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# Corippe

Un poète latin entre  
deux mondes

Actes édités par  
Benjamin GOLDLUST





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Actes rassemblés et  
édités par

Benjamin GOLDLUST

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# Again on the name ‘Gorippus’ – State of the Question – New Evidence – Rebuttal of Counterarguments – The Case of the Suda

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In a book published in 2010<sup>1</sup>, I argued that the late antique Latin poet known under the name of *Flavius Cresconius Corippus* actually bore the name of *Flavius Cresconius Gorippus*. In the present article, I will (1) briefly outline the original argument ; (2) present additional evidence of which I have become aware in the last few years ; (3) address counter-arguments from the book’s reviewers ; and (4) argue why such a name change is not only possible but in fact advisable.

## The original argument

We only know of two works written by the poet in question : the *Iohannis* (also known as *De bellis Libycis*) and the *Laus*, for each of which there is extant only one complete manuscript. Further, there are exceedingly few mentions of the author’s name (either in manuscripts or external testimonies), which means that it is possible to present a complete list of all of these instances.

In the Middle Ages, the poet known to recent times as Corippus was addressed usually by his first cognomen Cresconius. Thus, the chronicle of the monastery of Monte Cassino reports that the abbot Desiderius had *Cresconium de bellis Libicis* copied<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, Monte Cassino’s 1532 library catalog lists *lib.*

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<sup>1</sup> RIEDLBERGER P. (2010) : p. 29-31. I am very much indebted to James A. T. Lancaster (Warburg Institute) and Peter Moench (University of Virginia) for vetting my English manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* 3, 63, edited by HOFFMANN H. (1980) : p. 444.

*Crescon. inc. Victoris* among the manuscripts kept in the monastery (*uictoris* being the first word of the *Iohannis*)<sup>3</sup>.

Then there is a manuscript index that lists the *Concordia canonum*, a work by some – probably not *our* – Cresconius ; nevertheless, the optimistic indexer identified the author as the Cresconius in question and added a brief explicatory note in this vein to his entry : *Iste nimirum Cresconius bella et uictorias, quas Iohannes patricius apud Africam de Saracenis gessit, exametris uersibus descripsit*<sup>4</sup>. In 1329, Guglielmo da Pastrengo compiled a florilegium at Verona, which included citations taken from the *Iohannis*. These are invariably introduced as *Cresconius in ... Iohanidos* (the « ... » being the book number)<sup>5</sup>. Some 20 years later, the same Guglielmo da Pastrengo created a work entitled *De uiris illustribus*, in which, in a subsection entitled *Historici et poete gentilium*, he included an entry for our poet : *Cresconius poeta Affer, Iustiniani primi bella per Iohannem ex consulem in Affrica gesta heroico metro luculenter expressit; Concordiam canonum edidit*<sup>6</sup>.

Finally, the Trivultianus, the extant codex unicus of the *Iohannis*, once possessed a label (now lost) with the single word *Cresconius* written upon it<sup>7</sup>. Otherwise, the Trivultianus fails us, as nowhere on its pages does it provide the author's name (nor, incidentally, the poem's).

All of the evidence cited so far pertains to the *Iohannis*. As regards the other poem, the *Laus*, there are, apart from the codex unicus, only a few manuscripts which include one or two short passages taken from it ; and they do so invariably without ascribing an author<sup>8</sup>. The Oviedo catalog of 882 likewise includes an entry for the *Laus*, though again it does so without indicating an author<sup>9</sup>.

So by now, one might start to wonder where the second cognomen, i.e. Corippus or Gorippus, can be found at all ! There are two manuscripts we know of which present, or presented, this name : first, there is the extant codex unicus of the *Laus*, now kept in Madrid; and second, we have two testimonies to a lost *Iohannis* manuscript once kept at Buda which included the second cognomen. Let us start with the latter manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Casinensis* (1874), p. LXXV.

<sup>4</sup> ZECHIEL-ECKES K. (I, 1992) : p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> LOEWE G. (1879) ; for Guglielmo da Pastrengo as compiler of the florilegium, cf. BILLANOVICH G. (1997) : p. 127-135, especially p. 130. I owe this reference to the reviews of Hays and Jakobi.

<sup>6</sup> BOTTARI G. (1991) : p. 55. Regrettably, I overlooked this early *Iohannis* testimonium (around 1350) when I put together the list in RIEDLBERGER P. (2010) : p. 20-21. Note that Guglielmo, too, thinks that the poet is identical to the editor of the *Concordia canonum*.

<sup>7</sup> MAZZUCCHELLI P. (1820) : p. XXIII ; PARTSCH J. (1879) : p. XLVII.

<sup>8</sup> ANTÈS S. (1981) : p. XCV-C. These manuscripts include the « epistola regia Abarorum ad imperatorem Romanorum directa » and, less frequently, the « rescriptum imperatoris ad regem Abarorum ». There is some variation in the exact title (« regis » instead of « regia » ; word order), but they all concur in omitting any indication of the author.

<sup>9</sup> The entry here reads « in la'de i'tini minoris Lb », followed by « in la'de anastasio Lb », HARTEL W. VON – LOEWE G. (1887) : p. 136.

The humanist John Cuspinianus<sup>10</sup> (1473-1529) combined many talents. He was not only doctor medicinae, poet laureate, accomplished editor and careful historian, but also served as an imperial envoy to the Hungarian court from 1510-1519. Probably at the beginning of this period, he made an astounding discovery. Amongst the manuscripts kept in Matthias Corvinus' celebrated library, he found an ancient work still unpublished, the *Iohannis*. Cuspinianus, however, found himself too occupied over the subsequent years, engineering the weddings that would later establish the imperial claims to the Hungarian crown, to devote himself to his recent discovery. The orchestration of these marriages, of utmost importance for Austria's subsequent glory, is rather lamentable from our point of view. For otherwise, Cuspinianus, a sedulous editor, creating editions of Florus, Otto of Freising and Marbodius of Rennes, might have published the epic he had discovered. By 1526, it was too late, however: the Turks had arrived at the gates of the Hungarian capital, and amongst the horrors and devastations, the famous Corvinus library quickly passed into legend, and with it the *Iohannis* manuscript.

Cuspinianus left behind only one piece of evidence regarding the manuscript he had discovered. As already noted, he also was a historian, and in this capacity he authored a massive volume entitled *De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus romanis opus insigne*. Although he himself did not live to see it published, when it came out in 1540, it became possible to read the first five verses of the *Iohannis* in print:

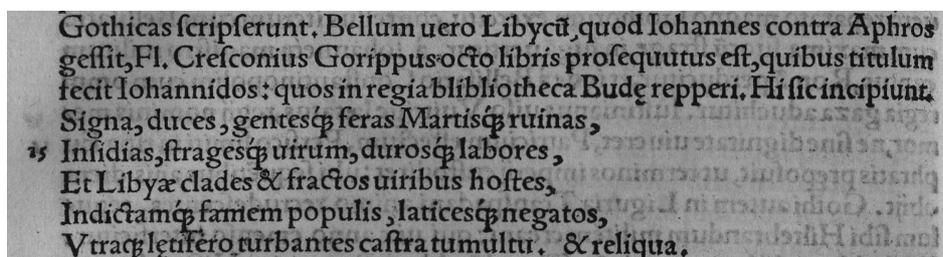


Figure 1: Fl. Cresconius Gorippus in Johannes Cuspinianus, *De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus romanis opus insigne*, [Strasbourg,] 1540, p. CCXVI.

In *De Caesaribus*, Cuspinianus offers surveys of sources available for individual emperors, and it is within the *Quellenkunde* for Justinian that Cuspinianus inserts this short snippet taken from the *Iohannis*. This implies that Cuspinianus did at least read part of the poem, for he knows that the subject is a real war, not a fictional story; and that it was a war fought under the Emperor Justinian.

<sup>10</sup> ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN H. (1959) is still the standard treatment. Doctor of medicine: p. 20; poet laureate: p. 11-12; references for the details of his work on the *Caesares* and the discovery of the *Iohannis* manuscript are given in RIEDLEBERGER P. (2010): p. 30-31.

The five verses cited by Cuspinianus can be compared with the text transmitted in the Trivultianus, today's codex unicus. These five hexameters present no fewer than three discrepancies, in one of which Cuspinianus' version is certainly correct ; actually, he is probably right in two of the three; possibly even in all three<sup>11</sup>. The result may be disheartening for any prospective editor of the *Iohannis*, but it is quite encouraging for our present purposes; because apparently, the Buda manuscript was of good quality (at least at the beginning), and Cuspinianus copied these lines with real care.

It is not, therefore, exceedingly bold to assume that Cuspinianus, a fortiori, copied the author's name faithfully as well, which he gives as *Fl. Cresconius Gorippus*. The *Fl.*, which abbreviates *Flavius*, is for some reason or other generally admitted by the scientific community, nor is it possible to find a lexicon or handbook entry which does not add *Flavius* to the name of our author. However, this Cuspinianus passage is the *only* attestation of « Flavius », and it seems amazingly inconsistent to me that there is such a broad consensus to accept « Flavius » but, at the same time, to reject the « G » of « Gorippus » (especially since, as we shall shortly see, contrary to « Flavius », there is further evidence for the « G » !).

From 1512 onwards, Cuspinianus was completely engrossed with his diplomatic activities. We know for certain that in this year he had to stop the redaction of *De Caesaribus*, and this is why we can assume that he found the Buda *Iohannis* manuscript between 1510 and 1512. Further, he was so busy that he had to part with another position he held : although I listed several of the numerous tasks Cuspinianus carried out, I earlier omitted to mention that our doctor of medicine also served as professor of literature and poetry at the University of Vienna.

Now, in 1512 Cuspinianus not only stopped working on *De Caesaribus* but also gave up his Vienna lectures. Joachim Vadian, a pupil of his who later became famous as one of the leading figures of the Reformation in Switzerland, taught from 1512 onwards in his stead. During the winter semester 1513/14, Vadian gave a class entitled *De Poetica et Carminis ratione*. These lectures appeared in 1518 in print under this very title. Chapter 6 of the published lectures offers a chronological survey of Latin poetry from Antiquity through the Middle Ages to the present time, and there we read :

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<sup>11</sup> For details, cf. RIEDLBERGER P. (2010) : p. 22-23, n. 50.

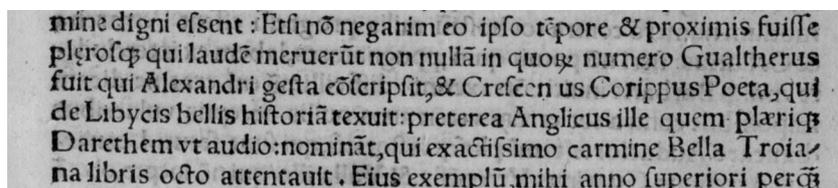


Figure 2 : *Crescen*>*us Corippus* in Joachim Vadianus, *De poetica et Carminis ratione liber ad M. Vad. fratrem*, Vienna, 1518, p. 41 [original without page numbers].

Note a few things. First, Vadian offers *Corippus*, not *Gorippus*. While there is room for discussion about which form is correct here, we, second, can be absolutely sure that Vadian misspells the first cognomen as *Crescen*>*us*<sup>12</sup> instead of the correct *Cresconius*. Third, note that chronologically speaking, Vadian badly misplaces our poet, for he thinks that he is a contemporary of Walter of Châtillon and Joseph of Exeter (the « English Dares »)<sup>13</sup>, both of whom were 12<sup>th</sup> c. poets. What is to be made of this ?

Two observations are in order. First, we know for sure that the circumstances of this book's genesis were not favorable, to say the least. Vadian apparently did not possess records of his own lectures. For the publication, therefore, he had to rely on notes taken by a student who attended his classes<sup>14</sup>. This offers a straightforward explanation of how orthographical errors such as *Crescenius* (and possibly *Corippus*) may have crept in.

Second, it is hardly the student's fault that the *Iohannis* was listed amongst 12<sup>th</sup> c. Latin poetry. This rather indicates that Vadian knew very little about the poem and had obviously not even read the first few pages of the *Iohannis* (where it becomes clear beyond any doubt that this is an ancient poem, set in the time of Justinian, not a medieval work)<sup>15</sup>.

I would consequently summarize the case of Vadian as follows : he had hardly any knowledge of the poem, and he certainly misspelled one part of the author's name ; hence, his version of the other name, *Corippus*, clearly deserves much less credit than Cuspinianus' *Gorippus*<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Note that the critical edition of SCHÄFFER P. (I, 1973) : p. 55, l. 31 prints « Cresconius » which is clearly not what can be found in the original. Schäffer does not comment on the name issue in his commentary volume (III, 1977).

<sup>13</sup> SCHÄFFER P. (III, 1977) : p. 73 fails to understand the allusion to the « English Dares » and thinks that Vadian is speaking about Dares Phrygius of Late Antiquity (Schäffer actually wonders why Vadian thinks he is English). Actually, the ancient Dares is a prose writer, not a poet ; and Joseph of Exeter's work is called *Daretis Phrygii Ilias De bello Troiano*, hence the confusion.

<sup>14</sup> NÄF W. (1945) : p. 5-6.

<sup>15</sup> For the full argument, cf. RIEDLEBERGER P. (2010) : p. 31, n. 84.

<sup>16</sup> « Die Tatsache, daß ... Riedlberger den einen Humanisten für zuverlässiger hält als den anderen (... wahrscheinlich hatte der Budensis ohnehin beide Namensformen wie der Matritensis) [fällt nicht allzu schwer ins Gewicht] », writes GÄRTNER T. (*Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft*, 16, 2013, p. 1229). Yet my preference is not based on some gut feeling in favor of Cuspinianus ; the problem is the overall sloppiness of Vadian's indications. There is no hint at all that the Budensis might have carried both names ; and the fact that Vadian apparently



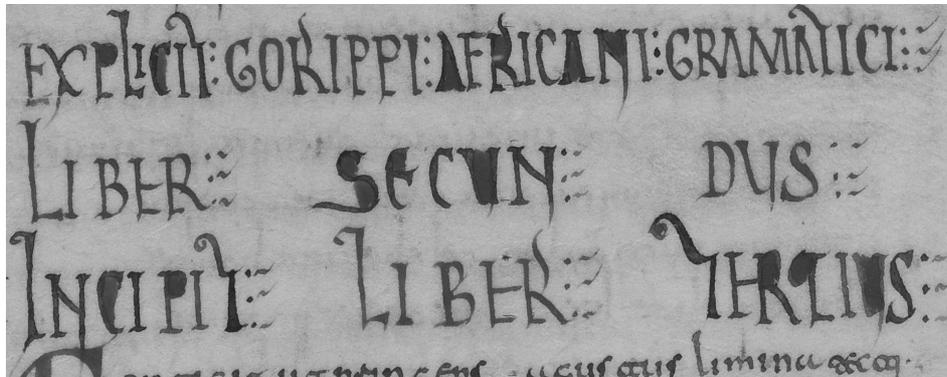


Figure 5 : *Gorippi* in the explicit of Book 2 of the *Laus*  
(© Biblioteca Nacional de España).

Hence, Matritensis 10029 once gives the form with the « C », but twice the form with the « G » (including one misspelled « Gorppi »). So it is fair to say that more often than not, this codex prefers « Gor- » to « Cor- ».

Though faced with the strange situation that for both manuscripts, Buda as well as Madrid, we have evidence for both « G » and « C », one cannot ignore the fact that, judging solely by the evidence presented thus far, « Gorippus » is preferable to « Corippus » : in the Madrid case, twice is better than once; and in the Buda case, a careful transcript by Cuspinianus is more convincing than Vadian's sloppy 12<sup>th</sup> c. *Crescenius Corippus*.

However, my original account included two further points.

First, an argument of probability. There is not one Latin word which commences with *go-* (apart from a few Greek words, mostly names, such as *Gorgo* or *Gorthyn*), whereas *cor-* is completely run-of-the-mill. Hence, there cannot be any doubt that a scribe might be tempted to « correct » *Gorippus* to *Corippus*, while it would be quite inconceivable to expect the contrary.

Second, it has been claimed that both *Gorippus* and *Corippus* are otherwise completely unattested. While this is in fact true for « *Corippus* », this is not the case with « *Gorippus* ». We know of two separate individuals who served as soldiers in the frontier town of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates. One of these two (or perhaps a third individual of this name) left a graffito in the local Mithraeum<sup>18</sup>.

In my view, all of this evidence taken together was already enough to decide the question in 2010 : it's *Gorippus*, not *Corippus*. However that may be, in the next section I shall present additional corroborating evidence.

<sup>18</sup> For the soldiers, cf. note 39 below. For the graffito, cf. FRANCIS E. D. (1975) : p. 435.

To conclude the presentation of the original argument of 2010, let us quickly review how Gorippus came to be misspelled as Corippus in the first place<sup>19</sup>. It began with the *editio princeps* of the *Laus* by Michael Ruyz Azagra of 1581. Ruyz Azagra did not bother to reproduce the incipit and explicit indications contained in the manuscript. Rather, he put *Corippi Africani Grammatici de laudibus Iustini Augusti minoris, liber* [for example] *secundus* at the start of each individual book. Did he note the name's inconsistent spelling in the manuscript? If so, he does not tell his readers. It took 300 years before another editor had a look at the manuscript itself. This was Joseph Partsch, who claimed to faithfully reproduce the incipit and explicit indications, but three times gives *Corippi* (even in the case of *Gorppi*!). Next there was Averil Cameron, who produced the edition which the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* accepts as standard. Averil Cameron used a microfilm of the manuscript, but she too read *Corippi* three times (again, even in the case of *Gorppi*). Most surprising is the fourth edition that had recourse to the original manuscript, the one by Serge Antès for the Budé collection. Antès correctly read *Gorippi* at the end of book two, but most surprisingly *Corppi* (hence noting the missing « I », but misreading « C » for « G » !) at the end of book one.

Over the centuries, the version of the name established by Ruyz Azagra was thus the one used in scholarly literature. Cuspinianus' version was known but ignored (after all, a single « G » stood against the firm evidence of all the « C »s supposedly contained in the Madrid manuscript). The *De Poetica* passage never played a role; actually, my book was the first to adduce Vadian's evidence in a discussion of the second cognomen.

### **New evidence**

Today, five years later, I can present additional evidence as regards the correct version of the name. Let me begin with « Corippus », to which I can give short thrift : despite my best efforts, I have been unable to track down any further attestation of this name, either in the context of our poet Cresconius, or in any other context of the ancient world. To this very day, « Corippus » remains a phantom.

With regard to « Gorippus », however, there are a few more points to add. First of all, Giulia Caramico has discovered an additional instance of the « G » version within the Madrid manuscript. It is a page header « Gorippi » :

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<sup>19</sup> For references, cf. RIEDLBERGER P. (2010) : p. 32, n. 86.

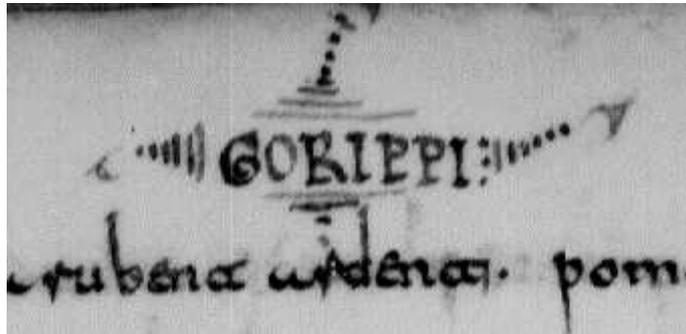


Figure 6 : *Gorippi* on page 27v of the Laus manuscript  
(© Biblioteca Nacional de España).

In the image, underneath the header one can see part of a verse, namely 1, 325 (*ut nonnulla rubent ardenti poma colore*). The header is on the left-hand side (27v) of a double page; the right-hand side (28r) has the header « lbr » for *liber*. The right-hand side is the same page on which Book 1 ends and Book 2 starts, meaning that it is the page containing « Gorppi », from which figure 4 is taken.

This brings the total count within the Matritensis to three « Gorippi » (if we count « Gorppi ») and one « Corippi ». Hence, one may state that the Matritensis regularly uses the « G », one case excepted.

Further, while « Corippus » as a name remains unattested in documentary sources, I owe to Heikki Solin a reference to yet another « Gorippus ». It is encountered in an inscription carved into the lid of an early-Christian *somatotheke*<sup>20</sup> discovered in the necropolis of Corycus in Cilicia<sup>21</sup> :

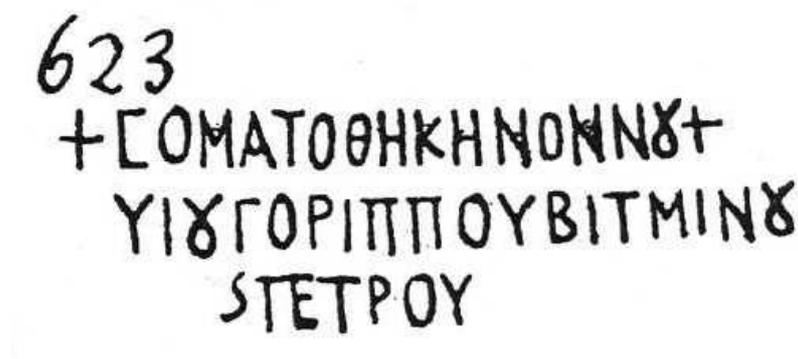


Figure 7 : The name *Gorippus* on a sarcophagus lid in Cilicia, KEIL – WILHELM (1931) :  
p. 189-190, no. 623.

<sup>20</sup> A sarcophagus carved out of the living rock.

<sup>21</sup> KEIL J. – WILHELM A. (1931) : p. 189-190, no. 623.

The inscription reads : σοματοθήκη Νόννου υἱοῦ Γορίππου Βιτμίνου καὶ Πέτρου (« sarcophagus of Nonnus, son of Gorippus Bitminus<sup>22</sup>, and of Petrus »). Granted, Corycus is quite a distance from Northern Africa. But this inscription clearly refutes the idea that Gorippus is a local name of the Dura-Europos region. Even if Gorippus is a rare name, it can be found in places quite distant from one another.

Actually, the evidence grows significantly larger once we broaden our scope to Semitic inscriptions in their non-vocalized alphabets<sup>23</sup>. In fact, there are no less than 17 attestations for a name spelled G-R-P (or al-G-R-P) in the larger Syrian region (mostly Safaitic, some Nabatean)<sup>24</sup>. So G-R-P might not be the most common of Semitic names, but it is still a name which is quite well attested.

For the purpose of illustration, I include here one such Nabatean inscription<sup>25</sup>. It was found in Umm al-Jamal in Northern Jordan, not far from Syrian Bosra :

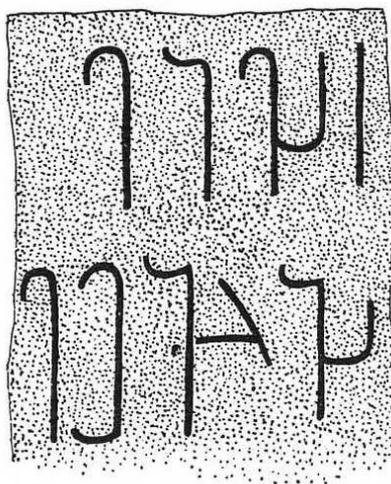


Figure 8 : A person named *G-R-P* in a Nabatean inscription,  
LITTMANN (1914) : p. 52, no. 59.

<sup>22</sup> The meaning of « Bitminus » is a mystery to KEIL J. – WILHELM A. as well (cf. their p. 229 s. v.).

<sup>23</sup> I have profited enormously from an e-mail correspondence I had with Giulia Grassi (Marburg) about the contents of the following paragraphs. I wish to record my gratitude to her, all the while stressing that all venturesome interpretations (as well as factual mistakes) are obviously solely mine.

<sup>24</sup> NEGEV A. (1991) : p. 20, no. 257. Negev counts 12 Safaitic, 4 Nabatean and one Thamudic instance.

<sup>25</sup> LITTMANN E. (1914) : p. 52, no. 59.

When rendered in square script, this reads as :

זבודו  
בר גרפו

Zabud  
bar [son of] G-R-P<sup>26</sup>

While it is easy to write Zabud with correct vocalization (for the name is well attested, and there is even a *mater lectionis*), this is not the case with G-R-P. Luckily there is further evidence. We have several inscriptions from the same region in Greek which provide decisive help. The first inscription comes from Harran in Southern Syria. It is dated to AD 397 and records, in the genitive case, a person called Γορέπου Αὔμου. The second inscription was found in Melah es-Sarrar in the Hauran, where we encounter Γόρπος. The third inscription is the tombstone of Olesos, son of Γόρπου, who died near Kerak (Jordan) in AD 525. Finally, the fourth example is from Sadad, again in Southern Syria, where a Γοραφος is attested<sup>27</sup>.

It is well known that the onomastics of the Nabatean people is, contrary to their Aramaean language, based on Arabic, as is the Safaitic one. Consequently, it is in Arabic where one must search for an explanation of the name. The word « ġurâf » means, literally, « a torrent that sweeps away that by which it passes » which, figuratively, gives « a man who devours all the food » or « a man who marries much, or often, and is brisk, lively, sprightly, or active »<sup>28</sup>. The fluctuating rendering of « ġurâf » in the Greek inscriptions is not surprising. However, we may note that all Greek inscriptions concur in giving « o » as first vowel. Besides, the second vowel is very instable (« e », Ø, « a »), while « ġurâf » has a long alif as last vowel. Further, the last consonant is in three of four cases rendered as « p », not as « f ».

The key question is, of course, whether it is admissible to identify « Gorippus » on the one hand and the G-R-P/Γόρπος etc. names on the other. Keil – Wilhelm seem to do so without further ado. Yet the doubled third radical of « Gorippus » presents a major difficulty, because the form, as such, cannot be explained as Semitic. But all « Gorippi » – the two or three instances from Dura, the inscription from Corycus, the citation by Cuspinianus as well as the Madrid

<sup>26</sup> In the inscription, after « grp », there is an additional waw, as there is a waw in the case of Zabud (written as zbwdw). This waw is a peculiarity of Nabatean personal names : of all names known, around 2,000 have the final waw ; only around 50 have a different ending. The available evidence implies that it is either just an orthographical feature – cf. DIEM (1973) : esp. p. 231 and p. 234-237 – or perhaps marks a casus ending, cf. DIEM (1981) : p. 336-342. In either case, the waw does not belong to the name proper. I owe a debt of gratitude to Hanna Jenni in Basel who was so kind as to point me to Diem's research.

<sup>27</sup> Harran : Waddington 2463= AES IIIA, p. 413-414, no. 794<sup>1</sup> ; Melah es-Sarrar : Waddington 2025 = AES IIIA, p. 330-331, no. 714 ; Kerak : Canova, p. 39-40, no. 11 ; Sadad : IGLS V 2695.

<sup>28</sup> HARDING G. L. (1971) : p. 159 ; LANE E. W. (1865) : book 1, part 2, p. 411-412.

manuscript – consistently show the doubled « p ». Consequently, this cannot be done away as an erratic misspelling.

It might consequently be rash to readily connect « Gorippos » with « ġuráf ». But is it possible to give another derivation of « Gorippos » ? In a private communication, Giulia Grassi suggested that « Gorippos » might be a hybrid, comprising a Semitic part (« gor » = gwr, « young animal », « cub »<sup>29</sup>) and a Greek part (« [h]ippos », horse). Without prior knowledge, she reached just the same conclusion as did C. B. Welles – R. O. Fink – J. F. Gilliam earlier, who however could not even offer an explication of « gwr »<sup>30</sup>. But in the whole list of Welles et al., this is the only name for which they propose an explication as hybrid ; and Giulia Grassi, too, cannot think of any other example of a hybrid.

And yet there is the name « Gorippus », attested in Syria, in a region in which we have all these similar names attested; our Gorippi serve in a unit in which many fellow soldiers bear Semitic and more specifically Palmyrene names (as befits the Palmyrene origin of the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum*)<sup>31</sup> ; « Gorippus » shares not only the basic consonants but also the front « o » and the « p » (not « f ») at the end. The only conundrum is, in fact, the doubled third radical.

A possible solution might consist in suspecting a reinterpretation : the *Arabic* name « ġuraf » / « gorep » was not understood in an Aramean- and Greek-speaking ambience and re-interpreted according to known constituents, i.e. Aramean « gwr » and Greek « hippos ». So « Gorippus » was not *formed* as a hybrid but *re-interpreted* (« misunderstood ») as such. Alternatively, the doubled « p » might just be an unaccountable oddity ; other such cases can be found at Dura<sup>32</sup>.

However that may be, this does not explain the presence of a specifically Syrian name in 6<sup>th</sup> c. Northern Africa. Admittedly, I cannot think of a straightforward, simple way to do so, but perhaps the name lived on in a family whose lineage went back to one of the many Syrian auxiliary soldiers that arrived in 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Africa. What I do know for certain is that the necropolis of Corycus is roughly contemporaneous and also quite far from where the majority of other attestations was found.

## Reactions and counter-arguments

My Gorippus book has received 29 reviews up to now. Eight of the reviewers themselves use the name « Gorippus »<sup>33</sup> ; another eight seem convinced that « Gorippus » is the correct version, but continue to use « Corippus » *for the*

<sup>29</sup> GRASSI G. F. (2012) : p. 182, s.v. Γοραϛ.

<sup>30</sup> WELLES C. B. – FINK R. O. – GILLIAM J. F. (1959) : p. 62 s.v. « Gores ».

<sup>31</sup> WELLES C. B. – FINK R. O. – GILLIAM J. F. (1959) : p. 61.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. GRASSI G. F. (2012) : p. 154, s.v. Βαθθαββα; p. 167, s.v. Βαρραββαϛ.

*time being*, citing reasons of tradition or convenience<sup>34</sup>. Three reviewers are favorable towards the « G » version but prefer to keep « Corippus » *permanently*, again for reasons of convenience or tradition<sup>35</sup>. Four reviewers abstain from voicing an opinion on the matter<sup>36</sup>.

For our question here, it is of course most interesting to see the arguments of those five reviewers (in six reviews) who do not think my arguments can convince. These are Antonio Ramírez de Verger, Heikki Solin, Vincent Zarini, Benjamin Goldlust and Jean-Louis Charlet.

Ramírez de Verger seems to be the only reviewer who thinks that the evidence for « Corippus » is stronger, calling my arguments « poco convincentes ». Most regrettably, he does not give any further indication of why he thinks so<sup>37</sup>.

The other reviewers whose arguments I will now discuss think that the evidence for « Corippus » and « Gorippus » is of equal weight, so that there is no reason to prefer a new name to an established one.

<sup>33</sup> Mischa Meier (*sehpunkte*, 11, 2011, no. 1); Dorothea Weber (*Tyche*, 26, 2011, p. 376-377); Jan den Boeft (*Vigiliae Christianae*, 66, 2012, p. 440-442); Pierre-Maurice Bogaert (*Revue Bénédictine*, 123, 2013, p. 421); Betine van Zyl Smit (*Acta Classica*, 55, 2012, p. 183-184); Matthias Skeb (*Ecclesia Orans*, 28, 2011, 372-374); Cyprian Krause (*Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 54, 2012, p. 266-267); Rainer Jakobi (*Hyperboreus*, 18, 2012, p. 355-358).

<sup>34</sup> Silvio Bär (*Gnomon*, 84, 2012, p. 25-29 : « R. kann überzeugend zeigen, daß die korrekte Namensform des Autors 'Gorippus' gelautet haben muß », « Es ist allein dem Respekt vor der Übermacht des Althergebrachten geschuldet, daß ich für diese Rezension dennoch weiterhin die Schreibung 'Coripp' verwende. »); Fiona Haarer (*Eirene*, 49, 2013, p. 239-241: « ... the name of our author which he convincingly argues is Gorippus [rather than Corippus] », « I remain with the traditional form, Corippus, during this review »); Vera Tufano (*Bollettino di Studi Latini*, 42, 2012, p. 851-855: « Nonostante la vigorosa argomentazione dell'A., per ragioni di comodità continueremo ad adottare nel corso della nostra recensione la forma più comune Corippo »); Ulrich Lambrecht (*Plekos*, 13, 2011, p. 3-7: « Er plädiert mit überzeugenden Gründen für Flavius Cresconius Gorippus als korrekte Namensform des Epikers. », « In dieser Besprechung ist die herkömmliche Schreibweise Coripp(us) beibehalten worden. »); Luis Alberto de Cuenca (*Emerita*, 80, 2012, p. 205-206: « Lo primero que sacamos en claro ... es que el cognomen de su autor no es Corippus, sino Gorippus »; « Coripo [ahora Goripo] », but he uses « Coripo » in the review); Daniel Syrbe (*H-Soz-u-Kult*, 06.06.2011: « kann ... überzeugend darlegen, dass das zweite Cognomen des Dichters ... wohl nicht 'Corippus', sondern vielmehr 'Gorippus' lauten muss und – auch wenn ich im Folgenden noch die traditionelle Schreibweise verwende – zukünftig korrigiert werden sollte. »); Dariusz Brodka (*Eos*, 99, 2012, p. 190-192: « R. argumentiert überzeugend, dass die korrekte Namensform ... Gorippus, und nicht Corippus lautet ... [Dies] sollte aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach durch die Forschung angenommen werden. », « In der vorliegenden Besprechung wird noch die bisherige traditionelle Namensform verwendet. »). I also put the review of Giulia Caramico (*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, 84, 2010, p. 161-167) in this category : while she seems rather inclined to « Gorippus », she prudently avoids using either name in the review.

<sup>35</sup> Gregory Hays (*Scripta Classica Israelica*, 31, 2012, p. 233-237 : « R. is, I think, right that the balance of probabilities speaks for Gor-, but a switch this late in the day would involve major inconvenience for pretty limited gain. »); Chiara O. Tommasi Moreschini (*Church History and Religious Culture*, 92, 2012, p. 322-324 : « Even if the current form seems to be maintained—at least for the sake of an established tradition—, one should be aware that the original name was probably a [slightly] different one. »); Thomas Gärtner (*Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft*, 16, 2013, p. 1229-1249 : « Folglich ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß unser Epiker Goripp hieß, in der Tat ein Gran größer als diejenige, daß der herkömmliche Name zuträfe », but he uses « Coripp »).

<sup>36</sup> Helen Kaufmann (*Speculum*, 89, 2014, p. 234-236); Giovanni Polara (*Koinonia*, 37, 2013, p. 375-382); Aurélie Delattre (*Revue des Études Anciennes*, 114, 2012, p. 635-638); Emanuele Castelli (*Vetera Christianorum*, 49, 2012, p. 376-377).

<sup>37</sup> *Minerva*, 27, 2014, p. 300-304, p. 301.

In his otherwise very positive review<sup>38</sup>, Heikki Solin remarks that he cannot approve of my argument regarding the second cognomen. He claims that I want to establish Gorippus as the true name, a version, « die er in einigen hsl Kopien gefunden hat ». This is not true. There are not *some* manuscripts but *one single* extant manuscript. And I did not find some extra attestations of « Gorippus » in addition to the several well-known attestations of « Corippus » – I have rather shown that (with one exception) one invariably finds « Gorippus » where previous editors claim to read « Corippus ». Solin also asserts that contrary to what I claim, there is only one attested « Gorippus » in Dura-Europos, not two, the other being a supplement; however, this objection is factually mistaken, and there are indeed at least two different individuals called Gorippus at Dura-Europos<sup>39</sup>. So, all in all, there are more Gorippi, and fewer Corippi, than Solin thinks. Since Heikki Solin's reservations are factually ill-founded, I do not think that they weaken the argument for « Gorippus ».

Vincent Zarini tries to add one argument in favor of « Corippus »<sup>40</sup>. He writes : « peut-être la formule de 1, 508, à propos de la *uirtus Romana (corripit et saluat)* peut-elle se lire comme la “signature” d'un auteur qui s'appellerait donc bien Corippus, avec un jeu de mots d'un type qui n'est pas inconnu dans la littérature latine. » Is this argument sound ? Let us have a glimpse at the passage in question :

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<sup>38</sup> *Arctos*, 46, 2012, p. 275-276.

<sup>39</sup> There are two rosters from Dura, one from AD 219, the other from AD 222. They are subdivided according to military units, and – hardly surprisingly, given the fact that they are only three years apart – are very similar. Solin wrote in his review : « Die Belege [aus Dura-Europos] schrumpfen aber auf einen einzigen zusammen, denn an der zweiten Stelle (40, 9) ist der Name ergänzt. ». However, we are not talking about two entries but about two people *with two entries each*, i.e. four all in all. Gorippus no. 1, Aurelius Iulius Gorippus, can be found in both rosters with a clearly readable « Gorippus ». In the AD 222 roster, there is *gorippus ualentini*, and the editors flag only the last « n » as difficult to read. In the AD 219 roster, of his name only *a[ureliu]g[orip]pus ualenti* is extant. How do we know that this is really the same person? Before this entry, and after this entry, we have the (partially more readable) names of his fellow servicemen, and, as I said, both lists are almost identical. In my book, I cited *Aurelius Gorippus Valentini* by pointing succinctly to Bradford Welles, « S. 336 Col. 40 Z. 9 = S. 361 Col. 40 Z. 16 », an indication which led Solin astray. I could not leave out the AD 219 attestation, because otherwise « Aurelius » would have been without proof.

<sup>40</sup> *Latomus*, 72, 2013, p. 1171-1172.

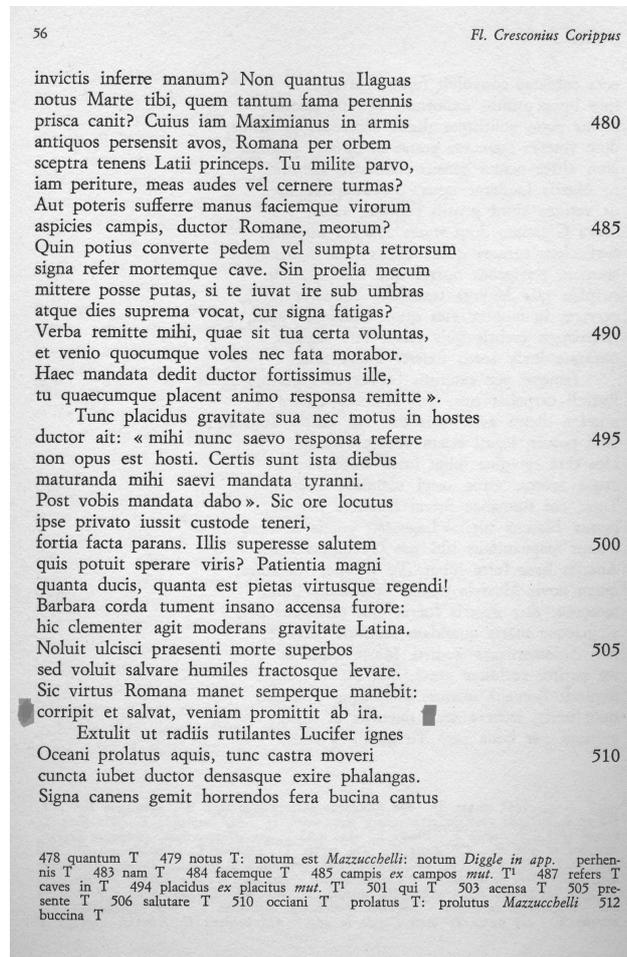


Figure 9 : The page containing 1, 508 (marked) in the edition of M. A. Vinchesi.

Book 1 (after the losses it sustained in transmission) has 581 lines. So this line 1, 508 is neither at the beginning nor at the end of the book but rather in a position that seems random. Should we expect a « signature » at such a place ?

Moreover, Zarini does not give any example of a comparable « signature » within the realm of ancient Latin literature, and I dare say that an even remotely comparable case simply does not exist (elsewise, I would be most grateful for a reference).

Worse yet, the second cognomen is either « Gorippus » or « Corippus » but certainly not *Corripus*, which is the only version for which a *corripit* might, theoretically, provide evidence. In my eyes, Zarini's example in fact shows why scholarship should prefer the much better attested version of « Gorippus » : the idea of suspecting a « signature » in *corripit* can only occur to someone who has the ill-attested version « Corippus » in mind.

Benjamin Goldlust, a pupil of Zarini, published two reviews of my *Gorippus*, which are identical for the most part. Yet regarding the name, there is a remarkable difference. In the version first published, his verdict was rather positive : « La thèse de l'auteur n'est pas du tout invraisemblable et doit être prise au sérieux »<sup>41</sup>. In the second version, this passage has been revised<sup>42</sup> : « La thèse de l'auteur n'est pas invraisemblable, encore que discutable – les vers 1, 508 (*corripit et saluat...*) et 6, 140 (*corripit ipse uiam...*) de la *Johannide* pouvant notamment, dans le corps du texte, apparaître comme des clin d'œil de l'auteur à son propre nom, ce qui pourrait plaider en faveur du maintien de l'appellation traditionnellement retenue. »

We have seen that in the case of 1, 508, there is nothing special about the location of the line within the book – though the phrase at least sounds like an aphorism. But 7, 140<sup>43</sup> is a random phrase (*corripit ipse uiam, gradiens per litoris oras*, « He himself took to the road, advancing along the coast ») at a random location ! This is simply the only other passage in which *corripit* appears within the *Iohannis*. Adducing this line, Goldlust does not strengthen, but rather weakens Zarini's argument : after all, this nicely illustrates that *corripit* is a common form of a frequent verb that makes for a convenient dactyl. Compared to the *Aeneis* (10 instances), to the *Argonautica* (7 instances), or to the *Punica* (8 instances), *corripit* is, with merely two instances, actually rather rare in the *Iohannis*.

Jean-Louis Charlet<sup>44</sup> points out that variation between « C » and « G » is frequent within manuscripts, and since both versions are attested in the Buda and the Madrid manuscripts, he prefers, « par commodité », to keep to the traditional version. However, he needs considerable argumentative effort to get to this result.

In the case of Madrid, Charlet points out that the beginning of the manuscript is the « lieu stratégique »; hence, no matter how many « G »s may follow later, a « C » at the start possesses equal weight in his eyes. This of course means that, following his methodological approach, one should exclusively take note of the name on the title page and ignore whatever may come later, since it does not matter anyway<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2011.06.06.

<sup>42</sup> *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 57, 2011, p. 182-185.

<sup>43</sup> Not 6, 140 as Goldlust indicates.

<sup>44</sup> *Revue des Études Latines*, 88, 2010, p. 301-303.

<sup>45</sup> Some anecdotal evidence : about 20 years ago, I translated a French textbook on Roman imperial history into German. It was later reprinted by a mass-market publisher, and in this reprint (for which they had to change the title page in order to accommodate for the name of the new publisher), they misspelled one of the two authors as « François Jaques » instead of « François Jacques ». According to library standards, librarians should correct obvious mistakes in the book data. Checking the online catalogs, it is interesting to see that most libraries managed to revert to the correct name, though there are exceptions.

As regards the Buda manuscript : that Vadian misspells « Cresconius », that he obviously does not know much about the *Iohannis*, that he used a student's notes to put his book together with several years' delay – none of this means that Cuspinianus' testimony should be preferred.

That « Gorippus » is attested, but « Corippus » is not, does not decide the question, for there is no African attestation of « Gorippus », and non-African attestations are as worthless as if they were non-existent.

A few remarks are in order. First, while it is indeed true that fluctuation between « C » and « G » is rampant in medieval codices, this does not excuse an editor from establishing the correct form. In unadulterated accounts (e.g., inscriptions, papyri, graffiti), we find the « G » version *exclusively*. This is also true for the Nabatean inscription pictured above which uses an alphabet in which no confusion is possible between « G » and either of the two K sounds. Second, as concerns the weighting of the Buda and the Madrid evidence, it is technically impossible to disprove Charlet – though I do find his reasoning rather goal-directed. Third, a name with several different attestations from different regions (Euphrates, and, as we know now, also Cilicia and many different locations where speakers of Semitic languages lived, from Syria to Sinai) is infinitely better attested than a name without one single attestation.

In truth, I think there is a methodological problem. If one wishes to uphold « Corippus », then one should not put one's energy into belittling the « Gorippus » evidence. Rather, one should try to furnish new attestations of « Corippus », a form completely absent from the whole documentary (papyrological, epigraphical, etc.) evidence of antiquity and otherwise only attested twice in medieval or early modern texts, one of these attestations (Vadian's) being especially questionable.

Those who defend « Corippus » manifestly do so with the goal of perpetuating the established version. If there were not a century-long tradition since the times of Ruiz Azagra, no one would come up with the idea of preferring the *lectio facilior* « Corippus » to the much better attested *lectio difficilior* « Gorippus ». But is perpetuating mistakes « par commodité » really a viable option for scholars ?

### **Why a name change is possible as well as advisable**

Are there any practical reasons why one should not question the tradition of calling our poet *Corippus* ? Perhaps future trouble while browsing in a free-access library ? Will books on the *Iohannis* and the *Laus* need to be transferred to a different shelf ? In the great majority of cases, the answer is no. Most free-access libraries now use a standardized system. In Germany, for example, this is

*Regensburger Verbundklassifikation*. This system is, in the case of Classical writers, chronological, so our author, no matter what you call him, will be found between the call numbers FX 484998 – FX 485805, which appropriately sets him between Arator and Benedict of Nursia.

Would searching in an online catalog be rendered more difficult? I do not know of a single electronic catalog without a name forwarding feature. This means that a name such as Corippus is also forwarded to « Corippe », « Corippo », « Coripo », and, even today in many libraries, to « Goripp ». Searching with an online catalog would consequently not be different in any way.

Hence, there seem to be no valid practical reasons against a name change. Given the long tradition of « Corippus », is such a name change feasible, however? The best means to answer this question is to consider an earlier example : the *Suda*.

We owe the reference works for the gargantuan Byzantine lexicon once called *Suidas* to the Danish philologist Ada Adler. Between 1928 and 1938, Adler edited *Suidas* [sic !] for Teubner in five impressive volumes ; and to this very day, this has remained our reference edition. Moreover, it was Adler who wrote the respective Pauly-Wissowa entry s. v. *Suidas I* (1931), an article which is still considered the standard treatment of this famed Byzantine encyclopedia.

The situation regarding *Suidas/Suda* can be summarized as follows : the oldest and best of all manuscripts, Par. gr. 2625 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) has ἡ Σοῦδα as its title; further, part of the later Greek manuscript tradition from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> c. presents τὸ μὲν παρὸν βιβλίον Σοῦδα or something similar. The medieval Latin tradition from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> c. invariably has *Liber Suda* or something similar; and the oldest reference to the lexicon, by Stephanus in his Aristotle commentary (mid-12<sup>th</sup> c.), reads ἐν τῇ Σοῦδα.

On the other hand, Eustathius (late 12<sup>th</sup> c.) consistently speaks of ὁ Σοῦδας. Starting chronologically with a manuscript perhaps penned by Eustathius himself – whose title page is partly unreadable, but which later presents τῶν Σοῦδα ἢ Σοῦδα τὸ δεύτερον – there are codices using the superscription τὸ μὲν παρὸν βιβλίον Σοῦδα ἢ Σοῦδα. An important intermediate stage is represented by one manuscript, i.e. Vat. gr. 881, which also has this superscription, though one later reads : τῶν Σοῦδα τὸ δεύτερον. It is possible to witness here how the double title crept in : while the scribe added the « Suidas » alternative at the beginning, he did not bother to do so later and rather followed the exemplar<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>46</sup> This is another example of why the « lieu stratégique » argument of Charlet is not really convincing.

However, at the manuscript stage, *Suidas* was not very successful in ousting *Suda*: there is *exactly one* manuscript which just has Σουίδας, Bruxell. 11281, which is a copy of Paris. 2622 (itself presenting τὸ μὲν παρὸν βιβλίον Σοῦδα). Yet – most regrettably indeed! – it was none other than Bruxell. 11281 upon which the first printed edition of our Byzantine lexicon was based. And just as in the case of Ruyz Azagra's « Corippus », the original sin committed by an *editio princeps* held sway for centuries.

It was Ada Adler herself who noticed the discrepancy between what the manuscripts present and the name commonly attached to the lexicon. In her handbook-like PW entry (1931), however, she concluded: « Die Form Σουίδας hat sich schon im Anfang der Renaissance festgesetzt [...] und muß aus praktischen Rücksichten beibehalten werden. » There was one thing that Ada Adler did not realize, though: she thought that with ἡ Σοῦδα goes an implied βιβλος, assuming that Σοῦδα is the genitive of a person called Σοῦδας<sup>47</sup>.

In 1932, in a one-page article, Paul Maas put forward the idea that it was in fact Eustathius himself who Hellenized the non-Greek word « Suda » to « Suidas », which was the name of a Hellenistic Thessalian historian known to Eustathius<sup>48</sup>. A personal name « Suidas » is unattested in Byzantine times, and the vocalism of « Suidas » is indicative of the Thessalian dialect (long since extinct by Byzantine times). However, there is no attestation of a personal name « Sudas » either. Hence Maas took this not to be an author's name but a book title, which avoided the need for regularly supplementing βιβλος. However, Maas' interpretation (Latin imperative « suda! », i.e. « sweat! ») is hardly convincing<sup>49</sup>.

In 1936, several years after the appearance of the PW entry and the first volumes of Adler's edition, Franz Dölger took a vigorous stand against the ascription of the name « Suidas » by authoring a 37-page monograph. Dölger not only presented all the available evidence, but also gave a possible explanation for « Suda »: he showed that this Latin loanword (ultimately from *sudis*, « fortification stake ») which later meant « trench », had, in the earliest attestations, the meaning of « palisade, wooden fortification ». After reviewing several examples of metaphorical titles of Byzantine compendia, he concluded that « Suda » was just another such instance (the lexicon as a « careful construction »). Eustathius could not make sense of it, so he took it as an author's name and then Hellenized it in his constant struggle against barbarisms.

After Adler had put the evidence for *Suda* on the table and Dölger had conclusively argued for the name change, no one seriously tried to retain

<sup>47</sup> ADLER A. (1931) : col. 678.

<sup>48</sup> MAAS P. (1932).

<sup>49</sup> Reading Maas' reasoning, I am not entirely convinced that he himself was actually serious about his idea: « Lat. *suda* heißt ‚schwitze‘, als Titel für das unschätzbar elende Machwerk gar nicht unpassend », MAAS P. (1932) : p. 1.

« Suidas ». There was some bickering about the *meaning* of « Suda », it is true<sup>50</sup>, but attempts to defend the form « Suidas » have since been undertaken only by scholars who either ignore or misrepresent the original argument about the stemmatical evidence<sup>51</sup>.

Dölger himself was skeptical about whether rigorous arguments were enough to change his academic peers' ingrained ways of thinking. At the very end of his monograph, he wrote : « Der Lexikograph Suidas ist damit aus der Geschichte der byzantinische Literatur gestrichen ; ob es gelingen wird, das 6½ Jahrhunderte alte Phantom auch aus der Vorstellungswelt und dem Zitatenschatz

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<sup>50</sup> There was an exchange of blows by way of several articles between Franz Dölger and Henri Grégoire, who thought that « Suda » might be an acronym, cf. WALTER N. (1962) : p. 182-183. Given that there are no other acronymic book titles, this is not really convincing. However, one cannot ignore that there seems to be no unambiguous metaphorical interpretation of « Suda » to this very day. The following *tertia comparationis* have been proposed : « careful construction », « lots of wood = hyle = material », « result of the cooperation of many people », « secure bulwark of knowledge to which a scholar can recur whenever he needs certainty », « secure bulwark for knowledge against oblivion ». Cf. WALTER N. (1962) : p. 184-185.

<sup>51</sup> MERCATI S.G. (1962) suggested a highly improbable sequence of events (p. 4-5) : according to him, a copy of the Greek lexicon fell into the hands of an Italian living in the Byzantine Empire « che conosceva meglio il volgare italiano che la lingua greca ». This Italian put the word « guida », « guide », on his manuscript, using Greek letters : ΓΟΥΙΔΑ. Later on, this manuscript somehow came into the possession of a Greek reader. This Greek person did not understand the title and misread it as ΣΟΥΙΔΑ, which later was corrupted to Suda. But why would an Italian with a deficient knowledge of Greek write an Italian word in Greek letters on a Greek manuscript? Should we really believe that a Greek reader first corrupts « guida » which he cannot understand to a likewise meaningless « Suida », then uses this as the book title? Worst of all : Mercati deliberately downplays the fact that « Suda » is better and above all earlier attested than « Suida(s) » ; his discussion of the stemmatological argument is incomplete and unsatisfactory (p. 7-8). Mercati originally published his idea as a 20 page article in Byzantion 1957. When this article was met with the critical response it justly deserved, Mercati republished it as the 50 page article of 1962, though again failing to convince anyone outside Italy. RUIZ DE ELVIRA A. (1978 and 1997) is astounded that one can prefer *one* attestation of Suda in the obscure Stephanus to *nine* attestations in the « egregio » Eustathius, especially given the fact that the Stephanus manuscript is later (1997 : p. 8). Yet the number of attestations in Eustathius is not important ; no one has ever doubted that Eustathius deemed « Suidas » to be the correct name ; hence it does not matter whether this one witness has nine or nine hundred attestations of this name. That it might be of importance when the Stephanus text was *authored* (not when the oldest extant copy was penned), does not occur to Ruiz de Elvira. Finally, he claims that the manuscripts which have Suidas are « manuscritos que, naturalmente, no valen menos que los que tienen Σούδα ο Σούδα ». I have no idea why this might be thus « naturalmente » (I also do not know if typesetting « no valen menos » in bold, as Ruiz de Elvira does, helps to strengthen his argument). Actually, of the seven manuscripts he cites, six present Σούδα ἢ Σουίδα, which is as strong a case for « Suda » as it is for « Suidas » ; the seventh and last is Bruxell. 11281, which clearly is a manuscript inferior to many others. Further note that, while Ruiz de Elvira mentions Dölger's monograph, he never cites him by page number or discusses individual arguments. Perhaps he only knows him through Grégoire (whom he cites), which might explain why Ruiz de Elvira fails to discuss the important Latin evidence for *Suda*. All in all, Ruiz de Elvira's preference for Suidas is based on his esteem for Eustathius, whom he prefers to all other evidence. The last champion of Suidas I know of is HEMMERDINGER B. (1998). It is quite obvious that he never took the trouble to read the original argument. First he circumstantially argues that Σούδα or Σουίδα might be genitives (which is evident and has never been doubted). Then he presents two examples of the name Σουίδαζ he found (which is unnecessary, given that the name Σουίδαζ is itself well attested). His final step is to claim that even in the case of the Stephanus citation, i.e. ἐν τῇ Σούδα, one has to understand an unexpressed βιβλῳ, so it is a personal name ; and because of the Σουίδαζ attestations, the form Σουίδαζ is preferable to Σούδαζ. Hemmerdinger is ignorant of the fact that Σούδα is much better attested in the extant manuscripts. He does not even know that his idea of the genitive of a personal name (« on avait jusqu'ici méconnu le genitive ») is exactly the original argument of Ada Adler in 1931. It is no wonder then that he is also unaware of the Latin evidence (and even of the prior work of Ruiz de Elvira supporting « Suidas »).

der Gelehrten zu vertreiben, wird die Zeit erweisen. »<sup>52</sup> And in fact, only in 1990 did *L'Année philologique* (59, 1988) switch from *Suidas* to *Suda*, thus more than 50 years after the publication of Dölger's pivotal article in 1936 (and more than 20 years after Dölger's death in 1968).

However, not everyone was as slow to adapt as were the editors of *L'Année philologique*. An impressive way of visualizing such trends is Google Books Ngram Viewer. This is an online tool, available at <http://books.google.com/ngrams>, which allows one to trace the relative frequency of words within the corpus of a specific language. An enormous corpus (hundreds of billions of words) is provided by Google Books<sup>53</sup>. If we use the Google Books Ngram Viewer to follow up on the fortunes of « Suidas » and « Suda » in the Anglo-Saxon world, we can see that English-speakers were quick to adapt according to the facts :

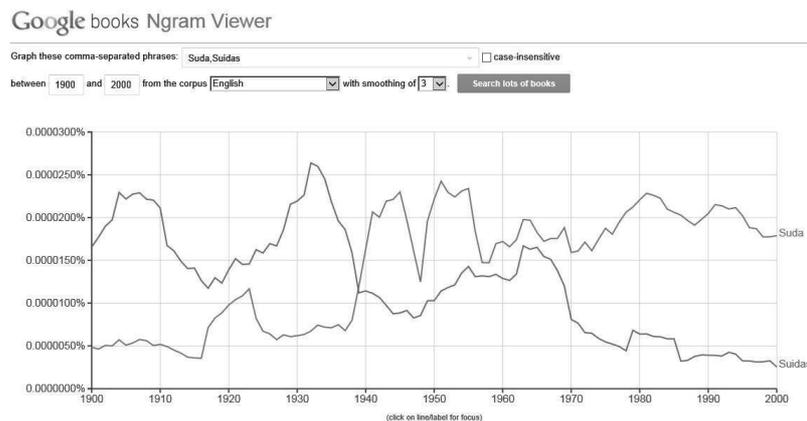


Figure 10 : « Suidas » vs. « Suda » in English publications.

First of all, one might wonder how there can be instances of « Suda » before 1931. Actually, there is always some background noise, provided by unrelated words (here mostly because of the islet of Suda). This affects « Suidas » as well (for example, there is the homonymous Thessalian historian). Thus these graphs just illustrate trends; they are not hard evidence.

This being said, I would interpret the graphs as follows : in 1938, i.e. within two years after Dölger's article, « Suda » had outpaced « Suidas ». After the early sixties, when the academic debate on why « Suda » was correct and « Suidas » was wrong had become tedious, the number of instances of « Suidas » quickly dropped down to a low level.

<sup>52</sup> DÖLGER F. (1931) : p. 27.

<sup>53</sup> MICHEL J.-B. ET AL. (2011).

The German graphs show a remarkably different picture :

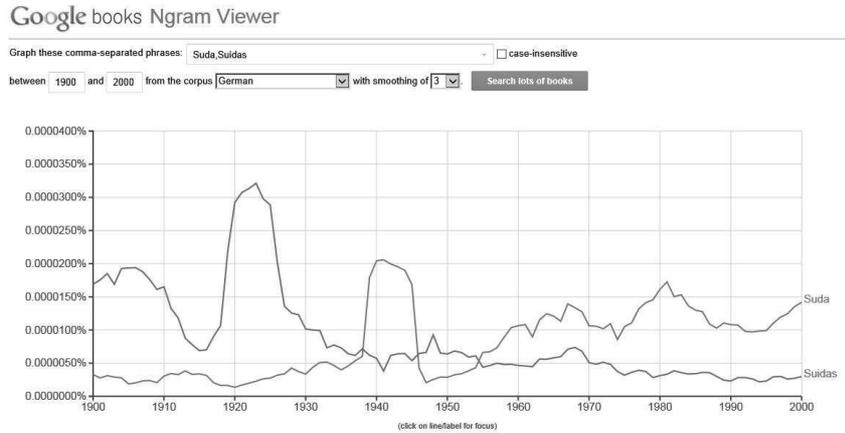


Figure 11 : « Suidas » vs. « Suda » in German publications.

Here as well, « Suda » becomes dominant in 1938, even dramatically so. But over a period of ten years starting in 1945, « Suidas » regains the top position. Why? Google Books Ngram Viewer takes the absolute number of books published in any given year into account. So in a year with few publications (such as in the immediate post-war years), a single instance counts more than in earlier years. When you browse through the German « Suidas » attestations of these years, you quickly realize that many or most occur in reprints of older works, while relatively few new titles were published. This is of course due to the post-WWII situation in Germany, where many libraries needed to replace reference works lost during the war and reprinting was a major priority. However, as soon as the situation normalized, « Suda » took off and « Suidas » dwindled.

In French publications, the situation is clearly different :

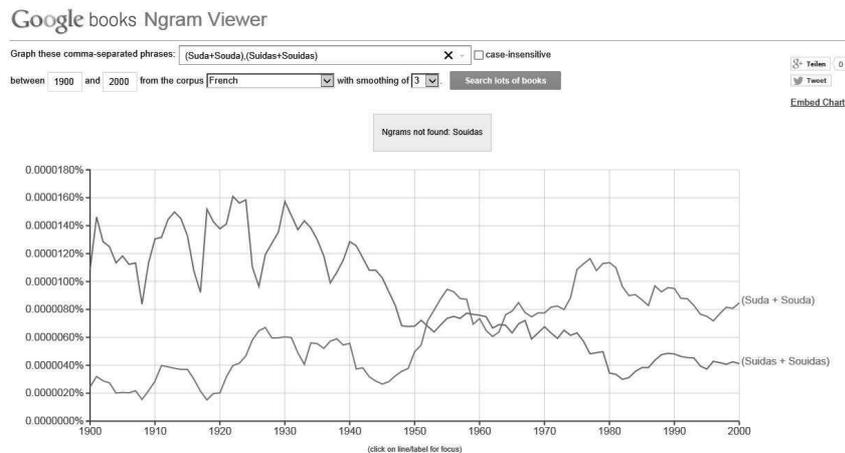


Figure 12 : « S(o)uidas » vs. « S(o)uda » in French publications.

Here, only in the early sixties was « S(o)uda » finally able to assert itself. This matches nicely with the conservatism we have noticed with respect to *L'Année philologique*.

So, to sum up : yes, name changes are *possible*, though they might take a while. But I think a warranted name change is not only *possible* but even *advisable*, for the following reasons :

1) In the long run, what is correct will prevail. From today's point of view, it is quite ironic to read Ada Adler's justification for using the incorrect « Suidas » : she cites « practical reasons ». Actually, I find it rather *impractical* that the standard edition as well as the standard treatment both bear wrong titles – despite the fact that the author knew better ! And while *L'Année philologique's* editors surely deemed their conservatism helpful and principled, from today's perspective, it merely seems quaint and confusing.

2) A name is not just a random label devoid of further importance. Owing to Ruyz Azagra's carelessness, the phantom of « Corippus » was born into the world. It still haunts onomastic dictionaries. It misleads philologists to seek echoes in « corripit », and has confused one scholar so much that he took recourse in the most fanciful of theories<sup>54</sup>. On the other hand, it is indeed intriguing to know that the African Fl. Cresconius Gorippus bore a name otherwise attested exclusively in the Orient.

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<sup>54</sup> Some positions are so outlandish that it is best simply to ignore them. I did so with Haussig's explanation of « Coripp » in my 2010 book. But as I have been asked since whether or not I know his position, I feel obliged to briefly discuss it here. In order not to raise the suspicion that I would ascribe untenable positions to Haussig, I shall quote him in full (Hans-Wilhelm Haussig, Rez. Averil Cameron, *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 15, 1980, p. 235-238, p. 236) : *Ich wage zur Erklärung von "Coripp" eine Hypothese. Hiernach könnte sich "Coripp" aus den Kürzungen COR (= Curator) I (= primae) und PP (Pannononiae [sic!] provinciae) zusammensetzen. Die Provinz Pannonia prima war nach den Kämpfen zwischen Langobarden und Gepiden, die Coripp erwähnt, zeitweilig unter oströmische Herrschaft gekommen. Coripp würde dann als Belohnung für sein Lobgedicht das "officium" eines Curators der damals wieder unter oströmische Herrschaft gekommenen Provinz Pannonia prima erhalten haben.* Note that Haussig does not give any supporting references for his views. Let us check the facts : while « Corippus » was a possible choice for the second cognomen, the German « Coripp » (without ending !) never was. « Curator » starts with « cur », not with « cor ». [Maybe Haussig's « curator » is a slip of the pen for a « corrector », a title with the virtue of, at least, starting with « cor » (and being a governor's title). Further, *Notitia Dignitatum* actually knows one Pannonian corrector, but for Pannonia Savia, not Pannonia Prima (Not. Dig. Oc. I 83). But then again, Haussig writes « curator » *twice*, so this is probably what he meant.] In the index of abbreviations included in ILS, all suchlike abbreviations start with « provincia », hence it should be « provincia Pannonia prima », not « prima Pannonia provincia ». The abbreviation « IPP » is without attestation in the full corpus of Latin inscriptions. The governor of Pannonia prima was a *praeses*, not a *curator* (Not. Dig. Oc. I 87) ; worse, *curator* is not even a provincial title (cf. the entries in the index of Jones' *Later Roman Empire*). While Justin II captured Sirmium, there was no « oströmische Herrschaft » in Pannonia prima, and accordingly there is no evidence for a 6<sup>th</sup> c. Byzantine province of this name. Haussig does not dwell upon why « Corippus » (or rather « Coripp ») needs to be explained as a conflation of several abbreviations, something which would be absolutely singular in all of Classical literature. To sum up : Haussig's explanation is quixotic, and one keeps wondering how all of this could possibly pass peer review. Interestingly enough, in the German Wikipedia, Haussig's idea was prominently cited as a possible explanation of « Corippus » for several years – a major warning against using such websites naively.

3) As long as one cannot refute the arguments in favor of « Gorippus » and add new evidence for « Corippus » (for as of today, there is hardly any left!), there is no valid excuse for not adopting « Gorippus ». Several reviewers justify themselves for their continued use of « Corippus » by « convenience » or « tradition ». But how is ignoring new findings while deeming them correct an appropriate attitude for scholarship? How would we explain this line of reasoning to a colleague working in the field of Astrophysics – or, say, Cancer Research?

### **Abbreviations**

AES	Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909.
IGLS	Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie
PW	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
Waddington	Waddington, Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie

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# Corippe

## Un poète latin entre deux mondes

Le présent ouvrage rassemble les communications présentées lors du colloque international « Corippe, un poète latin entre deux mondes », organisé à l'université Jean Moulin – Lyon 3 les 19 et 20 juin 2014. Il s'agissait là de la première rencontre scientifique organisée sur ce poète du sixième siècle de notre ère qui, entre épopée et panégyrique, entre Orient et Occident, entre Antiquité et Moyen Âge, apparaît comme un poète entre deux mondes.

Auteur d'une épopée, chantée en l'honneur du général Jean Troglita, chargé par l'empereur Justinien de mater les insurrections berbères en Byzacène (546-548), ainsi que d'un *Panégyrique d'Anastase* et d'un *Éloge de l'Empereur Justin II* (566-568), Corippe est une source fondamentale sur l'histoire, africaine et proto-byzantine, du sixième siècle, ainsi que sur l'évolution de la littérature épique et panégyrique à la fin de l'Antiquité tardive, toujours très ancrée dans la tradition virgilienne, mais préparant déjà la transition vers le Moyen Âge, du point de vue idéologique, religieux et institutionnel. Ce colloque international avait pour but de poser quelques jalons en vue de la prochaine publication de la *Johannide* dans la Collection des universités de France (CUF). Mais il se proposait aussi, d'une manière plus générale, de faire un état de la question dans plusieurs disciplines et spécialités (histoire, numismatique, philologie, rhétorique, poétique, métrique), ainsi que de proposer une bibliographie générale consacrée à Corippe, que l'on trouvera dans le présent volume après les différentes contributions.

Ont contribué à ce volume :

Philippe BLAUDEAU, Bruno BUREAU, Giulia CARAMICO, Jean-Louis CHARLET, Franca Ela CONSOLINO, Sylviane ESTIOT, Benjamin GOLDLUST, Thomas GÄRTNER, Heinz HOFMANN, Paul MATTEI, François PLOTON-NICOLLET, Peter RIEDLBERGER, Chiara TOMMASI MORESCHINI, Vincent ZARINI



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