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Philogelos 63 and the Meaning of ἔώρα*

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In an unassuming story 63 from the *Philogelos* collection, a one-eyed governor goes εἰς ἔωρα, praising to his companion “the grapevines on the left side (of the road)”. A set of attested meanings of ἔωρα / αἰώρα (literally, ‘a hanging’, ‘swinging’) does not suit the context. The story is extant only in a longer variant of the collection; its first editor, J. F. Boissonade (1848), supposed that ἔωρα in this context means ‘grapes suspended from trees.’ The successive commentators and translators, having accepted his idea, understand it as ‘a vineyard’; meanwhile, the Greek lexicons, from *LSJ* to F. Montanari, have ignored both Boissonade’s interpretation and the passage itself. The article stresses that Boissonade profited from an unmentioned gloss of G. Wakefield, surviving in the London (1821) and Parisian (1831) revisions of *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* of Henri Estienne, as well as from the glossed passage *Suda* αἰ 261 Adler itself (a schoolroom interpolation in the text of Babr. 19). While in Ps.-Babrius the word is used in its common meaning (‘something hanging’), in the context of *Philog.* 63 one expects rather a statement of the purpose of the governor’s outing: the words “when he went out into the vineyard”, lacking any explanation whatever, make an *ex abrupto* beginning. Dismissing the interpretation of Boissonade, the author draws attention to the fact that in writers of the 5–6th c. ἐωρίζομαι (Malal. *Chron.* II, 8; V, 3 Thurn; cf. Hesych. ε 7751 Latte) and ἔωρησις (Ioseph. *Hypomn.* 46) are attested in the meanings ‘to take a walk’ and ‘a walk’ *resp.*; the same meaning should be supposed for ἔωρα in *Philog.* 63. In all probability, the semantic shift from ‘swinging’ to ‘walking’ was prompted by the usage in the Empire of αἰ-/ἔωρα, αἰ-/ἔωρησις as equivalents to the Latin *gestatio* — a therapeutic practice of a mild agitation of the patient’s body (be it in a carriage, a litter, on board a ship, or in a hammock). Medical prescriptions of doctors and literary works of their clients alike mention *gestatio* alongside walking, which may have contributed to a broadening of respective units.

Keywords: *Philogelos*, ἔωρα, *gestatio*, Ancient Greek lexicology, Ancient Greek lexicography.

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Σχολαστικός συνεκάθητο ἡγεμόνι δεξιόπῳ. Εἰς ἑώραν (ῶραν **M**) οὖν ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπαινοῦντος <τὰς add. Eberhard> ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς μέρεσιν ἀμπέλους· Ὅταν ἐπανερχώμεθα, φησί, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη ἀρέσει σοι. (*Philog.* 63)

“A *scholastikos* was serving as an assessor to a provincial governor who was blind in the right eye. Once, when he went out εἰς ἑώραν (we leave this word as yet untranslated. — V.Z.) and was praising the grapevines to his left, *scholastikos* said, ‘On our way back, you will be pleased with the opposite side as well’”.

The point of the story is clear: fawning on his superior, an obsequious underling commits *une gaffe*. The term συγκάθημαι (an assessor is an adviser competent in technical points of law and court procedure sitting as assistant to a provincial governor) was misinterpreted in the influential edition of Alfred Eberhard,¹ to be later set aright by Andreas Thierfelder.² Our lot is thus the leftover piece ἑώρα which has not yet, unlike the other *unicum* δεξιόπῳρος (v. *infra*), had its due.

The noun ἑώρα (= αἰώρα), derived from ἀ(ε)ίρω, is well attested.³ In passing, it is to be stressed that the initial ἐ-, though a solecism often enough, was spun up by the learned speculations of the grammarians of the Empire, who saw in ἑώρα the true Attic spelling. This erroneous conclusion was grounded, firstly, on Soph. OR 1264: πλεκταῖς ἑώραις ἐμπεπλεγμένην· ὁ δέ... (where αἰώραις would be unmetrical), and secondly, on the adjective μετέωρος; cf. Eust. *in Il.* vol. I, p. 614 Van der Valk (= Dionys. Att. α *59 Erbse): ὅτι δὲ ἢ ῥηθῆῖσα αἰώρα καὶ διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ ἔχει τὴν ἄρχουσαν, ὡς δηλοῖ οὐ μόνον τὸ ‘πλεκταῖς ἑώραις ἐμπεπλεγμένην’, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ‘μετέωρος’, ἕτεροι ἐπαγωνιζέσθωσαν; *Schol. rec. ad Soph. loc. cit.*: ἑώρα διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ, ὅθεν καὶ μετέωρον. As we now know, μετέωρος stems from μετήωρος, while the Sophoclean passage is corrupt, since “the alternation of αἰ with ε is impossible before the first or second century AD, and even then could be used only by a vulgar writer”;⁴ however, due to its ‘philological’ origin, the ἑώρα- deserves, in our opinion, more care on part of the editors.⁵

In any case, the range of meanings of ἑώρα / αἰώρα is safeguarded by its etymology: from the abstract ‘hanging’, ‘elevation’, ‘oscillatory movement’⁶ to concrete ‘halter’, ‘swing’ and ‘hammock’, — none of which is relevant for our passage.

¹ Eberhard conjectured συγκατέθετο, noting in the apparatus: “i. e. συνθήκας ἐποίησατο <...>; oportebat saltem dici συνεβάδιζε” (Eberhard 1869, 19). The misunderstanding made its way into a number of translations (e. g., “A pedant went to walk with a guide...”: Bubb 1920, 34; “Mędrek jechał razem ze ślepym na prawe oko namiestnikiem...”: Łanowski 1986, 31; “Un sapientone sedeva accanto da un conducente...”: Vergara 2011, 84 and n.) and a recent book by Anna Tarwacka — who, specifically discussing the legal vocabulary of the *Philogelos*, quotes story 63 according to Łanowski and, thus, misses out an assessor altogether (Tarwacka 2016, 45).

² Thierfelder 1968, 221. On the meaning of συγκάθημαι and ἡγεμών cf.: Mason 1974, 88, 148–149; on the responsibilities of an assessor see, especially: Behrends 1969, 192–226.

³ The word-building mechanism, however, is open to doubt (Beekes 2010, 47).

⁴ West 1979, 106. A fresh overview of the problem in Soph. OR 1264: Finglass 2018, 554–555.

⁵ See, for instance, the text of *Schol. Aristoph. Pax* 80 in Groningen edition: μετέωρος αἶρεται· ἐπὶ μηχανῆς. τοῦτο δὲ καλεῖται αἰώρημα (Holwerda 1982, 21; αἰώρ- G, ἑώρ- V). Since the scholiast is dealing with the word μετέωρος, the spelling ἐώρημα seems preferable (so Duebner 1877, 173).

⁶ Greek lexicographers explicate this word through ἡ μετέωρος κίνησις, ὕψωσις ἢ μετάρσις, ἔπαρσις *vel sim.* (Phot. *Lex.* α 680–681, ε 2528 Theodoridis; *Suda* α 261, ε 1894 Adler; *Lex. Seg. (Coll. verb. ut.)* ε 246, 6 Bachmann; *etc.*).

Since this story (63) is extant only in a longer version of the *Philogelos* collection, its *editio princeps* came as late as 1848. The editor, a prominent French Hellenist Jean François Boissonade, on facing the lexical irregularity, offered a solution to become standard for the next century and a half: “Est ἔωρα, vel αἰώρα, quae scriptura praestat, sed et prior toleratur, vitis ab arboribus suspensa. <...> Ambulacrum arboribus praetextum fuit, quae vites sustinebant”.⁷ Thus, *scholastikos* and his boss are walking or riding along the grapevines, *suspended* from tall trees. Boissonade’s interpretation was adopted by all the editors, commentators and translators of the collection that we are aware of (with one exception, for which v. *infra* n. 29).⁸ It is remarkable that this unanimity went unnoticed by the lexicographers: no entry exists for ἔωρα as ‘vineyard’ with reference to *Philog.* 63 either in *LSJ* (including both Supplements), or in Montanari;⁹ the meticulous thesis of Gerhard Ritter on the language of the *Philogelos* has no mention of it.¹⁰

A modern scholar may be of opinion that the new meaning of ἔωρα was made up by Boissonade *ad hoc*, a blend of etymology and context. Thierfelder saw it this way: “Das sah richtig Boissonade <...>, einen Beleg scheint es nicht zu geben”.¹¹ This judgement would, however, be premature. In both revisions of Henri Estienne’s *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, which were coming hot on each other’s heels in the first half of the 19th c., the entry for αἰώρα quotes an unpublished note from the papers of Gilbert Wakefield (1756–1801): “Uva pensilis. *Bab. ap. Suid.*”.¹² The reference is to the verses from the fable of Babrius about a fox and grapes, as they stand in *Suda* α1 261 Adler: ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἐφικνεῖτ’, ἀλλ’ ἔκαμνε πηδῶσα, / οὐδὲν κρεμαστῆς σχοῦσα πλεῖον αἰώρας, / παρήλθεν οὕτω βουκολοῦσα τὴν λύπην. Boissonade could not have passed Wakefield’s remark unnoticed, not only because he was a generous contributor to both the London and Parisian editions of the *TGL* himself, but for a reason more solid. When in the early 1840s the very same Minoïdes Mynas, to whom we owe the discovery of the expanded version of the *Philogelos*, struck upon a manuscript of the fables of Babrius on Mount Athos, it was Boissonade who prepared the *editio princeps* (1844). Boissonade, thus, was the first to face what is now common knowledge that the quotations from Babrius in *Suda* are, at times, evidence of a different recension; in particular, the direct tradition of Babr. 19 lacks two of the three lines quoted above, while the fox’s gnome is introduced with

⁷ Boissonade 1848, 280–281.

⁸ Eberhard 1869, 19, quoting Boissonade’s note *in app.*; Bubb 1920, 34: “When he had gone out into the vineyard...”; Thierfelder 1968, 53, 221: “Als dieser (mit ihm) in einen Weinberg ging...”; “ἔωρα <...> müsste hier ein Rebengehänge bezeichnen”; Cataudella 1971, 105: “Ed essendo andato questo insieme con lui in una vigna...”; Baldwin 1983, 12: “One day, they happened to go through a vineyard”; Weber-Nielsen 1990, 23: “Da han nu var taget ud til en vinmark...”; Αρβανίτη 1999, 43: “Μία μέρα ἔτυχε να περάσουν ἀπὸ ἓνα ἀμπέλι”; Zucker 2008, 23: “Comme le gouverneur passe dans une vigne...”; Braccini 2008, 59, 112: “Siccome dunque quello era uscito a passeggiare in un vigneto...”; “ad un particolare tipo di coltura della vite potrebbero effettivamente adattarsi anche le definizioni di ‘innalzamento’ e ‘trapianto’ (ὑψωσις ε μεταρσις) che di ἔωρα vengono date in *Lex. Seg.*”; Crompton 2010, 45: “When they’ve been around the vineyard...”; Vergara 2011, 85 and n.: “Il guercio, avendo imboccato una strada all’interno di un vigneto...”; “in ἔωρα gia Boissonade aveva individuato una vite pendola”; Troca Pereira 2013, 36: “Um dia passaram por uma vinha...”; Brodersen 2016, 33: “Als der einmal in einen Weinberg kam...”. *Tacens consentire videtur* Dawe 2000. González Suárez 2010 is inaccessible to us.

⁹ *LSJ* incorporates the *Philogelos* in the edition of Eberhard, albeit under a whimsical abbreviation “*Hierocl. Facet.*”. *DGE* is currently one step from the entry ἔωρα.

¹⁰ Ritter 1955.

¹¹ Thierfelder 1968, 221.

¹² Stephanus 1821, 1625; Stephanus 1831, 1128.

a compressed phrase (vv. 6–7): κάμνουσα δ' ἄλλως, οὐ γὰρ ἴσχυε ψαύειν, / παρήλθεν οὕτω βουκολοῦσα τὴν λύπην. To be sure, in his edition Boissonade preferred the text of A; yet in a separate note he also cited the version of Suda.¹³ Moreover, he used the word αἰώρη (evidently in the same meaning 'vineyard') to emend the difficult παρωρείη (*ita* A; παρωρείη *corr.* N. Piccolos, *edd. plerique*) in the first line of the same fable (βότρυς μελαίνης ἀμπέλου παρωρείη / ἀπεκρέμαντο): "Forsan παρ' αἰώρη, παρ' αἰώρη. Vide n. ad v. 7".¹⁴

However suspicious one may be of the lines quoted in Suda,¹⁵ κρεμαστή αἰώρα evidently means 'something hanging', 'a hanging weight': the fact that *grapes* are meant is only prompted by the context of the fable.¹⁶ John Vaio judiciously points out that this phrase is a "frigid abstraction with a redundant epithet ('a hanging suspension)"; its verbosity is, in his opinion, ample proof that "the Suda's variant is arguably an expanded and rewritten version of the original verse".¹⁷ To mechanically apply this meaning to the text of the *Philogelos* — where ἑώρα, according to Boissonade, should mean not even 'grapes' or 'grapevine', but 'vineyard' — proves impossible.

There is more to the story than meets the eye. Straight on the introductory details on the capacities of the characters, *ex abrupto* comes the narrative proper: "When he went out into a vineyard...". The goal and purpose of the provincial governor accompanied by his assessor, how they came to be among the hanging grapevines, is obscured; meanwhile, the verb ἐξέρχομαι (against παρ- or εἰσέρχομαι) presupposes a destination point. The only scholar to have recognised this difficulty was Thierfelder: he remarks that the vineyard could have been a matter of legal dispute and its inspection was required for passing the verdict.¹⁸ The last line of the story stands contrary to it: it is evident that the characters walk the same road past the vineyards up and down, without turning to inspect the vineyards themselves. Thus, Boissonade's interpretation seems to have no feet of its own.

At first, we considered conjecturing εἰς χώραν (relying mainly on Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 16, 5: διὸ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ δήμους κατεσκεύασε [*sc.* Pisistratus] δικαστάς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξήει πολλάκις εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ διαλύων τοὺς διαφορομένους); but a recourse to the lexicons of Byzantine Greek convinced us that the text is sound.

¹³ "Et hic habemus reliquias alterius recensionis" (Boissonade 1844, 45, ad 19, 7).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44, ad 19, 1. This conjecture was later adopted by Lachmann and Bergk, but rejected by modern editors as unnecessary (*v. LSJ*, s. v. παρωρεία).

¹⁵ Cf. Luzzatto, La Penna 1986, XLI, LIV–LVI, LIX–LXII, 22. M. J. Luzzatto and A. La Penna, along with the majority of the editors, believe the lines to be a later schoolroom amplification ("imitatoris (vel imitatorum) recentioris vel Byzantinae aetatis choliambos tumido genere dicendi conflatos"), pointing out among linguistic properties alien to Babrius "αἰώρης sensus parum perspicuus".

¹⁶ Due to the same reason it would be risky to draw support of Boissonade's hypothesis in *Georon.* V, 2, 17–18: ἐν τοῖς θερμότεροις τόποις (*sc.* serendae sunt vites), ὅπου μὴ πάνυ ὄντες οἱ ἄνεμοι σφοδροὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων αἰωρουμένας αὐτὰς ἡρέμα διαπνέοντες τρέφουσι.

¹⁷ Vaio 2001, 47.

¹⁸ "Der richterlich fungierende ἡγεμών <...> nimmt zu einer Ortsbesichtigung — der Weinberg wohl Streitobjekt — seinen Assessor mit" (Thierfelder 1968, 221). This interpretation provided an evident ground for one of the translators, who went as far as to write: "Als sie nun einmal zu einem Lokaltermin unterwegs waren..." (Löwe 1981, 20); cf. also "Having sent out for a survey one day..." (Berg 2008, *ad. loc.*); "Un día foron inspeccionar un parreiro..." (Seara, Soto 2016, 28).

Indeed, in John Malalas' *Chronographia* (6th c.) the verb ἐωρίζομαι is attested twice in the meaning 'to take a stroll':¹⁹ [1] II, 8 Thurn (= *Chron. Pasch.* p. 78, 15 Dindorf ≈ Georg. Mon. *Chron.* p. 17, 5 de Boor; Hercules from Tyrus discovers the secret of the purple dye): ἐωριζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ παράλιον μέρος τῆς Τύρου πόλεως εἶδεν ποιμενικὸν κύνα; [2] V, 3 Thurn (the rape of Helen): συνέβη τὴν Ἑλένην κατελθεῖν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ παλατίου αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ἐωρισθῆναι. Cf., likewise, [3] IV, 12 Thurn: ἡ δὲ Λήδα ἐπορνεύθη μετεωριζομένη ἐν προαστείῳ, where the prefixed form μετεωρίζομαι carries the same meaning.²⁰

This pool of examples could be expanded to add an instance from the so called *Iosephi Hypomnestikon*, a concise *libellus memorialis* in Sacred and Church history dating to the end of 4 or 5th c. A question posed in chapter 46, "Who on the pretext of kindness or piety produced dead?", has among the answers, tucked between the Serpent and Iezabel, Κάιν τὸν ἀδελφὸν φιλοφρόνως ὡς εἰς ἐώρησιν προτρεπόμενος· Διέλθωμεν εἰς πεδίον φάμενος, οὕτως ἀναιρῶν. It is worthwhile that Ludwig Dindorf was the first and the last to grasp the right meaning of ἐώρησις here, as is evident from the respective entry of the Parisian *TGL* ("obambulatio").²¹ Prior to that, Fabricius, the discoverer of *Iosephi Hypomnestikon*, erroneously explained it as "ad considerandum caelum";²² and Gallicciolli adopted the same meaning ("ad caelestia contemplanda").²³ As for the current critical edition, the wrongly interpreted *LSJ* entry s. v. αἰώρησις; "of a passive exercise" (v. *infra*) prompted a translation of εἰς ἐώρησιν as "for exercise".²⁴

To our mind, in *Philog.* 63 the provincial governor accompanied by his assessor sets out of town *for a walk* (εἰς ἐώραν), in the course of which they happen to be passing by the vineyards on their left.²⁵ Such an interpretation allows for both the reason and destination; the construction ἐξέρχομαι εἰς in expression meaning 'to go for a walk' is well-attested.²⁶ From the chronological point of view, the parallels from *Iosephi Hypomnestikon* and Ma-

¹⁹ Unanimously interpreted both by the editors of Malalas, and lexicographers this way: "obambulare" (Chilmead 1691, 36; L. Dindorf *ap.* Stephanus 1835, 2639); "to walk for amusement, to promenade" (Sophocles 1914, 551); "take a walk" (Lampe 1961, 590); "while he was wandering along the seashore"; "Helen came down into her palace garden to take a walk"; "Leda committed adultery while taking the air" (Jeffreys *et al.* 1986, *ad locc.*); "spazierengehen" (Trapp 1999, 639); "ambulo delectando me (vel moechando)" (Thurn 2000, 517); "the meaning is 'stroll', 'walk' *vel sim.*" (Renehan 2001, 231). The same meaning seems to be attested in the difficult and variously interpreted gloss Hesych. ε 7751 Latte: ἐωρίζεται· μετεωρίζεται· ἀναπατέϊ (ἀναπατέω "obambulare": Sophocles 1914, 148; Lampe 1961, 115).

²⁰ Respective prefixed forms stand in the latest versions of the passages [1] (Georg. Cedren. vol. I, p. 34 Bekker; Ioel. *Chron.* p. 4 Bekker: μετεωριζόμενος; Georg. Mon. *Chron.* [*versio recentior*] PG 110, 60: μετεωρισμένος) and [2] (*Eclog. e cod. Par.* 854, vol. II, p. 199, 1 Cramer: μετεωρίας ἔνεκεν).

²¹ Stephanus 1835, 2639.

²² Fabricius 1723, 87 (2nd pag.).

²³ Gallandius 1781, 22 = PG 106, 49.

²⁴ Grant, Menzies 1996, 121. To recall the point made by C. O. Brink, "it is in effect still necessary to consult Stephanus' *Thesaurus*" (Brink 1963, 76).

²⁵ In the last sentence of the story, τὰ ἄλλα μέρη are not "the grapevines on the other side", as some interpreters enchanted by Boissonade's *ambulacrum arboribus praeiextum* understand it (Bubb 1920, 34; Baldwin 1983, 12; Troca Pereira 2013, 36; *etc.*), but, in a generic way, "the other side of the road" with all the possible pleasures of its rural landscape. Toward the usage ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς / δεξιοῖς μέρεσιν without any attribute in the meaning *ad sinistram / dextram viae* cf. *Hist. Alex. Magn.* β II, 39.

²⁶ Epict. *Diss.* II, 21, 19: εἰς τὸν περίπατον ἐξελθὼν; [Herodian.] *Philetaer.* 265, 1 Dain: πρὸς περίπατον ἐξίέναι καὶ εἰς περίπατον (*sc. aequae dici potest*); *Mani-Codex* p. 52, 10 sqq. Koenen — Römer: ἐξήλθον εἰς περίπατον εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐρήμου.

lalas leave little to be desired: our story is the sole proprietor of the *hapa* δεξιόπηρος, a closest analogy to which is found in a 6th c. papyrus.²⁷

The semantic development of ‘to hang, to swing’ > ‘to walk about idly, aimlessly or at leisure’ could well be natural: it is evident in the Eng. *to hang around* or in the Russ. *болтаться*. We would like, however, to point to an other possible origin of the meaning of *ἑώρα* we engage with here. We have so far withheld the fact that in the Empire the Greek *αἰ-/ἑώρα*, *αἰ-/ἑώρησις* were used as medical terms for a popular therapeutic practice current in Latin under the name *gestatio*. According to the precepts of the Methodist school of ancient medicine, a whole number of medical conditions could be preventively or effectively treated through subjecting the patient to agitation and/or swinging. The most extensive account, describing the practice — Cels. *Med.* II, 15, 1–3, — mentions among the basic forms of *gestatio* a ride in a carriage or a *lectica*; a boat trip or at least boarding an anchored ship was also prescribed, in simplest cases — swinging in a hammock or rocking a patient’s bed.²⁸ In principle, a therapeutic outing in a carriage or a litter suits *Philog.* 63 as well²⁹ — less so for Cain and Abel in Ioseph. *Hypomn.* 46. This makes us prefer the generalised meaning ‘a walk’, assuming that the vernacular *ἑώρα* = *gestatio* was, at some point, broadened to include any moderate physical activity.³⁰ Indeed, although in a strict medical sense *gestatio* (a passive exercise, in which a patient is not flexing their muscles) and walking are in stark opposition, we can observe that in hygienic prescriptions and in quotidian speech they often come together. Cf., e. g., Poll. X, 57: εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰωρήσεως ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ τινος περιπάτου ἐν στοᾷ ἢ δρόμῳ ἢ ἄλσει γενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ βιβλία συνουσίαν τις τρέπειτο...; Plut. *An seni ger. sit resp.* 793 B: ὅτε μὴ δυνάμεθα σκαφεῖοις μηδ’ ἀλτήρσι χρῆσθαι μηδὲ δισκεύειν μηδ’ ὄπλομαχεῖν ὡς καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλ’ αἰώραις καὶ περιπάτοις; Porph. *De abst.* IV, 8: μήτε περιπάτοις μήτ’ ἑώραις χρώμενοι (sc. *Aegyptiorum sacerdotes*) διηγῶν ἄνοσοι;³¹ Cels. *Med.* IV, 20, 4: *ac post ea quoque vitare oportet balneum, ambulationem, gestationem ceterosque corporis motus* (cf. V, 28, 4d; Plin. *NH* XXVI, 13; XXVIII, 54; *ThLL* VI, 2, 1956, 69–73); Sen. *Epist.* 15, 7: *gestatio et corpus concutit et studio non officit: possis legere, possis dictare, possis loqui, possis audire, quorum nihil ne ambulatio quidem vetat fieri; etc.*³²

²⁷ Cf. ἀριστερόπηρος in *BGU* II, 367, 8 (*LSJ*, s. v.). G. Ritter is right to consider δεξιόπηρος (as compared to an earlier ἐτερόφθαλμος of *Philog.* 185) one of the Byzantine elements in the language of this collection (Ritter 1955, 89, 94, 98, 111; cf. the general conclusion on p. 112: “...Für die vorliegende sprachliche Gestalt des *Philogelos* fällt die Gesamt-Frühgrenze in hochbyzantinische Zeit”).

²⁸ For the scientific grounds and social implications of *gestatio* v. a brilliant sketch: Gourévitch 1982, 55–65; also Ieraci *Bio* 2005, 771–772.

²⁹ Cf. the enigmatic translation of the words εἰς ἑώραν οὖν ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ in the Polish version of the *Philogelos*: “Kiedy ten wsiadł na wózek...” (Łanowski 1986, 31; the preceding phrase is quoted above, n. 1). Whether the translator had *gestatio* on mind, we cannot tell.

³⁰ The hypothesis according to which the meaning ‘to take a walk’ for ἐωρίζομαι in Malalas’ passage [1] sprung up due to the rethinking ‘gestor’, was voiced by I. F. Fischer (Fischer 1789, 194; cf. 67, 2nd pag.).

³¹ The history of the text of this passage is a telling one: F. Marx defended it against an intrusion of A. Nauck, who, having missed the therapeutic connotations of ἑώρα, conjectured μήτε περιάπτοις μήτ’ ἐπρωδαῖς (Marx 1924, 482).

³² We cordially thank the quartet of members of our postgraduate student seminar on the *Philogelos* (St Petersburg University, 2017/2018) — Svetlana Dubova, Natalia Kuznetsova, Alexandra Novikova, and Anastasija Pavlova: the interpretation offered here came to life in an inspiring atmosphere of seminar discussions. Tommaso Braccini, Elena Ermolaeva, Alexander Kirichenko, Daria Kondakova, Victoria Musbakhova, Arsenij Vetushko-Kalevich, and Ilya Vinitisky obliged us with bibliographical items that were out of our reach.

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