

BILINGUALISM IN CASSIUS DIO AND THE SECOND SOPHISTIC

1) Latin into Greek:

a) Three methods, illustrated by *consul* and *quaestor* (after Rochette 2010, 291)

- i. transcription (*per transcriptionem*): consul to κωνσούλ; quaestor to κ(ο)υαίστωρ
- ii. the calque (*per translationem*): consul to σύμβουλος; quaestor to ταμίας
- iii. equivalence (*per comparationem*): consul to ὑπατος quaestor to ζητητής

b) Dio on **tribunes** and **emperor**:

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>i. Dio Cass. 4.15: τῆ...τῶν Λατίνων γλώσση καλουμένους <u>τριβούνους</u> (οὕτω γὰρ οἱ χιλίαρχοι κέκληνται), <u>δημάρχους</u> δὲ προσαγορευμένους τῆ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ.</p> | <p>The men were called <u>in the tongue of the Latins</u> tribuni, — the same name that was given to the commanders of a thousand, — but were styled démarchoi [leaders of the people] <u>in the Greek language</u>. (tr. Cary <i>hīc et infra</i>)</p> |
| <p>ii. Dio Cass. 6.19: εἷς δε τις, ὃν <u>πρίγκιμα</u> μὲν τῆς μὲν τῆς <u>γερουσίας</u> ὠνόμαζον (λέγοιτο δ' ἂν καθ' Ἑλληνας <u>πρόκριτος</u>), συμπάντων προεἶχε τὸν χρόνον ὃν προεκρίνετο (οὐ γὰρ διὰ βίον τις ἐς τοῦτο προεχειρίζετο), καὶ προέφερε τῶν ἄλλων τῷ ἀξιώματι, οὐ μὴν καὶ δυνάμει ἐχρητό τι.</p> | <p>There was...one man, styled princeps of the senate (he would be called protikos by the Greeks), who was superior to all for the time that he was thus honoured (a person was not chosen to this position for life) and surpassed the rest in rank, without, however, wielding any power.</p> |

2) Dio (and Plutarch) on Roman Greek-Latin Bilingualism

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>a) Dio. Cass. 60.17.4-5: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῆ διαγνώσει αὐτῆ ἐποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐπέθετο τῆ Λατίνων γλώσση τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τινος, Λυκίου μὲν</p> | <p>During the investigation of this affair, which was conducted in the senate, he put a question <u>in Latin</u> to one of the envoys who had originally been a Lycian,</p> |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντος Ῥωμαίου δὲ γεγονότος: καὶ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ συνῆκε τὸ λεχθέν, τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφείλετο, εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖν Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διάλεξιν σφῶν ἐπιστάμενον. συχνούς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀναξίους τῆς πολιτείας ἀπήλασε, καὶ ἐτέροις αὐτὴν καὶ πάνυ ἀνέδην, τοῖς μὲν κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοις, ἐδίδου.</p> | <p>but had been made a Roman citizen; and when the man failed to understand what was said, he took away his citizenship, saying that it was not proper for a man to be a Roman who had no knowledge of the Romans' language. A great many other persons <u>unworthy</u>* of citizenship were also deprived of it, whereas he granted citizenship to others quite indiscriminately, sometimes to individuals and sometimes to whole groups.</p> <p><i>*Van Herwerden proposes <ὡς> καὶ ἀναξίους ("on the ground that they were unworthy")</i></p> |
| <p>b) Plut. <i>Flam.</i> 5: Πύρρον μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀπὸ σκοπῆς κατεῖδε τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων διακεκοσμημένον, εἰπεῖν οὐ βαρβαρικὴν αὐτῷ φανῆναι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων παράταξιν οἱ δὲ Τίτῳ πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνοντες ἠναγκάζοντο παραπλησίως ἀφιέναι φωνάς. ἀκούοντες γὰρ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων βαρβάρου [p. 336] στρατιᾶς ἔπεισι δι' ὄπλων πάντα καταστρεφόμενος καὶ δουλούμενος, εἶτα ἀπαντῶντες ἀνδρὶ τὴν τε ἡλικίαν νέῳ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φιλανθρώπῳ, φωνὴν τε καὶ διάλεκτον "Ἑλληνι καὶ τιμῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐραστῇ, θαυμασίως ἐκηλοῦντο, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπιόντες ἐνεπίπλασαν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν ὡς ἐχούσας ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐλευθερίας.</p> | <p>Now, we are told that Pyrrhus, when for the first time he beheld from a look-out place the army of the Romans in full array, had said that he saw nothing barbaric in the Barbarians' line of battle; and so those who for the first time met Titus were compelled to speak in a similar strain. For they had heard the Macedonians say that a commander of a barbarian host was coming against them, who subdued and enslaved everywhere by force of arms; and then, when they met a man who was young in years, <u>humane in aspect, a Greek in voice and language, and a lover of genuine honor</u>, they were wonderfully charmed, and when they returned to their cities they filled them with kindly feelings towards him and the belief that in him they had a champion of their liberties. (tr. Perrin)</p> |
| <p>c) Dio Cass. 45.2.7-8: ἐξ οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ μεγάλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπελπίσας ἐς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας αὐτόν ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤσκει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα προσήκει τῷ μέλλοντι καλῶς καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τηλικούτο κράτος διοικήσειν ὑπάρχειν ἀκριβῶς ἐξεπαίδευσεν: λόγοις τε γὰρ ῥητορικοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι τῆ τῶν <u>Λατίνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆδε τῆ γλώσση</u>, ἤσκειτο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐρρωμένως ἐξεπονεῖτο, τὰ τε πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀρχικὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἐδιδάσκετο.</p> | <p>Caesar, accordingly, founded great hopes upon [Octavian] as a result of all this, enrolled him among the patricians, and trained him for the rule, carefully educating him in all the arts that should be possessed by one who was destined to direct well and worthily so great a power. <u>Thus he was practised in oratory, not only in the Latin language but Greek [lit. "in this language] as well, was vigorously trained in military service, and thoroughly instructed in politics and the art of government.</u></p> |
| <p>d) Dio Cass. 72.35-36: <u>πάμπολλα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ παιδείας ὠφελήθη</u>, ἔν τε τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς ἔν τε τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγοις ἀσκηθεῖς: τῶν μὲν γὰρ τόν τε Φρόντωντα τὸν Κορνήλιον καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη τὸν Κλαύδιον διδασκάλους εἶχε, τῶν δὲ τόν τε Ρούστικον τὸν Ἰούνιον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Νικομηδέα, τοὺς Ζηγωνεῖους λόγους μελετῶντας, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ <u>παμπληθεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπλάττοντο, ἵν' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλουτίζωνται</u>. πλεῖστον δὲ ὁμως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐξήρθη: <u>καὶ γὰρ πρὶν ἐκεῖνοις ὀμιλῆσαι, ἰσχυρῶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὄρητο</u>. . . οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἄλλως τε καλῶς ἐπεφύκει καὶ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὠφελήθη,</p> | <p>[Marcus Aurelius'] education was of great assistance to him, for he had been <u>trained both in rhetoric and in philosophical disputation</u>. In the former he had Cornelius Fronto and Claudius Herodes for teachers, and, in the latter, Junius Rusticus and Apollonius of Nicomedeia, both of whom professed Zeno's doctrines. As a result, <u>great numbers pretended to pursue philosophy, hoping that they might be enriched by the emperor</u>. Most of all, however, he owed his advancement to <u>his own natural gifts</u>; for <u>even before</u> he associated with those teachers <u>he had a strong impulse towards virtue</u>. . . This shows how excellent</p> |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><u>Ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ Λατίνων ῥητορικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγων, καίπερ ἐς ἄνδρας ἤδη τελῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα αὐταρχήσεων...ἐκ δ'...τῆς πολλῆς ἀσχολίας τε καὶ ἀσκήσεως ἀσθενέστατον τὸ σῶμα ἔσχε, καίτοι τοσαύτη εὐεξία ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χρησάμενος ὥστε καὶ ὄπλομαχεῖν καὶ σὺς ἀγρίους ἐν θήρᾳ καταβάλλειν ἀπὸ ἵππου, τὰς τε ἐπιστολάς τὰς πλείστας οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοχειρία τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις γράφειν.</u></p> | <p><u>was his natural disposition, though it was greatly aided by his education. He was always steeping himself in Greek and Latin rhetorical and philosophical learning, even after he had reached man's estate and had hopes of becoming emperor...As a result of his close application and study he was extremely frail in body, though in the beginning he had been so vigorous that he used to fight in armour, and on the chase would strike down wild boars while on horseback; and not only in his early youth but even later he wrote most of his letters to his intimate friends with his own hand.</u></p> |
| <p>e) Dio Cass. 69.3-5: ἦν δὲ Ἀδριανὸς γένος μὲν βουλευτοῦ πατρὸς ἐστρατηγηκότος Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄφρου ὁὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάζετο, φύσει δὲ φιλόλογος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γλώσσῃ: καὶ τινα καὶ πεζὰ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι ποιήματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπε. φιλοτιμία τε γὰρ ἀπλήστῳ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα καὶ τὰ βραχυτάτα ἐπετήδευε: καὶ γὰρ ἔπλασσε καὶ ἔγραφε καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ εἰρηνικὸν καὶ πολεμικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν εἶδέναι ἔλεγε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν πού τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔβλαπτεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ φθόνος αὐτοῦ δεινότατος ἐς πάντας τοὺς τιμῆς προέχοντας ὧν πολλοὺς μὲν καθεῖλε συχνοῦς δὲ καὶ ἀπώλεσε. βουλόμενος γὰρ πάντων ἐν πᾶσι περιεῖναι ἐμίσει τοὺς ἐν τιμῇ ὑπεραίροντας. κακὸν τοῦτου καὶ τὸν Φαουωρίνον τὸν Γαλάτην τὸν τε Διονύσιον τὸν Μιλήσιον τοὺς σοφιστὰς καταλύειν ἐπεχείρει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς σφῶν ἐξαιρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν μηδενὸς τοὺς δὲ βραχυτάτου τινὸς ἀξίους ὄντας.</p> | <p>As regards birth Hadrian was the son of a man of senatorial rank, an ex-praetor, Hadrianus. Afer by name. <u>By nature he was fond of literary study in both the Greek and Latin languages, and has left behind a variety of prose writings as well as compositions in verse. For his ambition was insatiable, and hence he practised all conceivable pursuits, even the most trivial; for example, he modelled and painted, and declared that there was nothing pertaining to peace or war, to imperial or private life, of which he was not cognizant. All this, of course, did people no harm; but his jealousy of all who excelled in any respect was most terrible and caused the downfall of many, besides utterly destroying several.</u> For, inasmuch as he wished to surpass everybody in everything, he hated those who attained eminence in any direction. It was this feeling that led him to undertake to overthrow two sophists, Favorinus the Gaul, and Dionysius of Miletus, by various methods, but chiefly by elevating their antagonists, who were of little or no worth at all.</p> |

3) Dio on Hannibal

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Dio Cass. 13.54.2-5: κ ... ωτατος τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπογνωτάτου καὶ διαρκέστατος ἐς τὸ φερεγγυώτατον ἦν: τὸ τε αἰεὶ παρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διετιθετο καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἰσχυρῶς προενόει, βουλευτὴς τε τοῦ συνήθους ἰκανώτατος καὶ εἰκαστῆς τοῦ παραδόξου ἀκριβέστατος γενόμενος, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ τε ἤδη προσπίπτον οἱ ἐτοιμώτατα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καθίστατο, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς λογισμοῖς προλαμβάνων ὡς καὶ παρὸν διεσκόπει. κακὸν τοῦτου καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐφήρμοζεν, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ τε ὑπάρχον καὶ τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον</p> | <p>[Hannibal] was most resourceful in the suddenest emergency, and most steadfast to the point of utter trustworthiness. Not only did he safely handle the affair of the moment, but he accurately read the future beforehand; he proved himself a most capable counsellor in ordinary events and a most accurate judge of the unusual. By these powers he not only handled the situation immediately confronting him most readily and in the briefest time, but also by calculation anticipated the future afar off and considered it as though it were actually present. Consequently he, above all other men, met each occasion with suitable</p> |
|--|--|

ποιούμενος. ἐδύνατο δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω πράττειν, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ πολλῇ μὲν Φοινικικῇ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον πολλῇ δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνικῇ ἥσκητο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μαντικὴν τὴν ἰδιὰ σπλάγγων ἠπίστατο. τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενος ἀντίρροπον καὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαίτη, παρεσκεύαστο, ὥσθ' ὅσα ἐνεχειρίζετο ῥαδίως κατεργάζεσθαι. κοῦφόν τε γὰρ καὶ ἐμβριθὲς ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεῖν καὶ συνίστασθαι ἵππευειν τε ἀνὰ κράτος ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο. καὶ οὔτε πλήθει ποτὲ τροφῆς ἐβαρύνετο οὔτε ἐνδείᾳ ἔκαμνεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ τὸ πλεόν καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον, ὡς καὶ αὐταρκες ἐκάτερον, ἐλάμβανεν. ταῖς τε ἰταλαιπωρίας ἰσχυρίζετο, καὶ ταῖς ἀγρυπνίας ἐρρώννυτο. ”

words and acts, because he viewed the expected and the actual in the same light. He was able to manage matters thus for the reason that in addition to his natural capacity he was versed in much Phoenician learning common to his country, and likewise in much Greek learning, and furthermore he understood divination by the inspection of entrails. In addition to such mental qualities he was also equipped with a physique that had been brought to a state of equal perfection, partly by nature and partly by his manner of life, so that he could carry out easily everything that he undertook. He kept his body agile and at the same time as compact as possible; and he could with safety, therefore, run, or stand his ground, or ride at furious speed. He never burdened himself with overmuch food, nor suffered through lack of it, but took more or less with equal readiness, feeling that either was satisfactory. Hardship made him rugged, and on loss of sleep he grew strong. Possessing these advantages of mind and body, he managed affairs in general as follows.

Recent bibliography on ancient bilingualism and multilingualism

J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (eds.) *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Alex Mullen and Patrick James (eds.) *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Bruno Rochette, “Greek and Latin Bilingualism”, in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* edited by E. J. Bakker (Chichester/Malden, MD: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 281-293.

Bruno Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec. Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain. Collection Latomus 233.* (Leuven: Peeters Publishing, 1997).

Other works cited

Adam Kemezis, *Greek Narratives of the Roman Empire under the Severans: Cassius Dio, Philostratus and Herodian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Jesper Majbom Madsen, “Patriotism and Ambitions: Intellectual Response to Roman Rule in the High Empire”, in *Roman Rule in Greek and Latin Writing: Double Vision. Impact of Empire, 18* edited by Jesper Majbom Madsen and Roger Rees (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 16-38.

Simon Swain, “Hellenic Culture and the Roman Heroes of Plutarch”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 110 (1990), 126-145.

Ruth Webb, “Schools and *Paideia*”, in Daniel S. Richter and William A. Johnson (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 139-155.