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AMMIANUS' GREEK ACCENT*

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The question of how Ammianus' Greek origins affected his Latin history, both in linguistic usage and in literary and intellectual approach, has long been an issue in scholarly debate. After a brief survey of the various ways in which Ammianus' Greek identity has been investigated, I focus on a particular feature that merits more attention and is informative both about Ammianus and about Latin/Greek bilingualism in Late Antiquity: his use of the Greek word accent on Greek words in his Latin text, a feature observable because of his exceptionally regular and fundamentally accentual system of prose rhythm. The details and oddities of his Greek accents are considered, as is the question of to what extent he can be seen as typical. In the use of Greek accentuation in clausulae*, as elsewhere, it seems that Ammianus wanted to speak in a Greek accent.*

Perhaps the best known fact about Ammianus Marcellinus is that he was a Greek who wrote in Latin, defining himself in the closing words of his history as (Amm. Marc. 31.16.9) *miles quondam et Graecus*, "a former soldier and a Greek"[1]. But Ammianus' history exudes his bilingual and bicultural identity in countless ways that have been widely recognised. In this essay I summarize the main approaches (section 1) before considering one which has been less discussed. My title exploits an ambiguity in English, translatable into some other languages. "Ammianus' Greek accent" can be interpreted on the one hand as a vivid metaphor for Greek linguistic influence on the historian's Latinity (and the presence of *some* Greek interference in Ammianus' Latin is inarguable, though there has been disagreement on its extent); the metaphor could be extended from

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[1] For bibliography on the interpretation of this multivalent phrase see Kelly 2007, esp. 220-221.

linguistic to cultural aspects of Greekness. But I also refer to the use of the Greek word accent on Greek words in the text of Ammianus. Although this may seem a narrow and technical issue, I shall show (sections 2 and 3) that Ammianus' *Res Gestae* is an exceptionally revealing text for discussion of Greek accentuation in Latin, and will suggest that it provides a useful way of engaging with the larger question of how to interpret the author's claims to Greek identity.

1. Ammianus' Greek identity

The role of Greekness in Ammianus' identity can be seen in various ways, from the biographical to the generic, to the specific use of Greek in his work, to underlying elements of his Latin style. It is clear from such elements of his life as Ammianus reveals in the *Res Gestae* that he was a long-term resident of Antioch (whether or not he was a native of the city is a more debateable and debated question)[2], both one of the great Hellenic cultural centres of the East and also, in his youth, an imperial residence with a concomitant Latin-speaking military and administrative class[3]. In his conception of history Ammianus has also seemed closer to the Greek tradition: for instance, he embarks on exceptionally detailed geographical and technical digressions that stand far closer to the Greek historiographical tradition than to earlier Latin historians. In one of them he praises a source for being Greek both in language and careful scholarship (15.9.2: *Timagenes, et diligentia Graecus et lingua*) – oft-quoted words that seem to capture something of Ammianus' self-image. It is a distinct and ostentatious feature of Ammianus' style, particularly in *exempla* and in the aforementioned digressions, to pair historical figures or locations from the Greek and the Roman traditions[4].

In treating the presence of the Greek language in the text, it goes without saying that Ammianus, like any Latin author, uses abundant Greek names in his text (but we shall see below that there are interesting things to be said about this wholly commonplace feature). There are two more obviously striking features: the first is the way that Ammianus' history contains substantial chunks of Greek text, unusual in their extent in a Latin historical text, to a degree that would seem more suited to a scholarly work like Gellius' or Macrobius'[5]: he quotes a trans-

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[2] There has been much debate (too much, perhaps) on Libanius *Epist*. 1063, addressed to an Antiochene named Marcellinus who was enjoying literary success at Rome, since Fornara 1992a challenged the longstanding consensus that this Marcellinus was the historian. See e.g. Bowersock 1990; Barnes 1993, 57-61; 1998, 54-64 (siding with Fornara); Barceló 1993; Matthews 1994; Rota 1994; Sabbah 1997 (disagreeing); and my own equivocal conclusions (with a few further references) at Kelly 2008, 111-118.

[3] Antioch was the residence of the emperors Constantius II between 335 and 350 and Gallus Caesar between 351 and 354; see Matthews 1989, 70-80, esp. 70-74, on the city's culture.

[4] This has been well discussed by Classen 1972 and 1998; see now Hose 2011, esp. 109-114.

[5] For the relative absence of code-switching from various genres, including historiography, see Adams 2003, 308-309; the discussion of code-switching in Cicero's letters that follows (308-347) is a particularly valuable example of how to assess this phenomenon in a literary text.

lation, nearly two pages, of the hieroglyphs on a Roman obelisk (17.4.17-23); Greek oracular verses are quoted in full (21.2.2, 29.2.33 partially reprised at 31.14.8, and 31.1.4; four, three, and eight lines respectively), as is a short two-line epigram (25.4.17); he also quotes individual verses of Homer (15.8.7, 23.6.62), two iambics of Menander (21.14.4), and a short proverb (29.2.25). These are split more or less evenly between component parts of the narrative (the various oracles, for instance) and digressions.

The second notable feature is that the history also contains a significant array of short Greek phrases and individual words. But whereas the long passages are left in Greek letters, a majority of the shorter ones are transliterated in the manuscript tradition[6]; and whereas the longer passages of Greek are untranslated, Ammianus in the great majority of the shorter ones explains the meaning of what are either genuinely technical usages (the details of eclipses at 20.3, for example) or ostentatiously learned ones. In most cases he does this in a distinct way. There are a few cases where the passive or another impersonal form is used (e.g., 21.1.8: …*quae tethimena sermo Graecus appellat*, "which the Greek language calls *tetheimena*" [i.e. things fixed and immutable]). Mostly, however, the author clearly identifies himself with the Greek language, through use of the first person plural verb, the pronoun *nos*, *Graeci,* or *Graece* governing or modifying the verb, or a mixture of the three[7]. I give some examples with *appellare*, the commonest verb used[8]:

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[6] Historically many editors turned these transliterated forms uniformly into Greek letters. There are no Greek letters or places where Greek letters might be a possibility in the six pages and two scraps that survive of the *Hersfeldensis,* one of the two only authoritative manuscripts. Seyfarth 1978, xxi, is probably prudent to assume that the editor should be guided by the readings of the sole authoritative manuscript for the rest of the text, V, however fallible it may be, and the implication that the author was not consistent when choosing between the Greek and Roman alphabets; I think, though, that it is likely that more was originally in Greek letters than Seyfarth prints. The lack of confidence about writing Greek felt by the scribe of V is illustrated by the fact that he left a gap of a page and a half instead of copying in full the Greek text of the obelisk inscription at 17.4.18-23; the full text only survives because Gelenius took it from the *Hersfeldensis* for his edition of 1533. Greek letter forms seem justified by the manuscript tradition at 20.3.4, 20.3.11 (where ἀπόκρουσιν, "waning", is a certain correction of ms. V's *ACTOKPICIN*), 22.8.17, 22.9.7, and twice at 30.4.3. To these we should add 18.6.22, where Seyfarth instead of ὁρίζοντας prints the transliterated form *horizontas*, even though ms. V has *opizontac*, and probably 20.3.10, where Seyfarth writes *menoides* for ms. V's *menoid hoc*: *hoc* looks like it has come from the Greek termination -*HC*, and we should print Gelenius' μηνοειδής ("crescent-shaped"). In rather more places there is insufficient evidence to change from the Roman transliterations: 14.11.8, 17.7.11, 19.8.11, 20.3.9, 20.3.10, 22.8.33, 22.8.41, 22.15.29, 23.4.10, 23.6.20, 25.2.5, 26.1.1, 26.1.8. I would only point out that in some of these cases Seyfarth "improves" the Latin orthography of Greek words (e.g. *phantasias* for ms. V's *fantasias* at 14.11.18 and *euphronen* for *eufronen* at 22.8.33). On the use (or not) of Greek script in Latin texts of this period, see Pelttari 2011.

[7] For Ammianus, *nos* can also of course denote his other identity as a Roman, especially in military situations. See Viansino 1985, II.160-161.

[8] Other verbs include, e.g., *dictitamus* (20.3.4); *vocamus* (20.3.11); *cognominamus* (23.4.10); on *dico* see below at note 10.

night visions (14.11.18): *visa nocturna, quas fantasias nos appellamus*
crevices (17.7.11): *cavernis minutis terrarum quas Graece syringas appellamus*
the horizon (18.6.22): *terrarum omnes ambitus subiectos, quos* ὁρίζοντας *appellamus*
atoms (26.1.1): *individua illa corpuscula volitantia per inane, atomos, ut nos appellamus*
veins (30.6.5): *meatus aliqui, quos haemorrhoidas nunc appellamus*[9].

Glossing Greek vocabulary is of course not an uncommon practice in Latin literature, but it is highly unusual for the Latin author to define himself as a Greek. In fact, it is the precise opposite of the normal expression: to Ammianus' definition of the *visa nocturna* (14.11.18) "which we call *fantasiae*", we may compare glosses of the same term by Cicero (*Ac*. 1.11: *quam ille* φαντασίαν *nos visum appellemus licet,* "we may call vision what he [Zeno] called *phantasia*"), Quintilian (*Inst.* 6.2.29: *quas* φαντασίας *Graeci vocant nos sane visiones appellemus*, "what the Greeks call *phantasiai*, we call 'apparitions'"), and Gellius (*NA* 11.5.6: *visa quas* φαντασίας *appellant*, "the visions that they call *phantasiai*"). In Ammianus this first person plural is always used to define Greek speakers rather than Latin speakers. One passage has sometimes been considered exceptional, an explanation of the name of the city of Pessinus (22.9.7): *quidam enim figmento deae caelitus lapso* ἀπὸ τοῦ πεσεῖν*, quod cadere nos dicimus, urbem adservere cognominatam*. The meaning has sometimes been understood as "…some have claimed that the city is named after the sculpture of the goddess that fell from the heavens, from πεσεῖν, which we call 'to fall'". But as Jan den Boeft has rightly pointed out in an article and in the co-authored commentary, it is clear from parallel cases at 22.8.33, 22.15.29, and 23.6.20 that we should not take the implied subject as being "we Latin speakers" but "we Greek speakers". Den Boeft suggests translating "from *pesein*, which is our word for *cadere*"[10]. In fact, given the ambiguity and the lack of a regular *clausula* at *dicimus*, it seems likelier than not that the word *Graeci* has been lost after *dicimus*.

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[9] "Nocturnal visions, which we call *fantasiai*"; "the tiny crevices in the earth that we call *syringes* in Greek"; "the whole circuit of the lands spread out beneath us, which we call *horizontes*"; "those indivisible particles that fly constantly through the void, *atomoi*, as we call them"; "certain passages for the blood, which we [now?] call *haemorrhoidai*". On diversions from Seyfarth's text at 14.11.18 and 18.6.22 see note 6 above. At 30.6.5 ms. V has *heroidas* for *haemorrhoidas* (conjectured by Accursius, also printed by Gelenius, and certainly right, even if the precise medical meaning is puzzling); comparison to other cases suggests that Kellerbauer's correction of *nunc* to *nos* should probably be accepted.

[10] Den Boeft 1991, 12, and Den Boeft *et alii* 1995 *ad loc*., correcting Sabbah 1978, 510, and Matthews 1989, 107. The parallel passages are 22.8.33: *ut euethen Graeci dicimus stultum, et noctem eufronen, et furias eumenidas* ("just as we Greeks call a fool *euēthes*, and night *euphronē*, and the Furies *Eumenides*"); 22.15.29: [the pyramid is so-called] *quod ad ignis speciem, tu pyros, ut nos dicimus,| extenuatur in conum* ("because it narrows into a cone that

As well as these various overt displays of bilingualism and biculturalism, however, scholarly readers have also long seen linguistic Greekness as a deep and partially subconscious quality of Ammianus' prose. "Er denkt Griechisch", Eduard Norden remarked in his account of Ammianus in *Die Antike Kunstprosa*. The suggestion that Ammianus thought in Greek is a recurring theme of Timothy Barnes' *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*[11]. One does not have to agree with Norden's and Barnes' phrasing to acknowledge that Ammianus' bilingualism does affect his writing. In an article of 1991, which is by a distance the best study of the subject, Jan den Boeft approaches the topic with awareness of modern research on bilingualism, and couches the question in terms of the linguistic interference that is characteristic of bilingualism. He suggests that while Ammianus' skill in Latin is unquestionable and that Grecisms are widespread in the Latin of unequivocally Latin-oriented authors, this does not remove the possibility of an unusual tendency to Grecisms, and concludes with the slight preference for viewing Ammianus as a bilingual dominant in Greek rather than balanced. A few examples demonstrate some of the ways in which this can be seen:

a. 15.5.7: *testabatur enim id se procul dubio scire| quod, siqui mitteretur externus,| suopte ingenio Silvanus etiam nulla re perterrente timidior| composita forte turbabit*[12].
b. 14.6.6: *et ubique patrum reverenda cum auctoritate canities| populique Romani nomen circumspectum et verecundum*[13].
c. 14.5.4: *accedebant enim eius asperitati,| ubi imminuta vel laesa amplitudo imperii dicebatur,| et iracundiae suspicionumque vanitati| proximorum cruentae blanditiae| exaggerantium incidentia| et dolere impendio simulantium,| si principis periclitetur vita …* [14].

Greek influence in moods and tenses is typified by the use of the future indicative in indirect speech, as if following ὅτι or ὡς, in passage a; in vocabulary the

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looks like fire, *tou puros* as we call it"); 23.6.20: *transire enim diabenin dicimus Graeci* ("for we Greeks for *transire* say *diabenin*"): i.e. διαβαίνειν, to explain the name Adiabena. The transliteration of αι as *e* and ει as *i* presumably reflects Greek pronunciation: the spelling with *e* makes it a better etymology, even if the *e* of Adiabena is actually an eta. This may suggest that this transliteration is Ammianus' choice rather than that of an intermediate scribe.

[11] Norden 1909, 648; Barnes 1998, viii, and, e.g., 65-78, 225-230.

[12] "He attested that he knew beyond doubt that if somebody was sent from outside, Silvanus, by his nature inclined to nervousness even when there was nobody to scare him, would perhaps disturb the situation".

[13] "And everywhere the grey locks of the senators are respected along with their authority, and the name of the Roman people is admired and revered".

[14] "Also adding to his harshness, whenever the greatness of his imperial command was said to be diminished or damaged, and to his propensity to anger and empty suspicions, were the blood-drenched blandishments of those closest to him, who would exaggerate coincidences and pretend to be deeply grieved if the life of the prince were threatened".

occasional choice of a word where the meaning seems governed by the Greek equivalent is exemplified in passage b: *circumspectus* here does not have either meaning attested in *OLD* ("1. Carefully considered, guarded. 2. Cautious, wary, prudent"), but seems used to represent the direct Greek equivalent, περίβλεπτος ("looked at from all sides, admired of all observers", *LSJ*). One persistent resemblance to Greek is the fondness for neuter plural participles (e.g. *composita* in passage a, *incidentia* in c, the latter probably a calque of the Greek τὰ συμπεσόντα, as Norden suggested)[15]. The use of the participle is in general far more characteristic of Greek than of Latin, and Ammianus is fond of using it in ways rare in Latin: in the nominative singular in long periodic sentences, the neuter plural, as we have just seen, in the genitive plural where one would expect a relative clause (*exaggerantium* and *simulantium* in passage c again). Jan den Boeft (1991, 14-16) has pointed out that a sample of Ammianus had close to 100 participles per 1000 words, twice as many as samples of Livy and Tacitus and four times as many as Sallust.

I should emphasize the point that these observations should not be seen as reflecting negatively on Ammianus' Latinity – since in the past they *have* often been associated with precisely such a view: Norden saw Ammianus' thinking in Greek as "the natural consequence of the author's inability to express himself in correct Latin" – a view very much of its time, when Ammianus was often stereotyped as an adult learner, struggling to express himself in Latin of the camps[16]. But John Matthews, *inter alios*, has illuminated the bilingual and bicultural atmosphere of the Antioch of Ammianus' youth; and the point that Ammianus was steeped in Latin literary culture has been increasingly reaffirmed, in an important article by Fornara, in the detailed work of the Dutch commentary, and in my book of 2008 (one review of which was entitled "A very Roman Ammianus")[17]. "It is surely improbable a priori that one who thought in Greek preferred Latin over Greek sources", writes Barnes at one point, but my own investigations of those bicultural exempla have revealed that in a great many cases Ammianus' sources for Greek history are demonstrably Latin, far more than the other way around[18].

2. Prose rhythm

I turn now to my main subject, prose rhythm. This has played some part in the debate on the Greek template of Ammianus' work – but, I suggest, not enough. Although some earlier readers, like Henri de Valois (Valesius) in the seven-

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[15] Norden 1909, 648; followed by *ThLL* [= *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*] 7.905.9-14; Den Boeft 1991, 14.

[16] Norden 1909, 648: "Zwar ist dieses Gräcisieren kein beabsichtiges, sondern die natürliche Folge der Unfähigkeit des Schriftstellers, sich in korrektem Latein auszudrücken".

[17] Matthews 1989, 70-80 (cited note 3 above); Fornara 1992b; Kelly 2008, esp. part II; Kulikowski 2008, itself a significant contribution to the question.

[18] Barnes 1998, 76. My notes go beyond what I published in Kelly 2008, ch. 6.

teenth century, show signs of having understood Ammianus' method, it was not until the 1890s that scholarly understanding was really attained, above all through the work of Meyer, and the great milestone in the editing of Ammianus came about because of this[19]. Charles Clark – the first American to edit a major Classical author, backed by German sponsors and collaborators, and helped by the research of his pupil Harmon – published an edition whose attention to prose rhythm was highlighted on the title page (*recensuit rhythmiceque distinxit Carolus U. Clark*). To summarize what is reasonably well known: Ammianus' prose rhythm is not metrical and based on quantity, like that of Cicero, nor a mixture of the metrical and the accentual like that of most of his contemporaries. Rather, it is fundamentally accentual, with any concern for quantity a purely secondary matter[20]. The cursus bears a close resemblance to what would become standard in the Middle Ages: it consists of a system whereby between the last two syllables of the clause to carry the stress accent there is an even number of unstressed syllables[21]. The four basic types are as follows, where ó represents the accented and ~ the unaccented syllable:

Type I (*cursus planus*): ó~~ó~
Type II (*cursus tardus*): ó~~ó~~
Type III (*cursus velox*): ó~~~~ó~
Type IV (also *cursus velox*, or *cursus octosyllabicus*): ó~~~~ó~~

The *sphragis* of the history can serve as a brief illustration of their regularity (31.16.9):

Haec ut miles quóndam et Graécus (I) *a Caesare Nérva exórsus* (I) *ad usque Valéntis intéritum* (II) *pro virium explicávi mensúra* (I)*, opus veritátem profés-sum* (I) *nunquam, ut árbitror, scíens* (I) *silentio ausus corrúmpere vel mendácio* (IV). *Scribant reliqua potióres aetáte* (I)*, doctrínis floréntes* (I). *Quos id, si libúerit, aggressúros* (III) *procudere linguas ad maiores móneo stílos* (I)[22].

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[19] See for example Valesius *ad* 14.11.34, where in the last words of book 14: *montium pondera scrutari poterit* in earlier editions, he corrects to *putabit*: *haec libri totius clausula nimis languide sonat, nec cothurnatis Ammiani numeris respondet* ("this closing rhythm for the whole book sounds too feeble and does not chime with Ammianus' high-flown rhythms"); see e.g. Meyer 1893.

[20] For metrical elements see e.g. Harmon 1910, 187; Hagendahl 1923, 29-46.

[21] Or very rarely six: see Harmon 1910, 168-170.

[22] "These events, beginning from the principate of Nerva Caesar up to the death of Valens, I, a soldier once and a Greek, have unrolled to the best of my strength: it is a work which claims truthfulness and which, so I think, I have never knowingly dared to warp with silence or falsehood. Let the rest be written by men with youth on their side, in the bloom of learning. To those who would embark on this, if it pleases them, I give the advice to forge their tongues to grander styles."

According to Harmon, who based himself on Book 21 in Gardthausen's text, they occur in the following approximate proportions: I, 45%, II, 27%, III, 24%, IV 3% (though a survey of sentence endings only over nine books found III markedly more popular than II). An article by Steven Oberhelman reached roughly similar figures on similar data[23].

Harmon found the regularity of Ammianus' cursus remarkably high – something like 97.5%. In the remaining 2.5%, Harmon was able to restore or emend the manuscript reading to present a better text in most cases, though it is excessive enthusiasm to emend all faulty clausulation. The explanation of the cursus was rightly judged by one of Clark's reviewers, Robert Novák (1911, 293), to be equal in value to the discovery of a new manuscript; and I have reached the conclusion while embarking on an English translation of Ammianus that editors and commentators since Clark have consistently underestimated its role in the establishment of the text. In a more systematic study of Latin prose authors between 200 and 450, Steven Oberhelman came up with figures similar to those of Harmon and found his system of clausulation all but unique in being purely accentual and in being so completely regular. This total regularity of Ammianus' clausulation, and the absence or secondariness of metrical criteria, means that we can get a better idea from him than from perhaps any other Classical Latin author about his use of the stress accent. For example, exceptions to the normal recessive rule of Latin accentuation include *adhúc*, *dé-inde*, *dé-inceps*; Ammianus cannot have pronounced *qu-* as a single labio-velar consonant, since the *u* is counted around half the time as a separate vowel; the syllable immediately before the enclitic *-que* is stressed even when short[24]. The clausulation, then, helps us in reconstructing not only what Ammianus wrote, but also how he heard and produced the language.

Cursus is thus relevant to the issue of Ammianus' Greek identity, for two reasons. Oberhelman, as we have seen, found Ammianus' system all but unique among Latin authors. But his purely accentual approach and the lack of certain rhythms (including the Ciceronian *esse videatur*) brings him closely into line with the practice first found in Greek sophists – Himerius and Themistius – of the previous generation, who used *clausulae* based on the Greek accent (now of course for many centuries a stress accent rather than a pitch accent). For Barnes this seemed a clear demonstration of his thesis of the dominance of Greekness (although he ignored elements of Oberhelman's argument, such as the possibility that Ammianus was following his predecessors in historiography like Tacitus in ignoring metrical clausulation)[25].

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[23] Harmon 1910, esp. 167-168; Oberhelman 1987.

[24] Observed by Harmon 1910 respectively at 208, 226-232, and 209.

[25] Barnes 1998, 225-230; criticised by Paschoud 1999. It should be noted that Oberhelman's searches focused on literary texts; one area that might be worth further investigation is the production of the imperial administration (legislation, imperial letters preserved in ecclesiastical collections or on inscriptions, etc.).

The second feature – my focus here – is the treatment of accents on Greek words, of which we have already seen that there is a good sprinkling in Ammianus, and names. The fundamental differences of the Greek and Latin accents here come into play. What the cursus shows is that in the large majority of cases Ammianus incorporates the Greek accentuation into Latin.
Perhaps the most striking examples of this phenomenon come in words which would be accented on their long penultimate syllable by the normal Latin rules, but which are nevertheless stressed on the antepenult by Ammianus (i.e. proparoxytone):

17.7.11 : *terrarum minutis cavernis,* | *quas Graece sýringas appellámus* (III);
18.6.22 : *terrarum omnes ambitus subiectos,* | *quos* ὁρίζοντας *appellámus* (III);
20.3.11 : *quem habitum uocámus* ἀπόκρουσιν (II);
19.4.7 : *et prima species luis pándemos appellátur* (III) *… secúnda epídemos* (II)[26].

A second group is words of three syllables and more with a short penultimate syllable that nevertheless carry an accent on the penult (i.e. are paroxytone), whereas in Latin the penultimate law would make them proparoxytone. This is the case in two of the three words glossed at 22.8.33, where the accented syllables of εὐφρόνην and εὐμενίδας are both metrically short:

> *ut euethen Graeci dícimus stúltum,*| *et nóctem eufrónen,*| (I) *et fúrias eumenídas* (III)[27].

The same phenomenon can be found repeatedly, especially with proper names (e.g., 19.4.4: *ut Thucydídes expónit* (I); 22.13.3: *Asclepiádes philósophus* (II); 27.4.8: *Euripídis sepúlchrum* (I))[28].
A third difference between the two accentual systems is the presence of words in Greek accented on the final syllable (oxytone, barytone, perispomenon), which stands in contrast to the almost wholly recessive nature of the Latin accent. To take two examples (19.8.11, 22.15.29)[29]:

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[26] "The tiny crevices in the earth which we call '*syringes*' in Greek", "the whole circuit of the lands laid out below, which we call *horizontes*", "this appearance we call *apokrousis*", "and the first type of plague is called *pandemos*… the second *epidemos*". For a fuller list see Harmon 1910, 212-213.

[27] "Just as 'good-natured' is what we Greeks call a fool, and night 'well-disposed', and the Furies 'the kindly ones'".

[28] In this last instance clausulation is not marked by Seyfarth. For further examples of this type see Harmon 1910, 214-215.

[29] I have chosen these examples because they are absent from Harmon's list (1910, 215); he also lists places where Greek final syllable accents are not maintained in Ammianus' Latin.

terrigenas illos… qui quoniam inopini per vária visebántur| spartoí vocitáti|…[30];
[the pyramid is so-called] *quod ad ignis speciem*, *tu pyrós, ut nos dícimus,| extenuatur in conum*|[31].

There are some Greek words for which Ammianus does not use Greek accentuation. For example, Homérus is used in preference to Hómerus[32]. The notary Theodorus, who was thought a potential successor to Valens, is accented on the long penultimate syllable, not on the antepenult as he would be in Greek[33]: presumably his Gallic origins and/or his status in a Latin-speaking civil service meant that Latin accentuation was used. On the other hand, Greek accentuation is found in well-known geographical names – Périnthus, Aégyptus – and words which one might expect to be Latinized. Even though Alexander is a Latinized form, Alexander the Great is always Aléxander:

15.1.4 : *namque etiam si mundorum infinitates Demócriti régeret| quos Anáxarcho incitánte| Magnus somniábat Aléxander…*;
18.3.7 : *ad regem Aléxandrum míttens*[34];
20.7.17 : *ut aedificatum a Macedone credátur Aléxandro*;
21.8.3 : *Id enim Aléxander Mágnus| et deinde alii plures| negotio ita poscente| periti fecere ductores*[35];
23.6.2 : *cum apud Babylona Magnum fata rapuíssent Aléxandrum*;
23.6.3 : *Nicátore Séleuco*,|[36] *eiusdem Aléxandri successóre*;
23.6.8 : *ut bella praetereámus Aléxandri*[37].

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[30] "Those earthborn who, because they appeared all of a sudden in various places, were called *sown men*" (ms. V has *sparto*, Gelenius *Sparti*). This passage gives a nice example of the confusion that Ammianus' Greek accentuation can cause, in the misinterpretation in De Jonge's commentary *ad loc.*, where he assumes that *spartoi* would receive a Latin accent on the first syllable and proceeds from this assumption to defend ó~~~ó~ as a legitimate *clausula*.

[31] "…because in the shape of fire, *tou pyros* as we call it, it narrows into a cone".

[32] E.g. 22.15.3 *Homérus appéllat*, 19.4.6 = 23.6.21 *Homéro auctóre.*

[33] 29.1.8, 14, 34 is conclusive (*excéllere Theodórus*, *quóqüe Theodórus*, *coeptans dícere Theodórus* (all III), *in negotio Theodóri caesórum* (I); at 29.1.25 there need not be a *clausula* after *Theodori causam* and at 29.1.12 *Theodorus a Constantinopoli* would produce an extremely unusual *clausula* (Harmon's type VI) even with the proparoxytone *Theódorus*. One might consider deleting *a* to regularize the *clausula* as type IV, but it looks right in the light of the following verb *rapi*.

[34] Clausulation not marked by Seyfarth.

[35] Internal clausulation not marked by Seyfarth.

[36] For the accentuation of Seleucus cf. 14.8.2 *Seleucia, opus Séleuci régis* ("Seleucia, the work of King Seleucus").

[37] 15.1.4: "for even if he ruled Democritus' infinite number of worlds, of which Alexander the Great dreamed under the stimulus of Anaxarchus…"; 18.3.7: "sending to king Alexander"; 20.7.17: "to the extent that it is believed to have been built by Alexander of Macedon"; 21.8.3: "for this was what Alexander the Great had done, and many other skilful generals after him, when occasion so required"; 23.6.2: "after the fates had snatched away the

The use of hyperbaton to ensure the *clausula*, often a feature of Ammianus' style, is particularly noticeable in some of these examples. It is a pity that the one mention apiece of a magistrate named Alexander and of the emperor Alexander Severus (23.2.3, 26.6.20) does not come near the end of a clause: it would be interesting to see whether this practice would extend to more obviously Roman figures.

One other distinct feature about Ammianus' practice will probably not have escaped alert readers. In Greek, the length of the final vowel can change accentuation on the penult and antepenult (so Ἀλέξανδρος and Ἀλέξανδρον are proparoxytone, but Ἀλεξάνδρου and Ἀλεξάνδρῳ paroxytone). The accent does not move from antepenult to penult in the way we might expect in the Greek proper names used by Ammianus: it remains *Aléxandro* or *Aléxandri* (we have also seen *Séleuco*, *Anáxarcho*). In the coded message sent by Procopius from the Persian court, Ammianus reports him as saying that the king was *non conténtus Hellésponto* ("not satisfied with Hellespontus": 18.6.18). Likewise Ammianus named the city of which he may have been a native *Antióchīa*, even in oblique cases. The accentuation of Greek words in Latin on the syllable on which it appears in the nominative, lemma-form, even when that accentuation is incorrect in Greek, is an important feature that requires explanation.

3. Possibilities and prospectives

The previous section has pointed out a number of aspects of accentuation in Ammianus which could be of interest for the study both of Ammianus and of the Latin of his period. It is important for both aims to have some idea to what extent Ammianus' practice in adapting Greek into Latin is individual and down to his unusual background and literary aims, and to what extent it represents the norm of how Greek vocabulary was incorporated into Latin. Might Greek words generally have been pronounced in Latin in such a way?

It is certainly the case that Greek pronunciation of Greek accents in Latin, even when the declension is in Latin, is admitted and even prescribed in late antique grammatical writers[38]. So Sergius writes (Keil IV.483.29), *Graeca autem suis accentibus pronuntianda esse noscamus* ("however, we should recognize that Greek words are to be pronounced with their own accents"). This, true enough, can be confirmed by other sources. For example, Ammianus stresses the short penult of Euripides (27.4.8: *Euripídis sepúlchrum* ("Euripides' grave")); and an interesting parallel comes in Sidonius (*Carm.* 9.234): *orchestram quatit alter Euripidis* ("another rouses again the stage of Euripides"), where the scansion — ⏑ — x (for the correct — — ⏑ x) represents the Greek accented sylla-

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Great Alexander at Babylon"; 23.6.3: "Nicator Seleucus, successor of the said Alexander"; 23.6.8: "not to mention the wars of Alexander".

[38] In all this I follow the lead of Harmon 1910, 218-219.

ble with a long and shortens a long syllable[39]. For example, in Prudentius (*Perist.* 10) the wicked prefect Asclepiades consistently scans with a long penult (e.g. 42: *Asclepiades ire mandat milites*, cf. 108, 392, 548, 687), again presumably a Latin rendering of a Greek accent, showing that a Westerner speaking of a Roman official could use the Greek accent – just as Ammianus did for a contemporary philosopher with the same name (22.13.3, cited above). Of course whether these particular cases can be generalized we cannot know: it might be that a pronunciation with penult accent was easily adopted in Latin, where it did not contradict the normal accentual rules of the language, while Aléxander, Theópompus, and Hómerus would have seemed stranger – and indeed Ammianus did not adopt the third.

The exceptional retention of the Greek antepenultimate accent in a word other than that on which it could legitimately stand, and on which it could not properly stand in Latin, either, is also attested, as Harmon noted, in the pseudo-Sergius (Keil IV.528.2-8): *In quibusdam enim nominibus licet videre plerosque recti casus ambiguo tenore deceptos mendose oblicos proferre, ut qui in patrico casu Evandri et tyranni primam syllabam acuunt potius quam mediam, nullam secuti rationem. Nam neque a Graecis ea nomina, cum casu isto sunt, aliter quam paenultima acuta proferuntur, Εὐάνδρου τυράννου dicentibus, nec rursum a nobis, quia paenultima positione longa semper acuenda est* ("In some nouns, you can see that many people are led astray by the uncertain accent of the nominative case and render the oblique cases wrongly, as when in the genitives *Evandri* and *tyranni* they accent the first rather than the middle syllable, not following any rule. For these nouns aren't pronounced any way other than with accented penult by the Greeks, who say Εὐάνδρου, τυράννου, nor again by us, since a long syllable is always accented in penultimate position").

Now, there are methodological problems in leaning too much on the condemnations of grammarians, which not always connected with reality. This grammarian might be the equivalent of those today who chide English-speakers for treating the word 'data' as singular. It might be that such a pronunciation was so widespread that nothing can be drawn from it. The tendency to preserve the proparoxytone in oblique cases can be paralleled in modern and not-so-modern Greek[40]. On the other hand, it would seem a legitimate conclusion from pseudo-Sergius that this was exactly the sort of hypercorrection that it would be odd for a learned Greek like Ammianus to make, and that if he did, it was because he wanted to display his Greekness.

Is there a solution to this problem? Clearly more work is needed on examples

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[39] Presumably Sidonius' error was facilitated by the fact that for metrical reasons the name Euripides is absent from earlier Latin poetry.

[40] See Probert 2006, 51-52, on the general confusion σαββάτου/σάββατου in Modern Greek (a language of which I have no knowledge); the latter form can be found as early as Romanos Melodos in the sixth century (see Mitsakis 1967 *passim*, e.g. 8, 24-25), and it would be interesting to see if it could be found any earlier.

from other authors, even if the nature of Ammianus' clausulation means that their evidence is less likely to be as remarkable as his. My strong inclination is to think that the appearance of forms like *Aléxandri* should be seen not as an ordinary element of speech or an unwitting solecism, but as a deliberate choice (solecism or not) to sound Greek. This seems entirely in keeping with the persona of the author, with the ostentatious facility with which Ammianus inserted extended passages of untranslated Greek into his text, and with the very distinct way that he cites and glosses Greek words while identifying himself as a Greek (the extent to which he used Greek script has probably been underestimated in Seyfarth's edition, and readiness to use it was less common than one might think in the period)[41]. The fact that Greek words are easily fitted into his *clausulae* (as opposed to being kept away from the end of the sentence, or exempted from the normal prose rhythm) is also worth noting. Contrast him to a Latin contemporary, who was just as meticulous in clausulation but a less confident Hellenist, Q. Aurelius Symmachus: of the six words in his letters likely to have been written in Greek script, all are carefully kept away from the *clausula*[42]. Wider study is needed, but a quick examination of another later Latin author who used abundant Greek, Macrobius, does not suggest that individual words and short phrases of Greek are regularly fitted into Latin rhythm. Ammianus' comfortable code-switching is of course facilitated by a system of prose rhythm close to that of his Greek contemporaries and not dependent on quantity – which might have made mixing Greek into his Latin much harder. But this system was close enough to other contemporary systems of prose rhythm for it to have been obvious to Ammianus' first readers that the author's voice said *pyrós*, *Thebaís*, *Thucydídes*, *horízontas*, *Antióchiae*, *Aléxandro*. In short, Ammianus *wanted* to speak Latin with a Greek accent.

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[41] See Pelttari 2011, and note 6 above.

[42] Cameron 2011, 385-386: Symmachus *Epist*. 1.1.2, 1.14.2, 3.44, 3.47, 8.17.1, 9.110.2. The sample is too small to be sure that this is deliberate avoidance; a more detailed comparison with the practice of a more confident Hellenist like Macrobius should be a next step, along with other fourth- and fifth-century Latin authors who, like Symmachus and Macrobius, use the *cursus mixtus* (i.e. partly accentual, partly metrical).