.8.45.2) and Hesychius (ε7401), this was composed of six magical words: ἄσκι(ον), κατάσκι(ον), λίξι (probably a copying mistake from αἰξι), τετραξι, δαμναμενεύς, αἴσια or αἴσιον. The oldest attestation of these is in metrical inscriptions on lead tablets dating to the fifth and fourth or early third centuries, in which, however, they occur in the context of intelligible ritual formulae, apparently in hexameters.<sup>369</sup> Such tablets have been found in Crete, Sicily and at Locri. All of these contain protective incantations very similar to each other; thus, as in the case of the gold *lamellae*, it is assumed that these texts too descended from a common archetype.

While the religious background, the origin and the transmission of these ritual texts have been extensively discussed in recent scholarship, a comprehensive investigation of their language has not yet been attempted. In the following sections I will therefore offer a complete survey of the language of these documents and discuss the use of features taken from the literary dialect traditionally associated with hexametric poetry, i.e. the (largely) Ionic dialect of the Homeric epic, and of local forms that have no correspondents in it. Having examined these texts, I will then briefly discuss the language of the other short and fragmentary metrical inscriptions dating to this period that have been found in the area. For the convenience of the reader, the texts discussed in this section are reported in the Appendix [T1-29]; in the case of the gold *lamellae* from South Italy the texts printed in recent editions have been compared with personal photographs of the items.

### 3.1.1 The gold *lamellae*: Hipponion

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<sup>367</sup> Edmonds (2004: 32).

<sup>368</sup> For the sake of clarity, the term ‘archetype’ will be used throughout my discussion to refer to the common origin of these texts, although I acknowledge that this is inaccurate in relation to texts that have not been transmitted in manuscript.

<sup>369</sup> See Bernabé (2013).

The *lamella* from Hipponion (OF 474 [T1]) is probably the earliest of the entire *corpus* of gold *lamellae* found both in South Italy and elsewhere. A date around 400 has been generally assumed on the basis of the archaeological context in which the item was found. Such a date is compatible with the palaeographical evidence: the alphabet used is the East Ionic ‘blue’ one, instead of the archaic local alphabet of the ‘red’ type that was used at Locri, the mother-city of Hipponion, until at least the late fifth century.<sup>370</sup> A period of transition from the old local alphabet to the new East Ionic one is suggested by the absence of <η> and <ω> for the long mid-vowels, which are still represented with <ε> and <ο>, while <H> is used for initial aspiration. A date around 400 thus fits with these observations, as the East Ionic alphabet does not appear in the surviving inscriptions from Locri and other localities of Magna Graecia before the early decades of the fourth century.<sup>371</sup>

The text of this *lamella* shows a number of features of epic Ionic diction which do not correspond to the dialectal uses attested in fourth-century documentary inscriptions from Locri.<sup>372</sup> These are:

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<sup>370</sup> Note the use of <ξ> for /ks/, instead of ‘red’ <χ> attested in earlier inscriptions from Locri (I.Locri 73, second half 6th c.; 74, early 5th c.; 97, 5th c.; 78, 450-425? Jeffery 1961). Concurrently, <χ> is used for /k<sup>h</sup>/ while earlier inscriptions have <Υ> (I.Locri 76, early 5th c.). Although no other inscriptions from Hipponion survive with the exception of SEG 11:1211 (dedication from Olympia, 525-500?) and coin readings, the assumption that the archaic alphabet used at Hipponion corresponded to that of the mother-city Locri is compatible with the scant epigraphic evidence currently available.

<sup>371</sup> The earliest attestation of Ionic letterforms in Locri dates to 450-425 (I.Locri 78), but long mid-vowels appear to have remained written <ε> and <ο> until the early fourth century (I.Locri 59). For <H> still used as the aspiration mark in the late fifth and early fourth century cf. I.Locri 92 (*Ephesia Grammata*, 5th/4th c.; see 3.1.5.1) and 59-60 (first quarter 4th c.; <H> used for both aspiration and with vocalic value). ‘Half-h’ first appears in the early fourth century (e.g. I.Locri 82). Inconsistent use of <η> and <ω> in Rhegion is attested for the mid/late fifth and early fourth centuries (I.Rhegion 62, 66). In the area of Taras <η>, <ω> and ‘half-h’ first appear in an abecedary on a vase dated to the late fifth/mid-fourth century (SEG 46:1313bis).

<sup>372</sup> It is here assumed that around 400 the dialect of Hipponion was a variety of Doric (on the basis of SEG 11:1211), presumably retaining some of the features of the dialect of the mother-city. For the dialect of Locri see 2.1.

i.

- 1) Inherited /a:/ shifted to /ɛ:/ (<ε>): 2 κροῖνα; 10 Γῆς; 12 τῆς Μνῆμοσύνῃς.
- 2) 2 εἰς (<\*en-s), instead of ἐν used at Locri and in Northwest Greek and ἔς in other Doric dialects, provided that the reading is correctly interpreted as a preposition and not as the epic form of the second person indicative of the verb ‘to go’(εἶς).<sup>373</sup>
- 3) 13 ἐρέδσιν, 14 δόσδοσι: third plural active ending with assibilation of \*t and compensatory lengthening (<\*-o-nti), contrasting with Doric -οντι.
- 4) 8 οἶ: if correctly read, this is the Attic-Ionic form of the definite article, masculine plural nominative.
- 5) 8 πευκαλίμαιοι: a-stem dative plural ending -αιοι (generally interpreted as a ‘Doricised’ version of the epic-Ionic equivalent -ηισι, developed from -ησι < -αιοι under the influence of the o-stem ending -οισι)<sup>374</sup>, while Locri and Doric dialects in general have -αις, corresponding to -οις in the o-stem declension (cf. I.Locri 89.1, 9 ταῖς προπόλοις; cf. tab. 3.15 τούτοις; 5.10-11 τοῖς κυάμοις; 9.15, 33.8 ταλάντοις; 15.10 τοῖς καταβόλοις; 21.8 τοῖς προβόλοις).
- 6) 16 ηιεράν: Doric ιαρός is normally used in Locri before the late fourth century.
- 7) 1 ἄμ (with assimilation) instead of Doric κα.
- 8) 1 μέλλῃσι, second person singular subjunctive with epic ending.
- 9) 9 ἐξερέεις: uncontracted for metrical convenience; isovocalic contraction is regularly attested in the surviving inscriptions from Locri and from the rest of Magna Graecia.
- 10) Psilosis in 7 ἐπύπερθεν (Att. ἐφύπερθεν) and 7, 12 ὕδωρ (note, however, that aspiration is not etymological in this word); initial aspiration is regularly recorded in Locri until the later fourth century (except perhaps in the article).

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<sup>373</sup> See p.77.

<sup>374</sup> Dettori (1996: 294-295).

- 11) *Mitior* vocalism in 16 κλε<ε>ινοί and possibly 2 εις.<sup>375</sup>

Possibly also:

- 12) The use of the relative pronoun 15 *hán*: the article is used with relative force at Locri.
- 13) 5 ταύτας: the element του- appears to have been analogically extended to all forms of the demonstrative οὔτος at Locri.
- 14) 8 ἐν<ί>, a poetic form, if *iota* is correctly restored.<sup>376</sup>

There are other epic-Ionic forms occurring in this *lamella* that are expected not to have occurred in the local Doric dialect, but the surviving inscriptions from Locri do not offer relevant parallels; these are:

ii.

- 1) 7 ἔασι; ἐντι is expected in Doric.
- 2) 15 σύ, second person pronoun, nominative singular; τύ is expected in Doric.
- 3) Ionic adverbs in -θε(ν) instead of Doric -θα (6 πρόσθεν; 5 ἐνγύθεν; 7 ἐπύπερθεν).

The *lamella* also shows three non-Ionic features of epic diction (archaisms, Aeolisms) that are common to Doric dialects:

iii.

- 1) 2 Ἄιδαο: genitive singular ending -αο of the masculine *a*-stem nouns (usually contracted to -ᾱ in Doric dialects), considered as an archaic or Aeolic feature in epic diction.

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<sup>375</sup> See pp.77-78.

<sup>376</sup> See Tessier (1987).

- 2) 3 πάϑ: apocope of preposition, considered as an Aeolic feature in epic diction.
- 3) 14, 15 τοι: second person pronoun, dative singular (enclitic), considered as an archaic or Aeolic feature in epic diction.

A few features in this *lamella* then contrast with the forms traditionally used in Ionic epic poetry and correspond to the use attested in Locri and in Doric dialects in general:

iv.

- 1) Retention of inherited /a:/: 1 Μναμοσύνας, κρῆνα; 2 αὐτάν, λευκά; 5 ταύτας τᾶ<ς> κράνας; 6, 14 τᾶς Μναμοσύνας, λίμνας; 8 πευκαλίμαισι.
- 2) Aspiration mark written in 6 ηευρέσεις; possibly 13 <h>υποχθονίοι; 15 *hoδόν, hάν*; 16 *hιεράν*.
- 3) 8 φρασί: this is the original form of the dative plural of φρήν; Attic and Ionic developed the analogical φρεσί, which is the form regularly occurring in the Homeric poems as well as in the language of the elegiac authors.<sup>377</sup>

Finally, there is one Ionic form in this text that has no correspondents in epic diction, and may rather be explained as a peculiar feature of the western Euboic colonies:

v.

- 1) 12 πέναι: present infinitive with Ionic athematic ending -ναι; Cassio proposed that this form possibly developed as a result of proportional analogy in areas in which occasional thematisation of the infinitive of the athematic verbs is attested (e.g. εἶν/εἶναι, τιθεῖν/τιθέναι, δοῦν/δοῦναι), so that τιθεῖν : τιθέναι :: πειν : x = πέναι. Infinitives of this type are

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<sup>377</sup> Bettarini (2012: 126); Lundquist (2016).

attested in Euboea; however, specific parallels for the analogical πέναι occur in a *skyphos* from Leontinoi (SEG 45:1378, 500-475: κλεπτέναι) and in the fragments of Parmenides of Elea (Fr. 28B 8.11, 45 Diels-Kranz: πελέναι), plausibly pointing to a development of the western Euboean colonies in particular.<sup>378</sup>

It has generally been assumed that this *lamella* contains a superficially ‘Doricised’ version of a text originally composed in the epic-Ionic dialect on account of the inconsistent presence throughout the inscription of features of the local Doric dialect which are not shared with traditional epic diction.<sup>379</sup> These are <α> for retained inherited /a:/, and possibly also inconsistent writing of the aspiration mark (iv.1-2).<sup>380</sup> Such an assumption is supported by the absence of metrically necessary Doric features in this text, which suggests that the text in this *lamella* was not originally composed in Doric, but underwent unsystematic ‘Doricisation’ wherever Doric features could be substituted for the epic-Ionic ones. By contrast, most of the epic-Ionic forms in this text are metrically necessary and cannot be replaced by their Doric equivalents in the same metrical environments (2 εἰς, if correctly interpreted as a preposition; 8 πευκαλίμαισι; 8 ἐν<ί>, if correctly restored; 1 ᾄμ; 1 μέλλῃσι; 5 ἐνγύθεν, 6 πρόσθεν, 7 ἐπύπερθεν with ephelecytic *nu* preventing hiatus; 7 ἔασι). Although non-Ionic forms such as 2 Ἄϊδαο and 3 πάο are metrically necessary, these were also normally employed in the Ionic epic tradition, and therefore do not specifically point to a local Doric composition of this text.

The fact that the text in this *lamella* was adapted to the local dialect, albeit inconsistently, indicates that around 400, at least in the area of Hipponion, the use of Doric features corresponding to the local dialect in this type of hexametric text was

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<sup>378</sup> Cassio (1994; 1996). Note, however, that Elea was not an Euboean colony; this possibly indicates that this feature was attributed literary prestige in the western area in general, and its use in a literary text may have not necessarily occurred within an Euboean milieu.

<sup>379</sup> Janko (1984: 90).

<sup>380</sup> Note that 7 ἐπύπερθεν may indicate that the text was originally composed in a psilotic area; if this is correct, it follows that the aspiration marks in this text were not original, and were probably supplied by the same writer who inconsistently ‘Doricised’ the text by writing <α> for retained inherited /a:/.

considered acceptable, to the extent that they could replace the equivalent forms of the prestigious Ionic epic tradition. However, since this text does not offer any evidence either for the use or for the avoidance of marked features of the local dialect, it is not possible to determine whether even peculiar features of the epichoric dialect could be used in this literary context.

### 3.1.2 The gold *lamellae*: Thurii

Five *lamellae* have been found in Thurii. The documentary texts available for this site do not provide any significant evidence for the local dialect.<sup>381</sup> As Thurii was founded under the command of the Athenians, it is perhaps reasonable to conjecture that Attic-Ionic was initially attributed a special prestige among the forms of Greek spoken by the colonists that settled there.<sup>382</sup> However, on the basis of the form δαμόσιον (Att.-Ion. δημόσιον) attested in IG XIV 672, one of the very few inscriptions from Thurii, it has been assumed that the local idiom(s) soon came to be influenced by the Doric dialects of nearby colonies, at least in an administrative context.<sup>383</sup> The extent of this alleged influence, however, remains unknown in the absence of other evidence, and on the basis of what survives it cannot be excluded that it was in fact restricted to the borrowing of some lexical items related to the sphere of civic administration. Such a consideration must be taken into account in the analysis of the language of the *lamellae*, as the extent to which certain Ionic features in the texts of these objects could have been used as traditional elements of epic hexametric poetry rather than of local speech or *vice versa* cannot be securely determined.

#### 3.1.2.1 OF 488 [T2]

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<sup>381</sup> The only available inscriptions are: IG XIV 672 (inscription on a bronze *caduceus*, 443-433?); SEG 27:706 (public seal, 5th c.); 60:1048 (name on an *ostrakon*, 450-400, perhaps 415-413); and readings on coins (Rutter 1770-1934).

<sup>382</sup> For the provenance of the Thurians see Diod.Sic. 12.11.3.

<sup>383</sup> Dubois (2002: 49).

Of the five *lamellae* from Thurii, OF 488, 489 and 490 were found in graves under the same mound, the so-called ‘Timpone piccolo’, and have generally been dated to the fourth century. We may observe, however, that inconsistency in the use of the signs for the long mid-vowels in OF 488 more specifically points to a date in the first decades of the century for this *lamella*. The text regularly shows <η> for the primary long front mid-vowel (2 Εὐκλήης; 4 ἀσ{σ}τεροβλήτα; 9 ἔση), but the use of <ω> for the primary long back mid-vowel is inconsistent (3 ἐγών, ὑμών; but 1 κοθαροῶ<v>; 4 κεραιωνῶν); similarly, while the digraph <ει> represents the secondary long front mid-vowel (3 εἶμεν), <ου> is not used for the back one, which is regularly spelled <ο> (2 Εὐβόλεύς; 5 κύκλω; 6 ἱμεροῦ, στεφάνω). Such an inconsistency finds parallels in inscriptions dating to the late fifth or early fourth century, i.e. not many years after the adoption of the East Ionic alphabet, from various parts of the Greek world, as well as from South Italy; see e.g. IG I<sup>3</sup> 110 (408/7), II<sup>2</sup> 17 (394/3), 27 (394-387), 31 (386/5) from Attica, showing <η> for /ε:/, <ω> for /ο:/, but still <ε>, <ο> for /ε:/, /ο:/.<sup>384</sup>

OF 488 offers a number of features common to Ionic (and Attic in some cases), as well as to the epic tradition; these are:

i.

- 1) Merger of inherited /a:/ with /ε:/: 2 Εὐκλήης.
- 2) Absence of the aspiration mark; this may be attributed to the Ionic epic tradition, or simply to the adoption of the East Ionic script, which did not have a sign for indicating initial aspiration, or perhaps to a real loss of initial aspiration in the local dialect: 3 ὑμών; 6, 8 ἱμεροῦ.<sup>385</sup>
- 3) *Mitior* vocalism: 3 εἶμεν.
- 4) Preposition ἐς (10), common to Ionic as well as Doric dialects (Att. εἰς).
- 5) Ionic ‘long’ dative plural ending of *o*-stem nouns (original locative ending): 6 καρπαλίμοισι.<sup>386</sup>

<sup>384</sup> For examples from Rhegion see n.371.

<sup>385</sup> Rough breathing is editorial.

<sup>386</sup> See Colvin (2007: 39-40).

At the same time, the *lamella* attests to some features that are characteristic of epic diction but do not correspond to the contemporary use in Ionic. These are archaisms, Aeolisms or artificial forms employed in hexametric poetry for metrical convenience:

ii.

- 1) *O*-stem genitive singular ending -οιο (archaism): 5 ἀργαλέοιο; 9 βροτοῖο.
- 2) Aorist form ἐδάμασ<σ>ε (4) (Att.-Ion. ἐδάμασε): the second *sigma* is restored since metrically required.

Some of these, however, are also common to the Doric dialects of the South Italian colonies:

- 3) Infinitive athematic active ending -μεν: 3 εἶμεν. In epic diction this is an Aeolic feature.
- 4) The sequence <εο> in 5 βαρυπενθέος either reflects preservation of the hiatus /eo/ or is a conservative spelling for loss of syllabicity (synizesis) of the two subsequent vowels. Preservation of the hiatus /eo/ is an archaism in epic diction; by the time this text was written, loss of syllabicity of the second element is the outcome expected in East Ionic, and the spelling <ευ> was normally employed in Ionic-speaking areas to represent the tautosyllabicity of the sequence. The hiatus /eo/ underwent contraction in Attic (<ου>) while Doric dialects attest to either preservation of heterosyllabicity, or loss of syllabicity of either the first or the second element (cf. <ιο>/<ιω> in Heraclea, Laconia and Crete, and <ευ> in various areas and occasionally in Locri).<sup>387</sup>
- 5) Aorist third person plural active ending -αν: 5 ἐξέπταν; 6 ἐπέβαν; Ionic and Attic used -σαν from the sigmatic aorist.

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<sup>387</sup> For Heraclea and Locri see pp.42, 99-100; for Laconia and Crete see n.456, 471.

Besides features that are attributable to the language of the epic-Ionic tradition, however, the text also offers two forms that seem clearly distinctive of the local idiom:

iii.

- 1) 1 καθαρό<ν>, καθαρά: Attic-Ionic and most other dialects have καθαρός. On the other hand, the form καθαρός occurs in the Heracleian tables (Tab.Heracl. I.103 καθαρός; 132 ἀνκαθαρίοντι), and is rarely attested elsewhere; besides Heraclea, it is found in Boeotia (SEG 32:450 col. i.7, 14, 18, ii.21, Akraiphia, late 3rd/early 2nd c.), and in a fragment of Alcaeus (Fr. 38A, 3 Lobel-Page); cf. also καθάρσι in an inscription from Olympia (Minon 4.1, 525-500).
- 2) 10 ἔπετον: this is the Doric and Aeolic aorist of πίπτω (Att.-Ion. ἔπεσον); but despite being a feature of Aeolic, it is not found in epic diction, presumably since it does not offer a metrical alternative to Ionic ἔπεσον.

As in the case of the *lamella* from Hipponion, it is conceivable that the archetype of this text was also originally composed in Ionic. There are in fact no metrically necessary non-Ionic features in this text that provide evidence to the contrary. If this is correct, then, as in the text from Hipponion, the presence of metrically unnecessary features specifically ascribable to the local idiom points to a conscious attempt to adapt the language of the original text to the local variety.

The occurrence of the rare form καθαρός (1) also in the tables of Heraclea is particularly remarkable and suggests that this was a feature of the local dialect.<sup>388</sup> This might have been either a peculiarity of the Tarentine dialect which spread to Thurii, or a Thurian feature imported into Heraclea. The second option is perhaps more plausible on account of the fact that people from Thurii joined the Tarentines in the foundation of Heraclea. Since people from the Peloponnese and Boeotia came to populate Thurii, it is possible that the form was imported by colonists from mainland Greece, where the adjective καθαρός is sporadically attested (iii.1). Other evidence

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<sup>388</sup> For καθαρός in the Heracleian tables see Cassio (2002: 448-450); cf. Uguzzoni (1968: 29-30).

for the use of local features is offered by the metrically unnecessary form ἔπετον (10), which could have been imported either from mainland Greece or from neighbouring Doric dialects, and possibly also by the infinitive ending -μεν in εἶμεν (3), which, despite occurring frequently in the Ionic epic tradition, is not metrically required in this context, and could have been substituted for the Attic-Ionic equivalent εἶναι. The occurrence of such features therefore suggests then that in the early fourth century local forms that had no correspondents in epic diction, including peculiar local features, were not avoided in this literary context at Thurii.

### 3.1.2.2 OF 489 [T3]

As previously mentioned, this *lamella* has been assigned to the fourth century. However, since <η> and <ω> are regularly employed, and <ου> is used for spelling the secondary long back mid-vowel (2 Εὐβουλεῦ), we may assume that this *lamella* is later than OF 488, which, by contrast, attests to inconsistency in the spelling of the long mid-vowels.

The text contains several spelling mistakes. Some of these may reflect actual phonological changes in the idiom of the writer: in particular, we can observe that the spelling <ι> instead of final *nu* is rather consistent (it occurs at 1 κα<θα>ρῶ<ν>; 3 ὄλβιο<ν>; 4 πο<ι>νά<ν>, ἔργω<ν>; 7 εὐαγέ<ι>ω<ν>; but *nu* is written at 1 {σχονων}, χ<θ>ονίων; 3 ἐγών, ὑμῶν; 4 δικα<ί>ων; 5 κ<ε>ραυνῶν; 6 Φε<ρ>σεφόνε<ι>αν), while in 6 ἀγνή<ν> and 7 πρόφ<ρ>ω<ν> neither *nu* nor *iota* is written; similarly, *iota* both in internal and in final post-vocalic position is frequently omitted or misplaced (1 Ἔρχομα<ι>; 2 Εὐβουλεῦ<ι>; 4 πο<ι>νά<ν>, ἀνταπέ<ι>τε<σε>ι<σ>', δικα<ί>ων; 5 Μο<ι>ρα; 6 Φε<ρ>σεφόνε<ι>αν; 7 με<ι>, πέ<μ>ψη<ι>, εὐαγέ<ι>ω<ν>; but is correctly placed in 1 βασιλ<η>ει<α>; 2, 3 καί; 2 θεοί, δαίμο<ν>ε<ς>, ἄλλοι; 3 εὐχομαι, εἶναι; 5 εἶτε; 6 πα<ρ>α<ί>). Omission of *nu* could perhaps indicate lenition or loss of /n/ in final position, while omission and misplacement of *iota* may suggest monophthongisation of the diphthongs /ai/, /oi/ and /ε:i/ as well as /ei/ with consequent confusion in placing *iota*.<sup>389</sup> If so, the spelling <ι>

<sup>389</sup> Monophthongisation of original /ei/ is expected in the presumably *mitior* dialect of Thurii, founded under the leadership of Athens.

instead of final *nu* would be explained by assuming that the writer confused the two lost sounds in final position after a vowel. Other misspellings, however, can less plausibly be explained as reflecting actual sound changes, and seem more probably attributable to the inexperience of the writer or to difficulty with writing on such a small item (4.7 x 2.8 cm): see e.g. <ΑΣΤΕΡΟΠΗΤΙ> for 5 ἄστεροπήτ<α> and <ΙΚΩ> for 6 <ῆ>κω.<sup>390</sup> Omissions of one or more letters are in fact frequent throughout the text.

Lines 1-3 and 5 in this text are very similar to lines 1-4 in OF 488. However, although features of the Ionic dialect, such as merger of inherited /a:/ with /ε:/ (6 ἀγνή<ν>), absence of initial aspiration (3 ὑμῶν; 4 ἔνεκα; 6 ἰκέτι<ς>; ἀγνή<ν>; 7 ἔδορας), and the epic forms 3 ἐγών and 6 πα<ρα>ί (if correctly restored), can be similarly observed in OF 488, the two *lamellae* differ in one major respect. Namely, the local form κoθαρός occurring at line 1 in OF 488 is not used in this *lamella*, but the standard Attic-Ionic form, common to most Greek dialects, occurs in the same context (1 κα<θα>ρῶ<ν>, καθαρά). Concurrently, the Doric-Aeolic infinitive εἶμεν at the end of the third line observed in OF 488 is here replaced by Attic-Ionic εἶναι. It seems then that in this *lamella*, presumably later than OF 488, epichoric uses (either distinctively local or shared with other dialects) tended to be avoided, to the advantage of the Attic-Ionic forms.

### 3.1.2.3 OF 490 [T4]

As in the case of OF 489, on the basis of consistent use of <η>, <ω>, <ει> and <ου> for the long mid-vowels, we may assume that this *lamella* is later than OF 488, which still does not have <ου> for the secondary long back mid-vowel. This *lamella* shows the same text as OF 489, and as in OF 489 frequent misspellings and omissions can be observed. As we argued with regard to OF 489, it is probable that at least some of these spelling mistakes should be linked to the very small size of the item (4.6 x 2.5 cm). However, similar to what we observed in OF 489, some of the misspellings in this *lamella* seem especially frequent, and may perhaps indicate monophthongisation

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<sup>390</sup> It seems too early for assuming general merger of /ε:/ with /i:/ in 6 <ῆ>κω; see Allen (1987: 74-75).

of the original diphthongs and loss of /n/ in final position in the idiom of the writer: see 2 κα<ί>; 3 εὔχομα<ι>, ε<ῑ>να<ι>; 4 ο<ῶ>τι, δικα<ί>ων; 5 ε<ῑ>τ<ε>; and 3 ἐ<γ>ώ<ν>, ὄλβιο<ν>; 5 κεραινώ<ν>. The occurrence of such misspellings in both *lamellae* may well offer support to the hypothesis of real phonetic developments in the local idiom, at least at certain sociolinguistic levels. The absence of other inscriptional evidence from Thurii, however, prevents us from speculating further in this respect.

The text is written in Ionic, as indicated by the infinitive ε<ῑ>να<ι> (3). Again, what is of particular interest to our investigation is the absence of peculiar features of the local dialect: in particular, it is crucial to observe that the local form κοθαρός that occurs in the earlier OF 488 is here replaced, as also in OF 489, with the metrically equivalent Attic-Ionic one (1 καθαρώ<ν>, καθ<αρά>). Similarly, the Attic-Ionic infinitive εἶναι (3) occurs here as in OF 489, while in the same textual context OF 488 has εἶμεν. Again, the evidence of this *lamella* seems to suggest that local features tended to be avoided in this type of metrical inscription after the early fourth century.

#### 3.1.2.4 OF 487 [T5]

The *lamella* containing this text was found folded and enveloped in another gold *lamella* (OF 492, see 3.1.2.4) in a grave under the so-called ‘Timpone grande’ at Thurii. The two *lamellae* have been dated to the fourth century; however, regular use of <η>, <ω>, <ει> and <ου> for the long mid-vowels in this text suggests that OF 487 is later than OF 488, which, as previously discussed, can be assigned to the early years of the century on account of the still inconsistent use of East Ionic conventions for representing the long mid-vowels. Compared to OF 489 and OF 490, this text shows a lower number of misspellings and omissions. In particular, the recurring spelling mistakes observed in the other two texts are not attested: post-vocalic *iota* in internal and final position is never omitted or misplaced (1 προλίπη; 2 ἐξι<έ>ναι; 3 χαίρε; 5 χαίρ<ε>, χαίρε; 6 λειμώνας, Φερσεφονείας) and final *nu* is regularly written (1 ὀπτάμ with assimilation, which suggests real pronunciation of the nasal; 2 δεξιόν, πεφυλαγμένον; 3 παθών; 5 δεξιάν). If the frequent misspellings observed

in OF 489 and OF 490 indicate real phonetic changes, this may suggest either that these had not yet taken place at the time when, or in the social context in which, this tablet was inscribed, or that the scribe of this text had greater familiarity with standard conservative writing conventions.

The text in this *lamella* does not correspond to that in any other example in our *corpus*, but the formula ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετες (4) occurs almost identically in OF 488, as well as in a couple of tablets from Thessaly (OF 485, 486; see 3.1.3.4). The text presents a majority of Ionic features and forms attributable to the Ionic epic tradition (although we should recall that many Ionic features are likely to have had correspondents in the Thurian dialect). These are: the merger of inherited /a:/ with /ɛ:/ (1 ψυχή); the *mitior* vocalism (4 ἐγένου; ἀνθρώπου; 6 ἱερούς); the infinitive athematic ending -ναι (2 ἐξ<ι>έναι); the adverbial suffix -θε (3 πρόσθε); the preposition ἐς (4, although this corresponds to the use attested in most other Greek dialects); the form of the adjective ἱερούς (6); and the genitive singular ending -οιο (1 ἀελίοιο). The form ἀέλιος (1 ἀελίοιο), however, is not a feature of epic diction or of the dialects of the Ionic branch, which rather have ἠέλιος (with merger of inherited /a:/ with /ɛ:/) or ἦλιος. Instead, the form ἀέλιος is characteristic of Aeolic and Doric dialects: as such, it is attested in Sappho and Alcaeus, and is normally used in literary contexts for which the use of the Doric dialect was considered conventional, such as choral lyric, the choral parts of the Athenian tragedy, and later in Callimachus' 'Doric hymns'.<sup>391</sup> Similarly, as already observed in OF 488, ἔπετες (4) is an Aeolic and Doric form that is not found in epic diction.

Crucially, both the forms ἀελίοιο and ἔπετες in this text are not metrically required and could have been easily replaced with the Ionic equivalent ἠελίοιο and ἔπεσες. Note that both these forms seem to occur in very formulaic contexts: we have mentioned above that the phrase ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετες occurs in other gold *lamellae* of this type, both from Thuri and from Thessaly, while the sequence φάος ἠελίοιο, in the epic-Ionic form, is frequently found at the end of the second hemiepes, after the hepthemimeral caesura, in the epic tradition, i.e. in the same metrical

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<sup>391</sup> Sappho Fr. 96.7 Lobel-Page; Alcaeus Fr. 112.22 Lobel-Page. For occurrences in literary Doric see e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 7.14, 58; *Pyth.* 4.144, 241; Bacchyl. *Odes* 1.55; 5.161; 11.22, 101; Soph. *Ant.* 100, 809; *OC* 1245; *Trach.* 835; Eur. *Or.* 822 (K; ἠελ- X); *El.* 729, 739; *Tro.* 270; *Alc.* 592; Callim. *Hymn* 5.89; 6.91.

position in which it occurs in this text.<sup>392</sup> It therefore seems likely that these non-Ionic forms in an otherwise Ionic text had been preserved in certain formulae from an earlier tradition in which features of the local dialects were not avoided (as suggested by earlier examples such as OF 474 from Hipponion and OF 488 from Thurii). Such a hypothesis seems to be supported by the evidence of other texts, as we will see in the next paragraphs.

### 3.1.2.5 OF 492 [T6]

Having been found with OF 487, this *lamella* may be also assigned a date around the mid-fourth century or later. This does not contrast with internal evidence, as the regular use of <η> and <ω> presumably points to a later date than that of OF 474 from Hipponion. The text of this *lamella* does not correspond to that of any other surviving example. It has generally been assumed that the text consists of unintelligible sequences of letters alternating with meaningful words (divine names, religious formulas), presumably reflecting a deliberate attempt to obfuscate the content.<sup>393</sup> According to the interpretative transcription provided by Bernabé, even the allegedly intelligible parts of the text appear to contain several misspellings (1 Πρωτογόν<ωι>, <ΠΡΩΤΟΓΟΝΟΤΗ> *lamella*; Γᾱ<ι> ματρί, <ΓΑΜΜΑΤΡΙ> *lamella*; 3 σὺ κλ<υ>τὲ δα<ι>μον, <ΣΥΚΛΗΤΕΔΑΡΜΟΝ> *lamella*; 6-7 ἐπ<άκο>υσο, <ΕΠΩΥΣΟΝ> *lamella*; 9 <φ>ᾱος, <ΓΑΟΣ> *lamella*).<sup>394</sup> These, as in other *lamellae*, may be ascribable to the small size of the items, or perhaps could in part be intentional, and produced with the aim of further obfuscating the text.<sup>395</sup>

<sup>392</sup> E.g. *Il.* 1.605; 5.120; 8.485; 18.11, 61, 442; 23.154; 24.558; *Od.* 4.540, 833; 10.498; 11.93; 13.33, 35; 16.220; 20.207; 21.226; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 71; *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 105, 256, 272; *Hes. Op.* 155. Cf. also *Ap.Rhod. Argon.* 3.1143.

<sup>393</sup> Bernabé-Jimenéz San Cristóbal (2008: 140-141).

<sup>394</sup> Bernabé (2005: 66-71). See Bernabé-Jimenéz San Cristóbal (2008: 137-150) for translation and commentary; see Betegh (2004: 333-337); Graf-Johnston (2007: 10-11) for general acceptance of Bernabé's interpretation; but cf. Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 125-127).

<sup>395</sup> Cf. McDonald (2015: 135-136) for comparable means of obfuscation in Oscan curse tablets from South Italy.

Divine names represent the least uncertain readings. These occur in both Ionic and Doric form throughout the text: 1 Δήμητρος, 8 Δημήτερο, perhaps Κ<ό>ρη, 9 Κο<ύ>ρην present Ionic phonology, but 1 ματρί, Κόρρα(<ι>?), 3 Τύχα, 5, 6 μᾶτερο occur in the Doric form. If the interpretation offered by Bernabé is correct, then we may observe that the text presents Ionic features such as merger of inherited /a:/ with /ɛ:/ (3 πάμ<ν>ηστοι, 5 ἡμέρα, 6 ἐπ<τ>ήμαρο), the form ιερά (7, 8), and the poetic form αἰέν (6, Att.-Ion. αἰεί), as well as the preposition ἐς (9), common to both the epic diction and Doric dialects. The language recorded in this *lamella* therefore seems to conform to what we have observed in the other examples from Thurii dating to the later fourth century: namely, the text is written in literary Ionic, with a number of Doric forms occasionally occurring, especially in formulaic sequences (or, in this case, in divine names). Since Doric forms are certainly ascribable to the local dialect, and not to epic diction, this suggests, again, that the use of local features in this type of metrical inscription was not completely avoided in South Italy, although Ionic forms seem generally to have been preferred at the time when this *lamella* was inscribed.

### 3.1.3 The gold *lamellae*: Petelia

The text of OF 476 [T7], from the environs of Petelia, is very close to that of OF 474 from Hipponion, as well as to OF 475 from Entella and OF 477 from Pharsalos (see 3.1.4.1, 3.1.4.3). This *lamella* was found rolled up and enclosed in a pendant case dating to the second century AD. However, the *lamella* has been assigned to the fourth century BC on palaeographical grounds. In order to solve such a chronological inconsistency, it has been assumed that the item was found, presumably in a fourth-century grave, and reused as an amulet in the Imperial period.<sup>396</sup> If this is correct, the findspot may not correspond to the original provenance of the item. Provided that a date in the fourth century is correctly assumed for this item, on the basis of regular employment of the East Ionic conventions for writing the long mid-vowels we assume that this *lamella* is later than OF 474 from Hipponion

<sup>396</sup> Bernabé-Jimenéz San Cristóbal (2008: 324-326).

and OF 488 from Thurii: thus a date in the mid-century or in the second half of the century, or perhaps even later, seems conceivable.

The text is written in Ionic, as evidenced by features such as: merger of inherited /a:/ with /ε:/ (1 κρήνην; 2 αὐτήν, λευκήν; 3 ταύτης, τῆς, κρήνης; 4, 9 τῆς, Μνημοσύνης, λίμνης; 5 Γῆς; 8 δίψηι, αῖη; 10 θείης, κρήνης; 12 Μνημοσύνης); *mitior* vocalism (6 εἰπεῖν, εἰμί, Οὐρανοῦ; 7 οὐράνιον; 8 εἰμί; 10 δώσουσι, πειν; 12 θανείσθ[αι]); third person plural ending -σι (10 δώσουσι); third person plural form ἔασιν (5); second person pronoun 10 σ[ο]ι; adverbial suffix -θε(ν) (5 ἐπίπροσθεν); epheletic *nu* (11 ἠρώεσιν); absence of the aspiration mark (1, 4 εὐρήσεις; 4 ἐτέραν; 5, 9 ὕδωρ). Features that can be specifically attributed to the epic tradition are: the genitive Αἶδαο (1), either an archaism or an Aeolism in the epic diction; apocope of preposition (2 πάρ), an Aeolic feature of the epic dialect; the dative plural ending -εσσι (11 ἠρώεσιν), also an Aeolic feature. Of these, the genitive Αἶδαο (1) and the apocopated preposition πάρ (2) were also common to the Doric dialects of the South Italian colonies.

Contrary to the earlier example from Hipponion, which attests to nearly the same text, this *lamella* does not show local Doric features such as occasional <α> representing inherited /a:/ in place of Ionic <η> representing /ε:/; similarly, the form τοι occurring in the *lamella* from Hipponion (13, 14), which is common in epic diction and in Doric dialects, but does not correspond to the Ionic use, is here replaced by the equivalent Ionic form (10 σ[ο]ι). Epic forms not corresponding to Ionic use in this text are exclusively found in metrical environments in which the Ionic equivalents would not have provided a suitable alternative (1 Αἶδαο, 2 πάρ). The evidence of this *lamella* thus conforms to what we have previously observed: after the early fourth century, the Ionic dialect seems to acquire a growing prestige in this type of inscription, while local forms, which were used in previous times, gradually disappear.

### 3.1.3 The gold *lamellae*: comparative testimonies

Having surveyed the language of the *lamellae* from Magna Graecia, it is important now to examine what variety of language is employed in related texts from

Sicily, Crete and Thessaly, and compare linguistic choices in these with those observed in the South Italian examples, in order to attempt a comprehensive interpretation of the data.

#### 3.1.4.1 Sicily

The *lamella* from Entella (OF 475 [T8]) was reportedly found in a clay lamp possibly dating to the third century, now lost. What survives of the text appears very closely related to the *lamellae* from Hipponion and Petelia (OF 474, 476) as well as that from Pharsalos (OF 475; see 3.1.4.3). As discussed in the previous chapter, the form of Greek generally attested in Sicily in documentary inscriptions of this period, both official and private, is a *mitior* Doric variety which included a number of *koine* features.<sup>397</sup> By contrast, this metrical text mostly shows Ionic features: this indicates that, although a Doric dialect identity was retained and promoted by the local upper classes, the local variety was avoided in this type of text in this period, to the advantage of the Ionic dialect of the epic tradition. However, the form φρασί (i.10) is not attested in epic diction, which generally has the Ionic analogical form φρεσί.<sup>398</sup> Crucially, this form already occurs in the text of the *lamella* from Hipponion, suggesting that it was in the text from which the *lamella* from Entella was copied. If correct, we may once again hypothesise that, although the language of the text conforms overall to the East Ionic literary dialect of hexametric poetry, some elements point to an earlier phase of the tradition, in which features corresponding to the local use could be employed.

On the other hand, the form φύλακοι (i.9) instead of φύλακες occurring in the *lamellae* from Hipponion, Petelia and Pharsalos does not correspond to either the expected literary Ionic form or the local Doric one, both being φύλακες. The analogical inflection of φύλαξ, as if it were an *o*-stem noun, is not completely unknown in Ionic literature (e.g. *Il.* 24.566; *Hdt.* 1.84, *passim*), but the fact that this form does not appear in the other *lamellae* most probably suggests that it did not occur in the archetype. It seems more plausible then that this was an infiltration from

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<sup>397</sup> See 2.3.1.

<sup>398</sup> See p.175.

the spoken language of the third-century community within which this text was produced (the form is metrically equivalent to φύλακες), rather than a literary Ionic use.

### 3.1.4.2 Crete

Twelve gold *lamellae* have been found in Crete, three of them unincised; of the nine incised, seven show a text comparable to the examples found in South Italy (Tzifopoulos 1-6, 9 [T9-15]). Most of these have been ascribed to the second century on the basis of palaeographical considerations, in the absence of any information about the archaeological context in which they were found. Such arguments, however, are not indisputable, and earlier dates have been suggested, at least for some of these (Tzifopoulos 5-6). The archaeological context is known in the case of Tzifopoulos 9: grave-goods found with this *lamella* point to a date between the first century BC and the first century AD, although letterforms rather seem to point to the third century. It is possible then that the engraver of this *lamella* deliberately chose to use archaising letter forms.<sup>399</sup>

In these *lamellae* the sequence /ss/ in the word κυφάρισσος (cf. OF 475.5, 476.2, 477.2) is written either <Σ> or <Ζ>, while lunate *sigma* (<C>) is used elsewhere for simple /s/; this use is not otherwise attested in Cretan inscriptions. The spelling <Σ>/<Ζ> may perhaps represent the expected [ss], or instead, it may indicate that the double sibilant had been simplified, and that /s/ in intervocalic position was pronounced as voiced in the local variety of Greek, and therefore could receive the spelling <Ζ>, which after the fourth century had come to represent [z] across the Greek-speaking world.<sup>400</sup> The second hypothesis is perhaps more plausible: in fact, simplification of double consonants is attested in most areas of the Greek-speaking world from the third century onwards, and may perhaps explain other spellings occurring in these *lamellae* (Tzifopoulos 4.1 ἀπόλ<λ><υ>μαι, ἀλ<λ>ά; 5.1 ἀλ<λ>ά;

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<sup>399</sup> On the chronology of the Cretan *lamellae* see Tzifopoulos (2010: 64-66).

<sup>400</sup> Allen (1987: 56-59).

6.1 ἀπόλ<λ>υμαι).<sup>401</sup> The spelling κυφάρισζος in Tzifopoulos 3 may further suggest that <Z> represents a single consonant.

All of these *lamellae* from Crete show nearly the same text, which appears to be related to that of the *lamellae* from Hipponion and Petelia. The metre appears disrupted at several points, although hexametrical sequences do still occur.<sup>402</sup> Documentary inscriptions from Crete dating between the third and the first centuries attest to persistent use of local Doric dialectal features, including the *severior* vocalism, despite increasing interference from the *koine*.<sup>403</sup> As in the case of Sicily, this presumably points to persistent local identity and attribution of prestige to the local dialect at least in certain social contexts. Contrary to what is observed in the *lamella* from Entella, however, these *lamellae* mostly show features of the local Doric dialect that are not found in epic diction. In particular, inherited /a:/ is generally retained, except in the adverbial form τῆ<ι>, which occurs in all *lamellae* except for Tzifopoulos 9. All of these *lamellae* then show the *severior* vocalism (αἰειρόω, ἦμυ, Ὠρανῶ), with the inconsistent exception of Tzifopoulos 9 (2-3 α<ι><ει>ρ<ό>ου; 5 <O>ὑρανῶ). The second person form ἐζί (<EΣΙ>/<EΖΙ>) of the verb ‘to be’, corresponding to either the usual Doric form ἐσσί or ἐσί with simplification of the double consonant, also occurs in all *lamellae*, apart from, again, Tzifopoulos 9, which has the regular Attic-Ionic form εἶ. Finally, all of these *lamellae* have the ‘short’ thematic active infinitive ending -εν (πιέν), attested in contemporary local dialectal inscriptions.<sup>404</sup>

The nearly consistent occurrence of local features in these metrical inscriptions is remarkable: in the parallel texts surviving from South Italy, as well as those from Sicily and Thessaly, we observe that after the early fourth century local features tend to disappear from these texts, to the advantage of the standard literary Ionic forms. Crucially, most of the local features found in the Cretan *lamellae* are not metrically required, and therefore could have been easily replaced by the equivalent Ionic forms, had the writer intended to use the dialect associated with the Ionic epic

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<sup>401</sup> Horrocks (2010: 171).

<sup>402</sup> Tzifopoulos (2010: 62-64).

<sup>403</sup> Brixhe (1993).

<sup>404</sup> Bile (1988: 240-242).

tradition. The use of the local dialect in this type of text thus appears to have survived for longer in Crete than in other areas.

### 3.1.4.3 Thessaly

Of the four *lamellae* from Thessaly, OF 477 ([**T16**]) from Pharsalos offers a text which is very close to that of the *lamellae* of Hipponion and Petelia. The adverb ἐπύπερθεν (5) in this *lamella* is psilotic exactly as in the one from Hipponion, suggesting that either the text of the Thessalian *lamella* descended from models composed in the western colonies, or that this was a feature of the archetype which was independently preserved both in South Italy and in Thessaly. Perhaps a connection between this text and that from Hipponion is suggested by the infinitive πέν at line 9, which does not correspond to either the Ionic or the local dialectal use, if this is in fact an elided form (πέν') for πέναι, namely the West Euboean form occurring in the tablet of Hipponion, as Cassio has proposed.<sup>405</sup> This *lamella* has been assigned to the second half of the fourth century on the basis of the archaeological context in which it was found. Thessalian documentary inscriptions of the Hellenistic period generally show persistence of the local Aeolic dialect in most contexts, although the use of the *koine* is also widely attested.<sup>406</sup> However, the *lamella* does not contain any dialectal feature, and is consistently written in the Ionic epic dialect. This conforms to the tendency to avoid local features in this type of text that we have observed in the *lamellae* from South Italy and Sicily in the course of the fourth century.

OF 485 and 486 [**T17-18**] were found in the same grave at Pelinna, and have been assigned to the fourth century. As in the case of OF 477, the language of these *lamellae* does not correspond to that attested in contemporary local documentary inscriptions; instead, both are written in Ionic, as indicated by merger of inherited /a:/ with /ε:/ (485.6, 486.5 τιμήν; 485.7 γήν) and the preposition εἰς (485.4, 5), which is frequently used in the Ionic epic tradition although in Ionic documentary inscriptions the form ἔς is usually generalised. Both *lamellae* present the formula κριὸς εἰς/ἔς

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<sup>405</sup> Cassio (1996: 15-16).

<sup>406</sup> Bubeník (1989: 142-147).

γάλα ἔπεσες (485.5; 486.4), which is very similar to those occurring in two of the *lamellae* from Thurii (487.4 ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετες; 488.11 ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπετον). Crucially, the verb here is in the standard Ionic form ἔπεσες rather than in the Aeolic/Doric form as in the *lamellae* from Thurii. The fact that the Thessalian *lamellae* have the standard Ionic form of this verb thus seems to confirm that ἔπετες/ἔπετον occurring in the *lamellae* from Thurii need to be interpreted as local features.

Finally, OF 484 [T19], attributed to the fourth century, has been generally assumed to have also come from Thessaly. This *lamella*, however, appears closely related to the Cretan ones: not only does it contain nearly the same text as the *lamellae* from Crete, but also linguistically contrasts with the other Thessalian examples while showing congruencies with the Cretan ones. In particular, besides a minority of Ionic features (2 λευκή, with merger of /a:/ with /ɛ:/; *mitior* vocalism in: 1 μου; 3 Οὐρανοῦ; 4 οὐράνιον), this text shows a number of Doric forms, namely preservation of inherited /a:/ (2 κράνας; 3 Γᾶς), *severior* vocalism in αἰειρόω (2), second person ἐσί (3), and short thematic active infinitive ending (1 πίε<μ>); none of these forms are metrically required. Crucially, not all of these features find correspondents in Thessalian documentary inscriptions of this period. While inherited /a:/ was still generally preserved in the local (Aeolic) dialect, both primary and secondary long mid-vowels were generally written with the digraphs <ει> and <ου> from the fourth century onwards.<sup>407</sup> Therefore, the spelling <ω> for the genitive singular ending does not correspond to the local scribal practice. Similarly, the short form of the thematic active infinitive is not otherwise attested in Thessalian inscriptions. It seems likely then that this *lamella* was copied, perhaps with some adaptation to the Ionic dialect, from a Cretan text, in case it was really found in Thessaly as has been assumed.

### 3.1.5 The *Ephesia Grammata*

Currently, nine texts containing *Ephesia Grammata* survive from various areas, seven of which are inscribed on lead tablets, one on a silver tablet, and one is

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<sup>407</sup> See p.61 and n.157.

contained in an Egyptian papyrus.<sup>408</sup> One of the lead tablets was found in Locri; the text contained in this is particularly close to examples found in Sicily, at Himera and Selinus, and in Crete.

### 3.1.5.1 Locri

The text from Locri (I.Locri 92 [T20]) is very fragmentary and has largely been restored on the basis of the comparative testimonies from Sicily and Crete. It has been assigned to the late fifth or early fourth century on the basis of palaeographical considerations: the alphabet used is the East Ionic one, as indicated by the letterforms (triangular *delta*, long-tailed *rho*) and the use of <ξ> for /ks/ in ἀμα]ξ<ι>τόν (6), if correctly read, but there is still no distinction between long and short vowels, these being all spelled <ε> and <ο>, while <H> is used for writing initial aspiration. This suggests a date in the period of transition from the old local script to the East Ionic alphabet, and thus not too far from that of the gold *lamella* of Hipponion. Further evidence for a date close to the adoption of the East Ionic alphabet may be offered by the use of <ξ> at line 6 (if correctly restored), but not yet in the *vox magica* Τρααχ (7) which in OF 830c from Phalasarna occurs as Τρααξ.<sup>409</sup>

The parts of text that survive show both features attributable to epic diction and Doric features corresponding to the local use. Contrary to the gold *lamella* from Hipponion, Doric retention of inherited /a:/ is consistent (3 κ]άπῶ; 4 κραγᾶν; 10 μνάσαιτο; 11 δαλέσαιτο), and likewise initial aspiration is written in all occurrences, with an instance of misplacement (5 {h} ὄλβιος; 9 hoί; 10 ἥος, *heκατ[οιο*; 11 *hύδρα{α}ς*; 13 *hv[ιός*). In addition, this text shows contraction of /a: + ε:/ to /a:/ in κραγᾶν (4), the modal particle κα (12), the form ὄνομα (2, 4) for Attic-Ionic ὄνομα and the form φρασίν (6) already observed in the gold *lamella*

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<sup>408</sup> Lead tablets: OF 830f (Himera, 5th c.); Rocca 6 (Selinus, mid-5th c.); 7 (Selinus, mid-5th c.); Jordan-Kotansky 2011 (Selinus?, 5th/4th c.); I.Locri 92 (Locri, 5th/4th c. = OF 830e); OF 830c (Phalasarna, 4th/3rd c.); 830a (Egypt, 2nd/3rd c. AD); Silver tablet: partly published as OF 830d (Rome, 3rd c. AD); Papyrus: OF 830b (3rd/4th c. AD = PGM LXX).

<sup>409</sup> Del Monaco (2012: 135); cf. Jordan (2000a: 101).

from Hipponion.<sup>410</sup> On the other hand, Ionic features not corresponding to the local Doric use comprise the second person pronoun σοί (4) (Dor. τοί, possibly attested in Locri in a late third-century *defixio*, I.Locri 90.3), the nominative plural masculine article *hoí* (9), and the use of the relative pronoun *hós* (10) instead of the article with relative force.<sup>411</sup> Neither Doric nor Ionic features are metrically necessary, but the equivalent Ionic or Doric forms could have been used in all occurrences.

As with the gold *lamellae*, it has generally been assumed that the archetype of this text and of comparable examples was originally composed in Ionic, and that Doric features should be interpreted as a superficial adaptation of the original text to the idioms of Doric-speaking areas.<sup>412</sup> Indeed, metrically necessary non-Ionic features do not occur in comparative texts either. If this is correct, as in the case of the tablet from Hipponion, ‘Doricisation’ (although incomplete) of this text points to attribution of prestige to Doric forms in ritual texts in hexameters around 400. Whether specifically local features not generally shared with other Doric dialects (e.g. preposition *ἐν* with the accusative) could be used in this literary context cannot be determined on the basis of this text, since relevant features do not occur. The use of the relative pronoun instead of the article may possibly suggest a negative answer; however, the fact that this text was presumably copied from an Ionic source leaves open the possibility that the relative pronoun had simply been copied without adaptation.

### 3.1.5.2 Comparative testimonies

The earliest of the comparative testimonies from Sicily and Crete are three tablets from Selinus and Himera dating to the later fifth century (Rocca 6-7, OF 830f [T21-23]), which still use <ε> and <ο> for both short and long mid-vowels. These tablets show a language very similar to that of the nearly contemporary text from Locri, comprising several Doric features, which presumably corresponded to the local

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<sup>410</sup> For the form *ὄνυμα* in Doric and all other dialects except for Attic-Ionic see Buck (1955: 27); cf. Cowgill (1965: 156); Colvin (2007: 96).

<sup>411</sup> See p.102.

<sup>412</sup> Bettarini (2012: 126-127); Janko (2013).

use at Selinus and Himera, and a number of Ionic epic forms.<sup>413</sup> Retention of inherited /a:/ is regular (Rocca 6 A.1 τύχα; 3 βίαι, κάπου, τᾶιδ'; 7 A.1 τύχα; 3 βίαι, κάπου; OF 830f 3 κᾶπῶ; 5 ἀκτά), with only minor inconsistency (Rocca 6 A.6, B.5 κᾶδεα); one of the tablets from Selinus also shows the Doric dative plural form φρασίν (Rocca 6 A.5, B.4) occurring in the tablet from Locri as well as in the gold *lamella* from Hipponion. The tablet from Himera possibly also has the second person pronoun τοί (4), where the tablet from Locri has Ionic σοί, provided that the reading <TOI> is not to be interpreted as τῶι instead, which is offered by the (presumably later) tablet from Selinus in the Getty Museum (Jordan-Kotansky 2011 ii.16) at the same point in the text. On the other hand, besides the form κᾶδεα with inherited /a:/ merged with /ε:/ in the tablets from Selinus, these comparative testimonies offer the Attic-Ionic form ὄνομα (Rocca 6 A.2, B.2; OF 830f 4), instead of ὄνυμα occurring in the text from Locri. Similarly, these tablets do not have the aspiration mark, which is used in the example from Locri, although initial aspiration is expected in the dialect of both Selinus and Himera at this stage.<sup>414</sup>

The lead tablet containing *Ephesia Grammata* edited in Jordan-Kotansky (2011) [T24], probably also from Selinus, is likely to be later than Rocca 6-7 and OF 830f on account of the consistent use of the letters <η> and <ω> for the primary long mid-vowels and of the digraphs <ει> and <ου> for the secondary ones. The item has therefore been dated to the late fifth or early fourth century. Besides distinguishing the short and the long mid-vowels, this text offers a number of linguistic differences compared to the tablet of Locri and the earlier examples from Selinus and Himera. Overall, the dialect employed in this tablet is literary Ionic, with inherited /a:/ merged with /ε:/ (in the extract reported in T24: iii.5 μνήσαιδ'; 6 ἠύδρη; 8 δειλήσαιτ', a mistake for δηλήσαιτ', on the basis of δαλέσαιτο occurring in the tablet of Locri),

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<sup>413</sup> At Himera both Doric and Ionic features presumably had correspondents in the local idiom, since the *polis* was founded by Chalcidians colonists from Zancle, but received refugees from Syracuse at an early stage. Thucydides wrote that a mixed Ionic-Doric dialect was spoken at Himera (Thuc. 6.5.1); such a statement seems supported by the epigraphic evidence: see Mimbrera (2012a: 195).

<sup>414</sup> For the aspiration mark at Himera after the adoption of the East Ionic alphabet see n.279. For initial aspiration in fifth-century inscriptions from Selinus see Mimbrera (2012c: 125-128).

the particle ἄν (iii.8) in contrast with Doric κα attested in the tablet of Locri at the same point, the genitive singular ending -οιο in iii.5 <h>εκάτοιο, as well as in i.7 θαλεροῖο (not included in **T24**), and the dative plural ending -οισι(ν) in i.7 θνητοῖσιν (cf. i.17 θνητῶσι) and ii.6 ἀ]γθρώποισιν (again, not included).

Nonetheless, a minority of non-Ionic features corresponding to the local Doric use also occurs; these are: ii.15 βίαι, with preserved inherited /a:/ (more likely to be a Dorism than an Atticism); the Doric particle αἰ (iii.8); the form φρασίν (ii.5, not included, and ii.20); i.8 σκιαρῶν (not included) instead of Attic-Ionic σκιερῶν; the ‘Doricised’ form τέχναισι (ii.9, not included) for Ionic τέχνησι.<sup>415</sup> Some other non-Ionic forms corresponding to the Doric use are also common in epic diction, such as ναυσίν (ii.7, not included) and λάος (i.3, not included), and therefore in themselves do not offer evidence for the use of local features instead of the conventional Ionic ones. Contrary to the earlier examples from Selinus and Himera, this text uses ‘half-h’ to write initial aspiration rather consistently, although with some omissions and misplacements (see ii.18 *h*υδάτων; iii.6 *h*ύδρης; 7 *h*[ο]; but 5 <h>εκάτοιο; also, in the part of the text not included in **T24**, i.2 *h*όστις, *h*ερῶν; 4 *h*όσα; 7 *h*έπε; 8 *h*όσσα; 12 *h*ηγεμονεύει; ii.7 *h*ότα[ν; 11 *h*όσιον; but i.5 <h>όσα; 10 {*h*}όπηδόν; 12 <h>έπεται; ii.4 {*h*}ἀ[λ]έξιμα; 19 <h>ῶι). The use of the aspiration mark may be an adaptation to the local scribal practice, while omissions and misplacements may be explained by hypothesising confusion on the part of the writer due to a weakening in the pronunciation of initial aspiration in the local idiom, or by assuming that inconsistency is due to the fact that the model did not have the aspiration mark, and the writer failed to supply it consistently, and misplaced it in a few words with which he was less familiar.<sup>416</sup>

The higher number of Ionic features in this tablet compared to earlier examples conforms to what we have previously observed in the case of the gold *lamellae*. On the basis of the few Doric features not corresponding to the Ionic use, again we may hypothesise that this text was modelled on a ‘Doricised’ version of the

<sup>415</sup> For Doric σκιαρός corresponding to Ionic σκιερός, possibly by the analogy with ἰαρός/ἰερός, see Bettarini (2012: 116); for the ‘Doricised’ dative plural ending -οισι see p.173.

<sup>416</sup> For general disappearance of the aspiration mark in Sicily after the adoption of the East Ionic dialect see p.115-116.

text (i.e. like those in the tablets from Locri, Himera and Selinus previously discussed), but was inconsistently re-adapted to the Ionic dialect.<sup>417</sup> If correct, this would contrast with the hypothesis, proposed by Bettarini, that this text is closer to the Ionic archetype than the earlier ‘Doricised’ versions from Locri, Himera and Selinus.<sup>418</sup>

Similar to the tablet edited in Jordan-Kotansky (2011), the later OF 830c [T25] from Phalasarna, assigned to the fourth or third century, mostly attests to Ionic features, with a minority of Doric uses. Merger of inherited /a:/ with /ɛ:/ occurs in K κήπο<υ>, L ἀκτή (but K βίαι, L αὐδάν); the text then has Ionic second person pronoun σοί (L), ὄνομα (K, L), and φρεσίν instead of the Doric φρασίν found in other examples, while the epic (Aeolic) form κέ (Q) occurs instead of the Ionic ἄν and Doric κα observed in comparable tablets, albeit at different points of the text. Initial aspiration is not recorded, but this is not expected in the Cretan Doric dialect, which is assumed to have become psilotic at an early stage.<sup>419</sup> This, again, suggests a tendency to use the Ionic literary dialect as the language of this type of text from the fourth century onwards, although some Doric features, perhaps remnants of an older Doricising tradition, continued to occasionally appear in the text. Such a tendency apparently contrasts with what we have previously observed with regard to the gold *lamellae* found in Crete, which instead continue to attest to a substantial number of local forms until at least the first century.

### 3.1.6 Other metrical inscriptions

The evidence of other types of metrical inscription from South Italy is extremely meagre. The longest text surviving is I.Locri 38 [T26], a fragmentary epigram from Locri, dating to the fourth or third century. The text shows the form τῆς (4) with Ionic merger of inherited /a:/ with /ɛ:/, contrary to the consistent retention of inherited /a:/ in contemporary documentary inscriptions. At the same time, however, this text apparently shows the Doric form νιμ at line 3 (i.e. νιν, with assimilation to

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<sup>417</sup> For the model of this text cf. Janko (2013: 32).

<sup>418</sup> Bettarini (2012: 126-127); cf. Janko (2013: 52-56).

<sup>419</sup> See Bile (1988: 101-103).

the initial labial of the following word) instead of Ionic  $\mu\nu$ . This may correspond to what has been observed in other areas, where unmarked Doric features still occasionally occur in epigrams on stone after the early fourth century, often alongside Ionic forms.<sup>420</sup>

More speculative is the interpretation of another fragmentary inscription in hexameters on a vase from Metapontion, IGDGG II 71 [T27], dating, again, to the fourth or third century. The Doric form  $\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  (4) instead of Attic-Ionic  $\pi\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  is particularly notable. The fragmentary condition of the text, however, prevents us from determining whether this Doric feature was an isolated occurrence in the text. On the other hand, the Ionic dative plural endings  $-\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$  (2) and  $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$  (4, although this may reflect a ‘Doricisation’ of the Ionic ending  $-\eta\iota\sigma\iota$ ; see p.173) in the surviving part do not prove in themselves that the text was written in Ionic: in fact, such forms of the Ionic tradition are already attested in Archaic epigrams from other Doric-speaking areas alongside local features, as these offered convenient metrical alternatives to the local forms.<sup>421</sup> If nothing less, the occurrence of Doric  $\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in this fragment suggests that Doric forms had still not completely disappeared from metrical inscriptions at Metapontion in this period.

On the other hand, persistent occurrence of specifically local features in metrical inscriptions of the late fourth century is perhaps suggested by a fragment of agonistic epigram for an athlete of Taras, SEG 34:1005 [T28], found in the area of Metapontion. If the form  $\acute{\upsilon}\phi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  read by Moretti in this text (presumably corresponding to  $\acute{\upsilon}\acute{o}\varsigma = \upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma$ , older  $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , perhaps from  $*suH-iu-$ , attested in SEG 30:1220, a Tarentine inscription of the late second or early first century) is correct, this would probably be a peculiar feature of the local dialect.<sup>422</sup> However, if the *upsilon* visible between the two breaks in the second line is part of the *mitior* genitive singular ending  $-\omicron\upsilon$ , presumably being  $M\nu[ . . . . \omicron]\upsilon$  the name of the father of the individual concerned, this would not correspond to the *severior* vocalism attested in the Tarentine area around the same period. On the basis of what survives we cannot determine whether the *mitior* ending in this epigram is a conscious adaptation to the Ionic convention, or if it has to be attributed to the form of the personal name itself,

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<sup>420</sup> See p.168.

<sup>421</sup> Alonso Déniz-Nieto Izquierdo (2009); Guijarro Ruano (2015; 2016).

<sup>422</sup> Moretti (1984: 494).

perhaps of a non-local individual who settled in Taras. Again, it is not possible to draw any conclusion about the use of the dialectal forms in epigrams on stone on the basis of this inscription; nevertheless, it is interesting to observe these had, apparently, still not completely disappeared in the late fourth century.

Finally, a short hexametrical sequence is found among the graffiti on a funerary stone slab from Taras, SEG 16:581 [T29], ascribed to the third century. The Ionic form Πριάμου with *mitior* vocalism in this inscription is particularly notable; the use of the Ionic ending, however, can be probably explained in the light of the context in which it occurs, as the text seems to explicitly refer to the Homeric tradition (τὸμ Πριάμου καλέω θρασὺν Ἐκτορα).

### 3.1.7 The language of fourth- and third-century metrical inscriptions: conclusions

We have observed that Doric features mostly appear in the earliest examples of the gold *lamellae* and of the lead tablets containing *Ephesia Grammata*, and specifically in items dating before the mid-fourth century: these are the gold *lamella* from Hipponion, one of the *lamellae* from Thurii (OF 488), the *Ephesia Grammata* from Locri, and some of the examples from Selinus and Himera in Sicily (Rocca 6-7, OF 830f). On the basis of what survives, it is difficult to establish whether in these inscriptions prestige was attributed to the epichoric variety of each community, or rather to a less localised variety of the local dialect. The gold *lamella* from Thurii attesting to the forms κοθαροῶ<v>/κοθαρά (OF 487), however, suggests that local features not generally shared with other dialects were not avoided in these texts: this would in fact conform to what has been observed in metrical inscriptions from other areas.<sup>423</sup>

By contrast, later examples, despite coming from the same areas and containing nearly the same texts, are entirely or almost entirely written in Ionic. Nevertheless, very occasionally, metrically unnecessary non-Ionic features corresponding to the Doric use do occur in these later texts as well; this is the case of OF 487 and 492 from Thurii, of 475 from Entella, of 484 possibly from Thessaly, of

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<sup>423</sup> See p.168.

the tablet edited in Jordan-Kotansky (2011) from Selinus and of OF 830c from Phalasarna. Since these texts otherwise show adherence to Ionic diction, such minor deviations can be plausibly interpreted as residual forms from a pre-fourth-century tradition of the texts, in which local features were not avoided. Thus we may assume that at an early stage these texts, presumably derived from a common archetype composed in literary Ionic, tended to be adapted to the local idioms by replacing, although not necessarily in a consistent manner, the Ionic forms with the local equivalents where this was metrically acceptable. At a later stage, during the fourth century, these texts appear to have been ‘Ionicised’ again. In this process of ‘Ionicisation’, however, some of the features that had previously been adapted to the local idiom could fail to be ‘translated’ into the corresponding Ionic diction, especially in formulaic contexts.

This situation would correspond well with what has been generally observed in the language of the epigrams on stone from other areas. We previously mentioned that a number of studies have now demonstrated that before the fourth century epigrams tended to make regular use of features of the local idioms, while the Ionic dialect became conventional for this genre only around the fourth century; after this date, unmarked Doric features may still be found, but local peculiarities are usually avoided. Although the evidence for other types of metrical inscriptions (i.e. non-ritual) from South Italy is extremely limited, what survives does not contradict what is observed in other areas either. This ‘Ionicisation’ of post-fourth-century metrical inscriptions, however, does not correspond to a parallel influence from Attic-Ionic on the local idioms in contemporary documentary inscriptions. Thus the abandonment of local features should be related to a decrease in the prestige attributed to the local idiom in this specific domain, and not to any general decline in the status of local varieties.

The gold *lamellae* from Crete contradict this picture in showing consistent use of Doric features down into the second and first centuries. By contrast, the *Ephesia Grammata* from Phalasarna, dating to ca.300, show a very small number of Doric features. Thus retention of local features in the gold *lamellae* from Crete may be attributable to deliberate conservatism in this specific category of text: we have in fact observed that some of these texts also show archaising letterforms. In this connection, we recall that in the Hellenistic period the Doric dialect was still employed in

epigrams on stone in Crete, also including some peculiar local features, although many examples written in Ionic or in *koine* also survive.<sup>424</sup> Possibly, then, a high level of prestige continued to be attributed to the local idiom in Crete in certain literary contexts for longer than in other areas, albeit alongside the Ionic dialect and the *koine*.

In the remainder of this chapter, I shall survey the language of the literary works of South Italian authors that have been transmitted in manuscript, and examine whether the tendency to abandon local features observed in metrical inscriptions in this period can be observed in other literary contexts as well.

### 3.2 *The evidence from manuscripts: poetry*

The investigation of the language of non-epigraphic poetry in South Italy is severely hindered by both the paucity of the authors known to us and the manuscript tradition that has preserved their works. The only authors living in early Hellenistic Magna Graecia whose metrical compositions have been transmitted in text manuscripts are the epigrammatists Nossis of Locri and Leonidas of Taras. Their epigrams have been transmitted in the so-called *Anthologia Graeca*, a collection of Greek literary epigrams surviving in two manuscripts, the *Anthologia Palatina* (AP, compiled in the tenth century) and the *Anthologia Planudea* (PI, compiled in the fourteenth century), as well as in copies of these.<sup>425</sup> Several of the epigrams of these authors are preserved in one of the two manuscripts only; very occasionally, some of the linguistic forms used by these authors are cited in the *Suda* lexicon.

What we know about Nossis is inferred from her own epigrams. The poetess defines herself as a Locrian (λόκρῖσσα, AP 7.718.3) and her *floruit* has been located around 300 on the basis of references to the playwright Rhinthon (7.414) and to a state of warfare with the Brettii (6.132).<sup>426</sup> The *Anthologia Graeca* has transmitted twelve epigrams securely attributed to Nossis and one of uncertain attribution (6.273, presented as ὡς Νοσσίδος).<sup>427</sup> The biographical information that we have for

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<sup>424</sup> Martínez Fernández (2006: 46-50; 2007).

<sup>425</sup> Here I refer to these texts as printed in the editions by Gow-Page (1965a) and Page (1975).

<sup>426</sup> González González (2006: 23); for Rhinthon see 3.4.

<sup>427</sup> Gow-Page (1965a: 151-154); Page (1975: 67-70).

Leonidas is also deduced from his own epigrams. It is generally assumed that he lived around the late fourth and the early third centuries on account of references to a state of warfare with the Lucanians in AP 6.129 and 131. Taras is explicitly mentioned as his hometown in 7.715, provided that the attribution of this epigram to Leonidas is correct. On the basis of references to various places of the Greek-speaking world in his epigrams, it has been generally assumed that Leonidas left his homeland, possibly after the Roman conquest in 272, and spent the rest of his life wondering from place to place.<sup>428</sup> If this is correct, Leonidas composed and disseminated at least part of his epigrammatic *corpus* away from Magna Graecia. About a hundred epigrams by Leonidas of Taras are transmitted in the *Anthologia Graeca*, of which, however, eleven are of uncertain attribution; one more epigram is known from a papyrus (P.Oxy 662).<sup>429</sup>

The texts of Nossis and Leonidas attest to a number of unmarked Doric forms. This is not unparalleled among the authors of literary epigrams of the early Hellenistic period: despite the preponderant use of literary Ionic, Doric features are in fact found in the texts of other authors from Doric-speaking areas, such as Mnasalces of Sicyon, Theodoridas of Syracuse, Simias of Rhodes and Erinna (perhaps) of Telos.<sup>430</sup> This may correspond to the persistent use of unmarked Doric features in metrical inscriptions after ca.400 observed in various areas, possibly including South Italy, despite the increasing prestige of the Ionic dialect in this literary context.<sup>431</sup> Authors of literary epigrams from non-Doric areas also appear to have sometimes used Doric forms in connection with subjects and themes that were associated with the Peloponnesian poetic tradition (the so-called ‘Peloponnesian school’), or when their poems had a Doric setting;<sup>432</sup> this suggests that the persistent use of Doric forms on the part of Doric authors was generally acknowledged.

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<sup>428</sup> Gow (1958); BNP 7.400-401 (s.v. Leonidas [3]).

<sup>429</sup> Gow-Page (1965a: 107-139).

<sup>430</sup> For the texts of these authors and the biographical information available to us see Gow Page (1965a: 97-98, 140-144, 177-179, 191-195; 1965b: 281-284, 400-413, 511-516, 537-551).

<sup>431</sup> See pp.168, 198.

<sup>432</sup> Beckby (1965: 21-35); BNP 4.1098-1102 (s.v. Epigram [I]). The occurrence of Doric features in the epigrams of Anyte of Tegea (Gow-Page 1965a: 35-41; 1965b: 89-104) may

The use of the Doric dialect is especially significant in the texts of Nossis. Distinctive Doric maintenance of inherited /a:/ is normally found in Nossis, with only a minor number of exceptions. The fact that in most cases inherited /a:/ is retained both in AP and PI, not only in case endings and articles but also in word stems (e.g. 6.354.3 θάεο; 275.3 ἀδύ; 354.2 ἄδ(ε); 9.332.1 ναόν) most probably suggests that this feature was original, and not the product of later erudite emendations based on Nossis' provenance from a Doric-speaking area. It is very likely then that the few occurrences of Ionic /ε:/ instead of Doric /a:/ are the result of corruption in the course of the manuscript tradition. Other Doric features in Nossis' epigrams are: the contraction of /a + e/ to /ε:/ instead of Attic-Ionic /a:/ in the infinitives of *a*-stem verbs; the Doric preposition ποτί for Attic-Ionic πρός; the form of the second person singular pronoun τύ and first plural ἀμέ; the Doric demonstrative τήνος for Attic-Ionic ἐκείνος and the adverb τήνωθε equivalent to Attic ἐκεῖθεν; the third plural active ending -ντι; the particle ὅκκα (equivalent to Att.-Ion. ὅταν); and the retention of the hiatus /eo/.

In a few cases, Doric features cannot be replaced with the equivalent Attic-Ionic ones, and therefore should be interpreted as clearly genuine: in particular, the Doric first person pronoun ἀμέ cannot be replaced by Attic-Ionic ἡμᾶς at 6.353.2 in the pentameter's first *hemiepes* (ἀμὲ ποτοπτάζειν: -υυ|--|-); similarly, ὅκκα in the same epigram (4) cannot be replaced by its Attic-Ionic equivalent ὅταν, as the first syllable needs to be long (ὅκκα πέλλη: -υυ|--|-). On the basis of irreplaceable Doric features in the epigrams of Nossis, it is highly probable that the other Doric forms in the transmitted text are also original. These, however, in several cases do not correspond to those attested in contemporary documentary inscriptions from Locri.

In particular, secondary long vowels are consistently of the *mitior* type in Nossis' epigrams; this cannot be securely ascribed either to a stylistic choice of the author in contrast with the spoken local idiom, or to banalisations suffered by the text in the course of transmission. The complete absence of *severior* forms in the surviving manuscripts, however, may well provide some support to the hypothesis of the originality of the *mitior* vocalism. Besides the vocalism, the preposition ποτί does

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perhaps be put in relation with in the occasional use of literary Doric forms in metrical inscriptions from Arcadia dating after ca.400; for these see Gujarró Ruano (2016: 209-223, 549).

not correspond to the shortened form *ποί* regularly used in the local Hellenistic inscriptions, as we observed in the previous chapter.<sup>433</sup>

The apparent development of /eo/ to /eu/ at 6.132.4 (*ποθεῦντι, ὕμνεῦντα*) and at 265.4 (*Θευφιλίζ*) cannot be taken as evidence for the use of features of the epichoric dialect of Locri by linking these forms to the phonetic development occasionally observed in the bronze tablets.<sup>434</sup> The spelling -εῦ- for the expected hiatus /eo/ is in fact regularly found in very specific metrical environments: namely, it occurs only in the long first element of the dactyl and in the final anceps, i.e. when /eo/ must necessarily be read in synizesis; by contrast, when occurring in the second element of the foot, /eo/ is always spelled -εο-, i.e. the forms in -εῦ- are never used to mark a spondee, presumably since in that position -εο- could be read as either bisyllabic or monosyllabic without altering the metre. Such a regular marking of synizesis of the hiatus /eo/ into -εῦ-, whereby /eo/ is necessarily read as a single long syllable, also found in Leonidas (6.129.4; 7.163.2; 273.4; 283.3, 4; 316.1; 472.5; 480.1; 655.4; 656.2; 736.1, 3; 740.3, 5; 9.322.9; 10.1.3), is already attested in the Homeric texts, suggesting that this was an editorial convention, possibly introduced by the Alexandrian scholars.<sup>435</sup>

The use of local features such as the *severior* vocalism and the preposition *ποί* was not prevented by the metre, since these would have been metrically equivalent to the forms with *mitior* vocalism and to *ποτί* (in the contexts where it occurs) respectively. The fact that these do not occur thus reflects the author's conscious intention to use an unmarked variety of Doric, while, presumably, her local dialect was perceived as unsuitable (i.e. insufficiently prestigious) for the literary genre of her compositions. Note that neither the *severior* vocalism nor the shortened form *ποί* are features common to all dialects of the Doric branch. By contrast, most Doric dialects have the *mitior* vocalism and the non-shortened preposition *ποτί*.

Conscious use of a 'common' literary Doric on the part of this author is also suggested by the occurrence of feminine participles with diphthongisation resulting from the lenition of the nasal element in the cluster \**ns* instead of second

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<sup>433</sup> See p.98.

<sup>434</sup> See pp.99-100.

<sup>435</sup> Cf. Molinos Tejada (1990: 88-96) and Vessella (2016b: 454) for occurrence in the Doric idylls of Theocritus.

compensatory lengthening, a non-epic Aeolic feature (6.275.1 *χαίρουσαν*; 9.332.1 *ἐλθοῖσαι* (*ἐλθοῖμεν* Pl); 604.3 *ἐσιδοῖσα*, but *ἐσιδοῦσα* Pl). This was in fact a common feature of the language of choral lyric, a genre canonically associated with the Doric dialect, in which it was possibly used on account of the prestige that it had in the Lesbian lyric tradition.<sup>436</sup> The feminine participle in *-οῖσα* was therefore perceived as a standard feature of Doric poetry, and as such was used by those who aimed to use a literary version of Doric for their metrical compositions: for instance, it also occurs in an epigram of Anyte (AP 7.649 *ἔχουσαν*, but *ἔχουσαν* Pl), provided this is not the result of a later erudite emendation, and in a Hellenistic epigram on stone from Crete (SEG 16:532.5, 2nd/1st c.)<sup>437</sup>, as well as in the Doric works of Callimachus and Theocritus, alongside other features traditionally associated with choral lyric.<sup>438</sup>

Crucially, in the epigrams of Nossis, Ionic and epic features mostly occur in contexts where the Doric equivalents would not be metrically equivalent: this is specifically the case of the preposition *εἰς* at 9.605.1, the form *ξεῖν'* with third compensatory lengthening at 7.718.1, and the uncontracted *a*-stem genitive plural ending in *Μουσάων* at 414.3 (=Pl), corresponding to the epic use. Likewise, ephelcystic *nu* is used as an expedient to avoid hiatus at 9.605.2, 3 (*ἀνέθηκεν*, *ἔστακεν*), while the uncontracted form *δοκέει* provides a convenient metrical sequence at 6.353.2, which finds correspondents both in the epic and choral lyric traditions.<sup>439</sup>

Compared to Nossis, Doric features in Leonidas are more restricted in their range and, though substantial in number, occur far less frequently than their Ionic equivalents; a number of epigrams have been transmitted with no Doric features at all. Forms corresponding to the Doric use occurring in the epigrams of Leonidas include: retention of inherited */a:/* (*passim*); contraction of */a: + o:/* in */a:/* (6.130.2 *Γαλατᾶν*); the genitive singular ending *-αο* (7.283.3 *Ἄιδαο*), although this could have been an

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<sup>436</sup> Tribulato (2016b: 237-241).

<sup>437</sup> Martínez Fernández (2006: 48).

<sup>438</sup> Vessella (2016b). Cf. Ruijgh (1984) for the hypothesis, now generally rejected, that diphthongised forms in Theocritus reflect the usage in the contemporary dialect of Cyrene instead.

<sup>439</sup> See e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.18; 2.28; 4.179; 5.97; 7.17; Bacchyl. *Ep.* 11.17; Ibyc. Fr. 1a.2 Page.

epic feature as well; the form of the numeral πρᾶτον (7.719.2); the Doric personal pronoun ἄμιν (9.320.5, 6); the particles αἰ (9.316.6) and αἶτε (316.1, 2, 7, 8 AP, οἶτε Pl); the nominative plural articles τοί, ταί (5.205.8; 206.2, θ' αἰ AP); the second person pronoun dative singular form τοι (6.13.1; 202.1); the form τήνος (7.719.2); the preposition ποτί (6.228.3 ποτιθύμα, 6 ἴποτιρογέας; 7.504.5; 656.2; 9.316.2, 5; 320.1); apocope of prepositions (6.110.2 πάρ; 7.463.4 κάτθαν'; 9.316.10 παρτιθέτω; 320.1 πο τάν AP, ποτὶ τάν AP corrector, perhaps ποτ τάν; 16.230.4 πάρ); the form μικκός for Attic-Ionic μικρός (7.736.4); and the particle ποκα (6.305.8).

As with Nossis, the epigrams of Leonidas do not contain any distinctive features of the dialect of the poet's hometown, Taras, as attested in contemporary documentary inscriptions. The *severior* forms τὼς Λαρισσαίως and χύτρωσ transmitted at 6.305.3 and 4 do not have to be ascribed to Leonidas' native dialect: the *severior* vocalism was in fact conventionally employed in certain morphological categories in the Doric works of other Hellenistic authors as well, such as Callimachus and Theocritus, presumably since it was perceived as a distinctively Doric feature. In Callimachus and Theocritus *severior* vowels are especially found in *o*-stem genitive singular and accusative plural endings, and in the Doric infinitive ἦμεν, although in alternation with εἶμεν, while *mitior* vowels are normally found as the result of contraction of /e + e/ in indicative forms, in Doric future forms, and in aorist passive participles.<sup>440</sup> Therefore, the use of the *severior* vocalism in these morphological categories alone cannot be interpreted as a feature of the native dialect of the author, as it may reflect a standard convention (either original or introduced by later scholars) of Doric literature.

Some Doric features are metrically guaranteed in Leonidas. These are: the article ταί at 6.206.2; the apocope of prepositions at 7.463.4 (κάτθαν'), 9.316.10 (παρτιθέτω), 16.230.4 and 6.110.2 (πάρ); the indicative second person singular form ἐσσί (7.13.4); the second person singular imperative ἔσσο (9.318.3) and the first person singular future ἔσσομαι (5.188.6; 9.320.3); the relative ὅσσοσ (6.120.7; 7.472.3, 13; 504.3; 740.6) and the demonstrative τόσσοσ (6.120.7; 129.2); the adjective μέσσοσ (7.273.4); and the aorist form κομισσάμενος (7.466.8). Many of these, however, were also common to the epic tradition. Contrary to Nossis, however,

<sup>440</sup> Abbenes (1996); Vessella (2016b); cf. Willi (2012).

Ionic and epic features in Leonidas are mostly non-necessary. Although we may expect that the dialectal forms of these epigrams have been extensively altered in the course of the manuscript tradition, it is probable that the comparatively reduced use of Doric features in Leonidas is not entirely accidental or simply attributable to corruption. We may perhaps hypothesise that Leonidas was more inclined than Nossis to use the dialect that was becoming conventionally associated with the epigrammatic genre across the Greek-speaking world. Such a linguistic choice may well reflect the fact that Leonidas spent part of his life travelling: the language of his works may have been influenced by that of the epigrammatic traditions of other areas, or he may have adapted to the prevailing use of the Ionic dialect in order to appeal to foreign audiences.

The epigrams of Leonidas also do not offer any non-epic Aeolic forms: feminine participles are regularly transmitted in the form with compensatory lengthening and *mitior* secondary long vowel (5.206.8 κοτέουσα; 6.131.3 ποθέουσαι; 211.6 τυχοῦσα; 334.2 γειτονέουσα; 7.740.2 δηλοῦσα; 16.171.2 φέρουσα; 182.1 ἐκφυγούσαν, 2 μορμύρουσαν; cf. the Ionic development in 6.281.1 ἀμφιπολεῦσα; 10.1.1 λαλαγεῦσα). It is quite possible then that Leonidas did not write his works in a Doric *Kunstsprache* similar to the one used by Nossis in her own epigrams, but, instead, primarily based the language of his compositions on literary Ionic and ‘Doricised’ it lightly by using a number of unmarked Doric features.

Despite the differences between these authors, possibly due to contextual factors, the fact that the South Italian epigrammatists, and particularly Nossis, included Doric features in their works, while Doric forms were largely abandoned in contemporary metrical inscriptions to the advantage of the Ionic dialect, is significant. Presumably, it indicates that in these literary works diffused in manuscript the South Italian *élites* aimed to assert their dialect identity despite the growing fortune of the Ionic dialect as the language of the epigrammatic genre; this may have parallels elsewhere, as suggested by the occurrence of Doric features in the texts of other epigrammatists from Doric-speaking areas. The hypothesis of a strong dialect identity at Locri around 300 is in fact compatible with the persistent use of the local dialect evidenced in documentary inscriptions, and particularly in official documents, until at least the mid-third century, as discussed in the previous chapter. This dialect identity clearly could not be asserted through the use of the epichoric dialect in literary

epigrams, as this was presumably perceived as non-prestigious in this context (at least after ca.400). For this reason, we may hypothesise that these authors chose to use (features of) a literary Doric variety which could offer a prestigious alternative to Ionic; in the case of Nossis, this shared features with the traditional language of choral lyric.

### 3.3 *The evidence from manuscripts: prose*

The manuscript tradition has preserved a substantial number of fragments of Pythagorean philosophical writings attributed to authors who lived in Magna Graecia. Although for the most part these texts have now been recognised as the work of later forgers, a few passages claiming the authorship of Philolaus and Archytas are generally considered genuine.<sup>441</sup>

Born in the first half of the fifth century, Philolaus lived until at least the early fourth century.<sup>442</sup> He was said to be either from Croton or Taras; the former option may be more plausible on the basis that Croton is supposed to have been the focus of Pythagorean activity before the upheaval of the mid-fifth century, while Taras became the major Pythagorean centre only during the first half of the fourth century.<sup>443</sup> It is possible perhaps that Philolaus spent the later years of his life in Taras, and that confusion about his provenance arose in antiquity as a result.<sup>444</sup> On the basis of Plato's *Phaedo* (61d-e) it is also assumed that Philolaus spent time in mainland Greece and taught in Thebes. Of the twenty-three fragments attributed to him, collected and published by Diels and Kranz, only Fragments 1-7, 13 and 17 have generally been considered authentic.<sup>445</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> For the chronology, authorship and provenance of the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha see Thesleff (1961; 1972); Burkert (1972); Centrone (2000; 2014).

<sup>442</sup> On the life and works of Philolaus see Huffman (1993); Graham (2014).

<sup>443</sup> See pp.44.

<sup>444</sup> Huffman (1993: 6); cf. Uguzzoni (1962-1963: 63).

<sup>445</sup> Diels-Kranz (1952: 406-419). For the authenticity of these fragments see Huffman (1993: 17-35).

Archytas lived in Taras between 435-410 and 360-350, and led his *polis*' political activity during its most prosperous period.<sup>446</sup> According to Cicero (*De or.* 3.34.138-139.14) Archytas had been a pupil of Philolaus, but there is no other evidence for this; similarly, the question of his acquaintance with Plato, largely relying on testimony of the probably spurious Platonic *Seventh Letter*, is much debated.<sup>447</sup> Of the several passages attributed to Archytas, only four fragments are considered genuine by Diels and Kranz, and recognised as such in recent scholarship.<sup>448</sup>

On the basis of the evidence available, it is widely accepted that these authors wrote in Doric. This was unusual for their genre. Having first developed in East Ionia in the sixth century, Greek prose literature was in fact conventionally associated with the Ionic dialect, until superseded first by Attic and then the *koine* in the fifth and fourth centuries. Thus several sixth- and fifth-century prose authors of non-Ionian origin, such as Pherecydes of Athens, Acusilaus of Argos, Xanthus of Sardis, Herodotus of Halicarnassos, Antiochus of Syracuse and the authors of the Hippocratic *corpus*, who attributed their treatises to Hippocrates of Cos, wrote their works in Ionic.<sup>449</sup> On the basis of ancient testimonies, it seems that outside Sicily and Magna Graecia the Doric dialect was generally employed in Doric-speaking areas for local historiographical works only.<sup>450</sup> By contrast, in South Italy and Sicily it appears to have been used in other types of prose work as well. Doric prose seems to have flourished in Sicily during the fifth century, whereas the earliest evidence for Doric prose in Magna Graecia is represented by the fragments of Philolaus and Archytas, and we cannot exclude the possibility that Doric prose developed in this area precisely at the time of these authors (i.e. in the late fifth or early fourth century).<sup>451</sup>

The genuine fragments of both Philolaus and Archytas contain a majority of Doric forms, occasionally alternating with their Attic-Ionic equivalents. Doric /a:/

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<sup>446</sup> Huffman (2005: 5-6).

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid.* 6-8, 32-43; cf. Schofield (2014).

<sup>448</sup> Diels-Kranz (1952: 431-439). For the authenticity of these fragments see Huffman (2005: 91-100).

<sup>449</sup> Vessella (2016a: 356).

<sup>450</sup> Cassio (2000: 138-139).

<sup>451</sup> Cassio (1989: 142-143).

generally occurs both in Philolaus and Archytas, except for Philolaus' Fr. 17, which lacks Doric features altogether; some hyper-Doric forms also occur in Archytas (Fr. 1.18 αἴσθασιν; 35 κίνασις). A number of *severior* forms are found in specific morphological categories, namely in the *o*-stem genitive singular and accusative plural endings, conforming to a practice attested in the Doric works of other authors, as previously observed.<sup>452</sup> In the case of Philolaus these forms are presumably the result of later interventions on his text, since it is probable that when he wrote the Ionic alphabet with distinct signs for the long mid-vowels had not yet been generally adopted. In the text of Archytas these forms may be original, although distribution of *severior* and *mitior* vocalism in different morphological categories is likely to be the result of later editorial conventions. Other Doric features attested in these authors are: retention of the hiatus /eo/; infinitive athematic ending -μεν; non-Ionic future of the verb εἰμί (ἔσ-σ-); Doric future; third person plural ending -ντι; first person plural ending -μες; Doric *i*-stem genitive singular ending -ιος; Doric (and Aeolic) feminine participles ἔσσα and ἔσσαι; personal pronoun ἄμές; imperfect third person singular ἦς; the form μέσσοις; the preposition ποτί; the masculine plural article τοί; the Doric aorist of πίπτω (ἔπετον); the particle ὅκκα; the conditional particles αἴ and κα; the Doric form μκκός; and Doric numerals πρώτος and τρίς.

Besides 'common' Doric forms, these authors appear to have employed features which are not generally shared with all Doric dialects, but find correspondents in contemporary dialectal inscriptions. Besides the possibly original *severior* vocalism in Archytas, it is crucial to note the reflexive pronoun in the form αὐτὸς αὐτόν or αὐταυτοῦ (Att. ἐαυτοῦ, contr. αὐτοῦ), which is attested in several documentary inscriptions from Heraclea.<sup>453</sup> This specifically occurs in Philolaus Fr. 5.4 (αὐταυτό), Archytas Fr. 1.11 (αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς), 2.10 (αὐταύτου), and 3.3 (αὐταυτον, if correctly emended). This form is not attested in other literary works, except for the later Pythagorean pseudepigrapha (presumably as the result of imitation

<sup>452</sup> See p.206. In Archytas Fr. 1.6 the form μωσικᾶς also occurs, which may be compared with Μῶσα in Alcman (Frr. 8.9, 14.1, 28.1, 30.1, 46.1 Page), and Corinna (Fr. 23.1 Page).

<sup>453</sup> IG XIV 646.2 (dedication, 5th/3rd c.) αὐταυτᾶς; SEG 30:1163.4-5 (dedication, 4th/3rd c.) αὐτὰ αὐ[τ]άν; 1164.3-4 (dedication, 4th/3rd c.) αὐτὰ [αὐτάν]; 1166.3-4 (dedication, 330-270 or 4th/3rd c.) αὐτὰ αὐτάν; Tab.Heracl. I.124 αὐτὸς αὐτῶν or αὐτοσαυτῶν. Cf. Uguzzoni (1968: 50).

of the language of the genuine works of the early Pythagoreans), and the fragments of Epicharmus (Fr. 172 Kassel-Austin) and Sophron (Fr. 19 Kassel-Austin) of Syracuse, where it also corresponded to the local dialectal use.<sup>454</sup> The fact that this feature does not generally occur in Doric literature except for the works of authors living in South Italy and Sicily, whether authentic or falsely attributed by later forgers, suggests that it should be regarded as a dialectal feature used by the authors of this area. Another feature which may reflect the local use is the ‘short’ infinitive ending *-εν* occurring in Archytas Fr. 3.2 (μαθέν), and 3.3 (ἐξευρέν in the text transmitted through Iamblicus, but ἐξευρεῖν in Stobaeus), which is regularly attested in the Heracleian tables.<sup>455</sup>

However, other distinctive features of the Tarentine dialect do not occur in the text of these authors. In particular, the hiatus */eo/* is consistently retained, while the Heracleian tables have loss of syllabicity with development to */jo/* or */jɔ:/* in *e*-stem verbs.<sup>456</sup> It seems then that not all Tarentine dialectal features were considered suitable in this literary context. In this connection, it is important to note that the form αὐτὸς αὐτόν of the reflexive pronoun was not peculiar to the Tarentine area, but is also attested in the inscriptions of several other Doric areas, including, as we said, nearby Sicily. By contrast, the development of */eo/* to */jo/* or */jɔ:/* was only shared with a minority of Doric areas, such as Laconia and Crete. Likewise, the short infinitive ending was not only shared with several other Doric dialects (e.g. insular Doric, East Argolic, possibly Achaean), including neighbouring areas such as Terina (no evidence

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<sup>454</sup> See p.115.

<sup>455</sup> See p.165-166.

<sup>456</sup> See p.42. By contrast, loss of syllabicity of */eo/* in *e*-stem verbs occurs in the pseudepigraphic texts attributed to Bryson (Thesleff p.56, 1.17: ἀκολουθίοντι), Diotogenes (Thesleff p.72, 1.7: νοσίοντασ; p.75, 1.7: νοσίοντες), Kallikratidas (Thesleff p.105, 1.16: νοσιόντων), and in pseudo-Archytas (Thesleff p.34, 1.26: πλεονεκτίοντες; p.45, 1.26: ἀφορμίωντι). Since this does not seem to have been taken from the genuine works of Philolaus and Archytas, it is probable that forgers were aware of the fact that this feature was distinctive of certain Doric dialects, including that of Taras, and used it despite its non-occurrence in the genuine works of the South Italian Pythagoreans; cf. Cassio (2002: 458-459). A parallel for this may be the participle ἀλγίοντι occurring in the spurious letter attributed to Epimenides of Crete and reported by Diogenes Laertius (*Vit. Phil.* 1.113), possibly since development of */eo/* to */jo/* or */jɔ:/* was known to be a feature of the Cretan dialect: see Bile (1988: 83-84); cf. Cassio (2000) for the letter of Epimenides.

for other areas of Magna Graecia is currently available)<sup>457</sup>, so that it could have been perceived as a ‘common’ Doric feature, but was also a feature of the language of choral lyric. Similarly, the *severior* vocalism, if original in Archytas, was characteristic of many other Doric areas. We may therefore suggest that features of the local dialect that were perceived as strictly local were avoided by these authors, while those shared with a number of other areas and which had prestige in other literary traditions could be used. If this is correct, the use of a selected number of local features on the part of these authors might be comparable with the occurrence of dialectal forms with velar development of the original labiovelar (e.g. κῶς, κότε, ὄκως instead of πῶς, πότε, ὄπως) in the prose of East Ionic authors: this was in fact a feature of the East Ionic dialects that also occurred in poetry, for instance in Semonides, Callinus, Anacreon, Hipponax and, questionably, Archilochus.<sup>458</sup>

Avoidance of apocope of prepositions in all genuine fragments of Archytas, in contrast with regular occurrence in the Heracleian tables, may be explained in similar terms.<sup>459</sup> In fact, although apocope was a common feature of the language of contemporary Doric poetry, avoidance in scientific prose may be plausibly connected with its progressive abandonment in official inscriptions across Doric-speaking areas during the Hellenistic period. In Sicily, for instance, apocope is almost completely avoided in third-century official inscriptions, while it appears to be retained for longer in private contracts.<sup>460</sup> Thus, even though apocope was still normal in the Heracleian tables, we may hypothesise that at the time of Archytas this was already perceived as unsuitable in literary prose, while it continued to be used in poetry for metrical convenience. The occurrence of uncontracted forms such as ἀδελφεά, βαρέα, ὄξεα and βαρέα in Archytas Fr. 1.7, 20, 29 also contrasts with the evidence of the Heracleian tables (cf. Tab.Heracl. I.111 φέτη). However, forms without contraction may have been preferred since perceived as more prestigious than the contracted ones,

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<sup>457</sup> See p.165.

<sup>458</sup> See Kaczko (2016: 302).

<sup>459</sup> See Fr. 1.18 ποτιπίπτοντα, ποτι τάν; Fr. 2.2 κατὰ τάν, 7 ποτι τόν; Fr. 3.9 παρὰ τών; Fr. 4.1 ποτι τάν.

<sup>460</sup> See p.114; Mimbrera (2012c: 130-131).

on account of their use in a number of Doric dialects (although we cannot exclude the possibility that such forms are the result of later emendation).<sup>461</sup>

The genuine fragments of Philolaus and Archytas were therefore written in a literary form of Doric dialect. Although it is likely that emendations and banalisations in the course of the text transmission altered the language of Archytas and Philolaus to some extent, the fact that Doric forms are generally authentic in these authors, and not the result of ‘dialectisation’ by erudite copyists, can be reasonably assumed on the basis of a number of considerations. In particular, their language is clearly distinguished from that of the later pseudepigrapha, which shows a high number of non-epic Aeolisms and other uses associated with Doric poetry, presumably as these were no longer recognised as poetic forms, and were used as dialect markers by later forgers.<sup>462</sup> The comparatively low number of poetic forms transmitted in the genuine fragments of Philolaus and Archytas thus guarantees that they have not undergone systematic later ‘Doricisation’.<sup>463</sup> On the other hand, the fact itself that the later pseudepigrapha are written in a Doricising dialect confirms the argument that the early Pythagoreans wrote in Doric, as we assume that, in order for these forgeries to be considered authentic, they had to be written in a language that could credibly be attributed to the ancient Pythagoreans of South Italy. Finally, the occurrence of the reflexive pronoun αὐτὸς αὐτόν also supports the authenticity of Doric forms, since this feature could have hardly been supplied by erudite copyists, as it does not occur in other Doric literature. It is conceivable then that most of the few Attic-Ionic uses occurring in these texts are banalisations introduced in the course of the manuscript tradition. The minor number of hyper-dialectal forms with <α> instead of inherited

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<sup>461</sup> Vessella (2016a: 381).

<sup>462</sup> Cassio (1988: 137-138).

<sup>463</sup> A minor number of Aeolic and poetic forms occur in the text of Archytas Fr. 1 transmitted by Nicomachus. These may be explained by assuming a tendency on the part of this later author to further ‘Doricise’ the texts of the Pythagorean writers by introducing features of the Doric *Kunstsprache* used in Doric poetry: see Cassio (1988; 1989: 147-148); Huffman (2005: 149-150).

/ε:/, on the other hand, are most probably hypercorrections introduced by ancient scholars and copyists.<sup>464</sup>

The fact that Philolaus and Archytas wrote their works in Doric, despite the high prestige of Ionic as the language of prose writing elsewhere across the Greek-speaking world, confirms that in fourth-century Magna Graecia a version of the Doric dialect was regarded as suitable for use in literary contexts. The Doric variety used in their works did not correspond to the language used in the local documentary inscriptions, but only included features of the local dialect that were not perceived as parochial, while strictly local uses, or features perceived as non-prestigious, were avoided. The use of a prestigious supra-regional variety of Doric that could rival Ionic as the language of literary prose on the part of the early Pythagorean writers thus corresponds to the linguistic choices of the South Italian epigrammatists, and supports the hypothesis of a strong dialect identity among the South Italian *élites*.

### 3.4 Rhinthon

What survives of the work of Rhinthon, author of *phlyax* plays, is extremely scant and consists entirely of short quotations or one-word entries in late antique glossographic works.<sup>465</sup> The *phlyax* play was a burlesque dramatic form that developed specifically in Magna Graecia, and comprised mythological and everyday subjects, and possibly also parodies of tragic plays.<sup>466</sup> According to the Suda, Rhinthon lived at the time of Ptolemy I (322-283, reigned from 305);<sup>467</sup> it is generally assumed that he was born in Syracuse on the basis of the epitaph that Nossis wrote for him (AP 7.414.2); the Suda and Stephanus of Byzantium, however, describe him as Ταραντίνοϛ, which suggests that he was at least active at Taras.<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> But cf. Cassio (1993) for the possible authenticity of certain hyper-dialectal forms in Doric literature.

<sup>465</sup> Throughout this section I refer to these as printed in Kassel-Austin (2001: 262-270).

<sup>466</sup> BNP 11.135-136 (s.v. Phlyakes).

<sup>467</sup> BNP 12.565 (s.v. Rhinthon).

<sup>468</sup> Testimonia 1-2 Kassel-Austin.

The surviving fragments suggest that the language of Rhinthon's plays was primarily based on the dialect of Taras. Doric retention of inherited /a:/ occurs in Fr. 6, (καινάv, φαινόλαν), while the use of the Tarentine *severior* vocalism is suggested by the numeral ἦς for εἶς in Fr. 13, transmitted in all *codices*. Furthermore, on the basis of what is reported by Apollonius Dyscolus (Fr. 10), it seems that the development of the hiatus /eo/ to /jo/ and /jɔ:/ known from the Heracleian tables also occurred in the texts of Rhinthon in the forms ἐμῶ(ς) and τῶ(ς) (from ἐμέο(ς), τέο(ς)).<sup>469</sup> If these were genuine, however, the morphological environments in which the development occurred in this author would not correspond to those observed in the Heracleian tables. In fact, we recall that in these inscriptions loss of syllabicity of /eo/ is observed only in *e*-stem verbs and in Doric future forms, while in other morphological contexts the hiatus /eo/ is (at least graphically) preserved.<sup>470</sup>

Such a discrepancy may be explained by assuming that Rhinthon used a lower variety of the local dialect, presumably closer to the spoken use, which therefore attests to certain developments that were avoided in official inscriptions. We may hypothesise that the development of /eo/ to /jo/ and /jɔ:/ in colloquial language took place in a higher number of morphological environments than those observed in the official language of the Heracleian tables, but in higher registers such a development was considered acceptable only in a limited set of morphological categories. Thus the conservative conventions of official writing may have obfuscated the environments of occurrence of this feature in the spoken idiom. The hypothesis that loss of syllabicity of /eo/ was more diffused in lower registers than in the official documents may be supported by the evidence of a dedication on an Attic cup, dating around 550-525, found in the Tarentine area (SEG 45:1475), which shows the spelling θιῶι instead of θεῶι (i.e. θεῶι). If the dedication was locally inscribed, this spelling would strongly suggest that this development of /eo/ was unconditioned in lower registers. In this respect, we should note that loss of syllabicity of /eo/ may well have been inherited directly from the mother-city Sparta, where this seems extended to all occurrences.<sup>471</sup>

The fact that in his plays Rhinthon used local dialectal features not attested in the surviving epigraphic record is also suggested by a number of glosses attributed to

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<sup>469</sup> See Méndez Dosuna (1993a: 119) for these forms.

<sup>470</sup> See p.42.

<sup>471</sup> See Striano (1989: 21-24).

this author. Cassio observed that the term σάλω<ι> (equivalent to ἄρκυς, ‘hair-net’) attributed to Rhinthon by Hesychius (Fr. 19) may offer evidence for the passage of [t<sup>h</sup>] to a fricative [θ] in Taras as in the mother-city Sparta, on the basis of the possibly related Laconian word σαλία for θολία (Hsch. σ111; cf. Theoc. 15.39).<sup>472</sup> Similarly, the verb σαπύλλειν (equivalent to σαίνειν ‘to deceive’), glossed in Hesychius and attributed to Rhinthon, may be related to the Ionic verb θήπειν occurring in Hipponax (14.1). If so, σαπύλλειν could have developed from θαπύλλειν.<sup>473</sup> Such an assumption, however, is not unproblematic since such a development would be expected to appear also in local inscriptions, at least in informal contexts. The spelling <σ> where [t<sup>h</sup>] is expected is in fact frequently attested in Laconian inscriptions from the fourth century onwards.<sup>474</sup> By contrast, <θ> is regularly written not only in the Heracleian tables, but also in less formal inscriptions, where phonetic mistakes are generally more likely to occur. However, as Cassio observed, we cannot exclude that the spelling <σ> was an editorial convention in manuscripts that indicated that the pronunciation of <θ> in Tarentine was not the same as in Attic-Ionic, while in inscriptional contexts such a necessity would not arise since local readers would have known what sound the letter <θ> had come to represent in their dialect.

Similarly, on the basis of the testimony of Herodianus (Frr. 2, 4), who reports that the adjective ὀλίγος is spelled without the *gamma* in certain plays of Rhinthon, it is possible to hypothesise that weakening of the voiced velar plosive (/g/) in this context was another development of the Tarentine dialect that has been obfuscated by the conservative conventions of the surviving inscriptions.<sup>475</sup> By contrast, we may observe that the form of the adjective καθαρός in Fr. 3 does not correspond to that attested in the Heracleian tables (κοθαρός). However, as previously observed, it is possible that the form κοθαρός was not a feature of the Tarentine dialect in general, but specifically of the dialect of Heraclea, where it could have been imported from the Thurian colonists (on the basis of its occurrence in one of the gold *lamellae* from Thurii).

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<sup>472</sup> Cassio (2002: 441).

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.* 441-442.

<sup>474</sup> Striano (1989: 144-155).

<sup>475</sup> Cf. Brixhe (1990: 29).

The surviving evidence, although extremely meagre, thus indicates that Rhinthon considered the idiom of Taras suitable for use in his *phlyax* plays, including developments that appear to have lacked prestige in official documents. We may argue that the genre itself allowed, even required, the use of a variety of language that was close to the spoken idiom of the audience. In fact, the use of colloquial local features is regularly observed in similar dramatic genres, such as Attic comedy and the comedy of Epicharmus in Syracuse.<sup>476</sup> Thus the use of Tarentine features in this genre is not indicative of any special prestige attributed to the local dialect in general. Similarly, the fact that the Tarentine dialect was used in the *phlyax* plays of Rhinthon does not necessarily imply that this peculiar genre was generally associated with the dialect of Taras in other parts of Magna Graecia. Rather, comparative evidence from other areas (Athens, Syracuse) suggests that the language of this type of play tended to include features of the dialect of the local audiences, and therefore we expect that in other areas other dialectal forms were used. The fact, however, that the work of no other author of *phlyax* plays besides Rhinthon is currently preserved prevents us from drawing any further conclusion.

### *3.4 Conclusions: the prestige of local dialects in literary contexts*

Consideration of the language of literary texts alongside that of documentary inscriptions enables us to gain a deeper insight into language and society in fourth- and third-century Magna Graecia. By assessing the occurrence or non-occurrence in literary contexts of dialectal features known from contemporary documentary inscriptions we are able to determine the level of prestige attributed to the epichoric dialects in literary contexts, and to compare this with the evidence of other sources. While literary texts have not been systematically included in previous studies of the South Italian Greek dialects, in this chapter I have surveyed the language used in the literary sources available for the period under examination and assessed the use of local dialects in four different genres, namely in ritual inscriptions in hexameters, in literary epigrams, in philosophical prose and in *phlyax* plays.

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<sup>476</sup> Cassio (2002b); Willi (2002).

The analysis of the language of metrical inscriptions reveals that features of the epichoric dialects were not avoided in this genre before the fourth century, a scenario that fits well with what has recently been observed in relation to the epigrams on stone from other areas by Alonso Déniz and Nieto Izquierdo, and Guijarro Ruano. Before the fourth century, ritual texts in hexameters that were originally composed in the literary dialect of the Ionic epic tradition tended to receive a superficial adaptation to the local idioms, where this was metrically possible. One of the gold *lamellae* from Thurii (OF 488), dating to the early fourth century, particularly offers a distinctive feature of the local dialect, namely the adjective  $\kappa\omicron\theta\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ , which is also attested in the official documents of Heraclea, a colony jointly founded by the Tarentines and the Thurians. The evidence of this *lamella* thus suggests that the use of distinctive local peculiarities in this type of text was not considered improper until at least the early fourth century. In the course of the fourth century, however, these texts appear to have been progressively deprived of dialectal forms to the advantage of the Ionic dialect. Research on metrical inscriptions from other areas has in fact shown that during the fourth century the Ionic dialect gradually emerged as the conventional language for these as well, leading to a widespread abandonment of local forms. In this section, I have shown that this growing prestige of Ionic can be observed also in ritual texts, both from South Italy and from other areas.

Contemporary metrical compositions transmitted in manuscripts attest to a different tendency. Contrary to the increasing prominence of the Ionic dialect observed in the epigraphic texts during the fourth century, the epigrams of Nossis of Locri in particular attest to a majority of Doric forms, while features of the Ionic epic tradition appear to have been generally used only as convenient metrical alternatives. However, in her epigrams, Nossis did not include any of the peculiar features of the contemporary dialect of Locri that we find in documentary inscriptions. The variety of Doric chosen by the poetess thus was a supra-regional, literary Doric dialect, which avoided parochial uses and also included non-Doric features that occurred in other prestigious traditions associated with the Doric dialect, such as choral lyric. This use of literary Doric alongside Ionic in the epigrammatic genre finds parallels in other authors of the *Anthologia Graeca* as well as in Hellenistic epigrams on stone from Peloponnese and Crete.

Similarly, the surviving fragments of the works of Pythagorean authors active in the Tarentine area in the late fifth and fourth centuries attest to a supra-regional variety of Doric which avoids peculiar local features. The small number of Tarentine features occurring in the fragments of Philolaus and Archytas (i.e. the reflexive pronoun in the form αὐτὸς αὐτόν or αὐταυτοῦ, the short infinitive ending -εν, possibly the *severior* vocalism) are an apparent exception to this: in fact, such peculiarities, despite not being common to all Doric dialects, were probably not perceived as inappropriate since they were shared with several other dialectal areas, and in some cases had also been traditionally used in other Doric literary traditions, such as choral lyric.

The use of Doric features in the epigrams of Nossis and partly Leonidas, and in the philosophical prose of Philolaus and Archytas, in contrast with the Ionic dialect widely employed for these genres, is likely to be indicative of a strong dialect identity felt by the South Italian educated upper classes, to which both the authors and the audience of these works presumably belonged. This would conform to what has been observed in previous chapters, in the course of the analysis of documentary inscriptions. We have in fact argued that use of the epichoric dialect in the official documents of Locri until at least the mid-third century clearly indicates persistence of the local dialect identity at the higher levels of society. Similarly, we may observe that a *severior* Doric variety is still used in two later Hellenistic inscriptions from Taras (SEG 30:1219, late 3rd/early 2nd c., dedication; 1220, late 2nd/early 1st c., Greek-Latin bilingual dedication), which suggests that prestige was still attributed to the local dialect at that time, at least in certain written contexts (it is probable that the spoken language had been heavily influenced by the *koine* by then, although we do not have evidence for this in the surviving inscriptions). If the linguistic attitudes observed in literary texts are put in relation with retention of local dialectal features in documentary inscriptions, we may then observe that dialect identity was expressed through different modalities in different written contexts: while the local public documents were written in the epichoric varieties, in literary contexts the local *élites* chose to use a literary variety of Doric with the prestige to rival Ionic. In support of this assumption, it is interesting to observe that also in Sicily, where the local Doric *koina* continued to be regularly used as the language of the public and official

documents until the first century, Archimedes of Syracuse, active in the third century, wrote his scientific prose in Doric.<sup>477</sup>

On the other hand, the *phlyax* plays of Rhinthon, active in Taras around 300, appear to have contained many more features of the colloquial register of the local audience than the Heracleian tables. The use of features of the local spoken dialect in Rhinthon's plays, however, does not contradict the evidence of the other literary sources, in which distinctive elements of the local dialects were avoided, since such a difference can be easily explained in terms of the different literary genres to which these texts belonged. While epigrammatic poetry and philosophical prose required a variety that could be recognised as comparable in status to literary Ionic, the comic genre, which was performed in front of a local audience and featured plots set in the everyday life (or elements of everyday life introduced in mythological narrations in order to achieve a parodic effect), naturally required the use of colloquial forms of the spoken language of the time.

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<sup>477</sup> See Cassio (1989: 145); Mimbbrera (2011; 2012b: 248).

## 4. Conclusions

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Our knowledge of the Greek dialects of Magna Graecia is destined to remain rather limited unless and until new epigraphic sources become available. Nevertheless, by taking a comprehensive approach to the surviving evidence, we have been able to expose the weaknesses of previous assumptions and to propose new hypotheses which are more consistent with the full array of linguistic and historical evidence. The new assessment of the development of the Greek dialects in this area, despite being based on a relatively small amount of evidence, therefore opens up important new directions for the future linguistic study of the region and of the Greek dialects in general.

### *4.1 A new assessment of dialect contact in fourth- and third-century Magna Graecia*

Contrary to what is observed in nearby Sicily in the same period, no compelling evidence for regional dialect convergence can be found in fourth- and third-century epigraphic sources from South Italy. Previous studies have generally accepted the hypothesis of influence spreading from Taras on the basis of the attestation of the *severior* vocalism at Locri, but neither linguistic nor historical sources provide support for the proposal that the supposedly prestigious dialect of Taras exercised any formative influence over the rest of Magna Graecia. Nor is there any support for the hypothesis, proposed by Consani, that a *koina* based on the dialect of Taras developed in South Italy.

On the contrary, fourth- and third-century inscriptions from Locri show that the epichoric dialect (which contained several marked local features, whether inherited from the motherland or developed locally, that were not shared with other areas in Magna Graecia) was viewed as prestigious by the ruling classes and therefore regarded as the variety to be used for local official and administrative purposes. This indicates that a strictly local dialect identity continued to be promoted by local institutions until at least the mid-third century. Consistent use of the local dialect is also attested in the inscriptions from Taras and Heraclea until the third century, after

which our evidence becomes extremely scant. It is, however, interesting that later inscriptions from Taras such as a late third- or early second-century dedication (SEG 30:1219) and a Greek-Latin bilingual dedication dating to the late second or early first century (SEG 30:1220) are still written in a *severior* Doric variety, which points to the desire of Tarentine people of later times to continue to mark their local identity through the use of the old local dialect. Inscriptions from Terina and Tiriolo dating to the second half of the fourth century and to ca.300 respectively, and inscriptions from Metapontion dating before the mid-third century also attest to persistent use of the (presumably) local forms of Doric dialect. By contrast, a fragment of a financial account from Croton (SEG 53:1077) shows comparatively advanced influence of Attic-Ionic features, pointing to loss of local dialect identity in official contexts around 300. Rhegion, on the other hand, had been part of the Sicilian dialect area since 387.

Thus regional dialect convergence clearly did not occur in South Italy, and areas such as Locri, Taras and Heraclea appear to have preserved their local dialect identity until at least the mid-third century. Nevertheless some evidence for dialect contact and accommodation to the Greek of Sicily can be identified in the southern areas. The possibility of dialect influence from Sicily in South Italy has been investigated here for the first time; in previous studies the impact of frequent and regular contact between the two areas has never been considered from a linguistic perspective. The southern areas in fact experienced such interaction with the Sicilian Greeks in the late fourth and early third centuries, especially during Agathocles' campaigns against the Brettii: the relations between the communities of this area and Agathocles are widely evidenced by archaeological, numismatic and iconographic data. In particular, contact with Sicily would nicely account for the fact that the south of Magna Graecia (including Locri, Croton and possibly also Hipponion, on the basis of the Oscan evidence), appears to have been exposed to the *koine* before the northern area, apparently already by ca.300; since any direct influence of the *koine* from mainland Greece would be too early at this date, it is probable that *koine* features were imported through the contacts with Sicily, where these had diffused at a comparatively early stage. In principle, we may expect that some degree of accommodation to the dialect of Taras occurred also in the north of Magna Graecia, in a way similar to what is observed in the south with Sicily. We know in fact that Taras

led military campaigns against the Italic populations and in general seems to have acted as the defender of the Greeks of the northern areas during the fourth century; however, at the present time empirical evidence for this hypothesis is either not available or not compelling.

The evidence of literary texts attests to the continuing promotion of a local identity on the part of local intellectuals and writers. In accordance with a tendency generally observed across the Greek-speaking world, local features gradually disappear from the local metrical inscriptions over the course of the fourth century to the advantage of the Ionic dialect. However, authors from Locri (Nossis) and Taras (Philolaus, Archytas, partly Leonidas) whose works have been transmitted in manuscript still wrote their works in Doric in the fourth and early third centuries, despite the use of the Ionic dialect being conventional or at least prevailing in their genres (philosophical prose, literary epigram). The Doric varieties used in their works are supra-regional, literary varieties that avoid distinctively local markers: in her poetry, Nossis of Locri used a Doric *Kunstsprache* that shows peculiar features of the prestigious language of choral lyric, while Philolaus and Archytas appear to have written their philosophical works in an unmarked Doric variety which only included selected features of the Tarentine dialect.

The use of a literary Doric in the works of these authors therefore seems to reflect a conscious attempt to counter the prestige of Ionic in literary contexts through the employment of a comparably prestigious Doric rival. A comparable tendency may perhaps be observed in the texts of other epigrammatists of the *Anthologia Graeca* and in the works of Archimedes of Syracuse, as well as in Hellenistic metrical inscriptions from various areas. All of this fits well with the persistent use of the local dialect observed in contemporary documentary inscriptions of Locri, Taras and Heraclea, and provides us with a deeper understanding of language variation and identity in these areas.

#### 4.2 Why did a *koina* not develop in South Italy?

Consani hypothesised that a *koina* based on the dialect of Taras developed in South Italy as a result of the increasing wealth and power that Taras acquired during

the fourth century, culminating in the leadership of the League founded by Archytas in the first half of the fourth century and directed first against the Italic populations and then the Romans. Although apparently similar circumstances may be found in other areas where regional Doric *koinai* did develop, these factors *per se* were not sufficient to promote the formation of a *koina* in South Italy. The reason why a *koina* did not develop in South Italy is clear when the associated socio-historical conditions are compared with those that did determine the development of *koinai* in other areas.

The Northwest *koina* is attested in the third and second centuries in Aetolia and in the decrees of the Aetolian League that were produced in areas that were either allied with or annexed by the League.<sup>478</sup> This *koina* presents a number of marked local features, such as the ‘short’ dative ending in -οι, the dative plural ending -οις extended to consonant-stem nouns, and the preposition ἐν with the accusative. These are generally attested in inscriptions from different parts of Aetolia in previous centuries, suggesting a situation of dialect levelling and uniformity in this region. The Aetolian communities are in fact known to have acquired political cohesion with the establishment of a federal state (*koinon*), the Aetolian League, in the late fifth or early fourth century; however, it seems that even before then they had been organised into some kind of tribal structure and pursued common political objectives.<sup>479</sup> A significant level of mobility within the region is therefore expected over a long period, resulting in dialect contact and accommodation between members of different communities. Such dialect convergence may have been particularly sought for official and administrative purposes. From the fourth century the Aetolian League pursued a policy of opposition to the Macedonian kingdom, and in the third and second centuries it increased its power expanding and making allies in Northwest and Central Greece, and in the Peloponnese. The territories that came to be part of the League included Acarnania, Western and Eastern Locris, Phocis, Dolopes, Malieis, Phthiotis, Ambracia, Cephallenia and for a short time also Boeotia, Arcadia, Messenia and Laconia. These were either integrated into the Aetolian federal structures or were granted *isopoliteia* and political involvement in the League.

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<sup>478</sup> Bubeník (1989: 196-213); cf. Douthe (2014).

<sup>479</sup> For the political and institutional history of Aetolia and the formation of the Aetolian League see Grainger (1999); Funke (2015).

A Doric *koina* is then attested in the decrees of the Achaean League dating to the third and second centuries; contrary to the Northwest *koina*, it has been claimed that this *koina* was not characterised by distinctive markers, but only included generic Doric features mixed with a number of *koine* forms.<sup>480</sup> Against this, however, we may argue that the paucity of the evidence surviving for the dialect(s) of the Achaean communities in earlier periods makes it extremely difficult to evaluate the extent to which the Achaean *koina* was stripped of local markers. In fact, the (equally scarce) evidence from the South Italian Achaean colonies suggests that the Achaean dialect was not particularly distinguished from ‘common Doric’. On the other hand, there is a feature of the Achaean *koina* that cannot be attributed to ‘common Doric’ in a straightforward manner, and may therefore reflect a traditional local use: this is the ‘short’ infinitive ending *-εῦ*, which, despite being attested in a number of Doric dialects, was not a feature of the Doric branch in general.<sup>481</sup>

As with the Aetolian confederacy, the Achaean communities are also known to have been organised into an ethnically based political entity already in the Classical period.<sup>482</sup> This became more complex and articulated in the late fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>483</sup> The territories that were annexed by the Achaean League, such as Kalydon in 389, were granted federal *politeia*.<sup>484</sup> The League was dissolved in the late fourth century and then revived in 281/0, when it expanded rapidly and incorporated other areas in the Peloponnese such as Arcadia and Corinth. Towards the late third and early second centuries the League expanded under the leadership of Philopoemen, subjugating the whole of the Peloponnese, including Sparta, Messenia and Elis. Under the leadership of Aratus of Sicyon in the mid-third century the League pursued an anti-Macedonian policy; however, in 224 the League allied with the Macedonian kingdom against Sparta and remained an ally of the Macedonians until 198, when a treaty of alliance with Rome was stipulated. Also in the case of Achaea we therefore expect that considerable dialect convergence occurred as a result of long-term

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<sup>480</sup> Bubeník (1989: 136-138, 195-196).

<sup>481</sup> See pp.165-166.

<sup>482</sup> See e.g. Hdt. 8,73; Thuc. 1.115, 4.21 for references to Achaea as a single political entity; BNP 1.69-76 (s.v. Achaeans, Achaea [1]).

<sup>483</sup> Rizakis (2015: 120-122).

<sup>484</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1.

population mobility within the region, especially in the context of the federal administrative institutions, providing the basis for the *koina* attested in Achaëa and the incorporated territories in the Hellenistic period.

The so-called Southeast Aegean *koina* is attested in the island of Rhodes, in the Rhodian Peraia (i.e. the annexed territories on the mainland), and in nearby southeast Aegean islands such as Carpathos, Casos, Chalki, Telos, Calymna, Astypalaea and Cos.<sup>485</sup> This *koina* shows a number of peculiar markers of the southern Aegean dialects in general, such as the *o*-stem accusative plural ending -ος (i.e. without compensatory lengthening)<sup>486</sup>, and features specifically attributable to the Rhodian dialect such as development of the hiatus /eo/ to /eu/ and athematic infinitive ending -μεῖν (note, however, that Bile has objected that the presence of specifically Rhodian features is in fact very limited outside Rhodes and its annexed territories).<sup>487</sup> Political cohesion in the island began with the *synoikismos* of 408, when the existing centres of Lindos, Kamiros and Ialysos founded the city of Rhodes as their capital; the Rhodian territories on the mainland opposite the island (the ‘incorporated’ Peraia), on the southern coast of Caria, formed a single political unit with the island, while other communities on the western coast of Asia Minor (the ‘subject’ Peraia) were either under the direct control of the Rhodian state or experienced significant political influence from it.<sup>488</sup> Some of the nearby islands (Carpathos, Chalki) had already been part of Rhodian territory before the *synoikismos*, while others were incorporated in the Rhodian state during the fourth century (Casos, Telos).<sup>489</sup> Territories of the Rhodian state were divided into demes and integrated into its political structure.<sup>490</sup> As in the case of the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues, the political unity of the Rhodians and their territories can reasonably be expected to have produced population movement and dialect levelling, especially in administrative contexts.

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<sup>485</sup> Bubeník (1989: 193-195).

<sup>486</sup> See p.53.

<sup>487</sup> Bile (1996).

<sup>488</sup> Rice (1999); Funke (1999); Gabrielsen (2000).

<sup>489</sup> Berthold (1984: 41-42).

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.* 42; Gabrielsen (1997: 24-31).

The Doric *koina* attested in Greek inscriptions from Sicily in the Hellenistic period has already been discussed.<sup>491</sup> As in the case of Aetolia, Achaëa and the Rhodian state, the Sicilian Greek communities also experienced early political aggregation, although not in the form of a confederacy, but as the result of domination of one community over the others. In the fifth century Gelon, the tyrant of Gela, took control of a large part of the island, including Camarina, Callipolis, Leontini, Catana and Naxos, and conquered Syracuse, to which he moved his residence.<sup>492</sup> Most of the island, including the non-Greek centres, was then subjugated by Dionysius I; finally, the whole of Greek Sicily, with the exception of Akragas, was brought under Syracusan rule by Agathocles, and remained such under Hieron II, before the establishment of the Roman *provincia*.<sup>493</sup> At the same time, the expansionist policy of the Sicilian tyrants caused a high level of population movement across the island through forced population displacement/replacement that also involved the settling of immigrant groups and mercenaries.<sup>494</sup> All of this resulted in dialect levelling, as we saw, and, presumably, in a common dialect identity across the island. Although Sicily became a Roman *provincia* in the second half of the third century, the Sicilian communities retained their language and autonomy in local administration until the first century, despite the impact of Roman provincial government and its taxation system.<sup>495</sup>

Crucially, in all of these regions we may observe a situation of long-term political cohesion, also resulting in considerable population movement, either as a natural consequence of the local federal constitution, as in the case of the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues and of the Rhodian state, or as a result of forced displacements and replacements, as in the case of Sicily. This is expected to have produced a high degree of dialect levelling and uniformity, along with a common dialect identity, at least in certain areas of the public administration. Long-term political unity combined with population movement and dialect levelling, together with the deliberate promotion of a common identity in official contexts therefore provided the basis for

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<sup>491</sup> See 2.3.1.

<sup>492</sup> Luraghi (1994: 273-368); Braccesi-Millino (2000: 67-91).

<sup>493</sup> Braccesi-Millino (2000: 136-139, 169-178, 185-196).

<sup>494</sup> Lomas (2006).

<sup>495</sup> For the history of this period see Wilson (1990: 17-32); Serrati (2000).

greater resistance to the *koinē* and the formation of regional Doric *koinai* in these areas.

Such socio-historical conditions are clearly not attested in South Italy. A confederacy of *poleis* such as those in Aetolia, Achaëa and Rhodes was never established in this region, with the exception of the short-lived federation of Achaëan *poleis* founded in the late fifth century and possibly active until the fall of Croton in 379.<sup>496</sup> According to Polybius (2.39.7), this federation was modelled on the *koinon* of the Achaëans in mainland Greece, but the reliability of this assertion is questionable.<sup>497</sup> Although it is conceivable that a common Achaëan dialect identity was perceived among its members, this did not apparently survive the collapse of the federation in the fourth century. By contrast, the league of *poleis* founded by Archytas with the aim of countering the attacks of local Italic populations, was not a federal state, and Taras does not seem to have exercised any control over the members of this league.

Similarly, extensive population displacement/replacement did not occur in South Italy. Besides Rhegion, which was destroyed by Dionysius in 387 and repopulated with people from Sicily, we are informed only of the expulsion of the local population from Siris and Sybaris, as these were destroyed in the mid- and late-sixth century respectively. We also know that Caulonia, Skylletion and Hipponion were conquered by Dionysius and given to Locri after the local population, or part of it, had been removed.<sup>498</sup> In some of these cases, however, no significant linguistic effects are expected to follow population movement: while it is not reported in ancient sources where the inhabitants of Siris went after their *polis* was destroyed, the Sybarites are known to have repaired to Laos and Skidros, which were probably sub-colonies of Sybaris, unless they were founded by the Sybarite refugees themselves; either way, their dialects would be close or even identical to that of the mother-city. Similarly, the dialect of Hipponion was probably not very different from that of Locri, its mother-city; in any case, dialect contact with the Locrians did not last long in Hipponion, as we know that the Hipponiates regained control of their city with the

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<sup>496</sup> Wonder (2012).

<sup>497</sup> Fronza (2015: 391).

<sup>498</sup> For the possibility that only the ruling elite was in fact removed by the *poleis* conquered by Dionysius see Lomas (2006) in relation to Sicily.

help of the Carthaginians in 379.<sup>499</sup> Some dialect mixture could have occurred at Caulonia and Skylletion if their Achaean population had not been expelled when the Locrians occupied the territory, but there is no epigraphic evidence to confirm this speculation. It is clear then that population displacement was a rather minor phenomenon in South Italy compared to Sicily.

Thus the general persistence of individual local autonomies and the fact that the South Italian *poleis* pursued moderate expansionist policies, resulting in comparatively little population movement across the region, is likely to have prevented significant levels of dialect convergence and the formation of any common dialect identity. Therefore, when the *koine* arrived in this region, probably at first in the southern areas via Sicily, the dialects of individual *poleis* interacted with it and produced various degrees of Doric-*koine* mixture, as observed in the inscriptions from Locri and Croton. But a common *koina* did not develop because the necessary conditions were never in place.

#### 4.3 Future directions

This study has aimed to fill a major gap in the field of ancient Greek dialectology, as our knowledge of the dialects Magna Graecia has long been based on a small number of selective and superficial surveys of the evidence. Through a comprehensive reconsideration of the linguistic sources available for the fourth and third centuries, important new light has been cast on dialect contact, identity and change in this area. We have rejected the generally accepted hypothesis of the influence of the Tarentine dialect over the rest of Magna Graecia and proposed a new hypothesis which, for the first time, takes into account contact with Sicily in the southern areas. This has been further expanded through a comprehensive examination of the literary sources, which had never been provided in previous studies.

The results of the investigation not only improve our understanding of language and society in the Greek communities of this area, but also offer new perspectives on some aspects of the development of the ancient Greek dialects in general: besides the proposal of a new hypothesis for the development of *severior*

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<sup>499</sup> See p.86.

Doric dialects in the first chapter, this study has exposed a connection between political autonomy and the retention of dialect identity; such a connection has not generally been explored in previous studies of the Greek dialects, particularly with regard to the development of regional *koinai*. Moreover, this study has offered new insights into matters such as the relation between Oscan and Greek spellings in the Oscan inscriptions from South Italy, the chronology of the bronze tablets of Locri, and the language of the ritual inscriptions from South Italy, all of which are likely to be of interest not only to Greek dialectologists, but also to scholars working on other aspects of ancient South Italy and of Greek antiquity in general. Likewise, the results of this research will certainly be of interest to those who study contact between Greek and other languages of ancient South Italy such as Oscan and Latin during the fourth and the third centuries: an accurate assessment of the Greek language in this area is in fact preliminary to any successful investigation of language contact between the local forms of Greek and the Italic languages.

However, despite the significant progress made in this study, our knowledge of the Greek dialects of South Italy remains limited. Linguistic evidence for this region is scarce in general, and for most areas the number of inscriptions surviving is extremely meagre or even zero. Thus sites such as Elea have not been included here, while assumptions about the dialects of Poseidonia, Thurii, Terina, Croton and Hipponion have been formulated on the basis of minimal epigraphic evidence. Even in the case of sites such as Locri, Heraclea and Taras, which provide a more substantial number of inscriptions, it would be desirable to have a more varied range of sources, as our conclusions are currently mostly based on just two long, but very similar, official texts in the case of Heraclea (the Heracleian tables), and on a *corpus* of official documents which, again, present little textual variation from one another in the case of Locri (the bronze tablets). At Locri we can at least add the evidence of a rather small number of short, lower-register inscriptions such as dedications and curse tablets, but the gaps in our knowledge nonetheless remain large. Furthermore, investigation of dialect development before and after the fourth and third centuries is inhibited by the continuing lack of relevant sources. The reconstructions proposed in this study, though consistent with the full body of available evidence, are therefore inevitably partial, and a number of questions are left open. Most importantly, any proper assessment of the possibility of Tarentine influence in northern areas during

the fourth century awaits the arrival of hard evidence. Nevertheless, despite the limitations of the sources, this study has hopefully laid new and more reliable foundations upon which future research may build as new evidence becomes available.

The dialects of South Italy will continue to occupy a relatively small place in ancient Greek dialectology unless significant new epigraphic sources are found. Nonetheless, this study has made an important step forward in our understanding of the dialectal areas of Magna Graecia. Most importantly, it has shown the value of a comprehensive examination of the written sources, conducted in the light of modern sociolinguistic theory and taking into account both linguistic and extra-linguistic data, especially in the study of a region for which the epigraphic evidence available is currently so limited. Through the application of this methodology, we have been able to provide a far better grounded description of the Greek dialects of South Italy and to open the way for successful further investigation of the region.

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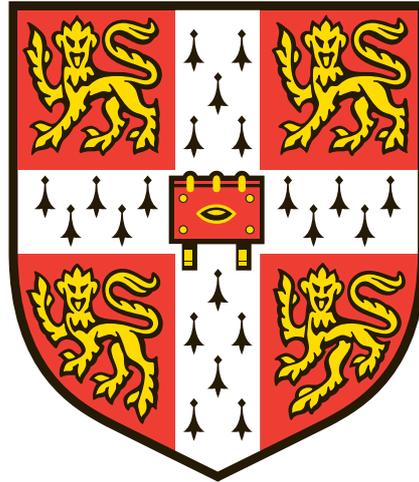
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**Greek in Early Hellenistic Magna Graecia:  
Dialect Contact and Change in South Italy**

**Appendix**



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### A.1. Gold lamellae

#### A.1.1 Texts from South Italy

**T1.** OF 474. Hipponion, gold *lamella*, ca.400. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 16-28), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 39-66) and Edmonds (2011a: 30-31), compared with photographs of the item taken by the author on 18 September 2014 at the Museo Archeologico Statale di Vibo Valentia.<sup>500</sup>

Μναμοσύνας τόδε ΕΠΙΟΝ ἐπεὶ ἄμ μέλλῃσι θανῆσθαι  
εἰς Αἶδαο δόμῳς εὐέρεας, ἔστ' ἐπὶ δ<ε>ξιά κρένα.  
πὰρ δ' αὐτὰν ἔστακῦα λευκὰ κυπάρισ<σ>ος.  
ἔνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυχὰι νεκύων ψύχονται.  
5 ταύτας τᾶς κράνας μεδὲ σχεδὸν ἐγγύθεν ἔλθῃς,  
πρόσθεν δὲ *hev*ρέσεις τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας  
ψυχρὸν ὕδῶρ προρέον· φύλακες δὲ ἐπύπερθεν ἔασι.  
οἱ δὲ σε εἰρέσσονται ἐν<ι> φρασὶ πευκαλίμαισι  
ὄτ<τ>ι δὲ ἔξερέεις Ἄιδος σκότος ὀρφ<ν>έεντος.  
10 εἶπον· Γῆς παῖ<ς> ἔμι καὶ Ὀρανὸ ἀστερόεντος·  
δίψαι δ' ἔμ' αἴος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλ<λ>ὰ δότ' ὄκα  
ψυχρὸν ὕδῶρ πιέναι τῆς Μνεμοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμ<νε>ς.  
καὶ δέ τοι ἐρέδῳσιν <h>υποχθονίῳ βασιλεῖ·  
καὶ {δέ τοι} δόδῳσι πιέν τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας

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<sup>500</sup> The spelling of primary and secondary long mid-vowels is here reported as in the inscription, i.e. long mid-vowels are spelled in the same way as the short ones (<ε>, <ο>), whereas the use of <η>, <ω>, <ει> and <ου> for long mid-vowels printed in the aforementioned editions is editorial. I also transcribe the aspiration mark (<H>) occurring in the *lamella* at lines 15 and 16 as 'h', whereas in the consulted editions rough breathings are printed throughout, regardless of where the aspiration mark is actually written, this being only indicated in the apparatus or in the diplomatic transcription.

15 καὶ δὲ καὶ σὺ πιδὼν ἠοδὸν ἔρχεα<ι> ἠάν τε καὶ ἄλλοι  
μύσται καὶ βάρχοι ἠερὰν στείχῶσι κλε<ε>ινοί.

1 <EPION> *lamella*; <h>ιερόν Pugliese Carratelli; ἔρ<γ>ον Bernabé; †εριον† Edmonds | <AM> *lamella*; ἄμ Pugliese Carratelli, Edmonds; ἄ<ν> Bernabé || 4 <ΨΥΚΑΙ> *lamella*; ψυ<γ>αί Pugliese Carratelli, Bernabé; ψυχαί Edmonds || 5 <ENGYΘEN> *lamella*; ἐνγύθεν Pugliese Carratelli, Edmonds; <ENGYOEN> Bernabé in apparatus || 8 there is space for one letter before <OI> in the *lamella*. A horizontal stroke is perhaps visible (the *lamella* is creased at this point); οἴ Bernabé, Edmonds; τοί Pugliese Carratelli | <EN> *lamella*; ἐν<ί> editors || 13 <ΙΥΠΟΧΘΟΝΙΟΙ> *lamella*; <h>υποχθονίωι Pugliese Carratelli; {ι}ύποχθονίωι Bernabé; ύποχθονίωι Edmonds | <ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ> *lamella*; βασιλῆι Pugliese Carratelli, Edmonds; βασιλεί<αι> Bernabé || 14 <ΛΙΜ> *lamella*; λίμ<ν>ης Pugliese Carratelli, Edmonds; λίμ<ν>ης Bernabé || 16 <ΒΑΧΧΟΙ> *lamella*; βάρχοι Pugliese Carratelli, Edmonds; βάρ<κ>χοι Bernabé

**T2.** OF 488. Thurii, gold *lamella*, fourth century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 55-61), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 102-111) and Edmonds (2011a: 16-17), compared with photographs of the item taken by Katherine McDonald and Christopher Haddad on 10 February 2015 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.<sup>501</sup>

Ἔρχομαι ἐκ κοθαρῶ<ν> κοθαρὰ, χθονί<ων> βα|σίλεια,  
Εὐκλῆς Εὐβῶλεὺς τε καὶ ἀ|θάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι  
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν | ὕμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὖχομαι | εἶμεν.  
ἀλ<λ>ά με Μο<ι>ρ' {α} ἐδάμασ<σ>ε | {καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι}  
καὶ ἀσ{σ}τεροβλήτα κεραυνῶν.

5 κύκλω | δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργα|λέοιο,

<sup>501</sup> I am very grateful to Katherine McDonald and Christopher Haddad for sharing with me high-resolution photographs of the gold *lamellae* from Thurii that they took at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. As with the *lamella* from Hipponion (OF 474), secondary long mid-vowels are here reported as in the inscription, contrary to the practice followed in the consulted editions. Bernabé and Edmonds print 2 Εὐβο<υ>λεὺς, 4 κύκλω<υ>, 5 ἡμερτο<ύ>, στεφάνο<υ>, which is misleading, since it seems to suggest that absence of *upsilon* should be interpreted as a misspelling rather than as a conservative feature presumably attributable to the early date of this text.

ἱμερτῶ δ' ἐπέβαν στεφά|νῶ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι,  
 δεσ{σ}ποί|νας δ' {ε} ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονί|ας βασιλείας·  
 {ἱμερτῶ δ' ἐπέβαν|στε<φ>άνῶ ποσὶ καρπα<λ>ίμοι|σι}  
 ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔ|σηι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο.

10 ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπετο|ν.

4 <ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΝ> *lamella*; κεραινωῶν Pugliese Carratelli; κεραινω<ι> Bernabé, Edmonds  
 || 6 <ΚΑΡΠΑΛΙΜΟΙΣΙ> *lamella*; καρπαλίμοισι Pugliese Carratelli, Edmonds; καρπα<λ>ίμοισι  
 Bernabé with <ΚΑΡΠΑΣΙΜΟΙΣΙ> in apparatus || 8 <ΚΑΡΠΑΣΙΜΟΙΣΙ> *lamella*

**T3.** OF 489. Thurii, gold *lamella*, fourth century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 61-63), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 98-99) and Edmonds (2011a: 18), compared with photographs of the item taken by Katherine McDonald and Christopher Haddad on 10 February 2015 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

Ἔρχομα<ι> ἐ<κ> κα<θα>ρῶ<ν> {σχωνων}| καθαρά, χ<θ>ονίων  
 βασίλ{η}ει<α>|  
 Εὐκλε καὶ Εὐβουλεῦ {ι} καὶ θεοὶ <καὶ> δαίμο|<ν>ε<ς> ἄλλοι·  
 καὶ γ<ὰρ> ἐγῶν ὑμῶν γένο<ς> εὐχομα|ι ὄλβιο<ν> εἶναι  
 πο<ι>νὰ<ν> δ' ἀνταπέ{ι}τε{σε}ι|<σ>' ἔργω<ν> ἕνεκα οὗτι δικα<ί>ων.|

5 εἴτε με Μο<ι>ρα ἐδάμασατο| εἴτε ἀστεροπῆτ<α> κ<ε>ραινωῶν.|  
 νῦν δ' ἰκέτι<ς> <ἦ>κω πα<ρα>| ἄγνη<ν> Φε<ρ>σε|φόνε<ι>αν,  
 ὥς με {ι} πρόφ<ρ>ω<ν> πέ<μ>ψη|<ι> ἔδρας ἐς εὐαγέ{ι}ω<ν>.

1 <ΚΑΡΩΙ> *lamella*; κα<θα>ρῶ<ν> editors || 3 <ΓΡΑ> *lamella*; γ<ὰρ> editors || 3  
 <ΟΛΒΙΟΙ> *lamella*; ὄλβιο<ν> editors || 4 <ΠΟΝΑΙ> *lamella*; πο<ι>νὰ<ν> editors | <ΕΡΓΩΙ>  
*lamella*; ἔργω<ν> editors || 5 <ΕΔΑΜΑΣΑΤΟ> *lamella*; ἐδάμασατο Pugliese Carratelli;  
 ἐδάμασ<σ>' {ατο} Bernabé, Edmonds | <ΑΣΤΕΡΟΠΗΤΙ> *lamella*; ἀστεροπῆτ<α> editors || 6  
 <ΙΚΩ> *lamella*; <ἦ>κω editors || 7 <ΠΕΙΨΗ> *lamella*; πέμψη<ι> editors | <ΕΥΑΓΕΙΩΙ> *lamella*;  
 εὐαγέ{ι}ω<ν> editors

**T4.** OF 490. Thurii, gold *lamella*, fourth century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 63-64), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 100-101) and Edmonds (2011a: 19),

compared with photographs of the item taken by Katherine McDonald and Christopher Haddad on 10 February 2015 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.<sup>502</sup>

- A Ἔρχομαι ἐ<κ> καθαρῶ<ν> καθ<α>ρά, | χθ<ο><νίων> βασίλ<ει>α,  
 Εὐκλε{υα} κα<ί> Εὐ|βο<υ>λεῦ καὶ θεοὶ ὅσοι δ<αί>μο|νες ἄλλοι·  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐ<γ>ὼ<ν> ὑ<μῶν> γένος εὐχομα<ι> ε<ί>να<ι> | ὄλβιο<ν>
- B ποιναὶν <δ'> <άν>ταπέτε<ισ'> ἔργω<ν ἔνεκ'> ο<ύ>τι δικ|α<ί>ων.  
 5 ε<ί>τ<ε> με Μοῖρα | <εδάμασσ'> ε<ί>τε ἀσ<τεροπῆτ<α> {κη} κερα|υνῶ<ν>.  
 νῦν δὲ <ί>κ<έτις> ἦκω | {ικω} παρὰ Φ<ερ>σε<φόνειαν>,  
 ὥς {λ} με <π>ρόφ<ρων> πέ[μ]ψ<ηι>|{μ} ἔδρας ἐς εὐ<α>γ<έων>.

2 <ΚΑΙΘΕΟΙΟΣΟΙΔΜΟΝΕΣΑΛΛΟΙ> *lamella*; καὶ θεοὶ ὅσοι δ<αί>μονες ἄλλοι Pugliese Carratelli; καὶ θεοὶ <καὶ> {ἅσοι} δ<αί>μονες ἄλλοι Bernabé, Edmonds on the basis of OF 489 || 3 <ΕΥΧΟΜΑΕΝΑΟΛΒΙΟ> *lamella*; εὐχομα<ι> ε<ί>να<ι> ὄλβιο<ν> Pugliese Carratelli; εὐχομα<ι> ὄλβιον> ε<ί>να<ι> {ὄλβιο} Bernabé, Edmonds on the basis of OF 489 || 4 <ΠΟΙΝΑΝΝΑΤΑΠΕΤΕΕΡΓΩΤΙΔΙΚΑΩΝ> *lamella*; ποιναὶν <δ'> <άν>ταπέτε<ισ'> ἔργω<ν ἔνεκ'> ο<ύ>τι δικα<ί>ων Bernabé, Edmonds on the basis of OF 489; ποιναὶν <άν>ταπέτε<ισ'> ἔργω<ν> ο<ύ>τι δικα<ί>ων Pugliese Carratelli || 5 <ΕΤΜΕΜΟΙΡΑΕΤΕΡΟΠΗΤΙΚΗΚΕΡΑΥΝΟ> *lamella*; ε<ί>τ<ε> με Μοῖρα <εδάμασσ'> ε<ί>τε ἀσ<τεροπῆτα {κη} κεραυνῶ<ν> Bernabé, Edmonds on the basis of OF 489; ε<ί>τ<ε> με Μοῖρα <εἶτε Ἀ>σ<τεροπῆτα {κη} κεραυν<ών> Pugliese Carratelli || 6 <ΝΥΝΔΕΚΗΚΩΗΚΩ> *lamella*; νῦν δὲ <ί>κ<έτις> ἦκω {ικω} Bernabé, Edmonds on the basis of OF 489; νῦν δ' ἐ<π>ηκ<οον> ἦκω Pugliese Carratelli | <ΠΑΡΑΦΣΕΦ> *lamella*; παρὰ Φ<ερ>σε<φόνειαν> Pugliese Carratelli; παρ<αί> ἀ<γνῆν> Φ<ερ>σε<φόνειαν> Bernabé, Edmonds on the basis of OF 489 || 7 <ΠΕ[.]ΨΕΜΕΔΡΑΣ> *lamella*; πέ[μ]ψ<ηι> {μ} ἔδρας Bernabé, Edmonds; πέ[μ]ψ<ηι> ἔδρας Pugliese Carratelli

<sup>502</sup> At line 4 Bernabé and Edmonds restore ποιναὶν <δ'> <άν>ταπέτε<ισ'> ἔργω<ν ἔνεκ'> ο<ύ>τι δικα<ί>ων on the basis of OF 489; Pugliese Carratelli does not print <δ'> and <ἔνεκ'> since not seen in the tablet. I follow the transcription of Edmonds and Bernabé as the particle δὲ is metrically required, and the preposition ἔνεκα is semantically needed. I also follow Edmonds and Bernabé in restoring <εδάμασσ'> at line 5, since the verb is needed.

**T5.** OF 487. Thurii, gold *lamella*, fourth century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 52-54), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 112-113) and Edmonds (2011a: 20), compared with photographs of the item taken by Katherine McDonald and Christopher Haddad on 10 February 2015 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

Ἄλλ' ὀπότημ ψυχῇ προλίπη φάος ἀελίοιο, |  
δεξιὸν Ε.ΘΙΑΣ δ' ἐξ<ι>έναι πεφυλαγμένον | εὖ μάλα πάν<τ>α·  
χαῖρε παθὼν τὸ πάθ|ημα τὸ δ' οὔπω πρόσθε ἐπεπόνθεις·  
θεὸς ἐγ|ένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου· ἔριφος ἐς γάλα | ἔπετες.  
5 χαῖρ<ε> χαῖρε· δεξιὰν ὀδοιπόρ<ει> |  
λειμῶνάς τε ἱεροὺς καὶ ἄλσεα | Φερσεφονείας.

2 <ΕΞΕΝΑΙ> *lamella*; ἐξι<έ>ναι editors, with <ΕΞΙΝΑΙ> in diplomatic transcription | <ΠΑΝΠΙΑ> *lamella*; πάν<τ>α Pugliese Carratelli and Bernabé with <ΠΑΝΤΑ> in diplomatic transcription; πάντα Edmonds || 3 πρόσθε Pugliese Carratelli; πρόσθ' {ε} Bernabé, Edmonds || 4 <ΕΡΙΦΟΣ> *lamella* with <Ι> apparently corrected from <Υ> || 5 <ΟΔΟΙΠΟΡ> *lamella*; ὀδοιπόρ<ει> Bernabé, Edmonds; ὀδοιπορ<ῶν> Pugliese Carratelli || 6 <ΛΕΙΜΩΝΑΣΤΕΙΕΡΟΥΣ> *lamella*; λειμῶνάς τε ἱερούς Pugliese Carratelli; λειμῶνάς θ' {ε} ἱερούς Bernabé, Edmonds

**T6.** OF 492. Thurii, gold *lamella*, fourth century. Diplomatic transcription based on Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 125-127), compared with photographs of the item taken by Katherine McDonald and Christopher Haddad on 10 February 2015 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Interpretative transcription based on Bernabé (2005: 66-71).

ΠΡΩΤΟΓΟΝΟΘΗΜΑΙΤΙΕΤΗΓΑΜΜΑΤΡΙΕΠΑΚΥΒΕΛΕΙΑΚΟΡΡΑΟΣΕΝΤ  
ΑΙΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣΗΤ  
ΤΑΤΑΙΤΤΑΤΑΠΤΑΖΕΥΙΑΤΗΤΥΑΕΡΣΑΠΤΑΗΛΙΕΠΥΡΔΗΠΑΝΤΑΣΤΗΝ  
ΤΑΣΤΗΝΙΣΑΤΟΠΕΝΙΚΑΙΜ  
ΣΗΔΕΤΥΧΑΙΤΕΦΑΝΗΣΠΑΜΜΗΣΤΟΙΜΟΙΡΑΙΣΣΤΗΤΟΙΓΑΝΝΥΑΠΙΑΝΤ  
ΗΣΥΚΛΗΤΕΔΑΡΜΟΝΔΕΥΧΙ  
ΣΠΑΤΕΡΑΤΙΚΙΑΝΤΑΔΑΜΑΣΤΑΠΑΝΤΗΡΝΥΝΥΝΤΑΙΣΕΛΑΒΔΟΝΤΑΔ  
ΕΠΑΝΤΕΜΟΙΒΗΣΤΛΗΤΕΑΣΤΑ

- 5 ΤΗΜΗΑΕΡΙΠΥΡΜΕΜΜΑΤΕΡΛΥΕΣΤΙΣΟΙΑ·ΕΝΤΑΤΟΝΗΣΣΙΝΝΥΞΙΝΗ  
 ΜΕΘΗΜΕΡΑΝΕΓΛΧΥΕΣ  
 ΕΠΠΗΜΑΡΤΙΝΗΣΤΙΑΣΤΑΝΖΕΥΕΝΟΡΥΤΤΙΕΚΑΙΠΑΝΟΠΤΑΙΕΝΑΙΜΙ  
 Υ·ΜΑΤΕΡΜΑΣΕΠ  
 ΩΥΣΟΝΕΟΕΥΧΑΣΤΑΚΤΑΠΥΑΡΣΥΟΛΚΑΠΕΔΙΩΧΑΜΑΤΕΜΑΝΚΑΛ  
 ΗΑΔΙΕΡΑΔΑΜΝΕΥΔΑΜΝΟΙ  
 ΩΤΑΚΤΗΡΙΕΡΑΜΑΡΔΗΜΗΤΕΡΠΥΡΖΕΥΚΑΡΗΧΦΟΝΙΑΤΡΑΒΔΑΗΤΡΟΣ  
 ΗΝΙΣΤΗΟΙΣΤΝ  
 ΗΡΩΣΝΗΓΑΥΝΗΓΑΟΣΕΣΦΡΕΝΑΜΑΤΑΙΜΗΤΝΝΤΗΣΝΥΣΧΑΜΕΣΤΩΡ  
 ΕΙΛΕΚΟΙΡΗΝ
- 10 ΑΙΑΦΗΡΤΟΝΟΝΣΣΜΜ·ΟΕΣΤΟΝΑΕΡΤΑΙΠΠΑΝΙΛΛΥΗΣΦΡΕΝΑΜΑΡ·  
 ΤΩΣ.

Πρωτογόν<ωι> ΤΗΜΑΙΤΙΕΤΗ Γά<ι> ματρί ΕΠΑ Κυβελεία<ι> Κόρρα<ι>  
 ΟΣΕΝΤΑΙΗ Δήμητρος ΗΤ  
 ΤΑΤΑΙΤΤΑΤΑΠΤΑ Ζεῦ ΙΑΤΗΤΥ ἄερ ΣΑΠΤΑ Ἴηλιε, πῦρ δὴ πάντα  
 ΣΤΗΙΝΤΑΣΤΗΝΙΣΑΤΟΠΕ νικᾷ Μ  
 ΣΗΔΕ Τύχα ΙΤΕ Φάνης, πάμ<ν>ηστοι Μοῖραι ΣΣΤΗΤΟΙΓΑΝΝΥΑΠΙΑΝΤΗ  
 σὺ κλ<υ>τὲ δα<ι>μον ΔΕΥΧΙ  
 Σ πάτερ ΑΤΙΚ παντοδαμάστα ΠΑΝΤΗΡΝΥΝΤΑΙΣΕΛΑΒΔΟΝΤΑΔΕΠ  
 ἀντ<α>μοιβή ΣΤΛΗΤΕΑΣΤΛ

- 5 ΤΗΜΗ ἄερ Ι πῦρ ΜΕΜ Μᾶτερ ΛΥΕΣΤΙΣΟΙΑ·ΕΝΤΑΤΟ Νῆσ<τ>ι Ν νύξ  
 ΙΝΗΜΕΦ ἡμέρα ΜΕΡΑΝΕΓΛΧΥΕΣ  
 ἐπ<τ>ῆμαρ ΤΙ νήστιας ΤΑΝ Ζεῦ ἐνορύττιε(?) καὶ πανόπτα. αἰέν ΑΙΜΙΥ·  
 μᾶτερ, ἐμᾶς ἐπ-  
 <άκο>υσον ΕΟ εὐχᾶς ΤΑΚΤΑΠΥΑΡΣΥΟΛΚΑΠΕΔΙΩΧΑΜΑΤΕΜΑΝ  
 καλ{η}ὰ Δ ἱερά ΔΑΜΝΕΥΔΑΜΝΟΙ  
 ΩΤΑΚΤΗΡ ἱερά ΜΑΡ Δημήτερ, πῦρ, Ζεῦ, Κ<ό>ρη Χθονία  
 ΤΡΑΒΔΑΗΤΡΟΣΗΝΙΣΤΗΟΙΣΤΝ  
 ἦρως ΝΗΓΑΥΝΗ <φ>άος ἐς φρένα ΜΑΤΑΙΜΗΤΝΝΤΗΣΝΥΣΧΑ μῆστωρ  
 εἶλε Κο<ύ>ρην
- 10 αἶα ΦΗΡΤΟΝΟΝΣΣΜΜΟ·ΕΣΤΟΝ ἄερ ΤΑΙΠΠΑΝΙΛΛΥ <έ>ς φρένα ΜΑΡ·ΤΩΣ

5 ΙΝΗΜΕΦ ἡμέρα Bernabé II 10 ἐς φρένα Bernabé

**T7.** OF 476. Petelia, gold *lamella*, fourth century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 33-35), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 67-72), Edmonds (2011a: 22-23; 2011b), compared with photographs of the item taken by the author on 13 December 2016 at the British Museum.

Εύρήσ{σ}εις δ' Αἶδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήν|ην,  
 πὰρ δ' αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἔστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον·|  
 ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσειας. |  
 εὐρήσεις δ' ἑτέραν, τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης |  
 5 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δ' ἐπίπροσθεν ἕασιν. |  
 εἰπεῖν· Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί.  
 δίψῃ δ' εἰμὶ αὖ|η καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι. ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα  
 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέ|ον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.  
 10 καὐτ[οί] σ[ο]ι δώσουσι | πιεῖν θεῖης ἀπ[ὸ κρή]νης,  
 καὶ τότ' ἔπειτα<sup>[-ca. 9-]</sup> ἠρώε|σσιν ἀνάξει[ς  
 Μνημοσύ]νης τόδε ἰ[-ca. 4- ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλῃσι] | θανεῖσθ[αι <sup>-ca. 15-</sup>  
 τόδε γραψ[---]

right margin

[---]ΤΟΓΛΩΣΣΕΙΠΑ σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας.

4 <ETEPAN> *lamella*; ἑτέραν Pugliese Carratelli, Edmonds; ἑτέρα<ι> Bernabé || 11 ἔπειτ' ἄ[λλοισι μεθ'] Pugliese Carratelli, Bernabé; ἔπειτα [τέλη σὺ μεθ'] Edmonds || 12 Μνημοσύ]νης τόδε [†EPION† Edmonds (cf. OF 474); Μνημοσύ]νης τόδε ἰ[ερόν Pugliese Carratelli; Μνημοσύ]νης τόδ<ε> ἔρ[γον Bernabé

#### A.1.2 Comparative testimonies

**T8.** OF 475. Entella, gold *lamella*, third century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 29-32) (= Edmonds 2011a: 32-33) and Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 76-77). The

item now belongs to a private collection in Geneva, and no photograph or facsimile is available; the aforementioned editions are based on Frel (1994) (first editor).

Col. i

[--- ἐπεὶ ἄμ μέλ]λησι θανείσθαι

[--- μ]εμνήμε<v>ος ἥρωσ

[---] σκότος ἀμφικαλύψαι

[--- ἐπὶ] δεξιὰ λίμνην

- 5 [πὰρ δ' αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἔστη]κῶαγ κυπάρισσον  
[ἐνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυ]χαὶ νεκύων ψύχονται  
[ταῦτης τῆς κρήνης μη]δὲ σκέδον ἐ<μ>πέλασ<ασ>θαι  
[πρόσθεν δὲ εὐρήσεις τῆς] Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης  
[ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον·] φύλακοι δ' ἐπύπε<ρ>θ<εν ἔ>ασιν
- 10 [οἷ δὲ σε εἰρήσονται ἐνὶ] φρασὶ πευκαλίμησιν  
[ὅττι δὲ ἐξερέεις Ἄιδος σκότο]ς ὄρφ{ο}νήεντο<ς>  
[εἶπον· Γῆς παῖς εἰμὶ καὶ] Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος  
[δίψαι δ' εἰμὶ αἶος καὶ ἀπόλλ]υμαι ἀλλὰ δότε μοῖ  
[ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πῖναι τῆς] Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης

Col. ii

αὐτὰρ ἐ[μοὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί.]  
καὶ τοι δῆ [ἐρέουσιν ὑποχθονίωι βασιλῆι]  
καὶ τοτὲ τ[οι δώσουσι πῖν τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης]  
καὶ τοτὲ δ[ῆ ---]

- 5 σύμβολα φ[---]  
καὶ φε[---]  
σεν[---]

Col. i.1 θανείσθαι Bernabé; θανέεσθαι Pugliese Carratelli; θανιέσθαι Frel || 2  
μ]εμνήμε<v>ος Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli; ]εμνημεος Frel || 3 ἀμφικαλύψαι Frel, Bernabé;  
ἀμφικαλύψας Pugliese Carratelli || 5 ἔστη]κῶαγ Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli; ]κῶαι Frel || 7  
ἐ<μ>πέλασ<ασ>θαι Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli; ἐπέλασθαι Frel || 9 δ' ἐπύπε<ρ>θ<εν ἔ>ασιν  
Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli; θ ὑποπέθασιν Frel || 11 σκότο]ς ὄρφ{ο}νήεντο<ς> Bernabé; σκότο]ς  
ὄρφνήεντο[ς] Pugliese Carratelli; ]μου φονηεντά (sic) Frel || Col. ii.2 δῆ Pugliese Carratelli; δῆ  
Bernabé; ἄν Frel || 7 σεν[ Bernabé, Frel; σεμ Pugliese Carratelli

**T9.** Tzifopoulos 1 (OF 478). Eleutherna, gold *lamella*, third-first centuries. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 37-38), Tzifopoulos (2010: 9-11) and Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 78-79). Following Tzifopoulos, both <Σ> and <Z> are here transcribed with <ζ>.<sup>503</sup>

Δίψαι αῖος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ πιέ<ν> μοι  
κράνας αἰειρώω ἐπὶ δεξιά, τῆ<ι> κυφάριζος.  
τίς δ' ἐζί· πῶ δ' ἐζί· Γᾶς υἱός ἡμι καὶ Ὠρανῶ ἀστερόεντος.

1 <ΠΙΕ> *lamella*; πιέ<ν> Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli; πιέ<ν> Tzifopoulos || 2 τῆ<ι> Bernabé; τῆ Pugliese Carratelli, Tzifopoulos

**T10.** Tzifopoulos 2 (OF 479). Eleutherna, gold *lamella*, third-first centuries. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 39), Tzifopoulos (2010: 12-13) and Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 80). Following Tzifopoulos, both <Σ> and <Z> are here transcribed with <ζ>.

Δίψαι αῖος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυ{μα}μαι· ἀλλὰ πιέ<ν> μοι  
κράνας αἰειρώω ἐπὶ δεξιά, τῆ<ι> κυφάριζος.  
τίς δ' ἐζί· πῶ δ' ἐζί· Γᾶς υἱός ἡμι καὶ Ὠρανῶ ἀστερόεντος.

1 <ΠΙΕ> *lamella*; πιέ<ν> Bernabé; πιέ<μ> Pugliese Carratelli; πιέ<μ> Tzifopoulos || 2 τῆ<ι> Bernabé; τῆ Pugliese Carratelli, Tzifopoulos || 3 <ACTEPOCNTOC> *lamella* (*epsilon* here is written in the lunate shape); ἀστερόεντος Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli; ἀστερό<ε>ντος Tzifopoulos

**T11.** Tzifopoulos 3 (OF 480). Eleutherna, gold *lamella*, third-first centuries. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 40), Tzifopoulos (2010: 13-15) and Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 81). Following Tzifopoulos, both <Σ> and <Z> are here transcribed with <ζ>.

Δίψαι αῖος {ααυος} ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ πιέμ μου

---

<sup>503</sup> See pp.189-190.

κράνας <α>ιενάω ἐπὶ δε[ξ]ιά, τῆ<ι> κυφάρισζος.  
τίς δ' ἐζί· πῶ δ' ἐζί· Γᾶς υἱός ἡμ<ι> καὶ Ὁρανῶ ἀστερόεντ[ο]ς.

1 {ααυος} Tzifopoulos; {λαυσς} Bernabé; <ΛΑ[.]OC> Pugliese Carratelli in diplomatic transcription (omitted in the text) | <ΠΙΕΜΜΟΥ> *lamella*; πιέμ μου Tzifopoulos; πιέμ μου Pugliese Carratelli; πιέ<ν> μου Bernabé || 2 <ΚΡΑΝΑΣ> Tzifopoulos; <ΙΡΑΝΑΣ> Pugliese Carratelli in diplomatic transcription | <ΛΙΕΝΑΩ> *lamella* | τῆ<ι> Bernabé; τῆ Pugliese Carratelli, Tzifopoulos | <ΚΥΦΑΡΙΣΣΟΣ> *lamella*; κυφάρισζος Pugliese Carratelli, Tzifopoulos; κυφάρισ<σ>ος Bernabé

**T12.** Tzifopoulos 4 (OF 481). Mylopotamos, gold *lamella*, third-first centuries. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 40), Tzifopoulos (2010: 15-17) and Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 82-83). Following Tzifopoulos, both <Σ> and <Ζ> are here transcribed with <ζ>.

Δίψα<ι> δ' ἡμ' αὔος καὶ ἀπόλ<λ><υ>μαι· ἀλ<λ>ὰ  
πιέν μοι κράνας αἰ<ε>ι<ρό>ω ἐπὶ  
δεξιά, τ<ῆ><ι> κυπ<ά>ριζος. τίς δ' ἐζί· π-  
ῶ δ' ἐζί· Γᾶς ἡμι <θ>υ<γ>άτηρ καὶ  
5 Ὁρανῶ ἀστερόεντος.

1 <ΑΠΟΛΟΜΑΙ> *lamella*; ἀπόλ<λ><υ>μαι Bernabé; ἀπόλλ<υ>μαι Pugliese Carratelli; ἀπόλ<λ>ομαι Tzifopoulos || 2 πιέν Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli; πιέν Tzifopoulos | <ΑΙΓΙΔΔΩ> *lamella*, left as such in Tzifopoulos; αἰ<ε>ι<ρό>ω Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli || 3 <ΤΕ> *lamella*; τῆ Tzifopoulos; τῆ<ι> Bernabé; τ<ῆ> Pugliese Carratelli | <ΚΥΠΑΡΙΖΟΣ> *lamella* || 4 <ΓΥΑΤΗΡ> *lamella*, left as such in Tzifopoulos; <θ>υ<γ><ά>τηρ Bernabé; γ<ε>νε<τῆ>ρ (?) Pugliese Carratelli

**T13.** Tzifopoulos 5 (OF 482). Eleutherna, gold *lamella*, third-first centuries. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 41), Tzifopoulos (2010: 17-19) and Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 84). Following Tzifopoulos, both <Σ> and <Ζ> are here transcribed with <ζ>.

Δίψαι αὔος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλ<λ>ὰ πιέμ {ε} μοι  
κράνα<ς α>ί<ε>ιρ<ό>ω ἐπ<ι> δεξιά, τῆ<ι> κυφάριζος.  
τίς δ' {εδ} ἐζ<ι>· πῶ δ' ἐζί· Γᾶς υἱός ἡμι κα<ι> Ὁρανῶ ἀστερόεντος.

1 <ΠΙΕΜΕΜΟΙ> *lamella*; πῆ<ν> {ε} μοι Bernabé; πῆμ {ε} μοι Tzifopoulos; πῆμ μοι  
Pugliese Carratelli || 2 <ΚΡΑΝΑΙΗΡΩ> *lamella* | τῆ<ι> Bernabé; τῆ Pugliese Carratelli, Tzifopoulos

**T14.** Tzifopoulos 6 (OF 483). Eleutherna, gold *lamella*, third-first centuries.  
Text based on Bernabé (2005: 41), Tzifopoulos (2010: 19-21) and Pugliese Carratelli  
(2011: 85-86). Following Tzifopoulos, both <Σ> and <Ζ> are here transcribed with  
<ζ>.

Δίψα<ι> {α} αῦος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλ<λ>υμαι· ἀλ-  
λὰ π<ι>έμ μο<ι> κράνας αἰενάω ἐπὶ δ-  
<ε>ξιά, τῆ<ι> κυφάριζος. τίς δ' ἐζί· πῶ δ'  
<ε>ζί· Γᾶς υἱός <ῆ>μι καὶ Ὀρανῶ ἀστερό-  
5 εντο {σ}ς.

2 <ΠΕΜ> *lamella*; π<ι>έμ Pugliese Carratelli; π<ι>έ<ν> Bernabé; π<ι>έμ Tzifopoulos || 3  
τῆ<ι> Bernabé; τῆ Pugliese Carratelli, Tzifopoulos || 4 <ΙΜΙ> *lamella*; Tzifopoulos transcribes ἱμ;  
<ῆ>μι Bernabé, Pugliese Carratelli

**T15.** Tzifopoulos 9 (OF 484a). Rethymnon, gold *lamella*, second or early first  
century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 42-43) and Tzifopoulos (2010: 25-29).  
Following Tzifopoulos, both <Σ> and <Ζ> are here transcribed with <ζ>.

Δίψαι τοι <α>ῦος παρ<α>π<ό>λλυται·  
ἀλλ<ὰ> π{α}ιέν μοι κράνας α<ι>-  
<ει>ρ<ό>ου ἐπ' {α} ἀρι<σ>τερὰ τᾶς κυφα{σ}-  
ρίζω. τ<ι>ς δ' εἶ ἢ πῶ δ' εἶ· Γᾶ-  
5 ς ἡμ{ο}ὶ μάτηρ ΠΩΤΙΔΕΤ  
[κ]αὶ <Ο>ύρανῶ <ἀ>στε<ρόεντος> ΤΙΣΔΙΨΑΙΤΟ  
ΙΛΤΟΠΥΤΟΟΠΑΣΡΑΤΑΝΗΟ

1 {τοι} Bernabé || 2 π{α}ιέν Bernabé; π{α}ιέν Tzifopoulos || 2-3 <ΑΥΡΟΥ> *lamella*;  
α<ι><ει>ρ<ό>ου Bernabé; <Σ?>αύρου Tzifopoulos || 4 <ΤΗC> *lamella* || 5 <ΠΩΤΙΔΕΤ> *lamella*;

{πωτιαετ} Bernabé; πῶ· τί· ΔΕΤ Tzifopoulos || 6-7 {τισδιψαιτοιατοιωτοοπασρατανηο} Bernabé; τίς·  
δίψαι τοι ΛΤΟΗΥΤΟΟΠΑΣΡΑΤΑΝΗΟ Tzifopoulos

**T16.** OF 477. Pharsalos, gold *lamella*, second half of the fourth century: text based on Bernabé (2005: 35-37), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 73-75) and Edmonds (2011a: 24).

Εὐρήσεις Ἀίδαο δόμοις ἐνδέξια κρήνην,  
πὰρ δ' αὐτῆι | λευκὴν ἐστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον·  
ταύτης τῆς κρήνης | μηδὲ σχεδόθεν πελάσηισθα·  
πρόσσω δ' εὐρήσεις τὸ Μνη|μοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης  
5 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προ<ρέον>· φύλακες | δ' ἐπύπερθεν ἕασιν·  
οἱ δέ σ' εἰρήσονται ὅ τι χρέος | εἴσαφικάνεις·  
τοῖς δὲ σὺ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαν ἀληθείη<v> | καταλέξαι·  
εἰπεῖ<v>· Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστ<ερόεντος>·  
Ἄστέριος ὄνομα· δίψηι δ' εἰμ' αὔος· ἀλλὰ δότε μοι πῖν ἀπὸ τῆς  
10 κρήνης.

6 σ<ε> Bernabé, Edmonds; σ' Pugliese Carratelli || 7 <ΑΛΕΘΕΙΗ> *lamella*; ἀληθείη<v>  
Pugliese Carratelli, Bernabé; ἀληθείην Edmonds || 8 <ΕΠΕΙΓ> *lamella*; εἰπεῖ<v> Bernabé; εἰπεῖν  
Edmonds; εἰπεῖγ Pugliese Carratelli || 9 πῖν Pugliese Carratelli; πῖν' Bernabé, Edmonds

**T17.** OF 485. Pelinna, gold *lamella*, fourth century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 43-52), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 114-115) and Edmonds (2011a: 36).

νῦν ἔθανες | καὶ νῦν ἐγ|ένου, τρισόλβ|ιε, ἄματι τῶιδε. |  
εἰπεῖν Φερσεφόν|αι σ' ὅτι Β<άκ>χιος αὐτὸς | ἔλυσε.  
τα {ι} ὕρος |εἰς γάλ<α> ἔθορες.  
αἰ|ψα εἰς γ<ά>λα ἔθορες.  
5 <κ>ριὸς εἰς γάλα ἔπεσ<εσ>. |  
οἶνον ἔχεις εὐ|δ<α>ίμονα τιμῆ<v> |  
κα<ῖ> <σ>ὸ μὲν εἶς ὑπὸ γῆν τε|λέ<σ>ας ἄ|περ ὄλ|βιοι ἄλ|λοι.

5 <ΧΡΙΟΣ> *lamella* || 7 <ΚΑΠΥΜΕΝΕΙΣΥΠΟΓΗΝΤΕΛΕΑΑΣΑΠΕΡ> *lamella*; κα<ι>  
<σ>ὸ μὲν εἶς ὑπὸ γῆν τελέ<σ>ας ἄπερ Bernabé; καὶ σὺ μὲν εἶς ὑπὸ γῆν τελέσας ἄπερ Edmonds;  
κάπ<ι>μένει σ' ὑπὸ γῆν τέλεα ἄσσαπερ Pugliese Carratelli

**T18.** OF 486. Pelinna, gold *lamella*, fourth century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 43-52), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 116-117) and Edmonds (2011a: 37).

νῦν ἔθανε<ς> | καὶ νῦν ἐ|γένου, τρισόλ|βιε, ἄματι | <τῶι>δε.

<ε>ἰπ[ε]ῖν Φερ|σεφό<ναι σ'> ὅτι Βά<κ>χιο|ς αὐτὸς ἔλυσε.

ταῦρος ἐ<ς> γάλα ἔ|θορ<ε>ς.

κριὸς ἐς γάλα | ἔπεσε<ς>

5 οἶνον ἔ|χεις εὐδ<αί>|μον<α> τιμήν.

5 <ΕΥΔΜΟΝ> *lamella*; εὐδ<αί>μον<α> Bernabé, Edmonds; εὐδ<αί>μον Pugliese Carratelli

**T19.** OF 484. Unknown provenance (possibly Thessaly), gold *lamella*, fourth century. Text based on Bernabé (2005: 42), Pugliese Carratelli (2011: 94-95) and Edmonds (2011a: 29).

Δίψαι αὔος ἐγὼ κάπόλλυμαι· | ἀλλὰ πίε<μ> μου

κράνας αἰειρόω· | ἐπὶ δεξιὰ λευκὴ κυπάρισσος |

τίς δ' ἐσί· πῶ δ' ἐσί· Γὰς υἱός εἰμι | καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος· |

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον.

1 κ<αί> ἀπόλλυμαι Bernabé, Edmonds; κάπόλλυμαι Pugliese Carratelli | πίε μου Bernabé, Edmonds; πίε<μ> μου Pugliese Carratelli

## A.2 Ephesia Grammata

### A.2.1 Texts from South Italy

**T20.** I.Locri 92 (OF 830e). Locri, lead tablet containing *Ephesia Grammata*, ca.400. Text as printed in Del Monaco (2013: 147-151); cf. Costabile (1999: 29-42); Jordan (2000a: 96-101); Del Monaco (2012: 129-139).

Frr. *a-c, f, g*

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 [---]ΕΟΣΤΗΦΕΣ[-ca. 8-]  
 [Ασκι Κ]ατασ[κι] Υσκι Ασιν Ενδασιν ἐ[ν ἀμολγοῖ.]  
 [-ca. 9- ἐκ κ]άπῶ ἐλα[ύ]νει ἀπὸ ἀλ[-ca. 8-] | [-ca. 4-] ὄνυ[μα]  
 Τετρακο<ς>.  
 — ΑΩΣ σοὶ δ' ὄνυμ[α Τρεχ, -ca. 5- ἀνεμόλιος ἀ]κτὰ κραγᾶν.  
 5 Λ — {h} ὄλβιος [hῶι κε τάδε] | [σκεδαθεῖ] κ[ατ' ἀμαξ]ιδὸμ «Αῖ». OA — καὶ φρασὶν [αὐτὸς ἔχῃ μακάρων κατ' ἀμα]ξ<ι>τὸν αὐδᾶ<ν>, «Τραχ Τετρ[αχ Τετρακος».] | [Δαμναμεν]εῦ, δάμασον δὲ κακὸς ἀέ[κοντας ἀνάγκαι,] [hός κέ μ]ε σίνεται κα<ι> hοὶ κακ[ὰ κόλλοβα] | [δδοσι.]  
 10 [-ca. 4-] hός τε Διὸς μνάσαιτο hεκάτ[οῖο τε Φοῖβῶ] [-ca. 9- κ]αὶ hύδρα{α}ς ++P+[-ca. 10-] | [-ca. 7-]φιος οὗ κα δαλέσαιτο οὐδ' ἀ[ῖ πολυφάρμακ ~ - ×] [---Δι]ὸς hυ[ῖος -ca. 8-] [---]ΥΑΣΤΕ++ΕΑΝΘΕΒΑΜΒΑΛΕ+[---] vac.

## A.2.2 Comparative testimonies

**T21.** Rocca 6. Selinus, lead tablet containing *Ephesia Grammata*, second half of the fifth century. Text as printed in Rocca (2009: 23-27).

A

τύχα

]υσκι κατὰ σκιρὸν ἐν δ' ἀμ[ο]λγῶ[ι]

αῖγ]α βίαι ἐ<κ> κάπου ἐλαύνει τᾶιδ' ὄνομα Τετ[ραγος

δαμνυμενα δάμασον δὲ κακὸς ἀ<έ>κοντας

5 ὄ]ι κε τόδε σκεδαθῆι κατασκευονιαος καὶ φρασ[ίν  
ἔ]χῃ μακάρων ἄπο κέδεα εἰδός

B

σ]κιρὸν ἐν δ' ἀμο[λγ]δ[ι  
ἐ]λαύνει τ[ᾶ?]ιδ' ὄνο<μ>α Τετ[ραγος  
δάμ]ασον [δ]ὲ κακῶς ἀ<έ>κοντα[ς  
σκεδαθῆ]ι κατα[σι]κονιαος καὶ φρασ[ίν  
5 ἄπο κέδε[α ε]ιδός

**T22.** Rocca 7. Selinus, lead tablet containing *Ephesia Grammata*, second half of the fifth century. Text as printed in Rocca (2009: 28-30).

A

τύχα  
]υσски κατ[ὰ σκιρὸν  
βίαι ἐ<κ> κάπου [  
δ]αμνυμενα [  
5 ]τόδε σκεδα[θῆι  
ἔ]χῃ μακάρων [  
5 ὄλβιος ὄ]ι  
αὐτὸς ε[

B

]σεφ[  
ασски[  
αἰξ αἰγ[α  
Τετρα[γος  
5 ὄλβιος ὄ]ι  
αὐτὸς ε[

**T23.** OF 830f. Himera, lead tablet containing *Ephesia Grammata*, fifth century. Text as printed in Jordan (2000b).

## A

Ασκι Κ[ατ]ασ{ι}κι [<sup>vac? max. 5</sup>]  
 υσ[?κ]ι ασα ε<ν>δα[<sup>-ca. 2-</sup>]Ο άμολ[γῶι <sup>vac?</sup>]  
 ΟΣΔ[<sup>-ca. 1-2-</sup>]ΠΙΑ έ<κ> κᾶπῶ έλαύ[νετε]  
 τῶι δ' ὄνο<μ>α Τετρα[γος]  
 5 άνεμόλιο<ς> άκτά  
 Ο[?]Ο ὄλ<β>ιος  
 ὀι κατᾶ

## B

δὲ σκε<δ>αθῆ<ι> κα[τ'] ΑΜΟΔΑ[  
 ]ρρνει[<sup>-ca. 2-</sup>]φο  
 ] κεφασ[<sup>-ca. 1-2-</sup>] . . .

**T24.** Jordan-Kotansky (2011), col. ii 14-23, col. iii 1-8. Selinus, lead tablet containing *Ephesia Grammata*, late fifth or early fourth century.

## Col. ii

[Ασκι Κατασ]κι Κατασκι Αασσιαασια Ενδασι[αν <sup>-min. 5-</sup> πρὸς (?)]  
 15 ἄμολγὸν {αἴξ} αἴγα βίαι ἐκ κ[ήπου] ἔλαυνε]  
 {τῶι δ' ὄνομα τέτραγος ΗΗΔ[<sup>-ca. 9-</sup>]  
 ΤΕΤΡΟΑΝΑΡ ἄγετε ΤΡΑΓ[<sup>-ca. 5-</sup>] ἄνε-]  
 μῶλιος ἀ[κ]τέ {ἠυδάτων ΙΘ[<sup>-ca. 8?-</sup> ]]  
 ὄλβιος ὦι [κε] τάδε σκεδαθ[ῆι κατ ἄμα-]  
 20 ξιτὸν Ιω [καὶ] φρασὶν αὐ[τὸς] ἔχηι]  
 [μακάρων κατ' ἄμ]εξατὸ[ν] αὐδῆν]  
 [Τραξ Τετρακ Τ]ετραγο[ς] Δαμναμενεῦ]  
 [δάμασον δὲ κακῶς ἀ]ἔ[κοντας] ἀναγκηι]

## Col. iii

[<sup>-ca. 10-</sup>]ΚΕΙΘΝ[  
 [ἔρχομαι αὐτ]οκέλε<υ>σ[τος] ἐγὼ διὰ νύκτα βάθειαν (?)]  
 [<sup>-ca. 9-</sup>]ΩΣΕΙΣΚ[<sup>-ca. 1-2-</sup>]ΟΝ[

- [FHρακλέη]ς Διὸς υἱὸς [.]ΙΣΤΕ[-ca. 9-] πάγκακ[ον ἡμαρ]  
 5 [ἴδμων (?) ἠός τε] Διὸς μνήσαιδ' <h>εκάτιό <τε> Φ[οίβου]  
 [ἡδ' Ἥρακλῆο]ς τόξων καὶ ἠύδρης πολυ[κρήνου]  
 [Παι]ήων ἡ[ο] γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀλέξιμα φάρμακα πέ[μπει]  
 [οὐ]κ ἂν δειλήσαιτ' {οὐδείς} οὐδ' αἶ πολυφάρ[μακος ἦκοι (?)]  
*vacat*

**T25.** OF 830c. Phalasarna, lead tablet containing *Ephesia Grammata*, fourth or third century. Text based on Jordan (1992), Brixhe-Panayotou (1995) and Bernabé (2005: 355-357). Verses J-Q Jordan.

- J Ασκι Κατασκι {Κατασκι} Αασιαν Ενδασιαν ἐν ἀμολγῶι  
 K [αἰ]ξ αἶγα βίαι ἐκ κήπο<υ> ἐλαύνετε τ[ῶ]ιδ' ὄνομα Τέτραγ[ος] |  
 L σοὶ δ ὄνομα Τρέξ < - ~ - > ἀνεμῶλιος ἀκτῆ  
 M ὄλβιο[ς] ὦι κ<α>τὰ δ<ῆ> σ[κ]εδαθῆι κατ ἀμαξιτὸν ἰώ.  
 N κ[αἰ] φρεσὶν αὐτὸς [vac.?] | ἔχη μακάρων {μακάρων} κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν α[ὐ]δάν  
 O Τραξ Τετραξ Τετραγος  
 P Δαμναμενεῦ [vac.] | δάμασον δὲ κακῶς [ἀ]έκοντας ἀνάγκα[ι]ς  
 Q ὅς κέ με σίνται <τε> καὶ οἱ κακὰ κόλλοβα δῶσι

J {Κατασκι} Αασιαν Ενδασιαν ἐν Jordan; {κατασκι} αασια{ν} ενδασια{ν} <τ'> ἐν Bernabé; κατασκια ασιαν ενδασιαν ἐν Brixhe-Panayotou | K [αἰ]ξ Jordan; [{αἰ]ξ?} Bernabé; [λ]ιξ Brixhe-Panayotou || <ΚΗΠΟ> tablet; κήπο<υ> Bernabé; κήπο Jordan, Brixhe-Panayotou | ἐλαύνετε τ[ῶ]ιδ' ὄνομα Bernabé; ἐλαύνετε τ[ῶ]ι ὄνομα Jordan; ἐλαύνει τεύ[χω] (?) ὄνομα Brixhe-Panayotou || M <ΩΙΚΤΑΔΕΣ[.]ΕΔΑΘΗΙ> tablet; ὦι κ<α>τὰ δ<ῆ> σ[κ]εδαθῆι Bernabé; ὦι κ<α>τὰ δὲ σ[κ]εδαθῆι Jordan; ΩΙΚΤΑΔΕΣ σ[κ]εδαθῆι Brixhe-Panayotou || N κ[αἰ] φρεσὶν αὐτὸς [vac.?] ἔχη μακάρων {μακάρων} κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν αὐδάν Bernabé; κ[αἰ] φρεσίλυτο[ς] ἔχη μακάρων μακά[ρ]ων κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν α[ὐ]δάν Brixhe-Panayotou; Κ[ΟΙ]ΦΡΕCΙΑΛΛΥΤΟ[vac.?] ἔχη μακάρων {μακάρων} κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν α[ὐ]δάν Jordan; cf. Bettarini (2012: 122-123) for αὐδάν || P ἀνάγκα[ι]ς Bernabé; ἀνάγκα[ι] Jordan; ἀνάγκα[ι] Brixhe-Panayotou || Q κόλλοβα δῶσι Bernabé; ΚΟΛΛΟΒΑΔΟΙCΙ Jordan

### A.3 Other metrical inscriptions



a.1 ΚΑΡΙ

b.1 τὸμ Πριάμου καλέω θρασὺν Ἔκτορα.

τὸμ Πρ[ιάμο]υ κα[λέω] θρασὺν Ἔκτορα.