

## **New Approaches to Phrynichus' *Praeparatio Sophistica***

# **Purism in Antiquity**

---

Edited by  
Olga Tribulato

## **Volume 3**

# **New Approaches to Phrynichus' *Praeparatio Sophistica***

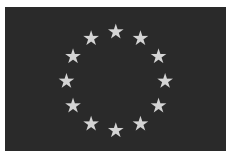
---

Edited by

Federico Favi, Andrea Pellettieri and Olga Tribulato

**DE GRUYTER**

This publication is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 865817).



**European Research Council**  
Established by the European Commission

ISBN 978-3-11-157990-0

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-158031-9

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-158060-9

ISSN 2942-1721

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111580319>



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License. For details go to <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>.

**Library of Congress Control Number: 2025940936**

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2025 the author(s), editing © 2025 Federico Favi, Andrea Pellettieri and Olga Tribulato, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston, Genthiner Straße 13, 10785 Berlin. The book is published open access at [www.degruyterbrill.com](http://www.degruyterbrill.com).

Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

[www.degruyterbrill.com](http://www.degruyterbrill.com)

Questions about General Product Safety Regulation:  
[productsafety@degruyterbrill.com](mailto:productsafety@degruyterbrill.com)

## Preface and acknowledgments

This volume is part of the series *Purism in Antiquity*, one of the outputs of the ERC project *PURism in Antiquity: Theories of Language in Greek Atticist Lexica and their Legacy (PURA)*, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 865817). The volume stems from the second workshop of the project, *How to become a skilled rhetor: Theories of language and style in Phrynichus' Praeparatio sophistica*, which was held at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice on 26 September 2022.

We thank the contributors to the volume and the members of the PURA research team Roberto Batisti, Federica Benuzzi, and Elisa Nuria Merisio for discussing all the contents of the volume with us, Carlo Vessella and his team at De Gruyter for their editorial support, the four referees who have provided valuable comments, and the administrative staff of the Department of Humanities of Ca' Foscari University of Venice, PURA's host institution, for overseeing budget and contracting.



# Contents

Preface and acknowledgments — V

Abbreviations and reference editions — IX

List of contributors — XI

Federico Favi, Andrea Pellettieri, Olga Tribulato

**Introduction (with an appendix on Photius' *Bibliotheca* cod. 158) — 1**

Ewen Bowie

**Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* and *Eclogue*: Logic and chronology — 23**

Jacopo Cavarzeran

***Praeparatio onomastica*? Traces of onomastic arrangement in Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* — 45**

Federico Favi

**How did the epitomiser(s) work? The epitome of the *Praeparatio sophistica* and the indirect tradition in comparison — 81**

Olga Tribulato

**Stylistic terminology in the *Praeparatio sophistica* — 161**

Giulia Gerbi

**καινῶς εἴρηται: The concept of novelty (καινότης) in the *Praeparatio sophistica* — 217**

Andrea Pellettieri

**Learned rudeness: Abusive expressions in Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* — 239**

Chiara Monaco

**Comic constructions or *hapax legomena*? Observations on some rare expressions in Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* — 259**

**Index locorum — 291**

**Index nominum et rerum — 311**

**Index of notable Greek terms relating to ancient exegesis — 315**

**Notable Greek words and expressions — 317**



## Abbreviations and reference editions

All abbreviations follow those of the *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism* (<https://atticism.eu/lexicographic-entries/abbreviations>). Likewise, ancient authors and works are cited from the reference editions listed in the *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism* (<https://atticism.eu/lexicographic-entries/reference-editions-of-erudite-sources>).



# List of contributors

**Ewen Bowie** was Praelector in Classics at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1965–2007), and successively Lecturer, Reader, and Professor of Classical Languages and Literature in Oxford University. Now an Emeritus Fellow of Corpus, he has been Visiting Professor at the ENS, Paris, Stanford, Michigan and Edinburgh, and Seymour Reader at Ormond College, Melbourne. He has written on Greek elegiac, iambic and lyric poetry, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Hellenistic poetry, and Greek culture under Rome; co-edited *Philostratus* (2009) and *Archaic and Classical Choral Song* (2011); edited *Herodotus. Narrator, scientist, historian* (2018); and published a commentary on Longus (2019). Two volumes of his collected *Essays on Ancient Greek Literature and Culture* have appeared (CUP 2021, 2023) and a third is in preparation.

**Jacopo Cavarzeran** is a post-doc researcher within the ERC project *PURA – Purism in Antiquity* at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. He is currently working on the textual tradition of Pollux's *Onomasticon* of Pollux, Phrynichus' *Eclogue*, and Moeris. His work focuses also on ancient and Byzantine *scholia* to Euripides, and to a lesser extent, on Greek during the Renaissance.

**Federico Favi** is Associate Professor of Greek Language and Literature at the Università del Piemonte Orientale. He is interested in Greek literature; in the history of the Greek language and of its dialects and in ancient linguistic thought; in Greek epigraphy. He is the author of *Fliaci. Testimonianze e frammenti* (Heidelberg 2017, Verlag Antike), *Epicarmo e pseudo-Epicarmo (frr. 240–297). Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Göttingen 2020, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), and together with Olga Tribulato and Lucia Prauscello of *Ancient Greek Purism 1: The Roots of Atticism* (Berlin/Boston 2024, De Gruyter).

**Giulia Gerbi** is post-doc researcher at Ca' Foscari University of Venice, within the ERC project *PURA – Purism in Antiquity*. She obtained her PhD at the Ca' Foscari University and at the Sorbonne University (Paris) with a thesis entitled *I Progimnasmī di Niceforo Basilace. Edizione critica, traduzione e commento*. She is currently working on the reception of Atticism in Byzantium, with a particular focus on Byzantine lexicography. Her research interests also include Byzantine prose literature.

**Chiara Monaco** is a FWO Junior Research Fellow at Ghent University (2021–2025). She is working on a project entitled *The Aeolodoric Theory: A Paradigm for Ancient Greek Linguistic Approaches*. She obtained her PhD at the University of Cambridge with a thesis on Ancient Greek Purism. Her research interest includes Greek historical (socio)linguistics, language ideologies, language attitudes, and papyrology. She has coedited the volume *Redefining the Standards in Attic, Koine, and Atticism* (2024) and the issue *Multilingual literary practices in a multicultural world* (forthcoming) for the *Journal of Literary Multilingualism*.

**Andrea Pellettieri** is post-doc researcher at Ca' Foscari University of Venice, within the ERC project *PURA – Purism in Antiquity*. His research interests include ancient Greek language, Attic theater, and Hellenistic literature and scholarship. He is the author of *I composti nella lingua di Licofrone. Studi filologici e linguistici* (De Gruyter 2021) and *Ferecrate. Doulodidaskalos–Korianno (frr. 43–84). Traduzione e commento* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2024).

**Olga Tribulato** is Professor of Greek language and literature at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. An expert in ancient Greek word formation, dialects, and literary languages, with her ERC-funded project *PURA – Purism in Antiquity* she is currently working on theories of linguistic correctness in Atticist lexicography and their reception in the Byzantine age. Her publications include the volumes *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily* (CUP, 2012), *Ancient Greek Verb-Initial Compounds: Their Diachronic Development within the Greek Compound System* (De Gruyter, 2015), and (with co-authors F. Favi and L. Prauscello), *Ancient Greek Purism 1: The Roots of Atticism* (De Gruyter, 2024).

Federico Favi, Andrea Pellettieri, Olga Tribulato

# Introduction (with an appendix on Photius' *Bibliotheca* cod. 158)

## 1 Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica*: A spectre haunting the study of Atticism

Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* (henceforth *PS*) is one of those works of ancient scholarly literature that we wish we could read in its original, complete form.<sup>1</sup> It was Phrynichus' *magnum opus*, and the high status of this work was still acknowledged in Byzantine intellectual circles. This volume aims to shed new light on the *PS* and its history, focusing on three areas of interest: firstly, the context of its production; secondly, its transmission from Antiquity, through Late Antiquity, to the Byzantine era; and finally, its stylistic and linguistic theorisation and the interpretative framework behind its compilation.

The *PS* as we read it today is a curious product. On the one hand, we have the version preserved in cod. Par. Coisl. 345, a *codex unicus* (mid 10th century CE).<sup>2</sup> This 'epitome' (see Favi in this volume for this term) is very poor: we see this clearly from the fact that many lemmas consist of mere definitions. On the other hand, we know the *PS* from the 'indirect' tradition (on this terminology, see the contributions by Favi and Cavarzeran in this volume). This branch of the tradition consists mainly of 8th- and 9th-century testimonies, which are closely connected with the *Synagoge* and its expansions, notably Photius' lexicon and the *Suda*. The 'indirect' tradition is thus chronologically older than the 'direct' tradition of the Coislinianus. Therefore, the *PS* 'as we read it today' essentially reflects how this lexicon was read and circulated between the 8th and 10th centuries.<sup>3</sup>

Here Photius' testimony becomes essential for two crucial reasons. First, in the *Bibliotheca*, Photius gives us the fullest account of the contents of the original lexicon (in 37 books, of which Photius read 36), or at least of a version of the *PS* that was considerably longer than the one we read today. It is highly uncertain whether Photius availed himself of the fuller version of the *PS* for the compilation

---

1 This introduction does not aim to provide a comprehensive introduction to the *PS*. For an overall discussion of this lexicon, see Cavarzeran *et al.* (2024).

2 On this manuscript, see Valente (2008). For further bibliographical references, see Cavarzeran in this volume.

3 On the other indirect sources besides the *Synagoge* and its expansions, see the papers by Cavarzeran and Favi in this volume.

of his lexicon (indeed, on balance, it is more likely that Photius derived the material from the *PS* via the expansions of the *Synagoge*). Still, the fact that he had access to a fuller redaction of the *PS* gives us a glimpse of what this lexicon may have looked like before massive excerption and epitomisation took place, resulting in the state of the evidence which we find in the direct and indirect sources dating between the 8th and 10th centuries. For this reason, at the end of this Introduction we provide the full text of codex 158 of the *Bibliotheca* and a translation which, although based on that of Nigel Wilson (1994, 138–41)<sup>4</sup> and also taking into account the French translation by Henry (1960, 115–9) and the recent annotated Italian translation of the *Bibliotheca* (M. Losacco in Bianchi, Schiano 2019, 181–4; 1048–51), attempts to capture the exact meaning of some of the information Photius gives us.

The complex transmission of the *PS* is one of the first challenges that scholars working on this lexicon must face. It also has a crucial bearing on our ability to fully understand the linguistic and stylistic theorisation behind this work. Judging from Photius' description in the *Bibliotheca*, the lexicon's broad scope could teach us a great deal about linguistic and literary studies in Phrynichus' time.<sup>5</sup> However, the fragmentary nature of the extant material from the *PS* has certainly contributed to the general neglect of this lexicon by modern scholarship. As of today, the bibliography on the *PS* is very slim. Apart from the *editio princeps* in the first volume of Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca* (containing the so-called *lexica Segueriana*, Bekker 1814–1821 vol. 1, 3–74), the only critical edition is that of de Borries (1911), which also contains a detailed introduction. Kaibel's inaugural dissertation (1899), which focuses mainly on the textual transmission and sources of the lexicon, is virtually the only other full-length treatment of the *PS*. Although individual studies have approached the *PS* (as their primary focus or, more often, as part of larger concerns), these are very few and, in keeping with their aims, inevitably address only specific aspects.<sup>6</sup>

This limited attention is all the more striking when one considers the sustained scrutiny that Phrynichus' other lexicographical work, the *Eclogue*, has re-

<sup>4</sup> This is the English version of the earlier Italian edition (Wilson 1992, 253–8).

<sup>5</sup> See the opening words in Kaibel (1899, 3): 'Phrynichus sophista licet neque ingenii dotibus nec iudicii acritate nec doctrinae ubertate homo suo saeculo superior, diligentia tamen admirabili opus condidit magnum et laboriosum, quod si integrum superesset, vix aliud utilius cogitari posset instrumentum ad cognoscenda quae altero post Christum natum saeculo florebant litterarum antiquarum studia'.

<sup>6</sup> Avotins (1978); Strobel (2005, 8–14); Berardi (2006, 246–51; 258–62); Strobel (2009, 101); Strobel (2011); Tribulato (2022); Tribulato (2024).

ceived.<sup>7</sup> Not only did this lexicon arouse a considerable interest in the Middle Ages, as shown by the ca. 29 manuscripts that transmit it, most of which date from the Palaeologan period or later, but in modern times the *Eclogue* has also been edited several times,<sup>8</sup> and three of these editions are accompanied by a detailed linguistic commentary.<sup>9</sup> As a result, the *Eclogue*, despite its more limited scope compared to the *PS*, has regularly been treated as the most representative product not only of Phrynichus' lexicographical activity, but of Atticist lexicography as a whole.<sup>10</sup> This disproportion is probably due to several factors. First of all, the *Eclogue* is a two-book lexicon divided into a series of generally short entries. Although we are not sure of how the *PS* was originally organised and what it looked like, this 37-book work was certainly a much bigger, more detailed, and also a more long-winded enterprise, as Photius too remarks. This bulkiness undoubtedly made the *PS* a less handy guide to good language than the *Eclogue*: the clearer prescriptive and proscriptive approach of the latter instead made it easier for readers to consult (despite its non-alphabetical arrangement). Moreover, although a normative Atticist mindset is not absent from the *PS* (see Tribulato, this volume), it is also true that, as we learn from Photius' testimony and as we can glean from the direct and indirect traditions, the *PS* also pursued a much broader goal of rhetorical and literary education, since it aimed primarily at the stylistic instruction and general taste formation of the aspiring rhetorician. This makes it a far more ambitious work than the *Eclogue*, which also means that it is more rewarding for modern scholars to study.

---

7 This includes the more extensive study of the transmission, influence, and reception of the *Eclogue* (see Fischer 1974, *passim*; Gaul 2007; Gaul 2008, 186–90; Gaul 2011; Alpers 2013, 147–8; Sandri 2023).

8 Fischer (1974, 51) lists ten earlier editions, starting with the first modern edition by Zacharias Calliergis, which appeared in 1517. On the history of the editions of the *Eclogue*, see Fischer (1974, 33–4). On the edition of Phrynichus' *Eclogue* by Nunnesius (Pedro Juan Núñez), see Barbeito (1998).

9 De Pauw (1739); Lobeck (1820); Rutherford (1881). This tradition, which in the case of the *Eclogue* was inaugurated by the annotated editions by Nunnesius (1586) and Hoeschel (1601), is comparable to the situation with Moeris' lexicon (see Pellettieri 2024).

10 This fact has had a decisive influence on the development of the image of Phrynichus as the strictest Atticist: note that the *PS* barely appears in Naechster's (1908) study of the (alleged) controversy between Phrynichus and Pollux (Naechster's thesis is questioned or rejected by Fischer 1974, 44; Avotins 1978, 190 n. 30; Slater 1977, 260; Swain 1996, 54 n. 48; Jones 2008, 258 n. 12; Regali 2008; Strobel 2011, 86; Matthaios 2013, 69–72; Cavarzeran forthcoming; it was treated more favourably by de Borries 1911, x–xi; Latte 1915, 382; *OCD* s.v. Pollux; Tosi 1999; Tosi 2007, 5; Zecchini 2007, 17). In more recent times, it is striking that, in his study of the historian Herodian's Atticism, Lucarini (2017) only considers the *Eclogue* among the lexica that set out Atticist norms.

Current approaches to the *PS* tend to highlight only one of these two aspects, which are instead closely interwoven in the fabric of the lexicon. Surviving traces of Atticist evaluative terminology, such as Ἀττικός, δόκιμος, ἀρχαῖος etc., confirm that in the *PS*, as in his more militant *Eclogue*, Phrynichus pursued linguistic correctness. At the same time, several hints – the title itself, the contents which still survive in the drastically reduced version of cod. Par. Coisl. 345, and Photius' description in the *Bibliotheca* – show how in this work Phrynichus approached the question of correct language (the καθαρὸς καὶ Ἀττικός λόγος still clear to Photius) through the more fine-grained lens of the appropriate choice of words (that περὶ κρίσεως ὀνομάτων πρόβλημα of which, according to Photius, he spoke to Menodorus in the preface to Book 5). Phrynichus not only recommended good Attic words, but also gave his readers advice on how to adapt the language to different written genres or communication purposes. This double emphasis on written style and linguistic register is echoed by Photius, who defines the *PS* as 'useful to aspiring writers and rhetors' (χρήσιμον [. . .] τοῖς τε συγγράφειν καὶ ῥητορεύειν ἐθέλουσιν), the latter probably including oral delivery. The epitome of the *PS* and the quotations in the entries known from the indirect tradition also frequently refer to the idea of συνουσία, thus confirming that Phrynichus' ambition was also to forge the elegant conversationalist of his time.

The range of stylistic and sociolinguistic theorisation buried in the *PS* can still be detected by analysing the evaluative terminology preserved in the epitome through the lens of Photius' eyes. That Photius is a necessary intermediary for modern readers of the *PS* is shown by the correspondence between his sketch, however brief, of the kind of material that Phrynichus collected in the lexicon and that preserved in the epitome. Many of the extant lemmas consist of short, pithy phrases: often idiomatic expressions that Phrynichus defines and ascribes to a particular style or communicative circumstance. This is reflected in Photius' *Bibliotheca*: Photius speaks of λόγοι κωμωατικοί, some of which are arranged in short phrases (ἐνίων δὲ καὶ εἰς κῶλα παρατεινομένων) and expressed in elegant and innovative ways (χαριέντως τε καὶ καινοπρεπῶς – incidentally, καινός is an evaluative term used by Phrynichus and χαρίεις occurs in the indirect witnesses of the *PS*: see the contributions by Tribulato and Gerbi in this volume). In comparing the *PS* with Helladius' lexicon, Photius hints at the fact that Phrynichus was able to arrange all this disparate material more effectively because his lexicon had a clear aim (σκοπός; see the text and translation of the passage in the Appendix). Although unspecified, it is likely that this aim was to provide the full range of stylistic nuances appropriate to a high-register prose style.



## 2 The contributions included in this volume

The contributions are arranged according to three main approaches to the study of the *PS*: (1) context of production and time of composition (Bowie); (2) history of the text (circulation and manipulation, direct and indirect traditions: Cavarzeran, Favi); (3) stylistic and linguistic theorisation (Tribulato, Gerbi, Pellettieri, Monaco).

The volume opens with **Ewen Bowie's** paper, which places the *PS* in the midst of the controversies among the lexicographers and intellectuals of the Second Sophistic. Bowie's interest revolves around the *vexata quaestio* concerning the dating of the *PS* and the *Eclogue*. After arguing that Phrynichus' origins were in Bithynia, as suggested by both epigraphic and lexicographical evidence, Bowie examines Photius' account of the dedications of individual books of the *PS* and arrives at a number of conclusions, albeit at times necessarily tentative. The fact that the books must have been published serially one after the other before the whole sequence was dedicated to Commodus suggests an earlier chronology than that assumed, for instance, by De Borries (1911, vii), who argued for an original composition in 165–170 CE and a republication in a later period.<sup>11</sup> On the basis of several hints – e.g., the *cursus honorum* of some of the dedicatees, the mention (in Book 11) of Aristides' speeches as already published, etc. – Bowie concludes that the work was composed some time between the late 120s and ca. 150 CE. At a later stage, Phrynichus brought together all the books into a single edition and dedicated it to Commodus, probably in the mid-170s. CE. As regards the question of the relative chronology of the *PS* and the *Eclogue*, Bowie considers the *Eclogue* to be later than the *PS* – perhaps even a 'coffee-table or *Reader's Digest* version of the latter'. He finds evidence for this in the different evaluations of Menander which Bowie sees in the two works: as Bowie argues, adducing a number of passages from both the *PS* and the *Eclogue*, 'it is only during the writing of *Eclogue* Book 2 that Phrynichus seems to have developed his doubt about Menander as a reliable source of Attic'. The matter is intricate, however, and some of these reconstructions will necessarily be tentative.<sup>12</sup> As Bowie argues in the last part of

---

<sup>11</sup> A later chronology is instead suggested by Swain (1996, 53–4), who proposes that individual books were published shortly before Commodus became sole ruler, and that republication took place after 180 CE.

<sup>12</sup> The interpretation of this material remains controversial. First, the different approach in the *Eclogue* and the *PS* may reflect the different goals of these works: for instance, tragedy is very much present in the *PS*, which aims to provide broader rhetorical and stylistic instruction, whereas it is rarely ever mentioned, let alone positively, in the *Eclogue*, where Phrynichus aimed to provide more direct linguistic instruction. Second, the more explicit criticism of Menander in

his paper, the outspoken criticism of several distinguished intellectuals (and rivals) found here and there in the *Eclogue* may be the sign of Phrynichus' already achieved personal eminence.

Whether (and to what extent) Phrynichus exercised this critical attitude towards the intellectuals of his age by sharpening his weapons against Pollux of Naucratis, another prominent Atticist, is a matter of controversy. Ever since an influential hypothesis by Naechster (1908), many scholars have taken it for granted that Phrynichus and Pollux were rivals who fought for the chair of rhetoric in Athens, and that their real battleground was the approach to Atticism. As mentioned in the previous section, in more recent years scholars have begun to express doubts about Naechster's hypothesis. Naechster focused on the two lexicographers' different takes on the canon of approved authors, but the careful scrutiny of the two lexicographers' theoretical stances suggests that we are not dealing with two extremely polarised approaches, but with gradations of the same Atticist methodology. Crucially, Phrynichus' canon and approach to correct language seems closer to Pollux's when viewed from the perspective of the *PS*, a lexicon that – as already mentioned in the previous section – Naechster largely disregarded.

The comparison of the *Eclogue*, the *PS*, and the *Onomasticon* highlights different approaches to the ancient lexicographical method, reflecting the different arrangements and aims of these lexica. In this respect, one possibility worth exploring is whether Phrynichus' *PS* was arranged thematically, in a way not too dissimilar to the *Onomasticon* (as already postulated by Kaibel 1899), or whether it was in fact arranged as an alphabetical lexicon, but one which included the analysis of the lemma within its larger lexical family, thus giving the entries an

---

Book 2 of the *Eclogue* may be a reaction to the approval which Menander and other poets of later comedy had received from more open-minded Atticists whose works were published after the appearance of Book 1 of the *Eclogue*: a case in point are the entries in Book 2 of the *Eclogue* that polemically engage with the *Antiatticist* (see Latte 1915; Valente 2015, 52–4). Furthermore, Phrynichus' critical appraisal of Menander's language is also evident in some of the entries in Book 1 (notably *Ecl.* 170, where the fact that Antiochus of Aegae may have derived the use of *μεγιστᾶνες* from Menander is not enough for Phrynichus to approve of this form: instead, Phrynichus says that one should follow the *ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες* and use a different expression). The fact that Menander is quoted in *Ecl.* 58 does not prove that Phrynichus in Book 1 essentially approved of his language: it is only natural that Menander too would sometimes use forms that Phrynichus would approve of for other reasons. Finally, that Middle and New Comedy could hardly serve Phrynichus as a model of good Attic language is already presupposed in Book 1 of the *Eclogue*, as is shown by the (critical) reference to Alexis in *Ecl.* 212: *παλαιστρικός* Ἀλεξίν φασιν εἰρηκῆναι, ὃ δὲ ἀρχαῖος παλαιστρικὸν λέγει ('παλαιστρικός: They say that Alexis (fr. 326) said [thus], but the old [Attic writer would] say παλαιστρικός').

internal quasi-onomastic structure. In the light of Phrynichus' involvement in the cultural debates of his time, it is possible that he was also concerned with how to best organise an Atticist lexicon and how different formats would serve different purposes. In such a scenario, the *Eclogue* and the *PS* would pursue different aims at different moments in Phrynichus' career, as Bowie suggests. One may also see the *PS* and Pollux's *Onomasticon* as two parallel ways of assembling substantial material into large Atticist lexica. Yet, despite their possible similarities, we should not underestimate the fact that these two lexica probably had different aims and readerships. The *Onomasticon* is an extensive synonymic lexicon that takes into account different linguistic layers and is probably addressed to speakers with different levels of education; it also covers a variety of subjects, including practical and/or technical ones. By contrast, the *PS* may have been addressed to (aspiring) rhetors, that is, those who had already attained the highest level of education and needed guidance in good style. The *PS* abounds in instructions on how to use each word in written and oral registers, and Photius' account confirms that this is an original feature of the lexicon. Thus, while one can hardly subscribe to Naechster's thesis of an alleged controversy between Phrynichus and Pollux, it remains possible that Phrynichus' *PS* and Pollux's *Onomasticon* represent two alternative approaches to the lexicographical method.

The question of the original structure of the *PS* is inextricably connected with the attempts to reconstruct the history of the text. As has already been highlighted, owing to the lamentable state of preservation of the *PS*, the study of the text preserved in the Coislinianus and the study of the indirect tradition of the *PS* should proceed side by side, and only the constant comparison between the two may yield significant advancements in our understanding of the form and content of the *PS*. In fact, quite often, the text of the *PS* that has come down to us via the indirect tradition is richer than the text preserved in the Coislinianus, or each strand of transmission complements the information available in the other. What this can tell us about the *PS* and its textual history needs to be examined more carefully. The two contributions by Jacopo Cavarzeran and Federico Favi address this issue, advancing hypotheses about the intricate relationship between the text of the Coislinianus and the indirect tradition and how this may contribute to the reconstruction of the original *PS*.

One of the first elements that strikes the reader of the *PS* is that, compared to the *Eclogue*, its entries in the Coislinianus and in the indirect tradition sometimes contain stylistic evaluations, notes on synonyms, *loci classici*, etc. In general, some of these entries seem to proceed from a general level of information (definition, Attic pedigree) to a more detailed treatment (style, idiosyncratic usages, syntax, etc.), which occasionally includes a discussion of the lemma's wider lexical family. What does this tell us about the structure of the original lexicon? **Jacopo**

**Cavarzeran**'s contribution offers some hypotheses to account for this situation. According to Cavarzeran, several long passages, reported by Σ', Σ'', and Photius, which probably represent the earliest stage of the *PS* that we can attempt to reconstruct, suggest that the *PS* was originally an alphabetical collection of short or medium-length entries, a more attractive solution than the strictly thematic structure envisaged by Kaibel (1899) on the basis of the comparison with Pollux's *Onomasticon* (see above). Yet, some other items bear traces of derivation from entries whose internal organisation may originally have been thematic, as suggested by the presence of generalising terms such as τόπος ('place'), σκεῦος ('tool'), etc. These may have been conceived as a means of structuring the macro-subject of the entry into sub-subjects. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that the original *PS* contained entries organised in a similar way to Pollux's *Onomasticon*, where such generalising terms are also used extensively to structure the discussion of a given topic.

At least at the level of individual entries, an onomastic structure is not incompatible with an alphabetical one. In particular, Cavarzeran proposes three different scenarios to reconcile the coexistence of the two structures. The first hypothesis is that the original *PS* may have had a completely thematic structure: if so, it must have been rearranged alphabetically and shortened in the period between the late 2nd and the late 8th century CE or the first decades of the 9th century (i.e., before the compilation of the *Synagoge*). It may be possible to further restrict this period to the 5th–6th century CE on the basis of the information provided by a scholium to Euripides' *Medea* (as Cavarzeran argues in Section 3 of his contribution). Alternatively, the *PS* may have been arranged alphabetically, with long entries (considerably broader than those which we now find) sometimes having an internal horizontal structure. These entries may have been shortened and excerpted (perhaps more than once) before being included in Σ' and Photius' lexicon. Finally, one cannot exclude the possibility that the *PS* had some sort of hybrid structure, such as that tentatively suggested by Schönemann for Pamphilus' *Περὶ γλωσσῶν*, although this last hypothesis seems less likely than the others in the light of Photius' description of the *PS*.

However we imagine the original structure of the *PS*, at some point in Late Antiquity this structure underwent massive manipulation, which eventually resulted in the evidence we still rely on today, namely the text in the Coislinianus and the indirect tradition. The study of its transmission of the *PS* between Late Antiquity and the 9th century CE is therefore crucial to understanding what kind of text we read today. **Federico Favi**'s contribution tries to shed light on these later stages of the transmission of the *PS* by comparing the text of the Coislinianus with the indirect tradition. Such an operation is fruitful in several respects. A comparison of the evidence shows that neither the direct nor the indirect tradi-

tion can be deemed superior to the other in terms of how much material from the *PS* they preserve: Favi gathers evidence that the entries in the Coislinianus and in the indirect sources are likely the result of independent processes of excerpting and epitomising from an earlier, more complete redaction of the *PS*. This suggests that the evidence at our disposal presupposes the circulation of collections of epitomised excerpts from the *PS*. To prove this further, Favi focuses on the evidence for the 'multiple' entries contained in the text of the *PS* in the Coislinianus. These entries warrant closer attention because they contain similar, and in some cases nearly identical, information divided into two or more distinct entries; this is all the more remarkable considering that the indirect tradition provides single, longer entries covering the same material that can be found in multiple entries in the Coislinianus. This evidence has never been studied in detail, and no convincing explanation has been offered for this situation. As Favi shows, this situation probably proves that the text contained in the Coislinianus is not simply an epitome of the *PS*, as scholars have regularly maintained, but rather the result of the assembling of material deriving from the collections of previously epitomised excerpts of the *PS* that circulated in Byzantine scholarly circles before the 9th century CE.

After examining the context of production, the original structure, and the textual transmission of the *PS*, the final and larger section of this volume offers contributions to the study of the stylistic and linguistic theorisation of the *PS*. **Olga Tribulato's** paper presents a general survey of the entire stylistic terminology of the *PS*. The evidence collected can be divided into three subgroups, the first of which, consisting of Atticist (i.e. prescriptive) terminology, is less present in the extant material of the *PS* than in the *Eclogue*: this may be due to the different purposes underlying the two works. A second subgroup, which must have played a central role in the *PS* (as shown by the convergences between the direct and the indirect tradition), consists of 'general stylistic terminology', i.e. judgments about the beauty or vividness of certain expressions. Third comes the terminology that refers to a specific literary genre, style, or linguistic register. The latter is a composite group, combining terminology which is typical of stylistic descriptions with labels typical of grammatical or linguistic theory. The second and third subgroups, whose sequence resembles that which in ancient rhetorical theory leads from categories (or virtues) of style (ἀρεταὶ τῆς λέξεως, *genera dicendi*) to their concrete application in types of style (ιδέαι or χαρακτήρες), require a close comparison between Phrynichus' terminology and that found in other stylistic treatises. In particular, Tribulato focuses on the contemporary theorisation of Hermogenes' *On Types of Style*. Compared to Hermogenes, Phrynichus' subdivision of literature into poetry and prose is both simpler and more traditional, resembling that found in Aristotle (see *Rh.* 3.1, 1404a). On the one hand, in the *PS* there is no

detailed subdivision of prose: as Tribulato argues, this must be due to the fact that all the content of the *PS* is suitable for oratory. On the other hand, the great attention paid to the derisive style typical of imperial-age sophists, as evidenced by the frequent occurrence of labels such as ἄστεϊος ‘witty’, παίζων ‘said in jest’, and σκωπτικός ‘jokingly offensive’, explains Phrynichus’ extensive use of Attic comedy as a privileged source (something which is reflected in the high number of comic expressions preserved in the *PS*). Conversely, tragedy did not receive much attention *per se*, although many tragic expressions were commended for their general effect and their suitability for prose style, as confirmed both by the number of *loci classici* that can be identified and by the explicit mentions of tragedy in the indirect witnesses. In the last part of her contribution, Tribulato focuses on the terminology related to register and linguistic varieties. Among such labels, through which Phrynichus addresses diastratic variants and sociolects, there is the elusive category of τὸ πολιτικόν. After analysing the occurrences of πολιτικός and cognates in the *Eclogue*, the *PS* and other rhetorical treatises, Tribulato concludes that for Phrynichus the πολιτικός ranged from standard usage to a more dignified mode of expression (in turn marked by the label σεμνός).

**Giulia Gerbi**’s contribution examines the notion of ‘novelty’ (an ambiguous concept, which can take on both positive and negative overtones) within the framework of Atticist lexicography and in Phrynichus in particular. She argues that an interest in novelty sets Phrynichus apart from other Atticists. Such an interest is particularly evident in the *PS*, where καινότης and related terms have no chronological meaning. Rather, they highlight the originality and rarity of a given form or syntagm. This is made clear by the indirect tradition of the *PS*, where καινότης is often accompanied by positive evaluative terminology (such as Ἀττικῶς ‘in the Attic way’ and ἐναργῶς ‘vividly’) and is mostly acknowledged as a value, marking expressions worthy of praise for their sophistication and effectiveness. As Gerbi notes, several entries of the *PS* which still preserve the καινότης terminology have no parallel in the *Synagoge* or in Photius’ lexicon; in other cases, when a parallel can be found, the evaluative vocabulary is not preserved in the indirect tradition. The latter preserves καινότης and related terms only in glosses in α: as Gerbi argues, this is due to the major role played by the third expansion of the *Synagoge* (essentially confined to α) in preserving the stylistic teachings of the *PS*. Indeed, as the data collected by Gerbi suggest, the compiler of Σ''' had access to a version of the *PS* that was considerably more extensive than the extant epitome, a conclusion that confirms the general scenario hypothesised by Favi in his contribution.

Both Tribulato’s contribution and Gerbi’s make it clear that a careful analysis of each individual entry is the *sine qua non* for reconstructing Phrynichus’ working methodology with a good degree of certainty. As we also discuss in the last

section of this Introduction, much work remains to be done on Phrynichus' use of comic quotations (an issue complicated by the fact that many of them are or may be *adespota*). **Andrea Pellettieri**'s contribution goes to the heart of this problem by looking at the abusive expressions collected in the *PS*. It shows that we should refrain from regarding every such expression as a comic fragment, since personal attacks are often found in oratory as well as in other literary genres. Pellettieri offers an overview (and a first, tentative list) of abusive expressions in the *PS* and their possible applications. Focusing on the evaluative terminology used by Phrynichus (in particular ἀστεῖος and its cognates), he argues that in addition to highly offensive expressions, the *PS* includes many witty sayings, some of which were probably (though not exclusively) suitable for non-derogatory use in the context of erudite conversation (as we see, e.g., in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*). Among such witty sayings, some verbal puns probably remain undetected, as Pellettieri tries to show in the last part of his paper.

Equipped with this background on Phrynichus' handling of style and witty expressions, many of which are rare, we move on with **Chiara Monaco**'s paper to a detailed analysis of the important presence of prefixed verbs and compounds in the *PS*, a typical feature of the koine which became even more productive at the time of the Second Sophistic. Such forms do not always have an explicit Attic pedigree – sometimes they even appear to be *hapax legomena*. Since the *PS* is characterised by broader stylistic interests than the *Eclogue*, Chiara Monaco suggests that some of these rare forms do not necessarily come from *loci classici* (an option that can never be easily ruled out, however). Rather, they may be well-formed terms that Phrynichus approved of, although they are attested only in later sources (or even in the high-register Greek of Phrynichus' own time). This hypothesis is tested on the basis of some case studies, mainly of complex compound verbs in -έω (23 attestations out of the 100 *hapax legomena* in the *PS*), whose productivity is also witnessed by Atticising authors, where *hapax legomena* and *primum dicta* are largely attested (in this regard, Monaco rightly refers to Lucian's *Lexiphanes*, which contains many *hapax legomena*, apparently ridiculing a practice that was common at the time).

### 3 Future research perspectives

This volume aims to contribute to a renewed interest in the *PS*, but much work remains to be done in several directions. The two most compelling aspects on which future research must focus are the need for a new critical edition and an

in-depth study of the linguistic and stylistic teachings of this lexicon, also in relation to ancient rhetorical theorisation.

A new critical edition (preferably one with a commentary) is urgently needed to replace de Borries (1911). Apart from obvious things such as updated apparatuses for *loci similes* and *loci classici*, we also need an updated and more detailed study of the transmission and circulation of the *PS*. Besides the introduction in de Borries' edition, the inaugural lecture *De Phrynicho sophista* by Kaibel (1899) remains the only other attempt to reconstruct the history of this lexicon. The contributions by Cavarzeran and Favi in this volume cannot claim to fully satisfy either of these *desiderata*, but they do offer some ideas for further progress along this path. One of the reasons why de Borries' edition is painfully outdated is that the new manuscript witness of Photius' lexicon, discovered only in 1959 in Zavorda Monastery in Macedonia, was obviously unknown to de Borries (1911). Therefore, it is high time to make good use of the evidence offered by the 'new Photius'. Improvements are possible in several respects. The following case is an instructive example:

Phryn. *PS* 13.1–3: ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν· σημαίνει τὸ <ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο> οἷον οὐκ ἤνεγκαν ψῆφον. <καὶ ἀποψηφισθεὶς ὁ> ἄτιμος (suppl. et emend. de Borries: cod. τὸ ἀτίμως)· χρῶ πανταχοῦ.

ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν ('they voted against putting [someone] to death'): <ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο> ('they voted against') means that they did not cast the vote. <And ἀποψηφισθεὶς [is] a person who is> dishonoured. Use [it] everywhere.

Harproc. α 215 (cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2043): ἀποψηφίζονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ καταδικάζουσιν αὐτὸν μὴ εἶναι πολίτην Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ Κατ' Ἀρχεστράτου. καὶ ἀποψήφισιν δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγει Δημοσθένης ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην ἐφέσει.

ἀποψηφίζονται ('they disenfranchise'): Dinarchus in *Against Archestratus* (or. 56 fr. 2 Conomis) [used it] meaning 'they condemn him not to be a citizen'. Demosthenes in the *Against Eubulides* (57.2) also uses ἀποψήφισις [to indicate] the [corresponding] act.

*Lex. Rhet.* 201.17–21 (cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2042): ἀποψηφισθέντα· τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα ἐν ταῖς διαψηφίσει τῶν δήμων, καὶ εἰσαγόμενον εἰς δικαστήριον, καὶ ξενίας κρινόμενον. καὶ εἰ μὲν νικήσῃ, κατεδέχετο εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὡς ξένος ἐπιπράσκετο. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο ἀποψήφισις.

ἀποψηφισθέντα ('disenfranchised'): A person against whom a vote is cast in the demes' election and is brought to court and is condemned to exile. And if he won, he was admitted again into the citizen body. If not, he was sent out as a foreigner. This is called ἀποψήφισις.

Phot. α 2731 (Σ<sup>2</sup>): ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν· οἷον οὐκ ἐπήνεγκαν ψῆφον τοῦ ἀτιμώσαι ἢ ἀποκτείνειν. οὕτως φησὶ Φρύνιχος.



ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν ('they voted against putting [someone] to death'): [Meaning] they did not cast a vote to dishonour [someone] or put [someone] to death. Thus says Phrynichus.

The entry in the epitome deals with ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν, meaning 'they voted against putting [someone] to death'. To make sense of the transmitted reading τὸ ἀτίμως in the *interpretamentum*, de Borries restored the participle ἀποψηφισθεῖς and emended τὸ ἀτίμως to ὁ ἄτιμος on the basis of the entries in Harpocration and the *Lexeis Rhetorikai*. Yet, these two parallel entries show only a general resemblance to the entry of the epitome: they deal with ἀποψηφίζονται and ἀποψηφισθεῖς to indicate a person deprived of citizenship. The entry in the *Supplementum Zavordense* is a turning point: for it overlaps almost *ad verbum* with the entry in the epitome, and it is perfectly clear that it must go back to the *PS* (via the *Synagoge*).

It is therefore preferable to use the Photius entry rather than Harpocration and the *Lexeis Rhetorikai* to correct the text of the epitome. Restoring Photius' <ἐπ>ήνεγκαν and then especially το<ῦ> ἀτιμῶσ<αι> ἢ ἀποκτείνειν in the text of the epitome seems an attractive solution to solve the textual problems. All this considered, one could restore the entry of the *PS* as follows:

ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν· σημαίνει τὸ οἶον οὐκ <ἐπ>ήνεγκαν ψήφον το<ῦ> ἀτιμῶσ<αι> ἢ ἀποκτείνειν· χρῶ πανταχοῦ.

ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν ('they voted against putting [someone] to death'): It means that they did not cast a vote to dishonour [someone] or put [someone] to death. Use [it] everywhere.

It is likely that the text on which the epitome of the *PS* depends was already marred by mistakes as a result of the incorrect understanding of abbreviations (such as the final -αι in ἀτιμῶσαι) and omissions (such as the absence of ἀποκτείνειν, which is required by the lemma).

In other cases, the contribution of the new Photius is less significant for correctly establishing the text of the epitome, but it can still be very useful from other points of view. For example, in the case of an entry like *PS* 14.10: ἀναγωγῇ· ἐπὶ πλοίου ('ἀναγωγή: [Used] for a ship'), it is only thanks to the comparison with Phot. α 1443: ἀναγωγῇ· ἐπὶ πλοῦ. Κρατῖνος Ὡραις ('ἀναγωγή: [Used] in reference to sailing. Cratinus [uses it] in *Seasons* (fr. 286)') that we can finally correctly identify the *locus classicus* with a fragment from Cratinus: de Borries (1911, *ad loc.*) had tentatively, and rather vaguely, suggested 'Thucyd. IV 29, alias'.

Cases of this kind will be especially important for any future discussion of the canon of *Musterautoren* followed in the *PS*. Indeed, the identification of the Classical sources and the understanding of how Phrynichus manipulated them is

one of the areas where more extensive research is needed and is likely to improve our knowledge of the *PS*. In order to fully understand the Atticist doctrines underlying this lexicon, it is essential to have a complete coverage of the *loci classici*. While some of the ascriptions already made by de Borries will remain unchallenged, in other cases much work remains to be done, not only at the level of the identification of the sources. For example, a full appraisal of the presence of tragedy in the *PS* is a worthwhile enterprise in many respects. Tragedy is rarely quoted overtly in the *PS* (see Tribulato in this volume), but it was certainly a reference point for Phrynichus, more so than in the *Eclogue*. Explaining this different approach to tragedy will also shed light on the aim of the *PS* vis-à-vis the more narrowly focused *Eclogue*, and it will also help to situate the *PS* in relation to the role of tragedy in other Atticist lexica.

Besides tragedy, comic sources are pervasive in the *PS*. Although there have been recent attempts to explain how the comic canon worked in the *PS* (see Tribulato 2024), other aspects still require closer investigation. One that stands out is the question of comic *adespota* (see also Pellettieri in this volume). At least since Kock's edition of the comic fragments, it has been customary to identify as comic *adespota* many entries of the *PS* with a seemingly comic content and for which any other attribution is lacking. This practice has continued in later editions of comic fragments up to Kassel, Austin (*PCG* vol. 8), who, however, are keenly aware that such attributions remain tentative at best; indeed, other options (e.g. oratory) should also be weighed. As part of a wider reconsideration of the Classical sources of the *PS*, a renewed examination of these (alleged) comic *adespota* will allow us to reach more informed conclusions as concerns the attribution of these texts and their function as part of rhetorical training.

Understanding the function and features of the canon that Phrynichus chose to adopt is not enough to provide a historical contextualisation of the *PS*. Given that the *PS* was intended to instruct aspiring sophists, it is also essential to investigate how it stands in relation to the ancient rhetorical tradition (an issue that is only addressed in a preliminary way in Olga Tribulato's chapter in this volume). This means exploring the points of contact with other literary products of the Second Sophistic, which in so many cases share the same or similar interests as Phrynichus. But it also requires a closer study of the stylistic principles that Phrynichus sets out in this lexicon in the context of ancient rhetoric and stylistics. This is the aspect in which the *PS* stands out the most from other Atticist and Atticist-oriented lexica, with the important exception of Pollux's *Onomasticon*. Although the lamentable state of preservation of the *PS*, in both the direct and indirect tradition, has often resulted in the epitomisation of Phrynichus' stylistic remarks, nonetheless what survives warrants attention. Ancient stylistic terminology may not be used consistently in different sources, but a comparative study can help us

to place the *PS* in the context of the rhetorical and literary studies of its time. In this regard, some entries of the *PS* touch on cultural-historical subjects, such as music, Athenian institutions, etc. These subjects also attracted the interest of ancient rhetorical lexica, and it will be fruitful to see how the *PS* stands in relation to these similar, yet also very different, ancient scholarly sources.

That being said, we should not be too quick to dismiss the interest of the *PS* as an Atticist lexicon. A new annotated edition of the *PS* will make it possible to provide a full account of its linguistic prescriptions, which may shed light on the *PS*'s contribution to the Atticist debate of the time. Among other things, it will be crucial to examine the extent to which the teachings presented in the *PS* may differ from those of the *Eclogue*, and what this may indicate in terms of the different approaches of the two lexica. Furthermore, compared to the general brevity of the entries in the Atticist lexica, the entries in the *PS* occasionally indulge in etymological and morphological explanations, including comparisons with dialects other than Attic. Owing to the relatively early chronology of the *PS*, it will be useful to place the linguistic teachings quoted by Phrynichus in the context of ancient grammatical and dialectological studies.

## Appendix: Photius' *Bibliotheca* on the *PS*, cod. 158.100a.33–101b.31

This new translation is based on that of Wilson (1994, 138–41). In the footnotes, we discuss the most difficult interpretative points.

**[100a.33]** ἀνεγνώσθη Φρυνίχου Ἀραβίου σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς λόγοι λς'. ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον λέξεων τε συναγωγὴ καὶ λόγων κομματικῶν, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ εἰς κῶλα παρατεινομένων τῶν χαριέντως τε καὶ καινοπρεπῶς εἰρημένων τε καὶ συντεταγμένων.

I have read thirty-six books of the *Sophistic Preparation* by Phrynichus the Arab. The work is a collection of words and short expressions, some as long as sentences, formulated and arranged in graceful and original ways.

πολλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστί καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλαδίου τῶν λέξεων εὐρεῖν συλλογῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν διεσπαρμένα ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῆς **[100a.40]** συναγωγῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁμοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα συνηγμένα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Φρυνίχῳ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα συναγαγεῖν γέγονε σκοπός, Ἑλλὰδιος δὲ λέξεις ἀθροίζων ἀπλῶς, καὶ εἰ **[100b.1]** τι τῶν τοιοῦτων συνέταξε, τῷ κοινῷ λόγῳ τῶν λέξεων καὶ ταῦτα συμπεριελιφῶς ἐναπέθετο. κατὰ στοιχεῖον δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἡ συναγωγή.

Many of these (i.e. ‘words and expressions, some as long as sentences, phrased and expressed in graceful and original ways’) are also to be found in the collection of *Lexeis* by Helladius, but there they are scattered throughout the collection in [all its] extension, whereas here such [materials] are brought together because Phrynichus’ aim was to collect such [forms]. Helladius, instead, simply amassed words, and when he put together any of such [words and expressions], he inserted and arranged them according to the general organisation of the lemmas.<sup>13</sup> This collection too is alphabetical.

ἤκμασε δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Μάρκου βα[**100b.5**]σιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Κομμόδου, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ συντάγματος ποιεῖται ἐπιγράφων· ‘Κομμόδω Καίσαρι Φρύνιχος χαίρειν’. ἀλλὰ Κομμόδω τὸ βιβλίον προσφωνῶν, κάκεινῳ προοιμιαζόμενος, καὶ παραίνεσιν φιλομαθίας κατατιθέμενος, [**100b.10**] καὶ ἐξαίρων τῷ λόγῳ τὸ βιβλίον, ἐν οἷς λέγει λζ’ αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ τότε καιροῦ συντετάχθαι λόγους, οὓς καὶ ἀναθέσθαι λέγει τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ ἄλλους τοσοῦτους φιλοπονήσασθαι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπολιμπανούσης. ἡμεῖς δέ, ὡς ἔφημεν, ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα μόνους [**100b.15**] ἀνέγνωμεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ α περιλαμβάνοντα μέχρι τοῦ ω.

This author flourished in the time of the Roman emperor Marcus and his son Commodus, to whom he also offers the first fruits of the work by writing the dedication ‘Phrynichus to Commodus Caesar, greetings’. He addresses the work to Commodus and writes a preface to him, with an exhortation to be studious and a boast about his book. He says that he has written thirty-seven books so far, which he states he has dedicated to the emperor, and promises to compose an equal number in the future, if life does not fail him. We have only read thirty-six, as we said, which include entries from alpha to omega.

ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ φησι τοὺς λόγους ἀναθεῖναι, ὅμως διαφόροις αὐτοῦς φαίνεται προσπεφωνηκώς. αὐτίκα τὸν πρῶτον αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόγον Ἀριστοκλεῖ τιτι γράφει, παιδιάν τινα τῇ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Ἀριστο[**100b.20**]κλέους ἀρμόττουσαν φιλοτιμούμενος γενέσθαι τὴν γραφὴν καὶ συμπαίστην ὑπάρχειν αὐτόν.

<sup>13</sup> According to our interpretation, the three instances of τοιοῦτος (τὰ τοιαῦτα συνηγμένα, τὰ τοιαῦτα συναγαγεῖν, εἴ τι τῶν τοιούτων συνέταξε) must refer back to πολλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν, which in turn indicates the ‘words and short expressions, some as long as phrases, formulated and arranged in graceful and original ways’ which are mentioned in the first section of Photius’ summary as the defining characteristic of the *PS*. Other translators instead take the three instances of τοιοῦτος to indicate similar expressions – cf. Wilson (1992, 253–4): ‘poiché la sua intenzione è stata appunto quella di accorpare gli esempi affini [. . .] nel caso che abbia incluso delle espressioni fra loro simili’; Wilson (1994, 139): ‘whereas here it is brought together because Phrynichus’ aim was a collection of this kind [. . .] when he assembles similar expressions’; M. Losacco in Bianchi, Schiano (2019, 181): ‘qui, invece, le espressioni consimili sono raggruppate insieme, perché l’obiettivo di Frinico è di raggruppare le espressioni consimili [. . .] là dove eventualmente inserisce espressioni tra loro simili’.

ώσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόγον αὐτῷ προσφωνεῖ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν τρίτον. τὸν δὲ τέταρτον Ἰουλιανῷ τινι συμπολίτῃ καὶ φίλῳ προσφωνεῖ, καὶ φησιν ὅτι Ἀριστοκλεῖ μὲν ἐξ ἀρ[**100b.25**]χῆς ὠριστο ἢ πραγματεία προσειρησθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος βασιλικῷ δόγματι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἐγένετο κοινωνός, τοῦτον ἀντ' ἐκείνου καὶ φίλον καὶ συνουσιαστήν τῶν καλῶν λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ κριτῇ καὶ ἐπιγνώμονι χρῆσθαι τῶν συγγραφομένων.

But even if he says that he dedicates the books to the emperor, nonetheless he ostensibly offers them to various people. For instance, the very first book is addressed to one Aristocles, with the claim that it will furnish suitable amusement for Aristocles' birthday and that it will be a play-fellow [of his]. Similarly, he dedicates Book 2 and even Book 3 to him. The fourth he offers to his fellow-citizen and friend Julian and says that the book had originally been planned to be dedicated to Aristocles; but when Julian became a member of the great senate in Rome by imperial decree, [the author says that] he chose him instead of Aristocles both as a friend and to share in noble [pursuits and decided to] avail himself of him both as a judge and as an arbiter of his writings.

ἀλλ' οὕτως [**100b.30**] εἰπὼν καὶ ὑποσχόμενος, τὸν πέμπτον ὁμῶς λόγον Μηνοδώρῳ τινὶ φίλῳ τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένῳ ἀνδρὶ προσφωνεῖ, ὃς καὶ αἰτίαν ἐπήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐνδεῶς εἰρησθαι τὸ πρὸ τούτου περὶ κρίσεως ὀνομάτων πρόβλημα· ἐπιτάξαντος δὲ Μηνοδώρου λέγει τὸν λόγον συντάτ[**100b.35**]τειν, ὑστερῆσαι δέ, ὅτι τρία νοσήματα αὐτῷ συμπεσεῖν συνέβη, τὴν σύντροφον τῷ γῆρα στραγγουρίαν, καὶ διωλύγιόν τινα καὶ μακρὰν φρενίτιν, καὶ διὰ γαστρός αἵματος ῥύσιν, καὶ ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλεῖστα τῶν ἀρρωστημάτων· ἂν μέντοι τῶν νοσημάτων ἀπαλλαγείς [**100b.40**] ἐπιβίῳ, καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐπίταγμα ἐς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν ὑπισχνεῖται, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο προστάττοι φιλοκαλίας τε καὶ πολυμαθίας καὶ καινότητος ἐχόμενον.

Yet, despite a declaration and a promise of this kind, he dedicates Book 5 to one Menodorus, a friend and highly cultured man who also criticised him (i.e. Phrynichus) for having inadequately dealt with the problem of vocabulary choice earlier. He says that he is writing the book at Menodorus' request, but is late because has been afflicted by three illnesses, the strangury that afflicts the elderly, a long and serious cerebral inflammation, and gastric bleeding, and a great many other infirmities; but should he recover from illness and live on, he promises to complete the present commission or any other which requires literary taste, learning, and originality.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἕκτον [**101a.1**] λόγον τῆς σοφιστικῆς ταύτης παρασκευῆς ἄλλῳ τινὶ πάλιν Τιβερίνῳ προσφωνεῖ. ναὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἑβδομον ἐτέρῳ Μηνοφίλῳ, ὃν καὶ φησι παιδείας εἰς ἄκρον ἦκοντα καὶ ῥήσεις ὀλοκλήρους πρὸς τὰς ἀποδείξεις συν[**101a.5**]τελούσας τοῦ ἕκτου λόγου τῆς σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς παραθεῖναι, καὶ προτρέπειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ταύτας ἀθροίζειν τοῖς συγγράμμασι.

But he dedicates Book 6 of this *Sophistic Preparation* to a certain Tiberinus, and Book 7 to another [dedicatee], Menophilus, who, he says, having reached the pinnacle of learning, furnished him with whole passages in support of the points being proved in Book 6 of the *Sophistic Preparation* and encouraged him to collect these as amply as possible in his books.

τὸν μέντοι ὄγδοον πάλιν Ἰουλιανῷ ἀνατίθησι, καὶ αἰτεῖται αὐτόν, εἴ τι ἀτελῶς εἴρηται ἅτε διὰ καὶ μετὰ νόσον γράφοντι, ταῦτα **[101a.10]** διαθεῖναι πρὸς διόρθωσιν. τὸν δὲ ἔνατον Ρουφίνῳ, φάσκων αἴτιον μὲν τοῦ ἀπάρξασθαι τῆς συγγραφῆς Ἀριστοκλέα γενέσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ πέρας ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἄξιον ἔσεσθαι, ὅτι ἐντυχὼν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις τό τε χρήσιμον συνιδεῖν ἔσχε καὶ ἐπαινέσειε τὸν πόνον. τὸν δὲ δέκατον **[101a.15]** πάλιν ἐπαναστραφεῖς πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα συντάττει.

Yet, Book 8 he once again dedicates to Julian, with the request that if any part of it is incomplete because the author wrote during his convalescence, he should prepare it for correction. Book 9 [he offers] to Rufinus, with the statement that Aristocles was responsible for initiating the enterprise, but that he will be credited with its completion, since, having come across the text, he was able to appreciate its value and would speak favourably of it. But retracing his steps, he compiles Book 10 for Aristocles.

ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς Μηνοδώρῳ προσπεφώνηται πάλιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ἀριστείδου τοῖς λόγοις (ὡς φησιν) ἐντυχὼν ἄρτι, τότε ἀκμάζοντος, πολὺν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔπαινον ποιεῖται, καὶ Μαρκιανόν φησι, τὸν κριτικὸν συγγραφέα, ὑπερορᾶν μὲν **[101a.20]** Πλάτωνος καὶ Δημοσθένους, τὰς δὲ Βρούτου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ ἐπιστολὰς προκρίνειν καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἐν λόγῳ ἀρετῆς ἀποφαίνειν. ταῦτα δὲ οὗτός φησιν οὐχὶ τὴν τοιαύτην κρίσιν ἀποδεχόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ μὴ θαυμάζειν εἴ τινες καὶ τῆς Ἀριστείδου δόξης ἐλάττονα τὸν ἄνδρα **[101a.25]** νομίζουσιν, οὕτω κλέους τοῦ ἐν λόγοις εἰς ἄκρον ἐλάσαντα· ἤψατο γὰρ ὁ φθόνος ὑπ' ἐνίων πεμπόμενος καὶ Ἀριστείδου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν παιδεία διενεγκόντων.

The next book is again dedicated to Menodorus. In it he claims to have recently read the speeches of Aristides, who was then in his prime, and composes a great eulogy of him. He says that the literary critic Marcianus thought very little of Plato and Demosthenes and put [before them] the letters of the Italian Brutus, whom he declared to be a model of fine prose style. He reports this not because he accepts such a judgement, but so that [readers] will not be surprised if some should regard him (i.e. Brutus), who had reached such a high point of literary distinction, as inferior to the famous Aristides;<sup>14</sup> indeed, the jealousy of certain persons reached Aristides too, as it reached many other distinguished authors.

**14** In this passage we retain the transmitted text, in agreement with Henry (1960, 117) and M. Losacco in Bianchi, Schiano (2019, 183; 1050–1 n. 25), whose interpretation we find convincing. The translation by Wilson (1994, 140 and 141 n. 5; see also Wilson 1992, 256 and n. 4), ‘this judgement is reported not because he accepts it, but so that readers shall not be surprised at a judgement which values Brutus as not inferior to Aristides, even though the latter had achieved the

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐνδέκατος Μηνοδώρῳ ἐπιπεφώνηται, τῶν δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνον πολυλογίας αἰ[101a.30]τίαν λάβοιμεν, ὁ μὲν Ῥηγίνῳ ὁ δὲ πάλιν Ἀριστοκλεῖ, ὁ δὲ Βασιλείδῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ σοφιστῇ προσεφωνήθη· ἐν ᾧ φησιν αὐτίκα τοῦ ἀνακύψαι τῆς νόσου ποιήσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφὴν, καὶ αἰτεῖται τῶν διὰ τὴν νόσον (ὡς εἰκός) αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ γράμματι παρασφαλέντων [101a.35] ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν διόρθωσιν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σύμπαντες λόγοι, οὓς ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν, τῷ Μηνοφίλῳ πάλιν μέχρι τοῦ ω ἀνετέθησαν.

Book 11 is dedicated to Menodorus; of the remainder, in order for me to avoid the accusation of prolixity levelled against him (i.e. Phrynichus), one was dedicated to Reginus, one again to Aristocles, one to the sophist Basilides of Miletus. In this, he says that he wrote the text for him immediately after his recovery from illness and asks for the correction of the mistakes which (unsurprisingly) were made in the book as a result of the illness. All the remaining books which we have read are again dedicated to Menophilus, up to omega.

χρήσιμον δὲ δηλονότι τὸ βιβλίον τοῖς τε συγγράφειν καὶ ῥητορεύειν ἐθέλουσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ διακρί[101a.40]νεσθαὶ φησι τὰς συνειλεγμένας αὐτῷ φωνὰς τοῦτον [101b.1] τὸν τρόπον· τὰς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ῥήτορσιν ἀποδεδόσθαι, τὰς δὲ τοῖς συγγραφέουσι, τὰς δὲ συνουσίαις ἐφαρμόζειν, ἐνίας δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς σκωπτικὰς ὑπάγεσθαι λαλιάς, ἣ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐρωτικούς ἐκφέρεσθαι τρόπους.

The work is obviously useful to aspiring writers and orators. He (i.e. Phrynichus) says that the forms collected by him are arranged in this way: some are destined to rhetoricians, some to prose writers, some are suitable for conversation; some are delivered also for scopic talks or are used in varieties [of literature] that have a love theme.<sup>15</sup>

εἰλικρινοὺς [101b.5] δὲ καὶ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀττικῷ λόγου κανόνας καὶ σταθμὰς καὶ παράδειγμά φησιν ἄριστον Πλάτωνά τε καὶ Δημοσθένην μετὰ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ τῶν ἐννέα χοροῦ, Θουκυδίδην τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντα καὶ Αἰσχίνην τὸν Λυσανίου τὸν Σωκρατικόν, Κριτίαν τε τὸν Καλλίσχρου καὶ Ἀν[101b.10]τισθένην μετὰ τῶν γνησίων αὐτοῦ δύο λόγων, τοῦ περὶ Κύρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας, τῶν μέντοι κωμωδῶν Ἀριστοφάνην μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου, ἐν οἷς ἀττικίζουσι, χοροῦ, καὶ τῶν τραγικῶν

---

highest literary distinction', presupposes the addition in <οὐκ> ἐλάττωνα and the correction of ἐλάσαντα into ἐλάσαντος, which makes the participles agree with Aristocles. Nogara (1991, 111 n. 7) translates 'dice ciò non perché accetti tale giudizio, ma (per far intendere) che non si stupisce se alcuni ritengono inferiore alla sua fama un personaggio come Aristide, che pure ha raggiunto il vertice della gloria nell'eloquenza', which also presupposes the correction of ἐλάσαντα to ἐλάσαντος so that the participle may refer to Aristides.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson (1994, 140) writes: 'adapted to the language of lovers' (similarly Henry 1960, 118). A different translation, closer to the one adopted here, is given by Wilson (1992, 257): 'si addicono alle composizioni di argomento amoroso'. M. Losacco in Bianchi, Schiano (2019, 183) chooses a more interpretative solution: 'confacenti [. . .] al romanzo'.

Αἰσχύλον τὸν μεγαλοφωνότατον καὶ Σοφοκλέα τὸν γλυκὺν καὶ τὸν πάνσοφον Εὐ [101b.15]ριπίδην.

He makes Plato and Demosthenes the canon and measure and model example of genuine and pure Attic speech, along with the group of the nine orators, Thucydides, Xenophon, Aeschines Socraticus the son of Lysanias, Critias the son of Kallaeschrus, and Antisthenes, with his two genuine writings, *On Cyrus* and *On the Odyssey*; among the comic writers he lists Aristophanes, with his colleagues, as long as they use good Attic; and among the tragedians the magniloquent Aeschylus, the charming Sophocles, and the wise Euripides.

τούτους προκρίνων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ ποιη-  
τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πάλιν προτάττει, οὓς ἂν (φησιν) οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Μῶμος καταμέμψαιτο,  
οὐδ' εἴ τις δαίμων ὁ μυθολογούμενος Κωρυκαῖος εἰ ἐπεγχάνοι, χαιρήσειεν· οὔτοι  
δ' εἰσι Πλά[101b.20]των καὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ ὁ τοῦ Λυσανίου Αἰσχίνης δι' ἀρετὴν  
τῶν ἐπὶ διαλόγων, ἃ καὶ ἀφαιρούμενοί τινες τῶν συγγραμμάτων Σωκράτει προσ-  
νέμουσιν. ἀλλ' ἐν τοσούτῳ περὶ τούτων.

Preferring these to all others, both orators and writers and poets, he selects from them again those whom, he says, not even Momus' criticism would find fault with, and not even a daemon, the mythological [one] of Corycus, would delight to pull faces at: these are Plato, Demosthenes, and Aeschines son of Lysanias on account of his seven excellent dialogues, which some count out of his writings and attribute to Socrates. But that [is enough] on this subject.

ἔστι δὲ ὁ συγγραφεὺς, εἴ τις πολυμαθέστατος, ἅλ [101b.25] λως δὲ λάλος καὶ περι-  
τός· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταύτην τὴν πραγματείαν, μετὰ τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων παραλι-  
πεῖν, ἐνὸν μήδ' εἰς πέμπτον μέρος τοῦ ὅλου συγγράμματος ἀπαρτίσαι, αὐτὸς  
ἀκαιρολογῶν εἰς πλῆθος ἐξέτεινε δύσχρηστον, καὶ καλοῦ καὶ ὠραίου λόγου ὕλην  
[101b.30] ἄλλοις συναθροίζων, αὐτὸς οὐ λίαν τοιούτῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλλων  
ἐχρήσατο.

The writer, insofar as [he is] more learned than anyone else, is also verbose and diffuse. And indeed, without losing anything essential, less than one fifth of the whole book could perfectly accommodate this material. He (i.e. Phrynichus) extended it to an unhelpful length because of ill-timed talking and, although he collects for others the material for a fine and elegant style, he himself, although he advises [others] on such [matters], does not much use such [a manner of expression].

## Bibliography

- Alpers, K. (2013). *Untersuchungen zu Johannes Sardonios und seinem Kommentar zu den Progymnasmata des Aphthonios*. 2nd edition. Braunschweig.
- Avotins, I. (1978). 'The Sophist Aristocles and the Grammarian Phrynichus'. *PP* 33, 181–91.



- Barbeito, P. (1998). 'Pedro Juan Núñez, editor de Frínico'. In: Gil, L.; Martínez Pastor, M.; Aguilar, R. M. (eds.), *Corolla Complutensis in memoriam Josephi S. Lasso de la Vega. Homenaje al profesor José S. Lasso de la Vega*. Madrid, 655–64.
- Bekker, I. (1814–1821). *Anecdota Graeca*. 3 vols. Berlin.
- Berardi, E. (2006). 'Maestri di atticismo. La lingua e i suoi modelli in tre testi di ambiente scolastico di Elio Aristide (or. 30–32)'. In: Pernot, L. et al. (eds.), *Ælius Aristide écrivain*. Turnhout, 245–61.
- Bianchi, N.; Schiano, C. (eds.) (2019). *Fozio. Biblioteca*. 2 vols. 2nd edition. Pisa.
- de Borries, I. (1911). *Phrynichi sophistae Praeparatio sophistica*. Leipzig.
- Cavarzeran, J. (2024). 'Iulius Pollux, *Onomasticon*'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/02/016>.
- Cavarzeran, J. (forthcoming). *The Textual Tradition of Pollux' Onomasticon. Studies Towards a New Edition*. Berlin, Boston.
- Cavarzeran, J. et al. (2024). 'Phrynichus Atticista. Σοφιστική προπαρασκευή (*Praeparatio sophistica*)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/02/011>.
- Fischer, E. (1974). *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos*. Berlin.
- Gaul, N. (2007). 'The Twitching Shroud. Collective Construction of Paideia in the Circle of Thomas Magistros'. *Segno e Testo* 5, 263–340.
- Gaul, N. (2008). 'Moschopulos, Lopadiotes, Phrankopulos (?), Magistros, Staphidakes. Prosopographisches und Methodologisches zur Lexicographie des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts'. In: Trapp, E.; Schönauer, S. (eds.), *Lexicologica Byzantina. Beiträge zum Kolloquium zur byzantinischen Lexicographie (Bonn, 13–15. Juli 2007)*. Bonn, 163–96.
- Gaul, N. (2011). *Thomas Magistros und die Spätbyzantinische Sophistik*. Wiesbaden.
- Henry, R. (1960). *Photius. Bibliothèque*. Vol. 2. *Codices 84–185*. Paris.
- Jones, C. P. (2008). 'Aristides' First Admirer'. In: Harris, W. V.; Holmes, B. (eds.), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome and the Gods*. Leiden, 253–62.
- Kaibel, G. (1899). *De Phrynicho sophista*. Göttingen.
- Latte, K. (1915). 'Zur Zeitbestimmung des Antiatticista'. *Hermes* 50, 373–94. (Reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*. Munich 1968, 612–30).
- Lobeck, C. A. (1820). *Phrynichi Eclogae nomenclum et verborum Atticorum*. Leipzig.
- Lucarini, C. M. (2017). 'Erodiano e l'Atticismo'. In: Galimberti, A. (ed.), *Erodiano tra crisi e trasformazione*. Milan, 3–37.
- Matthaios, S. (2013). 'Pollux' Onomastikon im Kontext der attizistischen Lexikographie: Gruppen «anonymer Sprecher» und ihre Stellung in der Sprachgeschichte und Stilistik'. In: Mauduit, C. (ed.), *L'Onomasticon de Pollux. Aspects culturels, rhétoriques et lexicographiques*. Paris, 67–140.
- Naechster, M. (1908). *De Pollucis et Phrynichi controversiis*. Leipzig.
- Nogara, A. (1991). 'Una testimonianza sulle *Epistole greche* di Bruto nella *Bibliotheca* di Fozio'. *Aevum* 65, 111–3.
- de Pauw, J. C. (1739). *Phrynichi Eclogae nomenclum et verborum Atticorum* [ . . . ]. Utrecht.
- Pellettieri, A. (2024). 'Moeris, Ἀττικιστής'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/02/031>.
- Regali, M. (2008). 'Phrynichus Arabius'. *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*. Edited by Franco Montanari, Fausto Montana, and Lara Pagani. DOI: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9278\\_Phrynichus\\_Arabiust\\_it](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9278_Phrynichus_Arabiust_it).
- Rutherford, W. G. (1881). *The New Phrynichus. Being a Revised Text of the Ecloga of the Grammarian Phrynichus*. London.

- Sandri, M. G. (2023). 'Studio preliminare del ms *Atheniensis* EBE 1089, con appunti sulle tradizioni manoscritte e sui testi dell'*Ecloga* di Frinico e del *Lessico* di Meride'. *Lexis* 41, 115–54.
- Slater, W. J. (1977). Review of Fischer (1974). *Gnomon* 49, 258–62.
- Strobel, C. (2005). 'The Lexicographer of the Second Sophistic As Collector of Words, Quotations and Knowledge'. In: Piccione, R. M.; Perkams, M. (eds.), *Selecta colligere*. Vol. 2: *Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus*. Alessandria, 1–27.
- Strobel, C. (2009). 'The Lexica of the Second Sophistic. Safeguarding Atticism'. In: Georgakopoulou, A.; Silk, M. (eds.), *Standard Languages and Language Standards. Greek, Past and Present*. Farnham, Burlington, 93–107.
- Strobel, C. (2011). *Studies in Atticistic Lexica of the Second and Third Centuries AD*. [PhD Dissertation]. Oxford.
- Swain, S. (1996). *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*. Oxford.
- Tosi, R. (1999). 'Iulius Pollux [IV 17]'. *Der Neue Pauly* 6, 51–3.
- Tosi, R. (2007). 'Polluce. Struttura onomastica e tradizione lessicografica'. In: Bearzot, C.; Landucci, F.; Zecchini, G. (eds.), *L'Onomasticon' di Giulio Polluce. Tra lessicografia e antiquaria*. Milan, 3–16.
- Tribulato, O. (2022). 'Photius, ἀναγὰβητος and Atticist lexica'. *CQ* 72, 914–32.
- Tribulato, O. (2024). '"Aristophanes with His Chorus". Citations and Uses of Comedy in the Lexica of Phrynichus Atticista'. In: Favi, F.; Mastellari, V. (eds.), *Treasuries of Literature. Anthologies, Lexica, Scholia and the Indirect Tradition of Classical Texts in the Greek World*. Berlin, Boston, 75–96.
- Valente, S. (2008). 'Una miscellanea lessicografica del X secolo'. *Segno e testo* 6, 151–78.
- Valente, S. (2015). *The Antiatticist. Introduction and Critical Edition*. Berlin, Boston.
- Wilson, N. G. (1992). *Fozio. Biblioteca*. Traduzione di C. Bevegini. Milano.
- Wilson, N. G. (1994). *Photius. The Bibliotheca. A Selection*. London.
- Zecchini, G. (2007). 'Polluce e la politica culturale di Commodo'. In: Bearzot, C.; Landucci, F.; Zecchini, G. (eds.), *L'Onomasticon' di Giulio Polluce. Tra lessicografia e antiquaria*. Milan, 17–26.

Ewen Bowie

# Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* and *Eclogue*: Logic and chronology

## 1 Introduction: Alphabetisation in Phrynichus and Moeris

The origin of this paper was a desire to determine the readership of Phrynichus' *Eclogue* and to try to explain why it apparently eschewed the helpful principle of alphabetisation that had become standard in many areas of listing, and, of particular relevance, was perhaps used by Phrynichus himself for his *Praeparatio sophistica* (henceforth *PS*), by Aelius Dionysius and by Pausanias the Atticist before Phrynichus, and then by Moeris after him.<sup>1</sup> An attempt to answer this question led me to investigate the relative and absolute chronology of the *Eclogue* and the *PS*. In what follows I examine the evidence for Phrynichus' origin, which I tentatively conclude to be Bithynia, and for the dates of publication of the *Eclogue* (probably the later 170s or even 180 CE) and of the *PS*. I argue that Photius' report of the dedications of individual books of *PS* (down to Book 15) allows the tentative conclusion that they were composed and published in years running from the later 120s to ca. 150 CE, while examination of several lemmas, above all those in *Eclogue* Book 2 where Phrynichus rejects the authority of Menander with increasing vehemence, corroborates the priority of *PS* to the *Eclogue*. I conclude that the version of the *PS* read by Photius was one which brought together all its books (which on their first publication had been dedicated to individuals, some very prominent) in a single edition dedicated to Commodus, probably in the mid-170s.

---

<sup>1</sup> A preliminary version of this paper was delivered to a workshop on 'The logic of lists' held at the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington DC in January 2018. Versions were also delivered to the Venice PURA workshop (by Zoom) in September 2022; as the annual lecture of the Corpus Christi College Centre for the Study of Greek and Roman Antiquity in May 2023; and to a seminar in the University of Edinburgh in November 2023. I am grateful for helpful comments by members of my audiences on all these occasions, and especially grateful for many improvements suggested by the editors of this volume.

## 2 Phrynichus: Origins and location

Reconstructing the life of Phrynichus is not easy.<sup>2</sup> Even his native region, to which he irritatingly refers once by the unspecific term ἡμεδαπή, ‘my country’ (*Ecl.* 348), is uncertain. The *Suda* (φ 764) makes him Bithynian:

Φρύνιχος, Βιθυνός, σοφιστής. †Ἀττικιστὴν ὑπ’ Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων βιβλία β’,<sup>3</sup> Τιθεμένων συναγωγὴν, Σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς βιβλία μζ’, οἱ δὲ οδ’.

Phrynichus, Bithynian, a sophist. †Atticist.† Two books of *Attic Words*, a *Collection of Accepted Terms*, forty-seven books (some say seventy-four) of *Sophistic Preparation*.<sup>4</sup>

Photius, on the other hand, and the manuscript that preserves the epitome of the *PS*, cod. Par. Coisl. 345, both call him Arabius (Ἀράβιος). Thus at the beginning of his summary Photius writes (*Bibl.* cod. 158.100a.34–8):

ἀνεγνώσθη Φρυνίχου Ἀραβίου σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς λόγοι λς’. ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον λέξεων τε συναγωγή καὶ λόγων κομματικῶν, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ εἰς κῶλα παρατεινομένων τῶν χαριέντως τε καὶ καινοπρεπῶς εἰρημένων τε καὶ συντεταγμένων.

I read thirty-six books of Phrynichus Arabius’ *Sophistic Preparation*. The book is a collection of words and short expressions, some extending to phrases, gracefully and originally expressed and arranged.

Phrynichus can hardly be both Arabian and Bithynian,<sup>5</sup> nor does it seem to me, as thought by Schamp and the writers of the 1940 Pauly article, that Arabius is likely to be a nickname.<sup>6</sup> Jones put forward the possibility that ‘Phrynichos came from somewhere in the Near East populated by ‘Arabs’ in the ancient sense (not necessarily the province of Arabia) and later settled in Bithynia, not at all an unlikely progression’.<sup>7</sup> This is not impossible, but it should be noted that Phrynichus’ works as transmitted betray no trace of personal connections with the Levant. It has not been pointed out, however, that Arabius is found as a name at Nicomedia in Bithynia in an inscription tentatively dated to the 2nd century CE.<sup>8</sup> We may

<sup>2</sup> For the evidence see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 398.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων βιβλία β’ must refer to the *Eclogue*, and what preceded it may have been Ἀττικιστής. ἐποίησε, which was somehow corrupted to Ἀττικιστὴν ὑπ’. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

<sup>4</sup> All translations by the Author unless otherwise stated.

<sup>5</sup> Pace Swain (1996, 54).

<sup>6</sup> Strout, French (1940); Schamp (1987, 210).

<sup>7</sup> Jones (2008, 256).

<sup>8</sup> TAM 4,1.181.1: . . . ]Αράβιος ὁ θεῖός μου κὲ Μ[. . . (‘. . .] Arabios my uncle, and [. . .’).

also note from Bithynion-Claudiopolis a M. Ulpius Arabianus who has a son M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaeus Arabianus, suggesting the presence at some point in that city of a family with the *gentilicium* Arabius.<sup>9</sup> Phrynichus might have belonged to this family, and Arabius could have been part of his name, not an ethnic.

It is equally uncertain where Phrynichus lived when writing. As I have recently suggested,<sup>10</sup> some support for his spending some of his adult life in Bithynia may be found in an entry in the *Eclogue*:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 238: βάκηλος· ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ τάττοντες τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦ βλακός. σημαίνει γὰρ ὁ βάκηλος τὸν ἀποτετμημένον τὰ αἰδοῖα, ὃν Βιθυννοὶ τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ Γάλλον καλοῦσιν. λέγε οὖν βλάξ καὶ βλακικὸν ὡς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

βάκηλος: Those who apply this to the βλάξ ('fool') are wrong: for βάκηλος refers to a man whose genitals have been cut off, whom Bithynians and Asians call a Γάλλος ('Gallus'). So say βλάξ and βλακικόν like the ancients.

Many Greek writers might have enough knowledge of *provincia Asia* to point out the use of the Γάλλος there, but fewer had first-hand knowledge of Bithynia. Taken together, the evidence of the *Suda* and of *Ecl.* 238 indicate that Phrynichus' origins were in Bithynia, and that wherever he was active in his adult life he retained connections with that province.<sup>11</sup>

### 3 The chronology of the *PS*

Phrynichus referred to his completion of thirty-six (or thirty-seven) books in a preface addressed to Commodus in which he dedicated the entire work to him, and which began, according to Photius, Κομμόδω Καίσαρι Φρύνιχος χαίρειν ('Phrynichus to Commodus Caesar, greetings'). I quote the passage of Photius in full:

Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100b.3–14: ἤκμασε δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Μάρκου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Κομμόδου, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ συντάγματος ποιεῖται ἐπιγραφῶν· 'Κομμόδω Καίσαρι Φρύνιχος χαίρειν'. ἀλλὰ Κομμόδω τὸ βιβλίον προσφωνῶν, κάκεῖνῳ προσομιᾶζόμενος, καὶ παραίνεσιν φιλομαθίας κατατιθέμενος, καὶ ἐξαίρων τῷ λόγῳ τὸ βιβλίον, ἐν οἷς λέγει λζ' αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ τότε καιροῦ συντετάχθαι λόγους, οὓς καὶ ἀναθέσθαι

<sup>9</sup> *IGR* 1.933, cf. Halfmann (1979, 205 no. 148).

<sup>10</sup> Bowie (2022a, 82).

<sup>11</sup> Jones (2008, 260) suggests that Iulianus, dedicatee of *PS* Book 4, was also perhaps Bithynian, but this depends on his interpretation of the phrase 'friend and fellow-citizen' (Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100b.22) which seems to me mistaken: see below with n. 26.

λέγει τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ ἄλλους τοσούτους φιλοπονήσασθαι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπολιμπανούσης. ἡμεῖς δέ, ὡς ἔφημεν, ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα μόνους ἀνέγνωμεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ α περιλαμβάνοντας μέχρι τοῦ ω.

The man flourished in the time of the Roman emperor Marcus and his son Commodus, to whom he makes the work's dedication, writing at its head 'Phrynichus to Commodus Caesar, greetings'. Dedicating the book to Commodus and addressing a preface to him, with an exhortation to study, and praising his book, saying he has so far written thirty-seven books, which he states he has dedicated to the emperor, he promises to devote his future labours to an equal number, if he lives. We, as we said, read only thirty-six, comprising terms from α to ω.

Since in this preface Phrynichus specifies the total number of books (adding a threat to write as many more if his lifespan permitted!), and since single books were dedicated to several individuals, but no numbered book was dedicated to Commodus, it is right to conclude – as did Kaibel (1899), Avotins (1978), and Swain (1996) – that in the first instance the thirty-six were published serially one by one, and that only after all thirty-six had been finished was the whole sequence dedicated – and presumably a presentation copy sent – to Commodus Caesar. It is possible that the discrepancy between the thirty-six books read by Photius and the thirty-seven he says were claimed by Phrynichus is to be explained by the latter figure including a prefatory book which amounted to little more than an extended dedication.<sup>12</sup> Some have thought that this dedication cannot have happened before Commodus became co-ruler in 177 CE, though he had held the title of Caesar since 166 CE. Jones, on the other hand, emphasising that the dedication quoted by Photius describes Commodus as Καῖσαρ, 'Caesar', not 'Augustus', and that his remark about encouraging the love of learning better suits 'a young prince', prefers a date in the mid-170s, when Commodus (born 161 CE) would be in his early teens.<sup>13</sup> This may be the right solution. I shall return to the question of this consolidated edition.

First, however, I ask when Phrynichus embarked on this onerous task, and how long the composition of the thirty-six books took him. We are told by Photius that the first book was dedicated, as a birthday present, to Aristocles of Pergamum:

<sup>12</sup> Compare Phrynichus' preface to the *Eclogue*, Pollux' preface to his *Onomasticon*, and earlier Aelianus Tacticus' prefatory letter to Trajan.

<sup>13</sup> Jones (2008, 257). But Jones does not make it clear how he sees what he calls 'this prefatory book' as relating to the publication of the thirty-six that it implies were already in existence: the 'some kind of first edition' to which Jones refers could take several forms, one of which is argued for in this paper.

Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100b.15–20: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ φησι τοὺς λόγους ἀναθεῖναι, ὅμως διαφόροις αὐτοὺς φαίνεται προσπεφωνηκώς. αὐτίκα τὸν πρῶτον αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόγον Ἀριστοκλεῖ τινι γράφει, παιδιάν τινα τῇ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέους ἀρμόττουσαν φιλοτιμούμενος γενέσθαι τὴν γραφὴν καὶ συμπαίστην ὑπάρχειν αὐτόν.

But even if he says he dedicated the books to the emperor, yet he has clearly addressed them to various people. Thus, the very first book he writes for one Aristocles, declaring the aspiration that the writing may be some sort of suitable amusement for his birthday, and that he may enjoy playing the game with him.

Ti. Claudius Aristocles became a distinguished sophist and is given third place in the second book of Philostratus' *Lives*.<sup>14</sup> According to Philostratus he had been a regular attender at Herodes' *ex tempore* performances in Rome (which does not mean he took lessons in rhetoric from him) and Herodes' example had played a part in converting Aristocles from an austere and unkempt philosopher – or perhaps simply an unworldly philosophy student – to a flamboyant and fun-loving sophist. It must also have contributed to his Attic style, for which Philostratus offers faint praise ('not as powerful as Herodes').<sup>15</sup> Aristocles was adlected to the Roman senate by a decision of an emperor after Phrynichus had already dedicated to him the first three books of the *PS*, an elevation taken by Phrynichus as a reason for dedicating Book 4 not to him but to a Iulianus who (Photius says) was a συμπολίτης ('fellow-citizen'):

Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100b.20–8: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόγον αὐτῷ προσφωνεῖ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν τρίτον. τὸν δὲ τέταρτον Ιουλιανῷ τινι συμπολίτῃ καὶ φίλῳ προσφωνεῖ, καὶ φησιν ὅτι Ἀριστοκλεῖ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥριστο ἡ πραγματεία προσειρῆσθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος βασιλικῷ δόγματι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἐγένετο κοινωνός, τοῦτον ἀντ' ἐκείνου καὶ φίλον καὶ συνουσιαστήν τῶν καλῶν λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ κριτῇ καὶ ἐπιγνώμονι χρῆσθαι τῶν συγγραφομένων.

Likewise Book 2 and indeed Book 3 are also dedicated to him (Aristocles). The fourth he dedicates to his fellow-citizen and friend Iulianus, and says that originally it was destined to have been dedicated to Aristocles, but when he became a member of the great senate in Rome by imperial decree, he took him (Iulianus) as a friend and a companion in noble pursuits instead of him (Aristocles), and used him as a judge and arbiter of his writings.

By the end of his life, when according to Philostratus he was entering old age and his hair was just turning grey,<sup>16</sup> Aristocles had been appointed *consul suffectus*, a statement confirmed by an inscription found at Olympia on a base that once bore

<sup>14</sup> On Aristocles see Halfmann (1979, no. 121); Puech (2002, 140); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 789. Jones (2008, 258) endorses this identification.

<sup>15</sup> Philostr. *VS* 2.3.568.

<sup>16</sup> Philostr. *VS* 2.3.568.

an honorific statue: Κλαύδιον | Ἀριστοκλέα | ῥήτο[ρα] | ὑπατικόν ('Claudius | Aristocles | *rhetor* | consular').<sup>17</sup> It is tempting to think that the dedication of Books 10 and 13 to Aristocles was not simply a random and unexplained return by Phrynichus to his first dedicatee ('Dear Aristocles, you have not been much in my thoughts of late, but it occurs to me . . .') but actually marked Aristocles' appointment to high office: e.g. Book 10 might mark his appointment to the praetorship, Book 13 his elevation to the suffect consulate.

Some version of the chronology argued for by Avotins (1978) and favoured by Puech (2002) seems probable. Aristocles will have been born around 105 CE, perhaps earlier, and will have heard Herodes' epideictic performances in Rome between 128 and 133 CE. Not long after this he will have been visited in Pergamum to be heard by a now admiring Herodes,<sup>18</sup> most probably when Herodes was holding the post of *corrector* of the cities of the province Asia in 135/6 or 134/5 CE, as Philostratus says explicitly that Herodes did when he visited Smyrna to hear and learn from Polemo.<sup>19</sup> It was presumably around 137 CE that Aelius Aristides (then aged 20) was a pupil of Aristocles at Pergamum, as Philostratus tells us he was.<sup>20</sup> On Avotins' and others' chronology Aristocles' *adlectio* to the senate will have been considerably later. Puech opted for the last years of Pius' reign, i.e. the late 150s, with his consulate after 160 CE. Avotins, on the other hand, thought that by 160 CE Aristocles was already dead, even if a substantial gap separated his *adlectio* to the senate from his consulate.

Another detail in Photius' summary can be brought into play. In Book 11, dedicated to a hitherto unidentified Menodorus, Phrynichus expressed great admiration for Aelius Aristides, then in his prime, whose oratory he had recently been reading:

Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 158.101a.15–22: ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ἀριστείδου τοῖς λόγοις (ὡς φησιν) ἐντυχὼν ἄρτι, τότε ἀκμάζοντος, πολὺν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔπαινον ποιεῖται, καὶ Μαρκιανὸν φησι, τὸν κριτικὸν συγγραφέα, ὑπερορᾶν μὲν Πλάτωνος καὶ Δημοσθένους, τὰς δὲ Βρούτου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ ἐπιστολάς προκρίνειν καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἐν λόγῳ ἀρετῆς ἀποφαίνειν. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως φησιν οὐχὶ τὴν τοιαύτην κρίσιν ἀποδεχόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ μὴ θαυμάζειν εἰ τινες καὶ τῆς Ἀριστείδου δόξης ἐλάττωνα

<sup>17</sup> *I.Olympia* 482, see Puech (2002, 145–7).

<sup>18</sup> Philostr. *VS* 2.3.568. If this visit was indeed when Herodes was *corrector* in 134/5 or 135/6 CE (the only time we have evidence of Herodes' presence in *provincia Asia*), then a date of birth as late as around 110 CE, suggested by Jones (2008, 258) becomes less probable. Aristocles need not have been much younger than Herodes (born 101 CE) since nothing in Philostratus indicates he was formally one of Herodes' 'pupils'.

<sup>19</sup> Philostr. *VS* 1.25.537 on the visit to Smyrna; 2.1.564 on Herodes counting Polemo as one of his teachers.

<sup>20</sup> Philostr. *VS* 2.9.532.



τὸν ἄνδρα νομίζουσιν, οὕτω κλέους τοῦ ἐν λόγοις εἰς ἄκρον ἐλάσαντα· ἤψατο γὰρ ὁ φθόνος ὑπ' ἐνίων πεμπόμενος καὶ Ἀριστείδου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν παιδεία διενεγκόντων.

In it he says he had recently read the speeches of Aristides, then in his prime, and composes a great eulogy of him. He notes that the critical writer Marcianus looked down on Plato and Demosthenes, preferring the letters of the Italian Brutus, which he declared to be a model of stylistic excellence. He says this not because he accepts this judgement, but so that one should not be surprised that some people considered Aristides himself inferior to his reputation, at a time when he had achieved the summit of literary distinction; for the envy disseminated by certain people struck Aristides too, like many other people outstanding for their culture.<sup>21</sup>

That Aristides (born 117 CE) was 'in his prime' points rather to the 150s CE than later. Accordingly Book 11 should belong no later than 160 CE, perhaps indeed somewhat earlier.

Two other dedicatees are of interest for chronology as well as in themselves: the Iulianus who was the dedicatee first of Book 4 and then again of Book 8, and Rufinus, the dedicatee of Book 9:

Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 158.101a.7–14: τὸν μέντοι ὄγδοον πάλιν Ιουλιανῷ ἀνατίθῃσι, καὶ αἰτεῖται αὐτόν, εἴ τι ἀτελῶς εἴρηται ἅτε δὴ καὶ μετὰ νόσον γράφοντι, ταῦτα διαθεῖναι πρὸς διόρθωσιν. τὸν δὲ ἑνατον Ρουφίνῳ, φάσκων αἴτιον μὲν τοῦ ἀπάρξασθαι τῆς συγγραφῆς Ἀριστοκλέα γενέσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ πέρας ἐλθεῖν αὐτόν ἄξιον ἔσεσθαι, ὅτι ἐντυχὼν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις τό τε χρήσιμον συνιδεῖν ἔσχε καὶ ἐπαινέσειε τὸν πόνον. τὸν δὲ δέκατον πάλιν ἐπαναστραφεὶς πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα συντάττει.

Book 8 he again dedicates to Iulianus, and asks him, if anything is expressed imperfectly (since he was in fact writing after an illness), to assign that for correction. Book 9 he dedicates to Rufinus, saying that while Aristocles had been responsible for his beginning the work, its completion will be due to Rufinus, who had read his writings, seen their usefulness, and praised his industry. Book 10 he reverts to composing again for Aristocles.

Given the declared importance of Aristocles of Pergamum for Phrynichus, and given his courting of leading political and sophistic figures, Book 9's dedicatee Rufinus can hardly be other than the Pergamene L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, *consul ordinarius* in 142 CE,<sup>22</sup> by which date he had already financed the building of the round temple of Zeus Asclepius Soter in the Asclepieion at Pergamum.

In 145/6 CE, if Behr's and Halfmann's chronology is accepted, Aristides encountered both Rufinus and a Iulianus in the Asclepieion. Aristides' local enemies

<sup>21</sup> I here follow the persuasive interpretation of Jones (2008, 254), who rightly takes ἐντυχὼν to mean 'read', not (as Henry 1960) 'encountered', and also corrects Henry's mistranslation of εἴ τινες [. . .] εἰς ἄκρον ἐλάσαντα.

<sup>22</sup> For details see Halfmann (1979, no. 66).

had invaded and tried to expropriate an estate bought for him by his agents at Laneion, near his own city Hadrianoutherae. Aristides heard the disturbing news in the Asclepieion,<sup>23</sup> had a dream in which Hadrian was honouring him, and then in waking life encountered Rufinus in the company of the current *proconsul* of Asia, Iulianus. Rufinus helped Aristides put his case to Iulianus, who found in his favour when it came to court:

Aristid. 50.107 Keil (= 1.532.30–533.4 Dindorf): καὶ μου διατρίβοντος ἔτι αὐτόθι ὁ ἡγεμὼν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπέρχεται καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ρουφίνος. γνοὺς δὲ ἐγὼ τὸν καιρὸν τῷ τε Ρουφίνῳ φράζω τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀναστρέφοντι προσέρχομαι, κατ’ αὐτόν πως ὃν εἶδον ὄναρ τὸν τόπον, καὶ ὅσα τε αὐτῷ μοι καιρὸς ἦν εἶπον, καὶ ὁ Ρουφίνος προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπεν.

And while I was still there the governor Iulianus arrived, and with him Rufinus. And recognising my opportunity I explained the issue to Rufinus and approached Iulianus as he was walking around, in the very spot I had seen in my dream, and I told him all I had time to tell him, and Rufinus was unremitting in his support.

It is very probable that the Iulianus to whom Phrynichus dedicated Books 4 and 8 is the governor of Asia whom Aristides encountered along with Rufinus in 145/146 CE<sup>24</sup> – perhaps the same as a Iulianus who was *consul suffectus* in 129 CE.<sup>25</sup> Both Rufinus and, it seems probable, Iulianus, are from Pergamum: in the sentence τὸν δὲ τέταρτον Ἰουλιανῷ τινι συμπολίτῃ καὶ φίλῳ προσφωνεῖ (*Bibl. cod.* 158.100b.22–3, quoted above) the phrase συμπολίτῃ καὶ φίλῳ more probably refers to a relationship between Aristocles and Iulianus than between Phrynichus and Iulianus.<sup>26</sup> Thus the two dedicatees are both Pergamenes whom Phrynichus knew through Aristocles and who had risen even higher than Aristocles in the Roman government.

This indicates that a rather earlier chronology should be brought into play: a *PS* that was begun early, perhaps as early as the later 120s; a dedication of Book 4 to Iulianus in 129, when he was appointed *consul suffectus*, and of Book 10 to the

<sup>23</sup> Aristid. 50.106–107 Keil (1.532 Dindorf).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *IBritish Mus.* 491 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 850.19 = *IEphesos* 1491; Syme (1983, 275–6 = 1988, 329–30).

<sup>25</sup> See Halfmann (1979, no. 57); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 76, and for the precise date of 129 CE for the consulate *AE* 2000, 1138 (a military diploma from Deggendorf in Lower Bavaria, published by Wolff 2000, 9–13 and 16). Jones (2008, 259–60) also saw that this man was probably Phrynichus’ addressee Iulianus.

<sup>26</sup> The term συμπολίτῃ is perhaps that of Photius than of Phrynichus himself, since in *Ecl.* 144 Phrynichus condemns it: πολίτης λέγε, μὴ συμπολίτης (‘Say ‘citizen’ not ‘fellow-citizen’). That Phrynichus refers to Iulianus as his own, not as Aristocles’, ‘friend and fellow-citizen’ – as understood by Jones (2008, 259) – is less likely: Phrynichus would be bold to treat such exalted figures as Aristocles and Iulianus as his ‘friends’. Jones’ description of his relations with Aristocles as an ‘easy friendship’ (2008, 258) misjudges the nature of relations between a laborious *grammaticus* (who seems not to be a Roman citizen) and a high-flying member of the Greco-Roman elite.

same Iulianus some years later in the 140s, perhaps indeed precisely when he learned that, by the process of *sortitio*, he was to be *proconsul Asiae* for the year 145/146 CE. Book 11, again (like Book 5) dedicated to Menodorus, and written when Phrynichus had been impressed by the already published speeches of Aristides, moves forward from the 150s to the later 140s CE.

The hypothesis that the dedication of the first of the two books that Phrynichus dedicated to Iulianus, Book 4, and Aristocles' *adlectio* to the Roman senate both fell around 129/130 CE might gain some support from Hadrian's movements at that time. This was when he was engaged in his second major visit to *provincia Asia*. We know little about how an emperor decided to adlect a distinguished member of a local elite to senatorial rank, but personal acquaintance and associated admiration are likely to have been factors: I suggest that it was during this Asian tour that Hadrian encountered the local grandee and budding sophist Aristocles at Pergamum and decided on his *adlectio*. I offer a very tentative schema in the Appendix.

Two further names may offer more information, though not on chronology. First Tiberinus, the dedicatee of Book 6:

Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 158.101a.1–2: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἔκτον λόγον τῆς σοφιστικῆς ταύτης παρασκευῆς ἄλλῳ τινὶ πάλιν Τιβερίνῳ προσφωνεῖ.

But he also dedicates the sixth book of this *Sophistic Preparation* to yet another person, Tiberi[a?]nus.

Only one Tiberinus is registered by *PIR*<sup>2</sup> under the letter T, a man active in mid-3rd-century Egypt, but no fewer than eight Tiberiani. One of these Tiberiani was the recipient of a rescript from Marcus and Verus concerning the use of torture to extract evidence from slaves: this we know from *Digest* 48.18.1.3, drawing on Ulpian's work *De officio proconsulis* (*On the Duties of a Proconsul*). Was this Tiberianus, whom the rescript shows to have been a proconsul somewhere during the joint rule of Marcus and Verus between 161 and 169 CE, spotted by Phrynichus as a rising star earlier in his career, and is Photius' Τιβερίνῳ a mistake for Τιβεριάνῳ?

Second, the Reginus who was the dedicatee of Book 12:

Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 158.101a.28–34: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐνδέκατος Μηνοδώρῳ ἐπιπεφώνηται, τῶν δὲ ἑφεξῆς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνον πολυλογίας αἰτίαν λάβοιμεν, ὁ μὲν Ῥηγίνῳ ὁ δὲ πάλιν Ἀριστοκλεῖ, ὁ δὲ Βασιλείδῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ σοφιστῇ προσεφωνήθη· ἐν ᾧ φησιν αὐτίκα τοῦ ἀνακύψαι τῆς νόσου ποιήσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφὴν, καὶ αἰτεῖται τῶν διὰ τὴν νόσον (ὡς εἰκός) αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ γράμματι παρασφαλέντων ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν διόρθωσιν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σύμπαντες λόγοι, οὓς ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν, τῷ Μηνοφίλῳ πάλιν μέχρι τοῦ ω ἀνετέθησαν.

Book 11 was dedicated to Menodorus; of the rest (I must avoid likewise being blamed for prolixity, like him) one was dedicated to Reginus, one again to Aristocles, one to the Milesian sophist Basilides. In it he says he wrote the work addressed to him immediately after recovery from his illness, and asks him (understandably) to correct errors in its text due to illness. All the remainder, which we have read, were dedicated again to Menophilus [cf. Book 7], as far as *omega*.

This Reginus could be L. Catilius Severus Reginus,<sup>27</sup> a man with many Asia Minor connections, whose career culminated with the post of *praefectus urbi*, ‘prefect of the city (sc. Rome)’, from the mid-130s until Hadrian’s adoption of Pius on 25 February 138 CE. We do not know how long Reginus lived after 138 CE, but he might well still have been alive and a tempting dedicatee in the mid-140s. More probably, however, the dedicatee is a son: one son who preserves the name Catilius seems to be involved in the celebrations attending Hadrian’s visit to Ephesus in 129/130.<sup>28</sup>

Many of these personal connections of Phrynichus link him with Greeks from the province Asia, and especially from the city of Pergamum, as does his quotation in the *Eclogue* of an inscription on the base of a statue of Demosthenes that had been dedicated there by M. Antonius Polemo:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 396: κατ’ ὄναρ· Πολέμων ὁ Ἴωνικός σοφιστὴς Δημοσθένους τοῦ ῥήτορος εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν Περγάμῳ τῇ Μυσίᾳ ἀναθεὶς ἐπέγραψεν ἐπίγραμμα τοιόνδε· ‘Δημοσθένη Παιανιέα Πολέμων κατ’ ὄναρ’, ἀδοκιμωτάτῳ τῷ κατ’ ὄναρ χρησάμενος· ὥσπερ γὰρ καθ’ ὕπαρ οὐ λέγεται, ἀλλ’ ὕπαρ, οὕτως οὐδὲ κατ’ ὄναρ, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι ὄναρ ἰδὼν ἢ ἐξ ὀνείρου ὄψεως. οὕτως ἄρα μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὀνομάτων γνώσις, ὅπου γε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων παταίοντα ὁράται.

κατ’ ὄναρ (‘according to a dream’): Polemo the sophist from Ionia dedicated a bronze statue of the orator Demosthenes in the Pergamene Asclepieion in Mysia and inscribed the following inscription: ‘Polemo (dedicated) Demosthenes of Paeania according to a dream’, using the phrase ‘according to a dream’ that is most ill-supported. For as καθ’ ὕπαρ (‘while awake’) is not said, but ὕπαρ (‘awake’), so neither is κατ’ ὄναρ (‘according to a dream’), but either ὄναρ ἰδὼν (‘having seen dreaming’) or ἐξ ὀνείρου ὄψεως (‘as a result of seeing a

<sup>27</sup> Halfmann (1979, no. 38).

<sup>28</sup> SEG 17.504, Bowie (2012). Not much can be got from the other men named by Phrynichus. The Marcianus of Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.101a.16–7 (cf. above on Book 11) can hardly be Marcianus of Doliche, claimed by Philostr. *VS* 2.26.623 to have been chiefly responsible for hounding Heraclides of Lycia out of the chair of rhetoric at Athens: that episode was much later, around 209 CE, and though Heraclides had once been a pupil of Aristocles, which might perhaps explain Phrynichus’ animosity towards that Marcianus, an earlier writer is more probably meant. The name is extremely common, especially in Asia Minor.

dream'). So you see knowledge of words is of the greatest importance, since it is somewhere that even the Greeks' high-fliers are seen to trip up'.<sup>29</sup>

Phrynichus clearly had personal knowledge of the Asclepieion, and this may be the context in which he first met Aristocles and Iulianus. Given his own recurrent bouts of illness,<sup>30</sup> he may indeed himself have sought healing there, as Jones (2008, 259) suggests. That Photius cites him as referring only to the writings and fame of Aristides, never to hearing him declaim in person or to meeting him, may count against Pergamum being his main place either of residence or (if he ever taught) of teaching. Moreover, Asia Minor has only one case of the name Phrynichus in the Packard epigraphy database (out of a total 126)<sup>31</sup> – as against eighty instances from Attica. Perhaps the lexicographer's family originated in Attica, but moved to Pergamum, or further north to Bithynia, giving one of its children a long-standing Attic name with literary overtones, evoking dramatic poets of the 5th century BCE?<sup>32</sup>

## 4 The purpose of the *PS*

Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 158.101a.39–101b.3: χρήσιμον δὲ δηλονότι τὸ βιβλίον τοῖς τε συγγράφειν καὶ ῥητορεύειν ἐθέλουσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ διακρίνεσθαι φησι τὰς συνειλεγμένας αὐτῷ φωνὰς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: τὰς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ῥήτορσιν ἀποδεδόσθαι, τὰς δὲ τοῖς συγγράφουσι, τὰς δὲ συνουσίαις ἐφαρμόζειν, ἐνίας δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς σκωπτικὰς ὑπάγεσθαι λαλιάς, ἥ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐρωτικούς ἐκφέρεσθαι τρόπους.

The book is clearly useful for those wishing to write (or 'to write history'?) and to practice rhetoric. And he himself says that he distinguished the words he had gathered in the following way: some were allocated to rhetors, others to writers of history, others were suitable for conversation; some were produced for scoptic discourses or were uttered with reference to erotic behaviour.

One might suppose that a koine-speaker might experience some difficulty in using lemmas that were the δόκιμα, 'approved', Attic terms (even if *perhaps* alphabetically arranged) in order to find the 'approved' word that he or she

29 Cf. *I.Pergamon* 3.33: Δημοσθένην | Δημοσθένους | Παιανία | Πολέμων κατὰ ὄναρ.

30 See Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 158.100b.35–40, 101a.9, and 101a.32–5.

31 A tomb inscription from Hellenistic Ephesus (*SEG* 42.1051), no precise date: Ἀρτεμῷ Μητροδῶ [ρου], | Μυραλλίς Δημητρίο[υ], | Φρύνιχος Ἀγήσωνος, | Ἀγήσων Ἀγήσωνος.

32 Another Bithynian earlier in the second century who had some Attic connection, and indeed died in Attica (ca. 130 CE?), was C. Cassius Sacerdos, commemorated by a tomb-obelisk whose five epigrams are transmitted as *AP* 15.4–8: cf. Bowie (2016, 17–22) (repr. in Bowie 2023, 408–13).

needed: it was surely easier to move from a familiar but forbidden koine term to the recommended Attic usage (as in most cases the *Eclogue* seems to have expected readers to do).<sup>33</sup> Phrynichus' claim in this passage, however, is that his work *will* indeed be useful for writing and speaking, not just for reading and understanding canonical Attic texts. And some entries do in fact suggest one or another of these proposed contexts. Fragment 9, for example, has Phrynichus recommending the expression ἄθηρος ἡμέρα ('a day without hunting') as weighty and suitable for writing history:<sup>34</sup>

Phryn. *PS* fr. \*9: ἄθηρος ἡμέρα· σεμνὴ πάνυ ἢ συμπλοκὴ καὶ ἀξίωμα οὐ μικρὸν ἔχουσα. καὶ γὰρ ὁ χρησάμενος τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τῇ φράσει Αἰσχύλος ἐστὶν ἐν Τοξότισιν. πρόσεστι δὲ τῷ σεμνῷ τῆς λέξεως καὶ τὸ πολιτικόν. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκταίωνος 'οὐπω τις Ἀκταίωνα ἄθηρος ἡμέρα κενόν, πόνου πλουτοῦντα, ἔπεμψεν εἰς δόμους'. συγγραῶν χρῶ, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος.

ἄθηρος ἡμέρα ('A huntless day'): The combination has great gravity and no little distinction. For the user of the expression and utterance is Aeschylus in his *Archeresses* (fr. 241): and as well as gravity the phrase suits political discourse. And he says of Actaeon: 'Never did a huntless day send Actaeon empty to his home, enriched from his toil'. Use it when writing (history?), says Phrynichus.

## 5 Was the *Eclogue* written before or after the *PS*?

Some have thought that the *Eclogue* was earlier than the *PS*. But the *Eclogue* bears marks of lateness. For example, it criticises 'Alexander the sophist' – presumably Alexander of Seleuceia in Cilicia – for something written 'in a letter', i.e. writing the accusative of υἱός as υἱέα rather than the correct Attic υἱόν:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 234: υἱέα· ἐν ἐπιστολῇ ποτε Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ εὗρον τοῦνομα τοῦτο γεγραμμένον, καὶ σφόδρα ἐμεμψάμην· οὐ γάρ, ἐπεὶ υἱέος καὶ υἱεῖ ἐστίν, εὐθὺς καὶ τὸν υἱέα εὗροι τις ἄν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτιατικὴν υἱὸν λέγουσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Φιλόξενος ἐν τοῖς ε' Περὶ τῆς Ἰλιάδος συγγραμμάσι δαψιλέστατα ἀπέφηνεν, ἀδόκιμον μὲν εἶναι τὸν υἱέα, δόκιμον δὲ τὸν υἱόν.

υἱέα ('son', acc. sing.): I once found this word written in a letter of Alexander the sophist, and I criticised him vehemently. For the existence of υἱέος (gen. sing.) and υἱεῖ (dat. sing.) does not mean that automatically one will find υἱέα; but the ancients used the accusative

<sup>33</sup> But as the editors remind me, neither the current form of alphabetisation in the epitome of *PS* nor the precise form of entries in the *Eclogue* can be relied upon as guides to either work's original format. See also the contribution of Jacopo Cavarzeran in this volume.

<sup>34</sup> The entry is also discussed in Olga Tribulato's paper in this volume.

υῖόν. Philoxenus in fact demonstrated this most abundantly in the five treatises *On The Iliad*, that υἱέα is not approved, and υῖόν is approved.<sup>35</sup>

This criticism of a form used 'in a letter' makes most sense when Alexander was already an imperial secretary, *ab epistulis Graecis*, an office to which he was appointed by Marcus at some date around 172 CE,<sup>36</sup> even if it is theoretically possible that it was written as early as the first event we can chart in Alexander's career, an embassy to Pius when he was still young.<sup>37</sup> Moreover the post of *ab epistulis Graecis* to which the *Eclogue's* dedicatee Cornelianus had been appointed by the emperors (plural!) (*Ecl.* 357) is hard to accommodate other than in the years 177–180 CE.<sup>38</sup> Together these two references take the *Eclogue* not merely into the 170s, but into the last three years of that decade.

Slater, on the other hand, believed that two glosses established the priority of the *Eclogue*: 'Even on the basis of comparative glosses, it is best to set the *Eclogue* first as a younger polemical work; at least it is not credible that fr. 115 de Borr. was written before the *Eclogue*, or 84, 22 de Borr. before gl. 151F (cf. Aa 104, 30)'.<sup>39</sup> I now examine briefly these two cases that Slater thought crucial.

Fr. \*115 (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 747 = Phot. α 789, *ex* Σ''') concerns the use of the preposition μετά instead of the simple dative after the verb ἀκολουθεῖν (a case analogous to the difference between American English 'to meet with' and traditional British English 'to meet'):

ἀκολουθεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ· οὕτω συντάσσουσιν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ Λυσίας οὕτω κέχρηται καὶ Πλάτων. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Πλούτῳ 'ἔπου' φησὶ 'μετ' ἐμοῦ, παιδάριον'. καὶ Μένανδρος 'νίκη μεθ' ἡμῶν εὐμενῆς ἔποιτ' αἰε', κὰν τῇ Παρακαταθήκῃ 'συν-ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν' φησίν.

<sup>35</sup> In the Packard epigraphy database υἱέα appears in only 18 texts from Asia Minor, all but one of them poetic; υῖόν is used in 1218 texts.

<sup>36</sup> Philostr. *VS* 2.5.571, dating his appointment to Marcus' Danube wars, and *VS* 2.5.576, noting a tradition that he died in office ἐν Κέλτοις, 'among the Gauls'. *I.Selge* 13 = *SEG* 53.1582 showed that Ti. Claudius Vibianus Tertullus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1049, revised in vol. 7.2 p. 275) was *ab epistulis Graecis* in or shortly after 175 CE, after Marcus had taken the title Sarmaticus in autumn of 175 CE, but before Commodus became Augustus in January 177. Later a text from Pisidian Melli showed that Tertullus remained in that office until after Commodus became Augustus. Alexander's tenure thus preceded that of Tertullus, in 173 and 174 (succeeding T. Aius Sanctus, attested in 171/172); the *Eclogue's* dedicatee Cornelianus will have succeeded Tertullus (who became *a rationibus*). For full discussion see Mitchell (2003, 146–48). On the lacunose evidence then available Bowersock (1969, 53) had dated Alexander's tenure to 169–172 CE, Bowie (1982, 58) to 169/170–175 CE.

<sup>37</sup> Philostr. *VS* 2.5.571.

<sup>38</sup> Jones (2008, 256 with n. 9).

<sup>39</sup> Slater (1977, 261).

ἀκολουθεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ ('follow with him'): Attic writers use this syntax instead of 'follow him'. For this is the usage of Lysias (2.27 +) and Plato (*La.* 187e +); and Aristophanes in *Wealth* (823) also says 'Follow with me, little boy'. And Menander says 'Might Victory always follow with us and show us favour' (*Dysc.* 969 +), and in his *Deposit* (fr. 293) 'Follow with us!'.

Presumably here Slater thought of Phrynichus' decision in the *Eclogue* that Menander is not a good authority: indeed in the *Eclogue* entry on the same issue (*Ecl.* 330) Phrynichus comes down firmly in favour of the construction with the dative, mentioning only Lysias. The matter is complicated by the fact that Alpers assigned this lemma to Orus,<sup>40</sup> and if that attribution is correct, *cadit quaestio*. If, however, de Borries was right to assign the lemma to Phrynichus, then we should note that here in *PS* Phrynichus happily cites Menander alongside Lysias, Plato, and Aristophanes as an authority for good Attic. In fact the phenomena seem to me to count *against* and not in favour of Slater's chronology. It is only during the writing of *Eclogue* Book 2 that Phrynichus seems to have developed his doubt about Menander as a reliable source of Attic. In the *PS*, in addition to the two citations in the fragment quoted by Slater (fr. \*115), Menander is twice (frr. 209 and 335) cited as an authority in *PS* fr. \*112 (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 568) alongside Aristophanes' *Pax* 1 and Pherecrates (fr. 145) for the Attic use of αἶρειν 'bring', where the koine would use προσφέρειν 'fetch':<sup>41</sup>

αἶρε· πρόσφερε. αἶρειν γὰρ καὶ τὸ προσφέρειν δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ παρατιθέναι, οἷον 'αἶρ', αἶρε μᾶζαν ὡς τάχιστα κανθάρῳ', Αἰριστοφάνης Εἰρήνη. καὶ μετὰ τῆς προθέσεως Φερεκράτης Πε-τάλη 'πρόσαιρε τὸ κανοῦν· εἰ δὲ βούλει, πρόσφερε'. ἐτίθεσαν δὲ τὴν λέξιν καὶ ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρακειμένην ἀφελεῖν τὴν τράπεζαν. Μένανδρος Κεκρυφάλῳ 'εἴτ' εὐθὺς οὕτω τὰς τραπέζας αἶρετε· μύρα, στεφάνους ἐτοίμασον, σπονδὰς ποίει'. καὶ Συναριστώσαις 'ἂν ἔτι πιεῖν μοι δῶ τις. ἀλλ' ἡ βάρβαρος ἅμα τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ τὸν οἶνον ὥχετο | ἄρασα ἀφ' ἡμῶν'.

αἶρε: 'Bring' (πρόσφερε). For αἶρειν means both to fetch (προσφέρειν) and to put beside (παρατιθέναι), like 'Bring, bring bread as fast as possible for the dung-beetle' (Ar. *Pax* 1). And with the prefix Pherecrates in *Leaf* (fr. 145) 'Bring over (πρόσαιρε) the bread-basket; please, bring it over (πρόσφερε)'. They also used the word as we do for carrying off a side-table: Menander in *Hairnet* (fr. 209) 'Then at once carry off (αἶρετε) the tables here; prepare perfumes and garlands; perform libations'. And in *Women Lurching Together* (fr. 335) '... if someone gives me something more to drink! But the foreign girl's gone off taking our wine from us as well as the table'.

<sup>40</sup> Orus fr. B 7: see Alpers (1981, 197–8), endorsed by Cunningham (2013, 55 n. 194). For an analysis, see Gerbi (2023) and the contribution by Gerbi herself in this volume.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Phot. α 648 and *Su.* α 299.



Menander is also cited once, together with Xenophon, in *PS* fr. \*139 (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 814 = Phot. α 819, *ex Σ'''*), concerning the use of an infinitive, not a participle, after ἀκούω 'I hear':

ἀκούσας ἤκειν· οὐχ ἦκοντα. Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἔφη καὶ Μένανδρος δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί.

'Having heard that he had arrived' (ἦκειν): Not 'had arrived' (ἦκοντα). Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* (3.1.1) and Menander (fr. 518) and many others.

He is cited once more without any condemnation in the *Epitome* on the expression αὐθέκαστα <λέγειν>, 'telling it straight':

Phryn. *PS* 28.4–8: αὐθέκαστα <λέγειν>· τὸ τὰ κυριώτατα διὰ βραχέων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα λέγειν, μὴ κύκλῳ βαδίζοντα καὶ περιτρέχοντα, αὐθέκαστα λέγειν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. Μένανδρος <δὲ> ἐπὶ τοῦ πικροῦ καὶ ἀηδοῦς τέθεικε τὴν λέξιν 'πικροῦ γέροντος, αὐθεκάστου τοῦ τρόπου'.

αὐθέκαστα <λέγειν> ('<to tell> it straight'): Telling the basic facts and the key things succinctly, not going on a roundabout way and using periphrases – the ancients called this αὐθέκαστα λέγειν ('<to tell> it straight'). [But] Menander (fr. 592) used the expression of the man who was prickly and unpleasant 'a prickly old man, outspoken in character'.

Citation of Menander as an authority for Attic continues in *Eclogue* Book 1. Gloss 157 cites the *Samian Woman* (fr. 1) for λιβανωτός:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 157: λίβανον λέγε τὸ δένδρον, τὸ δὲ θυμώμενον λιβανωτόν, εἰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν λίβανον καὶ τοῦτο Σοφοκλῆς λέγει. ἄμεινον δὲ Μένανδρος ἐν τῇ Σαμία φησίν· 'φέρει τὸν λιβανωτόν, σὺ δ' ἐπίθες τὸ πῦρ, Τρύφη'.

λίβανος is what you should call the tree, and the incense λιβανωτός, even if due to his poetic language Sophocles (fr. 595a) calls this too λίβανος. But Menander puts it better in his *Samian Woman* (fr. 1): 'Bring the λιβανωτός, and you, Tryphe, put fire on it'.

But some doubt seems to be developing by the time Phrynichus made his second reference to Menander in *Eclogue* Book 1, at gloss 170, where Antiochus of Aegeae is criticised for using the word μεγιστᾶνες, which he had *perhaps* got from Menander:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 170: μεγιστᾶνες· Ἀντίοχος ὁ σοφιστῆς βιβλίον τι ὑπέγραψεν, Ἀγοράν ἐπιγραφόμενον, ἐνθα τοῦνομα ἔθηκεν, ἴσως Μενάνδρῳ ἀκολουθήσας, οὐ γὰρ δὴ τινι τῶν ἀρχαίων. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ μεγιστᾶνες, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ μέγα δυναμένους λέγομεν.

μεγιστᾶνες ('grandees'): The sophist Antiochus (of Aegeae) is the author of a book entitled *Marketplace*, where he used the word, perhaps following Menander (fr. 584) – certainly not

following one of the ancients. But we, taking our lead from the ancients, say not μεγιστάνες but μέγα δυνάμενους ('powerful men').

Some way into Book 2 of the *Eclogue* (which begins with gloss 230) we begin to find repeated criticisms of those who treat Menander as δόκιμος, 'approved', for good Attic Greek.<sup>42</sup>

Phryn. *Ecl.* 304: θέρμα· οὕτως ὁ Μένανδρος διὰ τοῦ α, ἀλλ' οὔτε Θουκυδίδης οὔθ' ἡ ἀρχαία κωμῳδία οὔτε Πλάτων, θέρμη δέ.

θέρμα ('fever'): So Menander, with α (*Georg.* 94), but not Thucydides, nor Old Comedy, nor Plato; but [they write] θέρμη.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 341: ἐξαλλάξαι· τὸ τέρψαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν εἰς εὐφροσύνην· χρὴ φυλάττεσθαι οὕτω λέγειν, οὐ γὰρ χρώνται οἱ δόκιμοι, Φιλίππιδης δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος αὐτῷ χρώνται.

ἐξαλλάξαι: To divert: to amuse and to induce cheerfulness. One should avoid using this term, for it is not used by the approved authors, but Philippides (fr. 36) and Menander (fr. 540) use it.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 367: τί χειμάζεις σαυτόν· Μένανδρος εἶρηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ὁμοίως, πειστέον δὲ τοῖς δοκίμοις τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι τοῦνομα.<sup>43</sup>

τί χειμάζεις σαυτόν ('why do you subject yourself to a storm?'): Menander (fr. 162) said this of distressing, and the Alexandrians do likewise. But one should follow the approved authors, who do not know the word.

A sequence of usages where Menander is again found wanting leads up to a tirade addressed to Phrynichus' dedicatee Cornelianus at 394 that refers back to these entries:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 390: πορνοκόπος· οὕτω Μένανδρος, οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι πορνότριψ λέγουσιν.

πορνοκόπος ('whore-banger'): So Menander (fr. 585); but the ancient Athenians say πορνότριψ ('whore-bonker').

<sup>42</sup> For a suggestion that Phrynichus' attacks on Menandrian usage contributed to his plays' disappearance from the standard reading of πεπαιδευμένοι in late antiquity see Blanchard (1997). For doubt that Phrynichus' criticisms had much to do with Menander's disappearance see Easterling (1995).

<sup>43</sup> For dismissal of Alexandrians and Egyptians cf. *Ecl.* 305: τεθελήκεναι Ἀλεξανδρεωτικὸν τοῦνομα, διὸ ἀφετέον Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτό, ἡμῖν δὲ ῥητέον ἠθελήκεναι, 'τεθελήκεναι' ('to have wished'): The term is Alexandrian, so it should be left to Alexandrians and Egyptians, but we should say ἠθελήκεναι ('to have wished').

Phryn. *Ecl.* 391: λήθαργος· οὕτω Μένανδρος, οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιλήσιμονα καλοῦσιν, οἷς πειστέον.

λήθαργος ('forgetful'): So Menander (fr. 586); but the ancient Athenians, whom we should follow, use the term ἐπιλήσιμων ('forgetful').

Phryn. *Ecl.* 392: μεσοπορεῖν· καὶ τοῦτο Μένανδρος, οὐδὲν ἐπιβάλλων γνώμα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα φύρων.

μεσοπορεῖν ('to be half-way'): This too Menander [says] (fr. 587), applying no judgement to his vocabulary, but messing everything up.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 393: γῦρος· τί δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Μένανδρος τὴν καλλίστην τῶν κωμωδιῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν Μισογύνην κατεκληρίδωσεν εἰπών; τί γὰρ δὴ γῦρός ἐστιν, οὐ συνίημι.

γῦρος ('circle'): Why did Menander in saying this too inflict a great stain upon the finest of his comedies, the *Misogynist* (fr. 245)? For what on earth a 'circle' is, I do not understand.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 394: σύσσημον· οὐχ ὁρῶ, μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τί πάσχουσιν οἱ τὸν Μένανδρον μέγαν ἄγοντες καὶ αἶροντες ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἅπαν. διὰ τί δὲ θαυμάσας ἔχω; ὅτι τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶ μανικῶς περὶ τὸν κωμωδοποιὸν τοῦτον σπουδάζοντα, πρῶτιστον μὲν ἐν παιδείᾳ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα πάντων ἔχοντα σὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ προκρίτων ἀποφανθέντα ὑπὸ βασιλέων ἐπιστολέα αὐτῶν, ἔπειτα δευτέρᾳ τιμῇ, λειπόμενον πολὺ τῆς σῆς παρασκευῆς, ἐξεταζόμενον δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, Βάλβον τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Τράλλων, ὃς εἰς τοσοῦτο προθυμίας καὶ θαύματος ἦκει Μενάνδρου, ὥστε καὶ Δημοσθένους ἀμείνω ἐγχειρεῖν ἀποφαίνειν τὸν λέγοντα 'μεσοπορεῖν' καὶ 'γῦρος' καὶ 'λήθαργος' καὶ 'σύσσημον' καὶ 'πορνοκόπος' καὶ 'ὀψωνιασμός' καὶ 'ὀψώνιον' καὶ 'δύσριγος' καὶ ἄλλα κίβδηλα ἀναρίθμητα καὶ ἀμαθῆ· τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ σοὶ καὶ Βάλβῳ πεπονθότα καὶ Γαϊανὸν τὸν Σμυρναῖον ῥήτορα, ἄνδρα ζηλωτὴν καὶ ἐραστὴν τῆς σῆς ἐν παιδείᾳ φιλοκαλίας. ἄγε οὖν ὅπως λύσης μου τὴν ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ δυσχερεῖα τῶν ὧτων ἀπορίαν· οὐ γὰρ περιόψεσθαί σε ἡγοῦμαι ἐρήμην ὀφλόντα σου τὰ παιδικὰ Μένανδρον.

σύσσημον ('token'): I fail to see, by Heracles, what is happening to those who elevate Menander and set him above all Greek writers. And why have I been astonished? Because I see the pick of the Greeks madly enthusiastic for this comic poet – first of all you, who have the highest reputation of all for erudition and in consequence have been appointed their secretary by emperors; and in second rank, falling far behind your qualifications, but esteemed among the Greeks, Balbus of Tralles, who has acquired such enthusiasm and admiration for Menander that he attempts to demonstrate as superior to Demosthenes the man who says μεσοπορεῖν ('to be half-way') and γῦρος ('circle?'; Men. fr. 245, cf. *Ecl.* 393) and λήθαργος ('forgetful') and σύσσημον ('token'; Men. *Pc.* 362) and πορνοκόπος ('whore-banger'; Men. fr. 585, cf. *Ecl.* 390) and ὀψωνιασμός ('provisioning'; Men. fr. 588, cf. Poll. 6.38 = Men. fr. 624) and ὀψώνιον ('cooked food'; Men. fr. 588) and δύσριγος ('cold-averse'; Men. fr. 588) and countless other spurious and ignorant words. And I see that what has happened to you and Balbus has also happened to Gaianus the rhetor from Smyrna, an emulator and fan of your learned connoisseurship. Come then, resolve my ears' quandary in this very difficult matter: for I don't think you will allow your darling Menander to lose the case because it is undefended.

Another outburst follows at 402, addressing Menander himself:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 402: καταφαγᾶς· πόθεν, Μένανδρε, συσσύρας τὸν τοσοῦτον τῶν ὀνομάτων συρφετὸν αἰσχύνεις τὴν πατριον φωνήν; τίς γάρ δὴ τῶν πρὸ σοῦ τῷ καταφαγᾶς κέχρηται; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστοφάνης οὕτως φησὶν· ‘ἔστι γὰρ κατωφαγᾶς τις ἄλλος ἢ Κλεώνυμος;’ ἐχρῆν οὖν Κρατίνῳ πειθόμενον φαγᾶς εἰπεῖν. ἴσως δ’ ἂν εἴποις ὅτι ἠκολούθησας Μυρτίλῳ λέγοντι ‘ὥς ὁ μὲν κλέπτης, ὁ δ’ ἄρπαξ, | ὁ δ’ ἀνάπηρος πορνοβοσκὸς καταφαγᾶς· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐχρῆν τὰς ἀπαξ εἰρημένας λέξεις ἀρπάζειν.

καταφαγᾶς (‘gobbler’): From where, Menander, have you swept together so large a rubbish-heap of words, disgracing your native tongue? For whoever of your predecessors has used καταφαγᾶς? For Aristophanes (*Av.* 289) says ‘Is there any κατωφαγᾶς (‘head-down gobbler’) besides Cleonymus?’ So one ought to have said, following Cratinus (*fr.* 499), φαγᾶς (‘gobbler’). But perhaps you would say that you followed Myrtilus who says (*fr.* 5) ‘For one is a thief, another a filcher, another a cripple and pimp and καταφαγᾶς’. But it was wrong to grab words used only once.

Book 2 concludes with four entries of which three are swipes at Menander, on the terms κολλυβιστής, ἀκρατεύεσθαι and αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι, the last swipe gratuitous, since ‘even Menander’ does not use the word:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 408: κολλυβιστής· πάλιν ἡμᾶς μολύνων οὐδέν τι διαπαύεται ὁ τὸν ἀργυραμοιβὸν κολλυβιστὴν λέγων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόλλυβος δόκιμον, ὁ δὲ κολλυβιστής παρασημασμένον.

κολλυβιστής: Again (Menander) does not let up disgracing us, calling a money-changer κολλυβιστής (*fr.* 590). For κόλλυβος (‘rate of exchange’) is approved, but κολλυβιστής has a false stamp.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 410: ἀκρατεύεσθαι· ἀδοκίμῳ ὄντι οἷ τε πολλοὶ χρῶνται τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ Μένανδρος, λέγε οὖν οὐκ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι.

ἀκρατεύεσθαι: Although this term is not approved it is in general use and is used by Menander (*fr.* 591). So say ‘not to have self-control’.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 411: αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι· τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἀδόκιμον ὥς μηδὲ Μένανδρον αὐτῷ χρῆσασθαι. διαλύων οὖν λέγε αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι.

αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι (‘to be prisoner of war’): This is so far from being approved that even Menander does not use it. So break the term down and say ‘to become a prisoner of war’.

After this strong allergy to Menander that we find developing in Book 2 of the *Eclogue* it would be surprising that he should be cited positively in the *PS*, if that work were indeed later.

Slater’s second case was Phrynichus’ verdict on the correct term for a small dog. The *Epitome* of the *PS* has:

Phryn. *PS* 84.22: κυνάριον καὶ κυνίδιον: <ἄμφω> δόκιμα.

κυνάριον ('little doggy') and κυνίδιον ('little dog') are <both> approved.

The *Eclogue* has:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 151: κυνίδιον λέγε. Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ κωμωδὸς ἅπαξ που κυνάριον εἶπεν.

Say κυνίδιον. The comic poet Theopompus (fr. 93) once, I think, said κυνάριον.

Again it is not difficult to see our entry in the *PS* as earlier: the full form of that entry (for which we must remember that we depend on an epitome) may have been based on the observation that both forms are attested in some reputable source; the *Eclogue* entry may be based on the more precise observation that κυνάριον is attested only once, in the comedian Theopompus. It may or may not also react to the *Antiatticist*'s defence of κυνάριον, correcting that writer's claim that the comic poet who used it was Alcaeus:

*Antiatt.* κ 87: κυνάριον· οὐ μόνον κυνίδιον. Ἀλκαῖος κωμικῶς.

κυνάριον ('little doggy'): not only κυνίδιον ('little dog'). Alcaeus (Comicus) in comic mode (fr. 33).<sup>44</sup>

The rejection of Menander as an authority in *Eclogue* Book 2 chimes with other features (e.g. alphabetic sequences between lemmas 307 and 364) which led Latte to conclude that Phrynichus was reacting polemically to the publication of the *Antiatticist*, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* in the late 170s for that work.<sup>45</sup> Whether it was simply the more lenient approach of the *Antiatticist*, or whether other factors (and perhaps indeed personalities) contributed to Phrynichus' stance in *Eclogue* Book 2,<sup>46</sup> is a question whose answer does not matter for the argument of this paper. The composition of the *Eclogue* must have been in the later 170s, the first publication of books of *PS* decades earlier.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Valente (2015, 54) suggests *PS* 84.22 is a 'palinode' for the position taken in *Ecl.* 151, a solution which I think is excluded by the arguments of this paper.

<sup>45</sup> Latte (1915, 380–1), followed by Valente (2015, 52). See also Fischer (1974, 39–41), suggesting that there are already traces of the *Antiatticist* in Book 1: Valente (2015, 53–4) regards knowledge of the *Antiatticist* in Book 1 as 'possible' but thinks it 'cannot be proved with total certainty'.

<sup>46</sup> Olga Tribulato points out that it may also be relevant that Phrynichus' criteria for selection of authoritative Attic writers seems to differ between *PS* and the *Eclogue*, e.g. he draws on tragic poets often in *PS*, rarely in *Eclogue*. I leave it to others to argue the case for the greater relevance to the phenomena of criteria of selection than chronology.

<sup>47</sup> I cannot therefore follow Valente in his view (2015, 55 n. 326) that 'For the glosses listed by von Borries, Phrynichus XXXVf. and identified as taken by the *Antiatt.* from Phrynichus [*sc.* *PS*], the relationship should be reversed'.

## 6 Conclusions

Taking into account the points discussed above, I suggest the following chronology: (1) individual books of the *PS* were published between the 120s and the 150s; (2) these individual books continued to circulate into the 160s and early 170s; (3) in the mid to late 170s the now ageing and increasingly polemical Phrynichus adopted a double-barrelled strategy for getting himself back in the public eye: (a) he published a consolidated edition of the *PS*, dedicated to Commodus, probably before 177 CE; (b) between 177 and 180 he composed and published the *Eclogue*, a coffee-table or *Reader's Digest* version, intended for browsing by more superficial or heavily committed readers, but readers who were πεπαιδευμένοι nevertheless. As a man who may have achieved some modest personal eminence and who had less to gain by exercising tact than in his earlier decades (and less to lose by being outspoken), Phrynichus allowed himself to be rude about several distinguished intellectuals, above all Favorinus, who like most of Phrynichus' targets, was probably already dead.<sup>48</sup> This criticism of several high-flying literary figures in the *Eclogue* contrasts with only a couple of such dismissals in *PS*, though of course our evidence for the original text of *PS* is very fragmentary.<sup>49</sup>

## Appendix: A tentative chronology of the *PS*

Book 1 to Aristocles on his birthday: perhaps before 129 CE, must precede 145/146 CE

Books 2 and 3 to Aristocles: also on his birthdays?

Book 4 to Iulianus when *cos.suff.* 129 CE

Book 5 to Menodorus

Book 6 to Tiberi[a]nus

Book 7 to Menophilus

Book 8 to Iulianus when *procos. Asiae* 145/146

Book 9 to (L. Cuspius Pactumeius?) Rufinus, *cos. ord.* 142

Book 10 to Aristocles – perhaps on his praetorship: must post-date 145/146

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the tense of δόξας at Phryn. *Ecl.* 228 which should indicate Favorinus is now dead: if that is so, this entry was written after *ca.* 155 CE (on Favorinus' dates see Trapp 2016).

<sup>49</sup> Criticism of second-century eminences in *Eclogue*: Plutarch (*Ecl.* 160, 243), Favorinus (16 times!), Lollianus (*Ecl.* 140, 141, 152), Polemo (*Ecl.* 140, 236 = 424, 396), Antiochus of Aegeae (*Ecl.* 170), Alexander of Seleucia (*Ecl.* 234, 324: note that Alexander was above all a pupil of Favorinus, Philostr. *VS* 2.5.576). In what we have of *PS* Phrynichus criticises only Favorinus (once: *PS* 66.13–7, on βρώσομαι) and Marcianus the κριτικός (cf. Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.101a.15–22 quoted above p. 28).

Book 11 to Menodorus: recent reading of the brilliant oratory of Aristides – so no later than *ca.* 150?

Book 12 to Reginus: perhaps the son of L. Catilius Severus Reginus, *praef. urbi* in 130s

Book 13 to Aristocles – perhaps on his consulate: must post-date 145/146

Book 14 to Basileides ‘the Milesian sophist’: must post-date 145/146

Book 15 and the remainder to Menophilus: must post-date 145/146

## Bibliography

- Alpers, K. (1981). *Das attizistische Lexikon des Oros. Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe der Fragmente*. Berlin, New York.
- Avotins, I. (1978). ‘The Sophist Aristocles and the Grammarian Phrynichus’. *PP* 33, 181–91.
- Blanchard, A. (1997). ‘Destins de Ménandre’. *Ktèma* 22, 213–25.
- Bowersock, G. W. (1969). *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Oxford.
- Bowie, E. L. (1982). ‘The Importance of Sophists’. *YCIS* 27, 29–59.
- Bowie, E. L. (2012). ‘Hadrien et Éphèse’. In: Hostein, A.; Lalanne, S. (eds.), *Les voyages des empereurs dans l'orient romain. Époques Antonine et Sévérienne*. Paris, 263–96.
- Bowie, E. L. (2016). ‘Doing Doric’. In: Sistikou, E.; Rengakos, A. (eds.), *Dialect, Diction, and Style in Greek Literary and Inscribed Epigram*. Berlin, New York, 3–22 (repr. in E. L. Bowie, *Essays on Ancient Greek Literature and Culture*. Vol. 2. Cambridge 2023, 394–413).
- Bowie, E. L. (2022a). ‘Greek High Culture in Hellenistic and Early Imperial Bithynia’. *Mnemosyne* 75, 73–112.
- Bowie, E. L. (2022b). ‘Greek Grammatici in the Roman Empire’. In: Favreau-Linder, A.-M.; Lalanne, S.; Vix, J.-L. (eds.), *Passeurs de culture. La transmission de la culture grecque dans le monde romain des I<sup>er</sup>–IV<sup>e</sup> siècles après J.-C.* Turnhout, 17–32.
- Cunningham, I. C. (2003). *Synagoge. Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων. Texts of the Original Version and of MS. B*. Berlin, New York.
- Easterling, P. E. (1995). ‘Menander. Loss and Survival. Ζώεις εἰς αἰῶνα (AP 9.187)’. In: *Stage Directions. Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of E. W. Handley*. BICS supplement 66, London, 153–60.
- Fischer, E. (1974). *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos*. Berlin, New York.
- Gerbi, G. (2022). ‘ἀκολουθεῖν μετ’ αὐτοῦ (Antiatt. α 122, Phryn. Ecl. 330, Σ<sup>b</sup> α 747 [= Phot. α 789])’. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/021>.
- Halfmann, H. (1979). *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.* Göttingen.
- Janiszewski, P.; Stebnicka, K.; Szabat, E. (2015). *Prosopography of Greek Rhetors and Sophists of the Roman Empire*. Oxford.
- Jones, C. P. (2008). ‘Aristides’ First Admirer’. In: Harris, W. V.; Holmes, B. (eds.), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*. Leiden, Boston, 253–62.
- Kaibel, G. (1899). *De Phrynicho sophista*. Göttingen.
- Latte, K. (1915). ‘Zur Zeitbestimmung des Antiatticista’. *Hermes* 50, 373–94. (Reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*. Munich 1968, 612–30).
- Mitchell, S. (2003). ‘Inscriptions from Melli (Kocaaliler) in Pisidia’. *AS* 53, 139–59.

- Puech, B. (2002). *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale*. Paris.
- Schamp, J. (1987). *Photius historien des lettres. La 'bibliothèque' et ses notices biographiques*. Paris.
- Slater, W. J. (1977). Review of Fischer (1974). *Gnomon* 49, 258–62.
- Strout, D.; French, R. (1940). 'Phrynichus (8)'. *RE* 20.1, 920–5.
- Swain, S. (1996). *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*. Oxford.
- Syme, R. (1983). 'The Proconsuls of Asia under Antoninus Pius'. *ZPE* 51, 271–90 (repr. in R. Syme, *Roman Papers*. Vol. 4. Oxford 1988, 325–46).
- Trapp, M. B. (2016). 'Favorinus, Sophist, Philosopher, and Man of Letters, c. 85–155 CE'. *Oxford Classical Dictionary online*. DOI: <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.2649>.
- Valente, S. (2015). *The Antiatticist. Introduction and Critical Edition*. Berlin, Boston.
- Wolff, H. (2000). 'Zwei anpassende Fragmente zu bekannten Militärdiplomen aus Künzing, Ldkrs. Deggen Dorf (Niederbayern)'. 42, 9–13. *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 42, 9–16.



Jacopo Cavarzeran

# ***Praeparatio onomastica?* Traces of onomastic arrangement in Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica***

## **1 Introduction**

Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* – or Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή, to give it its Greek title – was a vast work, comprising 37 books.<sup>1</sup> Although its bulkiness was a qualifying element, given that the lexicon surely contained numerous quotations from comic poets and other writers, it probably also sealed the work's doom. This once-monumental work is now divided across two distinct branches of tradition. One is indirect and constituted by the two different versions of the Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων – namely, Σ and Σ<sup>b</sup> – Photius' lexicon, and most probably other scholarly works (such as the scholia to Aristophanes and Euripides, or Stephanus of Byzantium), whereas the other is represented by the so-called 'epitome' included in cod. Par. Coisl. 345, the only known manuscript witness of the *Praeparatio sophistica* (hereafter, *PS*). This manuscript, which has been studied extensively in recent years,<sup>2</sup> dates to the second half of the 10th century and was probably compiled in Constantinople. It preserves several lexicographical works, including Apollonius Sophista, the *Synagoge*, Timaeus' lexicon on Plato, the *Anti-atticist*, Moeris, and the Herodotean *Lexeis*. The epitome of Phrynichus' *PS* occupies ff. 47r–64r in this codex and is introduced at f. 47r by the title ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Φρυνίχου τοῦ Ἀρραβίου τῆς Σοφιστικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς. This formulation, beginning with ἐκ τῶν, indicates that the contents were extracted and shortened from a more extensive work that, I shall argue, is not likely to have been the *PS* itself, because the so-called 'epitome' in the Coislinianus is in fact a roughly alphabetical arrangement of materials previously excerpted from the *PS*.

In any case, this 'epitome' likely does not reflect the original structure of the *PS*, which is now lost. Endeavours aimed at reconstructing the work's original structure – or, at least, at advancing a hypothetical reconstruction – are undoubtedly daunting. Nonetheless, attempts in this direction may yield novel and useful insights into the reconstruction of the lexicon's early history. To date, only Kaibel

---

1 This is the number given by Photius in *Bibl.* cod. 158.100a.34, but *Su.* φ 764, in the entry devoted to Phrynichus, preserves μζ' (47) or οδ' (74).

2 See the recent descriptions of the codex in Cunningham (2003, 16–8); Valente (2008); Valente (2012, 20–31); Valente (2015, 6–12). On the history of this manuscript, see also de Leeuw (2000).

(1899) and de Borries (1911, iii–xvii) have addressed this issue. Kaibel concluded that the original structure of the *PS* was thematic, similar to the one in the *Onomasticon* of Pollux; he then assumed that after Phrynichus’ death, to secure the work’s preservation and improve its searchability, the *PS* was heavily manipulated to produce an alphabetised lexicon. De Borries’ reconstruction was wholly opposed to Kaibel’s: essentially relying on Photius’ account, he rejected Kaibel’s reconstruction and concluded that the alphabetical arrangement that is still evident in the Coislinianus was imposed by Phrynichus himself. Although a satisfactory consensus on the issue may remain beyond our reach, a thorough analysis of the evidence will allow us to identify – if not a fully-fledged onomastic structure – then at least Phrynichus’ employment of some criteria of onomastic arrangement.

## 2 Photius’ description

Any investigation of the original structure of the *PS* will, at some point, inevitably refer to Photius’ description in the *Bibliotheca*. Photius’ significance lies in the fact that he was one of the final readers – indeed, the only such reader of whom we are aware – of a version of the *PS* that still extended, according to his description, across several books. He explains that the lexicon apparently followed an alphabetical arrangement;<sup>3</sup> several lines later, he reiterates that he read 36 books of the *PS* that encompassed material from alpha to omega,<sup>4</sup> and he concludes with the observation that all the remaining books after the 11<sup>th</sup>, up to the letter omega, were dedicated to Menophilus.<sup>5</sup>

While Photius clearly outlines a work that was alphabetically structured, the question remains as to how this information might be reconciled with his assertion that the *PS* extended over several books. Moreover, the Patriarch also reports that in the letter at the beginning of what was once Book 9, Phrynichus wrote that although it was Aristocles who was responsible for initiating this monumental enterprise, it was Rufinus who was to be credited with its advancement.<sup>6</sup> Kaibel, who argued for a thematically structured *PS*, rightly observed that it would

3 Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100b.3: κατὰ στοιχεῖον δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἡ συναγωγὴ.

4 Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100b.14–5: ἡμεῖς δέ, ὡς ἔφημεν, ἔξ καὶ τριάκοντα μόνους ἀνέγνωμεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ α περιλαμβάνοντας μέχρι τοῦ ω.

5 Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.101a.35–7: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σύμπαντες λόγοι, οὓς ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν, τῷ Μηνοφίλῳ πάλιν μέχρι τοῦ ω ἀνετέθησαν.

6 Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.101a.10–4: τὸν δὲ ἑνατον Ῥουφίνῳ, φάσκων αἰτίον μὲν τοῦ ἀπάρξασθαι τῆς συγγραφῆς Ἀριστοκλέα γενέσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ πέρας ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἄξιον ἔσεσθαι, ὅτι ἐντυχὼν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις τό τε χρήσιμον συνιδεῖν ἔσχε καὶ ἐπαινέσειε τὸν πόνον.

be counterintuitive for Phrynichus, who had arranged his material alphabetically, to have ceased the work's compilation at a random point.<sup>7</sup> Kaibel's idea is not irrefutable – we are not fully apprised of the methods of ancient lexicographers – but his observation merits some consideration. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Phrynichus implemented some kind of thematic structure; in such a case, he could potentially have paused his work at the end of a given thematic section rather than at a random letter. As such, the various pieces of information that Photius provides may perhaps be reconciled, as I shall argue in the next section.

### 3 The arrangement of the original *PS*: A consideration of some fragments

Before commencing the investigation proper, it is worth examining two longer fragments of the *PS* (comprising three different source texts) in a bid to discern the text from which Photius and those who compiled excerpts from the lexicon may have been working. Although these fragments offer no precise indication of the original format of the *PS*, their significance lies in their testimony regarding how the various elements of the work may have been arranged before they were then excerpted in the *Coislinianus*:

*PS* fr. \*6<sup>a</sup> 131.4–13 (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 145 = Phot. α 163, *ex* Σ'): ἀγῆλαι· τιμῆσαι θεόν, ἀγλαΐσαι. Εὐπολις Δήμοις· ἀναθῶμεν νῦν χήμεῖς τούτοις τὰς διττάς εἰρεσιώνας | καὶ προσαγῆλωμεν ἐπελθόντες. χαίρετε πάντες. δεχόμεσθα'. Ἀριστοφάνης Εἰρήνη· 'καὶ σε θυσίαισιν ἱεραῖσιν προσόδοις τε ἡμεγάλαις ἰδίᾳ πάντες, ὧ πότνια, καλοῦμεν† ἡμεῖς αἰέ'. Ἑρμῖππος Ἀρτοπώλισι· 'φῆρε νῦν ἀγῆλω τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖους† ἐγὼ | καὶ θυμιάσω τοῦ τέκνου σεσωσμένου'. Θεόπομπος Πηνελόπεια· 'καὶ σε τῇ νομηνίᾳ | ἀγαματίοις ἀγαλοῦμεν αἰὲ καὶ δάφνῃ'.

ἀγῆλαι: To revere the deity, to glorify. Eupolis in the *Rural Districts* (fr. 131): 'let us too now dedicate twofold branches of laurel to these, and let us approach and revere. Greetings to all. (A) We accept graciously'. Aristophanes in the *Peace* (396–9): 'we will always, †lady, call† you with holy sacrifices and great processions'. Hermippus in the *Bread-sellers* (fr. 8): 'come on now, let me †go and† revere the gods and burn incense, since my child has been saved'. Theopompus in the *Penelope* (fr. 48): 'and at the first moon we will revere you with little images and laurel'.

*PS* fr. \*6<sup>a</sup> 131.13–21 (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 145 = Phot. α 164, *ex* Σ' | Σ'"): ἀγῆλαι· τιμῆσαι. (Σ') | τῶν πάντων δὲ Ἀττικῶν ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις. καὶ ἀγῆλω καὶ ἀγαλοῦμεν ἐρεῖς καὶ 'ἀγαλλε' καὶ προσαγαλεῖ τὸν θεόν, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐξεται καὶ τιμήσει. καὶ ἄγω ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμῶ. τό τε οὖν ἄγειν καὶ τὸ ἀγῆλαι

7 See Kaibel (1899, 6–7).

Ἀττικά, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄγειν πολιτικόν, τὸ δὲ ἀγῆλαι κωμωδικόν καὶ ἐγγὺς γλώττης. φεύγειν μὲν οὖν χρή τὸ τῶν γλωττῶν. εἰ δέ γέ σοι εἴη ἀρχαίας φωνῆς σπουδὴ καὶ σεμνότητος λόγων, χρήσαιο <ἀν> τῷ τοιοῦτῳ χαρακτηρὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος. (Σ''')

ἀγῆλαι: To revere. The word is (one) of the most Attic ones. And you will say ἀγῆλω and ἀγαλοῦμεν, and ἀγαλλε and προσαγαλεῖ τὸν θεόν ('he/she will revere the deity') instead of εὐξεται ('he/she will pray') and τιμήσει ('he/she will honour'). And ἄγω instead of τιμῶ. Both ἄγειν and ἀγῆλαι are Attic, but ἄγειν is urbane, ἀγῆλαι has a comic colouring and is somehow obsolete; and you must avoid obsolete words. Yet, if you are interested in an archaic phrasing and in solemnity of expression, you could use this kind of vocabulary, Phrynichus says.

PS fr. 6<sup>b</sup> (schol. BV Eur. *Med.* 1027 Schwartz): εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι· Φρύνιχος ἀγῆλαι ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐξασθαι. καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει 'διὰ παντός, ὦ | δέσποιν', ἀγαλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς αἰε'. καὶ Ἑρμιππος Ἀρτοπώλεισι 'φέρε νῦν ἀγῆλω τοὺς θεοὺς ἰοῦσ' ἐγώ'. δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ τιμῆσαι. ἄγειν γὰρ τὸ τιμᾶν φασιν. 'ἐν πρώτοις ἄγω'. καὶ 'ἡγόμεν δ' ἄνθρωπος | ἀστῶν μέγιστος τῶν ἐκεῖ'.

εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι: ἀγῆλαι ('to revere') [is used] instead of εὐξασθαι ('to pray'), Phrynichus [says]. And in Aristophanes: 'we will always, lord, revere you' (*Pax* 398–9). And Hermippus in the *Bread-sellers* (fr. 8): 'come on now, let me go and revere the gods'. It also means 'to honour', since they say ἄγειν for τιμᾶν ('to honour'): 'I honour among the first' (*trag. adesp.* fr. \*445) and 'I was honoured there as the greatest man among the citizens' (Soph. *OT* 775–6).

The entries deal with the verb ἀγάλλω and contain the kind of information that one might expect from Phrynichus: fr. \*6<sup>a</sup> defines the form as good Attic and specifies that ἄγειν is more πολιτικός, whereas ἀγῆλαι has comic colouring and is considered obsolete. On the other hand, fr. 6<sup>b</sup> preserves roughly the same quotations but omits a greater part of the discussion. The two fragments clearly used the same source but extracted from it that which they deemed more fitting or necessary to their purposes, taking some liberties in selecting and rewriting the material. The source used by Σ' and Σ''', and the compiler of the Euripidean scholia<sup>8</sup> appears to be an entry of limited length that may have begun from a *locus classicus*;<sup>9</sup> it goes on to explain the use of ἀγάλλω and finally offers some short quotations in which it was employed.<sup>10</sup> No onomastic structure is apparent.

<sup>8</sup> It must be noticed that the last part of the scholium, the one quoting the *adespota* fragment and Sophocles, does not appear in B, but is transmitted by V only. For this reason, and also because M is not available for *Medea*, it is hard to reach any certainty on whether this part was already present in the ancient core of the scholia or is a later addition. It is not shared by other witnesses containing excerpts from the PS.

<sup>9</sup> It is not easy to determine from which *locus classicus* Phrynichus' discussion began. I think it unlikely to have been Eur. *Med.* 1027 (εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι): rather, the scholiast seems to have adapted the text of Phrynichus to comment on the tragedy.

<sup>10</sup> On the expansions of the *Synagoge*, see Cunningham (2003, 49–50). About the fact that the Σ branch and the Euripidean scholia most likely used different sources of the excerpts of the PS,

Some consideration of the scholium to Euripides' *Medea* that lies behind *PS* fr. 6<sup>b</sup> is warranted here.<sup>11</sup> This scholium does not appear to belong to the core set of Euripidean scholia – those that the subscriptions ascribe to Didymus Chalcenterus and to an unknown Dionysius<sup>12</sup> – but rather is later. I suggest that it belongs to a group of scholia that contain quotations from grammarians of the imperial age and late antiquity, the most recent of whom are Theodosius (late 4th–early 5th century CE) and his contemporary Helladius.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, this set of scholia, if they all have the same origin, may be dated to between the 5th century and the beginning of the 9th.<sup>14</sup> Phrynichus' presence in these scholia may lend support to the suggestion that the *PS* was already being excerpted and manipulated (as we can see in fr. 6<sup>b</sup>) at the time of the compilation of the *corpus* of Euripidean scholia as transmitted by the most ancient manuscript witnesses, such as B (Par. gr. 2713) and M (Marc. gr. 471).

Another significant fragment of the *PS* may be identified in Phot. α 808, a considerably longer version of *PS* 8.12–3 that was evidently rewritten and brutally abbreviated by either the compiler of the 'epitome' or by his source (this tendency towards abbreviation gives rise to concerns regarding the reliability of the materials in the Coislinianus).<sup>15</sup>

*PS* 8.12–3: ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ· σημαίνει τὸ πάνν ἐπαίρομαι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι τι ἢ ἀκοῦσαι.

ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ (Cratin. fr. 374): It means 'I am most excited to do something or to hear it'.

Phot. α 808: ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ· Κρατῖνός φησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης· 'Λακεδαιμονίων ὀργῶντων'. σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὀργᾶν <τὸ> πάνν ἐπαίρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι τι ἢ ἀκοῦσαι. καθόλου δὲ ποικίλως χρῶνται τῷ ὀνόματι· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βρέξαι, ὡς Ἀρχίλοχος. Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παίοντα ἐξελαύνειν καὶ μαλάττειν τίθησι. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Αἰγεί <φησι> τὸν Θησέα στρέφοντα καὶ μαλάττοντα τὰς λύγους ποιῆσαι δεσμά τῷ ταύρῳ. λέγει δὲ οὕτως· 'κλωστήρσι χειρῶν ὀργάσας κατήνυσε σειραῖα δεσμά'. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ μαλάξαι τῷ ὀργάσας κέχρηται. οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ τὸ μαλάξαι καὶ βρέξαι σημαίνει ἢ φωνή, ὀργᾶν λέγεται τὸ

---

see Favi (this volume). However, that the compiler of the scholia had access directly to the *PS* remains a very remote possibility.

11 Giulia Dovico's edition of the scholia to Euripides' *Medea* is due to be published shortly; for the time being, one must rely on Schwartz (1891, 137–213).

12 See Mastronarde (2017, 13–4).

13 Respectively schol. Eur. *Or.* 1525.08 Mastronarde; schol. Eur. *Med.* 613 Schwartz. See Mastronarde (2017, 25–6) and Cavarzeran (2016, 11–2), the latter of whom comments only on the scholia to *Hippolytus*, to which a philosophical-allegorical commentary was also added at a later stage (see Elsperger 1907, 46–7; Cavarzeran 2016, 15–22).

14 On the date of compilation of the present *corpus* of Euripidean scholia, see Zuntz (1965, 272–5).

15 See *ad loc.* Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 87).

σπαργᾶν καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ βρεχόμενα ὑποιδεῖ. θεατέον δὲ καὶ οὕτω τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς· ὀργάδες καλοῦνται πάντα τὰ ἀνειμένα εἰς ὕλην καὶ ἀνημέρωτα καὶ ἀργά, ὡς καὶ Σόλων φησὶν. ἀπὸ τούτου οὖν τὸ ὀργᾶν εἴρηται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνείσθαι πρὸς τὸ πράξαι τι ἢ ἀκοῦσαι. ἢ ἐπεὶ αἱ ὀργάδες ἀτμητοὶ οὔσαι αὐξουσιν εἰς ὕψος, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ὀργᾶν ὑψοῦσθαι καὶ ἐπαίρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκοῦσαί τι ἢ πράξαι σημαίνει. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ὀριγνᾶσθαι καὶ ἡ ὀργή ἐντεῦθεν γεγενῆσθαι, οἷον ὀρεξίς τις καὶ ἔφρεσις καὶ αὐξησης καὶ μετεωρισμός οὔσα τῆς ψυχῆς. συγγραφικὴ μέντοι ἡ φωνὴ ἢ ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ.

ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ: Cratinus says it (fr. 374), but also Thucydides: ‘the Lacedaemonians were eager’ (4.108.6). ὀργᾶν means to be most excited to do something or to hear it. Generally, the word is used in a manifold way, for it is (applied) to ‘to wet’, like Archilochus [does] (fr. 277 West). Aeschylus (fr. 435a) applies it to one who strikes in order to beat out or soften. Sophocles in the *Aegeus* (fr. \*25) <says> that Theseus made the bonds for the bull by twisting and softening withies. He says thus: ‘With the hands as spindle he softened [the withies] and made twisted bonds’. Herodotus in Book 4 (4.64.2) uses ὀργάσας for μαλάξας (‘making it soft’). Then, since the term indicates also ‘to soften’ (μαλάσαι) and ‘to wet’ (βρέξαι), ὀργᾶν can be used for ‘to swell’ (σπαργᾶν) and ‘to rise up’ (μετεωρίζεσθαι): for what is impregnated with water swells up. One must thus see the importance of this word: ὀργάδες are called all the [lands] let to wood, untilled and idle, as Solon says (fr. 91 Ruschenbusch). From this meaning therefore ὀργᾶν is used in the sense of ‘to let [someone] do or hear something’. Or because the ὀργάδες, since they are not cut, grow in height: for this reason ὀργᾶν means to be exalted (ὑψοῦσθαι) and to be excited (ἐπαίρεσθαι) to do something or to hear it. It seems to me that also ὀριγνᾶσθαι (‘to aim at’) and ὀργή (‘impulse’) come from this, since there is some kind of longing, aiming, increment, and rising in the soul. The expression ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ is suitable for prose.

The structure of this fragment is similar in some respects to that of the three examined above: it begins by quoting Cratinus before offering some sentences from Attic authors to demonstrate their use of the verb ὀργῶ and its various meanings; at the end, Phrynichus also provides an etymological explanation of the verb. In a circular fashion, he concludes by saying that Cratinus’ expression is συγγραφικὴ (‘suited to prose’). The two cases analysed thus far allow us to envisage a common structure consisting of entries that contain a *locus classicus* or a particular word that is then discussed; neither of these fragments appears to point towards a horizontal structure.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, however extensive and informative these examples may be, they do not tell the whole story; if we examine the entries of the *PS* from a broader perspective, several other aspects come to light.

<sup>16</sup> For a definition, see Tosi (2015, 623).

## 4 Possible traces of a horizontal structure in the *PS*

Any reflection on the *PS*' original arrangement must inevitably include a comparison with Pollux's *Onomasticon*. The *Onomasticon* is the only extant onomastic lexicon from antiquity, it dates to the same time as Phrynichus' work, and it was also dedicated to the same emperor, Commodus.<sup>17</sup> Pollux's lexicon, even if it is also generally considered an epitome,<sup>18</sup> is arranged around lists of synonyms or terms referring to the same semantic field in what scholars call a horizontal structure. In considering Pollux's work, it is thus possible to identify certain passages in the epitome of the *PS* that exhibit characteristics resembling those of an *onomasticon* in one way or another.

Book 5 deals primarily with hunting and wild beasts but concludes with lists of various unrelated synonyms. Pollux begins the book with definitions and synonyms for hunting and the adjectives derived therefrom (5.9–13) before addressing the locales in which one hunts or in which animals live (5.14); the names of their cubs (5.15) and of their skins (5.16); the terminology applied to the hunter's helpers (5.17); his equipment (5.17–8); and his tools (5.19–34, a very long section, largely omitted in the most part of textual tradition). He then continues by discussing the hunter's preparation (5.35) and ends with a list of other hunting-related expressions (5.36).

This section from Book 5 of the *Onomasticon* may be considered 'typical' in the sense that it clearly exhibits the kind of lexicographical mapping of several different aspects of hunting characteristic of lexicographical works conforming to a horizontal structure. In particular, it is worth emphasising the use of hyperonyms around which the lists of synonyms are organised:

Poll. 5.9: θήρα λέγοιτ' ἂν καὶ ἄγρα, καὶ κυνηγέσιον [. . .].

Hunting could also be called ἄγρα and κυνηγέσιον [. . .].

Poll. 5.14: τόποι δὲ τῶν θηρίων [. . .].

<sup>17</sup> An overview of this work can be found in Tosi (1988, 88–113) and Dickey (2007, 96), with additional bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> Tosi (1988, 101–3) identified traces of epitomisation, which primarily include quotations. It should also be noted that the process of epitomisation undergone by Pollux's text was mild in comparison to that which disfigured the *PS*. Moreover, Bethe (1900–1937 vol 1, v) overestimates the importance of the scholium that some manuscripts preserve at the beginning of Book 1 for reconstructing the process of epitomisation.

Places in which wild animals live [. . .].

Poll. 5.15: καλεῖται δὲ [. . .] ἔκγονα [. . .].

The offspring [of wild animals . . .] are called [. . .].

Poll. 5.16: καὶ τὸ μὲν [. . .] δέρμα [. . .] καλεῖται [. . .].

The [. . .] skin [. . .] is called.

Poll. 5.17: καὶ συνεργοὶ μὲν κυνηγέτου [. . .].

Hunter's helpers [. . .].

Poll. 5.17: **σκεύη** δὲ κυνηγέτου [. . .].

Hunter's equipment [. . .].

Poll 5.19: τὰ δὲ πρὸς κυνηγέσιον **ἐργαλεῖα** [. . .].

The tools for hunting [. . .].

Poll. 5.35: καὶ ἦδε μὲν ἡ **παρασκευὴ** μεθ' ἧς τὸν κυνηγέτην δεῖ παρῆναι [. . .].

These are the preparations the hunter must make [. . .].

Poll. 5.36: φαίης δ' ἂν στήσασθαι τὰς ἄρκυς, ἐνστήσασθαι [. . .].

You could say 'to set nets', 'to place [nets]' [. . .].

Based on this model, we can assess whether a similar structure may be found in the surviving material of the *PS* – or whether we can at least detect certain features that may be indicative of such a structure and, consequently, of Phrynichus' working method. As expected, this procedure requires caution and a certain degree of speculation. The next section should be regarded as an attempt to understand the work's original structure and the format of its entries (which differed substantially from those found in the Coislinianus, as mentioned above): it suggests a development of new approaches rather than a proper hypothesis. In this endeavour, the comparison with Pollux's *Onomasticon* plays a pivotal role.

The presence in the *PS* of generalising terms, such as τόπος ('place') and σκεῦος ('tool'), may suggest that the original *PS* might have been structured similarly to Pollux's *Onomasticon*, where such terms are also adopted extensively,



and that the epitome split lengthy discussions on a single topic (e.g., horses, land, ages) into several, shorter entries into several, shorter entries.<sup>19</sup>

### (1) τόπος

PS 5.3–10: ἀλινδήθρα· ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ καλινδοῦνται οἱ ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἐξακούμενοι τὸν κάματον. ἔστι τι ῥῆμα κυλίω, ὃ <οἱ> Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ α καλίω. εἴτα προσθήκη τοῦ δ καὶ ἐπεισ-γωγῇ του ν καὶ μεταβολῇ τοῦ τόνου καλινδῶ. <ἐκ> τούτου κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ κ ἀλινδῶ. καὶ ὥσπερ κολυμβῶ κολυμβήθρα καὶ στωμυλλῶ στωμυλλήθρα διὰ δύο λλ, οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ καλινδῶ καλινδήθρα καὶ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ κ ἀλινδήθρα.

ἀλινδήθρα: The place in which horses and asses roam, healing from weariness. There is a verb κυλίω, which <the> Attic speakers [say] καλίω, with an α. Then through the addition of δ, the introduction of ν, and the change of accent, [it becomes] καλινδῶ. From this [derives] ἀλινδῶ ('to make to roll'), through the dropping of κ. And, as κολυμβήθρα ('pool') [derives from] κολυμβῶ ('to swim'), στωμυλλήθρα ('wordiness') [from] στωμυλλῶ ('to chatter') with two λ, so from καλινδῶ [come] καλινδήθρα and ἀλινδήθρα with the dropping of κ.

PS 49.14–9: ἀνδροκτονεῖον· ὁ τόπος, ἔνθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκουσι. λέγοιτο δ' <ἄν> ἀνδροκτονεῖα καὶ τὰ τῶν δειμίων ἐνδιαίτηματα, ἐν οἷς τοὺς τῶν ἐπιθανάτων καταδικασθέντας καταχρῶνται. καὶ οἱ Διομήδους τοῦ Θρακὸς ἱππῶνες εἰκότως ἂν ἀνδροκτονεῖα, λέγοιτ' ἂν καὶ ὁ Κερκυών. καὶ ἡ Ἰταλικὴ δὲ Σκύλλα ἀνδροκτονεῖον εἶχε τὸ ἄντρον, ᾧ προσεπεφύκει.

ἀνδροκτονεῖον: The place in which human beings die. ἀνδροκτονεῖα might also be called the executioners' dwelling places, in which they kill those condemned to death. The stables of the Thracian Diomedes might reasonably be called ἀνδροκτονεῖα and so Kerkyon. Skylla in Italy had a grotto as her ἀνδροκτονεῖον, to which she clung.

PS 74.9–12: θυμέλη· νῦν μὲν θυμέλην καλοῦμεν τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου σκηνήν. καὶ ἔοικε παρὰ τὸ θύειν κεκλησθαι ὁ τόπος οὗτος. Φερεκράτης δὲ τὰ θυλήματα, ἃ πέρ ἐστιν ἄλφιτα οἶνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ μεμαγμένα, ὡσαύτως καλεῖ θυμέλην.

θυμέλη: We now call the stage of the theatre θυμέλη. It seems likely that this place took its name from θύειν ('to sacrifice'). But Pherecrates (fr. 247) calls the θυλήματα, which are barley-cakes kneaded with wine and oil, thus: θυμέλη. (Transl. Tribulato 2021).

PS 81.9–10: κληρωτήρια· <ὁ τόπος>, ἔνθα κληροῦνται οἱ δικασταί.

κληρωτήρια (Ar. fr. 52): <The place> where judges are elected.

<sup>19</sup> Terms like τόπος and σκεῦος are clearly often present in other lexica as well, such as in the *Suda*. However, on this occasion, the focus is primarily on Pollux's *Onomasticon*, a contemporary work to the *PS* and, in many ways, similar to that of Phrynichus. In any case, what is hypothesised is not merely based on the attestation or absence of a term, but on the presence of particular topics, perhaps recurring, in the discussion of a term or expression in what was the *PS*.

PS 113.1–2: τέλμα· ὁ **τόπος** ὁ πληρώδης καὶ κοιλώδης ἐκ τοῦ συνίστασθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ.

τέλμα (Ar. Av. 1593): The muddy and hollow place because of the presence of water in it.

PS 123.4–5: φορυτός· ὁ κοπρώδης **τόπος**.

φορυτός (Ar. Ach. 72): The place for dung.

PS 126.3–4: χορηγεῖον· ὁ **τόπος**, ἔνθα ὁ χορηγὸς τοὺς τε χοροὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς συνάγων συνεκρότει.

χορηγεῖον: The place where the choregus clapped his hands while assembling the chorus and the actors.

## (2) **σκεῦος**

PS 27.18: ἄβαξ· ξύλινόν τι **σκεῦος**, παραπλήσιον τοῖς δίσκοις.

ἄβαξ (Cratin. fr. 93): A wooden tool similar to quoits.

PS 33.15–6: ἀρύταινα· **σκεῦος** τι, ᾧ οἱ βαλανεῖς χρῶνται πρὸς τὸ παρέχειν <τὸ ὕδωρ>. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρύεσθαι, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀπαντλεῖν.

ἀρύταινα: Some kind of tool, which the bath-men use to supply <water>. From ἀρύεσθαι, which means to draw from.

PS 48.17–8: ἀρύστιχος· **σκεῦος**, ᾧ ἀρύονται οἶνον. ὁ δὲ κύαθος μέτρον τι.

ἀρύστιχος: A tool with which they draw wine. The κύαθος ('ladle') is a measure.

PS 70.24–5: ἐσχάρα· τὸ **σκεῦος**, ἐφ' ᾧ ὀπτᾶται κρέας ἢ ἰχθύς.

ἐσχάρα (Ar. V. 938): The tool on which meat or fish are cooked.

PS 87.1–6: λυχνούχος, λαμπτήρ, φανός διαφέρει. λυχνούχος μὲν ἐστὶ **σκεῦος** τι ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχον κέρατα, ἔνδον δὲ λύχνον ἡμμένον, διὰ τῶν κεράτων τὸ φῶς πέμποντα. λαμπτήρ δὲ χαλκοῦν ἢ σιδηροῦν ἢ ξύλινον λαμπάδιον ὅμοιον, ἔχον θρυαλλίδα. φανός δὲ φάκελός τινων συνδεδεμένος καὶ ἡμμένος, ὃ καὶ διὰ τοῦ π.

λυχνούχος, λαμπτήρ, and φανός are different. λυχνούχος is a kind of tool that has horns around and inside a kindled lamp which sends the light through the horns. λαμπτήρ is something similar to a small torch made of bronze, iron, or wood but with a wick. φανός is a bundle of some things bound together and kindled, which [word can be said] also with π.

PS 127.1: χέρνιβα· τὰ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας **σκεῦη**.

χέρνιβα: Tools for sacrifices.

PS 127.17: ψήκτρα· ὧ σκεύει ψήχουσι τοὺς ἵππους.

ψήκτρα (Ar. fr. 66): The tool with which they groom horses.

πρᾶξις ('action') may have been another hypernym; this time, it is of linguistic significance but has the same purpose. Greater caution is required in interpreting this term, however, given that this is the only place it appears in all of Phrynichus' extant works:

PS 33.12: ἄρτοπωλία· ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτή.

ἄρτοπωλία ('dealing in bread'): The action itself.

– Cf. Poll. 1.101: ἐκ δὲ τῶν τὰς ὕλας παρασκευαζόντων εἶεν ἄν ὕλουργοί, φυτουργοί, γεωργοί, ὕλοτόμοι, ὕλαγωγοί, ξυλουργοί, πισσουργοί, σμηνουργοί· καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ὕλουργία, ὕλοτομία, ὕλαγωγία, ξυλουργία, πισσουργία, κηπουργία, σμηνουργία.

Among those who provide the wood may be woodmen, planters, farmers, woodcutters, wood-carriers, carpenters, pitch-makers, bee-masters. The actions are carpentry, wood-cutting, wood-carrying, working of wood, making of pitch, gardening, beekeeping.

The breadth of comparison may be easily extended. Two passages in the PS are marked by terms for reproach or praise. This is also characteristic of the structure employed in the *Onomasticon*:<sup>20</sup>

PS 39.1–2: εἴ τις βούλοιο ἀποσκῶψαί τινα [. . .].

If someone wants to jeer at someone [. . .].

PS 101.12–3: πέλαγος ἡ πόλις ἐστίν· εἰ θέλοις ἐγκωμιάζειν πόλιν.

'The city is a sea': [Say it] if you want to praise a city.

One may reasonably wonder whether these entries might be extracts from longer sections that were arranged thematically. According to this hypothesis, the compiler rewrote these passages, placing a lemma at the beginning of each and roughly maintaining the definition that marked Phrynichus' topics: places, equipment, instruments, and actions.

Although these examples are useful for identifying the ways in which the compiler(s) approached the original text, we cannot rule out the possibility that the extant wording of these lemmas is instead very close (or even identical) to the

<sup>20</sup> This opposition is common in Pollux: see, for instance, Poll. 1.40–2; 1.178–9; 1.118–91; 1.194–7; 1.239–40; 4.34–7, but many more such cases may be found.

original *PS*, perhaps making only minor omissions. However, this is not the only possible approach to studying the presence of onomastic features in the *PS*. Another method is the collection of scattered items that deal with the same topic. This yields several interesting clusters, some of which would fit a kind of horizontal (or onomastic) structure reasonably well. Below, I shall collect and discuss the available evidence in support of this possibility.

First, several items of the *PS* ‘epitome’ contain definitions that can be applied to horses, tools relating to them, or activities performed with these animals:

*PS* 5.3–10: ἀλινδήθρα· ὁ **τόπος**, ἐν ᾧ καλινδοῦνται οἱ ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἐξακούμενοι τὸν κάματον.

ἀλινδήθρα: The place in which horses and asses roam, healing themselves from weariness.

*PS* 41.2–3: ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος τρέχειν <ἐάν> ἵππον· οἷον ἀπὸ χαλινοῦ ἢ ἀνευ χαλινοῦ.

<To let> a horse run with loose reins: i.e., with a loose bit or without it.

*PS* 45.11 ἄτροφοι καὶ ἀνάγωγοι καὶ λακτισταὶ ἵπποι· Ξενοφῶν.

Horses ἄτροφοι (‘ill-fed’), ἀνάγωγοι (‘ill-trained’) and λακτισταὶ (‘kicking’). Xenophon (*Mem.* 3.3.4).

*PS* 64.10: δακνᾶς ἵππος, δακνᾶς ὄνος· περισπᾶται.

A δακνᾶς (‘biting’) horse, and an ass, too: [δακνᾶς] has a circumflex accent on the last syllable.

*PS* 65.6–7: δυσγάργαλος ἵππος· ἐπὶ τῶν ψήχεσθαι δυσανασχετούντων τίθεται.

A δυσγάργαλος horse (X. *Eq.* 3.10): applied to those vexed at being groomed.

*PS* 69.4: ἐφιππᾶσθαι λόγοις· οἷον καταδραμεῖν. Κρατῖνος.

Ride a tilt at with words: i.e., inveigh against. Cratinus (fr. 389).

*PS* 76.14: ἱππίδιον· οὐ μόνον ἱππάριον.

ἱππίδιον: Not only ἱππάριον (‘pony’).

*PS* 77.16: ἵππουρις· ἡ τῶν Σατύρων οὐρά.

ἵππουρις: The satyrs’ tail.

*PS* 79.20: κριθώλεθροι ἵπποι· ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην ἐσθιόντων ἵππων.

κριθώλεθροι horses (‘barley-wasting’): [Said] of horses eating to no good end.

PS 85.19–86.2: λειπογνῶμων· σημαίνει τὸν μηδέπω τὸν ὀδόντα βεβληκότα, δι' οὗ ἡ ἡλικία τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τετραπόδων γνωρίζεται.

λειπογνῶμων: It means [the horse] which has not yet got teeth, thanks to which the age of horses and other quadrupeds can be known.

PS 98.1–2: ὀχεῖον· τὸν εἰς ὀχείαν ἀνειμένον ἵππον ἢ ὄνον.

ὀχεῖον ('kept for breeding'): The horse or ass let for the breeding.

PS 111.1–2: στόμις καὶ βίαιος ἵππος· ὁ μὴ πειθόμενος τῷ χαλινῷ.

A στόμις and violent horse (Aesch. fr. 442): one that is not obedient to the bit.

– Cf. Phot. σ 584: στόμις ἵππος· ἀπειθής καὶ βίαιος, ὃν τινες ἄστομον.

A στόμις horse: Disobedient and violent, which some [call] ἄστομον ('hard-mouthed').

PS 127.17–8: ψήκτρα· ᾧ σκεύει ψήχουσι τοὺς ἵππους.

ψήκτρα (Ar. fr. 66): The tool with which they groom horses.

– Cf. Poll. 10.55: τῶν δ' ἵππικῶν σκευῶν ψήκτρα.

Among the tools for horses: ψήκτρα.

– Cf. also Poll. 1.185, where ψήκτρα features among the tools for horses.

As we have seen apropos Pollux on hunting, the repeated element ἵππος in each of these lemmas could indicate their provenance from an originally unitary section on horses: these entries in the *PS* might therefore have been drawn from a list of synonymic expressions, such as those that are commonly found in Pollux's text. Next is an item (5.3–10) about a place (τόπος) associated with horses, followed by some verbs (41.2–3, 64.10), one of which is metaphorical (69.4); two items about the ages of horses (76.14, 85.19–86.2), similar to Poll. 1.182, which includes a passage on this precise topic.<sup>21</sup> The end of the list also includes an item

<sup>21</sup> Poll. 1.182: 'πῶλοι ἄβολοι, ἀβόλων καὶ τελείων οἱ μέσοι'– οὕτω γὰρ Πλάτων τοὺς δευτεροβόλους ὀνομαζομένους ἐκάλεσεν – τέλειοι. οἱ δὲ γεγρακότες ἀπογνῶμονες καὶ λειπογνῶμονες· γνῶμα γὰρ λέγεται ὁ ἀποπίπτων ὀδοῦς, τῆς ἡλικίας ὧν γνωριστικός ('Foals which have not shed their foal-teeth, those in the middle between foals and fully grown horses – so Plato (cf. *Lg.* 834c.1–3) called those which shed their teeth a second time – and fully grown [horses]. The old [horses are] ἀπογνῶμονες or λειπογνῶμονες, since γνῶμα is said of one losing its teeth, which is a distinctive sign of age').

about an instrument (127.17–8) used to groom horses, which also recurs in Poll. 1.185, in the above-mentioned section about horses, introduced using the term ἐργαλεῖον.<sup>22</sup> Considering these entries together, it is tempting to regard them as the relics (certainly abridged, most likely rewritten) of a longer section focusing on horses and associated paraphernalia and terminology; thus, the section may be said to be thematically structured and therefore similar to the section found in Pollux.

A comparable situation arises in relation to γῆ, ‘land’:

*PS* 10.7–8: αὐχμηρὰ γῆ· ἢ μὴ λιπαρὰ μηδὲ ἐπιτηδεῖα πρὸς φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν φορὰν.

Dry land: That which is not rich, nor fitting for the production of plants and fruits.

– Cf. Phot. α 3276: αὐχμηρὰ γῆ· ἢ μὴ λιπαρὰ μηδὲ εὐγείος μηδὲ ἐπιτηδεῖα πρὸς καρπῶν φορὰν καὶ φυτῶν. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

Dry land: That neither rich nor with a good soil nor suited to the crop of fruits and plants. Thus, Aristophanes (fr. novum).

*PS* 21.14–7: ἀθέως διέφθαρται· ἀντὶ τοῦ δεινῶς καὶ ἀπαιρητῆτος. Σοφοκλῆς ‘τῆσδέ τε | γῆς ὦδ’ <ἀκάρπως> καθεύς διεφθαρμένης’. οἶον μηδενὸς θεῶν ἐπικουρίας παρουσίας.

It was ruined by the anger of the heavens: Instead of terribly and unmercifully. Sophocles (*OT* 253–4): ‘of this land ruined with no fruit and with no gods’, i.e., there being no aid from any god.

*PS* 54.3: βῶλος· θηλυκῶς.

βῶλος (‘lump’): Feminine.

*PS* 54.13–4: βωλοκοπεῖν· τὸ τὰς βώλους τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἀρούραις ἐπανεστῶτας κόπτειν.

βωλοκοπεῖν (Ar. fr. 800): To break clods that have arisen in the fields.

*PS* 55.20: γῆ εὐήλιος· ἢ ἀεὶ ἡλιουμένη.

γῆ εὐήλιος (‘sunny land’, Ar. fr. 823): The one always exposed to the sun.

*PS* 57.1–3: γήπεδα· διαφέρει γήπεδον οἰκοπέδου. οἰκόπεδον γὰρ οἰκίας κατερριμένης ἔδαφος, γήπεδα δὲ τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προσκείμενα ταῖς οἰκίαις κηπία.

<sup>22</sup> Poll. 1.185: τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἐργαλεῖα, τὸ μὲν ἐκκαθαῖρον τὴν τρίχα πτερῶ ἐοικὸς ξύλον σπάθῃ, τὸ δὲ διακτενίζον σιδήριον πριονῶδες ὠδοντωμένον ψήκτρα (‘The tools for [horse-] caring are the σπάθῃ, a wooden [tool] to clean the hair similar to a wing, and the ψήκτρα, irony and furnished with serrated teeth, to comb’).

γήπεδα ('plots of ground') ([Aesch.] *Pr.* 830): γήπεδον differs from οικόπεδον ('building-site'), since οικόπεδον is the ground, once a house is thrown down, while γήπεδα [are] the little gardens which lie beside houses in cities.

*PS* 93.2–6: ὀργάζειν πηλόν τὸ διαβρέχειν. οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ὑγραίνειν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λέγουσι. καὶ ὀργάδα τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ ἀνιερωμένην γῆν, ὅτι ἐλώδης καὶ ἐνυγρός.

ὀργάζειν πηλόν ('to soften the land') (*Ar. Ach.* 839; *Eup. fr.* 266): To soak. So the ancient authors say 'to wet'. And ὀργάδα [they call] the holy and sanctified land, because it is marshy and wet.

*PS* 103.7: ποταμόρρυτος γῆ· ἢ διαρρεομένη ποταμοῖς.

Land ποταμόρρυτος: The one watered by rivers.

The three lemmas at *PS* 10.7–8, 55.20, and 103.7 contain the word γῆ and may perhaps pertain to a section similar to the following in Pollux:

*Poll.* 1.186: γῆ πεδιάς, γῆ ἄπεδος, λεία, ὁμαλή, ἄλιθος, ἱππόκροτος, ἱππόδρομος, εὐπορος. χωρία ἀφιππα, δύσιππα, ἄβατα, δύσβατα [. . .]

Flat land, even land, smooth, uniform, free from stones, sounding with the tramp of horses, rode by horses, easy to pass. Regions unsuited for cavalry, hard to ride in, untrodden, impassable [. . .].

At *PS* 57.1–3, the word γήπεδα (absent in Pollux's lexicon) was perhaps considered a derivation of γῆ. In this entry, διαφέρει might indicate the rewriting of a longer and more detailed passage. *PS* 93.2–6 deals with an agricultural activity, through which it explains the meaning of ὀργάδα as a noun for consecrated land (in this case, Phrynichus appears to link the words by their roots, which may represent an additional means by which he structured the text besides alphabetical order). Other entries about farming are found at *PS* 54.2 and 54.13–4, concerning the terms βῶλος ('clod') and βωλοκοπεῖν ('to break clods of earth'). In *Poll.* 1.226, βωλοκοπεῖν is included in a list of verbs denoting the tasks that one may perform on a farm, and it is not entirely impossible that Phrynichus might have continued the section on γῆ by describing the vocabulary of rural activities, as does Pollux.

A third group that may be isolated concerns definitions for an elderly person:

*PS* 57.4: γέρων ῥυσός· μαραντικός.

Wrinkled old man: Withered.

*PS* 59.7–9: γέρων στόππινος· ἦτοι λευκός καὶ πόλιος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ στόππινα λευκά εἰσιν. ἢ τὸν ἀσθενῆ δηλοῖ, ἐπειδὴ ἀσθενέστερά ἐστι τὰ στόππινα τῶν λινῶν.

Tow-y old man (*com. adesp.* fr. \*585): i.e., white and grey, because tow is white. Or it means a weak one, since linen-tow is quite weak.

– Cf. Phryn. *Ecl.* 229: στυππείνον τετρασυλλάβως οὐ χρή λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ἄνευ τοῦ ε τρισυλλάβως στυππινον ὡς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. ταῦτα φυλαττόμενός τις βελτίων καὶ δοκιμώτατος εἶη ἄν.

στυππείνον should not be said as [it were] of four syllables, but of three syllables without ε: στυππινον, as the ancient authors [do]. By guarding himself against [using] that, one might be regarded as better and gain considerable approval.

*PS* 76.10–1: Ἰαπετός· ἀντὶ τοῦ γέρων. <λέγεται δὲ> καὶ Τιθωνός καὶ Κρόνος ἐπὶ τῶν γερόντων.

Iapetus (Ar. *Nu.* 998): Instead of an old man. Tithonus and Kronos [were also applied] to elderly people.

*PS* 88.12–3: μονογέρων· τὸν μονότροπον καὶ δύσκολον γέροντα σημαίνει.

μονογέρων (*com. adesp.* fr. \*628): It means a solitary and unpleasant old man.

*PS* 114.1–2: τυφογέρων· τοὺς διὰ γῆρας τετυφωμένους καὶ ἐπικεκαυμένους.

τυφογέρων ('silly old man', Ar. *Lys.* 335, *Nu.* 907): Those demented and damaged in the mind because of old age.<sup>23</sup>

*PS* 114.3–9: τυμβογέρων· ἐπὶ τῶν πάνυ γεραιῶν, οἷον ὁ διὰ μακρὸν γῆρας τάφος ὢν καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωπος. τέσσαρά εἰσιν ὀνόματα τοῦ γέροντος, ὡμογέρων ὁ πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιροῦ γηράσας. εἶτα ὁ γέρων, ὁμωνύμως τῷ παντὶ γέροντι. τρίτου δὲ σῦφαρ – ἔστι δὲ σῦφαρ κατὰ γλῶτταν τὸ ἐνδύμα τοῦ ὄφεος – τέταρτος τυμβογέρων, ὁ τύμβου χρεῖαν ἔχων.

τυμβογέρων ('old tomb', Ar. fr. 907): [It is said] of very old men, [meaning] something like one who, due to his great seniority, is a tomb and no longer a man. There are four names for an old man: ὡμογέρων [is] one who grew old before his time. Then there is γέρων, a noun that fits any old man. [The name] of the third [type (?) is] σῦφαρ; σῦφαρ is a dialectal word indicating a snake's slough. Fourth comes τυμβογέρων, i.e., one who deserves a tomb.' (Transl. Pellettieri 2022).

Perhaps a considerable section of our supposedly onomastic *PS* dealt with terms for elderly people, most of which were comic or mocking (or, perhaps it was the case that only these seemed interesting to the compiler of the 'epitome').<sup>24</sup> Poll. 2.16 has a similar section, which also has several words in common with the *PS*:

<sup>23</sup> For ἐπικαίω as an *interpretamentum* of τύφω, see, e.g., Hsch. θ 977; Phot. α 3144 (= Phryn. *PS* fr. \*277).

<sup>24</sup> See Pellettieri in this volume.



Poll. 2.16: ἔπεται δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ κωμικὰ σκώμματα, Κρόνος, κρονικός, κρονόληρος, πρεσβύτερος Κρόνου, νωδογέρων, τυμβογέρων, μακκοῶν, παρανοῶν, παραγεγηρακῶς, παρφρονῶν, παραλλάττων, ἐξεστηκῶς ὑπὸ γήρως, παρακεκινηκῶς ὑφ' ἡλικίας, ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐλάφους βεβιωκῶς, ὑπὲρ τὰς κορώνας, ταῖς νύμφαις ἰσηλιξ.

In addition to these [expressions for old people], there are also the comic insults (*com. adesp.* fr. 751) Kronos, old-fashioned, old twaddler, older than Kronos, toothless old man, old tomb (τυμβογέρων), one who is stupid, one who has lost his wits, one who is superannuated, one who is deranged, delirious, one who is out of his senses due to old age, one who is disturbed due to his age, one who has lived longer than the deer, longer than the crows, one who is the same age as the nymphs. (Transl. Pellettieri 2022).

PS 114.3–9 in this list is particularly interesting. It begins by explaining the suggestive word τυμβογέρων; it continues with a list of the terms that can be applied to an elderly person, and it ends with the initial word again, τυμβογέρων. This ‘circular structure’ is also found in the fragment of the *PS* preserved by Phot. α 808 and analysed above. This material also suggests a horizontal structure in relation to the terminology that may be used for persons of a certain age. Indeed, items that deal with human age form a substantial group in the *PS*:

PS 1.1–3: ἀφηλικέστεροι· οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ὡς ἄπο τῆς ἡλικίας ὄντες. ἡλικίαν γὰρ ἔλεγον καὶ τὴν {καὶ} νεότητα οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. οἱ μέντοι νέοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νεωτέρων τάττουσιν.

ἀφηλικέστεροι: Old people, because they are beyond ἡλικία (‘youth’). Ancient authors called youth ἡλικία. However, modern authors apply it to younger people.

PS 65.20–1: ἔξηβον· τοῦτο καινόν· καθωμιλημένον τὸ ἔξωρον.

ἔξηβον (Aesch. *Th.* 11): This is original. ἔξωρον is currently used.

PS 75.19: ἰσηλιξ· καινότερον τοῦ ἡλικιώτης.

ἰσηλιξ: More original than ἡλικιώτης.

PS 91.1–2: νεολαία· ἔστι νέος λαὸς ἢ νεότης, παρ’ ὃ γέγονεν ἡ νεολαία.

νεολαία (‘band of youths’, Ar. fr. 73): νέος λαός (‘youth folk’) means youth, from which [comes] the word νεολαία.

– Cf. Phot. ν 138 and ν 139.

PS 113.3: τῆς νῦν νεολαίας· τῆς νῦν νεότητος, τοῦ νῦν γένους, ἐκ τοῦ νέος καὶ τοῦ λαός.

Of the νεολαία of now: Of the youth of now, of the kind of now. From νέος and λαός.

Pollux also deals with this topic: an entire section of Book 2 (8–18) encompasses definitions and synonyms for human ages from childhood to old age.

This similarity between the two authors is also evident elsewhere. We may further compare the treatment of trees in the *Onomasticon* and the *PS*:

*PS* 36.14–6: ἀκρόδρυα· οἱ καρποὶ τῶν δένδρων. δρύας δὲ πάντα τὰ δένδρα ἐκάλουν. <ἐλεγον δὲ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα καὶ μῆλα. Ὀμηρος> ‘αὐτῆσιν ῥίζησιν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνθεσι μῆλων’.

ἀκρόδρυα: The fruit of trees. They called δρύας (‘oaks’) all trees. <ἀκρόδρυα were also said μῆλα. Homer: > ‘with their roots and their fruits’ (*Il.* 9.542).

– Cf. Phot. α 855: ἀκρόδρυα· καρποὶ δενδρικοί.

ἀκρόδρυα: Fruits of trees.

*PS* 46.4–5: ἀμφιλαφὲς δένδρον· τὸ μέγα καὶ δαψιλές.

ἀμφιλαφὲς δένδρον (‘wide-spreading tree’, *Pl. Phdr.* 230b.3): The big and abundant one.

– Cf. Phot. α 1342: ἀμφιλαφές· κατάσκιον, ἀμφοτέρωθεν βοηθούμενον. δαψιλές· ἡ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλιστα ἀμφιλαφής· ἐν Φαίδρῳ Πλάτων. πολὺ δέ ἐστι παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς.

ἀμφιλαφές (‘wide-spreading’): Shadowing, abundant. ‘This plane tree is extremely wide-spreading’, Plato in *Phaedrus* (230b). It is quite common in tragic poets.

*PS* 58.7: γέρανδρυς· οἶον παλαιὸν δένδρον.

γέρανδρυς: I.e., an old tree.

*PS* 123.16–7: φυλλοχοεῖν· ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἀποβαλλόντων τὰ φύλλα. φυλλοροεῖν.

φυλλοχοεῖν: About trees shedding their leaves. φυλλοροεῖν (‘to shed leaves’, *Ar. Av.* 1480).

*Poll.* 1.231–6: καὶ μαραίνεται, σβέννυται, ἀπανθεῖ, φυλλορροεῖ, γυμνοῦται, ψιλοῦται. καὶ ‘φυλλοχόος μὲν’ ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν, ὡς Ἡσίοδος [. . .] ἀπαλοὶ δὲ ἔρεϊς καὶ ἄδροι, εὐφυεῖς, ὀρθοί, κεχυμένοι, ἀποκεχυμένοι, εὐφυλλοί, κομῶντες, ἀμφιλαφεῖς, ἀμφίκομοι, εὐκομοί, σκιεροί, εὐσκιοί, σύσκιοι, βαθεῖς, δασεῖς, βαθεῖαν ποιοῦντες τὴν σκιάν πολλήν, πλατεῖαν, ἱκανήν, ἀρκούσαν, ἀποχρῶσαν, δαψιλῆ, ὑπεραποχρῶσαν.

[Expressions for trees]: It dies away, it is quenched, it loses its blooms, it sheds its leaves, it is stripped, it lies bare. And ‘month of shedding leaves’ is the one which does that, as Hesiod says (fr. 333 Merkelbach–West). [. . .] You shall call [the trees] delicate, solid, well-grown, upright, which have lost their leaves, leafy, with massive foliage, wide-spreading, thick-leafed, with goodly foliage, giving shade, shadowy, thickly shaded, deep, thick, casting a deep and large shadow, broad, befitting, satisfying, sufficient, abundant, more than sufficient.

With the exception of *PS* 58.7 γέρανδρυς, all the items related to trees and their description can be found in the six chapters of Pollux’s text quoted above, which deals precisely with this topic. The items from the *PS* concern adjectives that may

be used to describe trees; they also include a passage on δρῦς in which Phrynichus reports the same doctrine found in the old scholia to Euripides' *Andromacha*.<sup>25</sup> The word δρῦς could be used to denote any kind of tree, information that Pollux does not appear to have provided. The verbs used to describe trees' loss of leaves are also identical in Phrynichus and Pollux, and we may conjecture that the *PS* contained a section similar to that in Pollux concerning the various terms used to denote this kind of tree.

A possible horizontal structure is also identifiable in *PS* 91.7–8:

*PS* 91.7–8: ὄνειρόμαντις, ἀστρομόμαντις, ὀρνιθόμαντις, ἀλφιτόμαντις· οὕτως λέγουσιν.

Interpreter of dreams, astrologer, augur, barley-meal diviner: So they say.

This entry consists of a series of compounds of μάντις. Again, the same arrangement can be found in Poll. 7.188:

Poll. 7.188: μάντις, ἀλφιτομάντις, ἀστρομάντις, νυκτομάντις, στερνομάντις, σφονδυλομάντις, ἀλευρομάντις· κοσκινομάντις δὲ εἶρηκε Φιλίππιδης, Μάγνης δὲ ἐν Λυδοῖς ὄνειροκρίταισιν ἀναλύταις'.

Diviners, barley-meal diviners, astrologers, night-foreteller, ventriloquists, prophesying from the spindle, flour-diviners; diviners by a sieve, said Philippides (fr. 38), and Magnes in the *Lydians* (fr. 4) 'diviners of dreams, interpreters'.

The original *PS* conceivably contained something similar, perhaps beginning with the word μάντις, exactly as in Pollux. However, the length and context of such a passage remains, unfortunately, indeterminate because the entry appears to have been heavily defaced and manipulated. The remark οὕτως λέγουσιν is not Phrynichus' explanation but is more likely to be a note added by the epitome's compiler, who probably meant 'Attic writers' and omitted direct quotations and author names that he found in the *PS*.

Two additional items may be cited to illustrate this typology of entries, the first of which contains a denominative verb and the second a synonym:

*PS* 45.16–7: ἀναμαντεύεσθαι· σημαίνει τὸ τὰ μαντευθέντα ἅπαξ πειρᾶσθαι ἀμάντευτα ποιῆσθαι.

ἀναμαντεύεσθαι: It means to attempt to make 'unprophesied' what has once been prophesied.

<sup>25</sup> Schol. MVGeTuNeVo Eur. *Andr.* 167b1: [ . . . ] Ἀχελῷον δὲ πᾶν ποτάμιον ὕδωρ φασὶν ὡς δρῦν πᾶν δένδρον καὶ ἀκρόδρυα πάντας τοὺς καρπούς ('They call Ἀχελῷον all the river water and δρῦς every tree and ἀκρόδρυα every fruit').

PS 77.3–4: ιερόπτης· ὁ τὰ ιερὰ ἐποπτεύων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαντεύμενος.

ιερόπτης: One who scrutinises sacrificed victims and makes predictions through them.

One topic that Phrynichus does not avoid and that is somewhat common throughout lexicography is animals' calls:

PS 58.14–59.4: γρυλίζειν καὶ γρυλισμός· ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν χοίρων φωνῆς. δι' ἑνὸς λ, καὶ οὐ διὰ δυοῖν. γρύλλος δὲ διὰ τῶν δυοῖν λλ ὀρχήματος εἰδός ἐστιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὀρχησις ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γρυλλισμός καλεῖται, γρύλλος δὲ ὁ ὀρχούμενος. ὧν μὲν οὖν ἡ φωνὴ γρυλισμός, προβάτων δὲ βληχή, αἰγῶν δὲ καὶ ἐλάφων μηκή, βοῶν δὲ μυκηθμός ἢ μύκησις, ἵππων δὲ χρεμετισμός, λύκων δὲ ὠρυγή τε καὶ ὠρυγμός. τὰ δὲ ῥήματα· μηκᾶται αἰξ καὶ ἔλαφος, βληχᾶται πρόβατον καὶ ἀκολούθως.

γρυλίζειν and γρυλισμός: They [are said] of the swine's call. [They must be spelt and pronounced] with a single λ, and not with two λ. γρύλλος, [spelt and pronounced] with two λ, is a kind of dance; the dance is called γρυλλισμός by the Egyptians, whereas the γρύλλος is the one who dances. γρυλισμός is indeed the call of pigs, βληχή ('bleating') [the call] of sheep, μηκή ('bleating') [the call] of goats and deers, μυκηθμός or μύκησις ('bellowing'), [the call] of oxen, χρεμετισμός ('neigh') [the call] of horses, ὠρυγή and ὠρυγμός ('howling') [are the call] of wolves. The verbs are: the goat and the deer bleat, the sheep bleats, and so on. (Transl. Gerbi 2023).

This entry in the *PS* begins by describing the pig's call and focusing on its orthography before proceeding to list several other animals' calls. This passage would be more fitting in an onomastic structure, such as that of *Onomasticon* Book 5 on the very same topic:

Poll. 5.86–8: φωναὶ ζῴων. κυνῶν μὲν ὑλακὴ καὶ ὑλαγμός καὶ ὑλακτεῖν καὶ ὑλακτοῦντες, καὶ κνυζᾶσθαι [ . . . ] λύκων δ' ὠρυγὴ ὠρυγμός ὠρύεσθαι ὠρύόμενοι [ . . . ] ἵππων δὲ χρεμετισμός χρεμετίζειν χρεμετίζοντες ἐπιχρεμετίζοντες [ . . . ] συῶν δὲ γρυλισμός γρυλίζειν γρυλίζοντες, καὶ γρύζειν γρύζοντες [ . . . ] βοῶν δὲ μύκημα μυκηθμός μυκᾶσθαι μυκόμενοι. οἴων δὲ βληχὴ βληχᾶσθαι βληχώμεναι. αἰγῶν δὲ μηκασμός μηκᾶσθαι μηκόμεναι [ . . . ].

Animals' calls. Those of dogs are ὑλακὴ ('barking') and ὑλαγμός ('baying'), ὑλακτεῖν ('to bark') and ὑλακτοῦντες ('barking'), and κνυζᾶσθαι ('to whine') as well [ . . . ]; of wolves ὠρυγὴ and ὠρυγμός ('howling'), ὠρύεσθαι ('to howl'), ὠρύόμενοι ('howling') [ . . . ]; of horses χρεμετισμός ('neigh'), χρεμετίζειν ('to neigh'), χρεμετίζοντες [and] ἐπιχρεμετίζοντες ('neighing') [ . . . ]; of swines γρυλισμός ('grunt'), γρυλίζειν ('to grunt'), γρυλίζοντες ('grunting') and γρύζειν ('to grumble'), γρύζοντες ('grumbling') [ . . . ]; of oxen μύκημα ('roar'), μυκηθμός ('bellowing'), μυκᾶσθαι ('to bellow'), μυκόμενοι ('bellowing'). Of sheep βληχὴ ('bleating'), βληχᾶσθαι ('to bleat'), βληχώμεναι ('bleating'). Of goats μηκασμός ('bleating'), μηκᾶσθαι ('to bleat'), μηκόμεναι ('bleating') [ . . . ].

The final sentence in PS 58.14–59.4 begins with τὰ δὲ ῥήματα, which introduces the related verbs, and gives an even greater impression of being a fragment extracted from a longer section. One might also suppose that the compiler interpolated the

text based on a well-known and widely circulating work, such as the *Voces animalium*, or based on other entries in Phrynichus' *PS*.<sup>26</sup> However, expanding the text does not appear consistent with the compiler's typical behaviour. *PS* 27.3–8 might also be considered a fragment of a more extensive passage dealing with the names of nymphs and may have been excerpted from a section concerned with gods or divinities, such as the first chapters of Pollux's Book 1:

*PS* 27.3–8: ἀντριάδες· <αἱ ἐν τοῖς ἄντροις διατρίβουσαι> νύμφαι, ὡς <αἱ> ἐν τοῖς νάμασι διατρίβουσαι Ναΐδες καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὄρεστιάδες καὶ <ἐν τοῖς δένδροις> ἡμαδρυάδες, <δρύας γὰρ πάντα τὰ δένδρα ἐκάλουν>, καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰς νομάς τῶν τετραπόδων ἐπιμηλίδες, ὅτι μῆλα ἅπαντα τὰ τετράποδα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

ἀντριάδες: Nymphs <living in the grottos>, like the Naiads who live in streams (νάματα) and the Orestiades, who live on mountains (ὄρη), Hamadryades, who live on trees (δένδρα), <since they called δρύας ('oaks') all trees>, and Epimelides, those [who live] in the pastures (ἐπιμηλίδες) of quadruped beasts, because the ancient authors call all quadruped beasts μῆλα.

Several entries in the 'epitome' of the *PS* are concerned with ordure and related terms:

*PS* 88.2–3: λάσανα· ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀποπατοῦμεν.

λάσανα ('potties', e.g., *Pl.Com. fr.* 124): As we [say], the [things] on which we defecate.

*PS* 98.7–9: οἰσπώτη· τὸ τῶν προβάτων ἀποπάτημα. τὸ δὲ τῶν αἰγῶν σφυράδες, ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ σφυρά ἐστὶν συμπελεγμένα.

οἰσπώτη (*Ar. Lys.* 575; *Cratin. fr.* 43): Sheep's dung. That of goats instead is σφυράδες ('twisted'), because it is intertwined like σφυρά ('ankles').

*PS* 123.3–4: φορυτός· ὁ κοπρώδης τόπος.

φορυτός (*Ar. Ach.* 72): The place for dung.

*Poll.* 5.91: ἐπέσθω δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ εἰς ἀπόπατον, εἰς ἀποσκευήν, εἰς εὐμάρειαν, εἰς ἄφοδον, εἰς λάσανα, εἰς κοπρῶνα. [. . .] καὶ ἵππου κόπρον φασίν, βοὸς βόλιτον, ὄνου ὀνίδα καὶ ὄνθον – Ὅμηρος δὲ ὄνθον βοῶν ἔφη – χοίρων ὑσπέλεθον, προβάτων οἰσπώτην, αἰγῶν σφυράδα καὶ σφυραθίαν καὶ σπύρδα, ὡς καὶ μυῶν μυσκέλενδρα.

To these terms, let us add: to the retirement, to the riddance, to ease themselves, to privy, to the potties, to the place for dung [. . .] They call the [dung] of horses κόπρος, that of cows βόλιτον, that of asses ὀνίς and ὄνθος – Homer (*Il.* 23.775) called that of cows ὄνθος –

<sup>26</sup> For the text of the *Voces animalium*, see Bancalari (1893); Festa (1893); Festa (1895); Bancalari (1896).

ὑπέλεθος that of swines, οἰσπώτη that of sheep, σφυράς, σφυραθία and σπύρδαρα that of goats, and μυσκέλενδρα that of mice.

In this case, too, by juxtaposing these three items, one might reconstruct a single and more detailed passage, again similar to that found in Pollux's Book 5, containing expressions to specify the action itself, the names of animal excrements, and perhaps also a list of places (as τόπος would imply), the only remnant of which is φορυτός.

To continue with fragrances, several entries in the *PS* deal with smells, most of which are unpleasant. The obvious exception is wine:

*PS* 37.1–2: ἀνθοσμίας οἶνος· ὁ ἡδὺς καὶ εὐώδης.

ἀνθοσμίας ('redolent of flowers') wine (*Ar. Ra.* 1150): Sweet and fragrant.

*PS* 60.11–3: γρασός· διαφέρει κινάβρας. γρασός μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δυσωδία, κίναβρα δὲ ἡ τῶν αἰγῶν καὶ τράγων.

γρασός (*Ar. fr.* 923): It is different from κίναβρα, since γρασός is the foul smell of human beings, κίναβρα that of goats and he-goats.

*PS* 91.3: νῆστις ὀσμὴ· ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀσιτίας τοῦ στόματος δυσωδία.

νῆστις ὀσμὴ: The foul smell in the mouth caused by fasting.

*PS* 97.21–2: ὀσμὴ· διὰ τοῦ σ μόνον, καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦ δ. Ἰώνων δὲ διὰ τοῦ δ.

ὀσμὴ ('smell'): Only with σ and not with δ. With δ it is Ionic.

– Cf. *Phryn. Ecl.* 62: ὀσμὴ χρὴ λέγειν διὰ τοῦ σ· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ δ, ὀδμή, Ἰώνων. παρανομεῖ οὖν Ξενοφῶν εἰς τὴν πάτριον διάλεκτον λέγων ὀδμή.

ὀσμὴ must be said with σ, since with δ, ὀδμή, is Ionic. So, Xenophon (locus not attested) commits an outrage against his own language in saying ὀδμή.

– Cf. *Phot.* ο 557: ὀσμὴ· ἡ δὲ ὀδμή Ἰακόν.

ὀσμὴ: ὀδμή [is] Ionic.

*PS* 106.11–2: ῥινώλεθρος ὀσμὴ (*com. adesp.* fr. \*657)· ἐπὶ δυσώδους ἐρεῖς.

ῥινώλεθρος ('nose-plaguing') smell (*com. adesp.* fr. \*657): You shall use [it] about a foul smell.

If one permits the possibility that these entries formed part of a single text, the result would not differ significantly from any passage of the *Onomasticon* dealing

with smells. In the following section, the smell of sweet wine and the two words κινάβρα and γρασός are explained together, as is also the case in the *PS*:

Poll. 2.77: καὶ οἶνος ἀνθοσμίας καὶ εὐώδης. εὐώδης δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρωμάτων πνεῦμα. ἡ δ' ἐν τοῖς τράγοις δυσωδία ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἐν ταῖς μασχάλαις, κινάβρα καλεῖται. καὶ γρασός δ' εἴρηται ἀλλαχοῦ τε καὶ ἐν Πόλεσιν Εὐπόλιδος.

Wine ἀνθοσμίας ('redolent of flowers') and εὐώδης ('having a bouquet'). εὐώδης is also the scent of perfumes. The foul smell of he-goats as well as that of armpits are called κινάβρα. Elsewhere, it is also called γρασός, also in Eupolis' *Cities* (fr. 258).

This parallel passage highlights the close relationship between Pollux's work and the *PS* (but this may also be said about trees or animals' calls, as demonstrated above); it may be that a thematic structure of this nature was a standard approach to dealing with certain subjects or that the two works were highly similar in some respects.

Additional examples of entries in the *PS* may be arranged by topic. Clearly, we cannot be at all certain that they actually formed part of a horizontal discussion. These entries include the following:

(1) Words related to the verb θύω or to sacrifices. In this case, we also have τόπος (74.9–12) and σκεύη (127.1). Meanwhile, one may also suppose that *PS* 74.9–12 belonged to an item on the theatre,<sup>27</sup> considering the discussion of the topic in Pollux<sup>28</sup> and in the entry in *Ecl.* 135:

*PS* 74.9–12: θυμέλην· νῦν μὲν θυμέλην καλοῦμεν τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου σκηνήν. καὶ εἶκε παρὰ τὸ θύειν κεκληῖσθαι ὁ τόπος οὗτος. Φερεκράτης δὲ τὰ θυλήματα, ἃ πέρ ἐστιν ἀλφίτα οἶνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ μεμαγμένα, ὡσαύτως καλεῖ θυμέλην.

θυμέλη: We now call the stage of the theatre θυμέλη. It seems likely that this place took its name from 'to sacrifice' (θύειν). But Pherecrates (fr. 247) calls the θυλήματα, which are barley-cakes kneaded with wine and oil, in this way: θυμέλη. (Transl. Tribulato 2022).

– Cf. Phryn. *Ecl.* 135: θυμέλην· τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι ἀντὶ τοῦ θυσίαν ἐτίθεσαν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐφ' οὗ αὐλῆται καὶ κιθαρωδοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἀγωνίζονται. σὺ μέντοι, ἔνθα μὲν τραγωδοὶ καὶ κωμωδοὶ ἀγωνίζονται, λογεῖον ἐρεῖς, ἔνθα δὲ οἱ αὐλῆται καὶ οἱ χοροὶ, ὀρχήστραν· μὴ λέγε δὲ θυμέλην.

θυμέλην: Ancient [authors] used this [noun] instead of θυσία ('sacrifice'), but contemporary [speakers] use it for that part of the theatre on which aulos- and cithara-players

<sup>27</sup> On the term θυμέλη in Atticist lexicography, see Tribulato (2022).

<sup>28</sup> See Poll. 4.123 ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ θυμέλη, εἴτε βῆμά τι οὕσα εἴτε βωμός ('In this [there was] also the θυμέλη, which was either a kind of platform or an altar', transl. Tribulato 2022).

and others perform. But you will certainly call λογεῖον [the part of the theatre] where tragic and comic actors perform, and ὀρχήστρα [the part] where aulos-players and choruses [perform]: do not call [either] θυμέλη. (Transl. Tribulato 2022).

PS 74.3–6: θῦσαι· ἀντὶ τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι. ‘θεοῖσι δὲ θῦσαι ἀνώγει | Πάτροκλον, ὃν ἑταῖρον· ὁ δ’ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς’. λέγει δὲ θυηλάς τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν τεθυμένων ἱερείων. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ τὸ θῦσαι ἀντὶ τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι.

θῦσαι (‘to offer by burning’): Instead of θυμιᾶσαι. ‘He ordered Patroclus, his companion, to make a sacrifice to the gods; he threw the θυηλάς into the fire’ (Hom. *Il.* 9.219–20). He uses θυηλάς to refer to the first offering of sacrificed victims. In Old Comedy also, θῦσαι was used instead of θυμιᾶσαι.

PS 74.7–8: θεόθυτα· ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ ἱερόθυτα καλοῦσι. Κρατῖνος, τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς θυόμενα ἱερεῖα.

θεόθυτα: What the many call ἱερόθυτα (‘sacrifices’). Cratinus (fr. 458). Sacrificed victims burned for the gods.

– Cf. Phot. θ 87: θεόθυτα· ἱερόθυτα.

θεόθυτα: [Things] offered to a god.

PS 127.1: χέρνιβα· τὰ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας **σκεύη**.

χέρνιβα: Tools for the sacrifices.

(2) The verb βαδίζω and its derivatives, perhaps from a section similar to Poll. 3.92:

PS 54.9–10: βαδιοῦμαι· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπελεύσομαι.

βαδιοῦμαι (Ar. *Ra.* 179): Instead of ἀπελεύσομαι (‘I will go’).

PS 96.1–2: οὐκ εἰμὶ βαδιστικός· οὐκ εἴθισμαι οὐδὲ μεμελέτηκα περιπατεῖν.

I am not βαδιστικός (‘good at walking’) (Ar. *Ra.* 128): I am not accustomed to walking nor am I exercised.

PS fr. \*238 (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1802 = Phot. α 2447): ἀποβαδίζειν· οὐδὲν πλέον τοῦ βαδίζειν δηλοῖ.

ἀποβαδίζειν: It means nothing more than βαδίζειν (‘to walk’).

Poll. 3.92: βαδίζει, βαδίζων, βάδην, βάδισις, βαδιεῖ. βαδιστικός παρ’ Ἀριστοφάνει, παρὰ δὲ Κρατίνῳ βαδισματίας, παρὰ δὲ Πλάτῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ βαδισμός, καὶ παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ ‘μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνουσιν’ ἀντὶ τοῦ βαδίζουσιν. πορεύεται, πορευόμενος, ὅθεν καὶ πορεία, καὶ πορεῖα τὰ ὁχήματα.



[He/she] walks, walking, step by step, the walking, [he/she] will walk. βαδιστικός ('good at walking') in Aristophanes (*Ra.* 128), βαδισματίας ('a good walker') in Cratinus (fr. 422), βαδισμός ('walking') in Plato the philosopher (*Chrm.* 160c.6), and in Thucydides (5.70.1) 'they march in time' (βαίνοιεν) instead of βαδίζοιεν. [He/she] 'goes, going, whence [derive] πορεία ('journey'), and πορεία are the carriages.

### (3) The root γραφ- and its derivatives:

PS 56.14–7: γραφεύς· καὶ ὁ ζωγράφος· καὶ γράμμα τὸ ζωγράφημα· καὶ {δὲ} γράμματα ἐπιστολαί· καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα, ὡς Δημοσθένης· καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς Ξενοφῶν.

γραφεύς ('scribe'): Also the painter. And γράμμα [is] the picture. γράμματα are also the letters and the decrees, as Demosthenes (21.147) says; and the treatises of ancient authors, as Xenophon [says].

– Cf. Phot. γ 196: γράμμα· τὸ ζωγράφημα.

γράμμα: Picture.

Phot. γ 203: γραφεύς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ζωγράφος· Δημοσθένης κατὰ Μειδίου· καὶ γράφειν τὸ ζωγραφεῖν.

γραφεύς: I.e., painter. Demosthenes [uses it] in *Against Meidias* (21.147). γράφω also [means] to paint.

PS 57.13: γραμματιστής· ὁ τὰ πρῶτα διδάσκων γράμματα.

γραμματιστής: The teacher of basic letters.

– Cf. Phot. γ 200: γραμματιστής· γραματοδιδάσκαλος.

γραμματιστής: Schoolteacher.

PS 82.13: καλλιγραφεῖσαι· εἰς κάλλος γράψαι.

καλλιγραφεῖσαι: To write beautifully.

– Cf. Phryn. *Ecl.* 92: καλλιγραφεῖν· διαλελυμένως λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι εἰς κάλλος γράφειν.

καλλιγραφεῖν: εἰς κάλλος γράφειν ('to write beautifully'), they say it with separate words.

Phot. ε 307: εἰς κάλλος γράφειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς καλλιγραφίαν.

εἰς κάλλος γράφειν: Meaning in good handwriting.

## (4) Derivations from ζυγ- ('yoke'):

*PS* 15.11: ἀριστεροζύγης· ζύγιος σειραφόρος, ὁ οἶσων τὴν σειράν.

Draught horse that draws by the trace only, the one that is going to carry the trace.

– Cf. Phot. σ 113: σειραφόρον ἵππον· <\*\*\*>.

Trace-horse: [The *interpretamentum* is missing].

*PS* 18.11–2: ἄζυξ· ὁ ἄζυγος καὶ μόνος. καὶ ἐστὶν κοινὸν ἄρρενος καὶ θηλείας.

ἄζυξ: The [horse] unyoked and single. It is the same for the male and the female.

*PS* 100.2: περιζυξ καὶ ἄζυξ· Εὐπολὶς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης.

περίζυξ ('spare') καὶ ἄζυξ ('unyoked'): Eupolis (fr. 474) and Aristophanes (*Th.* 1139).

*PS* 116.1–3: ὑποζυγιώδης ἄνθρωπος· ὁ μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως καὶ προθυμίας τι πράττων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρων κελεύσεως, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια.

A ὑποζυγιώδης ('like a beast of burden') man (*com. adesp.* fr. \*547): One who does not do anything by his choice and will, but by order of others, as the beasts for yoke.

– Cf. Phot. υ 200: ὑποζυγιώδης ἄνθρωπος· ὁ μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως καὶ προθυμίας τι πράττων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρων κελεύσεως, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· εἴποις δ' ἂν καὶ ὑποζυγιῶδες πρᾶγμα. Ἀριστοφάνης.

A ὑποζυγιώδης ('like a beast of burden') man: One who does not do anything by his choice and will but upon the orders of others, as a beast for yoking. You could also call an action ὑποζυγιῶδες. Aristophanes (fr. 751).

(5) Meat and associated terms. Phrynichus appears to have dealt with various kind of meat (*PS* 68.12, 91.13–4, and 112.3–4) and related tools (70.25), as indicated by the term σκεῦος. In this case, it is natural to think of Pollux's Book 6, entirely devoted to food and beverage. In this book, Pollux covers some of the same topics that may be found in the 'epitome' of the *PS*:

*PS* 8.10–1: ἀτμίζον κρέας· οἶον θερμὸν ἐκ τῆς χύτρας ἀνηρημένον, ἔτι τὴν ἀτμίδα ἀναβάλλον.

Smoking meat (cf. Pherecr. fr. 113.14–5): Hot [meat] taken from the pot, still emitting steam.

*PS* 68.12: ἐζωμευμένα κρέα· ἐζωμοποιημένα.

ἐζωμευμένα meat (Ar. fr. 606): Made into soup.

PS 70.24–5: ἐσχάρα· τὸ σκεῦος, ἐφ' ᾧ ὅπτᾱται κρέας ἢ ἰχθύς.

ἐσχάρα (Ar. V. 938): The tool on which meat or fish are cooked.

– Cf. Poll. 6.88: τὰ δὲ μαγείρου σκεύη χύτρας, λοπάδας, μολιβοδέτους ἐσχάρας.

The cook's tools [are] pots, dishes, braziers fastened with lead.

PS 75.18: θνησείδιον· μᾶλλον ῥητέον ἢ κενέβριον.

θνησείδιον ('carcass of an animal'): [It is] better to say [this] than κενέβριον.

– Cf. Poll. 6.55: τὰ μέντοι θνησεΐδια κρέα κενέβρια ἐκάλουν.

They called κενέβρια the meat of a carcass.

PS 91.13–4: ὀψάριον· τὸ ὄψον, οὐχὶ τοὺς ἰχθύς. οἱ δὲ νῦν τοὺς ἰχθύς <οὔτω> λέγουσιν.

ὀψάριον (Ar. fr. 45): The cooked food, not the fish. Speakers of today call the fish this way.

PS 112.3–4: τεμάχη· μόνον ἐπὶ ἰχθύων, τόμους δὲ ἐπὶ κρεῶν καὶ σχελίδος.

τεμάχη (Ar. Pl. 895): Only for fish, τόμους for meat and ribs instead.

– Cf. Poll. 6.48: ὠραῖα τεμάχη σκόμβρων.

Beautiful slices of mackerels.

Poll. 2.170: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἥτρου καὶ ἡτριαῖα τεμάχη οἱ κωμῳδοὶ λέγουσιν.

The comic playwrights (Ar. fr. 333) say also ἡτριαῖα slices of fish from ἥτρον ('belly').

Of the above passages, PS 8.10–1 proves particularly interesting for our discussion. Here, Phrynichus is quoting (with all probability) from a comedy by Pherecrates, in which the exact phrase – also preserved at Poll. 6.59 – reads καὶ δῖεφθ' ἀκροκώλια | ἥδιστον ἀτμίζοντα 'and well-boiled trotters deliciously smelling'. The word κρέας is thus not part of the *locus classicus* but is rather a generalising term introduced by the epitomator, because ἀτμίζον ('smoking, steaming') originally referred to the ἀκροκώλια ('trotters') in Pherecrates. The same can be said of PS 68.12, because Aristophanes' fragment, preserved also in Poll. 7.26, had κρεάδια ('morsels') not κρέα. This element, as mentioned above in relation to τόπος or σκεῦος, appears to be compatible with an onomastic arrangement: the original PS may have included a section or an entry on meat, from which the epitomator extracted some interesting definitions and assigned to them a more common term and an explanation drawn from Phrynichus' work.

## (6) Lamps and related expressions:

PS 34.5: ἀπομύξαι λύχνον.

Wipe the lamp (*com. adesp.* fr. \*571).

PS 80.11–2: κατακοιμίζειν τὸν λύχνον ἀντὶ τοῦ σβεννύναι.

To lull a lamp to sleep (Phryn.Com. fr. 24) instead of turning it off.

PS 86.21–87.6: λυχνίον· οἱ ἀμαθεῖς λυχνίαν αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν. λυχνοῦχος, λαμπτήρ, φανός διαφέρει. λυχνοῦχος μὲν ἐστὶ **σκεῦός** τι ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχον κέρατα, ἐνδον δὲ λύχνον ἡμμένον, διὰ τῶν κεράτων τὸ φῶς πέμποντα. λαμπτήρ δὲ χαλκοῦν ἢ σιδηροῦν ἢ ξύλινον λαμπάδιον ὅμοιον, ἔχον θρυαλλίδα. φανός δὲ φάκελός τινων συνδεδεμένος καὶ ἡμμένος, ὃ καὶ διὰ τοῦ π.

λυχνίον: The uneducated call the λυχνία ('lampstand') in this way. λυχνοῦχος, λαμπτήρ, and φανός are different. λυχνοῦχος is a kind of tool that has horns around and inside a kindled lamp which sends the light through the horns. λαμπτήρ is a similar small torch made of bronze, iron or wood having a wick. φανός is a bundle of some things bound together and kindled, which [word can be said] also with π.

– Cf. Phryn. *Ecl.* 37: φανός ἐπὶ τῆς λαμπάδος, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ κερατίνου λέγε· τοῦτο δὲ λυχνοῦχον.

Say φανός for the lamps, but not for those made of horn.

Σ λ 170 = Phot. λ 492: λυχνοῦχος· φανός, λαμπτήρ.

λυχνοῦχος: Torch, lantern.

Phot. λ 490: λυχνίον λεκτέον, οὐχὶ λυχνίαν.

One must say λυχνίον, not λυχνίαν.

The words λυχνοῦχος, λαμπτήρ, and φανός at PS 86.21–87.6 are also discussed in a single passage in Pollux:

Poll. 6.103: λύχνοι δὲ καὶ λυχνία· οὕτω δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο αἱ λυχναί, καὶ λυχνοῦχος ὁ νῦν φανός, καὶ λαμπάς καὶ λαμπτήρ καὶ φανοὶ καὶ δᾶδες [. . .].

λύχνοι and λυχνία too. The λυχναί ('lampstands') were called so, and λυχνοῦχος [was] the object which [is] now [called] φανός ('torch'), and λαμπάς, λαμπτήρ and φανοὶ and δᾶδες [. . .].

(7) The head. At first glance, the three items from the PS listed below may appear unrelated, but, if we compare them with Pollux, it becomes evident that, in the *Ono-*

*masticon*, the same elements formed part of a section about the head in Book 2 (which deals with human beings and human body): Poll. 2.42–3 has the title *ὀνόματα ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς*, whereas 2.41 has *κεφαλῆς νοσήματα*.

PS 65.22–66.4: *ἐτερεγκεφαλεῖν*· τὸ ἐγκέφαλον ἕτερον καὶ μὴ τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν. ἢ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος διμερὴς ἐστίν, εἰκὸς εἰρῆσθαι τὸ ἐτερεγκεφαλεῖν οἷον τὸ μὴ ὀλόκληρον ἔχειν τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ. καὶ γὰρ ἡμικεφαλεῖν <\*\*\*>.

*ἐτερεγκεφαλεῖν* (Ar. fr. 821): To have an abnormal brain and not one that is natural. Or because the brain is divided into two parts, it is reasonable to say *ἐτερεγκεφαλεῖν*, meaning to not have the entire brain but only half of it. And *ἡμικεφαλεῖν* <\*\*\*>.

PS 78.12–4: *κραিপάλῃ*· ἢ ἀφ’ ἑσπέρας ἄχρι εἰς ὄρθρον πόσις καὶ παραφορὰ τῆς διανοίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλλιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν διασεῖν, τὴν κεφαλὴν.

*κραিপάλῃ* (‘drunken headache’, Ar. *Ach.* 277): Drinking from evening to dawn and insanity. [It comes] from *πάλλιν*, which means to shake violently, the head.

PS 85.5: *κυνοκέφαλος*· διὰ τῶν δυοῖν λλ οἱ Ἀττικοί.

*κυνοκέφαλος* (‘dog-headed’, Ar. *Eq.* 417): Attic [authors say it] with λλ.

– Cf. Phot. κ 1216: *κυνοκέφαλ<λ>ον*· ἐν τοῖς δύο λλ λέγουσιν. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

They say *κυνοκέφαλ<λ>ον* with two λλ . So Aristophanes (*Eq.* 417).

Poll. 2.41–3: εἰρήκασι δὲ οἱ κωμικοὶ καὶ ‘κατωκάρα κρέματα’ καὶ ‘*κραιπαλᾶν*’. [. . .] *ἐτερεγκεφαλᾶν*, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης τὸ παραφρονεῖν. [. . .] καὶ μὴν ὀνομάζοιτ’ ἂν τις εὐκέφαλος, ἢ ὀξύκεφαλος, ὃν Ὅμηρον καλεῖ φοξόν, ἢ μακροκέφαλος ὡς τὸ περὶ Λιβύην ἔθνος, ἢ *κυνοκέφαλος* ὡς τὸ ζῶον, ἢ εὐρυμέτωπος ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδης.

Comic playwrights said ‘hung κατωκάρα (‘to head downwards’) and *κραιπαλᾶν* (‘to have a sick headache after a debauch’) [. . .] *ἐτερεγκεφαλᾶν* ‘to be deranged’ like Aristophanes (fr. 821) [. . .]. One could be called *εὐκέφαλος* (‘with a good head’) or *ὀξύκεφαλος* (‘with a pointed head’), whom Homer calls *φοξός* (‘pointed’), or *μακροκέφαλος* (‘long headed’), like the people in Libya, or *κυνοκέφαλος* (‘dog-headed’), like the animal, or *εὐρυμέτωπος* (‘broad-fronted’) like Alcibiades.

It would not be surprising if a conspicuous portion of the *PS* included an examination of words and expressions relating to the human body.

Finally, it is noteworthy that both the *PS* and Pollux discuss how the swarm and the ἔργα (another marker used in the *Onomasticon* as well) of the industrious bees should be named.

PS 34.9–10: ἀνθρήνιον· τὸ τῶν μελιττῶν *κηρίον*. καὶ ἀνθρήναι αἱ μέλιτται.

*ἀνθρήνιον* (Ar. *V.* 1080): Bees’ honeycomb. And ἀνθρήναι [are] the bees.

– Cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1406: ἀνθρήνη, ὃ καὶ ἀνθρήνιον λέγουσιν· σφηκὶ παραπλήσιον ἢ μελίσση. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ κηρίον αὐτῶν ἀνθρήνιον.

ἀνθρήνη, which they also call ἀνθρήνιον, nearly equal for a wasp or a bee. They also call ἀνθρήνιον their honeycomb.

PS 66.5: ἐσμός μελισσῶν καὶ **σμῆνος** μελισσῶν· ἄμφω δόκιμα.

ἐσμός ('swarm') of bees and σμῆνος ('swarm') of bees: Both [are] acceptable.

PS 110.14: σμῆνος καὶ ἐσμός· ἐκάτερον δόκιμον.

ἐσμός ('swarm') and σμῆνος ('swarm'): Both [are] acceptable.

Poll. 1.254: ἐρεῖς δὲ **σμῆνος** τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μελιττῶν· ὁ δὲ τόπος σίμβλοι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον μελιττουργεῖν· βλίττειν δὲ τὸ καπνίζειν τὰς μελίττας καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναχωρεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἄρχων τοῦ σμήνου ἡγεμών καὶ βασιλεὺς, ᾧ τὸ πᾶν ἔπεται. τὰ δὲ ἐκγονα σχαδόνες, τὸ δὲ ἀργὸν ἔθνος κηφῆνες. τὰ δὲ ἀγγεῖα κύτταροι. τὸν δὲ μελιττουργοῦντα καπνίζειν δεῖ, ὅπως ἀνασοβῇ τὰς μελίττας, τὸ γὰρ κέντρον οὐκ εὐφορον. ὁ δὲ ἥχος τῶν μελιττῶν βόμβος, καὶ βομβεῖν τὸ ἡγεῖν. τὰ δὲ **ἔργα κηρία**, μέλι, μελίκηρα. εἰσὶ δὲ σχαδόνες καὶ ἐδώδιμοι.

You shall call σμῆνος ('swarm') the mass of bees, the place σίμβλοι ('beehives'), the action μελιττουργεῖν ('to be a bee master'); βλίττειν [means] to puff smoke at bees and make them go away. The chief, which the whole swarm follows, [is called] ἡγεμών ('leader') or βασιλεὺς ('king'). σχαδόνες are the offspring, the idle ones are the κηφῆνες, the beds are κύτταροι ('cells'). The bee master must καπνίζειν ('to puff smoke') to scare the bees, since the sting is not good. The sound of the bees is βόμβος, and βομβεῖν. Their products are κηρία ('honeycomb'), μέλι ('honey'), μελίκηρα ('honeycomb'), the σχαδόνες ('offspring') are also edible.

It should be noted that, here, Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1406 offers a more complete text of the 'epitome' for PS 34.9–10 than the Coislinianus and should thus be considered a fragment of the *PS*. From a broader perspective, this suggests the following:

- (1) The indirect tradition is important, if not essential, for reconstructing the text of the *PS*.
- (2) The compiler(s) of excerpts apparently did not feel compelled to respect the original text of the *PS*, and the epitomiser at work on the *PS* material preserved in the Coislinianus has an undisputable inclination towards shortening. Moreover, PS 66.5 and 110.14 say the same thing, albeit using slightly different words. On this basis, we may make the following mutually exclusive suppositions:
  - (i) This information was duplicated in the original *PS* and so in the epitome.
  - (ii) The epitomator of the Coislinianus duplicated the same material to create more individual entries for each lemma or simply because of carelessness; according to the first hypothesis, the phrases ἄμφω δόκιμα and

ἐκάτερον δόκιμον were added while they summarised what they were reading.

- (iii) The epitomator of the Coislinianus (and perhaps other compilers of excerpts before him) had access to different collections of excerpts, in which the same text was presented in slightly different ways.

## 5 Conclusions

We might now draw some provisional conclusions, again bearing in mind that such conclusions are hypothetical and that much more work is required on Phrynichus' lexicon before more reliable conclusions can be reached. As noted above, the structure of the 'epitome' in the Coislinianus is likely not the original but rather a further abbreviated version of previously shortened material that was also woven into the *Synagoge* tradition. The epitome's compiler also appears to have rewritten and broken up the text to which he had access.

Regarding the question of whether the *PS* had a horizontal or an alphabetical structure, Photius mentions an alphabetical order; however, as noted in Section 2, his account raises several problems. In my opinion, the long passages reported by Photius, Σ', and Σ''' that were examined at the beginning of this paper would fit an alphabetical collection consisting of short or medium-sized entries better than the thematic structure envisaged by Kaibel. These passages admittedly represent the most ancient stage of the *PS* that we might attempt to restore.

Meanwhile, we cannot easily disregard the clues assembled hitherto: some items do have a thematic focus and – at the level of the individual entries – at least an onomastic structure is not incompatible with the alphabetical one. Other entries, if considered together, would fit such an organisation very well. These *PS* entries reveal not negligible parallels with the contemporary *Onomasticon* of Pollux, with which the *PS* shares – notwithstanding some differences – an interest in correct Attic. Clearly, reading the *PS* through the lens of the *Onomasticon* risks distorting what remains of the former. At the present state of knowledge, it is not possible to offer a clear response to the question of whether an onomastic *PS* ever existed. If nothing else, there are several reasons to doubt that the original lexicon was wholly alphabetical in its arrangement, although the reasons to deny it are insufficient.

In this respect, three different suggestions may be proposed to reconcile the two structures' coexistence:

(A) The original *PS* was arranged thematically. We know that this work and the *Onomasticon* share the same purpose (i.e., the description of correct language), are of approximately the same date, and have the same addressee. As we have also just seen, they probably dealt with the same topics in a similar way. Why, then, should they not share the same structure? Clearly, it is impossible to establish whether each book was about a specific subject, as Kaibel suggests, but we might nonetheless envisage something comparable to Pollux's *Onomasticon*, at least to some extent. One might then assume that the entire work was subsequently arranged in alphabetical order and shortened so that it would be easier to consult, and this was the version that Photius and the *Synagoge* compilers read and used.

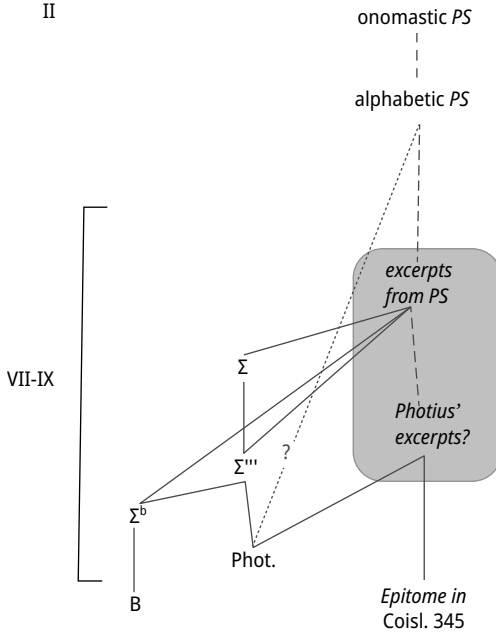
As a loose parallel, we may compare the trajectory of the Herodotean *Lexeis*, transmitted in two versions (one by cod. Par. Coisl. 345): the first is older and ordered by book, whereas the second is more recent and ordered by letter, although the comparison is not entirely flawless.<sup>29</sup> This hypothesis might explain why, in what remains of the *PS*, it is possible to encounter signs of both a horizontal structure and structures that suggest an alphabetical arrangement (see Figure 1). Both would be remnants of previous but different stages of the *PS*. The period of this rewriting should be confined to between the late 2nd and the end of the 8th century CE or the first decades of the 9th century (essentially before the compilation of  $\Sigma$ ).<sup>30</sup> This large gap might be restricted if we suppose that the scholium to Euripides' *Medea* (which apparently consulted the same text as  $\Sigma'$ ) belongs to the same set of scholia quoting Theodosius and Helladius (see Section 3). Therefore, a period around the 5th–6th century CE seems reasonable because it was during this period that Pseudo-Cyril's and Hesychius' lexica – both of which were alphabetical – were compiled. However, the rewriting could have also happened later, though perhaps not much earlier than the compilation of  $\Sigma$ , i.e. at the beginning of the 9th century, the same period when the textual state of the Euripidean scholia was established in the form we know today.<sup>31</sup> This entire scenario includes several problematic aspects that warrant closer inspection and, if possible, proof to avoid the risk of proposing an excessively inventive and partial reconstruction. In any case, were this reconstruction correct, it would be difficult to go beyond this hypothetical alphabetical *PS*, given that the preserved material would have been drawn from it and not from the original version.

<sup>29</sup> On these Λέξεις, see Dickey (2007, 53–4); Montana (2015).

<sup>30</sup> See Cunningham (2003, 49).

<sup>31</sup> See Zuntz (1965, 272–5).





**Figure 1:** Representation of the possible transmission of the *PS*, positing the existence of an onomastic and an alphabetic redaction.

(B) One might alternatively assume the existence of just one *PS* that was alphabetically arranged, with each entry including a lemma that might be a *locus classicus* or a specific word that the verbose Phrynichus treated extensively (see Figure 2). However, commentary of this nature was considerably broader than that which we now find in the indirect tradition or in the epitome. Sometimes, it presented a horizontal structure within the entries; such an arrangement is now clearly lost in most entries, given that these original entries were later shortened and excerpted (on more than one occasion, we may suppose, and perhaps also by Photius' circle or Photius himself) before they were included in lexica, such as  $\Sigma'$  and the work of Photius.

Concerning the involvement of the Patriarch, the marginal note in the left margin of f. 50v of the Coislinianus manuscript should be afforded some consideration. It says μικροῦ δεῖν με καὶ τοῦτο παρέδραμεν ἀκάτια (*sic*) τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάζεσθαι ὧ φίλων ἄριστε καὶ ἐπέκεινα (*sic*) φίλων Ταράσιε 'I almost forgot this too, that people are called ἀκάτια, ο Tarasius, the best of friends and more than a friend'. De Borries suggested that the Tarasius mentioned here might be Photius' brother and that the scholar engaged in excerpting the *PS* and writing

this note might therefore have been a close acquaintance of the Patriarch.<sup>32</sup> This supposition has not encountered much favour, given that the name was reasonably common at the time.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, this short note testifies to the work that an anonymous compiler was undertaking on the *PS*, a work that probably involved the excerpting of the material related to ἀκάρτια (*PS* 31.7). The note was written in the margins, and there it might have remained in later copies, including the Coislinianus. For purely economic reasons, I do not wholly disregard the suggestion that this note mentions Photius' brother: the Patriarch undeniably read the *PS* and used it as source for his lexicon, either directly or – as I am inclined to believe – in the form of excerpts.<sup>34</sup> Photius may have performed this operation on the excerpts with the assistance of his brother and several other associates. Moreover, it seems likely that only very few people had access to or were interested in Phrynichus' lexicon, and the presence of the exact name Tarasius might not be a mere coincidence. Admittedly, this assumption cannot be demonstrated – the evidence is too thin and the foundation too slippery – but it warrants greater credence nonetheless.

(C) The *PS* had some sort of hybrid structure. Schönemann's speculation regarding Pamphilus' bulky Περί γλωσσῶν might also be applicable to Phrynichus' *PS*.<sup>35</sup> Schönemann advanced two hypotheses. The first was that Pamphilus' work was divided into thematic sections, just like an *onomasticon*, but the words were alphabetically ordered within these sections; unfortunately, such a theory is not easily reconciled with what Photius says in his description of the *PS* in his *Bibliotheca*. If the Patriarch is ambiguous in stating that he 'read thirty-six books, which encompass material from alpha to omega', with his addition that 'all the remaining books, which we have read, are dedicated once more to Menophilus, as far as omega', he inarguably implies that the books he read began with alpha and finished with omega and not that each book had an internal alphabetical arrangement.

The second hypothesis is that Pamphilus' lexicon was conceived of as divided into two sections, one ordered κατὰ στοιχεῖον and the other as an *onomasticon*.

---

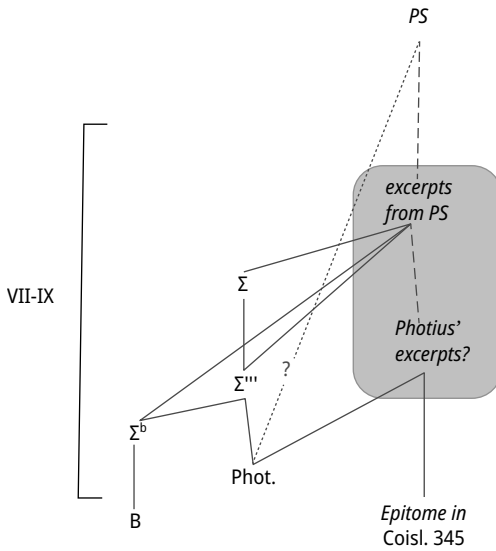
<sup>32</sup> On the contrary, the hypothesis that the circle of Arethas, bishop of Caesarea, should be recognised behind the collection of lexica in the Coislinianus was proposed by Kougeas (1913, 64–72), with whom Alpers (1971, 82) and Valente (2012, 29) cautiously agreed. Wilson (1983, 127–8) is considerably more sceptical. However, the marginal of f. 50v is not by the hand of Arethas, as Kougeas thought, and other scholars, beginning with Lemerle (1971, 228) and Wilson (1983, 127), have confuted it.

<sup>33</sup> See Alpers (1971, 82). Losacco (2017, 116), by contrast, is more optimistic.

<sup>34</sup> See Theodoridis (1982–2013, vol. 1, lxxiii).

<sup>35</sup> See Schönemann (1886, 78–116); Degani (1995, 515 n. 36).

## II



**Figure 2:** An alternative representation of the possible transmission of the *PS*, positing an alphabetic or hybrid redaction.

This kind of structure might be appropriate for what remains of the *PS*, given that some fragments appear to be consistent with an alphabetical work and others with an onomastic arrangement. Again, however, the problem is that Photius describes no such thing.

In conclusion, the difficulty in recovering the original structure of the *PS* is extraordinarily complicated and far from resolved, if we can ever expect it to be. A thorough study of the indirect tradition – particularly in Photius and in  $\Sigma^b$  – is required before one can suggest further evidence and advance circumstantial hypotheses.

## Bibliography

- Alpers, K. (1971). Review of Τὸ Λεξικὸν τοῦ Φωτίου, by Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou. *ByzZ* 64, 71–84.  
 Bancalari, F. (1893). ‘*Voces animalium*’. *SIFC* 1, 512–3.  
 Bancalari, F. (1896). ‘*Voces animalium*’. *SIFC* 4, 224.  
 Bethe, E. (1900–1937). *Pollucis Onomasticon*. 3 vols. Leipzig.  
 de Borries, I. (1911). *Phrynichi Sophistae Praeparatio sophisticated*. Leipzig.

- Cavarzeran, J. (2016). *Scholia in Euripidis Hippolytum*. Berlin, Boston.
- Cunningham, I. C. (2003). *Synagoge. Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίων. Texts of the Original Version and of MS. B*. Berlin, New York.
- Degani, E. (1995). 'La lessicografia'. In: Cambiano, G.; Canfora, L.; Lanza, F. (eds.), *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*. Vol. 2: *La ricezione e l'attualizzazione del testo*. Rome, 505–28.
- Dickey, E. (2007). *Ancient Greek Scholarship. A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*. London, New York.
- Elsperger, W. (1907). *Reste und Spuren antiker Kritik gegen Euripides gesammelt aus den Euripidesscholien*. Leipzig.
- Festa, N. (1893). 'Voces animalium'. *SIFC* 1, 384.
- Festa, N. (1895). 'Ancora Voces animalium'. *SIFC* 3, 496.
- Gerbi, G. (2023). 'γρυλίζω, γρυλισμός (Phryn. *Ecl.* 72, Phryn. *PS* 58.14–59.4, Poll. 5.87)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/020>.
- Kaibel, G. (1899). *De Phrynicho sophista*. Göttingen.
- Kougeas, S. (1913). *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ*. Athens.
- de Leeuw, M. (2000). 'Der Coislinianus 345 im Kloster Megisti Lavra (Athos)'. *ZPE* 131, 58–64.
- Lemerle, P. (1971). *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris.
- Losacco, M. (2017). '«Tous les livres confluaient vers lui, telles les eaux d'un fleuve». Notes sur la bibliothèque de Photius'. *MEG* 17, 107–35.
- Mastronarde, D. J. (2017). *Preliminary Studies on the Scholia to Euripides*. Berkeley.
- Montana, F. (2015). 'Per il testo della redazione A (non alfabetica) delle Lexeis di Erodoto'. In: Tziatzi, M. et al. (eds.), *LEMMATA. Beiträge zum Andenken an Christos Theodoridis / Essays in Honour of Christos Theodoridis*. Berlin, Boston, 431–51.
- Pellettieri, A. (2022). 'τυμβογέπων (Phryn. *PS* 114.3–9)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/019>.
- Schönemann, J. (1886). *De lexicographis antiquis qui rerum ordinem secuti sunt quaestiones praecursoriae*. Hannover.
- Schwartz, E. (1891). *Scholia in Euripidem*. Vol. 2. Berlin.
- Theodoridis, C. (1982–2013). *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*. 3 vols. Berlin, New York.
- Tosi, R. (1988). *Studi sulla tradizione indiretta dei classici greci*. Bologna.
- Tosi, R. (2015). 'Typology of Lexicographical Works'. In: Montanari, F.; Matthaios, S.; Rengakos, A. (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*. Leiden, Boston, 622–36.
- Tribulato, O. (2021). 'Θυμέλη (Phryn. *Ecl.* 135, Phryn. *PS* 74.9–11, Poll. 4.123)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/023>.
- Valente, S. (2008). 'Una miscellanea lessicografica del X secolo'. *Segno e testo* 6, 151–78.
- Valente, S. (2012). *I lessici a Platone di Timeo Sofista e Pseudo-Didimo. Introduzione ed edizione critica*. Berlin, Boston.
- Valente, S. (2015). *The Antiatticist. Introduction and Critical Edition*. Berlin, Boston.
- Wilson, N. G. (1983). *Scholars of Byzantium*. London.
- Zuntz, G. (1965). *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides*. Cambridge.

Federico Favi

# How did the epitomiser(s) work?

## The epitome of the *Praeparatio sophistica* and the indirect tradition in comparison

### 1 Introduction

This contribution aims to investigate what we can reconstruct about the textual history of the *PS* by comparing the materials of the epitome contained in Par. Coisl. 345 (our sole witness of direct tradition) and the evidence from the indirect tradition (which is represented most notably, but by no means exclusively, by the *Synagoge* tradition). The early stages of transmission of the *PS* are discussed by Cavarzeran (this volume). I shall focus on a later stage – that which immediately precedes the available evidence, which dates to the 9th and 10th centuries CE.

The contribution is organised as follows. First, I discuss the state of the text of the *PS*, the importance of the indirect tradition, and how the currently standard critical text of the *PS* (which is still de Borries 1911) could be improved upon in this regard. Second, I survey the similarities and differences in the evidence provided by the direct and the indirect traditions, showing how these two stand in relation to one another, particularly as regards their use of earlier sources. I then move to the core of the contribution. I put forward and test the hypothesis that the epitome of the *PS* brings together and assembles previously epitomised and excerpted materials. The main supporting evidence for this is offered by the ‘multiple’ entries contained in the epitome, namely those cases in which the same or similar materials occur in more than one entry. The comparison with the indirect tradition – where in several cases the ‘multiple’ entries of the epitome are contained in single, more extensive entries – shows that the ‘multiple’ entries of the epitome are likely to be the result of the assembling in Par. Coisl. 345 of materials taken from previous compilations of epitomised excerpts of the *PS*.

To further support this thesis, I discuss, first, alternative approaches to the ‘multiple’ entries to help demonstrate the advantages of the solution put forward in this contribution. Second, I examine other cases in which the indirect tradition (especially in the scholia to Euripides) may offer direct proof of my thesis. Based on these conclusions, I then examine some further peculiarities in the epitome to assess whether we can better account for them in light of the interpretation I am proposing. Finally, in drawing my conclusions, I discuss how views about the circulation of the *PS* fit in with other information about the circulation of lexicographical collections in 9th- and 10th-century CE Constantinople.

## 2 The textual evidence for the *PS*

The textual evidence for Phrynichus' *PS* is divided between the direct tradition – i.e. the heavily abbreviated epitome contained in Par. Coisl. 345 – and the indirect tradition. Let me briefly introduce these two strands of transmission.

In Par. Coisl. 345, the *PS* covers ff. 47r–64r.<sup>1</sup> Considering that the original *PS* occupied 37 books, massive epitomisation must have taken place. The entries are arranged in alphabetical order, but only in light of the first letter. This is not uncommon: obvious comparisons are the *Antiatticist*, also contained in Par. Coisl. 345, and Moeris' lexicon. This arrangement of the materials is not particularly reader-friendly, and it is difficult to identify any rationale behind the arrangement of the entries, despite de Borries' efforts.<sup>2</sup> The entries contained under each letter range widely in number and level of detail. At one end of the spectrum, letter alpha covers almost half of the whole epitome. At the other end of the spectrum, letter zeta is almost non-existent: it consists only of the lemma ζωμήρσις, without any *interpretamentum*, and is followed by a 12-line blank space. We shall come back to this later.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the epitome, the indirect tradition is a highly valuable source of information. Not only does the indirect tradition preserve more complete versions of the entries included in the epitome, but it also contains entries that are absent from the epitome. In his edition, de Borries (1911) collects around 370 entries from the indirect tradition, which he presents as 'fragments' of the *PS*. Some of these entries mention Phrynichus explicitly, in some cases they even indicate the *PS* as their source.<sup>4</sup> In other cases, the identification of the indirect evidence going back to the *PS* is strengthened via parallels with the epitome. In such cases, the ascription of the materials to the *PS* is firm. In other cases, by contrast, entries in other lexica have been traced back to the *PS* by de Borries and other scholars using different criteria that sometimes produce less compelling results. Detailed discussion of this matter falls beyond the scope of this contribution. In the following, I shall address the persuasiveness of de Borries' and other scholars' attributions only where strictly relevant.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> For the bibliography on this manuscript, see Cavarzeran (this volume, Section 1. and n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> See de Borries (1911, xv–xxiii). It is impossible to examine the matter in detail in this contribution, and we shall address selected cases only when relevant to the discussion.

<sup>3</sup> See Section 8 below.

<sup>4</sup> These are *PS* frs. 1–\*37 in de Borries (1911).

<sup>5</sup> The identification of the 'fragments' of the *PS* often rests on shaky foundations. De Borries himself adds an asterisk (\*) to indicate uncertain attribution in no less than 309 'fragments', and in 33 of these he also adds a *crux* (†) to indicate special uncertainty. The result of de Borries casting

The main indirect sources for the study of the *PS* are the *Synagoge* and Photius' lexicon. These are the sources with which we shall mostly concern ourselves; however, other sources too warrant our attention, especially Euripides' scholia.<sup>6</sup> Regarding the *Synagoge*, it has been demonstrated that the *PS* was used while producing the original version and, far more significantly, while producing the later expansions, particularly the third one.<sup>7</sup> As for Photius, we know from the *Bibliotheca* that, at some point, Photius read 36 books of the *PS*, although he tells us that the complete version comprised 37 books. We do not really know whether Photius had access to the very same lexicon as the one produced by Phrynichus in the 2nd century CE or to a version that had already been abridged and possibly also modified in terms of its structure.<sup>8</sup> At any rate, it is generally agreed that while Photius was working on the lexicon, he had not already consulted, nor did he make use of, the *PS* or the other lexica he describes in the *Bibliotheca*. It is safer to conclude that Photius too derived the materials that go back to the *PS* from an expanded *Synagoge* rather than directly from (any version of) the *PS*.<sup>9</sup>

---

his net so wide is that he identified as 'fragments' several entries from Byzantine lexica that may very well derive from Atticist compilations, but are less likely to have come from the *PS*. A comparison with the edition of Orus by Alpers (1981) succinctly shows how frequently either scholar attributes to Phrynichus and to Orus respectively entries found in the *Synagoge* tradition. One of the reasons is that de Borries, who aimed to gather as much evidence as possible, systematically considered alphabetically consecutive entries in the indirect tradition, especially in the *Synagoge*, as 'block quotations' from the *PS* wherever more lemmas in said sequence find a parallel in the epitome or contain a mention of Phrynichus (a similar approach is adopted by Reitzenstein 1907, li with regard to the materials from the *PS* contained in Photius' lexicon). Another limitation of de Borries' approach is that he neglected the role of Cyril's lexicon in the constitution of the *Synagoge*. Still, some of the criteria employed by de Borries to infer derivation from the *PS* are sensible and remain a convenient starting point for future investigation. For instance, some of the evaluative terminology used in the epitome is quite likely to be distinctive of the *PS* (see Tribulato this volume; Gerbi this volume).

6 See Cavarzeran (this volume, Section 3); Cavarzeran (2024, 35–7); and Section 6 below.

7 See Cunningham (2003, esp. 46; 53; 55; 56).

8 See Cavarzeran (this volume, Section 5).

9 Two of the main tenets in the edition of Photius' lexicon by Theodoridis (1982–2013) are (i) that Photius had direct access to several ancient lexica that are also discussed in the *Bibliotheca* (e.g. Phrynichus' *PS*, Harpocration, Timaeus) rather than via the *Synagoge* tradition, and (ii) that in many cases, the *Suda* depends on Photius rather than directly on the *Synagoge* tradition. Neither of these claims has generally met with approval. The main discussions are those by Alpers (1981, 72–5); Cunningham (1986; 2014, 522–3); Tosi (2001, 347–50); Valente (2012, 33 n. 94; 2015, 25, 27, 30; 2016, 401). A more conciliatory position is explored by Bossi (2002; 2005, 15), who accepts that the *Suda* depends on Photius and postulates gradual (but independent) accretion with Atticist materials during the transmission of Photius' lexicon and at the time of the compilation of the *Suda*. A practical consequence of this is that Theodoridis (1982–2013) regularly indicates Phrynichus in

This state of affairs also makes good sense of the fact that the entries beginning with the letter alpha are just as prominent in the epitome of the *PS* as in the indirect tradition represented by the *Synagoge*. As is well known, in Greek lexica the space occupied by the entries beginning with alpha is always significantly larger than that of the other letters. Still, the drastic change that we witness in the extant indirect evidence for the entries of the epitome spanning from beta to omega is significant and unlikely to be incidental. Let us consider the comparison with Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnika*. In the *Ethnika*, Phrynichus is quoted by name at least seven times, and it is worth noting that, compared with the indirect evidence in the Byzantine lexica, these references occur in entries spanning throughout the alphabet.<sup>10</sup> This difference may indicate that at the time of the compilation of the *Ethnika*, the *PS* was still consulted in an unabridged, or at least less abridged, version.<sup>11</sup> On the contrary, because the expansions of the *Synagoge* were systematic only for the entries beginning with alpha,<sup>12</sup> the indirect evidence for the *PS* is inevitably imbalanced towards the entries under alpha. What remains to be ascertained is whether the pre-eminence of the entries under alpha in the epitome may also be related to this.

Despite the importance of the *PS* for the study of Atticism and Atticist lexicography, this lexicon has received limited scholarly attention, and much work remains to be done.<sup>13</sup> We are obviously in dire need of a new critical edition (preferably one with a commentary) to replace the edition by de Borries (1911). But we also need an updated and more detailed study of the transmission and circulation of this lexicon. Beside the introduction to de Borries' edition, the inaugural lecture *De Phrynicho sophista* by Kaibel (1899) remains the only other attempt at re-

---

the margin of the text to indicate derivation of an entry in Photius from the *PS*. In his edition of the *Synagoge*, Cunningham (2003) more cautiously indicates the derivation from unspecified Atticist sources, although in the Introduction, when revising the sources used for the expansions of the *Synagoge*, he indicates (usually following the latest available editions) the probable source of the Atticist entries (the options being Phrynichus' *PS*, Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias, and Orus).

10 See *PS* fr. \*2 = Steph.Byz. τ 12, *PS* fr. \*7 = Steph.Byz. α 37, *PS* fr. \*8 = Steph.Byz. α 80, *PS* fr. \*26 = Steph.Byz. α 518, *PS* fr. \*29 = Steph.Byz. θ 42, *PS* fr. \*31 = Steph.Byz. κ 238, *PS* fr. \*32 = Steph.Byz. κ 248.

11 Regarding the circulation of the *PS*, see Pellettieri (2024) on Moeris; Alpers (1981, 104–7) on Orus; Favi (2022a) on Procopius of Gaza.

12 See Cunningham (2003, 57–8).

13 By comparison, the greater popularity of the *Eclogue* is witnessed among other aspects by the fact that three editions (with commentaries) of this lexicon have been produced (de Pauw 1739; Lobeck 1820; Rutherford 1881). It is noteworthy that the *Eclogue*, together with Moeris' lexicon, is one of the very few works of Greek scholarship for which commented editions have been produced. This surely relates to the more openly prescriptive/proscriptive nature and user-friendly format of these works compared with the *PS*.



constructing the history of this text. While the present contribution can make no claim to satisfy, even partially, either of these *desiderata*, it aims to make a first step in that direction.

### 3 How do the epitome and the indirect tradition stand to one another?

In general terms, one can identify three possible scenarios regarding how the evidence in the epitome and that in the indirect tradition stand to one another. As already mentioned, and as will be even more apparent from the discussion below, the role of the *Synagoge* is paramount for studying the circulation of the materials ultimately derived from the *PS* and how these materials were known among Byzantine scholars. Perhaps the most striking thing to arise from the present survey is that no hard-and-fast distinction can be established between the evidence in the epitome and that in the indirect sources. Indeed, the contents of the two look similar to one another. This conclusion, and more generally the comparison with the indirect tradition, will be crucial when considering some peculiarities of the epitome. Because this contribution does not aim to provide a full collation of the epitome and the indirect tradition, in what follows I shall concentrate mostly on the *Synagoge* tradition, but I do not discuss in detail the ways in which materials from the *PS* have entered its stages of expansion.

#### 3.1 Agreement between the direct and the indirect tradition

First scenario: the epitome and the indirect sources share the same materials, with only (very) minor divergences.<sup>14</sup> Consider the following pair:

*PS* 16.21–17.2: ἄλις τοῦδε· οἷον ἀπόχρη καὶ ἱκανῶς ἔχει. εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλός, ὅτι <καὶ> (suppl. de Borries) αὐτῇ δαψιλῆς καὶ ἱκανή, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλέξ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀθρόον.

ἄλις τοῦδε ('Enough of this'): Like it is enough and sufficient. It derives from ἄλς, because this too is abundant and sufficient, or from ἀλέξ, which means 'in crowds'.

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 979 = Phot. α 968 (ex Σ''): ἄλις τοῦδε· οἷον ἀπόχρη καὶ ἱκανῶς ἔχει. εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλός, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῇ δαψιλῆς καὶ ἱκανή· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλεξ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀθρόον.

<sup>14</sup> The evidence is collected in Table 1.

ἄλῃς τοῦδε ('Enough of this'): Like it is enough and sufficient. It derives from ἄλς, because this too is abundant and sufficient, or from ἄλές, which means 'in crowds'.

It is possible that the original text of the *PS* may have run exactly as we read it in the entries above, but of course we are unable to positively affirm this. In fact, some similar cases of agreement suggest that the answer to such a question is more likely to be negative, that is, the original text of the *PS* was probably different. Let us consider two more pairs of entries, one about αἰσχυνόμενος περιπλέκει τὴν συμφορὰν and one about αἰσχροεπεῖν:

*PS* 2.9–10: αἰσχυνόμενος (<γάρ> vel <δὲ> Dobree) περιπλέκει τὴν συμφορὰν· ἐν συνουσίᾳ χρώ.

αἰσχυνόμενος περιπλέκει τὴν συμφορὰν (*com. adesp.* fr. \*554) ('Ashamed, [he] wraps up [in words] the misfortune'): Use [it] in conversation.

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 578 = Phot. α 670 = *Su.* αἰ 362 (*ex Σ'*): αἰσχυνόμενος περιπλέκει τὴν συμφορὰν· ἐν συνουσίᾳ (<χρώ> suppl. Theodoridis in Phot.).

αἰσχυνόμενος περιπλέκει τὴν συμφορὰν (*com. adesp.* fr. \*554) ('Ashamed, [he] wraps up [in words] the misfortune'): [Use it] in conversation.

*PS* 46.1: αἰσχροεπεῖν· αἰσχρολογεῖν.

αἰσχροεπεῖν: To use foul language.

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 640 = Phot. α 669 (*ex Σ'''*): αἰσχροεπεῖν· αἰσχρολογεῖν.

αἰσχροεπεῖν: To use foul language.

In the first two texts, the epitome and the indirect sources comment only that αἰσχυνόμενος περιπλέκει τὴν συμφορὰν should be used in conversation. In the last two texts, αἰσχροεπεῖν is merely glossed with αἰσχρολογεῖν. Although we have no secure evidence to say what an entry in the original *PS* looked like (and indeed, we should not expect that all entries must have been identical in format, detail, and scope), neither of the pairs of entries above has the slightest chance of representing what the *PS* would originally have looked like.<sup>15</sup> We expect at least a reference to the *loci classici* from which the evidence is derived, and presumably also some further comment regarding, for instance, parallel expressions and register.

The conclusion we should draw is that entries like the latter two pairs above are most likely the result of the abridgement of the original entry of the *PS*. Cases of this kind, which are by no means rare, provide a first indication the epitome

<sup>15</sup> See also Cavarzeran (this volume, Section 3) for some considerations on this.

and the indirect tradition must have had access to a shared body of materials that had already been excerpted and epitomised, before at least the 8th or the 9th century CE, from an earlier version of the *PS* (unabridged or less abridged).<sup>16</sup>

### 3.2 The direct or the indirect tradition preserve the longer excerpt

A second category is represented by those cases in which either the epitome is more informative than the indirect tradition or vice versa; that is, one source has been more extensively epitomised than the other.<sup>17</sup> The pieces of information that tend to be abridged more frequently are the references to and quotations from ancient authors, with other types of manipulation also having taken place (substitution with synonyms, adoption of shorter formulations, shortening or elimination of the evaluative terminology, etc.). This is a familiar situation in lexicography.

The cases that belong into this second category are not in sharp opposition with those in the previous category. That is to say, many entries from this second group too are likely to have previously undergone epitomisation. The only difference is that, during transmission, the entries in either the direct or the indirect tradition have been shortened even more. Comparison between the direct and the indirect tradition may illustrate how the manipulation of the common source has probably taken place. Let us consider the following pairs:

*PS* 8.6–9: ἄνθρωπος πρόδοξος· ὁ προδοξάζων περί τινος οὐ τάληθῃ, πρὶν ἢ σαφῶς καὶ μετὰ πίστεως ἐξετάσαι τὰ κατ' αὐτό. χρῶ δὲ καὶ σὺ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσταθμῆτων καὶ ἄνευ ἐξετάσεως περί τινων δοξαζόντων, πρὶν ἢ πειραθῆναι.

ἄνθρωπος πρόδοξος ('A person judging hastily'): A person who makes false assumptions about something, before verifying the situation clearly and in a reliable way. You too should use [this expression] for people who are unsteady and make assumptions about things/people without verification, before they are put to test.

<sup>16</sup> See Cunningham (1986, 206) regarding the sources of the expansions of the *Synagoge*: 'It is not to be supposed that the original ancient works were utilised, but rather as with Harpocration epitomes, extracts, and compilations, and these probably gathered in only a few manuscripts'. Cunningham (2003, 206 n. 12) thus concludes that these manuscripts must have been similar (he uses the word 'precursor') to Par. Coisl. 345.

<sup>17</sup> The relevant evidence is collected in Table 2 (cases where the epitome is more informative than the indirect tradition) and Table 3 (cases where the indirect tradition is more informative than the epitome).

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1409 = Phot. α 1974 = *Su.* α 2538 (*ex Σ'*) (= *PS* fr. 187): ἄνθρωπος πρόδοξος· ὁ πρὶν ἢ σαφῶς ἐξετάσαι δοξάζων.

ἄνθρωπος πρόδοξος ('A person judging hastily'): A person who makes assumptions before verifying clearly.

*PS* 20.1–2: ᾄδειν ὁμοιον· σημαίνει τὸ μάτην λέγειν. τὸ γὰρ ᾄδεις (ᾄδειν *cod.*) ἐπὶ τοῦ μάτην λέγεις (*cod.*: λέγειν de Borries).

ᾄδειν ὁμοιον (*Eup.* fr. 39) ('To sing the same song'): It means 'to speak in vain'. In fact, 'you sing' (*Ar.* fr. 101) [stands for] 'you speak in vain'. (*Transl.* Gerbi 2023a).

Phot. α 551: ᾄδειν ὁμοιον· καινοτάτη ἡ σύνταξις καὶ Ἀττικῶς, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη, εἰρημένη. σημαίνει δὲ τὸ μάτην λέγειν, ὡς εἰ καὶ ἄλλως ᾄδειν ἐθέλοι τις ἐν οὐδενὶ πράγματι ἀνυσίμῳ. Εὐπολις ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις· ὅμοιον ᾄδειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἄλλως ἔχων'. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Γεωργοῖς ἐξηγούμενος τὸ ᾄδεις, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ μάτην λέγεις τίθεται, παροιμιῶδες αὐτὸ ποιεῖ· φησὶ γάρ· '(A) καὶ τὰς δίκας οὖν ἔλεγον ᾄδοντες τότε; | (B) νῆ Δία, φράσω δ' ἐγὼ μέγα σοι {καὶ} τεκμήριον· | ἔτι γὰρ λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καθήμενοι, | ὅταν κακῶς τις ἀπολογῇται τὴν δίκην, | ᾄδεις'. <ἐν> συνουσίᾳ χρῶν κατὰ Φρύνιχον.

ᾄδειν ὁμοιον ('To sing the same song'): The construction is original and expressed in an Attic fashion like no other. It means 'to speak in vain', as if one wanted [to say] 'to talk idly', 'to no useful purpose'. Eupolis in *Draft-evaders* (fr. 39) [says]: '... to sing the same song, for it cannot be otherwise'. And Aristophanes, in *Farmers* (fr. 101), explaining ᾄδεις ('you sing'), which is intended as 'you speak in vain', treats it as a proverb. For he says: 'At that time, did they use to sing their pleas? Yes, by Zeus, and I am going to give you great evidence. The elder judges, when someone defends himself poorly against an accusation, still tell: You are singing'. It can be used in conversation, according to Phrynichus (*PS* 20.1–2). (*Transl.* Gerbi 2023a).

In both pairs, the way the abridgment operates is straightforward, as is shown by the **sections in bold**. In the first pair, the entry in Photius creates a new sentence modifying the position of the elements that occur in the entry of the epitome: the indirect evidence clearly presupposes as its source the same text as the epitome. In the second pair, the entry of the epitome makes a cut, copy, and paste of two sentences of the *interpretamentum*, which Photius preserves in the original form with the quotations and the stylistic remarks. In such cases, the longer entries are likely to represent the earlier state of the text, that of the common source of the epitome and of the indirect tradition.

### 3.3 The direct and the indirect tradition result from independent epitomisation and excerption

The most exciting scenario is likely to be when the entries in the epitome and in the indirect tradition result from different, and in some cases complementary,

processes of epitomisation and excerption. This makes it difficult to ascertain what their respective source(s) might have looked like; that is, whether they epitomise the same source text in a different way, or whether they depend on sources that are independent from one another and that may have already been epitomised differently from one another.<sup>18</sup> Here is an illustrative example:

PS 3.8–10: ἀνόητά γ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἤλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνόητος εἶ ἐπιτάττων τοῦτο. Ἀττικὸν (cod. : Ἀττικῶν de Borries) γὰρ τὸ λέγειν 'ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτάξεις'.

ἀνόητά γ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἤλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί (Eup. fr. 371) ('It is foolish if you came to order this to me'): Meaning ἀνόητος εἶ ἐπιτάττων τοῦτο ('You are foolish to order this'). For it is Attic to say ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτάξεις ('It is foolish if you will order this').

PS fr. 19 = Phot. α 2019: ἀνόητα, εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις· οἱ μὲν ἀγοραῖοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὕτως, Ἀττικῶς δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματισμένως Εὐπολὶς· 'ἀνόητά <γ> εἰ τοῦτ' >' ἤλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί'.

ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτάξεις ('It is foolish if you will order this'): People who speak in an unsophisticated and common fashion say thus, while Eupolis (fr. 371) said in an Attic and artful fashion ἀνόητά <γ> εἰ τοῦτ' > ἤλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί ('It is foolish if you came to order this to me').

The epitome and Photius comment on the expression ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτάξεις in opposing and apparently irreconcilable terms. While the epitome calls it an Attic expression and uses it to gloss Eupolis' ἀνόητά γ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἤλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί, Photius says that ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτάξεις is used by the ἀγοραῖοι and the πολλοί. If we examine these entries in more detail, it is possible to explain how this situation may have arisen, and how the information provided in the two entries may be reconciled. However, we cannot easily reconstruct one single text to which both entries had access.<sup>19</sup> Other cases that belong in this category are generally equally interesting, although not all are as problematic as the one just examined.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.4 Preliminary conclusions (part 1)

This survey does not aim to provide a detailed assessment of the evidence, let alone from the textual critical point of view. Nevertheless, in the light of the dis-

<sup>18</sup> The evidence is collected in Table 4.

<sup>19</sup> On these entries, see Favi (2022c).

<sup>20</sup> See Table 4. Particularly revealing examples include no. 8 (ἄτεγκτος παραγορήμασιν), no. 15 (ἀνδρόγυνον ἄθυρμα), no. 18 (ἀπαλὸς εἰσπλους τοῦ λιμένος), no. 28 (ἀγωγέυς), no. 32 (ἀμαξίατα ῥήματα), no. 40 (κυψέλαι φρονημάτων).

cussion above, we are now able to establish two general points from which put us in good stead for what follows.

First, in many cases the evidence shows that the epitome and the indirect tradition are likely to have had access to the same source text, despite the (more or less significant) manipulation that the source text may have undergone during transmission. In particular, some of this shared evidence suggests that the epitome and the indirect tradition most probably rely, not on the original text of the *PS*, but rather on a shared body of excerpted and epitomised materials taken from the original (or possibly from an intermediate, already abridged) version of the *PS*.<sup>21</sup> This proves that the direct and the indirect tradition are very closely related.

Second, and on the other hand, in many other cases the text of the epitome and that of the indirect tradition are the product of an independent process of epitomisation and excerption. Such cases may be explained either as the product of the independent manipulation of the same source text, or because the direct and the indirect tradition depend on different source texts. This conclusion too is significant because it shows that the textual transmission of the *PS* may have been richer and more variegated than we would be inclined to assume based on the comparatively limited surviving evidence.

These preliminary remarks allow us to now address some larger issues concerning the textual history of the *PS* as it is reflected by the direct and the indirect tradition. We shall test the reliability of the conclusions we have just drawn by considering additional pieces of evidence.

## 4 The ‘multiple’ entries in the epitome

One of the more intriguing aspects in the study of the epitome of the *PS* is that the same materials may sometimes occur in more than one entry. That is, the content of two or more entries is not just identical as far as the doctrine is concerned, but there are similarities almost *ad verbum*. For convenience’s sake, we shall call these cases ‘multiple’ entries. There are different ways to explain how this may have come about, but one interpretation strikes me as the most appealing: namely, that the ‘epitome’ has resulted from the compilation of epitomised excerpts.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> See Cavarzeran (this volume) on the early stages of abridgement from the original *PS*.

<sup>22</sup> Other interpretations are discussed in more detail below (Section 5). The separation into smaller entries of the materials originally contained in one longer entry is a typical phenomenon in the transmission of ancient lexicographical texts (see Tosi 2015).

A comparison with the indirect tradition is especially revealing here. In some cases, the indirect tradition provides evidence of a state of the text where the ‘multiple’ entries are still united in a single, more substantial entry. In light of this, the interpretation I shall put forward in this contribution is that: (i) the longer and more substantial entries (whether they occur in the epitome, in the indirect tradition, or in both) reflect the state of the source text as it may have originally been; (ii) the ‘multiple’ entries in the epitome have resulted from the independent epitomisation and excerption of materials taken from the longer entries – these materials thus became new, independent lexicographical items; (iii) these items entered the body of epitomised and excerpted materials from the *PS* that circulated in Byzantine learned circles; finally (iv) the compiler of the epitome, which has come down to us in Par. Coisl. 345, assembled in this redaction what he found in one or more of such collections of materials derived from the *PS*. The result, then, is that the same materials effectively occur multiple times because they had been epitomised and excerpted independently before they were eventually brought together at the time of the compilation of the epitome. The important consequence is that what we call the ‘epitome’ of the *PS* might be described as a collection of epitomised excerpts rather than the abridgment of any redaction of the *PS* that may have been available before the 8th or 9th century CE.

In what follows, I discuss nine of the more instructive cases of ‘multiple’ entries of the *PS*. This selection privileges the cases in which less speculation is required to make sense of the evidence.<sup>23</sup>

## 4.1 ἀνακράζω

*PS* 5.21–2: ἀνακραγεῖν· δύο σημαίνει, καὶ <τὸ> πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀσκεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βοᾶν τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὸ ἄλλως ἀναβοῆσαι.

ἀνακραγεῖν: It has two meanings, ‘to exercise the voice in shouting before a performance’ and ‘to shout aloud’ in general. (Transl. Benuzzi 2024a).

*PS* 52.1–2: ἀνακράγοιτε· ἀναβοήσαίτε. Ἀττικὴ ἢ φωνή. Δημοσθένης.

ἀνακράγοιτε: [I.e.] you would shout aloud. The word is Attic. Demosthenes (19.287) [uses it]’. (Transl. Benuzzi 2024a).

<sup>23</sup> The order in which these cases are examined is established based on the relative position in the epitome of the first entry of each group.

For a detailed discussion of these materials and the Atticist doctrines, I refer the reader to the in-depth treatment by Benuzzi (2024a). Note that in the present case, the indirect tradition does not help us.<sup>24</sup>

The two entries of the *PS* clearly have much in common. The first entry (*PS* 5.21–2), in which the verb is lemmatised in the aorist infinitive, deals specifically with two main semantic nuances of ἀνακραγεῖν ‘to shout’, namely, to train the voice before an ἀγών or the act of shouting (‘to cry out’). In the second entry (*PS* 52.1–2), the lemma ἀνακράγοιτε in the aorist optative corresponds to the form attested in the *locus classicus*, which is surely a passage of Demosthenes’ *On the False Embassy*, and is explained with the corresponding form of ἀναβοάω. This word choice in the *interpretamentum* overlaps with one of the two verbs that were used in the previous entry to explain the semantic nuances of ἀνακράζω.

A ready-to-hand explanation is that the two entries, which in the epitome of the *PS* are separated, really go back to just one entry on the verb ἀνακράζω in the original *PS*. This entry, which was possibly lemmatised in the aorist infinitive, was then split up by independent excerption processes that privileged one or the other pieces of information: on the one hand, the semantics of ἀνακράζω, on the other, the way this verb was used by Demosthenes, a famous and authoritative model of Attic Greek. Notice, too, that the use of the verb in the optative by Demosthenes might have been an additional element of interest for Byzantine readers – indeed, this new entry was lemmatised in a way that would highlight the exact form that occurred in the *locus classicus*.<sup>25</sup>

## 4.2 ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα, ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον

*PS* 6.18–9: ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον· κωμωδικῶς εἴρηται, οἷον ἐκ βυθοῦ διανοίας <ἀν>άγειν.

ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον (Ar. fr. 727) (‘To draw forth little thoughts’): It is a comic expression, as in to take out the thoughts from the depth.

*PS* 47.19–20: ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον.

<sup>24</sup> Benuzzi (2024a) and Benuzzi (2024b) collect and discuss the evidence for the interest in ἀνακράζω and related forms in ancient linguistic scholarship.

<sup>25</sup> On the use of the optative as a stylistic resource in Byzantine writers who use high-register and/or downright Atticising language, see Horrocks (2014). Other entries in the epitome of the *PS* that show an interest in the optative are: *PS* 23.9–10: ἀλεαίνοιμι, *PS* 27.1–2: ἀπομάθοις, ἀπομαθέτω, ἀπόμαθε, *PS* 55.4–5: βουβωνιώη, *PS* 63.8–10: διενέγκειε καὶ διενέγκοι. The optative is not normally a verbal form used for lemmatisation, and so these cases indicate an interest in specific forms or in specific instances of the optative.



ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον (Ar. fr. 727) ('To draw forth little ideas and to draw forth little thoughts'): [The lemma is not followed by any *interpretamentum*].

That the two entries are related is made even clearer by comparison with the indirect tradition:

Phot. α 1666: ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον· Ἀριστοφάνης, ἡ συμπλοκὴ ἀρμόζει συνουσίαις.

ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον ('To draw forth little ideas and to draw forth little thoughts'): Aristophanes (fr. 727) [used it]. The syntagm is well-suited for conversations.

The first entry of the epitome (PS 6.18–9) contains a remark on the literary provenance of the expression ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον and a brief exegesis of its meaning. The second entry of the epitome (PS 47.19–20) merely consists of the lemma, which in this case pairs ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον with ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα. Finally, the entry in Photius, which is certainly dependent on the PS (via mediation of the *Synagoge*),<sup>26</sup> has the 'enlarged' lemma ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον, then refers to the *locus classicus*, and finally recommends these idioms for use in conversation. That all the pieces of information found in the three lemmas correspond closely to one another will be apparent to anyone. Let us now take a closer look.

The lemma in the first entry of the epitome (PS 6.18–9) is likely to refer to the Aristophanic quotation that represented the *locus classicus* for the idiom, of which it provides an exegesis. The occurrence of diminutive γνωμίδιον is certainly Aristophanic, as suggested by comparison with Ar. *Eq.* 99–100: πάντα ταυτὶ καταπάσω | βουλευμάτων καὶ γνωμίδων καὶ νοιδίων ('All over this I will sprinkle little thoughts and little reflections and little ideas') and *Nu.* 321: καὶ γνωμίδω γνώμην νύξας ἑτέρω λόγω ἀντιλογῆσαι ('And to contrast an argument with another by pricking a thought with a little thought').

The second entry of the epitome (PS 47.19–20) and the entry in Photius share the 'enlarged' lemma, which may have been the original one in the PS. While the first entry in the epitome of the PS only indicates derivation from comedy, it is the entry in Photius which, in turn, makes explicit the derivation from Aristophanes. This inconsistency is unproblematic, and it may well be that the original entry of the PS commented that expressions such as ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα and ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον were typical of comedy, as exemplified by a passage of Aristophanes (where γνωμίδιον may have occurred alone). Furthermore, Photius alone

<sup>26</sup> The reference to the συνουσία 'conversation' is a reliable indication that an entry in the indirect tradition depends on the PS, as further demonstrated by the comparison with Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.101b.2–3 (see de Borries 1911, xxix; Cavarzeran *et al.* 2024).

retains Phrynichus' observation that the expression is especially suitable for conversation. This opinion too is perfectly compatible with the remark in *PS* 6.18–9 that the idiom ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον is used κωμωδικῶς (and so, implicitly, is unsuitable for use in the higher register and in the written language).

We may draw the following conclusions from the present state of the text. The first entry (*PS* 6.18–9) provides an exegesis of the *locus classicus* (although the infinitive may be attributable to lemmatisation) and a remark about the typically comic use of this expression, which may relate directly to the use of the diminutive γνωμίδιον.<sup>27</sup> In the second entry (*PS* 47.19–20), βούλευμα looks more like a generalising element (possibly favoured by knowledge of *Ar. Eq.* 99–100) that is juxtaposed to Aristophanes' γνωμίδιον; and, indeed, unlike in the passage of *Knights* quoted above (where one reads βουλευματίων καὶ γνωμίδιων καὶ νοιδίων), in these lexicographical entries βούλευμα never occurs in the diminutive.<sup>28</sup> The entry in Photius, whose content is closer to the first entry of the epitome but whose lemma is the same as the second entry of the epitome, seems to suggest that all entries depend on the same source text. This was an entry with a lemma along the lines of ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον. While Photius retains this 'enlarged' lemma and part of the *interpretamentum*, the epitome contains two entries that had previously been independently epitomised. In the former, the emphasis is on the meaning of the idiom and the *locus classicus* (hence, the shortening of the lemma that, as in the case of 4.1 ἀνακράζω, is limited to the expression used in the *locus classicus*). In the latter, the original lemma is retained. We cannot say whether this was previously followed by any further remark that has subsequently been lost during transmission. But it is also perfectly possible that, if this originally was merely an excerpt, the whole entry was shortened in the form of a bullet-point list of noteworthy expressions.

<sup>27</sup> The retention of this remark in the epitome squares well with the interest in diminutives in Atticist lexicography and the different admissibility of the various options (see Tribulato 2022a).

<sup>28</sup> In such a case, we should also reconsider the spacing printed by Kassel and Austin (*PCG* vol. 3.2, 370), which indicates both ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα and ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον as Aristophanic (this interpretation is followed by the subsequent scholarship, see Henderson 2008, 454–5; Pellegrino 2015, 413). The matter is addressed in more explicit terms by Bagordo (2017, 138–40); but *pace* Bagordo, συμπλοκή in Phot. α 1666 does not presuppose that the two expressions ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα and ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον occurred in the same context: συμπλοκή may well refer only to the use of ἀνασπᾶν with a word such as βούλευμα, γνωμίδιον, or the like (notice, too, that οἷον ἐκ βυθοῦ διανοίας <ἀν>άγειν in the *interpretamentum* of *PS* 6.18–9 is clearly concerned with the association of the verb with a noun, thus confirming that this is the συμπλοκή which is being referred to). Alternatively, considering that in the passage of the *Clouds* quoted above (*Nu.* 321) the opposition is drawn between γνώμη and γνωμίδιον, one might speculate whether in the *locus classicus* the diminutive γνωμίδιον may have been paired with βούλευμα.

### 4.3 ἄριστος κλέπτειν, ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν

PS 16.3–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν· ἀστεία ἢ συμπλοκή· καὶ ἄριστος μοιχεύειν, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· σαρκασμοῦ τρόπῳ ἐπὶ ἡγήνηται εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κακοῦ.

ἄριστος κλέπτειν ('Excellent at stealing'): The syntagm [is] witty. [One may compare] also ἄριστος μοιχεύειν and the like. With the figure of sarcasm, a praise is made for a superlative degree of evil (*com. adesp.* fr. \*565).

PS 51.14–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν καὶ ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν.

ἄριστος κλέπτειν καὶ ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν ('Excellent at stealing and excellent at snatching'): [The lemma is not followed by any *interpretamentum*] (= *com. adesp.* fr. \*565).

The first entry of the epitome (PS 16.3–5) is devoted to the expression ἄριστος κλέπτειν, discussing its register (ἀστεία ἢ συμπλοκή), parallel constructions (καὶ ἄριστος μοιχεύειν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια), and rhetorical trope (σαρκασμοῦ τρόπῳ ἐπὶ ἡγήνηται εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κακοῦ). The second entry of the epitome (PS 51.14–5) shares part of the lemma (ἄριστος κλέπτειν), although this occurs in an 'expanded' form with the addition of synonymic ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν. De Borries (1911, 51) claims, without providing evidence, that this second entry is an Aristophanic fragment, while Kassel and Austin (*PCG* vol. 8, 165) include ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν together with ἄριστος κλέπτειν and ἄριστος μοιχεύειν as part of *com. adesp.* fr. \*565. The use of λωποδυτεῖν in the second entry of the epitome (PS 51.14–5) is likely to go back to a *locus classicus*, perhaps a comic passage (the verb occurs 3x in Aristophanes, 1x in Diphilus, 1x in Menander), but λωποδυτέω is also attested in the orators (2x in Antiphon, 6x in Demosthenes, 1x Aeschines, 1x Lysurgus) and other prose writers (1x in Xenophon, 1x in Plato, 1x in Aristotle). Compared with λωποδυτεῖν, then, κλέπτειν in both entries is likely to represent a more generic synonym.

This case shows significant typological similarities with that of 4.2 ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα, ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον discussed above. In the light of this, one might suspect that the two entries on the use of ἄριστος + infinitive go back to a common source text, which was then epitomised and excerpted independently before these two strands of tradition re-converge in Par. Coisl. 345.<sup>29</sup> The entry in the PS

<sup>29</sup> The entry following PS 51.14–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν καὶ ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν is PS 51.16–7: ἀρίστων ἅπτεσθαι βουλευμάτων (Soph. *Ant.* 179). Even though the constructions in the two entries are obviously different, this disposition may not only explain the *ratio* of the dislocation of the entry PS 51.14–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν καὶ ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν (i.e. two consecutive entries beginning with a form of ἀριστος), but may perhaps also suggest that PS 51.14–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν καὶ ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν and PS 51.16–7: ἀρίστων ἅπτεσθαι βουλευμάτων were taken by the compiler of Par. Coisl. 345 from an earlier collection of excerpts in which the two entries appeared together.

was originally devoted to the construction of ἄριστος + infinitive to indicate excellency in morally reproachable actions – notably, stealing (κλέπτειν, λωποδυτεῖν) and entertaining a love affair with a married woman (μοιχεύειν). Accordingly, while ἄριστος κλέπτειν was the general expression, ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν was taken in turn from one of the *loci classici* commented on. ἄριστος μοιχεύειν could then be an additional example used to document more widely the use of the same construction. The original entry of the *PS* hypothesised here seems to be represented in a more complete form in the first entry of the epitome (*PS* 16.3–5), where only the ‘generic’ lemma is preserved, whereas in the second entry of the epitome (*PS* 51.14–5) the lemma comprises the expression possibly used in one of the *loci classici* examined by Phrynichus.

Finally, one might wonder whether an entry such as *PS* 82.20–1: κάκιστος φαγεῖν· ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος φαγεῖν, ὁ ὀλίγα ἐσθίων (‘κάκιστος φαγεῖν (*com. adesp.* fr. \*614): A person who is unable to eat, a person who eats little’), which represents the opposite construction to ἄριστος κλέπτειν etc., was also part of the same entry, expanding on the καὶ τὰ ὅμοια of the *interpretamentum* of the first entry. This is possible, but there is no decisive proof for such an inference, and other suppositions could be made. Certainly, there is no need to postulate that all entries documenting a similar construction were necessarily part of just one larger entry.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4.4 ἀπονυχίζω, ἐξονυχίζω, ὄνυχίζω

*PS* 20.6–10: ἀπονυχίζεσθαι τοῦ ὄνυχίζεσθαι Ἀττικῶς διαφέρει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ τοῦς ὄνυχας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ὄνυχίζειν καὶ ἐξονυχίζειν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρευνᾶν ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐξετάζειν τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρᾶγμα <τίθεται> (suppl. de Borries : possis <τιθέασι> post ἐξονυχίζειν coll. Phot. a 2595). Κρατῖνος μέντοι τὸ ὄνυχισμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ τετμημένου τοῦς ὄνυχας τέθεικεν.

ἀπονυχίζεσθαι differs from ὄνυχίζεσθαι in Attic. For the former means the trimming of the nails, while ὄνυχίζειν and ἐξονυχίζειν are used for the accurate examination and evaluation of the matter at hand. However, Cratinus (fr. 503) used ὄνυχισμένον for a person who has had his nails trimmed.

<sup>30</sup> Notice, for instance, that a similar construction is mentioned in passing, but without being the main object of interest, in Phot. π 306: παράστασις· ἡ διδομένη δραχμὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰσαχθῆναι τὴν δίκην· ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄριστοι καταβαλεῖν παράστασιν (‘παράστασις: The drachma that is paid for the enactment of justice. ‘The best among the Greeks to deposit the court fee’ (*com. adesp.* fr. 526)). Kassel and Austin (*PCG* vol. 5, 364 *ad Eup.* fr. \*116; *PCG* vol. 8, 156 *ad com. adesp.* fr. 526; *PCG* vol. 8, 176 *ad com. adesp.* fr. \*614) also compare Hom. *Od.* 8.123, Ar. *Nu.* 430, *Eup.* fr. \*116, Telecl. fr. 2, Alex. fr. 236.4, Eub. fr. 33.2 = fr. 66.2.

PS 95.9–10: ὀνυχίζειν καὶ ἐξονυχίζειν· τὸ περὶ τι ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἀπονυχίζειν τὸ τοὺς ὄνυχας ἀφαιρεῖν.

ὀνυχίζειν and ἐξονυχίζειν: [Indicate] accurately reflecting about something. They also say ἀπονυχίζειν for trimming the nails.

PS 128.19–20: ὠνυχισμένος· ἐπὶ τοῦ τετμημένου ὑπὸ λύπης.

ὠνυχισμένος: [It is used] for a person who has had [his nails] trimmed because of [their sight causing] distress.

This is one of the more complex cases to analyse. Much help is provided by a parallel entry in the indirect tradition:

Phot. α 2595: ἀπονυχίζεσθαι καὶ ὀνυχίζειν καὶ ἐξονυχίζειν διαφέρουσι· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀπονυχίζειν μετὰ τῆς ἀπό προθέσεως σημαίνει τὸ τοὺς ὄνυχας ἀφαιρεῖν. τὸ δὲ ὀνυχίζειν καὶ ἐξονυχίζειν τιθέασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρευνᾶν ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐξετάζειν τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρᾶγμα. Ἀριστοφάνης Ὀλκάσιν· ‘ἐξονυχιῶ γὰρ ἔγωγε τοῦτ’ ἀκριβῶς’ ({ἀκριβῶς} Kassel).

ἀπονυχίζεσθαι and ὀνυχίζειν and ἐξονυχίζειν differ [in meaning]. For ἀπονυχίζειν, with the prefix ἀπο-, indicates the trimming of the nails, while [Attic writers] use ὀνυχίζειν and ἐξονυχίζειν for the accurate examination and evaluation of the matter at hand. Aristophanes [says thus] in *Merchant Ships* (fr. 421): ‘For I will examine this {carefully} myself’.

The verbs ἀπονυχίζω, ἐξονυχίζω, and ὀνυχίζω attracted much interest from Atticist lexicography and beyond.<sup>31</sup> Some of these parallels are examined as part of the discussion below, but first I provide an overview of the entries in the epitome and their content.<sup>32</sup>

The first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10) recommends using ἀπονυχίζω with the meaning ‘to trim the nails’, while ὀνυχίζω and ἐξονυχίζω should be used with the meaning ‘to nit-pick’. However, an occurrence of ὠνυχισμένος in Cratinus is quoted as an exception to this doctrine. The second entry of the epitome (PS 95.9–10) reiterates the same notion, but starting from the discussion of ὀνυχίζω rather than ἀπονυχίζω. As regards these two entries, Pollux (2.146) is more tolerant than Phryni-

31 See Phryn. *Ecl.* 253, Poll. 2.146, [Hdn.] *Philet.* 38 ~ Harp. cod. Marc. gr. 444 (see Keaney 1967, 209 no. 13), Hsch. ω 251, Hsch. ω 931, Σ ο 177 (Cyr. [AS] ονδ–ονω 50) = Phot. ο 367 = *Su.* ο 411, Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1919 = *Su.* α 3461 (ex Σ”) (= Orus fr. B 38), Phot. α 2596, *Su.* ε 1802.

32 These entries show a recurring oscillation between the active and the middle. This is not terribly problematic and may reflect the different nuance between ‘I trim the nails’ and ‘I have my nails trimmed’ (see Hp. *Mul.* 70.24–6 Littré: ὅταν δὲ στρέφειν ἢ κατατάμνειν μέλλης τὸ παιδίον, τὰς χεῖρας χρὴ ἀπονυχίσασθαι, ‘When you are going to turn or incise a child, you must have your nails cut short’; Phot. α 2596: ἀπονυχιούμαι· Εὐπολὶς ἔφη, ‘I will have my nails trimmed: Eupolis (fr. 433) says [thus]’). As discussed by Olson (2014, 200), who considers the evidence at greater length, it is possible that trimming the nails was normally not something that one would do himself.

chus regarding the suitability of both ἀπονυχίζω and ὀνυχίζω for use with the concrete meaning; however, unlike Phrynichus, Pollux seems to condemn the use of ἐξονυχίζω with the concrete meaning.<sup>33</sup> The third entry of the epitome (PS 128.19–20) concerns the use of the perfect participle ὀνυχισμένος and parallels the discussion of Cratinus' use of this form in the first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10).

The first two entries of the epitome are evidently similar, and their proximity is made even more apparent by comparing the entry in Photius. Moreover, the reference to Cratinus in the first entry of the epitome strongly recalls the third entry of the epitome. Accordingly, the mutual relationship of these passages should be investigated anew.

The first and the second entry of the epitome share the same doctrine, and many formulations are highly similar. The comparison with the indirect tradition in Photius comes to our aid and provides a useful *tertium comparationis* to explain the different wording in the two entries of the epitome. Despite the great proximity of the entry in Photius with the first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10), the selection of the *loci classici* demonstrates that they are the product of independent processes of epitomisation and excerption. In the first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10), ἀπονυχίζεσθαι τοῦ ὀνυχίζεσθαι Ἀττικῶς διαφέρει is different from ἀπονυχίζεσθαι καὶ ὀνυχίζειν καὶ ἐξονυχίζειν διαφέρουσι in Photius, but the active infinitives ὀνυχίζειν and ἐξονυχίζειν occur in the *interpretamentum* of both the first and the second entry of the epitome.<sup>34</sup> This suggests that ἀπονυχίζεσθαι τοῦ ὀνυχίζεσθαι Ἀττικῶς διαφέρει in the first entry of the epitome omits to mention ἐξονυχίζειν owing to epitomisation or lacuna. In the second entry of the epitome (PS 95.9–10), τὸ τοὺς ὀνυχας ἀφαιρεῖν perfectly overlaps with the entry in Photius, whereas the first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10) has τὸ τοὺς ὀνυχας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. As regards the treatment of ὀνυχίζω and ἐξονυχίζω, the section on ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρευνᾶν ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐξετάζειν τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρᾶγμα is (almost) identical in the first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10) and in Photius. The use of ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι in the second entry of the epitome (PS 95.9–10) might be intended to

<sup>33</sup> See Poll. 2.146: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὀνύχων ὀνυχίσασθαι καὶ ἀπονυχίσασθαι, ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον χρηστέον, εἴρηται δὲ τὸ ἐξονυχίσασθαι, φαύλως δὲ ('From the nails [one can say] ὀνυχίσασθαι and ἀπονυχίσασθαι, which [is the form] one should use. ἐξονυχίσασθαι is also used, but [it is] bad style'). This comment is a little surprising, considering that Aristophanes used ἐξονυχίζω precisely in this sense (see Ar. fr. 421 quoted in Phot. a 2595, discussed above). In this passage, the manuscripts of the IV family have ἐξονυχίζειν in place of ἐξονυχίζεσθαι, but this does not raise major difficulties (see above n. 29).

<sup>34</sup> The use of διαφέρει/διαφέρουσι may be original, but it may also have been introduced during transmission. On διαφέρει/διαφέρουσι see Mastronarde (2017, 70–1).

achieve brevity, but the use of this verb in the parallel entry of the *Eclogue* makes this conclusion less compelling.<sup>35</sup>

These comparisons between the first two entries of the epitome and Photius have highlighted how similar all these entries are in form and content. It does not require much speculation to suppose that the second entry (PS 95.9–10) was excerpted from the original entry of the PS, which is the common source behind both entries in the epitome. This operation would have been carried out to give attention to ὀνυχίζειν καὶ ἐξονυχίζειν in a self-standing excerpt.

We can now address the second issue. The third entry of the epitome (PS 128.19–20) closely matches the final part of the first entry (PS 20.6–10), which concerns the use of ὀνυχισμένος by Cratinus. That the Cratinus passage is the *locus classicus* of the first entry (PS 20.6–10) and the third entry (PS 128.19–20) was already suggested by de Borries (1911, 20; 128). Earlier editors of the comic fragments consider only the first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10) as having the Cratinus passage as its *locus classicus* (see Meineke, *FCG* vol. 2, 1, 214; Kock, *CAF* vol. 1, 129). More recently, Kassel and Austin (*PCG* vol. 4, 333) cautiously include the third entry (PS 128.19–20) as a comparison, but raise the question of whether it actually goes back to the passage of Cratinus. Clearly, the similarity in formulation between the first and the third entries of the epitome – both of which, in discussing ὀνυχισμένος, have the *interpretamentum* ἐπὶ τοῦ τετμημένου – invites further reflection. Among other things, this requires us to pay closer attention to the discussion of ὀνυχισμένος in relation to the exegesis of Cratinus' fragment. Although a conclusive interpretation of the reference(s) to Cratinus is complicated by the scanty and elusive information, the evidence seems to point to a common derivation of the discussion of ὀνυχισμένος in the two entries of the epitome.<sup>36</sup>

---

35 See Phryn. *Ecl.* 253: ὀνυχίζειν καὶ ἐξονυχίζειν· ταῦτὸ σημαίνει ἐκάτερα καὶ τίθεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι. τὸ δ' ἀπονυχίζειν τὸ τὰς ὑπεραυξήσεις τῶν ὀνύχων ἀφαιρεῖν σημαίνει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ πολλὸς συρφετὸς λέγουσιν 'ὀνύχισόν με' καὶ 'ὀνυχισάμην', σημαίνόμεθα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ φαμεν ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦς ὀνυχας ἀφαιρεῖν τίθησιν τις, χρήσαιτο ἂν τῷ ἀπονυχίζειν, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι καὶ ἐξετάζειν ἀκριβῶς, τῷ ὀνυχίζειν χρήσαιτ' ἂν ('ὀνυχίζειν and ἐξονυχίζειν: Each [of these verbs] means the same thing and are used for accurately reflecting. ἀπονυχίζειν, in turn, means the trimming of the outgrown parts of the nails. But since the vast majority of people say 'trim me [the nails]' and 'I had my nails trimmed', we point out [the correct use of] these forms and say that, if one refers to the trimming of nails, one should use ἀπονυχίζειν, while for accurately reflecting and examining carefully, one should use ὀνυχίζειν').

36 The picture is enriched by Hsch. ω 251: ὀνυχισμένον· ἀφαιρεμένον ('ὀνυχισμένον: [It means] removed'). It is likely that the *locus classicus* is, again, the passage of Cratinus. This entry is of Atticist derivation according to Hansen, Cunningham (2009, 267), who compare it with Phryn. PS 20.6–10 and *Ecl.* 253. The entry in Hesychius, together with PS 20.6–10, PS 95.9–10, and [Hdn.] *Philet.* 38 ~ Harp. cod. Marc. gr. 444 (see Keaney 1967, 209 nr. 13), documents the use of ἀφαιρέω

It is possible that independent processes of epitomisation and excerption have resulted in two entries sharing some pieces of information, which nevertheless need to be harmonised. As already mentioned, in the first entry (*PS* 20.6–10), after examining the semantic differences between ἀπονυχίζω on the one hand, and ὀνυχίζω and ἐξονυχίζω on the other, Phrynichus added that Cratinus, despite the prescription just formulated by Phrynichus himself, used ὀνυχισμένος in the concrete meaning (i.e. like ἀπονυχίζω ‘to trim the nails’), instead of the more common metaphorical meaning (i.e. ὀνυχίζω and ἐξονυχίζω ‘to nit-pick’; see *PS* 95.9–10). The adversative sense of Κρατῖνος μέντοι works well considering the high status of Cratinus in the comic canon followed by Phrynichus.<sup>37</sup> Notice that in Photius’ entry the metaphorical meaning ‘to examine’ of ἐξονυχίζω is defended based on Aristophanes’ fr. 421.<sup>38</sup> This may also explain the selection operative in the entry in Photius, where the Aristophanes fragment that documents the approved doctrine is favoured over the ‘exceptional’ use of ὀνυχίζω by Cratinus, the documentation of which, in turn, is preserved (twice) in the epitome of the *PS*.

The first entry of the epitome (*PS* 20.6–10) points out that Cratinus used the simple verb ὀνυχισμένος with a concrete meaning (‘a person who has had his nails trimmed’). By contrast, the meaning of ὀνυχισμένος in the third entry of the epitome (*PS* 128.19–20) is not immediately clear, not least for the lack of a direct object of the verb; additionally, the complement ὑπὸ λύπης is a more elusive formulation than the one in the first entry of the epitome (*PS* 20.6–10).<sup>39</sup> Still, it is

---

for ‘removing’ (i.e. ‘trimming’) the part of the nail in excess. However, there is no indication that the Hesychius entry should derive from a self-standing entry on ὀνυχισμένος in an unabridged (or less abridged) version of the *PS*: while the Atticist derivation is possible, the source cannot be Phrynichus. Thus, this is no counter evidence against the hypothesis put forward in this contribution that the entries in the epitome result from independent manipulation of a common source text.

<sup>37</sup> On the comic canon in the *PS*, see Tribulato (2024).

<sup>38</sup> Another authoritative instance in support of the Atticist doctrine is Ar. fr. 866 = Σ ο 177 (*ex Cyr.* (AS) ονδ–ονω 50) (= Phot. ο 367 = *Su.* ο 411).

<sup>39</sup> Kassel and Austin (*PCG* vol. 4, 333) do not take for granted that the exegesis offered by Phrynichus is correct. After comparing the entries in the epitome of the *PS* discussing ὀνυχισμένος, they wonder whether the sense in which Cratinus originally used ὀνυχισμένος could be that of ‘a person who has been deceived/tricked by someone/something to his/her own damage’, a meaning that they find attested in Artemidorus (1.22: ἐν τῇ συνήθειᾳ ὀνυχίζεσθαι φαμεν τὸν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ὑπὸ τινος ἐξαπατηθέντα, ‘We commonly say that the person who is deceived/tricked by someone/something to his own damage is ‘nailed’ (i.e. ὀνυχίζεσθαι)’; in LSJ s.v. ὀνυχίζω IV, the meaning is rendered with ‘overreach’, but it should be more poignant than that, in that ‘to be nailed’ equals ‘to be tricked’). The mention of the συνήθεια in Artemidorus would square well with the implicit indication that the use of the verb by Cratinus is not entirely standard Attic. In support of this, one should stress that this idiomatic meaning of ὀνυχίζομαι is also discussed in Σ ο 177 (*ex Cyr.*



possible to show that the information about ὠνυχισμένος in the first and third entries of the epitome (PS 20.6–10 and 128.19–20) can be reconciled.

Based on the parallel with the first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10), τοὺς ὄνυχας can easily be implied as the direct object of ἐπὶ τοῦ τετμημένου ὑπὸ λύπης in the third entry of the epitome (PS 128.19–20). As regards ὑπὸ λύπης, the first difficulty is that we have no evidence about the dramatic context in which ὠνυχισμένος was used by Cratinus, and it is unclear what λύπη points to.<sup>40</sup> It is perfectly possible that λύπη should be taken in the sense of ‘unpleasantness’ and ‘distress’ rather than actual physical or moral pain. To support the idea that a certain character has had his or her nails cut because they were a distressing sight one should compare the depiction of the Offensive Man in Thphr. *Char.* 19.1–2:<sup>41</sup> [ἔστι δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια ἀθεραπευσία σώματος λύπης παρασκευαστική.] ὁ δὲ δυσχερῆς τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος λέπραν ἔχων καὶ ἀλφὸν καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας μέλανας περιπατεῖν καὶ φῆσαι ταῦτα εἶναι αὐτῷ συγγενικά ἄρρωσθήματα· ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι ῥάδιον αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ γένος ὑποβάλλεσθαι (‘[Offensiveness is a distressing neglect of the person.] The Offensive Man is the kind who parades about with scaly and blanched skin and black nails and claims that these are congenital ailments; his father and grandfather had them, and it makes it difficult to palm off an illegitimate son on the family’, transl. Diggle 2004, 119). Although the initial definition is of dubious authenticity (yet, all definitions in the

---

(AS) ὀνδ–ὀνω 50) (= Phot. ο 367 = Su. ο 411): ὀνυχίζεται· ἀκριβολογεῖται. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης (ο. A. om. Σ). ἐν δὲ τῇ συνηθείᾳ τὸ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τινι ἐξαπατηθῆναι (ἐν δὲ – ἐξαπατηθῆναι Su.) (‘ὀνυχίζεται: [It means] to examine carefully. Aristophanes (fr. 866) [uses it] thus. But in common speech [it means] being deceived by someone/something to [one’s own] damage’). There is, however, no positive evidence to disprove the exegesis offered by Phrynichus (which can also be supported with new arguments, see further above). Indeed, as already mentioned, a reference to Cratinus using ὀνυχίζομαι to refer to the cutting or trimming of the nails is perfectly compatible with the logic of the entry, where it would provide more nuance to the prescription just previously formulated.

<sup>40</sup> For instance, Olson, Seaberg (2018, 343) in their commentary on Cratin. fr. 503 do not address the different formulations of the two entries and translate the *interpretamentum* of the third entry of the epitome (PS 128.19–20) as ‘referring to someone who has been cut by pain’. To accept this, we would need to postulate that ὠνυχισμένος may mean something like ‘a person who has cut himself/herself with the nails’, and then ὑπὸ λύπης may refer to violent acts of lamentation which involved intense scratching of the skin (see Eur. *El.* 146–9, *Hec.* 653–7, *Hel.* 372–4, *Hel.* 1086–88, *Tr.* 279–80). In such a case, the object τοὺς ὄνυχας in the first entry of the epitome (PS 20.6–10) might be considered an intruding gloss or some other manipulation of the text. The obvious difficulty with this interpretation is that the suggested meaning of ὠνυχισμένος is not supported by any parallel. The interpretation put forward by Olson and Seaberg seems, therefore, a less viable solution than the one suggested above.

<sup>41</sup> The text follows Diggle (2004). On the textual problems of this passage see Diggle (2004, 387).

*Characters* must predate the 1st century BCE),<sup>42</sup> this use of λύπη is a recurring element in Theophrastus' *Characters* and other texts besides, used to indicate physical or behavioural traits that are unpleasant or distressing for other people.<sup>43</sup> We may then suspect that the person whom Cratinus described as having had his nails trimmed aimed to present himself with a more urbane and socially acceptable appearance.<sup>44</sup> Of course, it could be that ὑπὸ λύπης is the result of epitomisation rather than the formulation adopted by Phrynichus.

To conclude, despite the different wording, the discussion of ὠνυχισμένος in the first entry (*PS* 20.6–10) and the third entry of the epitome (*PS* 128.19–20) can certainly be reconciled. Moreover, the fact that the content and the wording of the two entries is close is a strong indication that both entries most probably go back to the same source text.

This analysis has shown that all three entries of the epitome are likely to result from the independent epitomisation and excerption of one entry belonging to the original, unabridged, or less abridged, version of the *PS*. The entry in Photius provides supplementary evidence of this, representing yet another product of independent epitomisation and excerption of the same source text. Looking back at the evidence regarding ἀπονυχίζω, ἐξονυχίζω, and ὀνυχίζω, one may wonder whether the entry of the epitome *PS* 92.6: ὀνυχιαῖα (cod.: ὀνυχιαῖα Blaydes) τέμνειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ μικρά ('ὀνυχιαῖα τέμνειν (= *com. adesp.* fr. \*635): Instead of small things') might originally have been part of Phrynichus' treatment of those verbs and their meaning. Indeed, the expression ὀνυχιαῖα/ὀνυχιαῖα τέμνειν is likely to have meant something along the lines of 'to cut the most minute parts of the nails', thus effectively supplementing the discussion about ὀνυχίζω and ἐξονυχίζω to indicate the act of making a careful examination. This suggestion, which would yield a kind of 'onomastic' organisation of the entry of the *PS*, remains only a speculation, but one worth considering.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See Diggle (2004, 17).

<sup>43</sup> See Diggle (2004, 321), with discussion and parallels.

<sup>44</sup> Olson, Seaberg (2018, 345) rightly compare the description of the Oligarchic Man in Thphr. *Char.* 26.4, who goes out well-dressed, with his hair well-cut, and having had his nails trimmed: these are all elements for making a good public appearance. Perhaps, Eup. fr. 433: ἀπονυχιοῦμαι ('I will have my nails trimmed') too originally belonged in a similar situation (see Olson 2014, 200, with references to other passages).

<sup>45</sup> Discussing *PS* 55.16–7: γυναικὴρὸς τρόπος and *PS* 56.6–7: γυναικίζειν and the parallel with *Antiatt.* γ 10: γυναικισμός and *Antiatt.* γ 11: γυναικάριον, Tribulato (2022b) similarly highlights the possibility 'that these entries in the *PS* and the *Antiatticist* derive from the fragmentation and shortening of a wider discussion concerning derivatives of γυνή, perhaps based on comic language'. On the evidence for an onomastic structure in the *PS*, see Cavarzeran (this volume).

## 4.5 ἀπορθόω

PS 21.3–5: ἀπορθοῦν πόλιν ἢ οἰκίαν· σημαίνει μὲν τὸ διοικεῖν ὀρθῶς, μετενήνεκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπορθούντων τὰς ναῦς τοῖς οἰάζιν.

ἀπορθοῦν πόλιν ἢ οἰκίαν (‘To steer right a city or a household’): It means to administer rightly. [This use] is taken from those who steer the ships with the helm.

PS 52.3: ἀπορθοῦν· ἀπευθύνειν καὶ σώζειν.

ἀπορθοῦν: [It means] to steer and save.

ἀπορθόω is a relatively uncommon word in Classical times, nor did it attract much interest in ancient scholarship (the few, and late, parallels are concerned with the simple ὀρθόω).<sup>46</sup>

ἀπορθόω occurs twice in tragedy (Soph. *Ant.* 636, Eur. *Supp.* 1228) and once in Plato (*Lg.* 757e.5). These three occurrences are similar in that a higher authority (deities in Euripides and Plato, a father in Sophocles) is addressed (explicitly or implicitly) by a person or group asking to direct them towards what is good. The presence of πόλις in the lemma of the first entry of the epitome (PS 21.3–5) could recall one of the passages in Plato’s *Laws*, where the subject is (in keeping with the subject of the dialogue) the administration of the State (see *Lg.* 757d.5–7). However, the metaphor of steering a city or house is commonplace, and the *locus classicus* remains unidentified.

The similarity between the two entries in the epitome is readily apparent. To be sure, the second entry has a shortened lemma and the *interpretamentum* too is much condensed (notice, however, that ἀπευθύνω, which is apt to indicate the administration of a city or household, corresponds quite neatly to μετενήνεκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπορθούντων τὰς ναῦς τοῖς οἰάζιν).<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, it is not unwarranted

<sup>46</sup> See Phot. ο 463: ὀρθοῖ· σώζει (‘ὀρθοῖ: [It means] it saves’), Georgius Lecapenus *Epist.* 9, 78.15–6 Lindstam: ὀρθῶ οἰκίαν καὶ τεῖχος. καὶ ὀρθοῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν ναῦν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κατευθύνει (‘I set up-right a house or a wall. Also, the wind rightly directs the ship, meaning [that it] guides [it]’).

<sup>47</sup> Beside the literary parallels in LSJ s.v. ἀπευθύνω I.2 (which could be easily expanded by taking in the evidence from post-classical writers), as far as scholarly texts are concerned see schol. Pi. *N.* 3.45b Drachmann: ἀλληγορεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκραν ἀπευθύνειν λέγων τὸν πλοῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν κυβερνητῶν τῶν ἐχομένων ἄλλων ἀκρωτηρίων ἀλλ’ οὐ τῶν προκειμένων, δέον εὐθυπλοεῖν κατὰ λιμένα; schol. Byz. Soph. *OT* 104 Longo: πρίν – πόλιν] πρὸ τοῦ ἀπευθύνειν, ἦγουν κυβερνᾶν σε τήνδε τὴν πόλιν. τὸ εὐθύνειν καὶ τὸ ἀπευθύνειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρθουμένων λοξῶν λέγεται, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κυβερνωμένων νεῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων κατὰ μεταφορὰν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κολάζειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικουμένων, καθ’ ὃ λέγεται ἐνταῦθα; schol. Aeschin. 3.359 Dilts: <ἀπευθύνειν>] κυβερνᾶν, διοικεῖν.

to postulate in this case as well that the two entries ultimately go back to a common source text that has been epitomised and excerpted independently.

## 4.6 ἀπό στόματος, ἀπό γλώττης, ἀποστοματίζω

PS 38.3–4: ἀπό στόματος λέγειν καὶ ἀπό γλώσσης· τὸ δι' ἐντολῶν καὶ οὐ δι' ἐπιστολῆς.

ἀπό στόματος λέγειν καὶ ἀπό γλώσσης ('To speak from the mouth and [to speak] from the tongue'): [It means to say something] by an order [given orally] and not through a letter.

PS 45.8–10: ἀποστοματίζειν· τὸ ἀπό στόματος ἐρωτωμένους ἐν διδασκάλου ἢ γλώσσας ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν μαθημάτων λέγειν.

ἀποστοματίζειν: [It means] being asked at a teacher's [place] to repeat by heart glosses or some other piece of teaching.

That the expression ἀπό στόματος attracted the interest of the Atticists is shown by the parallel entries in the *Antiatticist* and Pollux.<sup>48</sup> Important supplementary evidence comes from an entry of the *Synagoge* tradition:

Σ' (= *Su.* α 3561, brevius Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1977 et Phot. α 2666):<sup>49</sup> ἀπό στόματος· ὡς ἡμεῖς, τὸ μὴ (om. Σ<sup>b</sup>) διὰ γραμμάτων ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μνήμης. Φιλήμων Νεμομένοις· 'ἀπό στόματος ἅπαντ', ἐάν βούλησθ', ἐρῶ' (Φιλήμων – ἐρῶ Σ<sup>b</sup> *Su.*: οὕτω Φιλήμων καὶ Θουκυδίδης καὶ Πλάτων Phot.).

**48** See *Antiatt.* α 1: ἀπό στόματος· Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀναβάσει, Πλάτων Θεαιτήτῳ ('ἀπό στόματος: Xenophon [uses it] in *Anabasis*, Plato in *Theaetetus* (142d.6)'); Poll. 2.102: ἀποστοματίζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας Πλάτων που λέγει, οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπερωτᾶσθαι τὰ μαθήματα ὡς ἀπὸ στόματος λέγειν. λέγεται δὲ τι καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγράφου λόγου. καὶ 'ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος' Πλάτων που λέγει ('Plato says somewhere (*Euthd.* 276c, 277a) that schoolchildren ἀποστοματίζεσθαι ('repeat by heart'), as in being asked by the teachers to repeat the lesson by heart. To say something by heart is also used for an unwritten speech. Plato somewhere (*R.* 364a.1, *Lg.* 634e.1) says also ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος ('with one voice')'; Poll. 4.18: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ γραμματιστοῦ ῥητέον διδάσκειν γράμματα, [. . .], ἀποστοματίζειν ('And concerning a teacher one must say: to teach the letters, [. . .], to dictate'). The reference to Xenophon in the entry of the *Antiatticist* is more likely to be *Mem.* 3.6.9 or *Smp.* 3.5 (see Valente 2015, 83 *ad Antiatt.* α 1): the passage must have undergone epitomisation, and the reference to the *Anabasis* was more likely aimed to document a different use of ἀπό στόματος than 'by heart'. To these comparisons we may add Tim. *Lex.* α 61: ἀποστοματίζειν· ἀπὸ μνήμης λέγειν ('ἀποστοματίζειν (*Pl. Euthd.* 276c, 277a): [It means] to say from memory'), Hsch. α 6668: ἀποστοματίζειν· ἀπὸ μνήμης ἀξιοῦν λέγειν ('ἀποστοματίζειν: [It means] to ask to say from memory') (on the *locus classicus* see Valente 2012, 107 *ad Tim. Lex.* α 61 and below n. 50), and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1991 (= Phot. α 2648 = *Su.* α 3561, ex Σ'): ἀποστοματίζειν· ἀπὸ μνήμης λέγειν ('ἀποστοματίζειν: [It means] to say from memory').

**49** For convenience's sake, I have given the text of Σ' as reconstructed by Valente (2015, 83 *ad Antiatt.* α 1).

Κρατῖνος δὲ ταῦτὸ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ γλώττης Νόμοις· 'ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε (οἶ- ἔ- *Su.*: οἶδε τῷδε Σ<sup>b</sup>) γράμματ' οὐδ' ἐπίσταμαι, | ἀλλ' (Σ<sup>b</sup>: τὰ ἄλλα *Su.*) ἀπὸ γλώττης φράσω σοι· μνημονεύω γὰρ καλῶς' (hic desinit Σ<sup>b</sup>). Θουκυδίδης ζ'· 'καί (non habet Thuc.) ἤκοντες εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίου (Νόμοις – Νικίου om. Phot.) ὅσα τε ἀπὸ γλώττης εἶρητο (*Su.*: -ται Phot.) αὐτοῖς εἶπον'. Πλάτων Θεαιτήτῳ· 'ἀτὰρ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι; ἔχεις ἂν διηγήσασθαι; οὐ μὰ τὸν Δῖ, οὐκ οὖν οὕτω (Phot.: οὐ *Su.*) γε ἀπὸ στόματος, ἀλλ' ἐγραψάμην μὲν τοῦτ' (τότ' Plat.) εὐθὺς οἱ' καδ' ἐλθὼν ὑπομνήματα' (ἀλλ' ἐγραψάμην – ὑπομνήματα om. Phot.). καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν φασὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον, ὅταν κελεύῃ τὸν παῖδα λέγειν ἅττα ἀπὸ στόματος.

ἀπὸ στόματος: [It is used] as we do, [indicating] that [which is communicated] not in writing but from memory. Philemon [uses it in this way] in *The Business Partners* (fr. 50): 'If you want, I will tell everything from memory'. Cratinus uses ἀπὸ γλώττης in this same meaning in *Laws* (fr. 128): 'No, by Zeus, I cannot read, but I will tell you from memory: for I remember [it] well'. Thucydides [uses it in this sense too] (7.10.1): 'And Nicias' envoys, once they arrived at Athens, told them all things which were told orally'. [See also] Plato in *Theaetetus* (142d.4–6): '(Terpsion) But what were the speeches? Could you relate them? (Euclides) No, by Zeus, certainly not just so, by heart, but I took notes as soon as I got home'. They also say ἀποστοματίζειν of the teacher, when he asks a pupil to repeat something by heart.

Cunningham (2003, 656) does not make any hypotheses concerning the source of this entry. Adler (1928–1938 vol. 1, 322), conversely, mentions the two entries of the *PS* as a comparison. Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 245), in turn, only indicates derivation from the *Synagoge* tradition; however, he points out that this entry is strictly connected with another entry in Photius, for which he suggests derivation from the *PS*:

Phot. α 2463: ἀπὸ γλώττης· ταῦτόν ἐστι ἀπὸ στόματος. Θουκυδίδης.

ἀπὸ γλώττης: [It] is the same as ἀπὸ στόματος ('by heart'). Thucydides (7.10.1) [uses it in this sense].

Although we cannot be certain, it seems safe to say that the entries in the epitome of the *PS* offer the closest possible comparison to the entry of the *Synagoge* tradition. Considering how extensively materials from the *PS* have been employed for the expansions of the *Synagoge*, the derivation from the *PS* is far from unlikely. Further arguments in support of this will be discussed shortly; for now, let us examine the evidence more closely.

The two entries of the epitome correspond to distinct parts of the entry of the *Synagoge* tradition. The first entry of the epitome (*PS* 38.3–4) posits an opposition

between orders given orally and in writing: the expression ἀπὸ στόματος (properly, ‘by heart’)<sup>50</sup> and ἀπὸ γλώσσης (properly, ‘orally’)<sup>51</sup> are taken together in opposition to anything that is transmitted in written form. It thus appears that this entry of the epitome provides in extremely condensed form the same pieces of information provided in more detail in the first part of the entry of the *Synagoge* tradition.

In fact, the entry of the *Synagoge* adds a passage of Cratinus documenting the use of ἀπὸ γλώσσης with the same meaning as ἀπὸ στόματος, that is, ‘by heart’ rather than ‘orally’. The lack of context prevents us from drawing any conclusion concerning the suitability of the interpretation ἀπὸ γλώσσης = ἀπὸ στόματος ‘by heart’. The same interpretation also seems to be presupposed for the passage of Thucydides, and this inference is greatly strengthened by the parallel with Phot. α 2463 (see above). Yet such an interpretation of ἀπὸ γλώσσης is clearly off the mark in Thucydides, where the meaning is ‘orally’.<sup>52</sup> However, ancient readers may have thought otherwise (whatever the reason).

The fact that the two expressions ἀπὸ στόματος and ἀπὸ γλώσσης are presented together in the first entry of the epitome (*PS* 38.3–4) is a strong indication that they were considered to be synonyms, just like in the entry of the *Synagoge* tradition. Furthermore, the use of ἐντολαί ‘orders (given orally)’ in opposition with ἐπιστολαί in the *interpretamentum* of the first entry of the epitome (*PS* 38.3–4) is very much in keeping with the Thucydidean quotation in both entries of the *Synagoge* tradition, since in that passage the orders given orally are contrasted with the ἐπιστολαί which Nicias entrusted his envoys with.<sup>53</sup> These details are hardly incidental and may thus offer concrete proof that the first section of the entry of the *Synagoge* tradition ultimately goes back to the *PS*.

<sup>50</sup> See X. *Smp.* 3.5: ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην ἡνάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὅμηρου ἔπη μαθεῖν· καὶ νῦν δυναίμην ἂν Ἰλιάδα ὅλην καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν (‘My father was anxious to see me develop into a good man’, said Niceratus, ‘so he made me to memorize all of Homer; and so even now I can repeat the whole *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by heart’, transl. Todd in Marchant, Todd 2013, 589).

<sup>51</sup> See Hdt. 1.123.4: ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστειλλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπευεῖν αὐτοχειρὶ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῦντι παρεῖναι (‘Then he sewed up the hare’s belly, and sent it to Persia by the trustiest of his servants, giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was charged to give Cyrus the hare and bid him by word of mouth cut it open with his own hands, none other being present’, transl. Godley 1920, 161–3).

<sup>52</sup> Thucydides is drawing an opposition between the order given orally by Nicias and the content of the letter he sent to the Athenians (see Hornblower 2008, 559).

<sup>53</sup> Notice that δι’ ἐπιστολῆς cannot just mean ‘by an order’. In this sense, not only would we expect ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς, but, moreover, this idiom would apply indiscriminately to orders delivered orally or in writing (see LSJ s.v. ἐπιστολή).

The second entry of the epitome (PS 45.8–10), in turn, discusses ἀποστοματίζειν meaning ‘to recite a lesson by heart’. The use of the verb is explicitly referred to a school context. This same use of the verb is examined in the final part of the entry of the *Synagoge* tradition, where the reference to the school context is explicitly discussed. If we compare the treatment of ἀποστοματίζω in Tim. Lex. α 61, Hsch. α 6668, and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1991 (= Phot. α 2648 = Su. α 3561, ex Σ’), we see that no reference is made to a school context to exemplify the use of ἀποστοματίζω. This too may be evidence that the final part of the entry in the *Synagoge* tradition relies on the PS.

There is also a possible indication of this offered by the sequence καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν φασὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον in the entry of the *Synagoge* tradition; but this is a complicated matter which requires in-depth analysis.

The verb ἀποστοματίζω may be used either of a teacher who teaches by dictation (as exemplified by a long section of Plato’s *Euthydemus*, see LSJ s.v. I) or for repeating something by heart (see LSJ s.v. II). In the passage of the *Synagoge*, the first meaning is required by the syntax since διδάσκαλος is the subject of the infinitive clause. However, the use of ἀποστοματίζειν which is presupposed according to the sense is that of the pupil who repeats a lesson by heart, which is precisely the situation described in the subordinate clause. Hence, the two clauses are inconsistent. If we compare the second entry of the epitome (PS 45.8–10), we find that ἀποστοματίζω clearly indicates a pupil who is required to repeat a lesson by heart, and no reference is made to ἀποστοματίζω in the sense of ‘to teach by dictation’. There are two ways we can make sense of this problematic evidence.

The first is to suppose that τὸν διδάσκαλον in the entry of the *Synagoge* resulted from a faulty manipulation of an earlier text which may have had something along the lines of ἐν διδασκάλῳ (‘at a teacher’s [place]’), to follow a clue from the text of the second entry of the epitome (PS 45.8–10). Since διδάσκαλος is likely to have occurred in the subordinate clause in the entry of the *Synagoge* (where διδάσκαλος is the subject presupposed by κελεύη), this may have encouraged the error in the earlier sentence during transmission. Such confusion may have also been encouraged by the later use of ἀποστοματίζω meaning ‘to interrogate’, which was certainly familiar to Byzantine readers because of its use in Luke’s Gospel (11.53, see LSJ s.v. I.2).<sup>54</sup> In such a case, the only meaning of ἀποστοματίζω which was originally presupposed was ‘to repeat (a lesson) by heart’.

<sup>54</sup> If we compare the cluster of entries Tim. Lex. α 61: ἀποστοματίζειν· ἀπὸ μνήμης λέγειν (‘ἀποστοματίζειν (Pl. *Euthd.* 276c, 277a): [It means] to say from memory’), Hsch. α 6668: ἀποστοματίζειν· ἀπὸ μνήμης ἀξιοῦν λέγειν (‘ἀποστοματίζειν: [It means] to ask to say from memory’), and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1991 (= Phot. α 2648 = Su. α 3561, ex Σ’): ἀποστοματίζειν· ἀπὸ μνήμης λέγειν (‘ἀποστοματίζειν: [It means] to say from memory’), it may not be incidental that Hesychius adds ἀξιοῦν. Despite earlier suggestions to trace this entry back to the same *locus classicus* as the entries in Timaeus’ Platonic lexicon and in the *Synagoge* (see above n. 44), Latte (1953, 226) might be right in considering the Hesychius entry as going back to Cyril’s lexicon and as referring to the passage of Luke’s Gospel where ἀποστοματίζω means precisely ‘to interrogate, to question, to ask a pupil’ (see *Ev.Luc.* 11.53: κάκειθεν ἐξεληθόντος αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι δεινῶς ἐνέ-

Alternatively, it may be that the passage originally contained a longer treatment of the uses of ἀποστοματίζω, in which the meaning ‘to teach by dictation’ was examined first, followed by the meaning ‘to repeat (a lesson) by heart’. But these pieces of information having subsequently undergone different manipulations in the entries of the epitome and the *Synagoge*, the result was that they provided only partial or ambiguous information. On this interpretation as well, it is possible that interference with the passage of Luke’s Gospel may have contributed to the textual state of the entry of the *Synagoge*. This latter solution strikes me as more appealing and can be strengthened with further arguments.

Atticist lexicographers may have been misled in their understanding of ἀποστοματίζω ‘to repeat (a lesson) by heart’. According to the modern lexica, this is a late use of ἀποστοματίζω (see LSJ s.v. II, *DGE* s.v.). Yet, it must have been considered acceptable Attic by the lexicographers. A possible clue as to how this may have happened is offered by a comparison with Poll. 2.102: ἀποστοματίζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας Πλάτων που λέγει, οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπερωτᾶσθαι τὰ μαθήματα ὡς ἀπὸ στόματος λέγειν (‘Plato says somewhere (*Euthd.* 276c) that schoolchildren ἀποστοματίζεσθαι (‘repeat by heart’), as in being asked by the teachers to repeat the lesson by heart’).<sup>55</sup> The section of Plato’s *Euthydemus* identified as the *locus classicus* by Bethe is inconsistent with the definition given by Pollux, for in both occurrences the verb is active and the meaning is ‘to teach by dictation’ and ‘the teaching taught by dictation’.<sup>56</sup> This is also true of *Euthd.* 277a, a longer section where ἀποστοματίζω is used multiple times and always with the meaning ‘to teach by dictation’. Let us consider this latter passage *in toto*:

*Euthd.* 277a.1–277b.2: ‘τί δέ; ἢ δ’ ὅς, οὐκ ἐπίστασαι σὺ γράμματα;’. ‘ναί’, ἔφη. ‘οὐκοῦν ἅπαντα;’. ὠμολόγει. ‘ὅταν οὖν τις ἀποστοματίζῃ ὅτιοῦν, οὐ γράμματα ἀποστοματίζει;’. ὠμολόγει. ‘οὐκοῦν ὦν τι σὺ ἐπίστασαι, ἔφη, ἀποστοματίζει, εἴπερ πάντα ἐπίστασαι;’. καὶ τοῦτο ὠμολόγει. ‘τί οὖν; ἢ δ’ ὅς, ἅρα σὺ <οὐ> μανθάνεις ἅττ’ ἂν ἀποστοματίζῃ τις, ὃ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος γράμματα

---

χειν καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν αὐτὸν περὶ πλείονων, ‘As he left from there, the scribes and the Pharisees began to press him vehemently and to interrogate him about many subjects’). Given the putative lack of a parallel in Cyril’s lexicon for the entry in Hesychius, it should be stressed that ἀποστοματίζω ‘to interrogate, to question, to ask a pupil’ in *Ev.Luc.* 11.53 is discussed in Cyril’s commentary on Luke’s Gospel (*Commentarii in Lucam (in catenis)* MPG 72.724.20–8; in turn, the meaning of ἀποστοματίζω in Cyril’s *Expositio in Psalmos* MPG 69.1065.23–7 is rather ‘to say from memory’). The resulting scenario, whereby the *locus classicus* of an entry in Hesychius is unknown or uncertain but is paralleled in the writings of St. Cyril, is increasingly familiar (and yet still underexplored, see Cunningham 2003, 755–8; Corcella 2017). As an alternative, it might also be that while the entry in Hesychius originally goes back to the Platonic passage, ἀξιοῦν was added later because of the interference with the passage of Luke’s Gospel.

<sup>55</sup> In this passage, MS E has: καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἀποστοματίζεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας τὰ μαθήματα, ἥγουν ἀπὸ στόματος λέγειν, τουτέστι ἐξ ἀγράφου λόγου· τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν. This does not yield a different sense.

<sup>56</sup> See *Euthd.* 276c.3–5: τί δέ, ὦ Κλεινία, ἔφη, ὅποτε ἀποστοματίζοι ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματιστής, πότεροι ἐμάνθανον τῶν παιδῶν τὰ ἀποστοματιζόμενα, οἱ σοφοὶ ἢ οἱ ἄμαθεῖς; (‘Well now, Cleinias, whenever your writing-master dictated from memory, which of the boys learnt the piece recited, the wise or the foolish?’), transl. Lamb 1924, 395).



μανθάνει;'. 'οὐκ, ἀλλ', ἡ δ' ὅς, μανθάνω'. 'οὐκοῦν ἂ ἐπίστασαι, ἡ δ' ὅς, μανθάνεις, εἴπερ γε ἅπαντα τὰ γράμματα ἐπίστασαι'. ὠμολόγησεν.

'Well then, asked the other, do you not know your letters?' 'Yes', he said. 'All of them?' He admitted it. 'Now when anyone dictates some piece or other, does he not dictate letters?' He admitted it. 'And he dictates things of which you know something, since you know all of them?' He admitted this too. 'Well now, said the other, surely you do not learn whatever such a person dictates; it is rather he who does not know his letters that learns?' 'No, he replied; I learn'. 'Then you learn what you know, since you know all your letters'. He agreed. (Transl. Lamb 1924, 395–7).

It is possible that ἀποστοματίζει in οὐκοῦν ὧν τι σὺ ἐπίστασαι, ἔφη, ἀποστοματίζει, εἴπερ πάντα ἐπίστασαι; had been wrongly taken as a 2nd person present indicative middle-passive (i.e. ἀποστοματίζῃ).<sup>57</sup> Such a reading of ἀποστοματίζει may have been suggested by the presence of ἐπίστασαι both before and after it, and by the lack of an indefinite τις, which in the rest of this passage regularly accompanies ἀποστοματίζει/ἀποστοματίζειν and thus makes it clear that it is a 3rd person singular active. Given Pollux's rather vague formulation (Πλάτων που λέγει), it is possible that he derived this information about ἀποστοματίζω/ἀποστοματίζομαι from an earlier source. This hypothesis would explain why Pollux comments on ἀποστοματίζεσθαι in the middle rather than in the active.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, the formulation τὸ ἀπὸ στόματος ἐρωτωμένους ἐν διδασκάλου ἢ γλώσσας ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν μαθημάτων λέγειν of the second entry of the epitome (PS 45.8–10) nicely parallels ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπερωτᾶσθαι τὰ μαθήματα ὡς ἀπὸ στόματος λέγειν in Poll. 2.102, and this may point to the use of a shared source or, more generally, to the same doctrine.

In conclusion, as suggested by the parallel with Pollux, it seems possible that Phrynichus may have originally discussed the use of ἀποστοματίζω in relation both to the teacher who teaches by dictation and the (alleged) use of ἀποστοματίζω/ἀποστοματίζομαι to refer to the schoolchildren who are asked to repeat a lesson by heart. This latter sense is known to us only from late texts, but a common source of Pollux and Phrynichus may have been misled into thinking that this use of the verb was attested in Plato's *Euthydemus*, which would make it good Attic.

The degree of overlap between the two parts of the entry of the *Synagoge* tradition and the corresponding entries of the epitome of the PS are a strong indication that these different strands of tradition may belong together. The indirect tradition seems to preserve more closely the content, organisation, and wording of the corresponding entry of an unabridged, or less abridged, version of the PS, whereas the two entries of the epitome seem to have resulted from independent

<sup>57</sup> The spelling -ει in place of -η of the 2nd person present indicative middle-passive was common in antiquity (see Arnott 2001). This may well have caused Pollux's, or rather his sources', confusion.

<sup>58</sup> It is likely that the use of the middle is precisely what suggested to Bethe that the *locus classicus* of Poll. 2.102 should be *Euthd.* 276c.5, where one finds τὰ ἀποστοματιζόμενα, rather than any other of the instances of ἀποστοματίζω in this longer section of *Euthydemus*.

epitomisation and excerption of the same source text which provided itemised information concerning, respectively, the expressions ἀπὸ στόματος λέγειν and ἀπὸ γλώσσης and the verb ἀποστοματίζειν.

#### 4.7 ἀπὸ καιροῦ, ἀπὸ τρόπου

PS 47.18: ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγειν· τὸ ἀκαίρως.

ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγειν (*com. adesp.* fr. 491) ('To speak out of the right moment'): [Meaning] at an ill-suited moment.

PS 96.20: οὐδὲν ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγεις· οἷον οὐκ ἔξω καιροῦ.

οὐδὲν ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγεις (*com. adesp.* fr. 491) ('You do not say anything malapropos'): As in never out of the right moment.

A relevant parallel for the entries in the epitome is offered by two, almost overlapping, entries in Photius and the *Etymologicum Symeonis*:

Phot. α 2527: ἀπὸ καιροῦ, ἀπὸ τρόπου· 'βάδιζε· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ<ν> ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγεις'.

ἀπὸ καιροῦ, ἀπὸ τρόπου ('Out of place, out of manner'): 'βάδιζε· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ<ν> ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγεις (*com. adesp.* fr. 491) ('Go: for you do not say anything malapropos').

*Et.Sym.* 1.103.16–7: ἀπὸ καιροῦ· ἀπὸ τρόπου· 'βάδιζε γάρ, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγεις'.

ἀπὸ καιροῦ, ἀπὸ τρόπου ('Out of place, out of manner'): 'βάδιζε· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ<ν> ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγεις (*com. adesp.* fr. 491) ('Go: for you do not say anything malapropos').

It is clear at first sight that the first entry of the epitome (PS 47.18) consists of an explanation of the expression ἀπὸ καιροῦ λέγειν, whereas the second entry of the epitome (PS 96.20) is devoted to the exegesis of a specific passage in which this expression occurs. Based on the illuminating parallel in Photius and the *Etymologicum Symeonis*, not only are we able to reconstruct the *locus classicus* more fully,<sup>59</sup> but we also have evidence of the same materials being organised in yet another way compared with the entries in the epitome; namely, the lemma consists in the synonymic expressions ἀπὸ καιροῦ and ἀπὸ τρόπου, which are then exemplified by reference to a *locus classicus* where the former of these idioms occurs.

<sup>59</sup> The identification of the quotation as a comic fragment, as suggested by Theodoridis (1977, 49–50), is entirely convincing and approved by Kassel and Austin (*PCG* vol. 8, 147).

Although none of these three strands of tradition is ultimately likely to retain the original structure of the entry of the *PS*, they all contain elements of what their common source must have looked like, whose content they re-elaborate and adjust independently, and present piecemeal. In a case like this, it appears that we witness three different processes of epitomisation and excerption, two of which eventually found their way in the epitome of the *PS* as we now read it. Presumably, ἀπό καιροῦ and ἀπό τρόπου appeared in the lemma, and the quotation of the *locus classicus* for ἀπό καιροῦ was part of the *interpretamentum*. Perhaps, ἀπό τρόπου too was originally exemplified by a *locus classicus*, although we lack any direct evidence of this. Alternatively, it may also be that ἀπό τρόπου functioned as a generalising, additional element in the lemma. This is common in the *PS*, and we shall discuss other examples of it below (and see above on 4.2 ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα, ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον). In principle, however, we cannot discard the possibility that ἀπό τρόπου was added at a later stage.

## 4.8 νεολαία

*PS* 91.1–2: νεολαία· ἔστι νέος λαός ἡ νεότης, παρ' ὃ γέγονεν ἡ νεολαία.

νεολαία: νέος λαός is youth, from which the [word] νεολαία is created.

*PS* 113.3–4: τῆς νῦν νεολαίας (cod.: τῆς {νῦν} νεολαίας possis)· τῆς νῦν νεότητος, τοῦ νῦν γένους. ἐκ τοῦ νέος καὶ τοῦ λαός.

τῆς νῦν νεολαίας: Of the youth of now, of the current generation. [The word derives from] νέος and λαός.

This word attracted the interest of Atticist lexicography.<sup>60</sup> Here too, the indirect tradition is most illuminating for our purposes. Two entries in Photius are closely related to those in the epitome:<sup>61</sup>

Phot. ν 138: νεολαία· νέος λαός καὶ οὐ πάλοι εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγεγραμμένος.

<sup>60</sup> See Poll. 2.11: τὸ δὲ τούτων πλῆθος νεολαία ('A mass of these [people (i.e. youths) is called] νεολαία').

<sup>61</sup> Beside these two entries, which go back to Phrynichus' *PS*, Photius also preserves a different entry about νεολαία which derives from the original version of the *Synagoge*, Σ ν 66 (ABCD) (= Phot. ν 159 = *Su.* ν 195(+), *ex Σ'*): νεωλία (νεολαία Phot. *Su.*)· νέων συναγωγή (ὁ νέος λαός add. *Su.*). This is likely connected with Cyril's lexicon (see Cyr. (g) νεη (*sic*) 5, Hsch. ν 334: \*νεολαία· νέων ἄθροισμα r. gn. ἡ νεότης. ἡ νέος λαός (Eur. *Alc.* 103) g (ASv)).

νεολαία: [It derives from] νέος λαός and [indicates people] who have been registered only recently among grown men.

Phot. v 139: νεολαίαν· τὴν νεότητα τετρασυλλάβως οἱ Ἀττικοί. Βαβυλωνίοις· ὧ Ζεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῆς νεολαίας ὡς καλόν’.

νεολαίαν: [Meaning] the youth, [is] a four-syllable word in Attic. [Aristophanes] in *Babylonians* [writes] (Ar. fr. 73): ‘By Zeus, what a mass of youth, how beautiful!’

The first entry in the epitome (PS 91.1–2) explains via etymology the meaning of νεολαία. The second entry (PS 113.3–4) is the exegesis of the *locus classicus* in which νεολαία occurs. Because the quotation from Aristophanes’ *Babylonians* in Phot. v 139 is close to the lemma of the second entry of the epitome (PS 113.3–4), we may consider it certain that Aristophanes’ fragment is the *locus classicus* behind the second entry of the epitome.<sup>62</sup> Apropos this, one should seriously consider the possibility of deleting νῦν in the lemma of the second entry of the epitome (PS 113.3–4), which is more likely to have entered the text from the *interpretamentum* (τῆς νῦν νεότητος, τοῦ νῦν γένους).

The two consecutive entries in Photius (v 138, v 139) are compatible with the splitting into two consecutive parts one entry on νεολαία.<sup>63</sup> The switch from the nominative, in the lemma of the first entry, to the accusative, in the lemma of the second entry (where the subject is of course οἱ Ἀττικοί, i.e. λέγουσιν), is perfectly compatible with, and actually tends to support, this hypothesis. As regards how the Photius entry stands vis-à-vis those in the epitome, the sequence καὶ οὐ πάλαι εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγεγραμμένος in the first entry in Photius finds no parallel in the PS, but this may be the result of epitomisation. Furthermore, one should not rule out the possibility that the paraphrasis τοῦ νῦν γένους that we find in the second entry of the epitome (PS 113.3–4) may reflect the very same point discussed by Photius, that is, the registration and introduction of the youth among the adult citizens after δοκιμασία. Finally, the lemma in the second entry of the epitome (PS 113.3–4) has clearly been derived from the Aristophanic passage quoted in full by Photius; in the second entry of the epitome, however, unlike in Photius, the exegesis of the Aristophanic passage has been retained (τῆς νῦν νεό-

<sup>62</sup> See also Orth (2017, 450–1).

<sup>63</sup> For a proof of this, consider the parallel case of PS 12.14–5: αὐτὴ νῦν ἡ σοφία ζῆ· ἐπὶ τινος εὐδοκιμοῦντος χρῶ. <ὁμοιον> καὶ τὸ αὐτὴ ἀνθεῖ ἡ μοῦσα (‘αὐτὴ νῦν ἡ σοφία ζῆ: Use [it] for someone who is renown. [The expression] αὐτὴ ἀνθεῖ ἡ μοῦσα too [means] <the same>’) vis-à-vis Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2427 (= Phot. α 3200 = Su. α 4478, ex Σ’): αὐτὴ νῦν ἡ σοφία ζῆ· ἐπὶ τινος εὐδοκιμοῦντος (‘αὐτὴ νῦν ἡ σοφία ζῆ: [Use it] for someone who is renown’) and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2428 (= Su. α 4478, ex Σ’): αὐτὴ νῦν ἀνθεῖ ἡ μοῦσα· ὁμοιον τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ πολιτικώτερον (‘αὐτὴ νῦν ἀνθεῖ ἡ μοῦσα: [It is] the same as the former and also more urbane’).

τητος, τοῦ νῦν γένους) and the etymology of νεολαία as ἐκ τοῦ νέος καὶ τοῦ λαός closely mirrors ἔστι νέος λαός ἢ νεότης, παρ' ὃ γέγονεν ἡ νεολαία in the first entry of the epitome.

As we saw in previous cases, and as is demonstrated by comparing the entry in Photius, the two entries of the epitome evidently share the same materials. Here too, it is also quite clear that the same source text must have been epitomised differently, and that the two entries in the epitome, which are lemmatised under different letters, resulted from a 'doubling' of the same source text.

## 4.9 πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι, τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι

PS 104.19–20: πρὸς (cod.: πᾶς vel παντὸς possis) τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι· οἷον παντὶ τῷ λέγοντι πείθεσθαι.

πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι ('To be towards the speaker'): As in to obey [what] everyone says.

PS 115.7–8: τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι· σημαίνει τὸ λέγοντι παντὶ πείθεσθαι.

τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι ('To be [under the spell] of the speaker'): It means to obey [what] everyone says.

Although the lemmas at first glance seem different, the two entries in the epitome discuss in similar terms the same construction used to say that a person is under the spell of the speaker. Interestingly, these two are the only known examples where the construction εἶναι + genitive is represented by τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι.<sup>64</sup> As regards the first entry of the epitome (PS 104.19–20), the use of the construction πρὸς + genitive is unparalleled, and the transmitted text is likely to have resulted from corruption.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps, behind the lemma πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι one might envisage either πᾶς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι ('to be entirely [under the spell] of the speaker'; see, e.g., Soph. *Ph.* 386–7: πόλις γάρ ἐστι πᾶσα τῶν ἡγουμένων | στρατός τε σύμπας 'For the entire city and the entire army belong to the leaders') or παντὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι ('to be [under the spell] of everyone who speaks'), this latter option being strengthened by comparison with the *interpretamentum* παντὶ τῷ λέγοντι πείθεσθαι (which occurs in almost identical form in the second entry of the epitome, i.e. τὸ λέγοντι παντὶ πείθεσθαι). Although we have no way to confirm it conclusively, this latter option seems quite appealing.

<sup>64</sup> Parallels for similar constructions are collected in Diggle (2004, 472); Finglass (2018, 450–1). On the construction of εἰμί + genitive, see also K–G (vol. 1, 372–3); Schwyzler, Debrunner (1950, 122–4).

<sup>65</sup> On πρὸς + genitive, see K–G (vol. 1, 515–7).

The proximity in both form and content of the two entries is particularly striking, and this makes it entirely likely that the two entries derive from a common source text which was independently epitomised and excerpted.<sup>66</sup> It is quite possible that the common source text may already have undergone manipulation, as suggested by the almost total overlapping of the two entries and also by the brevity of both. Perhaps, the original *locus classicus* (whatever it was) may have become the lemma of the first entry (*PS* 104.19–20), whereas the lemma τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι in the second entry (*PS* 115.7–8) was the main lemma of the original entry of the *PS*. Then again, it is also possible that the text that originally lay behind the transmitted πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι (especially if παντὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι is given consideration) was part of the *interpretamentum*, as suggested by the comparison with παντὶ τῷ λέγοντι and λέγοντι παντί in the *interpretamenta* of both entries of the epitome. Alternatively, the ‘enlarged’ lemma behind πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι may have been the general lemma of an entry that comprised the discussion of, and presumably the evidence in the *loci classici* for, the construction τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι.<sup>67</sup>

#### 4.10 Preliminary conclusions (part 2)

Although additional evidence could have been included in this survey,<sup>68</sup> the outcome of this analysis indicates that the redaction of the *PS* contained in Par. Coisl. 345 is likely to have resulted from the assembling of previously epitomised excerpts rather than from the direct epitomisation of the *PS* itself (however abridged). The possibility of finding additional positive evidence in support of this thesis is discussed in Section 6.

The quality of these excerpts may not always have been high, and we cannot rule out the possibility that misunderstandings may have occurred. The entries on the verb βολβωρυχέω and the deverbal adjective βολβορυκτικός contained in the epitome of the *PS* and in Photius offer an instructive example:

<sup>66</sup> The discrepancy of οἶον vis-à-vis σημαίνει has no true bearing on the interpretation of this case.

<sup>67</sup> De Borries (1911, xxi) (who considers the epitome fairly reliable regarding the arrangement of the original *PS*) includes this case together with *PS* 22.5–7: ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος vis-à-vis *PS* 127.2–4: χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος (on which see Section 6 below) as evidence that Phrynichus provided the simple and the prefixed expressions with a similar explanation.

<sup>68</sup> Several other cases would be worth investigating, with varying degrees of plausibility (see Table 5).

PS 54.15: βολβωρυχεῖν· βολβοὺς ὀρύττειν.

βολβωρυχεῖν (*com. adesp.* fr. \*582): [It means] to dig up onions.<sup>69</sup>

Phot. β 201: βολβορυκτικόν· γενναῖον. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

βολβορυκτικόν: [It means] forceful. Aristophanes (fr. 797) [uses it] thus.

Phot. β 202: βολβορυκτικὸν τόλμημα· τὸ μετὰ βίας, γενναῖον.

βολβορυκτικὸν τόλμημα: An [action which is undertaken] with force, forceful.

Phot. β 203: βολβωρυχεῖν· ἀντὶ τοῦ τοιχωρυχεῖν.

βολβωρυχεῖν: [It is formed like] τοιχωρυχεῖν.

These are the sole attestations of βολβωρυχέω and βολβορυκτικός in extant Greek texts.<sup>70</sup> As observed in many cases above, the entry in the epitome of the *PS* and Phot. β 203 are most likely to be the product of independent epitomisation and excerption of a common source text. As acknowledged by earlier scholarship, βολβωρυχέω must be a comic creation modelled after τοιχωρυχέω.<sup>71</sup> It follows that βολβορυκτικός too is in all likelihood an adjective coined for comic purposes.

It is quite possible that Photius preserves a sequence of entries that were originally part of a continuous entry of the *PS*.<sup>72</sup> It is indeed quite likely that the order in which the three Photius entries follow each another reflects the organisation of the original entry of the *PS*, namely: (i) lemma and exegesis (βολβορυκτικός); (ii) quotation of the *locus classicus* (βολβορυκτικὸν τόλμημα, though Phrynichus may have added τόλμημα to generalise the expression used by Aristophanes); (iii) discussion of the morphology of this adjective (from βολβωρυχέω, on the model of τοιχωρυχεῖν) and its intended meaning ('to dig up onions'). If this interpretation is correct, it may well be that βολβωρυχέω did not actually occur in Aristophanes and was introduced by Phrynichus only to explain the derivation of βολβορυκτικός.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> On the βολβός, see in more detail Arnott (1996, 488).

<sup>70</sup> For a discussion, see Bagordo (2017, 234–6).

<sup>71</sup> See Kock (*CAF* vol. 3, 572); Kassel, Austin (*PCG* vol. 3.2, 385).

<sup>72</sup> Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 338) indicates with a question mark the possibility that Phot. β 202 and Phot. β 203 may derive from the *PS*, but one wonders why he does not consider this possibility for Phot. β 201 as well.

<sup>73</sup> Notice that because βολβωρυχέω has regularly (but in my opinion questionably) been treated as a comic adespoton, the verb is devoted an entry of its own in modern lexica as well (see LSJ s.v. and *DGE* s.v.).

## 5 Other approaches to the ‘multiple’ entries and their limits

This is, of course, not the first time that the presence of ‘multiple’ entries in the epitome of the *PS* has been observed. Indeed, de Borries (1911, xxii–xxiii) discussed some cases (although not exactly like those examined above) and offered a different interpretation from the one put forward in this contribution. Accordingly, in this section we shall briefly discuss de Borries’ approach to show why the main thesis of this contribution is preferable.

While discussing the arrangement of the entries of the epitome (which he considers as generally indicative of the original arrangement of the *PS*), de Borries (1911, xxii–xxiii) mentions two categories that are particularly relevant to our present purpose. First, de Borries notices that the same doctrine may occur in different entries of the *PS* and registers the following instances:

*PS* 41.8–42.3: ἀσφάραγος and *PS* 67.16–68.2: ἐξορμενίζειν (ὄρμενα is mentioned in both entries).

*PS* 66.5–6: ἐσμός μελισσῶν καὶ σμήνος μελισσῶν and *PS* 110.14: σμήνος καὶ ἐσμός (which discuss the same words and contain the same evaluative terminology).

*PS* 38.7–8: ἁλμαίαν and *PS* 128.14–5: ὡραίαν (the same forms are quoted as a comparison in the *interpretamenta*).

*PS* 72.4–5: ἐπέτειον and *PS* 114.9–10: τητινόν (the two words are presented as synonyms, but τητινός is more Attic and ἐπέτειος is more common).

Second, de Borries also points out that some entries seem to derive from the duplication of parts found in other entries. Although he does not make it explicit, according to his general claims this duplication must be attributable to Phrynichus himself, not to the epitomiser. De Borries bases this conclusion on the following evidence:

*PS* 75.15: θωρηχθεὶς and *PS* 78.9: κάτοινος (which have κάτοινος in common).

*PS* 16.3–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν and *PS* 51.14–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν καὶ ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν (which discuss the same construction).

*PS* 49.8–9: ἀπομερμηρίσαι and *PS* fr. \*331 = Phot. μ 287 (which have ἡ εἰς ὕπνον καταφορά in common).

*PS* 32.8–10: ἀναχαιτίσαι and *PS* 41.2–3: ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος τρέχειν <ἐάν> ἵππον (which have ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος in common).



The explanation suggested by de Borries is that Phrynichus dealt with the same words and expressions in multiple entries of the *PS*, in which he also used the same wording. According to de Borries, however, it was the epitomiser who noticed that some expressions had already been treated in the lexicon and deliberately chose to avoid such repetitions.<sup>74</sup>

At a general level, it is perfectly possible that the same words and expressions were touched on in multiple entries by Phrynichus himself, and more examples than those collected by de Borries could easily be found.<sup>75</sup> However, this explanation creates difficulties when faced with evidence like that of the ‘multiple’ entries. Although two or more entries may well share the same doctrine and sometimes also include the mention of the same word or expression, the ‘multiple’ entries as we have them in the epitome of the *PS* cannot be accounted for following de Borries’ approach; namely, by arguing that, because the same subjects were discussed in different parts of the unabridged, or less abridged, version of the *PS*, the epitomiser chose to intervene so as to reduce the repetition of the same pieces of information, at least in some of the more noticeable cases.

As shown by the comparison with the indirect tradition in 4.2 ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα, ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον, 4.4 ἀπονυχίζω, ἐξονυχίζω, ὄνυχίζω, 4.6 ἀπὸ στόματος, ἀπὸ γλώττης, ἀποστοματίζω, 4.7 ἀπὸ καιροῦ, ἀπὸ τρόπου, 4.8 νεολαία, it is quite clear that those we find as separate entries in the epitome were originally part of a single entry in an unabridged, or less abridged, version of the *PS*. The pieces of information to be found in many of the ‘multiple’ entries do not simply overlap, but quite often the ‘multiple’ entries complement each other as shown by comparison with the more detailed evidence from the indirect tradition (which, in turn, proves their common derivation). Therefore, there remain cases that cannot be explained by assuming that Phrynichus deliberately repeated the same pieces of information in multiple entries unless we assume that the ‘multiple’ entries go back to a common source text that was more extensive: this is also more in keeping with the evidence for the relatively large scope that the entries in the *PS* ap-

74 See de Borries (1911, xxiii): ‘Quibus exemplis apparet sub diversis lemmatibus sophistam bis terve easdem locutiones simillimis verbis tractasse. Verisillimum est grammaticum eodem tempore excerpta ad diversas litteras pertinentes collegisse, quibus eundem vel similem addebat textum. Tum epitomator, cum reminisceretur hoc vel illud iam antea dictum esse, repetita verba sub alio lemmate vel sub alia littera omisit’.

75 See ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ and ὀργάζω (*PS* 8.12–3: ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ ~ Phot. α 808: ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ, *PS* 93.2–6: ὀργάζειν πηλόν), ἀτενής and ἀτεράμων (*PS* 33.9–11: ἀτενής καὶ ἀτεράμων ἄνθρωπος ~ Phot. α 3074: ἀτενής καὶ ἀτεράμων ἄνθρωπος, *PS* 11.4–12: ἀτεράμων ἄνθρωπος καὶ πρίνινος καὶ στιπτὸς καὶ σφενδάμνινος), ἀναχαιτίζω and ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος (*PS* 32.8–10: ἀναχαιτίσαι, *PS* 41.2–3: ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος τρέχειν <ἐάν> ἵππον), and the words which are quoted to exemplify the nominal formations with -θρα (*PS* 5.3–10: ἀλινδρήθρα, *PS* 19.9–11: ἀποβάθρα).

parently had.<sup>76</sup> Of course, this is different from those cases in which Phrynichus touches on the same doctrine in more than one entry, which, as already made clear above, are unproblematic for the thesis put forward in this contribution.

In conclusion, to make sense of the textual evidence in the direct and the indirect tradition of the *PS*, the most advisable option remains to consider the ‘multiple’ entries in the epitome of the *PS* as resulting from the assembling of entries that had previously and independently been epitomised and excerpted from the unabridged, or less abridged, version of the *PS*.

## 6 The evidence from the scholia to Euripides

Despite the pre-eminence of the *Synagoge* tradition for studying the circulation of the *PS*, other sources should be considered. Two Euripidean scholia are especially noteworthy. Both are likely to belong to that set of Euripidean scholia that contain materials taken from imperial and late antique scholarship and date between the 5th and the beginning of the 9th century CE.<sup>77</sup> Further narrowing of the dating is difficult owing to the lack of evidence.

We can begin by discussing yet another case of ‘multiple’ entries in the epitome, namely, the entries on ἀναχωρέω ἐπὶ σκέλος and χωρέω ἐπὶ σκέλος:

*PS* 22.5–7: ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος· τὸ μὴ στρέψαντα τὰ νῶτα, ἀλλ’ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῶν ἀντιπάλων φεύγειν καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν εἰς τοῦπίσω.

ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος (‘To move back step by step’): [It means] to flee and withdraw backwards without turning the back, but rather facing the enemies.

*PS* 127.2–4: χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος· τὸ ὀπίσω ἀναχωρεῖν μὴ δόντα τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις τὰ νῶτα. Ὅμηρος δὲ λέγει ‘ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων’.

<sup>76</sup> See Cavarzeran (this volume, Section 3). See also the eloquent remarks of Photius, who gives an unflattering description in *Bibl. cod.* 158.101d.24–31: ἔστι δὲ ὁ συγγραφεὺς, εἴ τις πολυμαθέστατος, ἄλλως δὲ ἄλος καὶ περιττός· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταύτην τὴν πραγματείαν, μετὰ τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων παραλιπεῖν, ἐνὸν μὴδ’ εἰς πέμπτον μέρος τοῦ ὅλου συγγράμματος ἀπαρτίσαι, αὐτὸς ἀκαιρολογῶν εἰς πληθὺς ἐξέτεινε δύσχρηστον, καὶ καλοῦ καὶ ὠραίου λόγου ὕλην ἄλλοις συναθροίζων, αὐτὸς οὐ λίαν τοιοῦτω περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλλων ἐχρήσατο (‘The author, despite being highly learned, is also verbose and diffuse. This material could, without the loss of anything essential, have been fitted into less than one fifth of the space it occupies. The author’s loquacity expands it to an unhelpful length. Though he collects for others the material for a fine and elegant style, his own description of that material fails to employ such a style’).

<sup>77</sup> See Cavarzeran (this volume, Section 3).

χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος ('To move step by step'): [It means] to retreat backwards without turning the back to the enemies. Homer (*Il.* 11.547) says: 'retreating slowly step by step (lit. slowly changing one knee for another)'.

The first entry of the epitome (*PS* 22.5–7) deals with ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος 'to retreat step by step'. This expression is unparalleled as such, save for this entry and the scholia to Aristophanes and Euripides. Indeed, it stands out that the expression ἄναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος occurs, with precisely the same meaning, in *Ar. Av.* 383 and that ἀναχωρέω is the verb used by the Aristophanic scholia *ad loc.* to gloss the expression used by Aristophanes (see schol. *Ar. Av.* 383ba–β, on which see further below).<sup>78</sup> Indeed, ἀναχωρεῖν is also used to gloss χωρέω in the second entry of the epitome (*PS* 127.2–4). It does not require much speculation to suppose that the passage in Aristophanes' *Birds* may originally have been discussed in this entry of the *PS*.

As regards the second entry of the epitome (*PS* 127.2–4), χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος is a *hapax* expression in *Eur. Ph.* 1400–1: ἐς δ' ἄπορον ἦκων δορὸς ἐπὶ σκέλος πάλιν | χωρεῖ ('Finding himself with no spear he retreats step by step'). This makes the identification of the *locus classicus* virtually certain. Finally, Phrynichus adds a comparison with the synonymic expression ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων from *Hom. Il.* 11.547.

Both entries of the epitome deal with ἐπὶ σκέλος 'step by step', an idiomatic expression that probably functions as a convenient equivalent for use in poetic texts of ἐπὶ πόδα, which is used only in prose (see Dunbar 1995, 284).<sup>79</sup> Because the two entries share an interest in the same rare expression, and considering that the lemma of the first entry is more likely to have been introduced by Phrynichus as a more general and transparent equivalent of those of the *loci classici*, it is tempting to suppose that the original entry of the *PS* may have already been lemmatised under a generaliser such as ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος, and contained a discussion of ἄναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος in Aristophanes' *Birds* and χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος in Euripides' *Phoenissae*. At a later stage, then, these two parts would have been separated, but in the former the reference to Aristophanes also happened to be epitomised during excerption and/or transmission of the epitome, to the effect that all that remains is the otherwise unattested lemma ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> ἀνάγω is military vocabulary (see Dunbar 1995, 284).

<sup>79</sup> It is also commented on in *Insch. ε* 5174: \*ἐπὶ σκέλος· εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω *AS*<sup>339</sup> ('ἐπὶ σκέλος: [It means] towards the back').

<sup>80</sup> Discussing this case together with *PS* 104.19–20: πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι vis-à-vis *PS* 115.7–8: τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι, de Borries (1911, xxi) comments only that Phrynichus provided the simplex and the prefixed form with a similar explanation.

The expressions used by Aristophanes and Euripides must have been well known in Homeric criticism. This is demonstrated by three passages of Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad* where ἐπὶ σκέλος χωρεῖν, and in one case also ἐπὶ σκέλος ἀνάγειν, are compared with ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων of Hom. *Il.* 11.547.<sup>81</sup> Commenting on this, de Borries (1911, 127) concludes that Eustathius and Phrynichus rely on the same source.<sup>82</sup> But even if they did not share a single common source, this parallel must have been recognised by ancient scholarship at large.

And we can extend this comparison further. The Homeric expression is, in fact, also mentioned in the scholia to the passage of the *Birds* as a comparison to ἄναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος.<sup>83</sup>

schol. (vet.) Ar. Av. 383ba: ἄναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος Γ: ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἀναχώρει ὀλίγον ὑπὸ πόδα'. παρὰ τὸ 'γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων'. τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ὑποποδισάντων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους. VM<sub>9</sub>GM

<sup>81</sup> See Eust. in *Il.* 2.446.4–6: τὸ δὲ 'μακρὰ βιβάς', ἀντὶ τοῦ διῶστων εἰς μῆκος πολὺ τὰ σκέλη διὰ θάρσος, ἀνάπαλιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ 'ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβειν', ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ σκέλος χωρεῖν λέγεται. ('The [expression] μακρὰ βιβάς, meaning 'setting the legs apart at great distance with courage', is opposite to 'retreating slowly step by step (lit. slowly changing one knee for another)' (Hom. *Il.* 11.547), for which one also says 'to retreat step by step'"); Eust. in *Il.* 3.250.11–5: σημείωσαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν προΐεναι ἡρέμα 'ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβειν' εἶπεν Ὅμηρος, τὸ δὲ οὕτως ἀναποδίζειν ἐπὶ σκέλος χωρεῖν ἢ ἀνάγειν εἶπον οἱ μετ' αὐτόν, ἡγουν ἡρέμα ὀπίσω χωρεῖν. ἐν δὲ κατὰ στοιχεῖον Λεξικῶ καὶ ὀπισσάμβω εὐρηται ἢ εἰς τοῦπίσω ἀναχώρησις. ('Notice that Homer said 'to retreat slowly step by step (lit. slowly changing one knee for another)' (Hom. *Il.* 11.547) meaning to advance slowly, while for 'to step back' later writers said 'to retreat step by step', that is, to slowly retreat backwards. In the alphabetic lexicon the action of retreating backwards is also called 'a going back'"); Eust. in *Il.* 4.22.19–23.2: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἰδιότης λέοντος καὶ τὸ διωκόμενον μὴ φεύγειν προτροπάδην, ἀλλ' ἐντροπαλίζεσθαι, ὃ ἐστὶ συχνὰ μεταστρέφεσθαι ἐν τῷ, ὡς ἄλλαχού φησιν, 'ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβειν', ὃ μεταλαβὼν τις ἐπὶ σκέλος χωρεῖν λέγει, οὐ φράσας κάλλιον τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὅς τὸ γόνυ γουνὸς ὀλίγον ἀμείβειν πρὸς τὸ 'μακρὰ βιβάσθων' ἀντιδιέστειλε. ('One must say that a peculiarity of lions [is that] they do not escape from the pursued [pray] moving forwards, but they retreat face to the enemy, that is, they often turn, as [Homer] says elsewhere, 'retreating slowly step by step (lit. slowly changing one knee for another)' (Hom. *Il.* 11.547). Based on this, a poet says 'to retreat step by step', but using an expression [which is] not better than [the one used by] Homer, who opposed 'retreating slowly step by step (lit. slowly changing one knee for another)' to 'making long steps'; on the parallel with the lions see LSJ s.v. σκέλος I.3, with references to ancient sources).

<sup>82</sup> Notice, however, that de Borries (1911, 127 *ad loc.*) considered only one passage of Eustathius (in *Il.* 4.22.19–23.2).

<sup>83</sup> Schol. (vet.) Ar. Av. 383c–d (both in Γ) comment respectively on ἄναγ', which is glossed by ἐπ'ἀνέρχου, and ἐπὶ σκέλος, whose *interpretamentum* is missing. The Triclinian scholia offer little more than schol. (vet.) Ar. Av. 383ba (see schol. (Tr.) Ar. Av. 383bβ: ἄναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος] ἀναχώρει ὀλίγον ἐπὶ σκέλος ἀντὶ τοῦ 'εἰς τοῦπίσω'. Lh, 'ἀναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος: [It means] 'retreat slowly backwards'. ἐπὶ σκέλος [is] equivalent to 'backwards').

ἄναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος ('Retreat step by step'): Meaning 'retreat slowly backwards'. [It is] parallel to 'retreating slowly step by step (lit. slowly changing one knee for another)'. [Aristophanes says] this as they are retreating because of fear.

Considering that the comparison between the Homeric expression and that of Aristophanes is also in Eustathius (see the passages collected in n. 78), it is tempting to take these parallels as indirect evidence that the reference to the Homeric expression, which we only find in the second entry of the epitome (*PS* 127.2–4), was originally also employed by Phrynichus as a comparison for Aristophanes' ἄναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος (which, as I claimed above, is likely to have been the object of the first entry of the epitome, *PS* 22.5–7). If this is so, we have two options to choose from. The first is that the reference to Homer has simply been epitomised in the first entry, which was originally an entry of its own and does not result from the splitting up of one longer entry. The alternative is that the two entries in the epitome originally belonged together in one longer entry and the Homeric parallel was subsequently added towards the end of the entry and applicable to both *loci classici* (i.e. Aristophanes' ἄναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος and Euripides' ἐπὶ σκέλος χωρεῖν).

Whatever the case may be, an important aspect that has hitherto gone entirely unnoticed is that the second entry of the epitome of the *PS* (*PS* 127.2–4) shows significant overlap with the scholium to the passage of Euripides' *Phoenissae* that mentions ἐπὶ σκέλος χωρεῖν (*Ph.* 1400–1):

schol. Eur. *Ph.* 1400 (ll. 16–9) Schwartz: χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος λέγει τὸ ὀπίσω ἀναχωρεῖν μὴ δόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ νῶτα· ὅμοιον τῷ 'ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων'. τοῦτο δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις πρύμναν κρούεσθαι φασιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς. MV<sup>84</sup>

χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος ('To move step by step'): [It means] to retreat backwards without turning the back to the enemies. [It is] the same as 'retreating slowly step by step (lit. slowly changing one knee for another)' (*Hom. Il.* 11.547). In naval battles, prose writers call this 'to hit the stern'.

This scholium is attested in two of the three *veteres* containing the scholia (MV). Another scholium on this passage (schol. Eur. *Ph.* 1400 (ll. 13–5) Schwartz), which is present in all three *veteres* (B<sup>1</sup>MV), need not detain us here. The scholium in MV adds a remark, which is not in the epitome of the *PS*, about the corresponding expression used by οἱ συγγραφεῖς, but the rest of the *interpretamentum* is almost identical (save for the way in which the Homeric parallel is introduced).

<sup>84</sup> The siglum A in Schwartz' edition corresponds to V in more recent editions of Euripides and his scholia (see [https://euripidesscholia.org/EurSch2023\\_Manuscripts.html#ms005](https://euripidesscholia.org/EurSch2023_Manuscripts.html#ms005)).

We have no positive clues as to the time when this scholium entered the corpus of the scholia to Euripides. The very least we can infer from this parallel is that the text of the second entry of the epitome (*PS* 127.2–4) as we read it in *Par. Coisl.* 345 must be older than the 9th century CE, that is, the time when the archetype of the scholia was compiled. This may have differing implications for the textual history of the *PS*. The fact that the scholium to Euripides overlaps with the entry of the epitome may be proof that either the two entries of the epitome, the one on ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος (*PS* 22.5–7) and the one on χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος (*PS* 127.2–4), were never part of a single, longer entry or, alternatively, that the two entries were split up before the 9th century CE, that is, during that phase of epitomisation and excerption that ultimately brought the text of the *PS* to the state we find it in the epitome and in the *Synagoge* tradition. The more important aspect to emphasise here is that the sources used by the Euripidean scholia and the *Synagoge* tradition were closely related.

A more complicated and more revealing case is that of *PS* fr. 6<sup>b</sup> = schol. *BV Eur. Med.* 1027 Schwartz. Here, the evidence from the Euripidean scholia is strikingly independent from that of the *Synagoge* tradition. This example, moreover, can provide confirmation of the main thesis put forward in this contribution, namely that there existed a varied corpus of epitomised excerpts from the *PS* to which the epitome and the indirect tradition (as a whole) had access.

The evidence for Phrynichus' treatment of ἀγῆλαι in the *PS* is bipartite as reflected by de Borries printing two sub-fragments, i.e. *PS* fr. 6<sup>a-b</sup>; which is further complicated by internal subdivision in *PS* fr. \*6<sup>a</sup>. This is the text of *PS* fr. \*6<sup>a</sup> as preserved in Σ<sup>b</sup>:

*PS* fr. \*6<sup>a</sup> = Σ<sup>b</sup> α 145 (= Phot. α 163 = *Su.* α 217 (cf. *Et.Gen.* (B) α 41), ex Σ'; = Phot. α 164, ex Σ''): ἀγῆλαι· τιμῆσαι θεόν, ἀγλαΐσαι. (Σ') | ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις τῶν πάντων Ἀττικῶν. καὶ ἀγῆλω καὶ ἀγαλοῦμεν ἐρεῖς, καὶ ἀγαλλε καὶ προσαγῆλει τὸν θεόν, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐξεται καὶ τιμῆσει. καὶ ἄγω ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμῶ. τό τε οὖν ἄγειν καὶ τὸ ἀγῆλαι Ἀττικά, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄγειν πολιτικόν, τὸ δὲ ἀγῆλαι κωμωδικόν καὶ ἐγγυὺς γλώττης. φεύγειν μὲν οὖν χρή τὸ τῶν γλωττῶν, εἰ δέ γέ σοι εἴη ἀρχαία φωνὴ καὶ σπουδὴ σεμνότητος λόγων, χρήσαιο τῷ τοιοῦτῳ χαρακτῆρι τῶν ὀνομάτων, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος. (Σ'') | Εὐπολὶς δὲ τῷ ἀγῆλαι ἐχρήσατο ἐν Δήμοις· ἀναθῶμεν νῦν χήμεις τοῦτοισι τὰς διττὰς εἰρεσιώνας καὶ προσαγῆλωμεν ἐπελθόντες. χαίρετε πάντες. δεχόμεσθα'. Ἀριστοφάνης Εἰρήνη· 'καὶ σε θυσαίαισι ἱεραῖσι προσόδοις τε μεγάλας ἰδίᾳ πάντες ὦ πότνι' ἀγαλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς αἰέ'. Ἑρμιππος Ἀρτοπώλοισι· 'φέρε νῦν ἀγῆλω τοὺς θεοὺς οἴους ἐγὼ καὶ θαμιάσω τοῦ τέκνου σεσωσμένου'. Θεόπομπος Πηνελόπῃ· 'καὶ σε τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἀγαλατῖοις ἀγαλοῦμεν αἰεὶ καὶ δάφνῃ'. (Σ')

This entry results from the combination of the entries in Σ' and Σ'', the indirect evidence of which is provided by the following sources:

Σ' = Phot. α 163 = Su. α 217 (cf. *Et.Gen.* (B) α 41): ἀγῆλαι· τιμῆσαι θεόν, ἀγλαΐσαι (: ἀγλαΐαις Su.). Εὐπολις Δήμοις· 'ἀναθῶμεν νῦν χήμεϊς τούτοις τὰς διττὰς εἰρεσιώνας | καὶ προσαγῆλωμεν ἐπελθόντες· χαίρετε πάντες· δεχόμεσθα'. Ἀριστοφάνης Εἰρήνη· 'καὶ σε θυσίαισιν ἱεραῖσιν προσόδοις τε μεγάλαις ἰδίαι πάντες, ὦ πότνι', ἀγαλοῦμεν (: ὦ πότνια, καλοῦμεν Phot.) ἡμεῖς αἰεῖ'. Ἑρμιππος Ἀρτοπώλισι· 'φέρε νῦν ἀγῆλω τοὺς θεοὺς οἶους ἐγὼ | καὶ θυμιάσω τοῦ τέκνου σεσωσμένου'. Θεόπομπος Πηνελόπη· 'καὶ σε τῇ νουμηνίᾳ | ἀγαλματίους ἀγαλοῦμεν αἰεὶ καὶ δάφνῃ' (Θεόπομπος – δάφνῃ om. Su.).

ἀγῆλαι: To revere the deity, to glorify. Eupolis in *Demoi* (fr. 131): 'let us too now dedicate twofold branches of laurel to these, and let us approach and revere. Greetings to all. (A) We accept graciously'. Aristophanes in *Peace* (396–9): 'we will always, ἡδύ, call† you with holy sacrifices and great processions'. Hermippus in *Bread-sellers* (fr. 8): 'come on now, let me ἴγο and† revere the gods and burn incense, since my child has been saved'. Theopompus in *Penelope* (fr. 48): 'and at the first moon we will revere you with little images and laurel'. (Transl. J. Cavarzeran this volume).

Phot. α 164 (ex Σ''): ἀγῆλαι· τιμῆσαι. τῶν πάντων δὲ Ἀττικῶν ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις. καὶ ἀγῆλω καὶ ἀγαλοῦμεν ἐρεῖς καὶ 'ἀγαλλε' καὶ 'προσαγαλεῖ τὸν θεόν', ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐξεται καὶ τιμήσει. καὶ ἄγω ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμῶ. τὸ τε οὖν ἄγειν καὶ τὸ ἀγῆλαι Ἀττικά, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄγειν πολιτικόν, τὸ δὲ ἀγῆλαι κωμωδικόν καὶ ἐγγὺς γλώττης. φεύγειν μὲν οὖν χρὴ τὸ τῶν γλωττῶν. εἰ δὲ γέ σοι εἴη ἀρχαίᾳς φωνῆς σπουδὴ καὶ σεμνότητος λόγων, χρήσαιο <ἀν> (ἀν om. etiam Σ<sup>b</sup>, h.e. apud Σ''' iam desiderabatur) τῷ τοιοῦτῳ χαρακτηρί τῶν ὀνομάτων, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος.

ἀγῆλαι: To revere. The word is (one) of the most Attic ones. And you will say ἀγῆλω and ἀγαλοῦμεν, and ἀγαλλε (Ar. *Th.* 128) and προσαγαλεῖ τὸν θεόν ('he/she will revere the deity') instead of εὐξεται ('he/she will pray') and τιμήσει ('he/she will honour'). And ἄγω instead of τιμῶ. Both ἄγειν and ἀγῆλαι are Attic, but ἄγειν is urbane, ἀγῆλαι has a comic colouring and is somehow obsolete; and you must avoid obsolete words. Yet, if you are interested in an archaic phrasing and in solemn discourses, you could use such a style of expression, Phrynichus says. (Transl. J. Cavarzeran this volume).

De Borries (1911) held that both entries went back to the *PS* and printed the text of Σ<sup>b</sup> as *PS* fr. \*6<sup>a</sup>. I shall follow this approach, although some precautionary remarks are added below.

The fact that different materials from the *PS* seem to have entered the *Synagoge* tradition may result from the fact that, in the process of expansion from Σ' to Σ''', additional and new materials from the *PS* became available and were employed for expanding the *Synagoge*. The fact that Photius presents the entries belonging to the two expansions of the *Synagoge* as separate entries may indicate that his text of Σ''' presented the two entries separately. Hence, we cannot postulate a single source for the entries in Σ' and Σ''', and it is rather Σ<sup>b</sup> which is responsible for the assembling of the two entries, which perhaps originally adjoined one another in Σ'''.

Let us now compare the evidence for *PS* fr. 6<sup>b</sup> in the scholia to Euripides' *Medea*:

PS fr. 6<sup>b</sup> (schol. BV Eur. *Med.* 1027 Schwartz): εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι· Φρύνιχος ἀγῆλαι ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐ-  
 ξασθαι· καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει ‘διὰ παντός, ὦ | δέσποιν’, ἀγαλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς αἰεΐ· καὶ Ἑρμιππος  
 Ἀρτοπώλισι ‘φέρε νῦν ἀγῆλω τοὺς θεοὺς ἰοῦσ’ ἐγώ’. δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ τιμῆσαι· ἀγειν γὰρ τὸ τιμᾶν  
 φασιν· BV ‘ἐν πρώτοις ἄγω’· καὶ ‘ἡγόμεν δ’ ἀνὴρ | ἀστῶν μέγιστος τῶν ἐκεῖ’· V

εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι (‘To honour the bed’): ἀγῆλαι (‘to revere’) [is used] instead of εὐξασθαι (‘to  
 pray’), Phrynichus [says]. And in Aristophanes (*Pax* 398–9): ‘we will always, lord, revere  
 you’. And Hermippus in the *Bread-sellers* (fr. 8): ‘come on now, let me go and revere the  
 gods’. It means also ‘to honour’, since they say ἀγειν for τιμᾶν (‘to honour’): ‘I honour  
 among the first’ (*trag. adesp.* fr. \*445) and ‘I was honoured there as the greatest man  
 amongst the citizens’ (Soph. *OT* 775–6). (Transl. J. Cavarzeran this volume).

This scholium seems to presuppose a text that contained the references to Aristophanes and Hermippus as the *loci classici*, as is the case in Phot. α 163 = *Su.* α 217 (cf. *Et.Gen.* (B) α 41) (*ex Σ'*), but which also contained εὐξασθαι as a gloss for ἀγῆ-  
 λαι as well as a reference to ἄγω, for which we find parallels in Phot. α 164 (*ex Σ'''*). In addition, MS V in schol. BV Eur. *Med.* 1027 Schwartz contains two *loci clas-*  
*sici* taken from tragedy that are absent in both Phot. α 163 = *Su.* α 217 (cf. *Et.Gen.*  
 (B) α 41) (*ex Σ'*) and Phot. α 164 (*ex Σ'''*). The presence of these *loci classici* is in  
 keeping with the fact that the scholium is about a tragic text. Thus, it does not  
 imply that the source of Σ' did not have them, and their presence in the scholium  
 may reflect a choice made by its compiler (in theory, his source could have con-  
 tained more *loci classici* than those preserved in the scholium).<sup>85</sup>

These partial comparisons with Σ' and Σ''' seem to me to indicate that the  
 source of schol. BV Eur. *Med.* 1027 Schwartz was an epitomised excerpt from the  
*PS* resulting from a different epitomisation and excerption process than those  
 which have resulted in the materials contained in Σ' and Σ''', in that the scholium  
 combines pieces of information that we find in either Σ' or Σ'''. Notice, too, that it  
 is not only the presence of the tragic quotations that demonstrate that the scho-  
 lium cannot possibly depend on Σ<sup>b</sup>; rather, closer attention should be given to the  
 quotation from Aristophanes' *Peace* and from Hermippus' *Bread-sellers*.

<sup>85</sup> However, as suggested to me by Jacopo Cavarzeran (in private communication), it may also  
 be that these *loci classici* are a Byzantine addition in V. The popularity of *OT*, a play that features  
 in the Sophoclean triad, would have made it possible for a Byzantine scholar to add this example.  
 The line of *OT* is also quoted in *Su.* η 68: ἡγόμεν (an entry that is indeed about this use of ἄγω)  
 and in *Lex.Vindob.* π 72: πρίν (which is unrelated to the matter in question). However, if we claim  
 that the text of V is a later addition, the presence of *trag. adesp.* fr. \*445 (which is otherwise un-  
 known) would remain more challenging to explain (unless one postulates derivation from a dif-  
 ferent, unknown and unidentifiable, source).



Here is the text of the former as found in the sources which go back to Σ' (which I present as they appear in the critical editions) and in the scholium to *Medea*:

Phot. α 163: καί σε θυσίαισιν ιεραῖσιν προσόδοις τε ἡμεῖς ἀεί. ὧ πότνια, καλοῦμεν† ἡμεῖς ἀεί.

Su. α 217: καί σε θυσίαισιν ιεραῖσι προσόδοις τε μεγάλας ἰδίᾳ πάντες, ὧ πότνι', ἀγαλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ἀεί.

*Et.Gen.* (B) α 41: καί σε θυσίαις προσόδοις τε μεγάλας ἀγαλοῦμεν.

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 145: καί σε θυσίαισιν ιεραῖσι προσόδοις τε μεγάλας ἰδίᾳ πάντες ὧ πότνι' ἀγαλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ἀεί.

schol. BV Eur. *Med.* 1027 Schwartz: διὰ παντός, ὧ δέσποιν', ἀγαλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ἀεί.

The differences between the text of Σ' and the Euripidean scholium depend partly on a faulty segmentation and understanding of the abbreviations (i.e. μεγάλασι διὰ παντός > μεγάλας ἰδίᾳ πάντες in Σ', whereas the scholium has the correct reading διὰ παντός, which is also in the MSS of Aristophanes),<sup>86</sup> partly on an adia-phorous, but at the same time separative, variant reading (ὧ πότνι' in Σ', ὧ δέσποιν' in the scholium).<sup>87</sup> This is likely to be a strong indication that the source of the scholium was indeed a different epitomised excerpt from the *PS* than that in Σ'.

A similar case should be made with regard to the Hermippus quotation. The (incorrect) variant reading οἶους in the fragment of Hermippus, which is a mistake caused by iotacism shared in all sources going back to Σ', corresponds to the (correct) variant reading ιοῦσ' in the scholium to *Medea*.<sup>88</sup> The *difficilior* variant

<sup>86</sup> The same mistake has caused ὧ πότνι' > ὧ πότνια, καλοῦμεν in Photius. The fact the text of *Suda* shares with Σ<sup>b</sup> the correct text demonstrated that the reading in Σ' was ὧ πότνι', ἀγαλοῦμεν.

<sup>87</sup> Aristophanes' MSS have the vocative δέσποτ' (which is certainly correct, since it refers to Trygaeus). According to Dindorf (whose interpretation is approved by Olson 1998, 155), the readings δέσποιν' and ποτνι' in the indirect sources are caused by a confusion with the goddess Peace. Alternatively, δέσποιν' in the scholium to *Medea* might result from a faulty reading of δέσποτ' (but this would leave ποτνι' unexplained).

<sup>88</sup> However, the MSS of Euripides' scholia disagree on this reading: MS B has ιοῦσ' ἔσω, while MS V has εἰσω ιοῦσ'. The correct text, ιοῦσ' ἐγώ, has been reconstructed by Elmsley. The textual issue is discussed by Kassel and Austin (*PCG* vol. 5, 567 *ad loc.*); Comentale (2017, 75–6). As observed by Jacopo Cavarzeran (in private communication), the corruption ἐγώ > ἔσω in MS B is

reading  $\iota\omicron\sigma'$  is most unlikely to be an emendation made by a Byzantine scholar (as it would have required some knowledge of the context, which could not be the case), and so this offers yet more proof that the source on which  $\Sigma'$  and the scholium to *Medea* depend are different from one another.

A few precautionary remarks are now in order. As anticipated, this reconstruction is based on the idea that the *PS* is the only source of all entries in  $\Sigma$  and in the scholium to Euripides *Medea*. The main argument in support of this view is that the scholium indicates Phrynichus as its source. Still, one could also consider the possibility that what goes back to Phrynichus in the scholium to *Medea* is only  $\Phi\rho\upsilon\nu\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\zeta\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  and that the *loci classici*, in turn, are taken from a different source, which must then be similar to that used in  $\Sigma'$ . In such a case, neither the entry in  $\Sigma'$  nor the *loci classici* in the scholium to *Medea* should go back to the *PS*, but only the entry of  $\Sigma'''$  and the very first sentence of the scholium to *Medea*. Postulating the existence of additional, unknown sources is always an option when dealing with ancient scholarly materials and, indeed, we cannot simply rule out this possibility. Nevertheless, the explicit mention of Phrynichus in the scholium to *Medea* and the focus on *loci classici* from comedy rather than tragedy make it appealing to consider the whole of the scholium as ultimately depending on the *PS*. That the entry of the *PS* discussed the evidence from comedy is surely presupposed by the remark found in the entry in the entry of  $\Sigma'''$  that  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\iota$  is Attic and  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ . This makes it reasonable to infer that the rather large array of *loci classici* from comedy quoted in  $\Sigma'$  and (more selectively) in the scholium to *Medea* do indeed go back to the *PS*.

## 7 Further evidence of the circulation of independently epitomised excerpts from the *PS*?

The cases examined in the previous section invite us to widen the range of comparison in an attempt to find other possible instances of the same kind. An inter-

---

likely to result from  $\text{E}\Gamma\Omega > \text{E}\text{C}\Omega$  (while  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$  in MS V must be a later, maladroit attempt at an emendation). The fact that this is a majuscule error pushes further back in time the dating of the source employed by the scholium, which antedates the transliteration. For a significant parallel, see Valente (2015, 18; 19; 21; 25), who concludes that the text of the *Antiatticist* that provided the shared model of Par. Coisl. 345 and the *Synagoge* tradition was most likely in majuscule.

esting test case is offered by the entries relating to ἀθήρη ('porridge') in the epitome and in the *Synagoge* tradition:<sup>89</sup>

PS 14.11–3: ἀθήρη· διαφέρει ἔτνους, ὅτι <τὸ> μὲν κυάμων ἢ πισῶν ἢ ἀπλῶς κατερεικτῶν τινῶν, ἢ δὲ ἀθήρη πυρῶν ἠψημένων καὶ διακεχυμένων ὥσπερ ἔτνος.

ἀθήρη: [It] is different from ἔτνος ('legume soup'), in that this [is made] of beans or peas or generally of any bruised [pulse], while the ἀθήρη [is made] of boiled wheat and [then] poured like an ἔτνος.

PS fr. 100 = Σ<sup>b</sup> α 463 (= Phot. α 471, ex Σ''): ἀθήρη καὶ ἀθέρα καὶ ἀθήρα (ἀθήρα καὶ ἀθέρα Phot.) καὶ ἀθάρα τὸ αὐτὸ φασιν. ἔστιν (-τι Phot.) δὲ ἡ ἀθήρη ἢ ἐκ πυρῶν ἐψημένων καὶ διακεχυμένων ὥσπερ ἔτνος τροφή. διαφέρει δὲ τοῦ ἔτνους ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔτνος ἐκ κυάμων ἢ πισῶν ἢ ἀπλῶς κατερικτῶν (κατερικτῶν Phot.) ὠντινωνοῦν σκευάζεται, ἢ δὲ ἀθήρη ὥσπερ εἴρηται πυρῶν ἐψημένων καὶ διακεχυμένων. ἔστι δὲ ἡ χρῆσις τῆς λέξεως πολλὴ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, κατὰ μὲν τὸ τέλος διὰ τοῦ ἡ προαγομένη, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μέσην διὰ τοῦ α. κατὰ δὲ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ μὲν τὸ τέλος διὰ τοῦ α, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μέσην διὰ τοῦ ἡ. οὕτως δὲ καὶ Ἑλλανικὸς καὶ Σώφρων ἐχρήσαντο. ἐκτείνουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ α, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθήρα τῆς λέξεως μεταληφθείσης. ἴσως δὲ φασιν ἀθέρα ἦν ἡ λέξις διὰ τοῦ ε τὸ πρῶτον, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἀθέρων κεκαθαρμένη τροφή καὶ ἐψημένη ἐκ τῶν πυρῶν, ὅστερον δὲ τὸ ε εἰς τὸ ἡ (εἰς τὸ ἡ τὸ ε Phot.) ἐξετάθη, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἔθος εἰς ἦθος. τὸ μὲντοι ἀθέρα εἰς τὸ ἀθάρα Δωρικῶς γέγονεν. οἱ δὲ ἀθήρη λέγοντες Ἰακῶς φασιν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐχρήσαντο Ἰακοῖς διὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν συγγένειαν, ἐσημνήμην λέγοντες αἰεὶ καὶ σημηνάμενος. ὥστε τὸ ἀθήρη παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς λεγόμενον τὴν μὲν παραλήγουσαν κατὰ τὴν Δωρίον, τὴν δὲ κατάληξιν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἔσχεν (-ε Phot.) διάλεκτον. Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ· 'ἀθήρης χύτρα τις ἐξέπληττε κειμένη'. Κράτης Ἡρωσιν· 'οὐκοῦν ἔτνος χρή δεῦρο τρυβλίον φέρειν | καὶ τῆς ἀθήρης' (Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ – τῆς ἀθήρης' om. Phot.).

The [words] ἀθήρη, ἀθέρα, ἀθήρα, and ἀθάρα mean the same thing. ἀθήρη is a food made from boiled wheat and [then] poured like an ἔτνος ('legume soup'). But it is different from the ἔτνος, in that the ἔτνος is made from beans or peas or generally whatever kind of bruised [pulse], while the ἀθήρη, as [just] said, [is made from] boiled wheat which is [then] poured. The use of this word is common in Attic writers, with -η- at the end, with -α- in the middle [syllable]. Among many others, however, [it has] -α- at the end, -η- in the middle [syllable]. Also Hellanicus (*BNJ* 4 F 192) and Sophron (fr. 141) used [the word] in this form. But they say [the word] with a long -α- (i.e. \*ἀθήρη), as the word is changed from ἀθήρα. Perhaps, they say, the word was originally ἀθέρα with -ε-, [meaning] the food purged from the chaff and boiled with wheat, but then -ε- was lengthened into -η-, as also in ἔθος [changing] to ἦθος. But in Doric ἀθέρα became ἀθάρα. Those who say ἀθήρη use an Ionic form. For they (i.e. Attic speakers) used other Ionic [forms] too due to their rooted kinship, [as shown by the fact that] they always say ἐσημνήμην and σημηνάμενος. Thus, the [form] ἀθήρη as

<sup>89</sup> In Atticist lexicography, ἀθήρη is also discussed by Philemo (Laur.) 355: ἀθήρην· οὐκ ἀθάρα<ν>, Philemo (Laur.) 356: βλήχων· βρώμα διὰ πυρὸς καὶ γάλακτος ἠψημένον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις. μήποτε δὲ ὠφείλε γραφῆναι ἀθήρη, ὡς προσήκε. τὴν ἀθήρην περιέγραφε. ἢ οὕτω πτισάνη πυρίνη, ἣν καὶ ἀθήρην τινὲς καλοῦσιν.

used in Attic had the penultimate syllable in conformity with Doric and the last one in conformity with Ionic. Aristophanes [used the word] in *Plutus* (673): ‘A pot of porridge lying beguiled me’. Crates [used the word] in *Heroes* (fr. 11): ‘So it is necessary to bring here a bowl of legume soup and porridge’.

Phot. α 452 (ex Σ’): ἀθάρην, οὐκ ἰθάρην† τὴν ἐρεικτὴν καλοῦσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτω· ‘ἀθάρης χύτρα τις ἐξέπληττε κειμένη’. <καὶ ἐν> Γήρᾳ· ‘ἀθάρης ἀνακαλύψασα μεστὸν τρύβλιον’. Κράτης Ἑρωσιν· ‘οὐκοῦν ἔτνους χρὴ δεῦρο τρύβλιον φέρειν | καὶ τῆς ἀθάρης’.

They call ἀθάρην, not ἰθάρην†, the barley-broth. Aristophanes [used the word] in *Plutus* (673): ‘A pot of porridge lying beguiled me’. <Also in> *Old Age* (fr. 136): ‘Revealing a bowl full of porridge’. Crates [used the word] in *Heroes* (fr. 11): ‘So it is necessary to bring here a bowl of legume soup and porridge’.

Su. α 708 (ex Σ’): ἀθάρα· ἄλευρον ἠψημένον. κλίνεται δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ἀττικοῖς διὰ τοῦ ἡ ἀθάρης, ἡ δὲ κοινὴ διὰ τοῦ α ἀθάρας. Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτω· ‘ἀλλὰ με ἀθάρης χύτρα τις ἐξέπληττε κειμένη | ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ γραδίου’. ἀθάρην, οὐκ ἀθαρήν τὴν ἐρεικτὴν καλοῦσι. Κράτης Ἑρωσιν· ‘οὐκοῦν ἔτνους χρὴ δεῦρο τρύβλιον φέρειν καὶ τῆς ἀθάρης’.

ἀθάρα: [It is] boiled wheat. It is inflected in Attic with -η-, [that is,] ἀθάρης. The common [language has it] with -α-, [that is,] ἀθάρας. Aristophanes [used the word] in *Plutus* (673–4): ‘A pot of porridge, lying a little beside the old lady’s head, beguiled me’. [They] call ἀθάρα, not ἀθαρή, the barley-broth. Crates [used the word] in *Heroes* (fr. 11): ‘So it is necessary to bring here a bowl of legume soup and porridge’.

We can identify two strands of transmission, which in one case are interconnected. The first consists of the entry of the epitome of the *PS* and the entry in Σ''' (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 463 = Phot. α 471). The entry in the *Synagoge* tradition is much longer. It contains a linguistic discussion of ἀθάρα, with a focus on dialectal and etymological issues. This section may go back to the *PS*.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, at the end of the entry in MS B of Σ<sup>b</sup> we have the quotation of two *loci classici*, which are absent in Phot. α 471. I shall discuss this shortly.

The second strand of transmission is that of Phot. α 452 and Su. α 708. The source of these entries is certainly Σ''. Both Phot. α 452 and the *Suda* gloss ἀθάρα with ἐρεικτή and proscribe the incorrect variant form (however we try to reconstruct it). The two entries also quote two of the same *loci classici* (Ar. *Pl.* 673, Crates Com. fr. 11). However, while Phot. α 452 also has Ar. fr. 136, the *Suda* entry quotes a more extensive passage of *Plutus*. This may have to do with the fact, observed by Adler (1928–1938 vol. 1, 67), that the first part of the *Suda* entry (ἀθάρα – κεφαλῆς τοῦ γραδίου) depends on the Aristophanic scholia on the pas-

<sup>90</sup> For an interest in disambiguating Attic forms from those of other dialects, also using etymological means, see, e.g., *PS* 11.1–3, 36.5–12, 43.17–9, 53.16–8, 81.18–9, 97.21–2, 98.13–99.7, 112.11.

sage of *Plutus* (which in the *Suda* entry is quoted in a way that gives it its full sense),<sup>91</sup> while the latter part of the *Suda* entry (ἀθάρην, οὐκ ἀθαρήν – τῆς ἀθάρης) is in fact dependent on Σ". Comparison between Phot. α 452 and the *Suda* entry indicates that the *loci classici* were already in Σ". Thus, their presence in the entry of MS B of Σ<sup>b</sup> – an entry that derives from Σ'" as shown by agreement with Phot. α 471 – is likely to be due to contamination with a manuscript of the expansion Σ" (possibly also lacking the quotation of Ar. fr. 136, as in the *Suda* entry), as shown by the absence in Phot. α 471 (also deriving from Σ'"') of the *loci classici* quoted in MS B of Σ<sup>b</sup> (see Cunningham 2003, 560: 'duo igitur glossas coniunxit B').

In light of the parallels with Σ'", it is tempting to consider the entry in Σ" as also going back to the *PS*. The Atticist derivation is probably a result of the prescription of ἀθάρη and the proscription of a non-Attic equivalent.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, the formulation ἀθάρην [. . .] τὴν ἐρεικτὴν καλοῦσιν is compatible with an extreme epitomisation of what we read in the entry of the *PS* and in the very first part of the entry of Σ'"'. Certainly, the quotations of the *loci classici* are compatible with a derivation from the *PS* (and indeed, their absence in the epitome of the *PS* and in Σ'" is compatible with being the result of an alternative process of drastic epitomisation). If this suggestion is accepted, we could then postulate that two extracts from the *PS* were in circulation: one found its way into the epitome of the *PS* and into Σ'", the other into Σ". Of course, such attempts are bound to remain hypothetical speculations, and one should not be too optimistic in tracing back entries found in the Byzantine lexicography to the *PS*. The main objection which can be raised is that the similarities in the entry of Σ" may also be due to the use of another Atticist source which was not terribly different from the entry in the epitome of the *PS* and that in Σ'".

Another aspect that seriously complicates any attempts at identifying entries that go back to the *PS* is that similarities in Phrynichus and the *Synagoge* may also be attributable to the use of the same earlier sources, notably, Aelius Dionysius (and, to a lesser extent, Pausanias the Atticist).<sup>93</sup> Consider the following entries on ἀθήρ ('tip (i.e. of a weapon)'):

91 See schol. Ar. *Pl.* 673d: ἀθάρα ἐστὶν ἄλευρον ἐψημένον. VMEBarb ('ἀθάρα is a meal made from boiled wheat'), schol. Ar. *Pl.* 673aa: ἀθάρης ΕΘΑld χύτρα τις Ald: οἱ μὲν Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ ἡ ἀθάρης, ἡ δὲ κοινὴ διὰ τοῦ α ἀθάρας. VEΘNBarbRsAld ('ἀθάρης χύτρα τις: The Attic usage [is] with -η-, [that is,] ἀθάρης, while the use of the koine [is] with -α-, [that is,] ἀθάρας'), schol. Ar. *Pl.* 673aβ: ἀθάρας R: Ἀττικοὶ ἀθάρας. R ('ἀθάρας: The Attic usage [is] ἀθάρας').

92 The reading of z<sup>ac</sup>b in Phot. α 452 and of Su. α 708 is οὐκ ἀθάρην. The reading of z<sup>pc</sup> in Phot. α 452 is οὐκ ἀθήρην. Reitzenstein (1907, 39) plausibly restored ἀθάραν, the equivalent koine form.

93 On the difficult assessment of the sources of the *PS*, see Cavarzeran *et al.* (2024).

PS 35.3–5: ἀθήρ· ἡ ἀκμή τοῦ ἡκονημένου σιδήρου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθέρος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀστάχους τὸ ἄκρον καὶ λεπτότατον, παρ' ὃ τὸ ἀθηρηλοῖόν καὶ <τὸ> ἀθερίζειν.

ἀθήρ: [It is] the tip of a sharpened weapon, [it derives] from ἀθήρ ('awn'), which is the final and most subtle [part] of the ear of corn. From it ἀθηρηλοῖός ('sieve') and ἀθερίζειν ('to make light') [derive].

Σ''' (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 461 = Phot. α 469): ἀθήρ· ἡ ἀκμή τοῦ ἡκονημένου σιδήρου, κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ (Σ<sup>b</sup>: ἐκ Phot.) τοῦ ἀθέρος, ὃ (Σ<sup>b</sup>: ὃς Phot.) ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀστάχους (Σ<sup>b</sup>: στάχους Phot.) τὸ ἄκρον καὶ λεπτότατον, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἀθηρήλαττον καὶ ἀθέριζον (: ἀθηρηλοῖόν καὶ ἀθερίζειν Reitzenstein in Phot. coll. Phryn.) πεποιήται. οὕτως Φιλωνίδης.

ἀθήρ: [It is] the tip of a sharpened weapon, [it derives] from ἀθήρ ('awn'), which is the final and most subtle [part] of the ear of corn. From it ἀθηρηλοῖός ('sieve') and ἀθερίζειν ('to make light') are formed. Philonides (fr. 12) [use it] thus.

Σ''' (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 483 = Phot. α 475): ἀθήρ· ἀκμή τοῦ ἡκονημένου σιδήρου, κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθέρος, ὃς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀστάχους τὸ ἄκρον καὶ λεπτότατον. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ἐπιδορατὶς ἀθήρ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀθήρ πυρός, ὡς Εὐριπίδης Σθενεβοία· 'παίω Χιμαίρας εἰς σφαγὰς, πυρὸς δ' ἀθήρ | βάλλει με καὶ τοῦδ' αἰθαλοῖ (Phot.: αἰθάλη Σ<sup>b</sup>) πυκνὸν πτέρον'.

ἀθήρ: [It is] the tip of a sharpened weapon, [it derives] from ἀθήρ ('awn'), which is the final and most subtle [part] of the ear of corn. One says also ἐπιδορατὶς ἀθήρ ('tip of the spear'). But one also says ἀθήρ πυρός ('tip of fire'), as [does] Euripides in *Sthenoboea* (fr. 665a): 'I strike in the throat of the Chimaera, but a tip of fire hits me and burns the thick wing of this here (i.e. Pegasus)'.

According to Erbse, the entry in Σ''' (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 483 = Phot. α 475) is likely to be the blending of Ael.Dion. α 44 (ἀθήρ· ἀκμή – λεπτότατον) and Paus.Gr. α 36 (λέγεται μὲν οὖν – πυκνὸν πτέρον).<sup>94</sup> The main argument in support of this interpretation comes from comparison with Eust. in *Il.* 4.400.15–7: ὅτι δὲ ἀθήρ καὶ ἡ ἐπιδορατὶς λέγεται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀσταχύων, δηλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί ('The ancients show that ἀθήρ is called metaphorically also that of the spear'), where οἱ παλαιοί are taken by Erbse to indicate Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias the Atticist.<sup>95</sup> Hence, as regards PS 35.3–5 vis-à-vis Σ''' (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 461 = Phot. α 469), Erbse suggested that Phrynichus already depended on Ael.Dion. α 44, while in turn Σ''' (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 461 = Phot. α 469) depends on the entry of the PS. This means that the similarity between the

<sup>94</sup> See Erbse (1950, 100 ad Ael.Dion. α 44, following Naber; Reitzenstein traced back the first part to the PS, the latter to another unspecified Atticist source).

<sup>95</sup> Eustathius' use of οἱ παλαιοί is slippery (see Erbse 1950, 7; Pagani 2017, 92–3), but because the Atticist origin of these materials is highly plausible, Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias the Atticist make likely candidates. For some parallels (chosen purely *exempli gratia*) see the passages of Eustathius collected by Erbse (1950, 100) concerning Ael.Dion. α 41 and α 43.

two entries in Σ''' does not depend on the use of two differently epitomised excerpts from the *PS*, but is rather attributable to Phrynichus going back to the same source(s) as the first part of Σ''' (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 483 = Phot. α 475), that is, Aelius Dionysius.

Now, it is true that Eustathius attests that his (Atticist) sources discussed ἀθήρ in similar terms to the entries in Σ''', but because the reference in Eustathius is very brief and not unlike other known sources discussing ἀθήρ, it is difficult to say what his Atticist sources might have looked like.<sup>96</sup> Thus, because it may very well be that this topic was of interest to Atticists and ancient scholarship more generally, we do not necessarily have to posit that the exact text as we have it in the entries of Σ''' must ultimately go back to Aelius Dionysius and/or Pausanias the Atticist. One could overturn the argument made by Erbse: precisely because ἀθήρ was familiar in Atticist scholarship, the Atticist sources used by Eustathius do not need to have the same text as the entries in the epitome of the *PS* and in Σ''. It also strikes me as a little odd to undermine the glaring similarities in the wording of the entry in the epitome of the *PS* with the entries in Σ'''.<sup>97</sup> Certainty remains unattainable, but it seems to me that Erbse's interpretation is by no means ironclad.

Similar cases are legion. Another example to take into consideration is the following:

*PS* 18.8–9: ἄγευστος θοίνης καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. κατὰ γενικὴν <τίθεται>.

ἄγευστος θοίνης ('Not tasting the feast'): [And] of food and the like. <It is construed> with the genitive.

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 105 (= Phot. α 156 = *Su.* α 207, *ex* Σ'): ἄγευστος θοίνης· ἀστείως βίου ἔχων.

ἄγευστος θοίνης ('Not tasting the feast'): [It indicates] one who politely abstains from fine living.

Phot. α 157: ἄγευστος θοίνης καὶ ἀπλῶς ἄγευστος τοῦδε χρὴ λέγειν.

One must say ἄγευστος θοίνης ('Not tasting the feast') and generally ἄγευστος with genitive.

<sup>96</sup> Other scholarly sources concerning ἀθήρ are collected by Radt (*TrGF* vol. 3, 264 *ad* Aesch. fr. 154).

<sup>97</sup> It is true that Eustathius granted himself a fair amount of freedom in quoting the text of Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias the Atticist, as suggested by the comparison with the corresponding entries in the *Synagoge* tradition that depend on these lexica (see Erbse 1950, 27). However, in this case the comparison with the entry in the epitome of the *PS* is truly striking.

The expression ἄγευστος θοίνης is unparalleled: ἄγευστος is not unfamiliar in ancient and Byzantine scholarship, but no direct parallel can be found.<sup>98</sup> In all likelihood, ἄγευστος θοίνης is an unidentified *locus classicus* – one that looks very much like other poignant syntagms found in the epitome of the *PS*.<sup>99</sup> The entry in the epitome collects some parallel formulations and prescribes the construction of ἄγευστος with the genitive. The entry Phot. α 157 is likely to provide an epitomised version of the prescription concerning the construction of ἄγευστος with the genitive as found in the entry of the epitome. The entry in Σ' makes a different selection, in that it contains a (not entirely clear) explanation of the meaning of ἄγευστος θοίνης.<sup>100</sup>

As usual, certainty is beyond our grasp, but it is worth pondering whether all entries go back to the same entry in the *PS*. We could envisage an entry about the *locus classicus* ἄγευστος θοίνης, with an explanation of this expression, a list of parallels, and a prescription that ἄγευστος be construed with the genitive.<sup>101</sup> The alternative option is, of course, to postulate that the three entries depend on different, but similar and possibly interconnected, sources, although we have no evidence of them and ἄγευστος θοίνης is otherwise unattested.

These matters are not easily settled. At any rate, if one accepts the idea that independently epitomised excerpts from the *PS* circulated in scholarly circles, similar cases may lead to explanations which do not require us to systematically postulate the use of additional, unidentified sources. Finally, although attributions of erudite materials in Byzantine compilations may often prove problematic, the fact that the *Synagoge* tradition famously resorted to the use of the same

98 The more relevant comparison for the present case is that with the Cyrillian entry in Hsch. α 464: \*ἄγευστοι· ἄπειροι vgAn and Σ α 55: ἄγευστοι· ἄπειροι (on which Σ' [= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 106 = Phot. α 158 = Su. α 708] depends).

99 See, e.g., the entries discussed by Pellettieri (this volume).

100 Cunningham (2003, 53 n. 108) acknowledges a possible derivation from the *PS* and lists this instance among the coincidences between Σ' and the epitome of the *PS*.

101 If the entry in Photius really goes back to the *PS*, its absence in the *Synagoge* tradition may simply be due to an omission (e.g. it may be an entry of Σ''' that is omitted in Σ<sup>b</sup>). This would not be the sole instance of agreement between the epitome and Photius alone. Purely by way of example, the entry on ἀμφαρίστερος in the epitome (*PS* 2.7–8) is paralleled in Photius (α 1292, where the derivation from Phrynichus is explicit), but it does not occur in the *Synagoge* tradition. An alternative solution (which takes in the remarks made by Francesco Bossi, see above n. 8) would be postulating that Photius, in addition to using the *Synagoge*, also had access to epitomised excerpts from the *PS* which he included in his lexicon, or that such accretions may have taken place during the transmission of the lexicon. See also Section 8 regarding the mention of Tarasius in a marginale to the *PS* in Par. Coisl. 345.



sources for its expansions should certainly be taken into consideration – in which case, it lends credence to the thesis advanced in this contribution.<sup>102</sup>

## 8 How was the epitome assembled?

If we accept the idea that the aim of the compiler of Par. Coisl. 345 was to collect materials from the *PS* that he found scattered in more than one collection of excerpts, some subsequent hypotheses come to light which may tentatively be explored.

Let us consider the surviving entries concerning ἐτνήρυσις, ζωμήρυσις, and οἰνήρυσις:

*PS* 69.9–11: ἐτνήρυσις· ἡ τὸ ἔτνος ἐκ τῆς χύτρας ἀρύτουσα, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰνήρυσις, ἥ τὸν οἶνον ἀρύτομεν, καὶ ζωμήρυσις, <ἥ τὸν ζωμόν>.

ἐτνήρυσις (*Ar. Ach.* 245): The [instrument] to draw the lentil soup from the pot, like οἰνήρυσ (*Ar. Ach.* 1067) too [is the instrument] with which we draw wine, and ζωμήρυσις, [the instrument] <with which [we draw] the soup>.

*PS* 72.14: ζωμήρυσις· <ἀγγεῖόν τι, ᾧ τὸν ζωμόν ἀρύομεθα>.

ζωμήρυσις: <A vessel with which we draw the soup>.

*PS* 95.6–8: οἰνήρυσις· ἀγγεῖόν τι, ᾧ τὸν οἶνον ἀρύομεθα, ὥσπερ, ᾧ τὸν ζωμόν, ζωμήρυσις, καί, ᾧ τὸ ἔτνος, ἐτνήρυσις.

οἰνήρυσις: A vessel with which we draw the wine, like the ζωμήρυσις [is the vessel] with which [we draw] the soup.

These kitchen tools are frequently discussed in ancient scholarship (see, e.g., Poll. 6.88, 10.98). The first entry of the epitome (*PS* 69.9–11) shares some obvious similarities with the third (*PS* 95.6–8), but these are more likely to be the result of the similarity of the tools themselves rather than proof that the entries belong together.<sup>103</sup>

The case of the second entry of the epitome (*PS* 72.14) is more intriguing. The lemma ζωμήρυσις is not followed by any *interpretamentum*. This is not unparalleled, as observed above in 4.2 ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα, ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον and 4.3

<sup>102</sup> See Reitzenstein (1907, lii); Cunningham (1986, 220); Cunningham (2003, 56).

<sup>103</sup> De Borries (1911, xxi–xxii) reasonably discusses these entries among cases that show that Phrynichus cross-referenced the entries concerning compound words.

ἄριστος κλέπτειν, ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν. However, two aspects require comment. First, ζωμήρυσις is a lemma consisting of just one word, while in the parallel cases the lemma consists of a couple of two-word syntagms that, in a way, explain one another.<sup>104</sup> Second, it is worth noticing that in Par. Coisl. 345 f. 56r the lemma is followed by a 12-line blank space. To explain this, we might think that, beside the lemma ζωμήρυσις, the section with the entries beginning with letter zeta was missing in the antigraph owing to material damage, and so the copyist left this section unwritten in case any entries could be supplemented at a later stage. Alternatively, it may be that the materials to which the compiler of the epitome had access did not include any entries beginning with zeta, but he then reintroduced ζωμήρυσις, which he had found mentioned in the entries about ἐτνήρυσις and οἰνήρυσις. The fact that some space was left blank – and it should be stressed that Par. Coisl. 345 may well inherit this from its antigraph – indicates that the possibility of additions was taken into consideration. This might suggest that the compiler of the epitome was working with multiple materials for which he left space available.

In at least one case we might find evidence of a similar addition, that is, the famous *marginale* at f. 50v commenting on PS 31.7–9:

PS 31.7–9: τὰ τῶν ἀκατίων ἱστία. κυρίως μὲν σημαίνει τὰ μικρὰ ἱστία, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων. ταύτη ἄρα καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς τὰ σώματα ἀκάτια λέγουσιν.

τὰ τῶν ἀκατίων ἱστία ('The sails of the light boats'): [It] properly indicates the small sails, but it is also used for the big ones. So, therefore, they call ἀκάτια also those who are small in body (*com. adesp.* fr. \*568).

f. 50v: μικροῦ δεῖν με καὶ τοῦτο παρέδραμεν ἀκάτια (*sic*) τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάζεσθαι ὦ φίλων ἄριστε καὶ επεκείνα (*sic*) φίλων Ταράσιε.

I almost forgot this too, that people are called ἀκάτια, ο Tarasius, the best of friends and more than a friend'. (Transl. J. Cavarzeran this volume).

<sup>104</sup> See also PS 14.6–7: ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασύ βλέπει (*Cratin.* fr. 377), PS 30.15: ἀτύραννος πόλις καὶ δημος, PS 46.2: ἀνηλέητος καὶ ἀνηλεής, PS 46.7: ἀνακύψαι ἐκ νόσου, PS 51.20: ἀτερπὲς ἔργον, PS 90.8: νεοπλυνῆ χλαῖναν, νεοπλυνὲς ἱμάτιον, PS 100.9: παγετῶδες καὶ ψυχρόν, PS 128.16: ὥριμος καὶ ὠραῖος, where the lemma consists of a noteworthy turn of phrase or pair of synonyms (both categories that, in some sense, are self-explanatory). Closer is the case of PS 23.8: ἀλέα, where the entry consists only of this one-word lemma; but the important difference with the case of PS 72.14 is that the following entry, PS 23.9–10: ἀλεαίνοιμι, concerns a form strictly related to ἀλέα. This may indicate some kind of clumsy shortening on the epitomiser's part.

The origin of this marginale has been much debated. The question of the identity of Tarasius – that is, whether he is Photius' brother Tarasius or simply a namesake of his –, has especially attracted attention.<sup>105</sup>

It is likely that the marginale was present in an ancient manuscript and was then simply preserved during transmission. How and why the marginale was added, on the other hand, is less apparent, and various hypotheses may be considered. It should be emphasised at the outset that the marginale is likely to refer to the final part of the corresponding entry of the epitome, where a reference is made to the use of ἀκάτια to indicate small people (ταύτη ἄρα [. . .] λέγουσιν). In point of fact, this metaphorical use is not otherwise discussed in ancient and Byzantine scholarship (with one exception, discussed below), as the other sources focus instead on the nautical use of the word and its use for indicating either a female shoe or a vessel.<sup>106</sup> Thus, the information about the metaphorical use of ἀκάτια was clearly worthy of mention.

One possibility is that this final sentence had initially been omitted and was subsequently integrated into the text (e.g. above the line); the compiler or the copyist then added the marginale to bemoan his carelessness to his friend (and perhaps addressee?) Tarasius. But what happened? Did the compiler or the copyist simply overlook a line in the text? It would be striking, but not impossible, that he went on to comment on this slip, even more so given that it was eventually fixed. Or did this oversight happen because the compiler (rather than the copyist) at some point had access to additional materials that contained the information about the metaphorical use of ἀκάτια?

A possible starting point for further reflection is offered by the only other known instance of the metaphorical use of ἀκάτιον.<sup>107</sup>

schol. Luc. *IConf.* 20.16: Καλλίας\*] Ἀλκιβιάδης Κλεινίου, Σκαμβωνίδης τὸν δῆμον, τραυλὸς ἦν, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης Σφηξί. [. . .]. οὗτος δὲ Ἀκάτιος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἦτοι ὅτι τοὺς μικροὺς ἀκατίους ἐκάλουν ἢ ὅτι ἀπὸ Ἀκατίου χωρίου ἦν. ~ V

Kallias: Alcibiades, son of Clinias, from the deme Scambonides, lisped, as Aristophanes [says] in *Wasps* (44). [. . .]. This (i.e. Alcibiades) was called Ἀκάτιος, either because they called small people ἀκάτιοι, or because he was from the place [called] Ἀκάτιον.

<sup>105</sup> See Cavarzeran (this volume, Section 5).

<sup>106</sup> See, e.g., Poll. 1.82, 7.93, 10.166; Hsch. α 2301, α 2302, and α 3952; Σ α 222 (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 663 = Phot. α 720 = Su. α 819, ex Σ); Σ<sup>b</sup> α 785 (= Phot. α 721, ex Σ'') Phot. α 1299, Su. α 819, α 1697.

<sup>107</sup> This important parallel has gone unnoticed. De Borries (1911, 31 *ad loc.*) makes no mention of it. Kougeas (1913, 67–9) too did not consider this in his (unfounded) attempt to trace back to Arethas the marginale in the epitome of the *PS* (see Cavarzeran this volume, Section 5).

The information that Alcibiades' nickname Ἀκάτιος was explained as a metaphorical use of ἀκάτιον 'small boat' for short people offers a striking parallel for the (otherwise vague) entry in the epitome of the *PS*. Both entries must go back to some Classical source (comedy would be the obvious, but not the only, option).

This scholium on *Iuppiter confutatus* is contained only in MS V, that is, Vat. gr. 89.<sup>108</sup> According to Rabe's classification, V belongs to the third class of scholia to Lucian and thus used both the older scholia contained in MS Γ and the scholia of Arethas (but note that there are no scholia of Arethas on *Iuppiter confutatus*).<sup>109</sup> The scholium is about the figure of Alcibiades. The central part of the scholium (omitted above) is about Alcibiades' relationship with his father-in-law Hipponicus, his wife (Hipparetēs), and his brother-in-law Callias. It may be that this section depends on some biographical source about Alcibiades, as there are several remarkable points of contact with sections of Andocides' spurious oration *Against Alcibiades* (4.13–5) and Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades* (*Alc.* 8). But as regards the final part of the scholium, because neither of these sources provides elements for comparison, it may also belong to that sizable group of scholia to Lucian for which Winter (1908, 32–3) suggested a derivation from 'enchiridia grammatica' containing similar materials to those we find in lexica (e.g. Phrynichus, Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias, Pollux, the expanded *Synagoge*, etc.) and scholiastic corpora (e.g. the scholia to Aristophanes).

Considering the (remarkable) lack of parallels for the metaphorical use of ἀκάτιον (particularly considering that this word is commonly discussed by lexicographical sources), it may be that the compiler of the epitome of the *PS* at some later point during the compilation of his selection had access to materials from the *PS* that contained this rare piece of information, the importance of which he acknowledged (and signalled to Tarasius) and which he eventually managed to insert into the text of the epitome.

## 9 Conclusions

This contribution has aimed to investigate what the direct and indirect evidence for the *PS* may tell us about its textual history in the latest phases before the surviving evidence took shape. The main thesis I have advocated for is that the epit-

<sup>108</sup> See Rabe (1902, esp. 724; 730; 735); Rabe (1906, iv); Winter (1908, 9). This manuscript dates to the 14th century CE (see Marquis 2013, 15; Marquis 2017, 27–8), rather than to the 13th century CE as indicated in Rabe (1902, 724); Rabe (1906, iv).

<sup>109</sup> Because the scholium occurs in only one manuscript (and a late one at that), it might be a later addition.

ome contained in Par. Coisl. 345 is better understood as the result of assembling previously epitomised excerpts. To further this point, I have had recourse to indirect proofs. First, I have examined the evidence offered by the ‘multiple’ entries in the epitome, often in light of the corresponding evidence from the indirect tradition. Second, I have attempted to find indications in the indirect tradition that would confirm the circulation of independently epitomised excerpts that were used by the indirect witnesses, notably the *Synagoge* and, to a lesser extent but no less significantly, the scholia to Euripides. Some of the interpretations put forward in this contribution are bound to remain uncertain and open to debate. This is inevitable when so much ancient and Byzantine scholarship is lost. Nevertheless, cases remain in which the evidence looks solid enough for us to offer more confident suggestions.<sup>110</sup>

This contribution does not intend to provide a general reconstruction of the final stages of the textual transmission of the *PS*, but addresses certain questions that seem worthy of further reflection. In the epitome, the entries beginning with alpha are far more extensive and detailed than the entries for the rest of the alphabet, which tend to be short and are more concerned with remote words and expressions. This corresponds, as repeatedly stressed earlier in this contribution, with the fact that the contribution of the *Synagoge* as the main indirect source of the *PS* is strikingly polarised: the entries in alpha of the epitome are often paralleled in the *Synagoge*, while the entries that range from beta to omega find hardly any corresponding entries in the *Synagoge*. Considering that the expansions in alpha of the *Synagoge* contain vast amounts of materials taken from the *PS* (among other Atticist sources), the question remains whether the compilation of our epitome may somehow be related to the process(es) of expansion of the *Synagoge*; that is, whether the entries beginning in alpha that were eventually merged into the epitome contained in Par. Coisl. 345 were related to similar collections of Atticist materials that were employed during the process(es) of expansion of the *Synagoge*.

This question can scarcely be addressed here. In light of the importance and sheer size of the *PS*, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this lexicon, in the form

---

**110** In the discussion following my presentation at the workshop in September 2022, I was asked, ‘How likely is it that, at such a late date, there existed more than one collection of materials from the *PS*?’ Besides referring to the positive evidence collected and discussed above, the answer to this question is that the existence of multiple collections of materials from the *PS* seems to me just as likely as is the widespread, and certainly reasonable, belief that there must still have existed more and more extensive scholarly sources available to Byzantine scholars than those we know today. In any case, my interpretation does not require us to postulate the existence of many more collections, only that more materials from the *PS* were available to Byzantine scholars in the 9th and 10th centuries CE than we tend to take for granted.

in which it reached Late Antiquity, was then epitomised and excerpted more than once, with the result that collections of materials from it circulated in the learned circles of Constantinople from the late 7th to the 9th century CE. This scenario is perfectly in line with the nonchalance with which scholarly and, more generally, paraliterary texts have been transmitted in antiquity and during the Middle Ages. Much of these lexicographical materials must have been similar in form and content, although others would have been more diverse. What is hardly debatable is that there must have existed a community of learned readers in 9th- and 10th-century CE Constantinople who were interested in collecting materials from the *PS*. The marginale in Par. Coisl. 345 f. 50v is a good indication of this, as it offers us a glimpse into the dialogue between scholars who were collecting and assembling materials from the *PS*. It should also be stressed that the *PS* is one of the main scholarly sources employed for the compilation of a highly learned (if somewhat clumsily written) text such as Leo Magister's *Chiliostichos Theologia*.<sup>111</sup> It does not require excessive speculation to suppose that Leo Magister too may have been familiar with a collection (or, possibly, more collections) of excerpts from the *PS* similar, but perhaps not identical, to those that have been postulated as the sources of the epitome contained in Par. Coisl. 345 and the indirect tradition.<sup>112</sup>

## Appendix

This appendix contains four tables which exemplify the situation described in Section 3, and a fifth table which refers to Section 4.10. These tables do not aim to provide a collation of the epitome and the indirect tradition, so I have concentrated on providing a more general comparison of the text of the epitome with the evidence from the *Synagoge* tradition. I have followed de Borries' text, limiting myself to make very little adjustments, correcting some typos, and adding a few remarks in cases where the ascription of the entries in the indirect tradition requires some commenting.

---

<sup>111</sup> See Vassis (2002, 40–3); Favi (2022d); Gerbi (2023b).

<sup>112</sup> The manuscript itself to which we owe the survival of the epitome, Par. Coisl. 345, is a product of a similar intellectual environment (see Valente 2008, 177–8).

**Table 1:** The epitome and the indirect tradition have (basically) the same text.

(1)	<i>PS</i> 26.2–3: ἀνεσκιρτημένας· Εὐπολὶς ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγῶν εἶπε τὴν λέξιν.	Phot. α 1877: ἀνεσκιρτημέναι· Εὐπολὶς ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγῶν εἶρηκεν.
(2)	<i>PS</i> 29.19–20: αὐτοκέλευστος· ὁ ἐκὼν πράττων καὶ οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων κελευόμενος.	Phot. α 3225: αὐτοκέλευστος· ὁ ἐκὼν τι πράττων καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἄλλου κελευόμενος.
(3)	<i>PS</i> 31.16–7: αὐτογνώμων ἄνθρωπος· ὁ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώμῃ πάντα πράττων καὶ μὴ πειθόμενος ἐτέρῳ.	Phot. α 3210: αὐτογνώμων ἄνθρωπος· ὁ τῇ αὐτοῦ γνώμῃ ἅπαντα πράττων καὶ μὴ πειθόμενος ἐτέρῳ.
(4)	<i>PS</i> 32.15–6: ἀκροσφαλές· τὸ ἄκρως σφαλερὸν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον (<παγίως> <i>possis</i> ex Σ'') ἐν ἀσφαλεί<α> (cod. ἀσφαλῆ: ἀσφαλεία corrector: <i>possis</i> ἀσφαλεῖ ex Σ <sup>b</sup> ) εἶναι.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 739 (= Phot. α 867, ex Σ''): ἀκροσφαλές· σημαίνει τὸ ἄκρως σφαλερὸν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον παγίως ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ (Σ <sup>b</sup> : ἀσφαλεία Phot.) εἶναι. οὕτως Φρύνιχος.
(5)	<i>PS</i> 32.17–8: ἀγοράζειν· καὶ τὸ ὠνεῖσθαι <τι> καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβειν.	Σ α 83: ἀγοράζειν· τὸ ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβειν. Σ <sup>b</sup> α 174 (Phot. α 227 = <i>Su.</i> α 300(+), ex Σ'): ἀγοράζειν· τὸ ὠνεῖσθαι τι. καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβειν (καὶ – διατρίβειν ex Σ).
(6)	<i>PS</i> 33.5–6: ἀναγκόδακρυς· ὁ πρὸς ἀνάγκην δακρύων καὶ μὴ ἐκ πάθους τινὸς ἢ συμφορᾶς. Αἰσχύλος (fr. 413).	Phot. α 1429: ἀναγκόδακρυς· ὁ πρὸς ἀνάγκην δακρύων καὶ μὴ ἐκ πάθους τινὸς ἢ συμφορᾶς. Αἰσχύλος Ξαντρίαις (fr. 413).
(7)	<i>PS</i> 33.18–20: ἀγεωργίου δικάζεσθαι· ὡς λειποταξίου. σημαίνει δὲ {τό}, ἐπειδὴν τις χωρίον παραλαβὼν, ἀγεώργητον καὶ ἀνέργαστον ἐάσῃ, ἔπειθ' ὁ δεσπότης δικάζεται τῷ παραλαβόντι.	<i>PS</i> fr. 59 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 264 (= Phot. α 159, ex Σ''): ἀγεωργίου δικάζεσθαι· εἴρηται μὲν ὡς λειποταξίου, ἀγαμίου, ἀλογίου· σημαίνει δέ, ἐπειδὴν τις χωρίον παραλαβὼν ἀγεώργητον καὶ ἀνέργαστον ἐάσῃ, ἔπειτα ὁ δεσπότης δικάζεται τῷ παραλαβόντι.
(8)	<i>PS</i> 38.5: ἄβατος ὁδός· ἣν οὐχ οἶον τε βαίνειν καὶ ὁδοιπορεῖν.	<i>PS</i> fr. 38 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 56 (= Phot. α 32, ex Σ''): ἄβατος ὁδός· ἣν οὐχ οἶον τε βαίνειν οὐδὲ ὁδοιπορεῖν.
(9)	<i>PS</i> 51.11: αὐτομήνυτος· ὁ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καταμηνύων.	Phot. α 3233: αὐτομήνυτος· ὁ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καταμηνύων.
(10)	<i>PS</i> 52.7: ἀπὸ πρώτης· οἶον ἐξ ἀρχῆς.	Phot. α 2611: ἀπὸ πρώτης· οἶον ἐξ ἀρχῆς.
(11)	<i>PS</i> 120.6–8: ὑποκαθεῖναι τὰς ὀφρῦς· οἶον παύσασθαι χαλεπαίνοντα <καὶ προότερον γενέσθαι>. τὸ γὰρ ἀνατείνειν <τὰς ὀφρῦς> ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ αὐθαδείας <ἐστὶ σημείον>.	Σ υ 141 (Phot. υ 209 = <i>Su.</i> υ 506, ex Σ'): ὑποκαθεῖναι τὰς ὀφρῦς· οἶον παύσασθαι χαλεπαίνοντα καὶ προότερον γενέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἀνατείνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς ὀργῆς ἐστὶ σημείον.

**Table 2:** The epitome is more informative than the indirect tradition.

(1) <i>PS</i> 3.1–2: ἀνελκταῖς ὀφρῦσι σεμνόν· Ἀττικῶς αὐτό καὶ σεμνῶς Κρατίνος (fr. 348) εἶπεν.	Phot. α 1834: ἀνελκταῖς ὀφρῦσι σεμνόν· εἴρηται παρὰ Κρατίνῳ (fr. 348). (Cf. Cunningham 2003, <i>ad</i> Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1349 = <i>PS</i> fr. *184).
(2) <i>PS</i> 3.5–7: ἀπαλοὶ θερμολουσίαις, ἄβροϊ μαλθακευνίαις ( <i>com. adesp.</i> fr. *555)· ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀβρότητας διαρρεόντων. ἄβρον δὲ σημαίνει τὸ τρυφερόν.	<i>PS</i> fr. 235 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1616 (Phot. α 2227 = <i>Su.</i> α 2883, <i>ex</i> Σ'): ἀπαλοὶ θερμολουσίαις, ἄβροϊ μαλθακευνίαις ( <i>com. adesp.</i> fr. *555)· ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀβρότητας διαρρεόντων.
(3) <i>PS</i> 4.1–2: ἄπλυτον (ἄπλυτον cod.: ἄπλετον de Borries) πῶγωνα ( <i>com. adesp.</i> fr. *556)· εἰ θέλοις ἀνεπαχθῶς σκῶψαί τινα πωγωνίαν.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1794 (= Phot. α 2444 = <i>Su.</i> α 3241, <i>ex</i> Σ'): ἄπλυτον πῶγωνα ( <i>com. adesp.</i> fr. *556)· σκῶπτων (χρήση τῇ λέξει add. Photius, εἶπε add. <i>Suda</i> ).
(4) <i>PS</i> 7.13–6: ἄκομφον καὶ φαῦλον (Eur. fr. 473.1)· οἷον κομφίας καὶ πανουργίας ἀπηλλαγμένον καὶ ἀπλοῦν. κομφὸν γὰρ τὸν πανοῦργον, οἷον κόποντά τινα καὶ ὀχληρόν, φαῦλον δὲ τὸν ἀπλοῦν.	<i>PS</i> fr. 119 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 751 ( <i>ex</i> Σ'"): ἄκομφον καὶ φαῦλον (Eur. fr. 473.1)· οἷον κομφείας καὶ πανουργίας ἀπηλλαγμένον. οὕτως Φρύνιχος. Phot. α 791 ( <i>ex</i> Σ'"): ἄκομφον· ἀπάνουργον (=Σ <sup>b</sup> α 704 = <i>Su.</i> α 924, <i>ex</i> Σ', from Cyril lexicon). ἄκομφον καὶ φαῦλον (Eur. fr. 473.1)· οἷον κομφείας καὶ πανουργίας ἀπηλλαγμένον. οὕτω Φρύνιχος.
(5) <i>PS</i> 8.6–9: ἄνθρωπος πρόδοξος· ὁ προδοξάζων περὶ τίνος οὐ τάληθῃ, πρὶν ἢ σαφῶς καὶ μετὰ πίστεως ἐξετάσαι τὰ κατ' αὐτό. χρῶ δὲ καὶ σὺ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσταθμήτων καὶ ἄνευ ἐξετάσεως περὶ τινων δοξαζόντων, πρὶν ἢ πειραθῆναι.	<i>PS</i> fr. 187 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1409 (= Phot. α 1974 = <i>Su.</i> α 2538, <i>ex</i> Σ' = <i>PS</i> fr. 187): ἄνθρωπος πρόδοξος· ὁ πρὶν ἢ σαφῶς ἐξετάσαι δοξάζων.
(6) <i>PS</i> 11.14–9: αὐτόκακον ἔοικε τῷδε· ἄκρως καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἔοικε τῷδε. {ὥς εἰ λέγοι τις αὐτῷ ἄκρως ἔοικε}. τὸ δὲ κακόν πρόσκειται δηλοῦν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος. Ὅμηρος 'αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὧπα ἔοικεν' ( <i>Il.</i> 3.158). τὸ γὰρ αἰνῶς καὶ δεινῶς τῷ κακῶς ταὐτὸ σημαίνει.	<i>PS</i> fr. 279 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2438 (= Phot. α 3216 = <i>Su.</i> α 4494, <i>ex</i> Σ'): αὐτόκακον ἔοικε τῷδε· ἄκρως καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἔοικε τῷδε (εὐνους add. <i>Su.</i> ).
(7) <i>PS</i> 13.8–10: ἄοινος· ὁ μὲν Σοφοκλῆς ( <i>OC</i> 100) ἐπὶ τοῦ νήφοντος ἀπὸ οἴνου. δύναιτο δ' ἂν τις <λέγειν> καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τελῶς μὴ γευσμένων οἴνου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων οἶνον.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1575 (= Phot. α 2192 = <i>Su.</i> α 4403, <i>ex</i> Σ'): ἄοινος· ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ γευσμένων οἴνου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων οἶνον.



Table 2 (continued)

(8) <i>PS</i> 17.15–8: ἄτριψ· ὁ οὐκ ἐντριβῆς τινι πράγματι καὶ ἔστι παρὰ τὸν τρίψω μέλλοντα, ὡς ἀρπάζω ἄρπαξ, κλέψω κλέψ καὶ βοῦκλεψ, καὶ τέξω τέξ καὶ ἐπίτεξ. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τρίψ καὶ ἄτριψ καὶ πορνότριψ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀτρίβων.	Phot. α 3119: ἄτριψ· ὁ οὐκ ἐντριβῆς τινι πράγματι.
(9) <i>PS</i> 19.12–3: ἀλλογονοεῖν καὶ ἡλλογονόουν· τὸ μὴ σαφῶς τι γνωρίζειν, ὡς ἀμφιγνοεῖν καὶ ἡμφιγνόουν.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 991 (= Phot. α 996, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): ἀλλογονοεῖν· τὸ μὴ σαφῶς τι γνωρίζειν. ὁμοιον δὲ ἔστιν τὸ ἀμφιγνοεῖν.
(10) <i>PS</i> 31.13: ἀτηρὸν κακόν· οἶον ἰταμόν καὶ βλαβερόν.	Phot. α 3090: ἀτηρὸν κακόν· οἶον ἰταμόν. (Cf. <i>PS</i> fr. *271).
(11) <i>PS</i> 36.5–12: ἀδολεσχεῖν καὶ ἀδολέσχης· σημαίνει μὲν τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ τε φύσεως καὶ <τοῦ> παντός διαλεσχαίνοντα. λεσχαίνειν δ' ἔστι τὸ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ λέσχει οἱ τόποι, εἰς οὓς συνιόντες διημέρευον <διαλεγόμενοι>. λέγεται δὲ τὸ ἀδολεσχεῖν ἦτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδην καὶ τοῦ λεσχηνεύειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄδειν, προσγράψου τὸ ι ἐν τῷ ἀιδολέσχης. εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀηδοῦς, οὕτως <ἄνευ τοῦ ι>. οἱ γὰρ Ἴωνες τὴν ἀηδίαν συναλείφοντες τρισυλλάβως γράφουσιν, διὸ καὶ ἐξετάθη.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 366 (= Phot. α 372, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): ἀδολεσχεῖν· σημαίνει μὲν τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ τε φύσεως καὶ τοῦ παντός διαλεσχαίνοντα. οἱ μέντοι ἀρχαῖοι κωμικοὶ λεσχαίνειν ἔλεγον τὸ διαλέγεσθαι ( <i>com. adesp.</i> fr. 572), καὶ λέσχει οἱ τόποι εἰς οὓς συνιόντες λόγοις διημέρευον.
(12) <i>PS</i> 39.8–14: ἀκταινῶσαι· σημαίνει μὲν τὸ ὑψῶσαι καὶ ἐπᾶραι καὶ μετεωρίσαι, εἴρηται δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῆς, τοῦ φυτοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ ἀκόντια τέμνεται. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ ἀκόντια εἰς ὕψος αἶρεται ἀφιέμενα, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ παντός ὑψουμένου καὶ πηδῶντος ἐτέθη τὸ ἀκταινῶσαι. Αἰσχύλος 'οὐκ ἔτ' ἀκταίνω' ( <i>Eu.</i> 36) φησί, βαρυτόνως, οἷον οὐκ ἔτι ὀρθοῦν δύναμαι ἐμαυτήν. Πλάτων <δὲ> ἐν τῷ Φάωνι ( <i>fr.</i> 303) ὡς ἀπὸ περισπωμένου.	<i>PS</i> fr. 140 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 819 (= Phot. α 873, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): ἀκταινῶσαι· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑψῶσαι καὶ ἐξᾶραι καὶ μετεωρίσαι. πεποιήται δὲ οὕτως· ἔστι δένδρον, ὃ καλεῖται ἀκτῆ, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ ἀκόντια τέμνεται. οὕτως Ἀνακρέων ( <i>fr.</i> 466 <i>PMG</i> ).

Table 2 (continued)

(13) <i>PS</i> 39.15–40.10: ἀκρατίσασθαι· τὸ μικρὸν ἐμφαγεῖν πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου. Ἀριστομένης (fr. 14.1) ‘ἀκρατιοῦμαι μικρόν’. τέτταρας μέντοι τροφὰς οἶδεν ὁ ποιητής, τὴν ἐωθινὴν, ἣν καὶ ἄριστον καλεῖ ( <i>Il.</i> 24.124, <i>Od.</i> 16.2), <δευτέραν δὲ δεῖπνον καί> τρίτην τὴν δειελινὴν. ‘ἔσσεται οὕτως ἄττα· σὺ δ’ ἔρχεο δειελιήσας’ ( <i>Od.</i> 17.599) – δέιλῃν γὰρ καλοῦσιν {οἱ Ἀττικοὶ} τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ δεκάτην ὥραν, παρὰ τὸ ἐνδεῖν τὴν ἔλῃν, ἣν καὶ διαιροῦντες δέιλῃν καλοῦσιν. τὴν δὲ τετάρτην δόρπον καλεῖ. ὁ δὲ Αἰσχύλος (fr. *182.3) τρεῖς οἶδεν, ἀφελὼν τὴν δειελινὴν. οἱ δ’ Ἀττικοὶ τὴν μὲν ἐωθινὴν ἀκράτισμα, τὴν δὲ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἄριστον, τὴν δὲ <περί> ἐσπέραν δεῖπνον, ἐξαιροῦντες τὴν δειελινὴν.	<i>PS</i> fr. 129 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 799 (= Phot. α 842, <i>ex</i> Σ’): ἀκρατίσασθαι· τὸ μικρὸν ἐμφαγεῖν πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου.
(14) <i>PS</i> 45.20–2: ἀποψύχει<ν>· ὁ οἱ πολλοὶ καταψύχειν λέγουσιν, ὅταν τὸ καῦμα λήγῃ καὶ εἰς ψῦχος τρέπηται. Πλάτων ἐν Φαίδρῳ (242a.6) ‘ἐπειδὰν ἀποψύχῃ, ἄπιμεν’.	Phot. α 2733: ἀποψύχει· ὁ οἱ πολλοὶ καταψύχει λέγουσιν, ὅταν τὸ καῦμα λήγῃ καὶ εἰς {τὸ} ψῦχος τρέπηται. οὕτω Πλάτων ( <i>Phdr.</i> 242a.6).
(15) <i>PS</i> 48.3–5: ἀνήρηκεν· οὐχ ὡς οἱ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκποδῶν πεποιήκεν. οὕτω καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ παραπρεσβείας (19.2).	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1376 (= Phot. α 1929 = <i>Su.</i> α 2432, <i>ex</i> Σ’): ἀνήρηκεν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκποδῶν ἐποιήσατο. Δημοσθένης (19.2).
(16) <i>PS</i> 48.9–10: ἀνάκλητος ( <i>Soph.</i> fr. 1008) καὶ μετάκλητος· ὁ μετακληθεὶς καὶ μεταπεμφθεὶς, ὥσπερ καὶ μετάπεμπτος.	Phot. α 1517: ἀνάκλητος· ὁ μετακληθεὶς. Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη (fr. 1008).
(17) <i>PS</i> 49.8–9: ἀπομερμηρίσαι ( <i>Ar.</i> V. 5)· ἀπονυστάξαι. μέρμηρα γὰρ ἡ εἰς ὕπνον καταφορά. παίζων χρῶ.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1901 (= Phot. α 2567, <i>ex</i> Σ’): ἀπομερμηρίζαι· ἀπονυστάξαι (perhaps from Diogenianus, cf. Hsch. α 6482: ἀπομερμηρίσαι· ἀπονυστάξαι, ἀποκοιμηθῆναι. μέρμηρα γὰρ <ἡ εἰς> ὕπνον καταφορά).
(18) <i>PS</i> 63.19–23: διαλαβεῖν· δύο σημαίνει. τὸ ἐκατέρωθεν τινος λαβέσθαι, καὶ τὸ εἰς δύο ἢ πλεονα διαχωρίσαι ἢ διελεῖν. Ἡρόδοτος τὰ δύο. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον (1.114.3) ‘ἐκάλεσεν (: ἐκέλευε Hdt.) αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν’. τὸ <δὲ> δεύτερον (1.202.2) ‘διώρυχας διέλαβεν ὁ Κῦρος’, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπέτεμε καὶ διεῖλεν.	Phot. δ 360: διαλαβεῖν· καὶ τὸ ἐκατέρωθεν τινος ἐπιλαβέσθαι. καὶ τὸ διαχωρίσαι εἰς δύο μέρη καὶ εἰς πλεονα.

**Table 3:** The indirect tradition is more informative than the epitome.

(1) <i>PS</i> 2.1–3: ἄνθρωπος φιλοπραγματίας (Cratin. fr. 382)· δηλοῖ τὸν φιλοῦντα καὶ σπουδάζοντα πάντα τρόπον πράγματα μεταχειρίζεσθαι.	<i>PS</i> fr. 192 = Phot. α 1979: ἄνθρωπος φιλοπραγματίας· πεποίηται μὲν ἡ φωνὴ ὁμοίως τῷ ληματίας, δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν φιλοῦντα καὶ σπουδάζοντα πάντα τρόπον μεταχειρίζεσθαι πράγματα. οὕτως Κρατίνος (fr. 382), <i>Su.</i> α 2539: ἄνθρωπος φιλοπραγματίας· ἐπὶ πολυπράγμονος.
(2) <i>PS</i> 4.6–7: ἀνεβόησεν οὐράνιον ὅσον (Ar. <i>Ra.</i> 781)· σημαίνει τὸ ὑπερβεβηκὸς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἦκον.	<i>PS</i> fr. 182 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1347 (ex Σ <sup>b</sup> ): ἀνεβόησεν οὐράνιον ὅσον· Ἀριστοφάνης ( <i>Ra.</i> 781). σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὑπερβεβηκὸς μεγέθει, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἦκειν.
(3) <i>PS</i> 5.17–8: αὐτοκῆρυξ (Aesch. fr. 420a)· ὁ μὴ δι' ἐτέρων, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ κηρυκεύων. ἔστι δ' ὅμοιον τῷ αὐτουργός, αὐτεπάγγελτος.	Phot. α 3226: αὐτοκῆρυξ· ὁ μὴ δι' ἐτέρων ἐπικηρυκεύων, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ ὅμοιον τῷ αὐτουργός, αὐτεπάγγελτος. οὕτως Αἰσχύλος εἵρηκεν (fr. 420a).
(4) <i>PS</i> 6.4–5: ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὁδοῦ (Eur. fr. 408)· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἐν ὁδοῖς καλινδουμένων.	<i>PS</i> fr. 191 = Phot. α 1978: ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὁδοῦ· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτυχῶν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καλινδουμένων. λέγει δὲ τοῦτο Εὐπολις (fr. 408).
(5) <i>PS</i> 8.12–3: ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ (Cratin. fr. 374)· σημαίνει τὸ πάνυ ἐπαίρομαι πρὸς τὸ πράξαι τι ἢ ἀκοῦσαι.	Phot. α 808: ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ· Κρατίνος φησιν (fr. 374), ἀλλὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης (4.108.6)· 'Ἀκεδαιμονίων ὀργώντων'. σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὀργᾶν <τὸ> πάνυ ἐπαίρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πράξαι τι ἢ ἀκοῦσαι. καθόλου δὲ ποικίλως χρῶνται τῷ ὀνόματι· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βρέξαι, ὡς Ἀρχίλοχος (fr. 277 West). Αἰσχύλος δὲ (fr. 435a) ἐπὶ τοῦ παίοντα ἐξελαύνειν καὶ μαλάττειν τίθησι. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Αἰγεῖ <φησι> (fr. 25) τὸν Θησέα στρέφοντα καὶ μαλάττοντα τὰς λύγους ποιῆσαι δεσμὰ τῷ ταύρῳ. λέγει δὲ οὕτως· 'κλωστήρσι χειρῶν ὀργάσας κατήνυσσε σειραῖα δεσμὰ'. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῳ (4.64.2) ἀντὶ τοῦ μαλάξας τῷ ὀργάσας κέχρηται. οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ τὸ μαλάξαι καὶ βρέξαι σημαίνει ἡ φωνή, ὀργᾶν λέγεται τὸ σπαργᾶν καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ βρεχόμενα ὑποδεῖ. θεατέον δὲ καὶ οὕτω τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς· ὀργάδες καλοῦνται πάντα τὰ ἀνεμμένα εἰς ὕλην καὶ ἀνημέρωτα καὶ ἀργά, ὡς καὶ Σόλων φησὶν (fr. 91 Ruschenbusch). ἀπὸ τούτου οὖν τὸ ὀργᾶν εἴρηται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ πράξαι τι

Table 3 (continued)

	ἡ ἀκοῦσαι. ἡ ἐπεὶ αἱ ὀργάδες ἀτμητοὶ οὔσαι αὐξοῦσιν εἰς ὕψος, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ὀργᾶν ὑποῦσθαι καὶ ἐπαίρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκοῦσαί τι ἡ πρᾶξις σημαίνει. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ὀριγνᾶσθαι καὶ ἡ ὀργή ἐντεῦθεν γεγονέναι, οἷον ὄρεξις τις καὶ ἔφεσις καὶ αὐξησις καὶ μετεωρισμός οὔσα τῆς ψυχῆς. συγγραφικὴ μέντοι ἡ φωνὴ ἡ ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ.
(6) <i>PS</i> 9.1: ἀϋπνεῖσθαι· τὸ ἀϋπνον εἶναι.	Phot. α 3190: ἀϋπνίαν· Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 1027a), ἀϋπνεῖν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 785). καὶ ἀϋπνως Σαννυρίων (fr. 13). καὶ ἀϋπνεῖσθαι λέγουσιν.
(7) <i>PS</i> 13.11–2: ἄνθρωπος λυπησιλόγος (Cratin. fr. 381)· σημαίνει τὸν διὰ τοῦ λέγειν λυποῦντα τοὺς πέλας.	<i>PS</i> fr. 188 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1410 (= Phot. α 1975 = <i>Su.</i> α 2537, <i>ex</i> Σ'): ἄνθρωπος λυπησιλόγος· σημαίνει μὲν ὁ λυπῶν διὰ τοῦ λέγειν τοὺς πέλας (τὸν διὰ τοῦ λέγειν λυποῦντα τοὺς πέλας Phot.). Κρατίνος (<οὕτως> Κρατίνος Phot.) (fr. 381).
(8) <i>PS</i> 14.3: αἰμωδεῖν Ἀττικώτερον. λέγεται δὲ καὶ αἰμωδιᾶν.	Phot. α 629: αἰμωδεῖν· καὶ τούτῳ προσεκτέον τὸν νοῦν· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ αἰμωδιᾶν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ κυλοιδιᾶν, τοῦ Κρατίνου ἐν Διονυσιαλεξάνδρῳ (fr. 41) ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰμωδῶ κλίνοντος· 'εὐθύς γὰρ ἡμῶδεις ἀκούων τῶν ἐπῶν   τοὺς προσθίους ὀδόντας'. αἰμωδεῖν δὲ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τὸ τοὺς ὀδόντας μετὰ κνησμοῦ τινος ἀλγεῖν.
(9) <i>PS</i> 14.6–7: ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασὺ βλέπει (Cratin. fr. 377).	Phot. α 1488: ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασὺ βλέπειν· ἀναιδὴς μὲν καὶ θρασὺς καθωμίληται. τὸ δὲ ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασὺ βλέπειν καινῶς εἶρηκε Κρατίνος (fr. 377). ἡ λέξις Φρυνίχου.
(10) <i>PS</i> 14.10: ἀναγωγὴ· ἐπὶ πλοίου.	Phot. α 1443: ἀναγωγὴ· ἐπὶ πλοῦ. Κρατίνος Ὡραις (fr. 286).
(11) <i>PS</i> 14.11–3: ἀθάρη· διαφέρει ἔτνους, ὅτι <τὸ> μὲν κυάμων ἢ πισῶν ἢ ἀπλῶς κατερικτῶν τινῶν, ἡ δὲ ἀθάρη πυρῶν ἠψημένων καὶ διακεχυμένων ὥσπερ ἔτνος.	<i>PS</i> fr. 100 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 463 (= Phot. α 471, <i>ex</i> Σ''): ἀθάρη καὶ ἀθέρα καὶ ἀθήρα (ἀθήρα καὶ ἀθέρα Phot.) καὶ ἀθάρα τὸ αὐτὸ φασιν. ἔστιν (-τι Phot.) δὲ ἡ ἀθάρη ἡ ἐκ πυρῶν ἠψημένων καὶ διακεχυμένων ὥσπερ ἔτνος τροφή. διαφέρει δὲ τοῦ ἔτνους ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔτνος ἐκ κυάμων ἢ πισῶν ἢ ἀπλῶς κατερικτῶν (κατερικτῶν Phot.) ὠντινωνοῦν σκευάζεται, ἡ δὲ ἀθάρη ὥσπερ εἶρηται πυρῶν ἠψημένων καὶ διακεχυμένων. ἔστι δὲ ἡ χρῆσις τῆς λέξεως πολλή παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, κατὰ μὲν τὸ

Table 3 (continued)

τέλος διὰ τοῦ η προαγομένη, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μέσσην διὰ τοῦ α. κατὰ δὲ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ μὲν τὸ τέλος διὰ τοῦ α, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μέσσην διὰ τοῦ η· οὕτως δὲ καὶ Ἑλλανικὸς (*BNJ* 4 F 192) καὶ Σώφρων (fr. 141) ἐχρήσαντο. ἐκτείνουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ α, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθήρα τῆς λέξεως μεταληφθείσης. ἴσως δὲ φασιν ἀθήρα ἦν ἡ λέξις διὰ τοῦ ε τὸ πρῶτον, ἡ ἐκ τῶν ἀθέρων κεκαθαρμένη τροφή καὶ ἐψημένη ἐκ τῶν πυρῶν, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ ε εἰς τὸ η (εἰς τὸ η τὸ ε Phot) ἐξετάθη, ὥστερ καὶ τὸ ἔθος εἰς ἦθος. τὸ μέντοι ἀθήρα εἰς τὸ ἀθάρα Δωρικῶς γέγονεν. οἱ δὲ ἀθάρην λέγοντες Ἰακῶς φασι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐχρήσαντο Ἰακοῖς διὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν συγγένειαν, ἐσημηνάμην λέγοντες ἀεὶ καὶ σημηνάμενος. ὥστε τὸ ἀθάρη παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς λεγόμενον τὴν μὲν παραλήγουσαν κατὰ τὴν Δώριον, τὴν δὲ κατάληξιν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἔσχεν (-ε Phot.) διάλεκτον. Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ (673)· ‘ἀθάρης χύτρα τις ἐξέπληττε κειμένη’. Κράτης Ἡρωσιν (fr. 11)· ‘οὐκοῦν ἔτνους χρή δεῦρο τρύβλιον φέρειν | καὶ τῆς ἀθάρης’. Phot. α 452 (ex Σ’): ἀθάρην, οὐκ ἀθάρηντ τὴν ἐρεικτὴν καλοῦσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ (673)· ‘ἀθάρης χύτρα τις ἐξέπληττε κειμένη’. <καὶ ἐν> Γήρα (fr. 136)· ‘ἀθάρης ἀνακαλύψασα μεστὸν τρύβλιον’. Κράτης Ἡρωσιν (fr. 11)· ‘οὐκοῦν ἔτνους χρή δεῦρο τρύβλιον φέρειν | καὶ τῆς ἀθάρης’. Su. α 708 (ex Σ’): ἀθάρα· ἄλευρον ἠψημένον. κλίνεται δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ἀττικοῖς διὰ τοῦ η ἀθάρης, ἡ δὲ κοινὴ διὰ τοῦ α ἀθάρας. Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ (673–4)· ‘ἀλλὰ με ἀθάρης χύτρα τις ἐξέπληττε κειμένη | ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ γραδίου’. ἀθάρην, οὐκ ἀθαρήν τὴν ἐρεικτὴν καλοῦσι. Κράτης Ἡρωσιν (fr. 11)· ‘οὐκοῦν ἔτνους χρή δεῦρο τρύβλιον φέρειν καὶ τῆς ἀθάρης’.

Table 3 (continued)

(12) <i>PS</i> 20.1–2: ἄδειν ὁμοιον σημαίνει τὸ μάτην λέγειν. τὸ γὰρ ἄδειν ἐπὶ τοῦ μάτην λέγειν.	Phot. α 551: ἄδειν ὁμοιον· καινοτάτη ἡ σύνταξις καὶ Ἀττικῶς, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη, εἰρημένη. σημαίνει δὲ τὸ μάτην λέγειν, ὡς εἰ καὶ ἄλλως ἄδειν ἐθέλοι τις ἐν οὐδενὶ πράγματι ἀνυσίμῳ. Εὐπολις ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις (fr. 39): ‘ὁμοιον ἄδειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστ’ ἄλλως ἔχων’. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Γεωργοῖς ἐξηγούμενος τὸ ἄδεις, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ μάτην λέγεις τίθεται, παροιμιῶδες αὐτὸ ποιεῖ· φησὶ γάρ (fr. 101): ‘(A) καὶ τὰς δίκας οὖν ἔλεγον ἄδοντες τότε;   (B) νῆ Δία, φράσω δ’ ἐγὼ μέγα σοι {καὶ} τεκμήριον·   ἔτι γὰρ λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καθήμενοι,   ὅταν κακῶς τις ἀπολογῆται τὴν δίκην,   ἄδεις’. <ἐν> συνουσίᾳ χρῶ κατὰ Φρύνιχον.
(13) <i>PS</i> 21.8: ἀνήνυτος πόνος· ὁ πολὺς καὶ ὃν οὐχ οἷόν τε διανύσαι.	Phot. α 1927: ἀνήνυτος πόνος· ὁ πολὺς, ὃν οὐχ οἷόν τε διανύσαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶ διαπράξαι ἄχρι τέλους.
(14) <i>PS</i> 21.12: ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος· Εὐπολις (fr. 406).	<i>PS</i> fr. 186 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801): ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος· πάνυ καινῶς εἴρηται καὶ ἐναργῶς. ἔστιν δὲ Εὐπόλιδος (fr. 406). τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνεμος δηλοῖ τὸ πανταχοῦ φερόμενον ἀνέμου δίκην καὶ ἀλῶμενον καὶ ἀβέβαιον, τὸ δὲ ὄλεθρος ὀλέθρου ἄξιον καὶ ἀπωλείας. χρῆσις δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, ὡς φησι Φρύνιχος, ἐν συνουσίᾳ.
(15) <i>PS</i> 22.3–4: ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τιθέασιν.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2251 (= Phot. α 2990–2991 = <i>Su.</i> α 4196, ex Σ’): ἀσπάζεσθαι· καὶ τὸ προσαγορεύειν, ὡς ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τινὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀγαπᾶν καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. ἀσπαζόμεθα, καὶ σὺν τῷ σ· ‘ἀσπαζόμεσθ’ ἐρέτμα καὶ σκαλμίδις’ φησὶν ὁ κωμικός (Ar. fr. *965). καὶ πάντα τὰ ὅμοια διττῶς λέγουσιν.
(16) <i>PS</i> 22.10–1: ἀνακαλλύνειν· τὸ σαίρειν, ὃ καὶ ἀνακορεῖν <λέγεται>. ἔξ οὗ καὶ κάλλυντρον καὶ κόρημα τὸ σάρον.	<i>PS</i> fr. 179 = Phot. α 1511: ἀνακαλλύνειν· τὸ σαίρειν, ὅπερ καὶ ἀνακορεῖν λέγουσι, καὶ εἰκότως· κάλλυντρον γὰρ καὶ κόρημα καλοῦσι τὸ σάρον. Φρύνιχος Ποαστρίαις (fr. 39): ‘σὺ δ’ εἰσιούσα δουλικῶς ἐνσκεύασαι   καὶ τάνδον ἀνακάλλυνον’.

Table 3 (continued)

(17) <i>PS</i> 23.6–7: ἄπυρον πινακίσκον (Ar. fr. 547) καινόν, μήπω πυρὶ προσενηνεγμένον.	Phot. α 2754: ἄπυρον πινακίσκον ἰχθυηρόν· μηδέπω πυρὶ προσενηνεγμένον. Ἀριστοφάνης εἴρηκεν (fr. 547).
(18) <i>PS</i> 30.1–2: ἀκοσμεῖν· τὸ μηδὲν ἐν τάξει ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀκολασταίνειν.	<i>PS</i> fr. *121 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 755 (= Phot. α 828, ex Σ'''): ἀκοσμεῖν· τὸ μηδὲν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ ἀκολασταίνειν. Σοφοκλῆς ( <i>Ant.</i> 730, <i>Ph.</i> 387, fr. 1144).
(19) <i>PS</i> 30.15: ἀτύραννος πόλις καὶ δῆμος.	Phot. α 3140: ἀτύραννος πόλις· ἢ μὴ τυραννουμένη. Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ (fr. 3)· 'τὸν δῆμον ἀνασῶσαι μὲν <***> κατοικίσαι   ἐλεύθερον ἀτύραννον'. οὕτως Φρύνιχος.
(20) <i>PS</i> 31.18: ἀπαρκτίας· μετὰ τοῦ τ, οὐκ ἀπαρκίας.	Phot. α 2265: ἀπαρκτίας· οὕτως χρὴ λέγειν μετὰ τοῦ τ καὶ οὐχ ὥς ἔνιοι ἀπαρκίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἄρκτον λέγεις. Στράτις εἴρηκεν (fr. 78).
(21) <i>PS</i> 33.9–11: ἀτενής καὶ ἀτεράμων ἄνθρωπος (Ar. V. 730)· ταῦτόν ὁ ἀτενής τῷ ἀτεράμων. τὸ μέντοι ἀτεράμων κυρίως ἐπὶ τῶν δυσεψήτων ὀσπρίων τιθέασιν.	Phot. α 3074: ἀτενής καὶ ἀτεράμων ἄνθρωπος· οἶον ἀτεράμων ἐστὶν ὁ σκληρὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔχων τέρεν, ὃ σημαίνει ἀπαλόν. ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ ἀτενής σκληρὸς καὶ ἀντίτυπος, τὸ μέντοι ἀτέραμον ἐπὶ τῶν δυσεψήτων ὀσπρίων τιθέασιν, τὸ δὲ τέραμον ἐπὶ τῶν ῥαδίως ἐψομένων. οὕτω Πλάτων ( <i>Lg.</i> 853d.2, 880e.2) καὶ Μένηνδρος (fr. 527) καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ( <i>V.</i> 730), ὡς φησι Φρύνιχος.
(22) <i>PS</i> 34.6: ἀδρῦναι (Soph. fr. 979)· ἀδρόν ποιῆσαι καὶ μέγα.	<i>PS</i> fr. 85 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 379 (= Phot. α 390, ex Σ'''): ἀδρῦναι· ἀδρόν ποιῆσαι καὶ μέγα. Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 979).
(23) <i>PS</i> 35.1–2: ἀνθρωπικὸς μῦθος (Ar. fr. 35)· ὁ περὶ ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων.	<i>PS</i> fr. 196 = Phot. α 1983: ἀνθρωπικὸς μῦθος· ὁ περὶ ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων ἔχων τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀμφιαράῳ (fr. 35).

Table 3 (continued)

(24) <i>PS</i> 35.6–7: ἀειλογία· δόκιμον. τὸ δ' ἀειλογεῖν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἀδόκιμα.	<p>Σ α 143 (= Σ<sup>b</sup> 396 α): ἀειλογία· πολυλογία, ταυτολογία.</p> <p>Phot. α 411: ἀειλογία· πολυλογία ἢ ταυτολογία. ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις παρὰ Δημοσθένει (19.2) καὶ Ἰσαίῳ (fr. 141). τὸ μέντοι ῥῆμα, ἦτοι τὸ ἀειλογεῖν, ἀδόκιμον. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκάστοτε διδόναι λόγον καὶ ἀπολογίαν. καὶ ἀειλογία· τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἐξεῖναι λέγειν. καὶ ἀειλογία· τὸ ἀεὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν. οὕτω Δημοσθένους καὶ Ἰσαῖος.</p> <p>Phot. α 423: ἀειλογία· τὸ ἀεὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν. οὕτω Δημοσθένους (19.2) καὶ Ἰσαῖος (fr. 141).</p> <p>Συ. α 428: ἀειλογεῖς· ἀεὶ λαεῖς. καὶ ἀειλογία, πολυλογία ἢ ταυτολογία ἢ τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἐξεῖναι λέγειν. ἀειλογία· τὸ ἀεὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν. οὕτως Δημοσθένους (19.2) καὶ Ἰσαῖος (fr. 141).</p>
(25) <i>PS</i> 37.10–2: ἀείζων (Aesch. fr. 28): 'πόαν ἀείζων'. τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἀείνων {καὶ} τὸ ἀένναον, ὡς τὸ σώος σώς καὶ ζωός ζωός, καὶ ζῶν ἢ αἰτιατική.	<p><i>PS</i> fr. 92 = Σ<sup>b</sup> α 405 (= Phot. α 409, <i>ex</i> Σ''): ἀείζων ἐρεῖς τρισυλλάβως, ὡς οἱ Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἀείζων τετρασυλλάβως. ἔστι δὲ ὅμοιον τῷ ἀείνω&lt;ν&gt; (: ἀείνω Phot.), ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ἀένναον. ὥσπερ οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς σώος εὐθείας δισυλλάβου γίνεται σώς εὐθεῖα μονοσύλλαβος, καὶ ἡ αἰτιατικὴ σῶν, οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ζωός εὐθείας (: ὀρθῆς Phot.) μονοσυλλάβου, ἢ κέχρηται καὶ Ὅμηρος (<i>Il.</i> 5.887), γίνεται ἡ αἰτιατικὴ ζῶν καὶ κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἀείζων, ὡς Αἰσχύλος Γλαύκῳ ποντίῳ (fr. 28): 'ὃ τὴν ἀείζων ἄφθιτον πόαν φαγών.' Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 740) δὲ τὴν εὐθεῖαν εἶπεν (: ἔφη Phot.) 'ἀείζως γενεά'. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ζωός δισυλλάβου εὐθείας φιλόζωος εἶπεν ὁ κωμικὸς Πλάτων (fr. 290), ἥς ἡ γενικὴ ζωοῦ, ἣν Αἰσχύλος (fr. 29) κατὰ σύνθεσιν προάγει, εἰπών· 'καὶ γεύομαί πως τῆς ἀειζώου πόας'.</p>



Table 3 (continued)

(26) <i>PS</i> 37.13: ἀχρήμων· ὁ μὴ ἔχων χρήματα.	Phot. α 3459: ἀχρήμων· ὁ μὴ ἔχων χρήματα, ὁ πένης. καὶ ἀχρήματοι καὶ ἀχρηματωτέρων. καὶ ἀχρηματία Θουκυδίδης εἶρηκεν (1.11.1, 1.11.2). (Theodoridis attributes ὁ μὴ ἔχων – πένης to Phrynichus, καὶ ἀχρήματοι – Θουκυδίδης εἶρηκεν to an unspecified source, but we cannot rule out the derivation from the <i>PS</i> also for the final part of the entry).
(27) <i>PS</i> 38.1–2: ἀρτοποπεῖν (Phryn.Com. fr. 28)· οὕτως Ἀττικοί, διὰ τοῦ π.	<i>PS</i> fr. 261 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2166 (= Phot. α 2906, ex Σ <sup>'''</sup> ): ἀρτοπόπον καὶ Ἀττικοί καὶ Ἴωνες τὸν ἀρτοπόπον. ἐστὶν δὲ τὸ ἀρτοποπεῖν ἐν Μονοτρόπῳ Φρυνίχου (fr. 28).
(28) <i>PS</i> 44.1–2: ἄδουλος βίος· ὁ μὴ δουλεύοντα ἔχων.	<i>PS</i> fr. 81 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 374 (= Phot. α 375, ex Σ <sup>'''</sup> ): ἄδουλος βίος ἐρεῖς, τουτέστιν ὁ μὴ δοῦλον ἔχων. ἐρεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀδιάλεκτος βίος καὶ ἀγέλαστος βίος καὶ ἄγαμος βίος. Φρύνιχος ἐν Μονοτρόπῳ (fr. 19)· ὄνομα δὲ μοῦστι Μονότροπος,   ζῶ δὲ Τίμνωος βίον   ἄγαμον, ἄζυγον, ὀξύθυμον, ἀπρόσοδον,   ἀγέλαστον, ἀδιάλεκτον, ἰδιογνώμονα'.
(29) <i>PS</i> 45.3–5: ἀνταποπαίζειν (Menecr. fr. 1): ὅταν τις παίζων ἀστραγάλους ἢ ψήφοις ἢ καρύοις, ἢ κυβεύων ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ νικήσῃ, εἴτ' αὐθις νικᾶται, ἃ ἐνίκησεν.	<i>PS</i> fr. 205 = Phot. α 2057: ἀνταποπαίζειν· ὅταν τις παίζων ἀστραγάλους ἢ ψήφοις <ῆ> καὶ καρύοις ἢ καὶ κυβεύων ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ νικήσῃ, εἴτα αὐθις νικᾶται ὁ ἐνίκησε. Μενεκράτης Μανέκτορι (fr. 1)· 'ἀλλ' ὥσπερ παῖς ὅταν ἀστραγάλους ἐκκόψας ἀνταποπαίζη'.
(30) <i>PS</i> 45.18–9: ἄδωρος χάρις (Eur. fr. 869)· ἡ μὴ ἐπὶ τέλους ἐλθοῦσα δωρεά.	<i>PS</i> fr. 89 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 391 (= Phot. α 403, ex Σ <sup>'''</sup> ): ἄδωρος χάρις· ἡ μὴ ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθοῦσα δωρεά. οὕτως Εὐριπίδης (fr. 869).
(31) <i>PS</i> 46.2: ἀνηλέητος καὶ ἀνηλεής· <ἄμφω δόκιμα>.	Phot. α 1921: ἀνηλέητος, οὐ μόνον {ὁ} ἀνηλεής. Εὐβουλος Δανάη (fr. 22)· 'ἐκεῖνος δ' ἦν ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρα   καὶ ἀτεράμων, ὃς με κλάουσεν τότε'   οὐκ ἠλέησε'. καὶ Νικόμαχος ( <i>TrGF</i> 127 F 16)· 'δαίμων ἀνηλέητος'. ἀνηλεήτως δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη (fr. 776).

Table 3 (continued)

(32) <i>PS</i> 46.8–9: ἀλίπαστα· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπλῶς τὰ ταρίχη, οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι τὰ ἀλοῖ πεπασμένα.	<i>PS</i> fr. 147 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 975 (= Phot. α 953, ex Σ''): ἀλίπαστα: οἶονται οἱ πολλοὶ ἀλίπαστα τὰ ταριχηρά, οὐ χρώνται δὲ οὕτως Ἀττικοί, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλοῖ επασμένων κρεῶν ὀπτῶν προσφάτων.
(33) <i>PS</i> 49.1–3: ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν (Χ. <i>An.</i> 1.1.8)· εἴποις δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ ἀθλητὰς δαπανᾶν καὶ περὶ ἵππους.	Phot. α 1377: ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· καινὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ διεσχηματισμένος· ἦν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν εἰπεῖν εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν. εἴποις δ' ἂν καὶ οὕτως· περὶ ἀθλητὰς δαπανᾶν, περὶ ἐταίρας <καί> πᾶν ὃ τι ὁμοιον. οὕτως Ξενοφῶν ( <i>An.</i> 1.1.8) καὶ Φρύνιχος.
(34) <i>PS</i> 49.4–5: ἀμφιλεξάντων (Χ. <i>An.</i> 1.5.11)· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητησάντων.	<i>Su.</i> α 1741: ἀμφιλεξάντων· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητησάντων καὶ διενεχθέντων. οὕτως Ξενοφῶν ( <i>An.</i> 1.5.11)· ‘ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῦ Κλεάρχου’.
(35) <i>PS</i> 49.7: ἀνοίσω· ἀντὶ τοῦ λογιοῦμαι, ἐπὶ ψήφου.	<i>PS</i> fr. 204 = Phot. α 2024: ἀνοίσω· ἀντὶ τοῦ λογιοῦμαι, ἐπὶ ψήφου. ἔστι δέ, ὡς δοκεῖ, ἰδιωτικόν. Φιλωνίδης Κοθόρνοις (fr. 4)· ‘περὶ δ' ὣν σὺ λέγεις, λόγος ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κατὰ χειρός,   ὃν ἐγὼ λογιοῦμαι ἐξ ἀτελείας, τῷ δήμῳ δ' οὐδὲν ἀνοίσω’.
(36) <i>PS</i> 50.11: ἀκρατὴς γάμων· ἐπὶ γυναικὸς ἀκολάστου καὶ μοιχικῆς.	<i>PS</i> fr. 125 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 767 (= Phot. α 838, ex Σ''): ἀκρατὴς γάμων· σεμνὸς καὶ εὐπρεπὴς ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ γυναικὸς τιθέμενος ἀκολάστου καὶ μοιχικῆς. οὕτως Φρύνιχος.
(37) <i>PS</i> 51.1: ἀκρατὴς χειρός· ὁ κλέπτῃς.	<i>PS</i> fr. 126 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 768 (= Phot. α 839, ex Σ''): ἀκρατὴς χειρός· ὁ κλέπτῃς. ὁμοιον τὸ ἀκρατὴς γάμων.
(38) <i>PS</i> 51.5–6: ἀκωδώνιστον ( <i>Ar. Lys.</i> 485)· ἀβασάνιστον, ἀδοκίμαστον.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 825 (= Phot. α 883, Σ''): ἀκωδώνιστον· ἀβασάνιστον, ἀδοκίμαστον. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης ( <i>Lys.</i> 485).
(39) <i>PS</i> 59.20: ἀτερπὲς ἔργον.	Phot. α 3082: ἀτερπὲς ἔργον· τὸ μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν πραττόμενον.

**Table 3** (continued)

(40) <i>PS</i> 85.5–6: κυνοκέφαλος (Ar. <i>Eq.</i> 416)· διὰ τῶν δυοῖν ἄλλοι Ἀττικοί.	<i>PS</i> fr. 319 = Phot. κ 1216: κυνοκέφαλ<λ>ον· ἐν τοῖς δύο ἄλλοι λέγουσιν. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης (Ar. <i>Eq.</i> 416). (While Theodoridis suggested derivation from the <i>PS</i> , Alpers 1981 prints the Photius entry as Orus fr. B 86 on the ground that ἐν τοῖς δύο ἄλλοι be Orus' characteristic use of ἐν τινι. This same use is attested in the <i>Eclogue</i> , but never in the epitome and the fragments of the <i>PS</i> ).
---	---

**Table 4:** The epitome and the indirect tradition result from independent processes of epitomisation and excerption.

(1) <i>PS</i> 2.11: ἄνοργοι· ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ἀνόργητοι.	<i>PS</i> fr. 203 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1450 (Phot. α 2035 = <i>Su.</i> α 2563, ex Σ'): ἄνοργοι· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνευ ὀργῆς. Κρατῖνος (fr. 413).
(2) <i>PS</i> 4.11–3: ἀνωφέλητος ἄνθρωπος· Εὐπολὶς (fr. 409) μὲν ἰδίως ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ δυναμένου ἢ μὴ βουλομένου ὠφεληθῆναι. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ ὠφελεῖν θέλοντος ἢ δυναμένου.	Phot. α 2169: ἀνωφέλητος ἄνθρωπος· Στράτις (fr. 68)· ‘ἀνωφέλητος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρός’.
(3) <i>PS</i> 4.14–5.2: ἀφαιρεῖν κροκύδας· λίαν ἡττικιστὰ καὶ τίθεται ἐπὶ τῶν πάντα ποιούντων διὰ κολακείαν, ὥστε καὶ παρεπομένους ἀφαιρεῖν κροκύδας τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἢ κάρφος τι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ τοῦ γενείου. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης <καὶ> ἀφαιρεῖ τρίχας φησὶν ἐπὶ τινος κολακεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντος (fr. 689).	Σ <sup>b</sup> 2491 (= Phot. α 3291 = <i>Su.</i> α 4570, ex Σ'): ἀφαιρεῖν κροκύδας· ἐπὶ τῶν πάντα ποιούντων ἔνεκεν κολακείας, ἄλλοι τε χρώνται καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 689)· ‘εἰ τις κολακεύει παρὼν καὶ τὰς κροκύδας ἀφαιρῶν’.
(4) <i>PS</i> 5.11–4: ἄνθρωπος ἀποφράς· ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι, καθ’ ἃς ἀπηγόρευτο τι πράττειν. σημαίνει οὖν τὸν οἶον ἀπαίσιον καὶ ἐξεδρον καὶ ἐπάρατον ἄνθρωπον· συνέτυχεν ἐξίοντι μοι   ἄνθρωπος ἀποφράς καὶ βλέπων ἀπιστίαν’ (Eur. fr. 332).	<i>PS</i> fr. 190 = Phot. α 1977: ἄνθρωπος ἀποφράς· οἶον ἀπαίσιος καὶ ἐξεδρος καὶ ἐπάρατος, κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι Εὐπολὶς (Eur. fr. 332.2). ἐν συνουσίᾳ χρηστὸν τῇ συντάξει, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος.
(5) <i>PS</i> 5.19–20: ἀνεμεστῶθη (Ar. <i>Ra.</i> 1084)· καὶ ἀνεμεστῶσεν· ἀντὶ τοῦ <ἐπληρώθη> (de Borries ex Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1348) καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν.	<i>PS</i> fr. 183 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1348 (ex Σ <sup>b</sup> ): ἀνεμεστῶθη (Ar. <i>Ra.</i> 1084)· ἀνεπλήρωθη.

Table 4 (continued)

(6) <i>PS</i> 6.1–3: ἀνθρωποιδὲς θηρίον, ὕδατι συζῶν· ἐπὶ τοῦ Γλαύκου <τοῦ> ἀναφανέντος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. Αἰσχύλος (fr. *26).	<i>PS</i> fr. 194 = Phot. α 1981: ἀνθρωποιδὲς θηρίον· ἐπὶ τοῦ Γλαύκου τοῦ ἀναφανέντος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης Αἰσχύλος εἴρηκεν (fr. *26). χρήση πανταχοῦ.
(7) <i>PS</i> 6.13–7: ἀκύμων {θάλαττα}· Εὐριπίδης ( <i>Andr.</i> 158) ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν τέθεικεν, ὥσανει <ἐπὶ τοῦ> ἀγόνου. ὥσαυτως καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 765). <καὶ ἀκύμων θάλασσα ἢ μὴ ἀνέμοις ταρασσομένη καὶ κυμαινομένη> (add. de Borries ex Σ <sup>'''</sup> ). λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀκύματος ( <i>trag. adesp.</i> fr. 336)· ‘ἀκύματος δὲ πορθμὸς ἐν φρίκη γελᾷ’.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 821 (= Phot. α 881, ex Σ <sup>'''</sup> ): ἀκύμων· μὴ γεννώσα, ὡς ἐγκύμων ἢ συνειληφυῖα (= Σ α 283, from Cyril lexicon). λέγεται καὶ (Phot.: δὲ Σ <sup>b</sup> , quod Bekker corr.) ἀκύμων θάλασσα ἢ μὴ ἀνέμοις ταρασσομένη καὶ κυμαινομένη.
(8) <i>PS</i> 7.7–9: ἄτεγκτος παρηγορήμασιν· Αἰσχύλος δοτικῇ ἀντὶ γενικῆς Ἀττικῇ ἐχρήσατο ἔθει (fr. 348). Πλάτων <δὲ> γενικῇ κέχρηται ( <i>R.</i> 361c.7)· ‘μὴ τέγγεσθαι ὑπὸ κακοδοξίας’.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2328 (= Phot. α 3064 = <i>Su.</i> α 4329, ex Σ <sup>′</sup> ): ἄτεγκτος ἄνθρωπος παρηγορήμασιν (Phot. om. παρηγορήμασιν)· ὁ μὴ βρεχόμενος μήτε προσιέμενος παραμυθίαν, ἀλλὰ σκληρὸς ὢν ὡς ἡ πέτρα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν σκληρῶν, ὡς μηδὲ (Σ <sup>b</sup> et <i>Su.</i> : ὡς μὴ) ὑπὸ ὕδατος βρέχεσθαι.
(9) <i>PS</i> 9.3–5: ἀπὴνθισται (cod. C: ἀπηνθίσθαι Bekker)· τὸ ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ ἄνθος. καὶ ἐνεργητικῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ δρῶντος (<Αἰσχύλος ( <i>Ag.</i> 1662)> de Borries) τίθησι (<τὴν φωνήν> de Borries) ἀπανθίσαι (de Borries: ἀπανθίσας cod. C).	<i>PS</i> fr. *234 = Phot. α 2249 (b, S <sup>z</sup> ) (ex Σ <sup>'''</sup> ?): ἀπανθίζειν· Πωλίων (Reitzenstein: Απολίων b [littera A rubra]: Πολίων S <sup>z</sup> ) εἴρηκεν· ‘ἀπανθίζειν ἐπεχειρεῖ τοὺς Φρύγας Ἀχιλλεύς’. Phot. α 2416: ἀπὴνθισται· ἀποβέβληκε τὸ ἄνθος καὶ οἶον ἀποκεκόσμηται. οὕτως Αἰσχύλος (fr. 415a, οὕτως Αἰσχύλος in marg. cod. z; cf. Aesch. fr. 100 [= Stob. 4.10.24]: ἀλλ’ Ἄρης φιλεῖ   αἰεὶ τὰ λῶστα πάντ’ ἀπανθίζειν [Porson: πάντα τάνθρῳπων] στρατοῦ).
(10) <i>PS</i> 11.13: ἄπαρνος· σεμνότερον τοῦ ἑξαρνος καὶ πολιτικώτερον.	Phot. α 2263: ἄπαρνος· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑξαρνος· τὸ γὰρ ἄπαρνος σεμνότερον.
(11) <i>PS</i> 12.1–3: ἀστεῖόν <τι> καὶ κατερρινημένον εἰπεῖν ( <i>Ar. Ra.</i> 901–2)· σημαίνει τὸ κατερρινημένον τὸ οὕτω λεπτῶς καὶ ἄκρως διεργασμένον, ὥσ<τε> μὴδὲ διαιρεῖσθαι ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2260 (= Phot. α 2993 = <i>Su.</i> α 4234, ex Σ <sup>′</sup> ): ἀστεῖόν τι καὶ κατερρινημένον εἰπεῖν· κωμικῇ ( <i>Ar. Ra.</i> 901–2) ἢ συμπλοκῇ· σημαίνει δὲ τὸ κατερρινημένον τὸ ἄκρως διεργασμένον. ἐν (ἐν om. Phot.) συνουσίᾳ χρῶ.

Table 4 (continued)

(12) <i>PS</i> 12.14–5: αὐτὴ νῦν ἡ σοφία ζῆ· ἐπὶ τινος εὐδοκιμοῦντος χρῶ. <ὅμοιον> καὶ τὸ αὐτὴ ἀνθεῖ ἡ μοῦσα.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2427 (= Phot. α 3200 = <i>Su.</i> α 4478, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): αὐτὴ νῦν ἡ σοφία ζῆ· ἐπὶ τινος εὐδοκιμοῦντος. Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2428 (= <i>Su.</i> α 4478, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): αὐτὴ νῦν ἀνθεῖ ἡ μοῦσα· ὅμοιον τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ πολιτικώτερον.
(13) <i>PS</i> 15.3–5: ἀπήρτησε καὶ ἀπαρτᾶν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπέσπασέ τινος καὶ ἀπεχώρισε. καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ στεφάνου (18.59) ‘καὶ με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς’.	Phot. α 2271: ἀπαρτᾶν· ἀντὶ τοῦ μακρὰν ἀπάγει<ν>. Δημοσθένης (18.59). (Derivation from the <i>PS</i> is indicated tentatively by Theodoridis).
(14) <i>PS</i> 15.6–7: ἀνεπτερωῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ( <i>Cratin.</i> fr. 379)· οἶον ἀνασσεσοβῆσθαι, ἔκπτοιον εἶναι.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1305 (= Phot. α 1617 = <i>Su.</i> α 2305, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): ἀνεπτερωῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν· οἶον ἀνασσεσοβῆσθαι. Κρατίνος (fr. 379) καὶ Εὐπολὶς (fr. 407).
(15) <i>PS</i> 17.13–4: ἀνδρογύνον ἄθυρμα ( <i>Eur.</i> fr. 46)· εἰ θέλοις γύννιν τινὰ σκῶψαι, χρήσαιο ἄν.	Phot. α 1764: ἀνδρογύνων ἄθυρμα· Εὐπολὶς ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις (fr. 46). ἀνδρογύνους δὲ ἔλεγον τοὺς ἄνδρας μὲν τὸ σῶμα φύντας, εἰς γυναῖκας δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας καὶ τὰς τούτων ἐπιτηδεύσεις ἐπιτηδεύοντας.
(16) <i>PS</i> 18.6–7: ἀπόλεμος χρόνος· τὸ εἰρηνικὸν καὶ εὐνομον τῆς διαίτης σημαίνει.	Phot. α 2554: ἀπόλεμος χρόνος· σημαίνει τὸν εἰρηνικὸν καὶ τὴν ἡρεμίαν τοῦ δόρατος.
(17) <i>PS</i> 18.8–9: ἄγευστος θοίνης καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. κατὰ γενικὴν <τίθεται>.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 105 (= Phot. α 156 = <i>Su.</i> α 207, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): ἄγευστος θοίνης· ἀστείως βίου ἔχων. Phot. α 157: ἄγευστος θοίνης καὶ ἀπλῶς ἄγευστος τοῦδε χρή λέγειν.
(18) <i>PS</i> 19.14–6: ἀπαλὸς εἰσπλους τοῦ λιμένος· ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ( <i>Od.</i> 5.425) τοὺς δυσόρμους λιμένας τραχεῖς λέγει, οὕτως Κρατίνος (fr. 383) ἐπὶ τῶν εὐόρμων τὸ ἀπαλὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου εἶπεν.	Phot. α 2234: ἀπαλὸς εἰσπλους {τοῦ} λιμένος· ἀντὶ τοῦ τραχείος λαβῶν ὁ Κρατίνος τὸ ἀπαλὸς σύνταξιν ἡδίστην ἐποίησεν ‘ἀπαλὸς εἰσπλους λιμένος’ εἰπὼν (fr. 383).
(19) <i>PS</i> 21.1–2: αὔεσθαι πῦρ καὶ ἐναύεσθαι· Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 784) αὐόμενος, Κρατίνος (fr. 450) ἐναύεσθαι.	Phot. α 3155: αὔεσθαι πῦρ καὶ ἐναύεσθαι· Ὅμηρος εἶπεν ( <i>Od.</i> 5.490) καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 784) καὶ Κρατίνος (fr. 450).

Table 4 (continued)

(20) <i>PS</i> 22.8–9: ἄμαχον τὸ κακόν· ὑπερβολικῶς, πρὸς ὃ οὐκ ἂν τις μαχέσαιο.	Phot. α 1152: ἄμαχον <κακόν>· τὸ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν κακόν, πρὸς ὃ οὐδὲ μαχέσασθαι ἔνι. (The supplement is unnecessary if we postulate independent manipulation of the source text).
(21) <i>PS</i> 26.11–3: ἄκος περίαπτον· Ἀττικῶς εἴρηται κατὰ σύνθεσιν <μετὰ> τοῦ ἄκος, τὸ δὲ περίαπτον κατὰ μόνον <ἐπὶ τοῦ περιάμματος> καθωμίληται.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 758 (= Phot. α 830, <i>ex Σ'''</i> ): ἄκος περίαπτον· Ἀττικῶς εἴρηται. κέχρηται τῇ συνθήκῃ Κρατίνος (fr. 373).
(22) <i>PS</i> 26.16–7: ἀγροβάας ἀνὴρ· ὁ ἀγροίκως φθεγγόμενος καὶ οὐκ ἔμμελῶς. χρῶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀηδῶν καὶ μεγαλοφώνων.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 301 (Phot. α 267, <i>ex Σ'''</i> ): ἀγροβάας ἀνὴρ· ὁ ἀγροίκως φθεγγόμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀστείως οὐδὲ ἔμμελῶς. οὕτως Κρατίνος (fr. 371).
(23) <i>PS</i> 27.20–1: ἀνήγρετο ἐξ ὕπνου (Soph. fr. 824) καὶ ἐξήγρετο· Ἀττικῶς <εἴρηται>.	Phot. α 1911: ἀνήγρετο ἐξ ὕπνου· Ἀττικῶς ἄγαν τοῦτο ἔστι παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ (fr. 824).
(24) <i>PS</i> 30.10–4: ἀργυροσκόπος καὶ ἀργυρογνῶμων καὶ ἀργυραμοιβός· εἴρηται δὲ ἀργυρογνῶμων μὲν παρὰ τὸ γνῶναι δύνασθαι δόκιμόν τε καὶ κίβδηλον ἀργύριον. ἀργυροσκόπος δὲ παρὰ τὸ σκοπεῖν, ἀργυραμοιβός δὲ ὁ ἀμείβων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου κέρματα.	Phot. α 2791: ἀργυροσκόπος· τὸ μὲν ἀργυρογνῶμων καὶ ἀργυραμοιβός τέτριπται παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικισταῖς, τὸ δὲ ἀργυροσκόπος οὐκέτι. εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ σκοπεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ διακρίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδοκίμου τὸ δόκιμον.
(25) <i>PS</i> 32.12–4: ἀληλιμμένον· ἀναδιπλοῦντες λέγουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠλειμμένον. οὕτω καὶ τὸ κατορώρυκτο καὶ τὸ κατορρωρυγμένον, καὶ ὑφήφανται ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕφανται.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 971 (= Phot. α 939, <i>ex Σ'''</i> ): ἀληλιμμένον· τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἀναδιπλοῦντες λέγουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠλειμμένον. οὕτως Θουκυδίδης (4.68.6).
(26) <i>PS</i> 35.3–5: ἀθήρ (Philon. fr. 12)· ἡ ἀκμή τοῦ ἠκονημένου σιδήρου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθέρος, ὃ ἔστιν ἀστάχυος τὸ ἄκρον καὶ λεπτότατον, παρ' ὃ τὸ ἀθηρηλογόν καὶ <τὸ> ἀθερίζειν.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 461 ( <i>ex Σ'''</i> ): ἀθήρ· ἡ ἀκμή τοῦ ἠκονημένου σιδήρου, κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθέρος, ὃ ἔστι τοῦ ἀστάχυος τὸ ἄκρον καὶ λεπτότατον, ἄφ' οὗ τὸ ἀθηρήλαττον καὶ ἀθέριζον πεποιήται. οὕτως Φιλωνίδης (fr. 12) ~ Phot. α 469 ( <i>ex Σ'''</i> ): ἀθήρ· ἡ ἀκμή τοῦ ἠκονημένου σιδήρου κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἐκ τοῦ ἀθέρος, ὃς ἔστι τοῦ στάχυος τὸ ἄκρον καὶ λεπτότατον, ἄφ' οὗ τὸ ἀθηρηλογόν καὶ ἀθερίζειν πεποιήται. οὕτως Φιλωνίδης (fr. 12).

Table 4 (continued)

(27) <i>PS</i> 36.1–4: αικάλλοντες· σημαίνει τὸ σαίνοντες, ὅπερ οἱ κύνες ποιοῦσιν. ὁ μέντοι Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 1082) καὶ προσσαίνειν. χρῶ οὖν, εἰ μὲν φιλοτίμως, τῷ αικάλλειν, εἰ δὲ πολιτικῶς, τῷ προσσαίνειν.	Phot. α 583: αικάλλειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ σαίνειν, ὅπερ οἱ κύνες ποιοῦσιν. οὕτως Πλάτων (fr. 248).
(28) <i>PS</i> 37.14–6: ἀγωγεύς· ὁ ἰμάς τῶν κυνηγετικῶν κυνῶν, ᾧ ἐπάγονται ὑπὸ τῶν κυνηγετῶν. Στράτις δὲ (fr. 55.2) τὸν ἵππου ἰμάντα, ᾧ ἐφέλκεται καὶ ἐπάγεται, ἀγωγή λέγει.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 313 (= Phot. α 305, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): ἀγωγεύς· ὁ ἰμάς τῶν κυνηγετικῶν κυνῶν. οὕτως Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 974).
(29) <i>PS</i> 40.13–4: ἀντιβολία· ἥδ' καὶ σεμνόν. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ ἱκετεῖαν.	Phot. α 2083: ἀντιβολία· Εὐπολὶς Κόλαξιν (fr. 168). σημαίνει δὲ ἱκετεῖαν.
(30) <i>PS</i> 41.8–42.3: ἀσφάραγος· διὰ τοῦ φ. βοτάνης εἶδος ἀσφάραγος πρὸς τὰς καθάρσεις ἐπιτήδειον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ ὄρμενα τῶν λαχάνων διὰ τοῦ π ἀσπαράγους καλοῦσιν, δυσὶ περιπίπτοντες ἀμαρτήμασιν, ὅτι τε διὰ τοῦ π λέγουσιν, δέον διὰ τοῦ φ, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἰδίως καλούμενον ἐπὶ τινος πόας ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἐξορμενιζόντων <λέγοντες> τίθενται τὴν φωνήν.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2306 (= Phot. α 3038 = <i>Su.</i> α 4297, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): ἀσφάραγον· φάρυγγα (= Σ α 1026). στόμαχον, λαιμόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀκανθῶν ἀποφυόμενον βλάστημα. ἔστι δέ τι καὶ βοτάνης εἶδος ἀσφάραγος, πρὸς τὰς καθάρσεις ἐπιτήδειον. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ φ τὴν λέξιν προφέρουσιν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μὴ ἀκριβοῦντες διὰ τοῦ π λέγουσιν, καὶ ἀπλῶς τὰ τῶν λαχάνων ὄρμενα ἀσπαράγους καλοῦσιν.
(31) <i>PS</i> 43.3–4: ἀμφήμερος πυρετός (Soph. fr. 507.2)· ὃν ἀμφημερινὸν οἱ ἰατροί.	<i>Su.</i> α 1695: ἀμφήμερον· τὸν ἀμφημερινὸν πυρετόν. Σοφοκλῆς Ποιμέσι (fr. 507.2)· 'κρυμὸν φέρων γνάθοισιν ἐξ ἀμφημέρου'.
(32) <i>PS</i> 43.5–8: ἀμαξίαῖα ῥήματα· μεγάλα, ἃ φέροι ἂν ἄμαξα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἢ ὑποζύγιον. καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς ( <i>Il.</i> 20.247) 'οὐδ' ἂν νηῦς ἐκατόζυγος ἄχθος ἄροισι'. οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα πολιτικά, τῷ μέντοι ποιητῇ δίδονται λέγειν.	Phot. α 1118: ἀμαξίαῖα ῥήματα· μεγάλα, ἃ φέρει ἄμαξα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἢ ὑποζύγιον. Πολύζηλος ἐν Διονύσου γοναῖς (fr. 7)· 'ῥήμαθ' ἀμαξίαῖα'. ὁ δὲ Κάνθαρος ἐν Τηρεῖ (fr. 8) 'ἀμαξίαῖα κομπάσματα' εἶρηκεν. σὺ δὲ οὐ χρῆση τῇ τοιαύτῃ φράσει· κωμικὰ γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτικά τὰ τοιαῦτα.
(33) <i>PS</i> 43.17–9: ἀπλᾶ, διπλᾶ, τριπλᾶ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια περισπῶσιν, <οὐ> γὰρ ὑποπίπτει τῇ Ἰωνικῇ διαιρέσει, οἷον διπλόα διπλᾶ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1799 (= Phot. α 2436 = <i>Su.</i> α 3221, <i>ex Σ'</i> ): ἀπλᾶ καὶ διπλᾶ καὶ πολλαπλᾶ καὶ πάντα περισπῶσι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀργυρᾶ, χρυσᾶ, κεραμεᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεραμεοῦν, καὶ φοινικᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοινικιοῦν. (Cf. <i>Su.</i> δ 1258: διπλαῖ, <i>Su.</i> π 1871: πολλαπλᾶ, <i>Su.</i> φ 783: φοινικᾶ, <i>Su.</i> χ 553: χρυσᾶ).

Table 4 (continued)

(34) <i>PS</i> 44.7–10: ἀνήδομαι, ἐφ’ οἷς ἦσθην· ἀντί τοῦ οὐκέθ’ ἦδομαι. Ἑρμιππος (fr. 28) ‘ἄ <γὰρ> τόθ’ ἦσθην, ταῦτα νῦν ἀνήδομαι’. ἀντί τοῦ {καί} τήν ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις γεγενημένην ἀπορρίπτω καὶ ἀποτίθεμαι ἡδονήν.	Phot. α 1913: ἀνήδομαι ἐφ’ οἷς ἦσθην ποτέ· οὐκέτι ἦδομαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκβάλλω τήν ἡδονήν. καινή ἢ φωνή καὶ πολιτικώτερόν τι ἔχουσα. Ἑρμιππος Θεοῖς (fr. 28).
(35) <i>PS</i> 45.15: ἀνταίρειν· ἀντανίστασθαι. Δημοσθένης (2.24, 6.5).	Phot. α 2052: ἀνταίρειν· ἀντανίστασθαι, ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι.
(36) <i>PS</i> 47.16–7: ἀνταναγνῶναι (Cratin. fr. 289) χρήσιμον. οὐκ ἀντιβαλεῖν οὐδ’ ἀνεξετάσαι.	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1528 (= Phot. α 2046, ex Σ’): ἀνταναγνῶναι· οὐκ ἀντιβάλλειν. οὕτω Κρατῖνος Ὀραις (fr. 289).
(37) <i>PS</i> 48.14: ἀκεῖσθαι καὶ ἐξακεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπάγειν ἐπαγωγὰς ἐκ γοητείας καὶ μαγανείας ἐπηγμένας. οὕτω Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείας δευτέρῳ (364c.1).	Σ <sup>b</sup> α 668 (= Phot. α 730(+) = <i>Su.</i> α 856, ex Σ’): ἀκεῖσθαι· λέγειν θεραπεύειν κωμωδοῦντες (: κωμωδοῦντα <i>Su.</i> ). Phot. α 730: ἀκεῖσθαι· λέγειν, θεραπεύειν. παραιτεῖσθαι, ἰᾶσθαι. καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐπαγωγὰς ἐκ γοητείας καὶ μαγανείας ἐπηγμένας τισί. Πλάτων ἐν δευτέρῳ Πολιτείας (364c.1). Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀντιγόνη (1027) ἐκλαμβάνει τὸ ἀκεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁμαρτίαν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι κατὰ μεταφοράν.
(38) <i>PS</i> 50.9–10: ἀναθερμαίνειν τὰς φρένας (Soph. fr. 822) καὶ τήν διάνοιαν, τήν γνώμην· οἶον <ἀνα>κινεῖν, ἀναταράττειν.	Phot. α 1473: ἀναθερμαίνειν τὰς φρένας, τήν γνώμην, τὸν νοῦν· οἶον ἀνακινεῖν, ἀνιᾶν, ἀναταράττειν. Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 822).
(39) <i>PS</i> 52.4: ἀμπελουργεῖ· δόκιμον.	Phot. α 1245: ἀμπελουργὸς (Ar. <i>Pax</i> 190) καὶ ἀμπελουργεῖν (Ar. fr. 768)· Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη.
(40) <i>PS</i> 81.12–3: κυψέλαι φρονημάτων ( <i>com. adesp.</i> fr. 612) οἷον θῆκαι φρονήσεως. κυψέλη γὰρ ἀγγεῖον εἰς ἀπόθεσιν πυρῶν.	Phot. κ 1278: κυψέλαι φρονημάτων ( <i>com. adesp.</i> fr. 612)· <***> ἀγγεῖα· ἢ κενοὶ παντάσασιν.
(41) <i>PS</i> 85.3–4: κυνοδέσμαι· αἷς τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἀπεσκολυμμένοι ἀποδοῦνται. κύνα δὲ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἐκάλουν.	Phot. κ 1215: κυνοδέσμη· δερμάτιον ὃ τὰς ἀκροποσθίας ἀποδοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τὰς ἀποδύσεις ἀσχημονοῦντες.
(42) <i>PS</i> 90.9–13: νεαλές· παρὰ τὸ ἀλές, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ἄθρόον, τὸ νεωστὶ γεγενημένον καὶ συνενηγεμένον. τὸ γὰρ συνελθεῖν καὶ συναλισθῆναι ταυτόν. <ὃ δὲ> Ἀριστοφάνης <ἐν Λημνίαις (fr. 378) διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ α> τὸ νεαλῆς <τέθεικεν ἐπὶ τοῦ νέου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος>.	Phot. ν 66: νεαλῆς· ἐκτείνεται τὸ α. Ἀριστοφάνης Λημνίαις (fr. 378): ‘ἔως νεαλῆς ἔστιν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκμήν’. Μένανδρος (fr. 559).



**Table 4** (continued)

(43) <i>PS</i> 91.1–2: νεολαία (Ar. fr. 73): ἔστι νέος λαὸς ἢ νεότης, παρ’ ὃ γέγονεν ἡ νεολαία. <i>PS</i> 113.3–4: τῆς νῦν νεολαίας (cod.: τῆς {νῦν}) νεολαίας <i>possis coll.</i> Ar. fr. 73): τῆς νῦν νεότητος, τοῦ νῦν γένους. ἐκ τοῦ νέος καὶ τοῦ λαός.	Phot. v 138: νεολαία· νέος λαὸς καὶ οὐ πάλοι εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγεγραμμένος. Phot. v 139: νεολαίαν· τὴν νεότητα τετρασυλλάβως οἱ Ἀττικοί. Βαβυλωνίοις (Ar. fr. 73): ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῆς νεολαίας ὡς καλόν’.
(44) <i>PS</i> 117.14–8: ὕπουλα γόνата καὶ ὕπουλον χεῖρα καὶ πόδα, σῶμα (Cratin. fr. 498): τὸ φλεγμαῖνον διὰ τινος πληγᾶς. τὸ δόξαν μὲν ἔχον ὑγείας, ἔνδοθεν δὲ σαθρόν καὶ φλεγμαῖνον. ὅθεν μεταφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν εὐπρεπῶς μὲν διαλεγομένων, ἔνδοθεν <δὲ> ἐπιβουλευόντων.	Phot. u 272 = <i>Su.</i> u 622: ὕπουλα γόνата· καὶ ὕπουλον πόδα καὶ ὕπουλον χεῖρα καὶ σῶμα· τὸ φλεγμαῖνον διὰ τινος πληγᾶς καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀφίστασθαι ὄν. Κρατῖνος (fr. 498).
(45) <i>PS</i> 120.6–8: χολλάδες (Pherecr. fr. 280): διὰ δυοῖν λλ. αἰ τῆς γαστρὸς διὰ παχύτητα ἐπιπτύξεις. Ὅμηρος ( <i>Il.</i> 4.526, 21.181) δι’ ἐνὸς <λ> τὰ ἔντερα.	Σ χ 151 (B) (= Phot. [z, ined., apud Pherecr. fr. 280], ex Σ’): χολλάδας· διὰ τοῦ δύο λλ, τὰς ἐν ταῖς λαγόσι σάρκας. οὕτως Φερεκράτης (fr. 280).

**Table 5:** Further, possible cases of ‘multiple’ entries (?).

(1) ἀγριώ	<i>PS</i> 24.12–3: ἀγριωθείς, <i>PS</i> 73.13–4: ἡγρίωνται καὶ σεσήρασιν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους
(2) ἄζυξ and περίζυξ	<i>PS</i> 18.11–2: ἄζυξ, <i>PS</i> 100.3–4: περίζυξ καὶ ἄζυξ
(3) ἀναζέω	<i>PS</i> 24.10–1: ἀναζέσαι καὶ ἀνάξσον, <i>PS</i> 48.8: ἀνέξεσεν αἷμα, Phot. α 1795: ἀνέξεσεν αἷμα
(4) ἀπανθίζω	<i>PS</i> 9.3–5: ἀπήνθισται, Phot. α 2416: ἀπήνθισται, <i>PS</i> fr. *221 = Σ <sup>b</sup> α 1407 (= Phot. α 1963 = <i>Su.</i> α 2515, ex Σ’), <i>PS</i> fr. *234 = Phot. α 2249 (ex Σ’)
(5) ἀπιστία and ἀπιστος	<i>PS</i> 5.15–6: ἀπιστίαν βλέπει, <i>PS</i> 41.7: ἀπιστεῖν, <i>PS</i> 43.9: ἀπιστόν με τίθης
(6) αὐτόκερας and αὐτόκρατον	<i>PS</i> 1.9–11: αὐτόκερας, <i>PS</i> 29.13–5: αὐτόκρατον (see Kaibel 1899, 19; Favi 2022b)
(7) ἄωρος, ἄωρία and derivatives	<i>PS</i> 4.8–10: ἄωριαν ἤκειν, <i>PS</i> 33.17–8: ἄωρα πράττειν, <i>PS</i> 42.12–3: ἄωροθάνατος, Σ <sup>b</sup> α 2640 (= Phot. α 3497 = <i>Su.</i> α 2855, ex Σ’) (= <i>PS</i> fr. †295 = Ael.Dion. α 205): ἄωρόλειος
(8) βαλάντια and βαλαντιοτομέω	<i>PS</i> 53.11–2: βουλιμιᾶ τὰ βαλάντια, <i>PS</i> 53.14–5: βαλαντιοτομεῖν

**Table 5** (continued)

(9)	δικομήτρα and δικολύμης	PS 62.9–10: δικομήτρα, PS 63.11–2: δικολύμης ἄνθρωπος
(10)	δικολύμης and ἰχθυολύμης	PS 63.11–2: δικολύμης ἄνθρωπος, PS 76.3–4: ἰχθυολύμης ἄνθρωπος
(11)	ἐπέτειος and τηθινός	PS 72.4–5: ἐπέτειον, PS 114.9–10
(12)	ἔσμός and σμήνος	PS 66.5–6: ἔσμός μελισσών καὶ σμήνος μελισσών, PS 110.14: σμήνος καὶ ἔσμός
(13)	κνισοκόλαξ/κυσοκόλαξ and κνισοτηρητής	PS 81.6–7: κυσοκόλαξ, PS 84.20–1: κνισοτηρητής (see Pellettieri 2023)
(14)	μηροκαυτεῖν and ὀλοκαυτεῖν	PS 88.11: μηροκαυτεῖν, PS 97.2–5: ὀλοκαυτεῖν
(15)	ὄζει κνίσης and ὄζειν ἐτών	PS 92.18: ὄζει κνίσης, PS 92.3–4: ὄζειν ἐτών
(16)	ὄμφαξ and ὀμφακίας	PS 92.1–2: ὄμφακας βλέπειν, PS 94.9–10: ὀμφακίας θυμός, PS 96.24: ὀμφακας
(17)	φάλαντος and ἀναφαλαντίας	PS 26.14–5: ἀναφαλαντίας, PS 124.1–4: φάλαντος (and perhaps PS 84.18–9: κρانيόλειος as suggested by Kaibel 1899, 28)

## Bibliography

Adler, A. (1928–1938). *Suidae lexicon*. 5 vols. Leipzig.

Alpers, K. (1981). *Das attizistische Lexicon des Oros. Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe*. Berlin, New York.

Arnott, W. G. (1996). *Alexis. The Fragments. A Commentary*. Cambridge.

Arnott, W. G. (2001). ‘Some Orthographical Problems in the Papyri of Later Greek Comedy II: -ει or -η (ι) as the Ending of the Second Person Singular Middle and Passive in the Present and Other Tenses of Verbs in -ω’. *ZPE* 135, 36–40.

Bagordo, A. (2017). *Aristophanes fr. 675–820. Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Heidelberg.

Benuzzi, F. (2024a). ‘ἀνέκραγον (Phryn. PS 5.21–2, Phryn. PS 52.1–2, Moer. α 131)’. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/03/013>.

Benuzzi, F. (2024b). ‘κεκραγμός, κραυγασμός, κράζω, κραυγάζω (Phryn. *Ecl.* 314, *Antiatt.* κ 8, *Antiatt.* κ 9, *Antiatt.* κ 42, Moer. κ 37, Thom.Mag. 196.7–8)’. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/03/021>.

de Borries, I. (1911). *Phrynichi Sophistae Praeparatio sophistica*. Leipzig.

Bossi, F. (2002). ‘Sui rapporti tra Fozio e la *Suda*’. *Eikasmos* 13, 269–71.

Bossi, F. (2005). Review of Theodoridis (1982–2013, vol. 2). *Gnomon* 77, 14–8.

Cavarzeran, J. (2024). *Scholia in Euripidis Alcestin. Edizione critica, introduzione, indici*. Berlin, Boston.

- Cavarzeran, J. *et al.* (2024). 'Phrynichus Atticista. Σοφιστική προπαρασκευή (*Praeparatio sophistica*)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/02/011>.
- Comentale, N. (2017). *Ermippo. Introduzione, traduzione e commento*. Mainz.
- Corcella, A. (2017). 'Le trappole di Cirillo: Hesych. ε 4016 L., π 12 H.'. *Eikasmos* 28, 225–34.
- Cunningham, I. C. (1986). 'Harpocraton and the Συναγωγή'. *GRBS* 27, 205–21.
- Cunningham, I. C. (2003). *Synagoge. Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίων. Texts of the Original Version and of MS. B. Berlin*, New York.
- Cunningham (2014). Review of Theodoridis (1982–2013, vol. 3). *Eikasmos* 25, 522–5.
- Diggle, J. (2004). *Theophrastus. Characters. Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Cambridge.
- Dunbar, N. (1995). *Aristophanes. Birds. Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford.
- Erbse, E. (1950). *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*. Berlin.
- Favi, F. (2022a). 'Procopio di Gaza lettore di Frinico l'Arabo (e di Cratino)'. *MEG* 22, 137–46.
- Favi, F. (2022b). 'αυτόκερας, αυτόκρατον (Phryn. PS 1.9–11, Phryn. PS 29.13–5, Poll. 6.23–4)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/040>.
- Favi, F. (2022c). 'εἰ with neuter adjective and future (Phryn. PS 3.8–10, Phryn. PS fr. 199)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/043>.
- Favi, F. (2022d). 'ἄπλωτος πώγων (Phryn. PS 4.1–2)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/045>.
- Finglass, P. J. (2018). *Oedipus the King*. Cambridge.
- Gerbi, G. (2023a). 'ἄδειν ὁμοιον (Phryn. PS 20.1–2, Phot. α 551)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/012>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023b). 'ψυχορροφεῖν (Phryn. PS 128.11–3)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/026>.
- Godley, A. D. (1920). *Herodotus. Books I–II*. With an English Translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge (MA), London.
- Hansen, P. A.; Cunningham, I. C. (2009). *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*. Vol. 4: T–Ω. Berlin, New York.
- Henderson, J. (2008). *Aristophanes*. Vol. 5: *Fragments*. Edited and translated by Jeffrey Henderson. Cambridge, MA.
- Hornblower, S. (2008). *A Commentary on Thucydides*. Vol. 3: *Books 5.25–8.109*. Oxford.
- Horrocks, G. (2014). 'High-register Medieval Greek 'Diglossia' and what lay behind it'. In: Carpinato, C.; Tribulato, O. (eds.), *Storia e storie della lingua greca*. Venice, 49–72.
- Kaibel, G. (1899). *De Phrynicho sophista*. Göttingen.
- Keaney, J. J. (1967). 'New Fragments of Greek Authors in Codex Marc. Gr. 444'. *TAPhA* 98, 205–19.
- Kougeas, S. (1913). *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ*. Athens.
- Lamb, W. R. M. (1924). *Plato. Laches, Protagoras, Meno, Euthydemus*. With an English Translation by W. R. M. Lamb. Cambridge (MA), London.
- Latte, K. (1953). *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*. Vol. 1: A–Δ. Copenhagen.
- Lobeck, C. A. (1820). *Phrynichi Eclogae nominum et verborum Atticorum*. Leipzig.
- Marchant, E. C; Todd, O. J. (2013). *Xenophon. Memorabilia, Oeconomicus*. Translated by E. C Marchant. *Symposium, Apology*. Translated by O. J. Todd. Revised by Jeffrey Henderson Cambridge (MA), London.

- Marquis, É. (2013). 'Les textes de Lucien à tradition simple'. *RHT* n.s. 8, 1–36.
- Marquis, É. (2017). *Lucien. Oeuvres. Tome 12: Opusculs 55–57*. Paris.
- Mastronarde, D. J. (2017). *Preliminary Studies on the Scholia to Euripides*. Berkeley.
- Olson, S. D. (1998). *Aristophanes. Peace. Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford.
- Olson, S. D. (2014). *Eupolis fr. 326–497. Translation and Commentary*. Heidelberg.
- Olson, S. D.; Seaberg, R. (2018). *Kratinos fr. 299–514. Translation and Commentary*. Göttingen.
- Orth, C. (2017). *Aristophanes. Aiolosikon – Babylonioi (fr. 1–100). Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Heidelberg.
- Pagani, L. (2017). 'Eustathius' Use of Ancient Scholarship in His *Commentary on the Iliad*: Some Remarks'. In: Pontani, F.; Katsaros, V.; Sarris, V. (eds.), *Reading Eustathius of Thessalonike*. Berlin, Boston, 79–110.
- de Pauw, J. C. (1739). *Phrynichi Eclogae Nominum et Verborum Atticorum* [ . . . ]. Utrecht.
- Pellegrino, M. (2015). *Aristofane. Frammenti*. Lecce, Rovato.
- Pellettieri, A. (2023). 'κνισσοκόλαξ (Phryn. PS 81.6)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/014>.
- Pellettieri, A. (2024). 'Moeris, Ἀττικιστής'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/02/031>.
- Rabe, H. (1902). 'Die Überlieferung der Lukianscholien'. *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 718–36.
- Rabe, H. (1906). *Scholia in Lucianum*. Leipzig.
- Reitzenstein, R. (1907). *Der Anfang des Lexicons des Photios*. Berlin.
- Rutherford, W. G. (1881). *The New Phrynichus. Being a Revised Text of the Ecloga of the Grammarian Phrynichus*. London.
- Schwyzler, E.; Debrunner, A. (1950). *Griechische Grammatik. Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*. Munich.
- Theodoridis, C. (1977). 'Bemerkungen zu den griechischen Komikern'. *ZPE* 26, 49–54.
- Theodoridis, C. (1982–2013). *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*. 3 vols. Berlin, New York.
- Tosi, R. (2001). Review of Theodoridis (1982–2013, vol. 3). *BZ* 94, 347–53.
- Tosi, R. (2015). 'Esichio e la semplificazione di strutture complesse nella trasmissione dei lessici'. In: Tziatzi, M.; Billerbeck, M.; Montanari, F.; Tsantsanoglou, K. (eds.), *Lemmata. Beiträge zum Gedenken an Christos Theodoridis*. Berlin, New York, 411–7.
- Tribulato, O. (2022a). 'κυνίδιον, κυνάριον (Phryn. Ecl. 151, *Antiatt.* κ 87, Phryn. PS 84.22)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/025>.
- Tribulato, O. (2022b). 'γυναικίζω, γυναικισμός, γυναικηρός, γυναικάριον (Phryn. PS 56.6–7, Phryn. PS 55.16, *Antiatt.* γ 10, *Antiatt.* γ 11)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/046>.
- Tribulato, O. (2024). 'Aristophanes with his Chorus'. Citations and Uses of Comedy in the Lexica of Phrynichus Atticista'. In: Favi, F.; Mastellari, V. (eds.), *Treasures of Literature. Anthologies, Lexica, Scholia and the Indirect Tradition of Classical Texts in the Greek World*. Berlin, Boston, 75–96.
- Valente, S. (2008). 'Una miscellanea lessicografica del X secolo: il Par. Coisl. 345'. *S&T* 6, 151–78.
- Valente, S. (2012). *I lessici a Platone di Timeo Sofista e Pseudo-Didimo. Introduzione ed edizione critica*. Berlin, Boston.
- Valente, S. (2015). *The Antiatticist. Introduction and Critical Edition*. Berlin, Boston.
- Valente, S. (2016). Review of Theodoridis (1982–2013, vol. 3). *Gnomon* 88, 400–4.
- Winter, R. (1908). *De Luciani scholiis quaestiones selectae*. Leipzig.

Olga Tribulato

# Stylistic terminology in the *Praeparatio sophistica*

## 1 Introduction: Types of evaluative terminology in the *PS*

Despite its heavily abbreviated state, the *PS* as transmitted by cod. Par. Coisl. 345 still preserves a sufficiently varied range of evaluative terminology to allow it to be classified not simply as an Atticist lexicon, but more specifically as one focused on stylistic theorisation and aimed at providing its readers with a rich selection of notable Classical expressions with which to nuance their stylistic palette. The existence of indirect witnesses to the *PS* – chiefly the *Synagoge*, Photius' lexicon, and the *Suda* – which bear traces of states of the text that in part differ from that preserved in the Coislinianus (see Favi, this volume), is of paramount importance for the appreciation of the evaluative side of Phrynichus' work. Not only do these indirect witnesses often repeat the evaluative terminology found in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345, thus confirming the likelihood that such judgements go back to Phrynichus himself, but they also contain further evaluative comments that the epitome lacks. Although it is impossible to be certain that these comments were part of the original *PS* (for they may have been added by those who extracted these entries from whatever earlier version of the *PS* they had at their disposal), a certain amount of overlap between the terminology used in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 and that used by the indirect witnesses suggests that much of this terminology can be approached with reasonable confidence that it belongs to the original *PS*.

In the following sections, I collect and discuss the range of evaluative terminology that can be reconstructed for the *PS* on the basis of both the Coislinianus and the entries in the indirect witnesses that certainly date back to the *PS* or that have been attributed to the *PS* on the basis of the doctrine they express. I have divided the evidence into three subgroups: (1) Atticist (i.e. prescriptive) terminology (Section 2); (2) general stylistic terminology (e.g. judgements on the beauty or vividness of certain expressions: Section 3); (3) terminology that refers to a specific literary genre (e.g. comedy or encomium), style (e.g. solemn style), or linguistic register (e.g. contempt, irony, etc.: for a definition of these separate but overlapping categories, see Section 4). In addressing the second and third groups, I shall attempt to situate Phrynichus' terminology within Greek stylistic thought, paying particular attention to the contemporary theorisation of Hermogenes' *On*

*Types of Style.* Equipped with these comparative insights, in the final part of this contribution I shall focus on the elusive category of τὸ πολιτικόν in the *PS* and assess to what extent we can see in Phrynichus' use of this category an adherence to the extensive theoretical discussion of the πολιτικός λόγος in Greek manuals of style.

Each section is accompanied by a list of all the entries of the *PS* (including the indirect witnesses) in which a given type of terminology is attested. In order to keep the data to a manageable size, I have confined the analysis to the entries in α, which are usually longer and for which the indirect tradition is especially rich. I have, however, highlighted the occurrence of the more significant evaluative labels outside of α (see especially Sections 3 and 4). The comparison of the material in the epitome of the Coislinianus with that of the indirect witnesses clearly shows that whatever text of the *PS* these two stages of the tradition attest to, they excerpted it in different ways (see also Favi, this volume for the same conclusion). Whether these differences are accidental or reflect precise choices on the part of the excerptors is very difficult to prove. In the discussion, however, I will pay closer attention to those cases where one branch of the tradition (I use this term for lack of a better one) manifests a sharp difference from the other.

## 2 Atticist (prescriptive) terminology

The Atticist orientation of the *PS* is evident in the variety of prescriptive (and, partly, also proscriptive) instructions that it preserves. Not only is the adjective Ἀττικός, with its related group of speakers – the Ἀττικοί – by far the most common item in this terminological group, but it also outnumbers those in the other two groups. This orientation notwithstanding, the typically Atticist positive labels ἀρχαῖος 'ancient', δόκιμος 'approved, reputable', and ἀδόκιμος 'disapproved, disreputable' are less present in the extant material of the *PS* as a whole than in the *Eclogue* (the following counts consider both lexica in their entirety). δόκιμος appears a total of 14 times in the *PS*, but some 50 times in the *Eclogue*, where οἱ δόκιμοι 'the approved authors' is especially frequent – a concept that is curiously absent in the *PS*. Conversely, throughout the *PS* ἀρχαῖος is represented only by instances of οἱ ἀρχαῖοι 'the ancient authors' (10x), while in the *Eclogue* it also frequently classifies words. ἀδόκιμος has three extant attestations in the *PS*, but almost 40 in the *Eclogue*. While these comparisons should not be taken too rigidly – too different is the breadth of Phrynichus' two lexica and the nature of the abridgements that they underwent, not to mention the fact that the mere counting of tokens does not amount to a statistical study – they do fit nicely with the

idea that the *PS*, while broadly Atticist in scope, was less focused on militant prescriptivism than on information on how to competently use the ancient and Attic expressions it collected.

This orientation is confirmed by the fact that the general Atticist terminology (below, List 1) includes references to groups of speakers with which Phrynichus nuances his description of the registers and sociolects that are variously opposed to that of the Ἀττικοί: the ἀγοραῖοι ('vulgar'), the ἀμαθεῖς ('uneducated'), the ἰδιῶται ('laymen'), the πολλοί ('the many, the mass'), and finally the contemporary speakers (οἱ νῦν), who use certain words differently from the ancients. All these labels also have numerous parallels in the *Eclogue*, and here too we see some common trends between the two lexica: the label οἱ ἀγοραῖοι is as rare in the *PS* (only one attestation in the indirect tradition) as it is in the *Eclogue* (it appears only in *Ecl.* 176, on which see Favi 2022a); ἀμαθής and ἀμαθεῖς are well represented in both lexica (12x in the *PS*, 8x in the *Eclogue*); the total instances of ἰδιώτης/ἰδιῶται and ἰδιωτικός are similar (4x in the *PS*, of which 1x in the indirect witnesses and 3x in the *Eclogue*), and so are those of οἱ νῦν (4x in the *PS*, 5x in the *Eclogue*, of which 1x about οἱ νῦν ῥήτορες) and of οἱ πολλοί (25x in the *PS* and 20x in the *Eclogue*). Given their sheer frequency, the categories of Ἀττικοί and πολλοί seem to represent the opposite ends of Phrynichus' prescriptive spectrum in the *PS*.

The comparison between the direct and the indirect witnesses confirms that the latter – whether represented by the *Synagoge* or solely by Photius – preserve evaluations that the compiler(s) behind the epitome of the Coislinianus did not deem worth preserving. A particularly telling example (the full analysis of all these entries is provided in List 1) is the case of οἱ ἀγοραῖοι, a label preserved only once in Phot. α 2019 (= *PS* fr. 199). In the case of the πολλοί, too, the indirect witnesses provide more information than the epitome: consider Phot. α 629 on αἰμωδεῖν 'to have teeth set on edge' (cf. *PS* 14.3), which preserves the attribution of the alternative form αἰμωδιάω to the πολλοί, while the epitome lacks it; Phot. α 2548 on ἀπολοπίζειν 'to skin' (an entry not present in the *Synagoge* tradition; cf. *PS* 44.13–4), which marks the alternative form of the verb (ἀπολεπίζω) as typical of the πολλοί, with a broader approach that *PS* 44.13 lacks; and Phot. α 2019 (= *PS* fr. 199, see above) on the construction ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις 'it is foolish if you order this to me', with its rich evaluations which find no parallel in the partly similar entry of *PS* 3.8–10 (see List 1 under ἀγοραῖος, Ἀττικός, and οἱ πολλοί).<sup>1</sup> As a further example, take *PS* 49.7 on ἀνοίσω 'I will consider [the issue]': compared to *PS* 49.7, Phot. α 2024 has a fuller lemma which evaluates the expression with ἰδιωτικός and provides a full quotation from Philonid. fr. 4 (see List 1 under

1 See Favi (2022b).

ιδιωτικός for an analysis). There is no doubt that in all these cases the *Synagoge* or Photius had access to information that they must have derived from a more complete version of the *PS* than that preserved in the Coislinianus.

From this overview, one might be tempted to conclude that the indirect witnesses had access to and preserved a text richer in prescriptive terminology than that testified to in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345. That this is not the whole story, however, is proven by the cases where the indirect tradition omits terminology that the epitome instead preserves. Take the example of *PS* 4.11–3 (ἀνωφέλητος ἄνθρωπος ‘a helpless man’). The epitome attributes the alternative meaning ‘useless man’ to the πολλοί, while Phot. α 2169 simply illustrates this alternative meaning with a quotation from Strattis (fr. 68). *PS* 35.14–5 (ἄδειν ἀλεκτρυόνας ‘roosters sing’) attributes κοκκύζω ‘to cry cuckoo’ to the κωμικοί, while Phot. α 549 – who depends on Hsch. α 1763 – lacks this generic reference and instead comments that κοκκύζω is not used by Attic authors except when they are mocking someone (οὐ φασιν, πλὴν μωκώμενοί τινα ξένον).<sup>2</sup> Such cases of omitted terminology are particularly numerous in the indirect witnesses as concerns the label Ἀττικός; see, for example, the parallels for *PS* 3.1–2 ἀνελκταῖς ὀφρύσι σεμνόν ‘haughty with raised up eyebrows’, *PS* 4.14–5.2 ἀφαιρεῖν κροκύδας ‘to pick flocks of wool’, *PS* 7.7–9 ἄτεγκτος παρηγορήμασιν ‘not softened by consolation’, and many others in this category. Evidently, those who were responsible for the material that ended up in the *Synagoge* tradition did not deem it as important to repeat the indication that certain expressions were Attic as the compiler(s) of the material behind the epitome in the Coislinianus. The indirect tradition also lacks the simple use of the imperative χρῶ (‘use [this form]’), which is relatively common in the epitome without further specification (see List 1 under χρῶ).

To complicate matters further, the two strands of tradition may also have different evaluative terminologies for the same lemmas. In such cases, the possibility of reconstructing Phrynichus’ original words is nil. Take the example of *PS* 46.8–9 (ἀλίπαστα ‘food preserved in salt’), where the epitome discusses the ancient meaning by attributing it to the ἀρχαῖοι, while the indirect tradition (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 975 = Phot. α 953, ex Σ’’) attributes it to the Ἀττικοί. As we will see in the next sections, similar discrepancies between the text preserved in the epitome and that preserved by the indirect witnesses also affect other kinds of evaluative categories. From this we can anticipate the general conclusion that no branch of the *PS* tradition seems to have privileged the preservation of evaluative terms more than the others. There seems to be no overall pattern that explains why the epitome lacks terminology preserved by the indirect witnesses, and vice versa.

2 Cf. Gerbi (2023a).



## List 1: Prescriptive (Atticist) terminology in alphabetical order

### ἀγοραῖος (οἱ ἀγοραῖοι)

It is never attested in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345.

#### Indirect witnesses

- Phot. α 2019 (= Phryn. *PS* fr. 199) re. ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις ‘it is foolish if you order this to me’: this kind of syntactic construction is deemed typical of the ἀγοραῖοι and the πολλοί (see below), while the expression ἀνόητά <γ’ εἰ τοῦτ’> ἤλθεσ ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί, ‘it is foolish if you came to order this to me’, addressed in *PS* 3.8–10, is considered to be Attic (see below under Ἀττικὸς and Favi 2022b).

ἀγοραῖος is not used elsewhere as an evaluative label in Photius and the *Synagoge* tradition.

### ἀδόκιμος

- ἀειλογία ‘continual enquiry’ (*PS* 35.6–7), where ἀδόκιμος characterises ἀειλογεῖν ‘to speak constantly’, while ἀειλογία is judged to be δόκιμος (see below). Cf. Phot. α 411, a more extensive entry that also classifies ἀειλογεῖν with ἀδόκιμος.

ἀδόκιμος is found two other times outside α in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345. It is not usually found in the indirect witnesses.

### ἀρχαῖος (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι)

- ἀφηλικέστεροι ‘the elderly’ (*PS* 1.1–6). The ἀρχαῖοι applied the noun ἡλικία also to the young age. Other entries on this term in later lexica (on which see Favi 2022c) do not depend on the *PS* and do not preserve any evaluative terminology.
- ἄρτι, ἄρτίως ‘just now’ (*PS* 17.3–9). This entry makes an interesting distinction between the Ἀττικοί (see under Ἀττικὸς) and the ἀρχαῖοι, implying that Attic authors are subsumed under the latter category, whereas the former also comprises Atticising authors: see the analysis in Favi (2023a).
- ἀντριάδες ‘[nymphs] of the grots’ (*PS* 27.3–8, on which see also Cavarzeran, this volume): in a digression on the epithets of nymphs, which include ἐπιμηλίδες ‘protectors of flocks’, Phrynichus adds that the ἀρχαῖοι used μῆλα ‘flocks’ for all quadrupeds.
- αὐθέκαστα <λέγειν> ‘to call things by their name’ (*PS* 28.4–8), where the expression is deemed typical of the ἀρχαῖοι. Cf. Σ α 1083, Σ α 1084, Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2396, Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2397, Phot. α 3158, Phot. α 3159, and *Su.* α 4425 (all without evaluative terminology).
- ἀλίπαστα ‘preserved in salt’ (*PS* 46.8–9): while the πολλοί apply this word to fish, the ἀρχαῖοι apply it to all food preserved in salt. Cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 975 (= Phot. α 953, ex Σ’’’), with the same doctrine but the mention of the Ἀττικοί instead of the ἀρχαῖοι.

Outside α, ἀρχαῖος occurs four more times in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345. It is not preserved in any of the fragments attributed to the *PS*. It is sometimes found in lemmas in the *Synagoge* tradition and in Photius that show no connection with Phrynichus and seem to depend on other Atticist lexica.

**ἀμαθής**

- ἀφηλικέστεροι ‘the elderly’ (PS 1.1–6), where the superlative ἀμαθέστατοι qualifies ἀφῆλιξ and ἀφήλικες (see above, under **ἀρχαῖος**, with bibliography).
- ἀχυρός ‘chaff-heap’ (PS 9.18–10.2), where its synonymy with ἀχυρών ‘storehouse for chaff’ is deemed typical of the ἀμαθεῖς; cf. below under **Ἀττικός** and the loose parallels of Phot. α 3466, Phot. α 3469, and Phot. α 3470 (all without evaluative terminology).
- ἀναπηρία ‘lameness’ (PS 13.4–6), where the pronunciation of the noun with ει is condemned as typical of the ἀμαθεῖς.
- ἀνακτᾷ τόνδε ‘you regain him’ (PS 29.8–12): the 2nd-person form ἀνακτᾶσαι is attributed to the ἀμαθεῖς. Cf. the loose parallels of Phot. α 1532, Phot. α 1831, Su. α 1922, and Su. α 2243 (all without evaluative terminology).

Outside the lemmas in α, **ἀμαθής** is found eight times in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345.

**Indirect witnesses**

- Phot. α 1401 re. ἀναβασμοί ‘steps’ (= PS fr. \*176) says that the variant ἀναβαθμοί is typical of the ἀμαθεῖς and the Ionians, and that no poet, prose writer, or historian has ever used it (cf. under **ποιητικός**).

**Ἀττικός** (and related terms)

The following are the attestations in α:

- ἀνελκταῖς ὀφρύσι σεμνόν ‘haughty with raised up eyebrows’ (PS 3.1–2): the expression is used in an Attic and solemn manner (Ἀττικῶς and σεμνῶς; see also under **σεμνός**). Cf. Phot. α 1834, Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1349 (= PS fr. \*184), all without evaluative terminology. On the entry, see Favi (2022d).
- ἀνόητά γ’ εἰ τοῦτ’ ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί ‘it is foolish if you came to order this to me’ (PS 3.8–10). The alternative syntax ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις ‘it is foolish if you order this to me’ is deemed Attic. Phot. α 2019 (= PS fr. 199) instead marks the latter as being typical of the ἀγοραῖοι and πολλοί (see under these terms). For the relationship between these entries, see Favi (2022b).
- αὐτοσχεδιάζειν σύ, ἥκειν σύ ‘improvise! Come!’ (PS 3.11–6). The use of the jussive infinitive is defined as an Ἀττικὸν σχῆμα. See Favi (2022e).
- ἀφαρπεῖν κροκύδας ‘to pick flocks of wool’ (PS 4.14–7): the expression (used metaphorically for flatterers in Ar. fr. 689 and Thphr. *Char.* 2.3) is defined as ‘being said in a very Attic manner’ (λίαν ἡττικισται). Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2491 (= Phot. α 3291, Su. α 4570, ex Σ’) lacks the evaluative terminology.
- ἀγαθὸν ἔτι τοῦτ’ ἀπολείπεται, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ’ ἄρα ‘it is the only good act that is left, if it really is one’ (PS 6.10–2, cf. Ar. *Ra.* 73): the expression is marked with πάννυ Ἀττικῶς.
- ἀρχεῖν ὁ πατήρ σε παρηγγύησέ μοι, ἡ δῆμος, ἡ βασιλεὺς ‘the father or the people or the king has placed you under my command’ (PS 7.1–3): Ἀττικῶς εἶρηται.
- ἀτεγκτος παρηγορήμασιν ‘not softened by consolation’ (PS 7.7–9, cf. Aesch. fr. 348): the construction of the adjective with the dative is Ἀττικῶ [ . . . ] ἔθει ‘according to the Attic custom’: see Favi (2022f). Cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2328 (= Phot. α 3064, Su. α 4329, ex Σ’), without evaluative terminology.
- ἀρχῆθεν ‘from the beginning’ (PS 9.9–11): this adverb is not ‘loved by Attic authors’ (Ἀττικοῖς [ . . . ] οὐ φίλον), but occurs in all the other dialects. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2201 depends on the same doctrine, but extends it by specifying that the adverb is found in Aeschylus, while it is typical of the Ionians and Herodotus. See Favi (2023b).

- ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι καὶ διοπομπεῖσθαι ‘to escort out and to send away’ (PS 9.12–7): the entry comments on the specific meaning of these two verbs, which denote ‘to free from pollution’. The form with ἀπο- is Ἀττικώτατον. Cf. Σ α 828 (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1824, Phot. α 2483, Su. α 3927, ex Σ’), all without evaluative terminology.
- ἀχυρός ‘chaff-heap’ (PS 9.18–10.2): the word is Ἀττικὸν λῖαν. Cf. above under ἀμαθής. No evaluative terminology in Phot. α 3466, Phot. α 3469, and Phot. α 3470.
- ἀπολλύασιν ‘they kill’ (PS 10.22–3): the 3rd-person endings in -ασιν of verbs in -νυμι are defined as the Attic counterpart of forms in -ουσι (see Batisti, Benuzzi 2024). Cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1887 (= Phot. α 2552, Su. α 3427, ex Σ’), which deals instead with the thematic conjugation of -νυμι verbs in the infinitive (without evaluative terminology).
- ἀργέλοφοι ‘offal’ (PS 11.1–3): the form (attested in Ar. V. 672) is judged to be in the Attic manner (Ἀττικῶς). Cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2103 (without evaluative terms) and the fuller entry in Phot. α 2774, which does not have Ἀττικῶς but mentions Aristophanes and Eupolis instead. Phot. α 2774 preserves a more informative text, compressed in both the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345 and in the *Synagoge*.
- ἀράμενον φέρειν ‘to pick up and carry’ (PS 14.1–2): the syntax with the middle-passive participle (cf. Ar. Ra. 32) instead of the active participle is considered to be Attic.
- αἰμωδεῖν ‘to have the teeth set on edge’ (PS 14.3): the verb is defined as Ἀττικώτερον. Cf. the more detailed entry in Phot. α 629, where αἰμωδεῖν is considered typical of the Ἀττικοί, while the form αἰμωδιάω (which PS 14.3 gives only as an alternative: λέγεται δὲ καὶ αἰμωδιάω) is attributed to the πολλοί.
- ἄρτι, ἀρτίως (PS 17.3–9): see above under ἀρχαῖος.
- ἀπώμοσα μὴ οὐ πρᾶξι τοῦτο ‘I denied on oath to do something’ (PS 17.11–2): the redundant μὴ before οὐ is defined as ἰδίως Ἀττικόν.
- ἀναθολοῦσθαι ‘to trouble’ (PS 19.1–2): in discussing the etymology of the verb from θολός ‘ink of the cuttlefish’, the entry says that the Ἀττικοί pronounce this word also without the θ (όλός).
- ἀπονυχίζεσθαι τοῦ ὄνυχιζεσθαι Ἀττικῶς διαφέρει ‘ἀπονυχίζομαι (‘to trim the nails’) and ὄνυχίζομαι (‘to examine [something] accurately’) differ in Attic’ (PS 20.6–10): the entry deals with the semantic difference between the two verbs in Attic; cf. Favi, this volume.
- ἀνύειν ‘to accomplish, to make’ (PS 23.1–2): the Ἀττικοί aspirate the initial vowel. Comments on the initial aspiration also in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1541 (= Phot. α 2164, ex Σ’’) and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1544 (= Phot. α 2151, Su. α 2799, ex Σ’), which however do not seem to depend on Phrynichus.
- ἀγριωθείς ‘turned savage’ (participle; PS 24.13–4): the entry classifies the forms ἀγριαίνομαι ‘to become savage’, ἀγριαίνεσθαι (‘id.’), and ἐξαγριαίνεσθαι ‘to be made savage’ as Ἀττικά.
- ἀπαλοᾶν ‘to thresh out’ (PS 25.10–5): since the Ἀττικοί write the prefix with π, this shows that the initial vowel of ἀλοάω is not aspirated.
- αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ φίλτατα ‘even the very dearest of things’ (PS 26.6–8): this is an Attic expression (φράσις Ἀττική); the *locus classicus* is not extant.
- ἄκος περίσπτον ‘a hanging down remedy; an amulet’ (PS 26.11–3): the expression is said in an Attic manner (Ἀττικῶς). Cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 758 (= Phot. α 830, ex Σ’’) with the same evaluative terminology.
- ἀνήγρετο ἐξ ὕπνου καὶ ἐξήγρετο ‘s/he rose from sleep and woke up’ (PS 27.20–1): the entry comments that the expression is ‘said in an Attic manner’ (Ἀττικῶς εἶρηται). Phot. α 1911, which depends on the PS, has Ἀττικῶς ἄγαν τοῦτό ἐστι ‘this too is very Attic’ and quotes Sophocles (fr. 824).

- ἀνίλλειν βιβλίον ‘to roll up a book’ (PS 31.10–2): the Ἀττικοί put the accent on the penultimate syllable of the verb and write it with λλ.
- ἀναριχᾶσθαι ‘to climb up with hands and feet’ (PS 32.1–4): the expression is πάνυ Ἀττική. Phot. α 1641 (~ Su. α 2049, ex Σ”) does not seem to depend on Phrynichus and has a direct quotation from Aristophanes. Cf. Benuzzi (2022).
- ἀνεκάς ‘upwards’ (PS 32.11): the adverb is marked with Ἀττικῶς alone. Cf. the entries Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1254 (= Phot. α 1797, ex Σ”), and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1276: both deal with the initial aspiration and their Atticist inclination is evident in the use of λέγουσι (i.e. Attic speakers).
- ᾄδεν ἀλεκτρούνας ‘roosters sing’ (PS 35.14–5): the use of the verb in relation to roosters is marked with the simple Ἀττικῶς. The alternative κοκκίζω is attributed to the κωμικοί. Cf. the same theory in Phot. α 549, who uses Ἀττικοί instead, and cf. Gerbi (2023a) on these verbs.
- ἀρτοποιεῖν ‘to be a baker’ (PS 38.1–2): the Ἀττικοί use the verb with π. Cf. the more detailed entry of Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2166 (= Phot. α 2906, ex Σ”), which also mentions the Ionians.
- ἀκρατίσασθαι ‘to breakfast’ (PS 39.15–40.10): the entry seems to merge two different texts. The first defines the meaning of the verb (τὸ μικρὸν ἐμφαγεῖν πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ‘to eat a little before the main meal’): this is also the text of Σ<sup>b</sup> α 799 (= Phot. α 842, ex Σ”). The second, and longer part, deals with the various names for meals in Greek, focusing on those used by the Ἀττικοί.
- ἀρχων ‘archon’ (PS 47.15): the Ἀττικοί pronounce the vocative with ω.
- ἀναβῆται ‘he will cause to mount’ (PS 50.12): the future is marked with Ἀττικῶς πάνυ. Cf. Phot. α 1407 (= Su. α 1805, ex Σ”), on the same topic, without evaluative terminology but with a reference to Ameipsias (fr. 29). On these verbs, see Benuzzi (2024b).
- ἀνακράγοιτε ‘you would shout aloud’ (PS 52.1–2): the verb is judged to be an Ἀττική φωνή. On the many lexicographical entries dealing with ἀνακράζω, see Benuzzi (2024a).

### Indirect witnesses

- Phot. α 2791 re. ἀργυροσκόπος, ἀργυρογνώμων (both ‘assayer of silver’) and ἀργυραμοιβός ‘money-changer’ (cf. PS 30.10–4): the epitome of the PS preserves a simply explicative gloss, without any evaluative terminology (εἴρηται δὲ ἀργυρογνώμων μὲν παρὰ τὸ γνῶναι δύνασθαι δόκιμόν τε καὶ κίβδηλον ἀργύριον. ἀργυροσκόπος δὲ παρὰ τὸ σκοπεῖν, ἀργυραμοιβός δὲ ὁ ἀμείβων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου κέρματα, ‘ἀργυρογνώμων is used in reference to the ability to tell genuine and counterfeit coinage; ἀργυροσκόπος [is used] in reference to examining [coinage], while the ἀργυραμοιβός is the person who exchanges coins for silver [coins]’). Photius, instead, focuses on the attestations of the three words (τὸ μὲν ἀργυρογνώμων καὶ ἀργυραμοιβός τέτριπται παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικισταῖς, τὸ δὲ ἀργυροσκόπος οὐκέτι, ‘ἀργυρογνώμων and ἀργυραμοιβός are frequent in Atticising [authors], but ἀργυροσκόπος is not’) and continues with a semantic explanation of the latter which clearly depends on Phrynichus (εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ σκοπεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ διακρίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδοκίμου τὸ δόκιμον, ‘it is used in reference to examining coinage and selecting authentic from counterfeit [coinage]’). Photius’ Ἀττικισταῖς is remarkable in that it is never found in Phrynichus (and other Atticist lexicographers): it may well be a modification of an original Ἀττικοίς, since Photius is wont to use Ἀττικιστής (only 1x in the *Lexicon*, but a total of 5x in his work); or it may be a more precise reference to the fact that both ἀργυρογνώμων and ἀργυραμοιβός are indeed used not only by Classical Attic authors but also by Atticising imperial authors, while ἀργυροσκόπος has no literary attestations (it is found only once in IG 5.1.1390 [Andania, 92/91 BCE]).

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 971 (= Phot. α 939, ex Σ''') re. ἀληγλιμμένον 'anointed' (PS 32.12–4; see Merisio 2023): the entry in the PS is devoted to Attic reduplication, which it simply qualifies with λέγουσιν, while Σ<sup>b</sup> α 971 (= Phot. α 939, ex Σ''') makes the subject explicit (οἱ Ἀττικοί) and adds οὕτως Θουκυδίδης (Thuc. 4.68.6). The compiler of the entry in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 probably disposed of the redundant Ἀττικοί but instead preserved another sentence illustrating Attic reduplication (οὕτω καὶ τὸ κατορώρυκτο καὶ τὸ κατορωρυγμένον), which is absent in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 971 (= Phot. α 939, ex Σ''').
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 405 (= Phot. α 409, ex Σ''') re. αἰζίων 'living forever' (cf. PS 37.10–2): the entry of the PS compares the compound αἰζίων, found in Aesch. fr. 28, and its synonyms αἰίνων and ἀένναος with pairs such as σῶος/σῶς 'safe' and ζῶός/ζῶς 'living', remarking that the second member ζῶν is a participle. In Σ<sup>b</sup> α 405 (= Phot. α 409, ex Σ''') the focus is similar, but the entry is longer and much more informative. First, it shows that the original entry compared contracted and uncontracted forms (αἰζίων ἐρεῖς τρισυλλάβως, ὥς οἱ Ἀττικοί, καὶ αἰζίων τετρασυλλάβως, 'you will say αἰζίων with three syllables, like the users of Attic, and αἰζίων with four syllables'). Σ<sup>b</sup> α 405 (= Phot. α 409, ex Σ''') also extends the comparison with other compounds: it draws attention to the different syllabic structure of contracted and uncontracted forms, clarifies that some of them may contain participles, and provides explicit references and quotations that are absent in PS 37.10–2. The overall impression is that Σ<sup>b</sup> α 405 (= Phot. α 409, ex Σ''') preserves a much richer entry, which the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345 clumsily abbreviated (see also the abbreviated way in which Aesch. fr. 128 is quoted).

### δόκιμος

- ἀειλογία 'continual enquiry' (PS 35.6–7): the noun is deemed to be δόκιμος, while the verb ἀειλογέω 'to speak constantly' ἀδόκιμος; for an analysis, see above under ἀδόκιμος.
- ἀρωματοπῶλαι 'spice-sellers' (PS 42.11): there is no *interpretamentum*, but only the label δόκιμον.
- ἀμπελουργεῖ 'he prunes vines' (PS 52.4): the verb is approved (δόκιμον). A similar entry is Phot. α 1245 (ἀμπελουργός καὶ ἀμπελουργεῖν, with a reference to Aristophanes). It is open to speculation whether Phrynichus' original interest in this verb may have been in the metaphorical meaning 'to plunder a city', as attested in Aeschines' report of Demosthenes' words (Aeschin. 3.166).
- ἀμφιλογία καὶ ἀμφισβήτησις 'dispute and controversy' (PS 49.6): both words are judged to be δόκιμα. The entry has no parallel in the indirect tradition.

δόκιμος occurs 11 other times in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345 (I have not counted the instances of δόκιμον/δόκιμα that de Borries restores in entries without an *interpretamentum*); it does not occur in the fragments attributed to the PS.

### ιδιωτικός (and οἱ ιδιώται)

- ἀνοίσω 'I will consider [the issue]' (PS 49.7): the entry in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 simply glosses the verb (ἀντὶ τοῦ λογιῶμαι, ἐπὶ ψήφου, '[it is used] instead of λογιῶμαι ('I will account for') in reference to a vote'). Phot. α 2024 instead has a fuller lemma, with the comment that the expression is ιδιωτικός, and a full quotation from Philonid. fr. 4 (see the commentary in Bagordo 2014a, 158–9). There is no doubt that here Photius is accessing information that he must have derived from a more complete version of the entry of PS, which is not preserved in either cod. Par. Coisl. 345 or Σ<sup>b</sup>.



**Indirect witnesses**

- Phot. α 629 re. αἰμωδεῖν ‘to have the teeth set on edge’ (cf. *PS* 14.3). The informative entry that Photius devotes to αἰμωδέω (see above under **Ἀττικός**) preserves the attribution of the alternative form αἰμωδιάω to the πολλοί and a quotation from Cratinus (fr. 41) illustrating the correct form. For an analysis of the meaning of the verb in this fragment, see Bianchi (2017, 256–7). No parallels in the *Synagoge* tradition.
- Phot. α 2019 (= *PS* fr. 199) re. ἀνόητα εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιτάξεις ‘it is foolish if you order this to me’. As noted above (see under **ἀγοραῖος** and **Ἀττικός**), Photius preserves evaluative terminology that probably goes back to Phrynichus; the πολλοί together with the ἀγοραῖοι characterise the syntactic structure rejected by the entry. No parallels in the *Synagoge* tradition.
- Phot. α 2548 re. ἀπολοπίζειν ‘to skin’ (cf. *PS* 44.13–4), like the *PS*, prescribes the pronunciation of the verb with ο and not with ε (ἀπολεπίζω). Photius attributes the latter to the πολλοί and points out that Pherecrates (fr. 226) and others used the verb with ο. This attribution is contained in a marginal comment in the codex Zavordensis, so it was not known to de Borries, who identified Ar. fr. 138 as the *locus classicus* (on the text of the latter, see Bagordo 2022, 63–4). The entry is not preserved in the *Synagoge* tradition.

**παλαιός**

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 822 (= Phot. α 879, ex Σ’’) re. ἄκυλος ‘acorn’: while *PS* 36.13 simply glosses the term, the *Synagoge* tradition adds a longer explanation, equating ἄκυλος with βάλανος and attributing the word to the παλαιοί with a quotation from Pherecrates (fr. 13).

**χρῶ**

- ἀμνηστῶν καὶ ἀμνηστος (both meaning ‘forgetful’, *PS* 20.5): the imperative χρῶ occurs without further specification for both forms.
- αἰμορρυῆς ‘dripping blood’ (*PS* 26.5): χρῶ occurs without further specification.
- ἀγροβόας ἀνὴρ ‘a rudely shouting man’ (*PS* 26.16–7): χρῶ is followed by the specification of its range of application (ἐπὶ τῶν ἀηδῶν καὶ μεγαλοφώνων, ‘in relation to unpleasant and loud-voiced persons’). Σ<sup>b</sup> α 301 (= Phot. α 267, ex Σ’’) has a different text, no prescriptive terminology, and a reference to Cratinus (fr. 371).
- ἀτοπίας πλέως ἄνθρωπος ‘a man full of absurdity’ (*PS* 35.13, cf. fr. \*273 = *Su.* α 4374): χρῶ occurs with no further specification.

### 3 General stylistic terminology

We now come to an analysis of the evaluative terminology that praises certain expressions not for their being Attic (although this is usually implied), but for their stylistic value. Many of these stylistic markers are general rather than specific to a particular genre or register. By and large, Phrynichus’ judgements are vague: his classifications are rarely explained, and so the reader does not always understand why Phrynichus considers an expression to be ‘beautiful’ or ‘solemn’. At the same time, we should not infer from this that Phrynichus applied evaluative labels haphazardly. Rather, through the progression from what I have here

called the ‘general stylistic terminology’ to the ‘terminology that refers to a literary genre, style, or linguistic register’ (analysed in Section 4), Phrynichus may be expressing the same process that in the ancient rhetorical theory leads from *categories* (or virtues) of style (ἀρεταὶ τῆς λέξεως, *genera dicendi*) to their concrete application in *types* of style (ιδέαι or χαρακτῆρες), themselves embodied by literary genres (poetry, prose, etc.) and individual authors.<sup>3</sup> In order to capture this important aspect of Phrynichus’ work, we shall first focus on these more general labels (collected in List 2) and then move on to more specific literary and generic labels (see Section 4).

Phrynichus usually marks words and expressions with a positive adjective (e.g. καλός ‘beautiful’, φιλότιμος ‘ambitious’, ἡδύς ‘sweet’, σεμνός ‘noble, solemn’, etc.). Negative labels are almost absent (two exceptions may be σπάνιος ‘rare’ and καθωμυλημένος ‘in common use’ which – despite being antonyms – both identify register characteristics that are better avoided by the aspiring Atticist writer and rhetor: see Section 4 with List 3). Many of these categories occur in Greek theories of style at least since Isocrates, who already speaks of ἡδονή ‘pleasurableness’, κάλλος ‘beauty’, σεμνότης ‘solemnity, nobility’, and χάρις ‘grace’,<sup>4</sup> all concepts that we also find in the *PS* as evaluative labels. However, it is difficult to determine whether Phrynichus subscribes to a particular theory of style in using these categories, since they remain unspecific in the current abbreviated state of the *PS*.

Take the example of *PS* 40.13–4, which marks ἀντιβολία ‘supplication’ with ἡδύς and σεμνός. The word is attested in Thuc. 7.75.4: πρὸς γὰρ ἀντιβολίαν καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν τραπόμενοι ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίστασαν ‘for having turned to supplications and lamentations they (i.e. the wounded Athenian soldiers who did not want to be left behind in Sicily) put them (i.e. the departing Athenians) to a stand’. ἀντιβολία is one of the words that Thucydides uses only once in his work and that abound in chapters 75–7 of Book 7, which describe the aftermath of the Athenian naval defeat at Syracuse, a famous piece of Thucydidean prose full of rhetorical devices and some poetic vocabulary.<sup>5</sup> If Thucydides is the *locus classicus* behind this lemma of the *PS* (which is likely, given the parallel of *Antiatt.* α 33, where Thucydides is explicitly mentioned), then Phrynichus’ marking of ἀντιβολία with σεμνός makes sense: indeed, the tone in these Thucydidean chapters is solemn and heightened.<sup>6</sup> However, it is less clear why ἀντιβολία is also judged

<sup>3</sup> For the distinction between *categories* and *types* of style, see e.g. Patillon (1988, 111), who deals with Hermogenes’ literary theory.

<sup>4</sup> See Patillon (1988, 108).

<sup>5</sup> See Hornblower (2008, 694); on this particular sentence, see Hornblower (2008, 709).

<sup>6</sup> A less likely explanation for the use of σεμνός might be the deverbal nature of ἀντιβολία: see below on σεμνότης and its connection, in Hermogenes, with deverbal nouns.



to be ἡδύς; despite its rarity, this noun is not particularly associated with a poetic or lofty style. The word is also used by Eupolis, fr. 168 (κατ' ἀντιβολίαν δέκα τάλαντ' ἀπετισάμην, 'by supplication/entreaty, I obtained ten talents'), but the unclear context makes it difficult to define its specific meaning and hence also its register.<sup>7</sup> Although other lexicographers quote Eupolis in relation to ἀντιβολία (see Phot. α 2083, Eust. in *Od.* 1.43.5, cf. Ael.Dion. α 146), it remains doubtful whether Phrynichus also had the Eupolis line in mind when he compiled the entry of the *PS*.<sup>8</sup> Faced with these problems, we must take Phrynichus' ἡδύς as an unspecific judgement, intended to show his appreciation of the word, but apparently without a theoretical stance to support it.

A further complication is that the imperial-age theorisation of stylistic categories is not necessarily clearer than its reflexes in the *PS*. Take, for example, the broad categories of beauty (κάλλος) and pleasurableness/sweetness (ἡδονή/γλυκύτης), both key concepts in Greek stylistic thought. Already Aristotle (*Rh.* 3.2, 1404b) attempts to define the ἡδεῖα λέξις ('pleasurable style') in a discussion that marks the beginning of the theory of stylistic qualities in Greek rhetoric.<sup>9</sup> Aristotle identifies metaphor, rhythm, the use of connectives, and popular sayings as elements that make style (in fact, prose style) pleasurable (*Rh.* 3.8–10, 1408b–1411b), but his treatment is far from providing the taxonomic lists of components of later theorists. Dionysius of Halicarnassus also addresses ἡδονή and χάρις (or κάλλος) several times, identifying good rhythm (εὐρυθμία) and symmetry (συμμετρία) as their constituent elements in the *composition* of style. In *Comp.* 10 he openly identifies ἡδονή and τὸ καλόν as the two most important effects that those who write poetry and prose must pursue (γενικώτατα, ὧν ἐφίεσθαι δεῖ τοὺς συντιθέντας μέτρα τε καὶ λόγους).<sup>10</sup> Pseudo-Longinus (5) too pairs stylistic beauty (τὰ κάλλη τῆς ἐρμηνείας) and pleasurableness (ἡδοναί) among the positive qualities of speech; Hermogenes also speaks of κάλλος (treated in *Id.* 1.12, 295–311 Rabe) and replaces Dionysius' ἡδονή with γλυκύτης (treated in *Id.* 2.4, 330–9

7 The context of Eupolis' line is that of Alcibiades' marriage to Hipparete, the arrangements for which are known from Andocides and Plutarch. Napolitano (2012, 242) argues that the ten talents are a reference to the bride's dowry; Olson (2016, 75–6) instead thinks that they refer to the additional sum which Alcibiades received after Hipparete bore him a son. In both cases, however, ἀποτίνομαι is semantically difficult, as Olson himself notes, since it 'ought to refer to recompense paid for a wrong that has been done one'.

8 Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 200) doubts that Phot. α 2083 depends on the *PS*.

9 See Patillon (2002, xxxii–xxxiii).

10 According to Russell (1981, 134), in Dionysius the contrast κάλλος vs ἡδονή embodies the contrast between 'the dignified and the charming'.

Rabe).<sup>11</sup> Beauty and pleasurableness share some elements (pure words and pure σχήματα),<sup>12</sup> but the sweet style is more poetic and rich in epithets. However, Hermogenes' distinction between these two qualities of style is not always straightforward. Thus, when we note that Phrynichus' use of ἡδύς is unspecific (see above), we must also recognise that those theorists who give much thought to these very categories do not provide us with quick and easy rules for defining what makes a word ἡδύς and what does not.<sup>13</sup>

A prominent category in both Phrynichus and Greek rhetorical thought is that of σεμνότης 'solemnity', which has a long tradition in Greek theories of style.<sup>14</sup> In Hermogenes, σεμνότης belongs to the type of style defined by grandeur (μέγεθος), a type which is opposed to other two, defined by clarity (σαφήνεια) and character (ἥθος) respectively.<sup>15</sup> Like the other qualities of style, σεμνότης is not exclusive to one type of literary genre, but can be found in many authors and genres (Hermog. *Id.* 1.1, 221–2 Rabe). However, unlike other qualities, which are always combined, σεμνότης can also stand on its own (Hermog. *Id.* 1.5, 242 Rabe). In Hermogenes σεμνότης is the opposite of τραχύτης ('roughness') and περιβολή ('complication'), but also of ἀφέλεια ('simplicity'): in this last characterisation, it identifies something that is 'out of the ordinary' because it is neither vulgar nor ludicrous (an idea already present in Arist. *Rh.* 3.2, 1404b). Hermogenes devotes a great deal of attention to the kind of thoughts and approaches (μέθοδοι) that are appropriate for solemnity (*Id.* 1.5, 242–7 Rabe) before moving on to diction (λέξις, *Id.* 1.5, 247–54 Rabe).<sup>16</sup> The linguistic elements that make diction solemn can be phonetic (the broad sounds α and ω, and words with ο ending in a long syllable), rhetorical (metaphors; the use of tropes, but not in excess; certain σχήματα), and morpho-syntactic (the use of the nominal style).

Does Phrynichus have a similar idea of σεμνότης? This is difficult to determine. Quite apart from phonetic features (such as long vowels, etc.) which are ambiguous and not easy to identify in the words that Phrynichus marks with σεμνός, some expressions are indeed metaphorical: see ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα 'to have a silent mouth' (*PS* 11.22–3); ἄθηρος ἡμέρα 'a day without hunting' (*Σ*<sup>b</sup> α 462 =

11 For a comparison of these categories in Dionysius and Hermogenes, see Hagedorn (1964, 50–2; 77). Hagedorn suggests that some of the *virtutes dicendi* (ἀρεταὶ τοῦ λόγου) derive from the *virtutes narrationis*: cf. Patillon (1988, 108–10) for a critique.

12 See Patillon (1997, 436 n. 1).

13 See also, for instance, the vagueness of ἡδύς in Pseudo-Demetrius' *On Style* which, although identified as a separate character, is not further defined in relation to the means with which to achieve it: Chiron (2001, 274).

14 See Patillon (1988, 224–5). Aristotle's concept of σεμνότης is addressed in Section 5 below.

15 Russell (1981, 561).

16 For the peculiarities of Hermogenes' theory of solemnity, see Patillon (1988, 224–7).

Phot. α 470, *PS* fr. \*9); ἀκρατής γάμων ‘sexually intemperate’ (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 767 = Phot. α 868, *PS* fr. 125); ἀπαγκωνισάμενος ‘bearing the elbows’ (Phot. α 2203 = *PS* fr. \*243), i.e. ‘elbowing all aside, with no shame’. Moreover, there is no lack of deverbal formations, which are characteristic of the nominal style (see ἀκρύπτως vs κεκρυμμένως in *PS* 11.20–1; ἀνάρρημα in *PS* 39.7; ἀντιβολία in *PS* 40.13–4, on which see also above; ἀπορροή in *PS* 50.3; ἀκρατής in the just mentioned ἀκρατής γάμων). However, it is difficult to identify an overarching quality that characterises Phrynichus’ view of expressions belonging to the spectrum of σεμνότης.

Four other terms in this group confirm that Phrynichus participates in the wider literary debates of his time without being tied to any particular strand of technical theorisation. The first term is ἀνεπαχθής ‘without offence’. In the extant evidence, its use in the *PS* seems to be connected to the harsher practices of σκῶμμα and ψόγος (see the notes on *PS* 4.1–2 in List 2). In the rhetorical tradition, ἀνεπαχθής is instead most often associated with the issue of praising oneself without annoying one’s audience, an issue that was debated at length by Greek writers of the imperial age.<sup>17</sup> For example, [D.H.] *Rh.* 5.6 states that at the end of his speech a respected and accomplished orator should mention his own achievements only in passing and ἀνεπαχθῶς, while [Hermog.] *Meth.* 25, 441–2 Rabe indicates three ways of praising oneself without offence. ἀνεπαχθής therefore broadly identifies modes of expression that employ euphemisms or hedging strategies to make one’s discourse less harsh or unpleasant, and Phrynichus borrows the term to apply it to the types of style in which he is most interested.

The second term – indeed, a rare term in the extant text of the *PS* – is φιλότιμος. The adjective etymologically denotes a ‘fond of honour person’ and hence is generally applied, from Aristotle’s ethical discussion onwards (*Rh.* 1.6–26 *passim*, 1361b, 1363b, 1371b, etc.), to people who wish to distinguish themselves in various ways. φιλότιμος is not a common term in rhetorical theorisation and Phrynichus’ use of this label in *PS* 36.1–4 (re. αἰκάλлонτες ‘fawning’) may seem baffling at first. In Section 5, I argue that the distinctiveness associated with αἰκάλλω as opposed to its more common synonym προσσαίνω depends on the literary pedigree of the two verbs. But apart from the contextual interpretation of the entry, what is interesting is that by recommending αἰκάλλω as a means of achieving φιλοτιμία, Phrynichus fully participates in the contemporary sophistic climate where the struggle for distinction and recognition, and the reputable and disreputable means of achieving it, were matters of debate.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> On this issue in imperial rhetorical thought, see Plu. *Περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἀνεπιφθόνως* (*Mor.* 539a–547f), Aristid. *Or.* 28, and Milette (2011, 29–48).

<sup>18</sup> On φιλοτιμία ‘rivalry’ as an essential element in many sophistic careers, see Schmitz (1997, 97–136) and cf. Philostr. *VS* 1.490–1 (on Favorinus’ dispute with Polemon); for its meaning as ‘am-

With the only extant use of σύντομος ‘concise’, Phrynichus shows himself to be aware of the categorisation of συντομία ‘conciseness’ as one of the *virtutes narrationis*.<sup>19</sup> The term is extremely common in Greek discussions of style, and especially in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who uses it several times in his *De Thucydide*, while in *Imit.* fr. 31.3.1 he contrasts Herodotus’ τὸ σύντομον ‘conciseness’ with Thucydides’ τὸ ἐναργές ‘vividness’. Phrynichus applies σύντομος to the compound verb ἀπρακτέω ‘to gain nothing’ (*PS* 12.16–7), a coinage of Xenophon which in *Cyr.* 1.6.6 comes at the end of a series of negatives, the last of which are all privative compounds (ἀθέμιτος, ἀτυχέω, and ἀπρακτέω).<sup>20</sup> In expressing his judgement, therefore, Phrynichus may also have intended to underline the broader rhetorical construction of Xenophon’s passage, where the long initial sentence, balanced on the series of negations, ends with the concise and sententious final statement constructed on the three compounds.

My fourth example is the evaluative family of καινότης ‘novelty’ (with καινός and καινῶς), discussed in more detail by Giulia Gerbi in this volume. This is the most frequent stylistic label within this group, a concept that, as Photius remarks, was central to the *PS*.<sup>21</sup> References to καινότης are not lacking in Greek rhetorical theory, although it is not a category of style and not even an unambiguously positive label. In the *Rhetoric* (3.6, 1412a), Aristotle discusses the saying of new things

---

bititious ostentation’, see *VS* 1.492 (on Favorinus’ way of ending his speeches), and *VS* 2.585 (on Aristides’ style).

<sup>19</sup> See Patillon (1988, 108) and cf. [Longin.] 42, [Hermog.] *Meth.* 33, 450.17 Rabe.

<sup>20</sup> καὶ γὰρ οἶδά σε λέγοντα αἰεὶ ὥς οὐδὲ θέμις εἶη αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὔτε ἵππεύειν μὴ μαθόντας ἵππομαχοῦντας νικᾶν, οὔτε μὴ ἐπισταμένους τοξεύειν τοξεύοντας κρατεῖν τῶν ἐπισταμένων, οὔτε μὴ ἐπισταμένους κυβερνᾶν σφῶζειν εὐχεσθαι ναῦς κυβερνῶντας, οὐδὲ μὴ σπεύροντάς γε σῖτον εὐχεσθαι καλὸν αὐτοῖς φύεσθαι, οὐδὲ μὴ φυλαττομένους γε ἐν πολέμῳ σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖσθαι: παρὰ γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν θεσμοὺς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι: τοὺς δὲ ἀθέμιτα εὐχομένους ὁμοίως ἐρησθαι εἰκὸς εἶναι παρὰ θεῶν ἀτυχεῖν ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπρακτεῖν τοὺς παράνομα δεομένους. (‘For I know that you always used to say that those who had not learned to ride had no right to ask the gods to give them victory in a cavalry battle; and those who did not know how to shoot had no right to ask to excel in marksmanship those who did know how; and those who did not know how to steer had no right to pray that they might save ships by taking the helm; neither had those who did not sow at all any right to pray for a fine crop, nor those who were not watchful in war to ask for preservation; for all that is contrary to the ordinances of the gods. You said, moreover, that it was quite as likely that those who prayed for what was not right should fail of success with the gods as that those who asked for what was contrary to human law should be disappointed at the hands of men’. Transl. Miller 1914, 89–91).

<sup>21</sup> Not only does Photius speak of the ‘innovative way’ (καινοπρεπῶς) in which the words selected by Phrynichus are arranged (Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100a.36), but he also informs us that in dedicating the fifth book to Menodorus, Phrynichus promised to attend to ‘any other work which requires learning, literary taste, and originality’ (καινότητος ἐχόμενον, Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100b.42).

(καινὰ λέγειν) as an example of clever jokes and riddles (ἄστεϊα) that surprise the audience by being paradoxical. Dionysius of Halicarnassus uses καινός to denote innovative orators and writers (*Lys.* 17.41; *Dem.* 8.8; *Thuc.* 9.19), who use innovative figures of speech (*Din.* 8.25), and the kind of variety that keeps images fresh (καινά: *Comp.* 19.8). However, Dionysius does not give us a theory of καινότης, nor do later rhetoricians (a discussion of καινότης is lacking in Hermogenes and Pseudo-Aristides, for instance). Hence, Phrynichus' brief notes on the subject are the closest thing we have to a full treatment of this category in Greek technical sources from the post-Classical period.

By choosing καινός as one of the evaluative labels in his lexica, Phrynichus also follows the literary trends of his time. καινός is a common term of metaliterary and artistic criticism in Lucian (see e.g. *Zeux.* 7.8), but particularly informative is the famous passage in *Rh.Pr.* 17, in which the enterprising teacher – the protagonist – after advising his pupil to dig up outlandish and foreign words seldom used by the ancients (ἀπόρρητα καὶ ξένα ῥήματα, σπανιάκις ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι εἰρημένα), also advises him to occasionally invent new and strange terms (ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ποιεῖ καινὰ καὶ ἀλλόκοτα ὀνόματα) to impress his audience. Lucian's pairing of καινός with ἀλλόκοτος places καινός in a less flattering light (see the similarly famous tirade against τὰ ἀλλόκοτα in *Luc. Lex.* 20); this ambiguity of καινότης is also present in Phrynichus. While in the *PS* Phrynichus commends innovative expressions (some of them *hapax legomena*) with which one can elegantly achieve a surprise effect, in the *Eclogue* (330) he also warns his reader against using a kind of syntactical construction that is 'foreign' (ξένος) on top of being novel.<sup>22</sup>

Regarding the way in which the general stylistic terminology of the *PS* has been preserved by the tradition, it is not possible to draw sharp distinctions between the selection made by the compiler(s) of the materials preserved in the Coislinianus and those that have ended up in the *Synagoge* and Photius. ἀνεπαχθής, καλός, σύντομος, and φιλότιμος are found only in the epitome (see List 2). In two cases (ἀνεπαχθής and φιλότιμος), these terms occur in entries which have parallels in the indirect tradition, but lack the evaluative terminology; in the other two cases, the indirect tradition preserves no entry at all. By contrast, the labels ποικίλος and χαρίεις are found only in the indirect tradition. In Phot. α 808, ποικίλος is used to introduce an unusually long list of examples illustrating the various meanings and uses of ὀργάω 'to be eager; to moisten, to soften; to swell' (see also Cavarzeran, this volume). One may wonder whether this long text reproduces the average length of an entry in the original *PS*, or whether it is a compilation of disparate materials: in the latter scenario, ποικίλος may well not go back to Phry-

22 For a comparison between the two lexica, see further Gerbi, this volume.

nichus himself. Be that as it may, the conclusion of Phot. α 808, with its reference to the conciseness of the expression ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ ‘I am eager to listen’, which is judged appropriate to prose (see also Section 4), is very likely to belong to Phrynichus. As for χαρίεις in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 192 (= Phot. α 248, *Su.* α 317, *ex* Σ’ = *PS* fr. \*75) it marks, in the superlative, the expression ἄγουσιν ἐορτὴν οἱ κλέπται ‘the thieves are having a feast’, while also being defined as a construction ‘said with sufficient comic grace’ (ικανῶς πεπαισμένη κατὰ τὴν κωμωδικὴν χάριν). Again, as with the entry on ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ, the main evaluative terminology pertains to literary genre, with χαρίεις as an additional stylistic marker that echoes the reference to the κωμωδικὴ χάρις.

Apart from these exceptions, most of the general stylistic terminology collected in List 2 is shared by the epitome and the indirect tradition. This is further evidence that this kind of evaluation was central to the original *PS*. One term, ἐναργής ‘vivid’, deserves further discussion. It is found only once in the epitome (see entry αἰρεσθαι τιμαῖς ‘to be puffed up with honours’, *PS* 12.9–10), but three times in the indirect tradition. In one case, the entry in the indirect witnesses marked by ἐναργής – namely Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801, *ex* Σ’’), re. ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος ‘a person [who is] wind and ruin’ – has a sure parallel in the epitome (*PS* 21.12), where, however, no evaluative terminology is preserved. In the other two cases, the presence of ἐναργής led de Borries (1911, xxxi–xxxii) to identify the *PS* as the source of Phot. α 2058 (= *PS* fr. \*23) and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1350 (= Phot. α 1784, *ex* Σ’’’ = *PS* fr. \*185). De Borries may well have been right, although the presence of ἐναργής alone is not sufficient proof that these two lemmas go back to the *PS*, or that the evaluative terminology is original. I have expressed elsewhere my reservations about this methodology, which runs the risk of circularity.<sup>23</sup> To what I have already argued, it may now be added that in Photius’ lexicon ἐναργής occurs only in lemmas in α, as is also the case in the *Synagoge*: this may strengthen de Borries’ idea that ἐναργής is authentic Phrynichean terminology.

## List 2: General stylistic terminology in alphabetical order

### ἀνεπαχθής

- ἄπλυτον πώγωνα (ἄπλετον de Borries) ‘unwashed beard’ (*PS* 4.1–2): in the extant terminology of the epitome in cod. Par. Coisl. 345, this expression is recommended εἰ θέλοις ἀνεπαχθῶς σκῶψαι ‘if you wish to tease [a bearded man] without being offensive’ (transl. Favi 2022g; see also List 3 under σκωπτικός and Pellettieri, this volume). The adverb there-

<sup>23</sup> Tribulato (2022b, 920).

fore expresses a gradation in σκῶμμα. It is absent in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1794 (= Phot. α 2444, *Su.* α 3241, *ex* Σ'), which has only σκώπτων ('teasing').

Outside the lemmas in α, **ἀνεπαχθῶς** is found in *PS* 94.19–20 ὁ λόγος ὅδε οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖ ('this speech does not think well'), where ἀνεπαχθῶς is used similarly to *PS* 4.1–2, that is to mark potentially offensive expressions that are said without offence. This terminology has no parallel in the indirect witnesses.

### ἐναργής

- αἰρεσθαι τιμαῖς 'to be puffed up with honours' (*PS* 12.9–10): the expression is ἐναργής 'vivid' and συγγραφικὴ 'suitable for prose' (see List 3, under **συγγραφικός**). The entry has no parallels.

**ἐναργής** does not occur in any other entry preserved in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345.

### Indirect witnesses

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801, *ex* Σ'') re. ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος 'a person [who is] wind and ruin' (*PS* 21.12): while the entry in *PS* 21.12 simply attributes the expression to Eupolis, the *Synagoge* tradition preserves a longer lemma in which the expression is characterised with καινῶς and ἐναργῶς. See Gerbi (2023b) and Gerbi, this volume.
- Phot. α 2058 re. ἀνταυγὲς κάλλος 'sparkling beauty' (*PS* fr. \*23, *PS* fr. 206): the expression is ἐναργής and this gloss is attributed to Phrynichus. The entry survives only in Photius' MSS b and S<sup>z</sup> and has no parallel in the *Synagoge* tradition.
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1350 (= Phot. α 1784, *ex* Σ'') re. ἀνεγείρει καὶ ῥιπίζει τὸν ὄχλον, ἢ τὴν πόλιν 'he kindles and fires the mob or the city' (*PS* fr. \*185): the combination (συμπλοκή) of these words is characterised as being ἐναργής. There is no unequivocal evidence for attributing this entry to Phrynichus' lexicon, although συμπλοκή is used once in *PS* 16.3–5 (see List 3, under **σαρκασμός**).

### ἡδύς

- ἀντιβολία 'prayer' (*PS* 40.13–4): the word is judged to be ἡδύς and σεμνός. The entry in Phot. α 2083, whose dependence on Phrynichus is doubtful according to Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 200), has the same *interpretamentum* but does not preserve any evaluative terminology, while it attributes the expression to Eupolis' *Flatterers*. The entry has no parallel in the *Synagoge* tradition.

**ἡδύς** does not occur in any other entry preserved in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345.

### Indirect witnesses

- Phot. α 2234 re. ἀπαλὸς εἴσπλους τοῦ λιμένος 'a gentle entry into the port' (cf. *PS* 19.14–6): while the entry preserved in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 contrasts this expression of Cratinus (fr. 383) with the use of τραχύς in *Od.* 5.425 (τρηχεῖαν ἐπ' ἀκτὴν 'against the rugged shore'), Photius instead omits the reference to Homer and classifies the expression as a σύνταξις ἡδίστη. The entry has no parallel in the *Synagoge* tradition.

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 303 (= Phot. α 256, *ex Σ''*) re. ἀγρευτική στολή ‘hunting instrument’ (PS fr. \*65): the expression is ἡδεῖα and ἀστεῖα (see List 3 under **ἀστεῖος**). There is no clear evidence that the entry should be attributed to the PS.

### καινός

All preserved traces of this evaluative terminology in the epitome of the PS belong to letters other than α (see ἐξηβος ‘past his youth’, PS 65.20–1; ἰσῆλιξ ‘equal in age’, PS 75.19; πολιτοκοπέω ‘to court the mob’, PS 99.14–9; ὑπερθεμιστοκλῆς ‘a super-Themistocles’, PS 116.9–13; ὑπασθενέω ‘to feel unwell’, PS 120.1–2. On all these entries and their parallels, see Gerbi, this volume).

**Indirect witnesses** (this is only a list: for an analysis, see Gerbi, this volume)

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 304 (= Phot. α 273, *ex Σ''*) re. ἄγρυκτα καὶ ἄλεκτα πέπονθα ‘I have suffered unspeakable and indescribable things’ (PS fr. \*66).
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 404 (= Phot. α 414, *ex Σ''*) re. αἰίνως γλῶσσα καὶ αἰίνως φωνὴ καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ ἐπιθυμία ‘ever-flowing tongue, and ever-flowing voice, and anger, and desire’ (PS fr. \*91).
- Phot. α 551 re. ῥδεν ὁμοιον ‘to sing the same song’ (cf. PS 20.1–2, without evaluative terminology); cf. Gerbi (2023g).
- Phot. α 1377 re. ἀμψι τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν ‘to spend money on the troops’ (cf. PS 49.1–2, without evaluative terminology).
- Phot. α 1488 re. ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασὺ βλέπειν ‘to look shamelessly and boldly’ (cf. PS 14.6, consisting of the lemma alone).
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 180, *ex Σ''*) re. ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος ‘a man [who is] wind and ruin’. See above under **ἐναργής** and the discussion in Section 3.
- Phot. α 1913 re. ἀνῆδομαι ἐφ’ οἷς ἦσθην ποτέ ‘I no longer enjoy the things I once enjoyed’ (cf. PS 44.7–10): the two entries have different wordings of the *interpretamenta*. Both preserve a reference to Hermippus (fr. 28), but only the indirect tradition uses the evaluative terminology (καινός and πολιτικός, on which see List 3).
- Phot. α 1980 re. ἄνθρωπος οὐ σεμνός ‘a not reverend man’ (PS fr. \*193).

### καλός

- ἀπρακτεῖν ‘to gain nothing’ (PS 12.16–7): the verb is defined as a καλὴ καὶ σύντομος φωνή.

**καλός** occurs only one other time, in PS 67.7–8 re. ἐξεγγυῆσασθαι ‘to free someone by giving bail for him’. It does not occur in any other entry of the epitome in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 and is also absent from the indirect tradition.

### ποικίλος

There is no trace of this evaluative term in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345.

### Indirect witnesses

- Phot. α 808 re. ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ ‘I am eager to listen’ (cf. PS 8.12–3): after mentioning Eupolis and Thucydides and providing the same *interpretamentum* as PS 8.12–3, Photius further adds καθόλου δὲ ποικίλως χρῶνται τῷ ὀνόματι (‘in general, they [i.e. Attic authors] use this verb in various ways’). The long discussion ends with another evaluative comment: συγγραφικὴ μέντοι ἢ φωνὴ ἢ ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ (‘indeed, the expression ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ is suited to prose’; see also List 3 under **συγγραφικός**). Although there is no clear indication that this entry is dependent on Phrynichus, both the initial wording and the terminology smack of the PS.



**σεμνός**

- ἀνελκταῖς ὀφρύσι σεμνόν ‘haughty with raised eyebrows’ (PS 3.1–2): the expression is said to be used in an ‘Attic and solemn way’ (Ἀττικῶς, σεμνῶς). See List 1 under **Ἀττικός** and, above, under **σεμνός**.
- ἄπαρνος ‘utterly denying’ (PS 11.13): the adjective is said to be σεμνότερος and πολιτικώτερος (see List 3) than its synonym ἐξαρνος. The parallel entry in Phot. α 2263 (absent in the *Synagoge* tradition) preserves only σεμνός. On this entry, see Tribulato (2023a) and Section 5.
- ἀκρύπτως ‘not secretly’ (PS 11.20–1): as a synonym of μὴ κεκρυμμένως, it is πάνυ σεμνῶς.
- ἄσποφον ἔχειν στόμα ‘to have a silent mouth’ (PS 11.22–3): this expression is marked as both σεμνός and πολιτικός (see List 3 and Section 5 and Tribulato 2023b). The entry has no parallel in the indirect witnesses.
- ἀνάρρημα ‘proclamation’ (PS 39.7): marked with σεμνόν πάνυ. Σ α 525 (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1182, Phot. α 1636, Su. α 2045, ex Σ’) lacks the evaluative terminology.
- ἀντιβολία ‘prayer’ (PS 40.13–4): the word is judged to be ἡδύς and σεμνός. See above under **ἡδύς** for more details, and the discussion in Section 3.
- ἀπορροή ‘stream’ (PS 50.3): the word is σεμνότερος than its cognate ἀπόρροια. The entry has no parallel in the indirect witnesses.

**σεμνός** does not occur elsewhere in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345.

**Indirect witnesses**

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 145 (= PS fr. \*6<sup>a</sup> ~ Phot. α 164) re. ἀγῆλαι ‘to venerate’: the verb is recommended for a style that aspires to σεμνότης. See List 3 under **κωμωδικός** for an analysis.
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 462 (= Phot. α 470, ex Σ’’) re. ἄθηρος ἡμέρα ‘a day without hunting’ (PS fr. \*9): the expression is defined as a σεμνή πάνυ συμπλοκή. For an analysis, see Tribulato (2023b) and Section 5.
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 767 (= Phot. α 868, ex Σ’’) re. ἀκρατὴς γάμων ‘sexually intemperate’ (PS fr. 125; cf. PS 50.11): the *Synagoge* tradition preserves the evaluative terminology σεμνός καὶ εὐπρεπὴς λόγος, which is absent in PS 50.11.
- Phot. α 2203 re. ἀπαγκωνισάμενος ‘baring the elbows’: the expression is marked with σεμνῶς πάνυ. The entry is attributed to the PS by Reitzenstein (1907) and edited as fr. \*243 by de Borries. The attribution to the PS is likely: not only because of the evaluative terminology, but also because the lemma contrasts the prefixed verb ἀπαγκωνίζομαι with the simplex ἀγκωνίζω, and this kind of contrast is of interest to Phrynichus in the PS (see Monaco, this volume).

**σύντομος**

- ἀπρακτεῖν ‘to gain nothing’ (PS 12.16–7): see above under **καλός**.

**φιλότιμος**

- αἰκάλлонτες ‘fawning’ (PS 36.1–4): Phrynichus recommends the use of αἰκάλλω for a distinctive style and the synonym προσσαίνω for a πολιτικός style. Cf. Phot. α 583 and the parallel sources discussed in Tribulato (2023c), all without evaluative terminology; see Section 5.

**χαρίεις**

This evaluative terminology is not preserved in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345.

**Indirect witnesses**

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 192 (= Phot. α 248, *Su.* α 317, *ex* Σ') re. ἄγουσιν ἑορτὴν οἱ κλέπται 'the thieves are having a feast' (*PS* fr. \*75): the expression is defined as χαριεστάτη ἢ σύνταξις καὶ ἱκανῶς πεπαισμένη κατὰ τὴν κωμωδικὴν χάριν ('a most graceful construction and said with sufficient comic grace').

**χρήσιμος**

- ἀρπαγμαῖος 'stolen; invisible' (*PS* 6.6–9): the epitome comments τῶν χρησίμων ἐστὶ καὶ σπανίων ἢ φωνή 'this expression belongs [to the group] of those which are useful and rare' (see also List 3 under σπάνιος). The entry has no parallel in the indirect tradition.
- ἀντανανθῶναι 'to read and compare' (*PS* 47.16–7): the verb is marked as χρήσιμον 'useful'. The parallel and fuller entries in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1528 (= Phot. α 2046, *ex* Σ''), while preserving a reference to Cratinus (fr. 289), have no evaluative terminology. See Gerbi (2023c) for an analysis.

**Indirect witnesses**

- Phot. α 1250 re. ἀμπρευτής 'hauling' (*PS* fr. \*170): the entry marks the form as a χρήσιμος φωνή and quotes Sophocles (fr. 820). It is attributed to Phrynichus by Reitzenstein (1907).

## 4 Stylistic terminology denoting a literary genre, a style, or a linguistic register

This section discusses the bulk of Phrynichus' evaluative terminology in the *PS*: the terminology devoted to a literary genre, style, or register. As these three terms show, this is a composite group, combining terminology typical of descriptions of style with terminology more typical of grammatical or linguistic theory. The boundaries between these categories are not always clear, and a certain degree of ambiguity also affects the classification that I propose, especially as regards the category of register.<sup>24</sup> I will discuss each of these categories in turn.

While the definition of genre in modern stylistics is far from settled, if we turn to ancient Greek literary theory, 'genre' is the most straightforward member

---

<sup>24</sup> Following Bybee, Conrad (2019, 2), we can think of genre as 'the conventional structures used to construct a complete text' (because a genre is not defined by linguistic features alone, but by features such as theme, form, etc.). Style, on the other hand, consists of those 'linguistic features that are common in texts' (Bybee, Conrad 2019, 2). For Bybee and Conrad, style concerns only written texts; a broader notion is provided by Crystal, Davy (1969, 10–1), for whom style identifies the 'language habits' of a person or social group. In this latter understanding, style essentially overlaps with what other sociolinguists would call 'register', namely the linguistic features common to a text from the perspective of the communicative situation in which they are used (for Crystal and Davy's criticism of current uses of 'register', see Crystal, Davy 1969, 61–2). On the overlap between genre, style, and register in linguistic literature, see Ferguson (1994, 16–7).

of this group. In judging Attic expressions, Phrynichus sometimes further classifies them according to their suitability for the macro-categories of poetry and prose, thus following the main principle of Greek generic classification, namely what Donald Russell has called ‘the differentia of poetry’.<sup>25</sup> In the *PS*, poetry is additionally subdivided into comedy and tragedy: while the former is indicated by the use of two synonymous labels (κωμικός and κωμωδικός), the latter is often present in disguise: for possible reasons for this, see below. There is also a reference to encomium, which is generically ambiguous: it may simply denote an expressive mode that neither belongs to prose nor is exclusively poetic.<sup>26</sup> As for prose, συγγραφικός is a clear label for written prose (history, treatises). Oratory is the great absentee in the *PS*: only one label (the elusive πολιτικός: see below and Section 5) can be associated with it, but the very fact that it is a puzzling label and not even a very common one in the *PS* highlights that Phrynichus’ intention was not to provide a minute description of the various oratorical modes. We will return to this point below.

Given this framework, the question naturally arises: does Phrynichus follow a theoretical model in his approach to literary genres? Before attempting to answer this question, three general points need to be emphasised. First, all ancient exegetes are in some way aware of the concept of genre, which they apply in their explanations of their source texts.<sup>27</sup> In this sense, we can say that Phrynichus must have consciously used terms denoting genres, because he was part of a long rhetorical tradition that had shaped ancient theories of style and their connection with literary genres.<sup>28</sup> Second, it is evident that Phrynichus’ aim is not to define existing literary works and their characteristic elements, let alone to un-

<sup>25</sup> Russell (1981, 149). On the importance of poetry in Greek rhetorical thought, see Russell (1981, 275).

<sup>26</sup> In *PS* 101.11–2 re. πέλαγος ἢ πόλις ἐστίν ‘the city is a sea’, Phrynichus deals with the encomium of a city, a very common type of encomium in oratory: see the long treatment of Men.Rh. Διαίρεσις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν 347–67.

<sup>27</sup> See Sluiter (2000, 184). I should emphasise that I am interested here in the ancient theory of genre as expounded in paraliterary texts (rhetorical treatises, lexica, scholia, etc.), which sought general classificatory principles (see Russell 1981, 152), and not in actual literary practice. The former assumes ‘unproblematic, clear boundaries between genres’ (Foster, Kurke, Weiss 2020, 13, following Farrell 2003, 386), while the latter was far more complex, experimental, and fluid, as scholarship is increasingly recognising: see e.g. Farrell (2003); Ford (2020). Nor am I here discussing the development of genre criticism in modern scholarship on Graeco-Roman antiquity: for a recent overview, see Foster, Kurke, Weiss (2020).

<sup>28</sup> ‘Ancient theories of style grew up almost entirely in the context of a certain kind of rhetorical instruction’ (Russell 1981, 129).

derstand literary production and audience expectations.<sup>29</sup> He is not interested in generic boundaries but in λέξις ('expression, style'): it would therefore be wrong to expect from him a neat theory of genres. We may say that for Phrynichus genre is primarily a question of *langue*:<sup>30</sup> he sees genre through the exclusive lens of diction (and, at best, of σχήματα: see below on σαρκασμός), neglecting other aspects of discourse strategies (such as didactic content). Finally, Greek theories of stylistic ἰδέαι are so varied and sometimes confusing that it is difficult to summarise them in a single overview,<sup>31</sup> against which we can then assess Phrynichus' position on the style associated with each genre.

With these general caveats in mind, let us return to the question of whether Phrynichus' approach to literary genres can be compared to an existing theory of style. One clear aspect is that he does not follow the structurally more sophisticated prose subdivisions of his contemporary Hermogenes (who distinguishes between the πολιτικός and the πανηγυρικός style, the latter encompassing prose and poetry: see Hermog. *Id.* 2.10–2, 380–403 Rabe).<sup>32</sup> Phrynichus does not use any of the typical Hermogenian terms, except for πολιτικός, which however is not peculiar to Hermogenes and requires further discussion in order to be understood (see Section 5). Instead, Phrynichus' classification is both simpler and more traditional. We may see the shadow of Aristotle behind the broad subdivision of literature into poetry and prose (see Arist. *Rh.* 3.1, 1404a), an impression reinforced by the attention that the *PS* gives to dramatic poetry, the total neglect of lyric poetry, and the lack of a detailed subdivision of prose, unlike the later views of Hermogenes or Menander Rhetor, with his piecemeal sub-classification of types of speech.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For these two sides of the ancient reflection on genre, see Most, Conte (2012, 609), who argue, however, that ancient critics are hardly interested 'in understanding the mechanism of literary production and reception and are directed to the needs of the school and the library, not the critics'.

<sup>30</sup> I borrow this expression from Most (2000, 17).

<sup>31</sup> See Russell (2006, 276). Patillon (2002, xxiv) rightly recalls that the comparison between the different theories of style can only be fruitful at a very general level.

<sup>32</sup> See Patillon (1988, 111; 277–8). On the meaning of 'panegyric', which includes prose authors like Plato and poetry as a whole, see Patillon (1988, 283); Rutherford (1998, 37; 44–7).

<sup>33</sup> On the lack of a systematic genre classification in Aristotle, see Rosenmeyer (2006, 428–30); on Aristotle's subdivision of prose and poetry, see Rosenmeyer (2006, 429); on the *Poetics'* marginal interest in lyric poetry, see Rosenmeyer (2006, 430). In *Rh.* 3.12, 1413b, Aristotle divides prose into written composition (γραφική) and prose for debate (ἀγωνιστική), i.e. oratory; within the latter, he distinguishes between political (δημηγορική), judicial (δικανική), and epideictic oratory (this last one is added in *Rh.* 3.12, 1414a, but the three types are already theorised in *Rh.* 1.3, 1358b).

The likely reason why Phrynichus does not present oratory as a separate category is that the entire *PS* is addressed to sophists: we must assume that all of its content is by default scrutinised by Phrynichus insofar as it is suitable for oratory, though sometimes with some provisos, which take the form of further specifications that Phrynichus gives when he addresses expressions taken from non-oratorical genres. When he carefully notes that an expression is poetic, or comic, he is implicitly alerting his reader to its degree of suitability for oratory. Consider the example of κοκκύζω ‘to cry cuckoo’, the alternative to ᾄδω (said of roosters) that *PS* 35.14–5 attributes to the κωμικοί. With this label, Phrynichus seems to be tacitly advising his reader that κοκκύζω, though perfectly Attic, should not be used in prose and oratory. This interpretation of the entry is confirmed by the absence of the verb in Classical prose and the general avoidance of it in post-Classical prose as well. An even clearer example is *PS* 43.5–8 on ἀμαξιαῖα ῥήματα ‘big words’, where this poetic expression (which Photius instead marks as comic) is flagged as inappropriate for a πολιτικός style (see Section 5). In the same direction seems to go the opposite marking of some expressions, usually taken from comedy, as suitable for conversation (see List 3 under συνουσία). This, again, seems to be an implicit indication that while Attic poetry may be a good linguistic model, some of its lexicon should only be used in certain circumstances: συνουσία would then mark a colloquial register that, while appropriate for a learned man, is perhaps not suited for the higher style of oratory.

Tragedy requires a somewhat different treatment because overt references to it are almost non-existent in the epitome, although tragic quotations and tragic language must have been well represented in the *PS*, as confirmed both by the number of *loci classici* that can be identified and by the explicit mentions of tragedy in the indirect witnesses. The only extant reference to tragedy, in *PS* 128.11–3, is made in order to contrast the tragic meaning of ψυχορροφέω (‘to drain somebody’s soul’, *trag. adesp.* fr. \*602) with that found in Plato Comicus (fr. 292), ‘to drink cold wine’. However, the entry is problematic and it is not unlikely that the text we read in the epitome confuses two different forms (ψυχορροφέω and ψυχρορροφέω: see Gerbi 2023d). The three instances of τραγικός in the indirect tradition show that tragic language is signalled as somehow special: see Σ<sup>b</sup> α 259 (= Phot. α 116, *ex* Σ’), where the tragic meaning of ἀγαί ‘wounds’ is contrasted with the standard meaning ‘fragments, splinters’; and the two uses of the comparative τραγικώτερος in Phot. α 33 and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 248 (= Phot. α 108, *ex* Σ’’), which implicitly distinguish tragic expressions from standard language.

As already noted, however, ‘hidden’ tragic quotations are common in the *PS*. Does this mean that the original version of the lexicon contained more terminology warning readers against the indiscriminate use of this kind of language? The loss of much original material is almost certain, but I think that it would be

wrong to conclude that Phrynichus' approach to tragedy was mainly one of caution. That the opposite is the case is proven by the curious association of συγγραφικός ('suited to prose') with quotations from tragedy. Consider the entry Σ<sup>b</sup> α 462 (= Phot. α 470, *ex Σ''*) re. ἄθηρος ἡμέρα 'a day without hunting' (*PS* fr. \*9). According to the wording in the indirect tradition, Phrynichus marked this tragic expression (used by Aesch. fr. 241) with both σεμνός and πολιτικός (see Section 5 on this), and further recommended it for prose (συγγραφῶν χρῶ). Similar cases are Phot. α 1238 re. ἀμοχθί 'without toil' (*PS* fr. \*15), attested in [Aesch.] *Pr.* 208 and recommended for prose (συγγραφικὴ ἢ φωνή, ὡς φησιν ὁ Φρύνιχος), and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 254 (= Phot. α 112, *ex Σ''*, cf. Phryn. *PS* fr. \*51) where the tragic ἄγαν τείνειν 'to strive too much' (*Soph. Ant.* 710–1) is defined as a συγγραφικὴ φωνή. Thus, reading between the lines, we see that tragedy is an important stylistic model for Phrynichus: apparently swept under the carpet of silence, it has a remarkable presence in the lexicon.

As discussed in Section 3, Phrynichus, like theorists of rhetoric, contrasts genres and authors on the practical basis of the *types of style* (ιδέαι): that is, those forms of expression that may be associated with a literary genre, but not necessarily and not always unambiguously. In this section, I consider types of style that complement Phrynichus' more general stylistic terminology (already discussed in Section 3) and characterise linguistic features that can be manipulated by authors for aesthetic purposes. These are labels such as ἀστεῖος 'witty', παίζων 'said in jest', σκωπτικός 'jokingly offensive', and πολιτικός (I deliberately do not translate this last term because its interpretation requires a careful analysis of the entries where it is used in order to settle the question of whether or not Phrynichus uses πολιτικός as a reference to a specific type of oratory: this will be the aim of Section 5). I have included these terms here rather than in Section 3 because Phrynichus' use of them shows that he takes these categories as further definitions of genre rather than as abstract qualities of style (ἄρεταί). Similarly, I classify ἀστεῖος, παίζων, and σκωπτικός not as registers – as they might be seen from a modern perspective – but as categories of style characterising genre, because ancient thought treats them as features of λέξις ('style').<sup>34</sup>

By marking some expressions with ἀστεῖος, Phrynichus recognises an important part of diction, the possibility of saying witticisms (ἀστεῖα) that make one's speech both pleasant and elegantly clever. As we have seen in Section 3, Aristotle (*Rh.* 3.10–1, 1410b–1413a) devotes some illuminating pages to ἀστεῖα, which he defines as expressive refinements arising from humour. By contrast, the *Rhetorica*

34 On the nuances of witticism in Greek rhetorical thought, seen through the lens of Pseudo-Demetrius' *On Style*, see Chiron (2001, 273–83).

*ad Alexandrum* (22, 1434a.17–8) emphasises their formal composition (the length of sentences, the use of γνῶμαι) without commenting on their humorous effect.<sup>35</sup> Phrynichus seems to agree with Aristotle's view, since the expressions he marks with ἀστεῖος are either of certain comic origin (e.g. *PS* 101.3–6, with a quotation from Aristophanes) or likely to be comic. For the latter category, see especially ἄριστος κλέπτειν 'the best at stealing' (*PS* 16.3–5), where Phrynichus further remarks that this combination is used for sarcasm, and ὀζειν ἐτῶν 'to smell like years' (*PS* 92.3–4), the topic of which is humorous.<sup>36</sup> Phrynichus' use of παίζω 'to joke, to say in jest' shares the same stylistic nuance, but without the emphasis on the formal components of witticism. Expressions such as ἄριστος κλέπτειν, ὀζειν ἐτῶν, or ἀγρευτικὴ στολή 'hunting equipment' invite the listener to unpack their metaphorical or allusive elements, the very same elements that ignite witticism, as Aristotle clearly explains (*Rh.* 3.10, 1410b; 3.11, 1412a). The best witticism involves an utterance that initially deceives the listeners, who only at the end – after recognising its metaphorical components – realise that they have missed something and that the meaning of the saying is not what it first appeared to be.<sup>37</sup> Real ἀστεῖα, therefore, produce a surprise effect in the audience. According to Aristotle, part of the surprise depends on the presence of an antithesis in the metaphor (*Rh.* 3.11, 1412b). Antithesis is precisely the characterising element of both ἄριστος κλέπτειν (in which the positive value of 'best' is applied to the negative act of stealing) and ὀζειν ἐτῶν (in which I believe that ὀζω should be taken in its positive nuance 'to smell nice', a connotation immediately overturned by the negative association of ἐτῶν with a kind of musty old smell).

<sup>35</sup> ἀστεϊότης is not a category discussed by either Dionysius of Halicarnassus or Hermogenes; [Longin.] 34.2 mentions the ἄφατοι ἀστεῖσμοί 'superb witticisms' and σκώμματα 'jokes' as distinctive qualities of Hyperides' style: see Halliwell (2022, 361) for a commentary.

<sup>36</sup> Phrynichus' understanding and use of ἀστεῖος is therefore very different from the theorisation of ἀστεῖσμός in the treatises *περὶ τρόπων*, which deal with various kinds of linguistic variation from the norm of 'proper' language (see Sandri 2023, 19–20). In these treatises, the ἀστεῖσμός is understood as a polite expression that speaks of a positive thing by its opposite, a kind of dissimulative self-belittling (cf. the definitions in Concordius § 8, Trypho II § 17, and Trypho I § 36, all edited in Sandri 2023; cf. also Sandri 2023, 46).

<sup>37</sup> Arist. *Rh.* 3.11, 1412a: ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀστεῖα τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ μεταφορᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προσεξαπατᾶν· μᾶλλον γὰρ γίνεταί δῆλον ὅτι ἔμαθε παρὰ τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν, καὶ ἔοικε λέγειν ἢ ψυχὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐγὼ δ' ἤμαρτον ('Most smart sayings are derived from metaphor with the addition of some deception. For it becomes more evident to the listener that he has learned something when the conclusion turns out contrary to his expectation, and the mind seems to say, 'Yes indeed, but I missed it'; transl. Freese 2020, 409). This Aristotelian idea comes back in Pseudo-Demetrius' *On Style* (159): see Chiron (2007) *ad loc.* and Chiron (2004, 37).

The expressions marked by Phrynichus with παίζω are not metaphorical but literal. They do not involve the association of terms from different semantic domains, but consist of a single word, the humour of which lies in its immediate meaning, conveyed by the word's morphological structure. Thus, ἀπομερμηρίζω 'to forget one's cares (in sleep)' (PS 49.8–9) is simply a nuance of μερμηρίζω 'to be anxious', in which the prefix ἀπο- conveys the idea of ending a certain state, a kind of verbal formation that would have been clear to speakers. Similarly, the prepositional compound Πρόθητυς '[born] before Thetys' (PS 102.19–21) is morphologically transparent, relying as it does on other kinship terms in προ- such as προμήτωρ 'maternal grandfather', πρόπαππος 'great-grandfather', and πρόθειας 'great-uncle': Πρόθητυς does not require the listener to carefully scrutinise its constituent elements. Finally, with σκωπτικός, Phrynichus touches on a further – and stronger – nuance of jest, one that may offend (see Pellettieri, this volume, for a thorough analysis).

With ἀστεῖος, παίζων, and σκωπτικός, Phrynichus pays careful attention to a central device of sophistic (and generally oratorical) style: wordplay, which – when directed against one's opponents – can turn into insult, contempt, or sarcasm. Not by chance, καταφρόνησις 'contempt' (PS 22.14–6) and σαρκασμός 'sarcasm' (PS 16.3–5) are another two categories with which Phrynichus further nuances his approach to derision. In using σαρκασμός, he seems to be appropriating a term that in Greek texts is used exclusively by the treatises περὶ τρόπων, where this trope is defined as a falsely praising discourse that, for mockery, conveys the opposite of what is being said.<sup>38</sup> Such attention to mocking language reflects the importance of ψόγος and ἔπαινος in imperial literature (unfortunately, only one reference to the latter survives in the PS: see under ἐγκωμιάζω).<sup>39</sup> Abuse was central to invective and satire, but also to any kind of personal and literary dispute. These controversies were not only entrusted to the written medium, but also had an oral dimension, which in Byzantine culture was later captured by the so-called λογικὸς ἀγών ('contest in eloquence').<sup>40</sup> The notes on the nuances of mocking and offensive language that Phrynichus provides were certainly valuable to writers

<sup>38</sup> See the definitions in Concordius § 8, Trypho II § 16, Trypho I § 32, all edited in Sandri (2023).

<sup>39</sup> ψόγος and ἔπαινος are recognised as two kinds of epideictic oratory in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (3, 1425b; 35, 1440b) and have a rich tradition down to Menander Rhetor (Διαιρέσεις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν 331.15): see Russell, Wilson (1981, xxii–xxxi). The history of invective in Graeco-Roman literature by Koster (1980) treats invective as a mode of expression and not merely as a rhetorical genre. The study does not deal with the role of invective in the Second Sophistic. For Byzantium, see van Opstall (2015, 789–90), with bibliography, and many of the chapters in Marciniak, Nilsson (2021).

<sup>40</sup> See Bernard (2014, 252–90).



and speakers of his and later times who needed guidance on how to appropriately reuse abusive expressions taken from ancient models. The stylistic subtleties of insults – from scathing mockery to friendly jokes – were probably more important to Phrynichus’ audience than knowing whether a particular expression was prosaic or poetic. This may further explain the prominence of terminology related to σκῶμμα/ψόγος and the paucity of references to oratory, which we have already noted.

While the attention to the derisive style has a likely oratorical dimension, as just argued, it also reveals Phrynichus’ frequent perusal of Attic comedy as a privileged source for the imperial sophist. This, I believe, is the key to understanding the disproportionate number of comic lemmas preserved in the *PS*. Of course, comedy – along with oratory, Thucydides, and Plato – was the thesaurus of best Attic usage, an essential linguistic benchmark for the Atticists.<sup>41</sup> But in the *PS*, this linguistic interest in comedy is also coupled with a practical aim: to provide would-be orators with a rich expressive palette in which jest, allusion, metaphor, and innovation abound. This explains not only the sheer number of comic glosses in the lexicon, but also Phrynichus’ meticulous consideration of their composition, semantic nuances, and overall effect on the audience. Understandably, tragedy does not receive the same attention. As already noted, tragic expressions are more often commended for their general effect than overtly for their belonging to tragedy, and there is an implicit interest in their suitability to *prose* style (see above). All of this is only normal in a lexicon designed to give the aspiring orator an all-round training in *all* modes of expression and their literary sources.

This consideration brings us to the last category in List 3, register. Some terms in the evaluative terminology of the *PS* do not concern literary style, but rather modes of expression belonging to a particular *variety* of language, seen – broadly speaking – in its social dimension: what contemporary sociolinguistics calls register. We can define register as ‘a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices’ (Agha 2008, 24). In assigning some of Phrynichus’ evaluative terminology to register, I have therefore sought to highlight this social dimension which, I will argue, is present in Phrynichus’ approach to language. A clear indication of this is his massive use of the social labels ἀγοραῖοι, ἀμαθεῖς, ἰδιῶται, πολλοί, and οἱ νῦν: those ‘groups of speakers’ which, in Atticist theory, define the various diastratic variants opposed to the ideal and abstract benchmark repre-

---

41 On the influence of comedy on writers contemporary with Phrynichus, see, in general, Peterson (2019) and Marshall, Hawkins (2015); Marshall (2015) on Plutarch; Rosen (2015) and Stiffler (2023) on Lucian. On comedy in Phrynichus’ lexica, see Tribulato (2024a).

sented by the Ἀττικοί (these terms are all collected in List 1 and discussed in Section 2). In sociolinguistic terms, these labels denote social registers (which some sociolinguists might also call ‘social dialects’): I have discussed them in Section 2 because I wanted to first address the typical evaluative Atticist terminology that Phrynichus shares with other Atticists, before moving on to terminology that refers more broadly to other registers. In List 3, I have thus further included terms that, while perhaps originating in spoken registers, find a special application in written registers, which are governed by distinctive characteristics (two of them being the planning of linguistic forms and the lack of immediacy). These terms are καθωμιλημένος ‘in common use’, μουσικός ‘belonging to musical theory’, πανταχοῦ ‘on any occasion’, σπάνιος ‘rare’, συνήθεια ‘ordinary language’, συνουσία ‘conversation’, and the terms identifying professional groups: οἱ ἰατροί ‘the doctors’ and οἱ ῥήτορες ‘the rhetors’.

An example of how Phrynichus handles the use of spoken registers in written texts is the relatively straightforward group of markers that generally identify informal speech and occasions of use: πανταχοῦ ‘on any occasion’ (implying the prescriptive imperative χρῶ), συνήθεια ‘ordinary language’, and καθωμιλημένος ‘in common use’.<sup>42</sup> This classification does not always entail that the expressions marked with these labels are considered unsuitable for literary production, but only that their register is more informal than the formal and specialised registers of literature. Take the example of *PS* 2.5–6. The expression ἀκράχολον καὶ δύσκολόν <τι> φθέγγεται ‘s/he says something ill-tempered and unpleasant’, which has an iambic pattern and is therefore probably of comic origin (cf. *com. adesp.* fr. 553), is deemed suitable for any situation of use. Indeed, this expression contains straightforward vocabulary. We get a similar impression from *PS* 3.3–4 (ἀργύριον ἔχω οὐδ’ ὅσον ‘I have no money at all’, no *locus classicus* preserved); from *PS* 13.1–3 (ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν ‘they voted against the killing’, no *locus classicus* preserved); and from Phot. α 1981 (ἄνθρωποιδὲς θηρίον ‘a beast with human form’, Aesch. fr. 26): notwithstanding the literary origin of these expressions, their vocabulary is common. A contrast between standard language and literary register is implied in *PS* 47.8–11, which compares Plato’s particular use of ἀπόρρησις ‘withdrawal, giving up’ with the standard meaning of the word (‘prohibition’).

Something of a middle ground between the notions of informal and formal registers is provided by the label συνουσία (always in the dative, singular or plu-

<sup>42</sup> The type πανταχοῦ χρῶ is of course essentially prescriptive; but since it is a kind of prescription that emphasises register nuances, it seemed more appropriate to treat it here than in Section 2.

ral) with which Phrynichus signals expressions suitable for conversation. That the kind of conversation Phrynichus has in mind is one forged by literature is obvious from the typology of expressions that he recommends in this category, all of them certainly comic (see Phot. α 1666 with PS 47.19–20; Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2260 = Phot. α 2993, *Su.* α 4234, *ex* Σ' with PS 12.1–3), or probably taken from comedy (see PS 2.9–10). Yet, in using this label, he is also thinking, like a modern linguist, in terms of register and communicative situation: as Ferguson (1994) shows, conversation is characterised by certain dialect and register variations (e.g. switching from formal to informal registers, or even code-switching).

The appraisal of σπάνιος 'rare' and καθωμιλημένος 'in common use' – labels that may denote the formal and casual registers respectively – is less straightforward. Since these labels are merely descriptive, it is difficult to decide whether they also carry evaluative (prescriptive or proscriptive) meanings. Take the case of PS 13.4–6. The entry is devoted to the noun ἀναπηρία 'lameness' and its correct pronunciation. It ends with the statement that the word is σπάνιος, but first indicates that the adjective ἀνάπηρος is in common use (καθωμιληται). Should Phrynichus' reader infer that it is good to use ἀναπηρία to make one's speech more distinctive, or that the noun should instead be avoided? Indeed, in 5th-century BCE texts, ἀναπηρία has only one attestation in a comic fragment (Ar. fr. 460, previously edited as Cratin. fr. 168 CAF). It also occurs several times in Aristotle, but later dies out. As for καθωμιλημένος: does it indicate terms that can also safely be used in the formal register, or instead words that make one's register too informal? A hint in favour of the latter interpretation might be the pairing of καθωμιλημένος with πολλοί in PS 29.13–5 apropos the understanding of αὐτόκρατος as 'proportionately mixed' (wine). Other entries, however, remain ambiguous. Perhaps, as with καινότης (see Section 3), rarity and commonness should be handled with care and only by the experienced speaker. Be that as it may, with σπάνιος and καθωμιλημένος Phrynichus marks the two extremes of the register spectrum, identifying usages that are too rare even in literary language (so that those who use them may perhaps verge on the frozen register and sound incomprehensible to other speakers) and, conversely, usages that are so frequent in the casual register that they may border on the vulgar.

Since Phrynichus aims to train the average sophist, technical registers are largely off his radar. However, the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345 still preserves three labels with which Phrynichus warned his readers that certain expressions attested in literary texts belonged to specialist language and should be used with care. These are μουσικός 'musical, belonging to musical theory', which marks ἀρμογή 'tuning' in PS 24.16–25.9; οἱ ἱατροί, which marks medical language in PS 43.3–4 on ἀμφήμερος πυρετός 'quotidian fever'; and, finally, οἱ ῥήτορες, which always denotes misuse, a label probably applied to the lesser orators of Phrynichus'

time (the same orientation is visible in the *Eclogue*).<sup>43</sup> Thus, in the *PS*, as in Pol-lux's *Onomasticon*, we glimpse a burgeoning theory of ancient sociolinguistic variation, expressed through the terminology of 'groups of speakers' (as defined by Matthaios 2013). Through this terminology, Phrynichus addresses diastratic variants and sociolects: the essential difference between the groups in List 1 (the ἀγο-ραῖοι, ἀμαθεῖς, ἰδιῶται, πολλοί, and the οἱ νῦν, but also the Ἀττικοί, a sociolectal marker that later acquired ideological connotations) and those in List 3 (doctors, music experts, and rhetors) is that the latter identify formal registers belonging to a professional group and find an embodiment in a specific written register or literary genre. From Phrynichus' perspective, these registers concern literature, not just language, whereas the idioms of the ἀγοραῖοι, ἀμαθεῖς, etc. are exclusively diastratic varieties which enter literature only accidentally, if at all.

### List 3: Specific terms for genre, style, and register in alphabetical order

#### ἀστεῖος

- ἄριστος κλέπτειν 'the best at stealing' (*PS* 16.3–5): concerning expressions with ἄριστος paired with a negative action (κλέπτειν, μοιχεύειν), Phrynichus comments that such a combination is ἀστεία and that '[someone] is praised by the trope of sarcasm in order to emphasise his [bad] nature' (σαρκασμοῦ τρόπῳ ἐπὶ ῥήνεται εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κακοῦ; see also below under **σαρκασμός**). This entry has no parallel in the indirect witnesses.

In the rest of the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345, **ἀστεῖος** further occurs in *PS* 92.3–4 (re. ὀζειν ἐτῶν 'to smell like years', see Pellettieri, this volume) and *PS* 101.3–6 (πλέον ἢ ἐνιαυτῷ πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀηδίας γίνομαι 'I grow a year older because of disgust'). Neither entry is present in the indirect witnesses.

#### Indirect witnesses

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 303 (= Phot. α 256, ex Σ'') re. ἀγρευτικὴ στολή 'hunting equipment' (*PS* fr. \*65). See List 2, under **ἡδύς**.

#### ἐγκωμιάζω

While no reference to the encomiastic genre survives in the lemmas in α, there is a use of ἐγκωμιάζω in *PS* 101.11–2 re. πέλαγος ἢ πόλις ἐστὶν 'the city is a sea', an expression recommended 'if you wish to praise a city' (εἰ θέλοις ἐγκωμιάζειν πόλιν). There are no further references in the indirect witnesses.

<sup>43</sup> See *Ecl.* 220, 247, and 289.

**καθωμίληται, καθωμιλημένος**

- ἀναπηρία ‘lamelessness’ (PS 13.4–6): see below under **σπάνιος**.
- ἄκος περιπίπτον ‘a hanging down remedy; an amulet’ (PS 26.11–3): cf. List 1, under **Ἀττικός** for the lemmatised expression. The entry goes on to say that περιπίπτος is commonly used alone (καθωμίληται). This further evaluation is missing in the indirect witnesses (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 758 = Phot. α 830, ex Σ’’).
- αὐτόκρατον ‘unmixed’ (PS 29.13–5): Phrynichus notes that the meaning ‘proportionately mixed’ is instead typical of the πολλοί (see List 1) and in common use (καθωμίληται); in PS 1.9–10 he instead attributes this meaning to αὐτόκερας. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2468 (= Phot. α 3217, Su. α 4496, ex Σ’) preserves a single entry in which αὐτόκερας is glossed with αὐτόκρατον and no evaluative terminology is present.
- ἀπαιδάγωγος ‘uneducated’ (PS 29.16–7): καθωμίληται marks the more common synonym ἀπαιδαγωγήτος.

Outside of the lemmas in α, the labels **καθωμίληται** and **καθωμιλημένος** also occur in PS 65.20–1 (ἐξηβον ‘past his youth’, where it marks the synonym ἐξωρον: see Gerbi 2023e and Gerbi, this volume); PS 72.4–5 (re. ἐπέτειος ‘annual’); and PS 90.6–7 (re. νεόπλουτος ‘newly rich’). This terminology is not found elsewhere in lexica dealing with the same expressions.

**Indirect witnesses**

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101, ex Σ’’’) re. ἀγανακτῶ σου ‘I am angry with you’ (PS fr. \*5): καθωμίληται marks the fact that the *verba affectuum* θαυμάζω and ἄγαμαι (both ‘I admire you’) govern the genitive (σου) in contrast to the novel syntax of the lemmatised expression ἀγανακτῶ σου. See Gerbi (2024) and Gerbi, this volume.
- Phot. α 1488 (~ Su. α 2198, ex Σ’’) re. ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασὺ βλέπει ‘he looks shameless and bold’ (cf. PS 14.6–7): the entry contrasts the two adjectives, marked with καθωμίληται, with the lemmatised idiom, marked with καινῶς (see Gerbi, this volume).

**καταφρόνησις**

- ἀνθρωπίσκος φαῦλος ‘a simple little man’ (PS 22.14–6): the use of the diminutive is said to be ἐπὶ καταφρονήσεως, ‘in contempt’.

**κωμικός (οἱ κωμικοὶ)<sup>44</sup>**

- ἄδειν ἀλεκτρυόνας ‘roosters sing’ (PS 35.14–5): the use of ἄδω for roosters is simply marked with Ἀττικῶς; the synonym κοκκύζω is attributed to the κωμικοὶ (cf. e.g. Diph. fr. 66, Cratin. fr. 344). Cf. Phot. α 549 and Gerbi (2023a) for an analysis.
- ἀπολέσθαι γελῶντα ‘to die of laughter’ (PS 51.2–4): the entry compares similar expressions denoting the idea of dying of laughter. After Homer’s γέλω ἐκθανον ‘they laughed themselves to death’ (Od. 18.100), the entry attributes the expression ἀποκναισθῆναι τῷ γέλωτι ‘to be worn out by laughter’ to the κωμικοὶ (*com. adesp.* fr. 580).

**κωμικός** and **οἱ κωμικοὶ** do not occur elsewhere in the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345.

<sup>44</sup> The list excludes the use of κωμικός as an epithet for a personal name: cf. PS fr. \*102.

**Indirect witnesses**

- Phot. α 82 (= *Su.* α 123, *ex* Σ'') *re.* ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθίδες ‘heaps of goods’ (cf. *PS* 13.13–8): while the longer entry in *cod. Par. Coisl.* 345 simply states χρῶνται ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, ‘they use [it] in reference to many goods’, Photius further explains that this use is proverbial and found in comic authors (τάττεται ἡ παροιμία παρὰ τοῖς κωμικοῖς, *com. adesp.* fr. 796).
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 366 (= Phot. α 372, *ex* Σ'') *re.* ἀδολεσχεῖν ‘to chatter’ (cf. *PS* 36.5–12): the long entry in *PS* 36.5–12 preserves no evaluative terminology except for a reference to the Ionians concerning the pronunciation of ἀηδία (‘unpleasantness’). In discussing the etymology of ἀδολεσχεῖν from λεσχαίνω, which is also present in *PS* 36.5–12, the parallel entry from the *Synagoge* tradition adds that the use of λεσχαίνω for διαλέγομαι is typical of the ἀρχαῖοι κωμικοί. For all these sources, see Gerbi (2023f).
- Phot. α 1118 *re.* ἀμαξία ῥήματα ‘big words’ (cf. *PS* 43.5–8): this and similar expressions are κωμικά; the entry in *cod. Par. Coisl.* 345 instead has ποιητικά (see the analysis in Section 5 and Tribulato 2023d).
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2260 (= Phot. α 2993, *Su.* α 4234, *ex* Σ') *re.* ἀστεῖόν <τι> καὶ κατερρινημένον εἰπεῖν ‘to say something witty and polished’ (cf. *PS* 12.1–3): while the entry preserved in *cod. Par. Coisl.* 345 simply explains the expression, the other sources comment that the combination of words is comic (κωμικὴ ἢ συμπλοκὴ) and can be used in conversation (ἐν συνουσίᾳ χρῶ).
- Schol. Ar. *Nu.* 756a (= *PS* fr. \*25) *re.* ἀργυρίων (gen. plur.) ‘money’: commenting on the plural form ἀργύρια, the scholia state that this form is found in Phrynichus (οὕτως ἡ γραφὴ ἀργυρίων παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ) and that the plural is typical of the κωμικοί, while the singular is typical of the ῥήτορες.
- Phot. α 1414 (= *Su.* α 1808, *ex* Σ') *re.* ἀναβλυσθωνῆσαι ‘to be spouted out’ (*PS* fr. \*207): the entry quotes Eupolis’ *Demes* (fr. 119) and states that such expressions (i.e. natural images applied to the civic sphere) are typical of the κωμικοί.
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2372 (= Phot. α 3126, *ex* Σ'') *re.* the pronouns ἅττα and ἅττα (*PS* fr. \*274): after a long explanation of the different meanings of this pronominal plural form, the entry states that some of the κωμικοί use it for number, while others for time.

**κωμωδικός**

- ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον ‘to draw forth a little thought’ (cf. *PS* 6.18–9): the expression ‘is said in the manner of comedy’ (κωμωδικῶς εἴρηται). Phot. α 1666, ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον, ‘to draw forth a decision and to draw forth little thought’, probably reflects a more ancient state of the text (see Favi, this volume), in which an entry was probably devoted to the metaphorical use of ἀνασπάω with nouns meaning ‘thought’. There is also a trace of this original text in *PS* 47.19–20, which repeats Photius’ ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον without further interpretation. The evaluation in Phot. α 1666 follows *PS* 6.18–9 (κωμωδικῶς εἴρηται) but also adds ἡ συμπλοκὴ ἀρμόζει συνουσίαις ‘this combination [of words] is well suited to conversations’.

**κωμωδικός** does not occur elsewhere in the entries preserved in *cod. Par. Coisl.* 345.

**Indirect witnesses**

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 192 (= Phot. α 248, *Su.* α 317, *ex* Σ') *re.* ἄγουσιν ἐορτὴν οἱ κλέπται ‘the thieves are having a feast’ (*PS* fr. \*75). See List 2 under **χαρίεις**.

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 145 (= PS fr. \*6a ~ Phot. α 164) re. ἀγῆλαι ‘to venerate’ (see also Cavarzeran, this volume): the entries in Σ<sup>b</sup> and Photius partly diverge, but agree in the part that Cunningham (2003, 535) attributes to the Σ''' expansion. Here, ἀγάλλω is first defined as an Attic word, and then as κωμωδικὸν καὶ ἐγγὺς γλώττης ‘in the manner of comedy and close to [being] a gloss’. This is followed by a general statement urging the reader to avoid glosses (φεύγειν μὲν οὖν χρὴ τὸ τῶν γλωττῶν). This general rule is overturned by another statement, explicitly attributed to Phrynichus, according to which ‘indeed, if you are after the ancient language and solemnity of expression, you may use this type of words’ (εἰ δέ γέ σοι εἴη ἀρχαίας φωνῆς σπουδὴ καὶ σεμνότητος λόγων, χρήσαιο <ἂν> τῷ τοιοῦτῳ χαρακτῆρι τῶν ὀνομάτων). See further under **πολιτικός** below.

### ιατροί (οἱ)

- ἀμφήμερος πυρετός ‘quotidian fever’ (PS 43.3–4): the synonym ἀμφημερινός is said to be typical of the ἱατροί. Cf. *Su.* α 1695 (without evaluative terminology).

In the entries after α, the same reference to the ἱατροί appears in PS 86.5–6 concerning the meaning of λέκιθος ‘egg yolk’. There are also several references to the ἱατροί in Photius and the *Synagoge* tradition, but none of them has been explicitly linked to the PS.

### μουσικός

- ἀρμονγή ‘tuning’ (PS 24.16–25.9): it is defined as a μουσικὸν ὄνομα.

### παίζω

- ἀπομερμηρίσαι ‘to forget one’s cares (in sleep)’ (PS 49.8–9): the expression is accompanied by the suggestion παίζων χρῶ ‘use [it] in jest’. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1901 (= Phot. α 2567, *ex Σ'''*) does not preserve the evaluative terminology.

A further reference to **παίζω** and the jesting register is found in PS 102.19–21 re. Πρόθητυς ‘[born] before Thetys’, which is said to have been used by Cratinus (fr. 483) in jest.

### πανταχοῦ

- ἀκράχολον καὶ δύσκολόν <τι> φθέγγεται ‘s/he says something ill-tempered and unpleasant’ (PS 2.5–6): the phrase is accompanied by the suggestion πανταχοῦ χρήση, ‘use [it] on any occasion’.
- ἀργύριον ἔχω οὐδ’ ὅσον ‘I have no money at all’ (PS 3.3–4): marked by πανταχοῦ χρῶ.
- ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν ‘they voted against the killing’ (PS 13.1–3): marked by χρῶ πανταχοῦ. Cf. Phot. α 2731, which quotes Phrynichus but does not preserve any evaluative terminology.

### Indirect witnesses

- Phot. α 1981 re. ἀνθρωποειδὲς θηρίον ‘a beast with human form’ (cf. PS 6.1–3): marked by χρήση πανταχοῦ.

### ποιητικός (with ποιητής and οἱ ποιηταί)

- ἀμαξιαῖα ῥήματα ‘cart-sized words’ (PS 43.5–8): the expression is not πολιτικός (see below), but permissible for a poet. Cf. Phot. α 1118, where instead of ποιητικός we have κωμικός. For an analysis, see Section 5 and Tribulato (2023d).

Outside of the lemmas in α, a reference to the **ποιηταί** appears in *PS* 122.15–7 (re. φοῖνιξ, a kind of staff carried by the ῥαβδοῦχοι ‘staff-bearers’ which the poets call ῥάδιξ instead).

#### Indirect witnesses

- Phot. α 1401 re. ἀναβασμοί ‘steps’ (cf. *PS* fr. \*176) says that the variant ἀναβαθμοί is typical of the ἀμαθεῖς and Ionians, and that no poet, prose writer, or historian has ever used it. The entry was attributed to the *PS* by Reitzenstein (1907) and edited as *PS* fr. \*176 by de Borries; cf. Phryn. *Ecl.* 295 with the same teaching.

#### πολιτικός

- ἄπαρνος ‘utterly denying’ (*PS* 11.13): the adjective is said to be σεμνότερος (see List 2) and πολιτικώτερος than its synonym ἔξαρνος. The parallel entry in Phot. α 2263 (absent in the *Synagoge* tradition) preserves only σεμνός. On this entry, see Tribulato (2023a) and Section 5.
- ἀψοφον ἔχειν στόμα ‘to have a silent mouth’ (*PS* 11.22–3): this phrase is marked with both σεμνός (see List 2) and πολιτικός (see Section 5). On this entry, see Tribulato (2023d) and Section 5. The entry has no parallels in the indirect witnesses.
- αὐθέντης ‘murderer’ (*PS* 24.5–9): the entry comments that αὐθέντης is πολιτικώτερον than the form αὐτοέντης used by Sophocles (*El.* 264, *OT* 107). The entry has no parallel in the indirect witnesses; on the meaning of the word, cf. also Phryn. *Ecl.* 89 and see the analysis in Section 5.
- αἰκάλλοντες ‘fawning’ (*PS* 36.1–4): Phrynichus recommends the use of αἰκάλλω for a distinctive style (see List 2 under **φιλότιμος** and Section 3) and the synonym προσσάινω for a πολιτικός style. Cf. Phot. α 583 and the parallel sources discussed in Tribulato (2023c), all without evaluative terminology; see Section 5.
- ἀμαξίαῖα ῥήματα ‘cart-sized words’ (*PS* 43.5–8): the expression is not πολιτικός but is permissible for a poet (see List 2 under **ποιητικός**). Cf. Phot. α 1118, where instead of ποιητικός we have κωμικός. For an analysis, see Tribulato (2023d) and Section 5.
- κατακορής οἶνω ‘saturated with wine’ (*PS* 83.3): commenting on the expression, Phrynichus points out that the synonym διακορής is πολιτικώτερον (see Section 5 and Tribulato 2024b).

#### Indirect witnesses

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 145 (= *PS* fr. \*6a ~ Phot. α 164) re. ἀγῆλαι ‘to venerate’ (see also Cavarzeran, this volume): after some quotations illustrating the meaning of ἀγάλλω, the second part of the entry compares ἄγω (as a synonym of τιμάω ‘to honour’) and ἀγάλλω, stating that both are Attic, but the former is πολιτικόν, while the latter is typical of comedy (see above under **κωμωδικός**) and close to being a gloss (ἐγγυὺς γλώττης), although it can be used, according to Phrynichus, if one is after ‘the ancient language and solemnity of expression’ (εἰ δέ γέ σοι εἴη ἀρχαίας φωνῆς σπουδὴ καὶ σεμνότητος λόγων, χρήσαιο <ἄν> τῷ τοιοῦτῳ χαρακτηρί τῶν ὀνομάτων).
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 462 (= Phot. α 470, ex Σ’’) re. ἄθηρος ἡμέρα ‘a day without hunting’ (*PS* fr. \*9): see List 2 under **σεμνός**, Section 3, and the analysis in Section 5.
- Phot. α 817 (= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 812 + 813, ex Σ’’) re. ἀκουσίμη ‘fit to be heard’ (*PS* fr. \*13): apropos the adjective ἀκουσίμος, both Σ<sup>b</sup> α 813 and Photius state that according to Phrynichus the synonym ἀκουστός is πολιτικώτερον.
- Phot. α 1654 re. ἀνασεμνύνειν ‘to extol’ (*PS* fr. \*211): this entry in Photius, which has no parallel, has been attributed to the *PS* by Reitzenstein (1907). The attribution is likely, because the entry contrasts two synonyms, ἀνασεμνύνω and ἀποσεμνύνω, formed with two different



prefixes (a common interest of Phrynichus): both are judged πολιτικά, but ἀνασεμνύνω (attested only here and not lemmatised in LSJ) is πολιτικώτερον and ὑψηλότερον ‘higher’.

- Phot. α 1913 re. ἀνῆδομαι ἐφ’ οἷς ἦσθην ποτέ ‘I no longer enjoy the things I once enjoyed’ (cf. PS 44.7–10): the two entries have different wordings of the *interpretamenta*. Both preserve a reference to Hermippus (fr. 28), but only the indirect tradition uses the evaluative terminology: the expression is regarded as innovative (καινή) and as ‘possessing something rather πολιτικός’ (πολιτικώτερόν τι ἔχουσα). Cf. Gerbi, this volume.

### ρήτορες (οἱ)

- ἀπέδραμεν ‘we ran away’ (PS 16.6–12): the alternative sigmatic aorist form ἀπεδράσαμεν is attributed to the ῥήτορες and proscribed. The same label is applied to the first-person singular root aorist ἀπέδρων for ἀπέδραν. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1661 (= Phot. α 2309, ex Σ’’) deals with ἀπέδραν but does not preserve any evaluative terminology.

### Indirect witnesses

- Schol. Ar. Nu. 756a (= PS fr. \*25) re. ἀργυρίων (gen. plur.) ‘money’: see above under **κωμικός**.
- Su. υ 618 re. ὑποτροχισθῆναι (PS fr. \*363): the current meaning of the verb ὑποτροχίζω in the passive (‘to be run over by a wheel’) is associated with the use of the ῥήτορες, while the meaning ‘to be tortured on the wheel’ is associated with ancient authors (implied by λέγουσι). The entry is attributed to the PS on the basis of PS 114.17–9 (τροχισθῆναι).

### σαρκασμός

- ἄριστος κλέπτειν ‘the best at stealing’ (PS 16.3–5). See above under **ἀστεῖος**. Phrynichus comments that with this combination of words is ‘[someone] is praised through the trope of sarcasm in order to emphasise his [bad] nature’ (σαρκασμοῦ τρόπῳ ἐπὶ ἡνιχται εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κακοῦ). This entry has no parallel in the indirect witnesses.

No other references to **σαρκασμός** are preserved in either cod. Par. Coisl. 345 or the indirect witnesses.

**σκωπτικός** (with σκώπτω and ἀποσκώπτω): for all of these, see further the analysis of Pellettieri, this volume.

- ἀμφαρίστερος ‘with two left hands’ (PS 2.7–8): it is defined as a σκωπτικὸν πάνυ ὄνομα. The evaluative terminology (σκωπτική φωνή) is repeated in Phot. α 1292, with direct attribution to Phrynichus. The entry is not present in the *Synagoge* tradition. Cf. Favi (2022h).
- ἀπλυτον πώγωνα (ἀπλετον de Borries) ‘unwashed beard’ (PS 4.1–2). Phrynichus comments: εἰ θέλοις ἀνεπαχθῶς σκῶψαι, ‘if you want to tease (a bearded man) without being offensive’ (transl. Favi 2022g); cf. ἀνεπαχθής in List 2. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1794 (= Phot. α 2444, Su. α 3241, ex Σ’) preserves the shorter σκώπτων ‘teasing’.
- ἀνδρόγυνον ἄθυρμα ‘androgynous plaything’ (PS 17.13–4): an expression recommended εἰ θέλοις γύννιν τινα σκῶψαι (‘if you wish to tease an effeminate man’). The entry has no parallel.
- Αἷτνη ἄνθρωπος ‘a man [who is] an Etna’ (PS 39.1–4): the expression is recommended εἰ θέλοις ἀποσκῶψαί τινα εἰς πολυφαγία κτλ, ‘if you wish to tease someone for his gluttony’. The entry has no parallel.

This evaluative terminology is not preserved elsewhere in the *PS* or its indirect witnesses.

### σπάνιος

- ἀρπαγμαῖος ‘stolen’ (*PS* 6.6–9): the entry comments τῶν χρησίμων ἐστὶ καὶ σπανίων ἢ φωνή, ‘this expression belongs [to the group] of those which are useful and rare’ (cf. also List 1 under **χρήσιμος**). The entry has no parallel in the indirect tradition.
- ἀναπηρία ‘lameness’ (*PS* 13.4–6): for the first part of this entry, see List 1 under **ἀμαθής**. The second part classifies the word as σπάνιος in contrast to the adjective ἀνάπηρος, which is marked with καθωμύληται (‘it is in common use’: see above).

In the rest of the epitome, **σπάνιος** occurs only in *PS* 90.6–7 (νεόπλουτος ‘newly rich’) to characterise the antonym νεοπένης ‘newly poor’.

### Indirect witnesses

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101, ex Σ''' = *PS* fr. \*5) re. ἀγανακτῶ σου ‘I am angry with you’: the syntax, with the genitive instead of the dative, is defined as καινὸν καὶ σπάνιον; see Gerbi (2024), Gerbi this volume.
- Phot. α 554 (= *PS* fr. \*111) re. αἰδώς ‘respect’: while the noun is frequent in Homer, it is rare (σπάνιον) among the other authors. The entry, attributed to Phrynichus by Reitzenstein (1907), is absent in the extant redactions of the *Synagoge*. Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 249) identifies Phrynichus as the source of Phot. α 2711 (re. ἀπόφυξις ‘acquittal’), where the use of the cognate ἀποφυγή in this sense is characterised as πᾶν σπάνιος. There are other entries where Photius uses σπάνιος, but the source is not Phrynichus: see Phot. α 2110 and Phot. ε 702.
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2576 (= Phot. α 3407, ex Σ'') re. ἀφύη and ἀφύαι, both meaning ‘small fried fish’ (*PS* 17.10): the singular form is marked with σπανιώτατα ‘very rare’.

### συγγραφικός

- αἰρεσθαι τιμαῖς ‘to be puffed up with honours’ (*PS* 12.9–10): the expression is ἐναργής ‘vivid’ and συγγραφικὴ ‘suitable for prose’ (see List 2, under **ἐναργής**).

### Indirect witnesses

- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 462 (= Phot. α 470, ex Σ'') re. ἄθηρος ἡμέρα ‘a day without hunting’ (*PS* fr. \*9): while commenting on the suitability of the expression for the σεμνός and πολιτικός style (see Tribulato 2023b and Section 5), the entry adds: συγγράφων χρῶ, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος (‘use it when writing prose, says Phrynichus’). The *locus classicus* cited is Aesch. fr. 241.
- Phot. α 1238 re. ἀμοχθί ‘without toil’ (*PS* fr. \*15): Photius comments συγγραφικὴ ἢ φωνή, ὡς φησιν ὁ Φρύνιχος (‘the expression is suited to prose, as Phrynichus says’); the *locus classicus* cited is [Aesch.] *Pr.* 208. This entry has no parallel in the rest of the indirect tradition.
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 254 (= Phot. α 112, ex Σ'') re. ἄγαν τεῖνεῖν ‘to strive too much’ (*PS* fr. \*51): the entry comments συγγραφικὴ ἢ φωνή. The implicit *locus classicus* is Soph. *Ant.* 710–1, see Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 19).
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 748 (= Phot. α 782, ex Σ'') re. ἀκόλαστον καὶ ὕβριστον πράγμα ‘an unbridled and insolent thing’ (*PS* fr. \*116): this long entry ends with the evaluative comment συγγραφικαὶ δὲ αἱ συνθῆκαι, ‘[these] combinations are suited to prose’. The two *loci classici* cited in the entry are comic (Pl.Com. fr. 105 and Pherecr. fr. 173).

- Phot. α 1100 re. ἀμαθίας ὕψος ‘the height of ignorance’ (PS fr. \*164): the expression is defined as a λαμπρά καὶ συγγραφικὴ φράσις ‘a brilliant expression, suitable for prose’ (the *locus classicus* is Pl. *Ep.* 7.351e.8).
- Phot. α 808 re. ἀκούσαι ὀργῶ ‘I am eager to listen’ (PS 8.12–3): in a long entry devoted to ὀργῶ ‘I am eager’ and its combinations and derivations (see also Cavarzeran, this volume), Photius concludes: συγγραφικὴ μέντοι ἢ φωνὴ ἢ ἀκούσαι ὀργῶ (‘in general, they [i.e. Attic authors] use this verb in various ways; indeed, the expression ἀκούσαι ὀργῶ is suited to prose’).

### συνήθεια

- ἀπόρρησις ‘prohibition’ (PS 47.8–11): this meaning of the noun is that of common language (συνήθεια), while Plato (*R.* 357a.4) uses it as a synonym of ῥῆσις.

### Indirect witnesses

- Phot. α 2252 re. ἀπάντησις ‘meeting’ (PS fr. \*245): the meaning, illustrated by Soph. fr. 828, is said to be ὡς ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ φαμέν, ‘as we say in common language’.

### συνουσία

- αἰσχυνόμενος περιπλέκει τὴν συμφορὰν ‘ashamed, he wraps up the misfortune [in words]’ (PS 2.9–10): the expression is marked by ἐν συνουσίᾳ χρῶ (‘use it in conversation’), while Σ<sup>b</sup> α 578 (= Phot. α 670, *Su.* α 362, *ex* Σ’) has only ἐν συνουσίᾳ.

### Indirect witnesses

- Phot. α 1666 re. ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον ‘to draw forth a decision and to draw forth little thought’ (cf. PS 47.19): the entry, also discussed above under **κωμικός**, adds ἡ συμπλοκὴ ἀρμόζει συνουσίαις, ‘this combination is well suited to conversations’.
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2260 (= Phot. α 2993, *Su.* α 4234, *ex* Σ’) re. ἀστεῖόν <τι> καὶ κατερρινημένον εἰπεῖν ‘to say something witty and polished’ (PS 12.1–3): the entry notes that this is a κωμικὴ συμπλοκὴ (see above under **κωμικός**) and adds ἐν συνουσίᾳ χρῶ. This terminology is absent in the epitome of the PS.

### τραγικός (including οἱ τραγικοί and τραγωδία)

No reference to tragic language survives in the evaluative terminology of the epitome, except for a mention of τραγωδία in PS 128.11–3 re. ψυχορροφεῖν ‘to drain the soul’ (the indirect witnesses, consisting in Phot. ψ 656 [= *Su.* ψ 171, *ex* Σ’], do not preserve the terminology: on these entries, see Gerbi 2023d).

- Phot. α 33 re. ἀβδέλυκτα ‘not to be abominated’ (PS fr. \*40): the expression is marked as τραγικώτερα and a quotation from Aeschylus (fr. 137) follows. There are no parallels in the rest of the tradition.
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 248 (= Phot. α 108, *ex* Σ’’) re. ἄγανον ‘broken’ (PS fr. \*48): the entry comments καὶ τοῦτο τραγικώτερον τὸ ὄνομα. The attribution to Phrynichus is doubtful (cf. Paus.Gr. α 9).
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 259 (= Phot. α 116, *ex* Σ’), where the first part of the entry is from a different source) re. ἀγαί ‘wounds’ (PS fr. \*55): the entry notes that the use of ἀγαί ‘fragments, splinters’ in the sense of ‘wounds’ is typical of the τραγικοί (*trag. adesp.* fr. 583a).
- Σ<sup>b</sup> α 393 (= Phot. α 419, *Su.* α 546, *ex* Σ’) re. ἀελλάδες ἵπποι ‘storm-swift horses’ (PS fr. \*96): the expression is marked with καὶ τοῦτο τραγικόν.

- Phot. α 1270 (= *Su.* α 1681, *ex Σ'*) re. ἀμύντης καὶ ἀλκηστής 'defender and courageous' (*PS* fr. \*175): the text in Photius marks the two words with ἵστρατηγικάτ καὶ Αἰσχυληρά. The first is a corruption of τραγικά, correctly transmitted by *Su.* α 1681, which also has Αἰσχυληρά; σκληρά is Reitzenstein's (1907, 96) correction, accepted by de Borries *ad loc.* Reitzenstein was probably prompted to propose this correction by the fact that neither ἀμύντης nor ἀλκηστής occur in Aeschylus, although the adjective Αἰσχυληρά, if original, may simply have been intended to highlight that these were the kinds of words typical of an 'Aeschylean' style (magniloquent?, bombastic?) and hence to be avoided. Reitzenstein's σκληρά obviously attempts to bypass the problem of the lack of attestations while retaining the idea that Phrynichus rejected these words. However, the corruption of σκληρά into Αἰσχυληρά is unlikely and, moreover, σκληρός is nowhere else used as an evaluative term in either Phrynichus or the *Synagoge* tradition. In Pollux, it marks forms considered 'difficult' (e.g. Poll. 6.125 re. ἀμείλικτος 'unsoftened' or Poll. 6.156 re. ὁμοερκής 'within the same precinct'), though not always for clear reasons: some of the condemned terms are *hapax legomena* or rare, and so may be *ad hoc* formations, to be avoided; others may have entailed an unpleasant combination of sounds.<sup>45</sup> Be that as it may, the problem remains that σκληρός is not typical Phrynichus' terminology and Reitzenstein's correction must be taken with caution.

## 5 A case study: The stylistic category of πολιτικός

In the previous section I avoided commenting on the label πολιτικός: although it certainly denotes a linguistic and stylistic mode of expression, this label can be interpreted as a general reference to a register or, conversely, as a specific designation for the literary genre of the πολιτικός λόγος, i.e. oratory. This ambiguity is inherent in the polysemy of πολιτικός as both a general and a stylistic term. πολιτικός can denote that which, insofar as it belongs to the life of the πόλις and its citizens (πολίται), is common and in everyday use. It may also refer more specifically to activities related to the administration of the city, to *politics* in the etymological sense: πολιτικός can therefore be used to denote a 'political', i.e. practical oratorical *style*, appropriate to statesmen and politicians, and it is in this sense that it is used, for instance, by Hermogenes and other rhetoricians, albeit with significant differences.<sup>46</sup> But πολιτικός could also refer to the ideal πολίτης, a

<sup>45</sup> See Bussès (2011, 65–6).

<sup>46</sup> The history of πολιτικός is traced by Brandstätter (1893). As a reference to oratory, it can be used as an unspecific label for oratory *tout court*, as in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see Rutherford 1998, 45 n. 31). Or it may more narrowly identify a type of oratory, as in Hermogenes: according to Russell (1981, 196) 'the rhetoric of policy recommendations'; according to Rutherford (1998, 44), instead, 'a synthesis of forensic and deliberative'. An entire treatise, transmitted under the name of Aristides ([Aristid.] *Rh.* 1), and probably originally written at the end of the 2nd century CE or the beginning of the 3rd century CE, is devoted to the πολιτικός λόγος: see the edition

member of a community who had access to a good education and thus spoke in a civil and urbane manner. In this latter sense, πολιτικός may more generally identify a cultivated register.<sup>47</sup>

Deciding which of these possible interpretations apply to Phrynichus' use of the term is difficult because the *PS* confronts us with some possibly contradictory usages of πολιτικός. To avoid orienting the reader's interpretation, in my analysis of these entries I will not translate πολιτικός, reserving my proposal for its translation for the end of this section. In discussing the value of πολιτικός, I will also pay attention to the interplay of this category with that described by σεμνός, which is associated with it in three entries.

In the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345, there are six entries marked with πολιτικός; five other entries in the indirect witnesses use πολιτικός and are attributed by scholars to the *PS* (for both, see List 3). I will begin with the clearer entries and gradually move to more obscure ones. The first quality of πολιτικός is that it is opposed to poetry. The *Eclogue* expresses this contrast in unequivocal terms:

Phryn. *Ecl.* 42: ἐρεύγεσθαι ὁ ποιητής· 'ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο οἶνοβαρείων', ἀλλ' ὁ πολιτικός ἐρυγγάνειν λεγέτω.

The poet (i.e. Homer) [uses] ἐρεύγομαι ('to belch'): 'and he (Polyphemus) belched, heavy with wine' (*Od.* 9.374). But the πολιτικός man should use ἐρυγγάνω.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 294: χθιζὸν ἀποβλητέον ὅτι ποιητικόν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ χθιζὸν ἐροῦμεν χθεσινόν, πρὸς τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀποτορνεύοντες τὸν λόγον, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης.

One must reject χθιζός ('of yesterday') because it is poetic: instead of χθιζός, we will use χθεσινός polishing the language towards the πολιτικόν, as Aristophanes also [does] (cf. *V.* 281; *Ra.* 987).

Phryn. *Ecl.* 32: μεσονύκτιον ποιητικόν, οὐ πολιτικόν.

μεσονύκτιον ('in the middle of the night') is poetic, not πολιτικός.

In *Ecl.* 42, ἐρυγγάνω is recommended against ἐρεύγομαι. The same opposition is expressed by Moer. ε 50, who contrasts two participial forms from ἐρυγγάνω and ἐρεύγομαι, both meaning 'to burp, to belch, to erupt' (ἐρυγγάνων <Ἀττικοί>· ἐρευγόμενος <Ἑλληνες>). ἐρεύγομαι (to be distinguished from the homophonous verb

---

and commentary in Patillon (2002). Patillon (2005) edits another treatise, the *Tέχνη τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λόγου* by the so-called Anonymus Seguerianus, which goes back to an original redaction that can be dated to the 3rd–4th century CE and was modelled on the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*.

47 On the connection between educated speaking and πολιτικός, see Whitmarsh (2001, 97 with n. 26).

meaning ‘to bellow’) is by no means an exclusively poetic verb: it occurs, for instance, in Aristotle, Theophrastus, and the Septuagint, a distribution which may explain why Moeris possibly attributed the form to the Ἕλληνες. However, the fact that ἐρεύγομαι occurs in Homer (and in many later poets as well), but not in Attic literature, where the common form is the cognate synonym ἐρυγγάνω (with attestations in Cratinus, Eupolis, Diphilus, and Euripides’ *Cyclops*), is sufficient for Phrynichus to condemn it in favour of the Attic form, although the latter verb is also found in non-Attic prose.<sup>48</sup> *Ecl.* 42 thus confirms that Phrynichus’ categorisations are black and white: he marks ἐρεύγομαι as a poetic term when the form is also found in prose, though not in authors he approves, while ἐρυγγάνω, a much rarer form, is deemed more appropriate to the speech of a πολιτικός man.

In *Ecl.* 294, πολιτικός qualifies the approved adjective χθесινός against the poetic χθιζός. In our extant texts, χθесινός is a very rare form, first attested in Lucian (earlier attestations are only in lexica). Phrynichus’ preference for this adjective is based on two problematic occurrences in *Ar. V.* 281 and *Ra.* 987, where the manuscripts transmit χθесινός, but this is unmetrical and must be corrected to χθιζινός in order to fit the verse.<sup>49</sup> Phrynichus probably read an already corrupted text, since the variant χθесινός is also transmitted by the *Suda* (χ 325), suggesting that this is an ancient reading. Be that as it may, Phrynichus rejected χθιζός on account of its being a Homeric word, inappropriate to a πολιτικός style.<sup>50</sup> It is noteworthy that in commenting on Aristophanes’ choice, Phrynichus implies that the Attic poet shaped his style in a more common – that is, less markedly poetic – form.

In *Ecl.* 32, Phrynichus rejects the synthetic form μεσονύκτιον because it is poetic. It is unclear whether Phrynichus is here referring to the noun τὸ μεσονύκτιον ‘midnight’ or to the adjective from which it derives, μεσονύκτιος ‘in the middle of the night’.<sup>51</sup> The latter interpretation is supported by the attestation of

<sup>48</sup> See especially its technical use in Hippocrates and Galen to denote ‘to belch’ as opposed to ἐμέω ‘to vomit’; these verbs are discussed in Batisti (2024).

<sup>49</sup> χθιζινός is also approved by Photius (ε 2492: ἐχθές καὶ μονοσυλλάβως χθές· ἄμφω Ἑλληνικά· καὶ χθιζινόν καὶ ἐχθιζινόν, ‘ἐχθές’ (‘yesterday’) and, with a monosyllable, χθές; Both are approved; and [so are?] χθιζινός and ἐχθιζινός). The entry is attributed to Orus, fr. B 73, by Alpers (1981); cf. Moer. χ 6.

<sup>50</sup> The occurrence in Hdt. 1.126.5, in Cyrus’ speech to the Persians, is one of those instances where Herodotus agrees more with Homer than with contemporary prose, and may be due to register heightening.

<sup>51</sup> The rejection of μεσονύκτιος is in line with Phrynichus’ dislike of *Ableitungskomposita* (‘derivational compounds’) based on phrases, on which see also *Ecl.* 167 (μεσοδάκτυλα). On *Ableitungskomposita*, see Risch (1945).

μεσονύκτιος in Pindar (*I.* 7[6].5), while the noun is first attested in post-Classical prose.

To sum up, the three entries of the *Eclogue* marked by πολιτικός clearly show that this category is opposed to the poetic register. Given the contrastive structure of these entries, one might be tempted to translate πολιτικός loosely as ‘suited to prose’. But against this interpretation militates the use in Phryn. *Ecl.* 42, where πολιτικός – in symmetry with ὁ ποιητής – seems to refer to a person (ἀλλ’ ὁ πολιτικός ἐρυγγάνειν λεγέτω), not to a style. In this last entry, πολιτικός may therefore identify the kind of polished language used by the educated citizen.

Equipped with the background of the *Eclogue*, let us now turn to the *PS*. Two of its entries show the same opposition between πολιτικός and ποιητικός. A straightforward case is the entry for the compounds αὐθέντης and αὐτοέντης:

*PS* 24.5–9: αὐθέντης· ὁ αὐτόχειρ. σύγκειται δὲ παρὰ τὸ εἶναι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀφείναι καὶ παρὰ τὸ αὐτός, οἷον ὁ ἀφείξ ξίφος ἢ ἄλλο τι πρὸς τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τινα. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ λύσας τοῦνομα αὐτοέντης εἶπεν. ἔστι δὲ πολιτικώτερον τὸ αὐθέντης.

αὐθέντης: The murderer (by his own hand). It derives from εἶναι, that is ‘to let loose’, and from αὐτός, indicating the one who [materially] draws the sword or another thing to kill someone. And Sophocles (*El.* 264; *OT* 107), resolving the noun (i.e. into its components), used αὐτοέντης. But αὐθέντης is more πολιτικός.

αὐθέντης is attested in tragedy (Aeschylus, Sophocles) and prose (Antipho, Thucydides). Phrynichus remarks that Sophocles uses the analytical form αὐτοέντης, with the first element not elided, and selects the more frequent αὐθέντης as the πολιτικώτερος form, implicitly rejecting Sophocles’ αὐτοέντης as one only used for poetic (i.e. metrical) convenience. The appreciation of αὐθέντης as πολιτικός must also be due to the relationship between the Attic use of the word and its common post-Classical meaning. Outside Attic literature, αὐθέντης identifies someone who is responsible for an action because he performs it with his own hands. Hence, in the koine αὐθέντης becomes a synonym for ‘master of himself’, ‘free person’. This synonymy with δεσπότης is openly condemned by Phrynichus in *Ecl.* 89. In this entry of the *PS*, πολιτικός allows Phrynichus to reconcile himself with the compound: it is fine for the aspiring sophist to use αὐθέντης in the specialised Attic sense of ‘murderer’ and not – as the lesser rhetors in imperial courts do, as Phrynichus says in the *Eclogue* – to mean ‘master’. πολιτικός is therefore a positive label through which Phrynichus negotiates the admissibility of αὐθέντης in the speech of the properly trained sophist: here, we can translate it as ‘cultivated’, but the word may well carry the further nuance of ‘political’, that is ‘typical of the kind of language used by orators in Classical Athens’.

The other entry in which πολιτικός is openly contrasted with the language of poetry is PS 43.5–8, which I have analysed in Tribulato (2023d):

PS 43.5–8: ἀμαξιαῖα ῥήματα (ῥήματα Reitzenstein *ad* Phot. α 1118, de Borries: χρήματα cod.)· μεγάλα, ἃ φέροι ἂν ἄμαξα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἢ ὑποζύγιον. καὶ ὁ ποιητής ‘οὐδ’ ἂν νηὺς ἐκατόζυγος ἄχθος ἄροιτο’. οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα πολιτικά, τῷ μέντοι ποιητῇ δίδεται λέγειν.

Cart-sized words: big [words, of the kind] that a cart would carry, but not a man or a beast. And the poet [says] ‘[many reproaches of which] not even a ship with a hundred benches would bear the load’ (Hom. *Il.* 20.247). These [expressions] are not πολιτικά, though the poet may use them.

No *locus classicus* is preserved for this metaphorical expression (the reference to the *Iliad* merely explains the image behind it), but the parallel entry in Photius (α 111) quotes the comic poet Polyzelus (fr. 7), followed by another quotation from Cantharus concerning the synonymic expression ἀμαξιαῖα κομπάσματα ‘cart-sized boasts’. Phrynichus proscribes these expressions because they are ποιητικά and not πολιτικά; Photius adduces a different reason: they are κωμικά. In fact, these statements may not contradict each other. One possibility is that both Phrynichus and Photius contrast the quality of πολιτικός with that of ποιητικός, but the text in Photius, which preserves the direct reference to Polyzelus and Cantharus, clarifies the context in which comedy uses these expressions. Rather than being a reference to comic language *tout court*, Photius’ κωμικά would thus draw attention to the fact that Polyzelus and Cantharus used poetic vocabulary for comic purposes. Both Andreas Bagordo and Christian Orth suggest that these two comic fragments may have been paratragic.<sup>52</sup> This would confirm why Phrynichus deems the expression unsuitable for a πολιτικός style that is elegant but avoids bizarre expressions.

The opposition of πολιτικός to poetic style is also present in the indirect witnesses. An entry in Photius (α 817), condensing two different entries in Σ<sup>b</sup> (α 812 and α 813, *ex* Σ’’), deals with the adjective ἀκούσιμος ‘fit to be heard’, selecting the synonym ἀκουστός as the πολιτικώτερος form. Indeed, ἀκούσιμος appears to be a Sophoclean *hapax* (fr. 745), while ἀκουστός – which, as the entry notes, was also used by Sophocles (fr. \*\*357; cf. also *OT* 1312) – is the common form. Again, πολιτικός marks a kind of style that uses everyday vocabulary, avoiding glosses and rare terms.

So far I have dealt with entries where πολιτικός characterises a usage that is not poetic or, conversely, where poetic usages are deemed inappropriate for τὸ

<sup>52</sup> Orth (2015, 341); Bagordo (2014b, 242); see also Tribulato (2023d) for an interpretation of the paratragic character of the two fragments.



πολιτικόν. However, the example of Phot. α 817, which we have just discussed, shows that in Phrynichus' view, the kind of language marked with πολιτικός can also find a place in serious poetry. In two other entries of the *PS*, Phrynichus pairs πολιτικός with σεμνός to address vocabulary that, as we can reconstruct, was used by both prose writers and poets (including the tragedians):

*PS* 11.13: ἄπαρνος· σεμνότερον τοῦ ἔξαρνος καὶ πολιτικώτερον.

ἄπαρνος ('utterly denying'): It is more solemn than ἔξαρνος ('denying') and more πολιτικός.

*PS* 11.22–3: ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα· οἷον ἄφωνον καὶ ἡσυχον. σεμνὸν καὶ πολιτικόν.

ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα ('to have a noiseless mouth'): I.e. 'voiceless' and 'quiet'. [The expression] is solemn and πολιτικός.

In the first entry, the adjective ἄπαρνος is chosen as the more 'solemn' and πολιτικός variant against the cognate synonym ἔξαρνος (the same preference is expressed by Phot. α 2263, while Poll. 5.104 mentions both adjectives in a list of synonyms). Indeed, ἄπαρνος is the rarer form, with only nine occurrences in Classical literature, beginning with Aeschylus. While ἔξαρνος is equally attested in Attic, it was also widespread in Post-Classical Greek. The 'solemnity' attributed to ἄπαρνος probably derives from its use by Sophocles (*Ant.* 435), while its πολιτικός character may depend on the attestation in Antipho 1.9 (both texts are discussed in Tribulato 2023a). The Attic models behind the entry rule out πολιτικός always being opposed to poetry: in *PS* 11.13 it signals a rarer synonym which is not exclusively poetic and is appropriate to cultivated register, whether in prose or poetry.

*PS* 11.22–3 focuses on the antithetic expression ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα 'to have a noiseless mouth', for which we have no *locus classicus*. The attribution to a comic fragment proposed by Kock (*CAF* vol. 3, 626, approved by de Borries) is probably wrong: it is more likely to be a tragic expression, on account of Phrynichus' σεμνός and the overtones of the image itself (see the analysis in Tribulato 2023b, with a discussion of tragic images involving στόμα or γλῶσσα). The question remains as to why ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα, if it was a tragic expression, is also marked by πολιτικός. One possibility is that Phrynichus is describing the expression in terms of both φωνή and φράσις. ἄψοφος alone – that is, as a φωνή – is not an exclusively poetic adjective, and so it can be appropriate for a πολιτικός register. The antithetical expression ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα (α φράσις), instead, implies a higher register, marked by σεμνός.

The same structure, with σεμνός referring to the φράσις as a whole and one of its components being marked by πολιτικός, characterises an entry in the indirect tradition of the *PS*:

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 462 (= Phot. α 470, *ex* Σ''' = *PS* fr. \*9): ἄθῃρος ἡμέρα· σεμνή πάνυ ἢ συμπλοκή καὶ ἀξίωμα οὐ μικρὸν ἔχουσα. καὶ γὰρ ὁ χρησάμενος τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τῇ φράσει Αἰσχύλος ἐστὶν ἐν Τοξότισιν. πρόσσεσι δὲ τῷ σεμνῷ τῆς λέξεως καὶ τὸ πολιτικόν. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκταίωνος ‘οὐπω τις Ἀκταίωνα ἄθῃρος ἡμέρα κενόν, πόνου πλουτοῦντα, ἔπεμψεν εἰς δόμους’. συγγραῶν χρώ, φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος.

ἄθῃρος ἡμέρα (‘a day without hunting’): The combination [is] solemn and possesses no small dignity. Indeed, it is Aeschylus who uses the word and the expression in the *Archeresses* (fr. 241). The πολιτικόν also belongs to the solemnity of style. It is said of Actaeon: ‘never a day without hunting sent Actaeon home with much toil but empty [hands]’. Use it when writing prose, says Phrynichus.

Phrynichus immediately remarks that the combination (συμπλοκή) of ἄθῃρος and ἡμέρα is ‘solemn and dignified’. He proves this judgement by the fact (γάρ) that it is Aeschylus who uses both the form ἄθῃρος (α φωνή) and the expression ἄθῃρος ἡμέρα (α φράσις). For, he adds, that which is πολιτικός also belongs to the σεμνός. One must thus infer from this statement that ἄθῃρος *per se* (i.e. as a φωνή) is πολιτικός (probably because it is not exclusively poetic: see Tribulato 2023b), and that its metaphorical association with ἡμέρα makes it also σεμνός.

The three entries we have just discussed show that Phrynichus’ judgements in the *PS*, unlike in the *Eclogue*, are not rigid: he sometimes combines different stylistic categories to provide his reader with a nuanced expressive palette. It seems that for Phrynichus the πολιτικός style includes language ranging from standard usage to a more dignified mode of expression, in turn marked by σεμνός. The πολιτικός register (i.e. the selection of πολιτικά ὀνόματα) may thus be characterised by σεμνότης, but this is not one of its defining features. Conversely, a πολιτικός register may occasionally aim at σεμνότης, but σεμνότης is not required of all expressions that are πολιτικά.

Other ancient discussions of style similarly present πολιτικός and σεμνός as stages in an increasingly careful and cultivated style. Consider Photius’ account of Themistius’ style:

Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 74.52a.6–8: ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν σαφὴς καὶ ἀπέριττος καὶ ἀνθηρὸς, καὶ λέξεσι πολιτικαῖς καὶ εἰς τὸ σεμνόν τι ἐπικλινούσαις χρώμενος.

[Themistius’] style is clear, sober, and flowery, and uses πολιτικά expressions that tend somewhat towards solemnity.

Photius clearly shows that solemnity, as a category of style, can be composed of πολιτικαὶ λέξεις (a synonym of πολιτικά ὀνόματα): together they form the *tone* of the style. The most extensive treatment of this kind of association is that of Her-

mogenes' *On Types of Style*.<sup>53</sup> As we have seen, Hermogenes uses πολιτικός mostly for 'practical' oratory, but occasionally also for a kind of prose style that tends towards this type of rhetoric (for instance, that of Thucydides).<sup>54</sup> In Book 2 of his treatise (*Id.* 2.10–12, 380–403 Rabe), Hermogenes discusses at length how the ten Attic orators practised the πολιτικός λόγος, noting that some of them also attained σεμνότης. He shows that σεμνότης, like other categories of style (*virtutes dicendi*), may play a role in oratory, but not a prominent one.<sup>55</sup> Hermogenes has already dealt with σεμνότης in Book 1 (see Section 3), where an opposition emerges between the σεμνός λόγος and the πολιτικός λόγος. This is because σεμνότης is produced by four orders of thought, but not all topics in these kinds of thought are also appropriate to the πολιτικός λόγος. For example, inquiries into the nature of divine beings which focus on their causes can only be solemn, but are not appropriate to a 'practical' (πολιτικός) speech.<sup>56</sup> However, the same topic (the nature of divine beings), when used in a descriptive passage (ἐκφρασις) without any ambition to investigate the causes, can be useful for a 'practical' speech.<sup>57</sup> Later on in the text, when dealing with the μέθοδοι ('approaches') typical of σεμνότης, Hermogenes shows how a solemn expression, such as a direct statement, can be attuned to practical oratory by turning it into a doubting remark.<sup>58</sup>

The best example of the gradation that I have supposed also governs Phrynichus' pairing of σεμνός with πολιτικός comes from Hermogenes' discussion of

53 On σεμνότης as a category of style in Hermogenes, see Patillon (1988, 223–7); on its role in oratory, see Patillon (1988, 285–6). A similar view of the thoughts, approaches, and language of σεμνότης is expressed in Pseudo-Aristides' treatise on the λόγος πολιτικός: [Aristid.] *Rh.* 1.3–34.

54 According to Hermogenes (*Id.* 2.12, 167–9 Rabe), Thucydides' thoughts are typical of practical oratory, but are at the same time solemn.

55 Hermog. *Id.* 2.10, 381.16–8 Rabe: τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ διακόπτειν ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ χρή λόγῳ καὶ καθαιρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους ('One should break up solemnity in practical speeches and make it less grand'; transl. Wooten 1987, 109).

56 Hermog. *Id.* 1.6, 243 Rabe: ταῦτα δὲ εἰ μὲν οὕτως ἐξετάζοιτο κατὰ τὰς αἰτίας, σεμνὸν μόνον, οὐ μὴν καὶ πολιτικὸν δύναται ποιεῖν τὸν λόγον ('Now, if these subjects are handled only with respect to causes, they have power only to make the writing solemn, not to give it practical value as oratory'; transl. Russell, Winterbottom 1972, 567).

57 Hermog. *Id.* 1.6, 244 Rabe: εἰ μέντοι κατὰ ἐκφρασιν αὐτῶν τῶν γενομένων λέγοι τις αὐτά, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰς αἰτίας ζητῶν, καθ' ὅς γίνεται, πολιτικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ σεμνὸν ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον, ὡς ὁ Ἀριστείδης κτλ. ('If, however, one handles such topics not with a view to enquiry into causes but as a description, the result will be both solemn and practical (πολιτικός)'; transl. Russell, Winterbottom 1972, 568).

58 Hermog. *Id.* 1.6, 246 Rabe: τὸ γὰρ εἶτε ἥρωες ἦσαν εἶτε θεοί σεμνὸν ὃν πλέον ἔχει τοῦ πολιτικοῦ τε καὶ πιθανοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐνδοξασιν ('The thought 'whether they were heroes or gods' is solemn as far as the content is concerned, but the expression of hesitation makes it more characteristic of practical oratory, which aims at persuasion', transl. Wooten 1987, 21).

phrases with and without parenthetical expressions (ὑποστροφάι), a discussion that belongs to his treatment of the figures (σχήματα) of σεμνότης. A sentence that is interrupted by a parenthesis may be σεμνός, but it also has a hint of the πολιτικός, and so is not entirely solemn. Only a sentence without parentheses is truly σεμνός:

Hermog. *Id.* 1.6, 251 Rabe: οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἦν [ἦ] οὕτως εἰπεῖν, ὥς προεῖρηται, ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑποστροφὴν διακόψαντα, οἷον ‘ἅπας ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος, κἂν μεγάλην πόλιν οἰκῶσι κἂν μικράν, φύσει καὶ νόμοις διοικεῖται’. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν γοργὸν ἅμα τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ σεμνόν ἐστιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ καθαρῶς σεμνὸν ἂν ἦν καὶ ἀμιγές.

For example, if we put the phrase ‘whether they live in a large or a small city’ in the middle of the sentence ‘The life of all men is governed by nature and by laws’ (D. 25.15), you would not get the same effect as you would if you did not interrupt the sentence with a parenthesis. To say ‘The life of all men, whether they live in a large or a small city, is governed by nature and by laws’ is vigorous and rapid, while it is also typical of practical oratory and solemn. The sentence without the parenthesis would be purely solemn, without the mixture of any other characteristic’ (transl. Wooten 1987, 24, adapted).

Hermogenes’ theorisation allows us to confirm that in mentioning the stylistic quality of σεμνότης Phrynichus is providing a further reflection on πολιτικός, perhaps implicitly distinguishing between at least two gradations of this stylistic category: one which is simply πολιτικός, and one which may also be σεμνός in some of its traits. In conceding that it is possible for the πολιτικός to be σεμνός, Phrynichus is also saying that a πολιτικός style or language can aspire to σεμνότης, but that this elevation must be carefully mastered lest one’s speech become too grand and out-of-the-ordinary. This view of language seems reminiscent of Aristotle when he states that a kind of ‘departure from the ordinary’ makes prose style more dignified (τὸ γὰρ ἐξαλλάξαι ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι σεμνοτέραν [i.e. λέξιν], Arist. *Rh.* 3.2, 1404b). However, Aristotle warns that when applied to prose, the extraordinary means of σεμνότης must be kept to a minimum, because one must give the impression of being natural, not artificial.<sup>59</sup> Thus, standard words and metaphors are the only rhetorical devices appropriate to speeches (τὸ δὲ κύριον καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ μεταφορὰ μόναι χρήσιμοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψιλῶν λόγων λέξιν). Aristotle’s τὸ κύριον echoes his discussion of κύρια ὀνόματα in *Po.* 1458b, the ‘ordinary’

<sup>59</sup> Arist. *Rh.* 3.2, 1404b: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψιλοῖς λόγοις πολλῷ ἐλάττωσιν· ἢ γὰρ ὑπόθεσις ἐλάττων. διὸ δεῖ λανθάνειν ποιούντας, καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν λέγειν πεπλασμένως ἀλλὰ πεφυκτότως· τοῦτο γὰρ πιθανόν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ τούναντίον (‘But in mere speech such methods are needed in many fewer instances, for the subject is less elevated; and so those who practice this artifice must conceal it and avoid the appearance of speaking artificially instead of naturally; for what is natural persuades, but the artificial does the opposite’, transl. Freese 2020, 355). On this passage, see Dover (1997, 97).

words that make language clear and that poets often shun in favour of the unusual (ξενικά). In a similar vein, Isocrates (9.10) identifies the πολιτικά τῶν ὀνομάτων ('citizens' words', i.e. 'words in circulation among ordinary citizens' in the definition of Dover 1997, 96) as one of the main differences between oratory and poetry. Galen, too, when discussing Hippocrates' language, remarks on the latter's – and Xenophon's – mixture of ordinary vocabulary (marked by πολιτικῶς), dialectal glosses (ὀνόματα γλωσσηματικά), and figurative expressions (ὀνόματα τροπικά).<sup>60</sup> We see here that Phrynichus shares a view of πολιτικός that is primarily a quality of a dignified ordinary language, separate from poetry, which occasionally aspires to σεμνότης, but not in an excessive or extraordinary way.

The same notion seems to be present in the *PS* entry on verbs for 'to wag the tail', which can also be used metaphorically to mean 'to flatter someone':

*PS* 36.1–4: αἰκάλλοντες σημαίνει τὸ σαίνοντες, ὅπερ οἱ κύνες ποιοῦσιν. ὁ μέντοι Σοφοκλῆς καὶ προσσαίνειν. χρῶ οὖν, εἰ μὲν φιλοτίμως, τῷ αἰκάλλειν, εἰ δὲ πολιτικῶς, τῷ προσσαίνειν.

αἰκάλλοντες: It means 'fawning', which [is] what dogs do. Sophocles (fr. 1082) also [uses] προσσαίνω. Therefore, use αἰκάλλω if [you wish to use language] in a recherché way, but if [you wish to use language] in a πολιτικός way, [use] προσσαίνω.

Phrynichus recommends αἰκάλλω for a style aspiring to distinction (φιλοτίμως; an ideologically loaded term, as we saw in Section 3). Indeed, αἰκάλλω is a rare verb in Classical sources: it is used once by Euripides, while one of its occurrences in Aristophanes, in the mouth of Euripides' Relative in *Women at the Thesmophoria*, is probably paratragic.<sup>61</sup> In Post-Classical Greek, αἰκάλλω is almost always used by Atticising authors. Phrynichus instead marks the other synonym, προσσαίνω, with πολιτικός. In Attic literature, προσσαίνω is an exclusively tragic word, but in post-Classical sources it has a few more occurrences than αἰκάλλω, and not always in Atticising Greek (e.g. Philo of Alexandria, Eusebius, and various hagiographers). In conclusion, it seems that πολιτικός marks προσσαίνω as a more 'ordinary' word than αἰκάλλω, but one that the careful Atticist could still safely use in elegant language to avoid the common σαίνω.

This interpretative hypothesis may allow us to make sense of the sixth entry of the *PS* to use πολιτικός and where Phrynichus' preference is not clear:

*PS* 83.3: κατακορῆς οἶνω· καὶ διακορῆς πολιτικώτερον (πολιτικώτερα Bekker).

κατακορῆς οἶνω ('saturated with wine'). And διακορῆς ('filled') [is] more πολιτικός.

<sup>60</sup> Gal. *In Hipp. De artic. comm.* 18a.414.16–415.3 Kühn, on which see Manetti (2009, 169).

<sup>61</sup> See the sources and analysis in Tribulato (2023c).

Both κατακορής and διακορής can be used in the same contexts to refer to people saturated with drink or things soaked in a liquid, and both have their first attestations in Plato.<sup>62</sup> The only slight difference that can be perceived in their occurrences is that while κατακορής is widely attested in technical authors such as Aristotle, Theophrastus, Hippocrates, and medical writers, but generally not in high-register prose, διακορής is also used by Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Aristides. The *PS* entry thus concerns a word, διακορής, which perfectly embodies an ordinary language suited to prose and which has a good enough Attic pedigree behind it.

Equipped with these insights, let us return to the initial question: does Phrynichus use πολιτικός to refer specifically to oratory? And, if so, is πολιτικός simply a marker for oratory in the broad sense, or a narrower marker for ‘practical oratory’? The nature of the lemmas from the *PS* we have just discussed, and the complex interplay of πολιτικός with σεμνός, make it unlikely that Phrynichus subscribed to a theory of the πολιτικός λόγος as a separate genre of oratory. Instead, it is more likely that he used πολιτικός in its Classical sense, as in Isocrates (see above), to denote a kind of civil and educated language that is more suited to prose than poetry (but perhaps not exclusively prosaic), and therefore occasionally associated with political oratory *stricto sensu*. Thus, while Phrynichus’ use of πολιτικός may be coloured by various nuances, including the evocation of the practical qualities of politicians (οἱ πολιτικοί), citizens, and civil men (πολίται), it does not unequivocally identify an oratorical genre, at least not in the entries of the *PS* as they have come down to us. This is clearest, I think, in Phrynichus’ selection of expressions that are both σεμνός and πολιτικός: in discussing these expressions, Phrynichus is not narrowly thinking of a speaker engaged in practical rhetoric, but of a sophist in the broad sense, i.e. both an orator and a prose writer, and one who may write very high-register pieces such as encomia of the gods. For instance, when Phrynichus recommends ἄπαρνος against ἔξαρνος to his reader, he is recommending a kind of civil vocabulary that, while not outlandish (and thus suitable for public speeches), is intended to make the speaker or writer stand out.

To summarise, Phrynichus seems to reserve πολιτικός for expressions that he approves as suitable for a sufficiently cultivated mode of expression, characterised by the following features:

- (1) it avoids vocabulary associated with poetry (as in the case of the rejected forms αὐτοέντης and ἀμαξιαῖα ῥήματα, as well as αἰκάλλω, considered to be more poetic than προσσαίνω);

---

<sup>62</sup> See the analysis in Tribulato (2024b).

- (2) it selects rarer synonyms of common words (as in the case of ἄπαρνος, which is preferred to ἐξάρνος, and of προσσαίνω, which is preferred to σαίνω);
- (3) it selects forms which, however, always have an application in literary prose (as in the case of αὐθέντης, ἄπαρνος, ἄψοφος, and προσσαίνω);
- (4) at its higher end, the πολιτικός mode of expression may even be characterised by solemnity, especially when unexpected word combinations are involved, as in ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα: in this case, one could argue that the σεμνός *and* πολιτικός style privileges expressions that Phrynichus might otherwise have assigned to the category of καινότης.

In conclusion, πολιτικός in the *PS* can be translated as ‘urbane’ or ‘civil’, which includes both its semantic nuances: ‘related to ordinary citizens and their concerns’ and ‘courteous, polite’. All these features make it likely that πολιτικός was a central category in Phrynichus’ stylistic thought, perhaps the very quality that the language of the aspiring skilled rhetorician should possess. It remains an open question, of course, whether Phrynichus provided a fuller and more coherent treatment of the πολιτικός register in the original *PS* than is attested in the surviving fragments of his work.

## 6 Conclusions

This survey of the many facets of Phrynichus’ stylistic terminology has shown that the *PS* views Atticist linguistic correctness through the prism of stylistic and rhetorical theory. In the gradation of prescriptive expressions and the terminology of stylistic categories, literary genres, and linguistic registers we see the sophistication of the lexical training that Phrynichus wished to offer to the aspiring rhetors of his time. Although erased by shortening and transmission problems, the complexity of the rhetorical structure created by Phrynichus in the *PS* still shines through and speaks to us of a world in which λέξις – understood as both language and style – represented the verbal expression of thought, a necessary tool for those who wished to speak in public and become famous for their speeches.

That this rich stylistic dimension was central to the original *PS* is also confirmed by the amount of evaluative terminology preserved in the indirect tradition. In this paper, I have attempted to show that the indirect tradition is as important as the epitome of cod. Par. Coisl. 345 for a thorough reconstruction of Phrynichus’ theoretical stance. By considering both strands of tradition side by side, it is possible to catch more than a mere glimpse of the multi-layered struc-

ture of the *PS*. Speculatively, if the original *PS* was arranged according to an onomastic or thematic criterion (see Cavarzeran, this volume), then the individual entries probably progressed from the general level (the definition of meanings, basic grammatical information on gender and syntax, the Attic pedigree of certain words, etc.), to the collection of more peculiar elements (idioms, metaphorical expressions, idiosyncratic usages of certain authors, novel coinages in compounds, *hapax legomena*, etc.). It is at this more specialised level that annotations on style and register would have been inserted, informing readers of the literary provenance of certain expressions and the correct way to reuse them in one's own writing and speaking. A sharp attention to stylistic and sociolinguistic categories may thus have been Phrynichus' response to a debate about the usefulness of lexis, traces of which can still be detected in the prefatory letters of Pollux's *Onomasticon*.<sup>63</sup>

## Bibliography

- Agha, A. (2008). 'Registers of Language'. In: Duranti, A. (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. London, 23–45.
- Alpers, K. (1981). *Das attizistische Lexicon des Oros. Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe*. Berlin, New York.
- Bagordo, A. (2014a). *Leukon – Xenophilos. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Heidelberg.
- Bagordo, A. (2014b). *Alkimenos – Kantharos. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Freiburg.
- Bagordo, A. (2022). *Aristophanes fr. 101–204. Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Göttingen.
- Batisti, R. (2024). 'ἐρυγγάνω, ἤρυγον, ἐρεύγομαι, ἡρευξάμην (Phryn. *PS* 73.15–7, Phryn. *Ecl.* 42, Moer. ε 50, Philemo (Vindob.) 393.17–20)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/03/008>.
- Batisti, R.; Benuzzi, F. (2024). 'ἀπολλύασιν, ἀπολλύουσιν, and Other 3rd Person Plurals of -νυμι Verbs (Phryn. *PS* 10.22–3, Moer. δ 29, Moer. ζ 8, Moer. ο 15, Moer. π 5)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/01/018>.
- Benuzzi, F. (2022). 'ἀναρριχάομαι (Phryn. *PS* 32.2–4, Moer. α 129)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/044>.
- Benuzzi, F. (2024a). 'ἀνακραγεῖν (Phryn. *PS* 5.21–2, Phryn. *PS* 52.1–2, Moer. α 131)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/03/013>.
- Benuzzi, F. (2024b). 'βαίνω, βιβάζω, and Prefixed Forms (*Antiatt.* β 21, *Antiatt.* β 22, *Antiatt.* κ 63)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/01/034>.
- Bernard, F. (2014). *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025–1081*. Oxford.

<sup>63</sup> See Tribulato (2018).



- Bianchi, F. P. (2017). *Cratino. Introduzione e testimonianze*. Heidelberg.
- de Borries, I. (1911). *Phrynichi Sophistae Praeparatio sophistica*. Leipzig.
- Brandstätter, K. (1893). *De notionum πολιτικός et σοφιστής usu rhetorico*. Leipzig.
- Bussès, S. (2011). *Marcatori e criteri di estetica in Polluce. La dinamica della scelta lessicografica*. Bari.
- Bybee, D.; Conrad, S. (2019). *Register, Genre, and Style*. 2nd edition. Cambridge.
- Chiron, P. (2001). *Un rhéteur méconnu: Démétrios (Ps.-Démétrios de Phalère). Essai sur les mutations de la théorie du style à l'époque hellénistique*. Paris.
- Chiron, P. (2004). 'Les ambiguïtés de la «grâce» (*kharris*) dans le traité *Du Style* de Démétrios (Pseudo-Démétrios de Phalère)'. *L'information littéraire* 1, 34–41.
- Chiron, P. (2007). *Aristote. Rhétorique. Présentation et traduction par Pierre Chiron*. Paris.
- Conte, G. B.; Most, G. W. (2012). 'Genre'. In: Hornblower, S.; Spawforth, A. (eds.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 4th edition. Oxford, 609–10.
- Crystal, D.; Davy, D. (1969). *Investigating English Style*. London, New York.
- Cunningham, I. C. (2003). *Synagoge. Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων. Texts of the Original Version and of MS. B. Berlin, New York*.
- Dover, K. J. (1997). *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style*. Oxford.
- Farrell, J. (2003). 'Classical Genre in Theory and Practice'. *New Literary History* 34, 383–408.
- Favi, F. (2022a). 'ὀπωροπώλης, ὀπωρώνης (Phryn. *Ecl.* 176, Poll. 6.128)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/026>.
- Favi, F. (2022b). 'εἰ with Neuter Adjective and Future (Phryn. *PS* 3.8–10, Phryn. *PS* fr. 199)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/043>.
- Favi, F. (2022c). 'ἀφῆλιξ, ἀφελικέστερος (Phryn. *Ecl.* 56, Phryn. *PS* 1.1–6, Poll. 2.17, Moer. α 153, [Hdn.] *Philet.* 168)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/036>.
- Favi, F. (2022d). 'Procopio di Gaza lettore di Frinico l'Arabo (e di Cratino)'. *MEG* 22, 137–46.
- Favi, F. (2022e). 'αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, ἡκειν, λαμβάνειν (Phryn. *PS* 3.11–6, Moer. λ 1)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/002>.
- Favi, F. (2022f). 'ἄτεγκτος (Phryn. *PS* 7.7–9)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/049>.
- Favi, F. (2022g). 'ἄπλωτος πώγων (Phryn. *PS* 4.1–2)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/045>.
- Favi, F. (2022h). 'ἀμφορίστερος, ἐπαρίστερος (Phryn. *PS* 2.7–8, Phryn. *Ecl.* 227, Poll. 2.160)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/041>.
- Favi, F. (2023a). 'ἄρτι (Phryn. *Ecl.* 11, Phryn. *PS* 17.3–9, Thom.Mag. 29.11)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/008>.
- Favi, F. (2023b). 'ἀρχῆθεν (Phryn. *Ecl.* 66, Phryn. *PS* 9.9–11, *Antiatt.* α 138, Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2201)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/009>.
- Ferguson, C. A. (1994). 'Dialect, Register, and Genre. Working Assumptions About Conventionalization'. In: Biber, D.; Finegan, E. (eds.), *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. Oxford, 15–30.

- Ford, A. (2020). 'Linus. The Rise and Fall of Lyric Genres'. In: Foster, M.; Kurke, L.; Weiss, N. (eds.), *Genre in Archaic and Classical Greek Poetry*. Leiden, Boston, 57–81.
- Foster, M.; Kurke, L.; Weiss, N. (2020). 'Introduction'. In: Foster, M.; Kurke, L.; Weiss, N. (eds.), *Genre in Archaic and Classical Greek Poetry*. Leiden, Boston, 1–28.
- Freese, J. H. (2020). *Aristotle. The Art of Rhetoric*. Translated by John Henry Freese. Revised by Gisela Stricker. Cambridge, MA.
- Gerbi, G. (2023a). 'ἄδω, κοκκύζω (*Antiatt.* κ 6, Phryn. *PS* 35.14–5, Poll. 5.89)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/021>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023b). 'ἄνεμος καὶ ὀλεθρος ἀνθρώπου (Phryn. *PS* 21.12)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/029>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023c). 'ἀνταναγινώσκω, ἀντιβάλλω (Phryn. *PS* 47.16–7, Phryn. *Ecl.* 188)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/001>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023d). 'ψυχορροφεῖν (Phryn. *PS* 128.11–3)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/026>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023e). 'ἐξηβος (Phryn. *PS* 65.20–1). In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/024>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023f). 'ἀδολέσχης, ὀδόλεσχος (Moer. α 49, [Hdn.] *Philet.* 179, Phryn. *PS* 36.5–12, Poll. 6.119)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/030>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023g). 'ἄδεν ὁμοιον (Phryn. *PS* 20.1–2, Phot. α 551). In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/012>.
- Gerbi, G. (2024). 'ἀθανακτῶ σου (Phryn. *PS* fr. 5 [= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 = Phot. α 101])'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/01/004>.
- Hagedorn, D. (1964). *Zur Ideenlehre des Hermogenes*. Göttingen.
- Halliwel, S. (2022). *Pseudo-Longinus. On the Sublime*. Edited with an introduction, translation, and commentary. Oxford.
- Hornblower, S. (2008). *A Commentary on Thucydides*. Vol. 3: *Books 5.25–8.109*. Oxford.
- Koster, S. (1980). *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*. Meisenheim am Glan.
- Manetti, D. (2009). 'Galen and Hippocratic Medicine. Language and Practice'. In: Gill, C.; Whitmarsh, T.; Wilkins, J. (eds.), *Galen and the World of Knowledge*. Cambridge, 157–74.
- Marciniak, P.; Nilsson, I. (eds.) (2021). *Satire in the Middle Byzantine Period. The Golden Age of Laughter*. Leiden, Boston.
- Marshall, C. W. (2015). 'Plutarch, Epitomes, and Athenian Comedy'. In: Marshall, C. W.; Hawkins, T. (eds.), *Athenian Comedy in the Roman Empire*. London, 131–9.
- Marshall, C. W.; Hawkins, T. (eds.) (2015). *Athenian Comedy in the Roman Empire*. London.
- Matthaios, S. (2013). 'Pollux' Onomastikon im Kontext der attizistischen Lexikographie. Gruppen «anonymer Sprecher» und ihre Stellung in der Sprachgeschichte und Stilistik'. In: Mauduit, C. (ed.), *L'Onomasticon de Pollux. Aspects culturels, rhétoriques et lexicographiques*. Paris, 67–140.
- Merisio, E. N. (2023). 'ἄλειπται, κατώρυκται, ὤμοκε (Phryn. *Ecl.* 23, Phryn. *Ecl.* 25, Phryn. *PS* 32.12–4, Moer. κ 64)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/011>.

- Miletti, L. (2011). *L'arte dell'autoelogio. Studio sull'orazione 28 K di Elio Aristide, con testo, traduzione e commento*. Pisa.
- Miller, W. (1914). *Xenophon. Cyropaedia*. Vol. 1: *Books 1–4*. Translated by Walter Miller. Cambridge, MA.
- Most, G. W. (2000). 'Generating Genres. The Idea of the Tragic'. In: Depew, M.; Obbink, D. (eds.), *Matrices of Genres. Authors, Canons, and Society*. Cambridge, MA, London, 15–35.
- Napolitano, M. (2012). *I Kolakes di Eupoli. Introduzione, traduzione, commento*. Mainz.
- Olson, S. D. (2016). *Eupolis. Heilotes – Chrysoun genos (frr. 147–325). Translation and Commentary*. Heidelberg.
- Orth, C. (2015). *Nicochares – Xenophon. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Heidelberg.
- Patillon, M. (1988). *La théorie du discours chez Hermogène le rhéteur. Essai sur la structure de la rhétorique ancienne*. Paris.
- Patillon, M. (1997). *Hermogène. L'art rhétorique. Traduction française intégrale, introduction et notes par Michel Patillon; préface de Pierre Laurens*. Paris.
- Patillon, M. (2002). *Arts rhétoriques. Livre II, le discours simple*. Paris.
- Patillon, M. (2005). *Anonyme de Séguier. Art du discours politique*. Paris.
- Peterson, A. (2019). *Laughter on the Fringes. The Reception of Old Comedy in the Imperial Greek World*. Oxford, New York.
- Reitzenstein, R. (1907). *Der Anfang des Lexicons des Photios, herausgegeben von R. Reitzenstein*. Leipzig, Berlin.
- Risch, E. (1945). 'Griechische Komposita vom Typus μεσο-νύκτιος und ὁμο-γάστριος'. *MH* 2, 15–27.
- Rosen, R. M. (2015). 'Lucian's Aristophanes. On Understanding Old Comedy in the Roman Imperial Period'. In: Marshall, C. W.; Hawkins, T. (eds.), *Athenian Comedy in the Roman Empire*. London, 141–62.
- Rosenmeyer, T. G. (2006). 'Ancient Literary Genres. A Mirage?'. In: Laird, A. (ed.), *Ancient Literary Criticism*. Oxford, 421–39. (Originally published in *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 34, 1985, 74–84).
- Russell, D. A. (1981). *Criticism in Antiquity*. London.
- Russell, D. A. (2006). 'Rhetoric and Criticism'. In: Laird, A. (ed.), *Ancient Literary Criticism*. Oxford, 266–83. (Originally published in *G&R* 14, 1967, 130–45).
- Russell, D. A.; Wilson, N. G. (1981). *Menander Rhetor*. Oxford.
- Russell, D. A.; Winterbottom, M. (1972). *Ancient Literary Criticism. The Principal Texts in New Translation*. Oxford.
- Rutherford, I. (1998). *Canons of Style in the Antonine Age. Idea-Theory and Its Literary Context*. Oxford.
- Sandri, M. G. (2023). *Trattati greci sui tropi. Introduzione ed edizione critica*. Berlin, Boston.
- Schmitz, T. (1997). *Bildung und Macht. Zur sozialen und politischen Funktion der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit*. Munich.
- Sluiter, I. (2000). 'The Dialectics of Genre. Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity'. In: Depew, M.; Obbink, D. (eds.), *Matrices of Genres. Authors, Canons, and Society*. Cambridge, MA, London, 183–203.
- Stiffler, D. W. F. (2023). 'Lucian, Aristophanes, and the Language of Intellectuals'. *CPh* 118, 73–95.
- Theodoridis, C. (1982–2013). *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*. 3 vols. Berlin, New York.
- Tribulato, O. (2018). 'Le lettere prefatorie dell'*Onomasticon* di Polluce. Frammenti di un discorso autoriale'. *Lexis* 36, 247–83.
- Tribulato, O. (2022a). 'ἀνατοιχέω, διατοιχέω (Phryn. *PS* 62.1–3, Phryn. *Ecl.* 132, *Antiatt.* δ 28, Poll. 1.114)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/000>.

- Tribulato, O. (2022b). 'Photius, ἀναγράφητος and Atticist lexica'. *CQ* 72, 914–33. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838821001038>.
- Tribulato, O. (2023a). 'ἄπαρνος, ἔξαρνος (Phryn. *PS* 11.13, Poll. 5.104)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/006>.
- Tribulato, O. (2023b). 'ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα (Phryn. *PS* 11.22–3)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/023>.
- Tribulato, O. (2023c). 'αἰκάλλοντες (Phryn. *PS* 36.1–4)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/002>.
- Tribulato, O. (2023d). 'ἀμαξιαῖα ῥήματα (Phryn. *PS* 43.5–8)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/022>.
- Tribulato, O. (2024a). "'Aristophanes with his Chorus". Citations and Uses of Comedy in the Lexica of Phrynichus Atticista'. In: Favi, F.; Mastellari, V. (eds.), *Treasures of Literature. Anthologies, Lexica, Scholia and the Indirect Tradition of Classical Texts in the Greek World*. Berlin, Boston, 75–96.
- Tribulato, O. (2024b). 'κατακορής οἶνω (Phryn. *PS* 83.3)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/01/012>.
- Van Opstall, E. (2015). 'The Pleasure of Mudslinging. An Invective Dialogue in Verse from 10th-Century Byzantium'. *BZ* 108, 771–96.
- Whitmarsh, T. (2001). *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire. The Politics of Imitation*. Oxford.
- Wooten, C. W. (1987). *Hermogenes' On Types of Style*. Chapel Hill, London.

Giulia Gerbi

# καινῶς εἴρηται: The concept of novelty (καινότης) in the *Praeparatio sophistica*

## 1 Introduction: Novelty in literature and erudition between criticism and appreciation

To provide readers with a useful guide to correct Attic was a major but not unique aim of Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica*. With his imposing work, Phrynichus wished to offer his intended readers – aspiring rhetoricians – a well-rounded linguistic and stylistic education, in order to make them capable not only to acquire proficiency in correct Attic Greek, but also to master different registers depending on genre and context on a case-by-case basis. As proof of such purpose, the epitome still preserves the traces of an articulate evaluative vocabulary meant to inform the readers on the genre, register, and communicative occasion for which a form is suitable, or else on the group of speakers from whom a certain usage is expected.<sup>1</sup> The evaluation of style is given room too: criteria such as pleasantness, elegance, efficacy, visual power, conciseness, and originality (expressed by the adjectives καλός, φιλότιμος, χρήσιμος, ἐναργής, σύντομος, and καινός) now and then surface in the *PS*. Among these, the category of καινότης ('novelty', 'originality'), stands out for recurring more frequently than the others in the *PS*, in both the epitome and in the indirect tradition. Phrynichus' interest in καινότης that emerges from the *PS* is also openly borne out by Photius, who remarks that the *PS* collects expressions 'which are formulated and structured in an elegant and original manner' in his *Bibliotheca*.<sup>2</sup>

The concept of novelty plays an important role in Greek culture as a whole, which experiences and remarks it in various areas since its beginnings. D'Angour (2011, 13) notes that the relevance attributed to novelty is peculiar to Greek civilisation:

These different kinds of novelty are remarked on by Greek poets, artists and thinkers in a more direct, ample and self-conscious manner than can be found in the surviving docu-

---

1 For an exhaustive list of the evaluative terminology featuring in the *PS*, see Tribulato (this volume).

2 Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 158.100a.36–7: τῶν χαριέντως τε καὶ καινοπρεπῶς εἰρημένων τε καὶ συντεταγμένων.

ments of any other ancient culture; and the notion of innovation (*kainotomiā*, *to kainon*) is more regularly and explicitly raised by Greek authors than in any earlier corpus of ancient texts.

As far as the vocabulary denoting novelty is concerned, D'Angour (2011, 66–73) discusses the differences between the two Greek words for 'new' – νέος and καινός, with their respective cognates – highlighting that, although in many cases they eventually overlap, they originally express different semantic aspects of the concept of 'new'. The already Mycenaean νέος, which is attested, together with its cognates, since Homeric Greek, refers to chronological novelty, meaning 'recent' or 'young'. καινός, which spreads through Classical Greek from the early 5th century BCE onwards,<sup>3</sup> represents instead an intentional and subjective novelty, meaning 'innovative', 'original': καινότης thus denotes a concept of novelty connected to the productive originality of the craftsman and of the author. As pointed out in D'Angour's reconstruction of the semantic spectrum of novelty (22, fig. 1), whereas νέος is purely descriptive, καινός implies an evaluation.

When it touches the sphere of society and religion, novelty is often perceived as a threat, for in these areas the Greeks tend to be conservative and to resist change; this is for instance illustrated by the fact that one of the charges levelled against Socrates was the accusation of καινοτομεῖν 'to innovate': see e.g. Pl. *Euthphr.* 3b.6–7: (EYΘ.) ὥς οὖν καινοτομοῦντός σου περὶ τὰ θεῖα γέγραπται ταύτην τὴν γραφήν, '(Euthyphro) So, he has brought the indictment against you for making innovations in religion'.<sup>4</sup> When innovation concerns literature, language, and style, by contrast, it is often viewed with interest, and καινός often expresses a positive evaluation. Novelty is presented as a desirable feature for poetic invention since Homer: see *Od.* 1.351–2: τὴν γὰρ αἰοδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, | ἥ τις αἰδόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέλγεται, 'for men praise that song the most that comes the newest to their ears'<sup>5</sup> and is more than once referred to in

3 D'Angour (2011, 71–2) identifies the first certain literary occurrence of καινός in Bacchylides (19.31), but the word could already feature in Archilochus (fr. 91.31 West. The text is uncertain: West 1998, 34 prints καινῶν but foresees the possibility of reading κλίνων in the apparatus).

4 Transl. North Fowler (1914, 11). See also the phrasing κόμμα καινόν, 'new coinage [Gods]' in Ar. *Ra.* 890, expressing Dionysus' disdain for the new deities invoked by Euripides (cf. Del Corno 1985, 210).

5 Transl. Murray (1919, 39). According to West (in Heubeck, West, Hainsworth 1988, 119), by 'newest song' Telemachus means poetic originality (see also D'Angour 2011, 184–8), but the passage is open to different interpretations and touches on many issues, notably the modes of poetic inspiration, and the poet's standing in respect of his audience and of the dominant social group (in this case, Penelope's suitors). Telemachus' words on Phemius' song have been the subject of a rich harvest of studies; the passage has recently been discussed in detail by Borsoni Ciccolungo (2016, 21–43, with bibliography). According to Borsoni Ciccolungo (2016, 43), Telemachus, being

lyric, when poets ask the Muses for inspiration of innovative verses or claim the novelty of their poetry (see e.g. Pi. *O.* 3.4: μοι νεοσίγαλον εὐρόντι τρόπον ‘When I found out a sparkling new mode’).<sup>6</sup> Pindar plays a decisive role in shaping the concept of poetic novelty and, accordingly, a specific vocabulary that describes it, anticipating, even if at a very early stage, ideas that will be developed by Hellenistic literary criticism.<sup>7</sup> In Classical literature there is abundance of references to novelty as a desirable quality:<sup>8</sup> Aristophanes provides some famous examples, as it is the case in *Nu.* 545–8,<sup>9</sup> where the poet praises his innovations:

κάγῳ μὲν τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ὦν ποιητῆς οὐ κομῶ  
οὐδ’ ὑμᾶς ζητῶ ἔξαπατᾶν δις καὶ τρίς ταῦτ’ εἰσάγων,  
ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ καινὰς ιδέας εἰσφέρων σοφίζομαι,  
οὐδὲν ἀλλήλαισιν ὁμοίας καὶ πάσας δεξιὰς.

And I myself, being a poet of the same kind, do not act like a bigwig, nor try to fool you by presenting the same material two or three times; rather I have the skill to present novel ideas every time out, none of them like the others and all of them ingenious.

Innovative formulations are also commended in *Frogs* since the prologue, where Dionysus warns Xanthias against telling the same joke on the weight of his burden.<sup>10</sup> A positive assessment of literary novelty is also made by Aristotle, who includes τὸ καινотόμον, ‘novelty’, among the qualities of the Platonic dialogues, for which he expresses admiration: *Pol.* 1265a.10–2: τὸ μὲν οὖν περιττὸν ἔχουσι

---

informed from Athena about Odysseus’ vicissitudes, perceives Phemius’ performance on the *Nostoi* as a ‘newest song’, for it tells contemporary and ongoing events. In this reconstruction, νέος would refer to the Odyssey’s materials and underline the exceptionality of Odysseus’ return.

6 On the novelty to which Pindar refers, see Catenacci in Gentili *et al.* (2013, 417–8).

7 See Borsoni Ciccolungo (2016, 116–30) (in particular 130), discussing Pi. *N.* 8.19–23, in which the novelty of poetic *inventio* is put in relation to a rupture with the tradition which is likely to attract envy and disparagement (φθόνος). On the concept of novelty in poetry and its evolution from Pindar to the Hellenistic age, see Borsoni Ciccolungo (2011).

8 The examples here provided are by no means an exhaustive review of the many texts that deal with, or refer to, literary innovation. A more complete picture is found in D’Angour (2011), Borsoni Ciccolungo (2016), where these and many other passages are discussed.

9 Novelty, which often features in Aristophanes’ comedies, is a recurrent theme in *Clouds*, where the conflict between old and new is crucial and the notion of καινότης is repeatedly associated to discourse: note, for instance, that the chorus tells the Wrong argument that he must come up with an original discourse if he wants to stand a chance to defeat his rival (*Nu.* 1031: δεῖ σε λέγειν τι καινόν, ‘you need to say something new’) and that Pheidippides is called the champion of new discourses (*Nu.* 1397: καινῶν ἐπῶν).

10 See Ar. *Ra.* 1–18. The reference is to a repertory joke in Comedy: the comic poets Phrynichus, Lycis, and Ameipsias are called into question for their resorting to such trivial humour (on the passage, see Del Corno 1985, 155–7; Dover 1993, 191–2).

πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους λόγοι καὶ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ τὸ καινοτόμον καὶ τὸ ζητητικόν  
 ‘Now, all Socrates’ discourses (i.e. by Plato) have brilliance, cleverness, novelty  
 and are keen to inquiry’.<sup>11</sup> Finally, novelty in language and style is usually valued  
 by ancient erudition; scholia often express appreciation for innovation inasmuch  
 as it represents a variation (ποικιλία) which avoids monotony and attracts the  
 reader’s attention (see Nünlist 2009, 198–201). In rhetoric too, the criterion of nov-  
 elty is employed for evaluating style; Hermogenes, for instance, uses καινοπρεπής  
 (‘novel’) for σχήματα in *Id.* 1.12, 248 Rabe. Novelty encompasses various traits and  
 focuses on various aspects of style, grammar, and vocabulary: it may consist, de-  
 pending on the genre, in the variation of epithets and formulae and in the avoid-  
 ance of homoioteleuton (all related to poetry), in the change of the grammatical  
 case, in the choice of rare words, or of uncommon figures of speech (all related to  
 prose: see D’Angour 2011, 207–9; Nünlist 2009, 199). These devices, carefully mea-  
 sured, contribute to create stylistic originality and to make the reader attentive  
 and pleased, increasing the text’s communicative efficiency.

Nevertheless, innovation can breed discontent also when it concerns litera-  
 ture and art: a prime and well known example is the contempt of some comic  
 authors – among which Aristophanes and Pherecrates – for the musical innova-  
 tions which took place in the last decades of the 5th century.<sup>12</sup> There is no short-  
 age of cases in which innovation in language and style is perceived and presented  
 as a disliked trait, in particular when it results in artificiality and obscurity. Comedy  
 offers some examples of mockery of people using abstruse language: see,  
 for instance, the comic fragment attributed to Strato (fr. 1), where a cook is called  
 Σφιγγ(α) ἄρρεν(α) (‘a male Sphinx’) for his puzzling use of καινὰ ῥήματα (‘new  
 words’) that his employer cannot understand.<sup>13</sup> It is possibly also the case of Ar.  
 fr. 719 (cf. Phryn. *PS* fr. \*236): ῥήματά τε κομψὰ καὶ παίγνι’ ἐπιδεικνύναι | πάντ’  
 ἀπ’ ἀκροφυσίων κάπὸ καναβευμάτων (‘To display refined expressions and jokes  
 all [fresh] from bellows and frameworks’); the distich, which metaphorically al-  
 ludes to innovation in language, could be originally part of an invective discredit-

<sup>11</sup> But note that according to Halliwell (2006, 197–9) the vocabulary’s choice leaves some room for ambiguity. Although recognising Aristotle’s appreciation for Plato’s dialogues, Halliwell highlights the ambivalence of κομψός and καινοτόμος, this latter in particular being often ‘associated with negative judgements on change and instability’ (Halliwell 2006, 199).

<sup>12</sup> On Aristophanes’ criticism toward the new dithyramb, see Zimmermann (2008, 117–28). On Pherecrates, fr. 155, see Napolitano in Franchini (2020, 242–94), with a rich bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> See De Martin (2025, 323–402, in particular 354–61, on the fragment’s interpretation; 364–5, on the expression καινὰ ῥήματα).



ing someone for his abstruse use of language.<sup>14</sup> καινολογία ('novel language', perceived as a 'strange language', see LSJ, s.v.) features among the flaws that Dionysius of Halicarnassus – who, in *Lys.* 3, advocates for a 'natural' style and does not welcome deviations from it<sup>15</sup> – reproaches to Lysias' predecessors:

τοῖς δὲ προτέροις οὐχ αὐτῇ ἡ δόξα ἦν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι κόσμον τινὰ προσεῖναι τοῖς λόγοις ἐξήλλαττον τὸν ιδιώτην καὶ κατέφευγον εἰς τὴν ποιητικὴν φράσιν, μεταφοραῖς τε πολλαῖς χρώμενοι καὶ ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τροπικαῖς ιδέαις, ὀνομάτων τε γλωττηματικῶν καὶ ξένων χρήσει καὶ τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων σχηματισμῶν τῇ διαλλαγῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ καινολογίᾳ καταπλητόμενοι τὸν ιδιώτην.

[Lysias'] predecessors did not have the same opinion. Whenever they wished to add colour to their speeches, they abandoned ordinary language and resorted to artificial expression. They used a plethora of metaphors, exaggerations, and other forms of figurative language, and further confused the ordinary members of their audiences by using recondite and exotic words, and by resorting to unfamiliar figures of speech and other novel modes of expression (transl. Wiater 2011, 322, adapted).

The framework I have described above is by no means exhaustive: it has the sole purpose of emphasising the crucial role that the concept of novelty had in Greek literary and erudite production in its multiple perspectives, at times positive (inasmuch as it concerns narratological or linguistic innovation, differentiation from an established tradition, or it is a useful rhetorical device), at times negative (inasmuch as potentially abstruse, and a hindrance to communicative effectiveness).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Bagordo (2018, 472–6). A disparaging sense was already imagined by Mattusch (1975, 316). However, several critics understand the passage oppositely, as a praise of linguistic and stylistic innovation; for more detail see Gerbi (2023a), with bibliography.

<sup>15</sup> On Dionysius of Halicarnassus' theory on language and style, see De Jonge (2008). Note that Dionysius also uses καινοτομέω meaning that a theory does not rest on solid foundation in *Comp.* 25.67: καὶ ὅτι ἀληθὴ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγὼ καινοτομῶ, 'And that this is true and that I am not inventing anything'.

<sup>16</sup> An interesting passage in this respect occurs in the description of an anepigraphic historical writing by Agatharchides contained in Photius' *Bibliotheca* (cod. 213.171a.6–b.17 = *BNJ* 86 T 2). While presenting the style of this text, Photius comments that 'it is the case that this man, judging by what we have learned by going through his work, is distinguished and sententious, delighting more than other writers in the grandeur and dignity of his style, but not at all employing unknown words (λέξεσι μέντοι λογάσιν οὐ πάνυ προστεθειμένος), and not employing common words throughout the whole of his narrative, and not making up new words himself (γεννῶν δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ λέξεις). But, a craftsman in the use of words, if ever there was one, by creating a kind of novel appearance but not with novel words, he perfects his style (καινὴν τινα μὴ καιναῖς κεχρημένος λέξεσι φαντασίαν πέμπουσιν ἀποτελεῖ τὴν φράσιν). He so ably creates his work that his innovation does not seem to be an innovation (ὥς τὴν τε καινοτομίαν μὴ δοκεῖν εἶναι καινοτομίαν) and he furnishes clarity not less than that provided by usual words (καὶ τὸ σαφὲς οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν ἐξ ἔθους λέξεων παρέχειν)' (cod. 213.171a.27–38; transl. Burstein 2012, adapted).

In what follows, I will examine how and to what extent the idea of novelty is developed within the framework of Atticist lexicography (section 2), and by Phrynichus in particular, focusing on some glosses of the *PS* (section 3) and of its indirect tradition (section 4) that usefully illustrate how this concept is treated in the lexicon and help us reconstructing Phrynichus' theory of style, also in the light of the epitomising process that the lexicon underwent (section 5).

## 2 Novelty in Atticist lexica: A peculiar trait of Phrynichus' theory of style

Although the concept of novelty was very much present in both literature and erudition, it is extremely rare in Atticist lexicography. The one notable exception is represented by Phrynichus, who develops this concept more frequently in his *PS*, so much so that the interest in novelty can be considered a distinctiveness of his with respect to the rest of Atticist scholarship.

Considering indeed Moeris' lexicon, Pollux's *Onomasticon* and the *Antiatticist* as a control group for the treatment of the terminology of καινότης by Atticist lexicographers,<sup>17</sup> it emerges that the occurrences of καινός and καινότης as evaluative terms are, in comparison, very scarce. Only two parallels are to be found: one in Moeris and one in Pollux. In Moeris, καινός qualifies the adverbs ἀλλαχόθι, ἀλλαχόθεν, and ἀλλαχοῦ, with the expansion -αχ- between the stem and the ending, which are compared to the series ἄλλοθι, ἄλλοθεν, and ἄλλοσε:

Moer. α 18: ἄλλοθι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοσε Ἀττικοί· ἀλλαχόθι ἀλλαχόθεν ἀλλαχοῦ καινότερον Ἀττικοί καὶ Ἑλληνες.

ἄλλοθι ('elsewhere'), ἄλλοθεν ('from another place'), ἄλλοσε ('elsewhither') [are used by] Attic-speakers; ἀλλαχόθι ('elsewhere'), ἀλλαχόθεν ('from another place'), ἀλλαχοῦ ('elsewhere') [are] recently [used by] both Attic-speakers and Greek-speakers'.

This entry poses some problems. Along with being the only occurrence of this use of καινός, otherwise unparalleled in Moeris' lexicon, the gloss as we read it,<sup>18</sup> with the pericope 'καινότερον Ἀττικοί καὶ Ἑλληνες', is found only in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 (C), which belongs to the Parisian recension, whereas the manuscripts of the Vati-

<sup>17</sup> On a possible occurrence of καινότης in Pausanias' lexicon see below (note 300).

<sup>18</sup> Hansen (1998, 72). Note that the actual distribution of the readings in the manuscript tradition differs from what is recorded in Hansen's apparatus. I thank Maria Giovanna Sandri and Andrea Pellettieri for their valuable advice on the manuscript transmission of this gloss.

can recension, cod. Laur. Plut. 91. sup. 10 (F), cod. Vat. gr. 1882 (V), and cod. Darmstadt 2773 (D), actually transmit a different text. Indeed, D, whose text is abridged, omits the pericope, F has κοινόν ('common'), while V has κοινότερον ('more common'). The forms of κοινός transmitted by the Vatican recension would perfectly fit Moeris' schema Ἀττικοί vs. Ἕλληνες, often rendered as Ἀττικοί vs. κοινός, and it would be plausible that Moeris discourages the use of ἀλλαχόθι, ἀλλαχόθεν, and ἀλλαχοῦ for their being typical of common language. However, notwithstanding the disagreement between the two recensions and the isolation of καινότερον, this reading is perhaps worth defending as being *difficilior*. The confusion between καινός and κοινός is of course paleographically common, but in this context, it seems more likely for καινότερον to have been corrupted into a form of κοινός rather than the other way around, if only because a scribe could easily be led to favour κοινός for its consistency with the lexicon's structure. In Moeris' passage, in any case, καινός is unlikely to be referred to stylistic evaluation, as it is in Phrynichus, and it is rather intended in a chronological sense, in order to assign the two series of words to two different chronological phases of Attic.<sup>19</sup>

The passage of the *Onomasticon*, in which καινός is applied to the use of τραπεζοφόρον ('table-stand') in place of τράπεζα ('table'), is a rather different case:

Poll. 10.69: ἔξεστι δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐφ' ἣ τὰ ἐκπώματα κατὰκειται, τετράπουν τε τράπεζαν εἰπεῖν καὶ μονόπουν, καὶ εἰ τις βούλοιτο φιλοτιμείσθαι πρὸς τὴν καινότητα τῆς χρήσεως, τραπεζοφόρον. <οὐκ> ἐπὶ τοῦτου μὲν γὰρ εὔρον τοῦνομα ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστοφάνους Γεωργοῖς· ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν εἴρηται ὁ τραπεζοφόρος, ἔστι καταχρησθαι τῷ ὀνόματι ἐκεῖ ρηθέντι ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν φέροντος, ἣ ἐπῆσαν τοῖς ἀρχουσιν αἱ μυρρίναι.

It is possible to call the table on which the drinking-cups lie, τετράπους τράπεζα ('four-footed table') and μονόπους τράπεζα ('one-footed table'), and, if one wants to aspire to the novelty of use, τραπεζοφόρον ('table-stand'). Indeed, I <do not> find the word used with this meaning in Aristophanes' *Farmers* (fr. 127): since it is said ὁ τραπεζοφόρος, it is possible that the word here said [i.e. in the passage] applies to [the person] who carries the table on which laid the myrtle-wreath for the magistrates.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Since ἀλλοθι, ἀλλοθεν, and ἀλλοσε are already Homeric forms, Moeris is likely to consider them as being representative of an old phase of Attic. On Moeris accepting Homeric forms as being proto-Attic see Swain (1996, 56). Whereas ἀλλαχόθι is attested later, ἀλλαχόθεν and ἀλλαχοῦ are both attested in Attic authors of the 5th century (among others: Antiphon, Lysias, Aeschylus, and Sophocles); they thus stand a good chance of being accepted by Moeris, not proscribed for being 'common' as in the reading of cod. F. Note, however, that according to the LSJ (s.v. ἀλλαχοῦ) ἀλλαχόθι, ἀλλαχόθεν, ἀλλαχοῦ would be discouraged by Moeris' as being less Attic.

<sup>20</sup> Blaydes (1885, 56) suggested emending ἀρχουσιν into ᾄδουσιν ('those who sing'). On this fragment see Bagordo (2022, 45–6); Ceccarelli (2019, 256–8); Pellegrino (2015, 96).

Here *καινότης* refers to the use of *τραπεζοφόρον*<sup>21</sup> as a synonym of *τράπεζα* ('table'). Since *τραπεζοφόρον* is likely to be a recent word (see Valente 2013, 156, n. 69), unattested in Classical Greek, Pollux may simply link novelty to the use of recent vocabulary. Nevertheless, here *καινότης* is presented as a trait which one can value and aspire to – arguably in order to impress one's audience, readers, or interlocutors – and may also denote an innovative, not only modern, linguistic use. Pollux's use of *καινότης* as a criterion pertaining to style in this passage nears the conception of novelty that we find in Phrynichus, who frequently develops it within the framework of his theory of style.

### 3 Phrynichus on style: *καινότης* as evaluative category in the *PS*

As the comparison with Atticist lexis demonstrates, the attention to novelty is a distinctive interest of Phrynichus. A further distinction must be drawn between his works, for in the *Eclogue* the notion of *καινότης* is anything but frequent: here, the unique occurrence of an evaluative *καινός* is in Phryn. *Ecl.* 330 (on which see below). On the contrary, *καινότης* is well represented in the *PS*, to the point that this evaluative category still survives despite the heavy epitomisation that the work suffered. The text of the *PS* that we read in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 preserves six entries where *καινός* is used to underline the novelty of a form:

Phryn. *PS* 65.20–1: ἔξηβον· τοῦτο καινόν. καθωμιλημένον τὸ ἔξωρον.

ἔξηβον ('past his youth') (Aesch. *Th.* 11): This word is original. ἔξωρον ('too old') is used currently.

Phryn. *PS* 75.19: ἰσηλιζ· καινότερον τοῦ ἡλικιώτης.

ἰσηλιζ ('equal in age'): It is more original than ἡλικιώτης.

Phryn. *PS* 94.21–95.4: οὐδὲ πάτταλον ἂν δοίης· Ὅμηρος τὸ ἄγριον καὶ ἄξενον δηλῶν 'οὐδ' ἄλα ἂν δοίη' περὶ τίνος ἔφη. Ἀριστοφάνης μεταβαλὼν ἐπὶ τὸ καινότερον 'οὐδὲ πάτταλον', εἶπε, 'δίδωσι'. πάτταλον γὰρ κἀν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐρριμένον ἔστιν εὐρεῖν. δύναται συμβολικῶς εἰπεῖν τὸν διὰ βρόχου θάνατον.

<sup>21</sup> Pollux here attests to the use of the neuter *τὸ τραπεζοφόρον* (see LSJ and *GE*, s.v. *τραπεζοφόρος*), as it is arguable from the following disambiguation with the masculine (*ὁ τραπεζοφόρος*) occurring in Ar. fr. 127. Latin borrowed this form as *trapezophorum* (neuter, see Cic. *Fam.* 7.23.3).

You would not even give a spike: Homer (*Od.* 17.455) says of someone ‘You would not even give some salt’, to signify that he is harsh and unwelcoming. Aristophanes (fr. 939), transforming [it] into a more original [expression] said: ‘They do not even give a spike’. For a spike [is something so worthless that it] can even be found thrown down in the streets. It can be said, symbolically, of death by hanging.

Phryn. *PS* 99.14–9: πολιτοκοπεῖν· καινότερον τοῦ δημοκοπεῖν, καὶ ἔοικε ταῦτόν σημαίνειν. κόπτειν δὲ νῦν ἐστὶ τὸ λιπαρῶς ἐγκεῖσθαι καὶ πείθειν παρὰ γνώμην. καὶ πολιτοκόπος καὶ δημοκόπος. Πλάτων δὲ ἐν Πεισάνδρῳ τὸ πολιτοκοπεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ λοιδορεῖν καὶ κωμωδεῖν εἶπεν.

πολιτοκοπεῖν: ‘[It is] more original than δημοκοπεῖν, and it seems to have the same meaning (‘to court the mob’). Here, κόπτειν means ‘to urge insistently’ and ‘to persuade contrary to [someone’s] opinion’. [From κόπτω one] also has πολιτοκόπος and δημοκόπος (‘who courts the mob’, ‘demagogue’). Yet Plato (Comicus), in [his] *Pisander* [fr. 113], used πολιτοκοπεῖν with the meanings ‘to reproach’ and ‘to ridicule’.

Phryn. *PS* 116.9–13: Ὑπερθεμιστοκλῆς· καινότητι ἢ φωνῇ. σημαίνει οἷον ὑπὲρ Θεμιστοκλέα τῇ σοφίᾳ. ὅμοιον Ὑπερπερικλῆς καὶ Ὑπερσωκράτης καὶ εἰ τι τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ κάπὶ τούναντίου Ὑπερευρύβατος ὁ ὑπερβάλλων Εὐρύβατον πονηρίᾳ.

Ὑπερθεμιστοκλῆς (‘a super-Themistocles’): This form is very original. It means that someone exceeds Themistocles in wisdom. In like manner, [one could say] Ὑπερπερικλῆς (‘a super-Pericles’), Ὑπερσωκράτης (‘a super-Socrates’) or the like. But, on the contrary, Ὑπερευρύβατος (‘a super-Eurybatus’) is someone who exceeds Eurybatus in wickedness.

Phryn. *PS* 120.1–2: ὑπασθενεῖν· καινῶς τὸ ἀπάρχεσθαι ἀσθενεῖν καὶ μῆπω κατέχεσθαι φανερώς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου.

ὑπασθενεῖν (‘to feel unwell’): [It is used for saying], in an original way, that one is starting to feel sick and has still not been visibly seized by illness.

An initial analysis reveals that most of the forms commented on are *hapax legomena* (as Ὑπερθεμιστοκλῆς and similar compounds and ὑπασθενέω) or extremely rare words (as it is the case for ἐξηβος and πολιτοκοπέω). It is also remarkable that the criterion of καινότης often applies to a comparison between two forms: this is confirmed by the fact that καινός is mostly used in the comparative (three times: *PS* 75.19, 94.21–95.4, 99.14–9; note also the superlative in *PS* 116.9–13).

The entries concerning ἐξηβος (*PS* 65.20–1), ἰσηλιξ (*PS* 75.19), and πολιτοκοπέω (*PS* 99.14–9) offer an interesting case study for the use of καινός in the *PS*. The three glosses, displaying the same use of καινός and sharing the same structure (A καινότερον τοῦ B), present the respective lemma as being rarer and more original than a concurring synonym. When, in *PS* 65.20–1, Phrynichus underlines the novelty of the adjective ἐξηβος (‘past his youth’), he is not likely to be thinking about a chronological newness, especially since the word is already used by Ae-

schylus (*Th.* 11), but he intends rather to highlight the originality and rarity of the form compared to ἔξωρος; the latter must have been common in his time, since its use peaks precisely in the 2nd century CE. This interpretation of καινότης is confirmed by both the fact that ἔξηρος is nearly a *hapax* in Ancient Greek (its only other extant occurrence is found, centuries later, in Libanius, *Or.* 64.59) and that καινός is opposed to another evaluative term undoubtedly referring to the frequency of use: καθωμιλημένος ‘current’.<sup>22</sup> Incidentally, this is the only extant case in the *PS* in which καινότης is opposed to another evaluative criterion offering a benchmark for its understanding,<sup>23</sup> whereas the fact that in all other entries it stands alone makes it more challenging to appreciate its meaning.

PS 99.14–9 compares πολιτοκοπέω ‘to court the mob’ to its synonym δημοκοπέω (note that Phrynichus states this synonymy cautiously, by using εἰκοι). Here too, καινός is unlikely to have a chronological meaning. After dealing with the semantics and etymology of πολιτοκοπέω, Phrynichus gives a stylistic evaluation highlighting the originality of the verb compared to the morphologically similar and more common synonym δημοκοπέω. The two verbs are mainly distinguishable for their frequency of use: whereas πολιτοκοπέω and its cognates mostly occur in the lexicographical tradition, δημοκόπος and compounds are more widely attested.<sup>24</sup> The case of ἰσηλιξ, which PS 75.19 defines as more original than ἡλικιώτης, is similar: its only classical occurrence is in Xenophon (*Smp.* 8.1), whereas its synonym ἡλικιώτης occurs dozens of times in authors belonging to the Attic canon (among others, Aristophanes, Plato, and Demosthenes).

One can infer from these entries that Phrynichus presents as original forms which he finds in classical authors but are infrequently, if not uniquely, attested.<sup>25</sup> Having ascertained that in these entries καινός has no chronological references but is rather part of the vocabulary of Phrynichus’ theories on style, it is worth asking what role these rare expressions had in his linguistic and stylistic theory. If, on the one hand, they could be considered as a valuable resource to attain linguistic distinction, on the other hand, they could also be seen as peculiar features to use with caution: the text of the entries as we have it prevents us from reaching ultimate conclusions. As regards PS 75.19, since Xenophon’s status is not firm in the Atticist canon, one may wonder if the fact that ἰσηλιξ only occurs in Xenophon is, in itself,

22 On ἔξηρος, see Gerbi (2023b), with bibliography.

23 The same opposition occurs once in the *PS*’s indirect tradition, in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101), see below; this may suggest that, originally, the contrast between καινός and καθωμιλημένος, or else other evaluative vocabulary, could be more often found in the *PS*.

24 On πολιτοκοπέω see Gerbi (2024d), with bibliography.

25 On Phrynichus’ interest in rare expressions and *hapax legomena*, a concern which peculiarly features in the *PS*, see Monaco, this volume.

a good reason to discourage the form in Phrynichus' eyes. Nevertheless, a negative sense of καινότης, although possible, would collide with what we can infer from the indirect tradition of the *PS*, where καινότης is acknowledged as a value.

## 4 The category of καινότης in the indirect tradition of the *PS*

The *Synagoge* and Photius' *Lexicon*, central to the indirect tradition of the *PS*, preserve items which confirm the relevance of καινότης in Phrynichus' lexicon. In Photius' lexicon, ten entries display the καινότης terminology<sup>26</sup> and provide us with further precious information on how Phrynichus employed this criterion:<sup>27</sup>

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101, ex Σ''), cf. Phryn. *PS* fr. \*5: ἀγανακτῶ σου· καινὸν τὸ σχῆμα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ θαυμάζω σου καὶ ἀγαμαί σου καθωμίληται, τὸ δὲ ἀγανακτῶ σου καινὸν καὶ σπάνιον. χρηστέον δὲ τῷ σχήματι διὰ τὴν καινότητα, φησὶ Φρύνιχος.

ἀγανακτῶ σου ('I am angry with you'): The construction is innovative; θαυμάζω σου and ἀγαμαί σου ('I admire you') are in fact current, but ἀγανακτῶ σου is innovative and infrequent. One should use this construction because of its novelty, Phrynichus says.

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 304 (= Phot. α 273, ex Σ''), cf. Phryn. *PS* fr. \*66: ἀγρυκτα καὶ ἄλεκτα πέπονθα· τὸ μὲν ἀγρυκτά ἐστιν ὥστε μὴδὲ γρύξαι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακῶν· γρύξαι δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ βραχύτατον φθέγγασθαι, ὃ καὶ ἀναρθρόν ἐστι, μυγμῶ ἢ στεναγμῶ παραπλήσιον. κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῷ καινότερα Φερεκράτης· '(A) τί δ' ἔπαθες; | (B) ἀγρυκτα καὶ ἄλεκτα· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι μόνῃ | αὐτῇ φράσαι σοι'.<sup>28</sup>

I have suffered unspeakable and indescribable things: ἀγρυκτα ('unspeakable') is [when someone] cannot even speak (γρύζω) out of the enormity of the evils; γρύζω means to utter a very brief sound, which is unarticulated, nearly resembling moaning or sighing. Pherecrates (fr. 168) uses this expression in a very original manner: '(A) What did you suffer? (B) Unspeakable and indescribable things, but I wish to speak only with you'.

<sup>26</sup> All entries belong to α: this is not surprising, since the section of entries in α is often the widest in lexica and since these glosses come from an expansion in α of the *Synagoge*, see below.

<sup>27</sup> From the following list is excluded Σ<sup>b</sup> α 834 (= Phot. α 899), on ἀλάστωρ: the entry has been ascribed to Phrynichus by Crönert (1907, 62), but it has not been included among the fragments of the *PS*; on the other hand, the entry, alongside Phot. α 896, 897, and 898, is acknowledged as belonging to Pausanias' fragments (α 61). For further information on these glosses see Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 95–7); Erbse (1950, 157).

<sup>28</sup> The text is here presented as it is transmitted by the *Synagoge*'s tradition. Pherecrates' text (fr. 168) reads: 'τί δ' ἔπαθες; | ἀγρυκτα κάλεκτ', ἀλλὰ βούλομαι μόνῃ | αὐτῇ φράσαι σοι'.

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 404 (= Phot. α 414, *ex Σ''*), cf. Phryn. *PS* fr. \*91: αἰνῶς γλῶσσα καὶ αἰνῶς φωνὴ καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων χρῶ. Κρατῖνος· γλῶσσάν τέ σοι | δίδωσιν ἐν δήμῳ φορεῖν | καλῶν λόγων αἰνῶν, | ἧ πάντα κινήσεις λέγων· ἐρεῖς δὲ καὶ τὸ αἰνῶς ποταμὸς καὶ αἰνῶς κρήνη, διὰ τὸ ἐγκεῖσθαι τῇ λέξει τὸ νάειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ρεῖν. ἴδιον δὲ ὕδατος τὸ ρεῖν· τὸ δὲ γλῶττα αἰνῶς πάνυ καινὸν καὶ ἐναργῶς εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῆς δεινῆς εἰπεῖν.

Ever-flowing tongue, and ever-flowing voice, and anger, and desire. Use ('ever-flowing') with expressions of the same kind. Cratinus (fr. 327): 'he/she/it offers you a tongue to wield in public, ever-flowing with persuasive words, with which you will accomplish everything when you speak'.<sup>29</sup> You will also say 'ever-flowing river' and 'ever-flowing source', for in the word (αἰνῶς) is embedded νάω, that is to flow.<sup>30</sup> Flowing is a distinctive feature of water, but 'ever-flowing tongue' is said in a very original and vivid manner of the tongue which is clever at speaking'.

Phot. α 551 (cf. Phryn. *PS* 20.1–2): ᾄδειν ὁμοιον· καινотάτη ἡ σύνταξις καὶ Ἀττικῶς, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη, εἰρημένη. σημαίνει δὲ τὸ μάτην λέγειν, ὡς εἰ καὶ ἄλλως ᾄδειν ἐθέλοι τις ἐν οὐδενὶ πράγματι ἀνυσίμῳ. Εὐπολις ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις 'ὅμοιον ᾄδειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἄλλως ἔχων'. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Γεωργοῖς ἐξηγούμενος τὸ ᾄδεις, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ μάτην λέγεις τίθεται, παρομοιωδὲς αὐτὸ ποιεῖ· φησὶ γάρ '(A) καὶ τὰς δίκας οὖν ἔλεγον ᾄδοντες τότε; | (B) νὴ Δία, φράσω δ' ἐγὼ μέγα σοι {καὶ} τεκμήριον· | ἐτι γὰρ λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καθήμενοι, | ὅταν κακῶς τις ἀπολογῇται τὴν δίκην, | 'ᾄδεις'. <ἐν> συνουσίᾳ χρῶ κατὰ Φρύνιχον.

ᾄδειν ὁμοιον ('to sing the same song'): The construction is very original and expressed in the Attic-way like no other. It means 'to speak in vain', as if one wanted [to say] to sing purposelessly, to no useful purpose. Eupolis in his *Draft-dodgers* (fr. 39) [says]: ὁμοιον ᾄδειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἄλλως ἔχων ('to sing the same song, for it cannot be otherwise'). Aristophanes, in his *Farmers* (fr. 101), explaining ᾄδεις, which is intended as 'you speak in vain', presents it as proverbial. He says: '(A) At that time, did they use to sing their pleas? (B) Yes, by Zeus, and I am going to give you great evidence: the elder judges, when someone defends himself poorly against an accusation, still say: 'You are singing''. It can be used in conversation, according to Phrynichus.

Phot. α 1377 (cf. Phryn. *PS* 49.1–2): ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· καινὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ διεσχηματισμένος· ἦν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν εἰπεῖν εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν. εἴποις δ' ἂν καὶ οὕτως· περὶ ἀθλητὰς δαπανᾶν, περὶ ἐταίρας <καὶ> πᾶν ὃ τι ὁμοιον. οὕτως Ξενοφῶν καὶ Φρύνιχος.

To spend money ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ('on the troops'): The expression is novel and [innovatively] shaped. The natural way for saying it would be 'to spend money εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα'. You could also say so: περὶ ἀθλητὰς δαπανᾶν ('to spend money on champions'), [to spend] περὶ ἐταίρας ('on courtesans') and anything alike. So [say] Xenophon (*An.* 1.1.8) and Phrynichus.

<sup>29</sup> Transl. Olson, Seaberg (2018, 78).

<sup>30</sup> I propose here a change in punctuation which underlines the opposition between flowing being a typical image for water and the innovative use on the part of Cratinus. The text in Theodoridis (1982–2013 vol. 1, 49) reads: "ὅπερ ἐστὶ ρεῖν· ἴδιον δὲ ὕδατος τὸ ρεῖν. τὸ δὲ γλῶττα [. . .]".



Phot. α 1488 (cf. Phryn. *PS* 14.6): ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασὺ βλέπειν· ἀναιδὴς μὲν καὶ θρασὺς κατωμίληται. τὸ δὲ ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασὺ βλέπειν καινῶς εἴρηκε Κρατῖνος. ἡ λέξις Φρυνίχου.

‘To look shamelessly and boldly’: Both shameless and bold are current, but Cratinus said, in an original way, ‘to look shamelessly and boldly’. This gloss is from Phrynichus.

Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801, ex Σ’), cf. Phryn. *PS* 21.12: ἀνεμος καὶ ὀλεθρος ἄνθρωπος· πάνυ καινῶς εἴρηται καὶ ἐναργῶς. ἔστι δὲ Εὐπόλιδος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνεμος δηλοῖ τὸ πανταχοῦ φερόμενον ἀνέμου δίκην καὶ ἀλώμενον καὶ ἀβέβαιον, τὸ δὲ ὀλεθρος ὀλέθρου ἄξιον καὶ ἀπωλείας. χρῆσι δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, ὥς φησι Φρύνιχος, ἐν συνουσίαις.

A person [who is] wind and ruin: It is said in quite a novel and vivid manner. [The expression] belongs to Eupolis (fr. 406); for the word ‘wind’ indicates something that goes in every direction, as the wind does, and that wanders about and is unfixed, while [the word] ‘ruin’ [indicates something] worthy of ruin and destruction. You should use the phrase, says Phrynichus, in conversation’.<sup>31</sup>

Phot. α 1913 (cf. Phryn. *PS* 44.7–10): ἀνῆδομαι ἐφ’ οἷς ἤσθην ποτέ· οὐκέτι ἡδομαι, ἀλλ’ ἐκβάλλω τὴν ἡδονήν. καινὴ ἡ φωνὴ καὶ πολιτικώτερόν τι ἔχουσα. Ἑρμιππος Θεοῖς.

I renounce my enjoyment of the things I once enjoyed: I do not enjoy [something] anymore, I reject the pleasure. The expression is original, and it has something particularly urban. Hermippus in *Gods* (fr. 28).

Phot. α 1980 (Phryn. *PS* fr. \*193): ἄνθρωπος οὐ σεμνός· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ ἐπιτυχῶν καὶ εὐτελής· καινῶς πάνυ εἴρηται παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει.

‘A not reverend man’: Meaning the first one passing by and a worthless person. It is found, in a novel manner, in Aristophanes (fr. 729).

All these entries are related to Phrynichus’ *PS*. In five entries (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 = Phot. α 101 = Phryn. *PS* fr. \*5; Phot. α 551 = Phryn. *PS* 20.1–2; Phot. α 1377 = Phryn. *PS* 49.1–2; Phot. α 1488 = Phryn. *PS* 14.6; Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 = Phot. α 1801 = Phryn. *PS* 21.12), Phrynichus is openly mentioned as the source of the doctrine (Φρύνιχος, in Phot. α 1377; φησι Φρύνιχος [‘Phrynichus says’] in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 = Phot. α 101 and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 = Phot. α 1801; κατὰ Φρύνιχον [‘according to Phrynichus’] in Phot. α 551; ἡ λέξις Φρυνίχου [‘the gloss goes back to Phrynichus’], in Phot. α 1488). In Phot. α 1913, although Phrynichus is not mentioned, a parallel with the *PS* is identifiable with certainty: the gloss derives in fact from *PS* 44.7–10. Moreover, three entries (Phot. α 273 = Phryn. *PS* fr. \*66; Phot. α 414 = Phryn. *PS* fr. \*91; Phot. α 1980 = Phryn. *PS* fr. \*193) have been included among the fragments of the *PS* precisely on the basis of the

31 Transl. Olson (2014, 173).

employment of the evaluative terminology of καινότης, that de Borries has recognised as a peculiar feature of this work.<sup>32</sup>

The above-mentioned items concern two broad linguistic areas. Two entries focus on syntactic constructions: Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101) and Phot. α 1377 (note that in Phot. α 551, instead, σύνταξις does not necessarily imply that the gloss comments upon a syntactic structure<sup>33</sup>), while the others deal with expressions which Phrynichus considered to be *callidae iuncturae*, whose efficacy and elegance he praised. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101) deals with the syntactic construction of ἀγανακτῶ + genitive, of which it states the admissibility. Its topic, alongside the evaluative vocabulary it employs, suggests a comparison with Phryn. *Ecl.* 330,<sup>34</sup> where Phrynichus condemns the construction of ἀκολουθέω (and *verba sequendi* in general) with the prepositional phrase with the genitive in place of the standard construction with the plain dative. On this matter, the *Eclogue* has a strict view: the construction with the prepositional phrase is presented as not admissible in good Attic and rejected as being alien to Attic (ξένος) and deplorable (παραιτητέος), to the point that Phrynichus speculates whether the use of such construction on the part of Lysias may not be spurious.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, in *Ecl.* 330 the prepositional construction of *verba sequendi* with the genitive is identified as a καινὸν σχῆμα, a ‘novel construction’, the same label that in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101) is applied to the

32 See de Borries (1911, 141, 145, and 157): ‘Phrynichi more dicta’; ‘verba αἰνῶς πάνυ καινὸν καὶ ἐναργῶς εἴρηται Phryn. indicant’; ‘verba καινῶς πάνυ Phryn. indicant’. The provenance of these entries from the PS, although bound to remain unprovable, appears plausible.

33 σύνταξις can simply indicate a phrasing as a ‘combination’ of words, in this case ὁμοιον with the verb ᾄδω, which can be metaphorically used meaning ‘to repeat’, ‘to speak in vain’ alone. It is hard to identify to what syntactical construction Phrynichus would refer. ᾄδεν has sometimes been interpreted as a jussive infinitive (Olson 2017, 164), but this appears slightly strained in Eupolis’ text (fr. 39); the infinite could be exclamatory as well, but ᾄδεν is not necessarily an independent infinitive and could easily depend upon a not transmitted clause. A further possibility is that the syntactical construction which is commented upon is the cognate object, but this would be a quite weak example. See Gerbi (2024b).

34 Phryn. *Ecl.* 330: τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα μετ’ αὐτοῦ. Λυσίας ἐν τῷ Κατ’ Αὐτοκράτους οὕτω τῇ συντάξει χρῆται, ἐχρῆν δὲ οὕτως εἰπεῖν· τὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτῷ. τί ἂν οὖν φαίη τις, ἀμαρτεῖν τὸν Λυσίαν, ἢ νοθεύειν καινοῦ σχήματος χρήσιν; ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ξένη ἢ σύνταξις, πάντῃ παραιτητέα, ῥητέον δὲ ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ (‘τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα μετ’ αὐτοῦ: Lysias in his *Against Autocrates* [fr. 61 Carey] uses the syntax in this way; but he should have said it like this: τὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτῷ ([the boy] following him’). What should one say, that Lysias is wrong, or that this use of an uncommon construction is spurious? But since the syntax is unusual, to be rejected in every way, one must say ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ instead’).

35 See Gerbi (2023c). Phrynichus does not suggest that Lysias’ oration is spurious, but that its text is corrupted, as proven by the use of such non-Attic construction. On the use of νοθεύω (‘to render spurious’, ‘to consider spurious’) in this passage and its potential ambiguity see Kim (2023, 132–3).

construction of ἀγανακτέω with the genitive. In this entry of the *Eclogue*, the rarity of such syntax – which is in fact very scarcely attested in Classical Greek<sup>36</sup> – is rightly stressed: καινός is matched by σπάνιος (‘rare’) and opposed to καθωμίληται.<sup>37</sup> The most remarkable thing, however, is that in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101) Phrynichus is said to have recommended the use of such construction precisely for its originality and rarity: the gloss leaves no room for doubt about the positive connotation of καινότης. The fact that καινὸν σχῆμα applies to two constructions whose status ends up being diametrically opposed – the former, in *Ecl.* 330, is proscribed, while the other, in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101), is recommended<sup>38</sup> – shows that καινότης does not have a predetermined sense, but can be intended positively or negatively depending on each case. If many times καινός positively describes words or phrases that have some potential and are worthy of praise for their being refined and effective, it might instead also criticise abstruse and inefficient phrasings that would be better avoided. The criterion of καινότης, which is applicable *per se* to words and expressions whose novelty is remarkable, is thus useful for enforcing the stylistic evaluation of words, expressions, and constructions. For this reason, the presence of other evaluative terms complementing the καινότης terminology proves to be particularly advantageous for understanding this category. Whereas in the *PS* καινότης stands almost always alone, in its indirect tradition it is often accompanied by further evaluative terminology which clarifies its sense. From this, it is reasonable to infer that some complementing evaluative vocabulary originally in the *PS* was suppressed during the epitomisation, maybe because novelty was considered the most prominent feature of such expressions (see below, Section 5). In the entries of the *Synagoge* and Photius’ lexicon, novelty takes on a positive value, as it is confirmed by the cases in which καινότης is reinforced by other praising terms as Ἀττικῶς (‘in the Attic way’) and ἐναργῶς (‘vividly’); the category of πολιτικός too, with which novelty is matched

36 In Classical Greek, the only occurrence of ἀγανακτέω constructed with the genitive appears to be in Lys. 14.39: τῶν τειχῶν καθηρημένων ἀγανακτεῖ (‘[any of you] is outraged about the walls that were destroyed’).

37 The rarity of the construction of ἀγανακτέω with the genitive is contrasted with the more common construction with the genitive of θαυμάζω and ἀγαμαι (‘to admire’). As we have seen, the same opposition (καινόν vs. καθωμιλημένον) occurs in Phryn. *PS* 65.20.

38 Possibly, Phrynichus judged the replacement of the dative with the plain genitive less severely than the replacement of the dative with the prepositional phrase. Moreover, the fact that the construction with the genitive of both θαυμάζω and ἀγαμαι was accepted and even recommended by Atticist scholarship (Moer. θ 17; Moer. α 1) could easily have played a part in leading Phrynichus to extend the acceptance of the same construction for ἀγανακτέω by means of analogy (see further in Gerbi 2024a, with bibliography).

in Phot. α 1913, has a positive connotation, being a desirable quality for a well-trained rhetor.<sup>39</sup>

In Phot. α 551, the phrase ᾄδειν ὁμοιον is said to be ‘very original and expressed in an Attic fashion like no other’: the statement of the Attic pedigree ensures that καινότης is seen as a value.<sup>40</sup> That Phrynichus, explicitly mentioned as the source of the doctrine, is said to recommend its use in conversation (ἐν συνουσίᾳ), is further proof of the positive sense of καινός: Phrynichus considered indeed the expression to be brilliant and particularly suitable in a conversation between learned people.<sup>41</sup> According to Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801), another expression which Phrynichus viewed as suitable for conversation is ἀνεμος καὶ ὀλεθρος ἄνθρωπος,<sup>42</sup> a phrasing that is said to be innovative and vivid (ἐναργῶς). ἐνάργεια (‘vividness’), denoting expressive means having a strong visual impact, is a key-concept of ancient rhetoric.<sup>43</sup> Its use as an evaluative criterion is noteworthy as proof that Phrynichus’ interest was not limited to linguistic purism but extended to stylistic efficacy and rhetorical strength. To some extent, some considerations made for καινότης can also be applied to the criterion of ἐνάργεια. This category is employed once by Phrynichus in *PS* 12.9–10 (where the expression αἰρεσθαι τιμαῖς, ‘being lifted by honours’, is described as ἐναργής, ‘vivid’) and features more widely in the indirect tradition of the lexicon. It is found in three entries which have been attributed to the *PS* by de Borries and Theodoridis: Phot. α 2058 (= Phryn. *PS* fr. \*23), on ἀνταυγὲς κάλλος (‘sparkling beauty’);<sup>44</sup> Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1350 (= Phot. α 1784 = Phryn. *PS* fr. 185), on ἀνεγείρει καὶ ῥιπίζει τὸν ὄχλον ἢ τὴν πόλιν (‘s/he rouses and blows up the mob or the city’); and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 404 (= Phot. α 414 = Phryn.

<sup>39</sup> On πολιτικός as ‘the very quality that the language of the aspiring skilled rhetor should possess’, see the article of O. Tribulato in this volume.

<sup>40</sup> Scholia provide some parallel for the match of καινός and Ἀττικῶς; see schol. [Aesch.] *Pr.* 118.3 Herington; schol. Aesch. *Th.* 400–400b Smith. As Jacopo Cavarzeran kindly informs me, the same match is also to be found in an unpublished scholium by Thomas Magister (schol. rec. Eur. *Hec.* 38 [cod. Vat. gr. 51]), where a σχῆμα is said to be ‘καινοπρεπὲς καὶ Ἀττικῶς λεγόμενον’ (‘novel and shaped in an Attic fashion’).

<sup>41</sup> On the expression ᾄδειν ὁμοιον, its semantics and its ties with a metaphorical meaning of ᾄδω (standing for ‘to speak in vain’) see Gerbi (2024b), with bibliography.

<sup>42</sup> On this expression, which plays on the abusing sense of ὀλεθρος, see Gerbi (2024c), with bibliography. On Phrynichus’ interest in collecting abusing expressions see Pellettieri, in this volume.

<sup>43</sup> On the notion of ἐνάργεια and its importance in the rhetorical tradition, see at least Nünlist (2009, 194–8); Togni (2013–2014); Berardi (2017, 143–7).

<sup>44</sup> Whereas Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1350 (= Phot. α 1784) and Σ<sup>b</sup> α 404 (= Phot. α 414) are attributed to the *PS* based on the evaluative terminology they show, Phot. α 2058 openly mentions Phrynichus as the source of the doctrine.

*PS* fr. \*91), on ἀείνωνς γλῶσσα ('everlasting tongue') and analogous expressions.<sup>45</sup> As it is the case for καινότης, ἐνάργεια appears otherwise to be absent in Atticist lexica.<sup>46</sup> Vividness thus seems to be another criterion that was given value in Phrynichus' *PS* in the frame of a stylistic theory which promoted, among other rhetorical strategies, potential *callidae iuncturae*.

## 5 The evaluative terminology of καινότης in the frame of the epitomising process

Arguing on the basis of a comparison between the extant text of the *PS* in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 and the entries of its indirect tradition, one can reasonably conclude that, originally, the *PS* was very much likely characterised by a more substantial presence of evaluative terminology than what is now extant. If some evaluative vocabulary does surface in the lexicon, many times it is scarcely visible, while the indirect tradition is rich in evaluative terminology and preserves information on register, style, and rhetorical efficacy which would be otherwise lost.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, as we have seen, whereas Phryn. *PS* 20.1–2 only provides information on the semantics of the phrase ἄδιν ὁμοιον, Phot. α 551 preserves an extended version of the doctrine, including the citation of two *loci*<sup>48</sup> and the evaluation of the expression with regard to register and style. Analogously, Phryn. *PS* 21.12 consists only in the ascription to Eupolis of the use of both ἄνεμος and ὀλεθρος in an abusive sense, whereas the *Synagoge* and Photius' lexicon (Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 = Phot. α 1801) also include the explanation of the metaphors' meaning and a stylistic evaluation. The same applies to *PS* 49.1–2, which limits itself to citing analogous phrasings, whereas Phot. α 1377 preserves the evaluative vocabulary and makes the original focus on syntax clear.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Note that this entry combines both the criteria of καινότης and ἐνάργεια, like Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801, on ἄνεμος καὶ ὀλεθρος ἄνθρωπος) does, and, remarkably, it adopts a quasi-identical formulation.

<sup>46</sup> Moeris' lexicon, Pollux's *Onomasticon*, the *Antiatticist*, and the *Philetaerus* do not bear traces neither of ἐνάργεια nor of ἐναργής or ἐναργῶς.

<sup>47</sup> Some examples are in de Borries (1911, xxxi–xxxii).

<sup>48</sup> Eup. fr. 39 and Ar. fr. 101 (on which see Bagordo 2022, 11–2). Note that this entry is the only source for both fragments.

<sup>49</sup> According to Phot. α 1377, Phrynichus' entry notes as remarkable the use of ἀμφί instead of εἰς in a passage by Xenophon (*An.* 1.1.8): ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν ('to spend money on the troops').

It is remarkable that, conversely, the entries of the *PS* which still preserve the *καινότης* terminology are not paralleled in the *Synagoge* nor in Photius' lexicon and, when a parallel can be found, the evaluative vocabulary is not preserved. For instance, the entry of the *PS* on πολιτοκοπεῖν (99.14–9) is quite ample and includes remarks on style, while the tradition of the *Synagoge* confines itself to the information that the verb occurs in Diphilus.<sup>50</sup> The third expansion of the *Synagoge*, substantially confined to α,<sup>51</sup> played a major role in the transmission of doctrines of the *PS* commenting on style. It follows from this that the indirect tradition preserves the *καινότης* terminology otherwise lost in the epitome only in glosses in α, whereas for entries in letters other than α the text in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 stands alone, as regards the evaluative terminology.

The relationship between the *PS* and its indirect tradition is not of immediate understanding; moreover, this case study has the limit of being based on a very small group of items. Nevertheless, some observations can be made. As we have seen, while four items, ascribable to the third expansion of the *Synagoge*, are shared by both the *Synagoge* B and Photius' lexicon – Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243 (= Phot. α 101); Σ<sup>b</sup> α 304 (= Phot. α 273); Σ<sup>b</sup> α 404 (= Phot. α 414); Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801), the remaining ones – Phot. α 551; Phot. α 1377; Phot. α 1488; Phot. α 1913; Phot. α 1980 – only occur in Photius.

The items occurring only in Photius' lexicon and those it shares with the *Synagoge* B are analogously structured and treated: this may suggest their common origin from the third expansion of the *Synagoge*. On the other hand, several entries in Photius' lexicon are absent from the *Synagoge* B: this can be explained by a different choice of the items on the lexicographers' part or by the fact that Photius could have access, compared to the compiler of the *Synagoge* B, to a more expanded text of Phrynichus' materials, perhaps through a more complete redaction of the third expansion of the *Synagoge*. In any case, back then a version of the *PS* was available which, whether it was non-epitomised or, most likely, less epitomised, was significantly more extensive than the epitome we possess. This reconstruction, although limited, is in line with what we know on the transmission of such material.<sup>52</sup>

50 Phot. π 1022 = *Su.* π 1919: πολιτοκοπεῖν· Δίφιλος. (πολιτοκοπεῖν: Diphilus [used it] [fr. 132]). Note that Diphilus' mention does not occur in the doctrine of the *PS*, where the *locus classicus* which is adduced is Pl. Com. fr. 113.

51 The expansions of the *Synagoge* as we can reconstruct them are mainly limited to α: on them, see Cunningham (2003, 49–57; 57–8). Nevertheless, expansions of the *Synagoge* were made for all letters: on expansions after α, see Cunningham (2003, 57–8).

52 On the textual vicissitudes of the *PS*, see Cavarzeran (this volume), with two proposals of its stemma, and Favi (this volume).

Given the uncertainty on the dynamics of its transmission, a staple can be found in the role played by the indirect tradition in the understanding of the aims of the *PS* as a work meant for an all-round linguistic and rhetorical education, sensible to stylistic issues, to register, and to context. With respect to the theory of style, the diffuse employment of the criterion of καινότης has proven to be an interesting and – you will pardon the pun – *original* feature of the *PS*, which distinguishes it from other Atticist lexica and the *Eclogue* itself for the attention it pays to style. As we have seen, moreover, the meaning of καινός is not predetermined, but nuanced and tailored case by case: this suggests that the theory of style of the *PS* was much more articulated and multifaceted than what we can gather from the materials preserved in the epitome.

## Bibliography

- Bagordo, A. (2018). ‘κομψευριπτικῶς. Tracce di Euripide socratico-sofistico nella commedia attica’. In: Bigliazzi, S.; Lupi, F.; Ugolini, G. (eds.), *Συναγωνίζεσθαι. Studies in Honour of Guido Avezzi*. Verona, 457–90.
- Bagordo, A. (2022). *Aristophanes fr. 101–204. Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Göttingen.
- Blaydes, F. H. M. (1855). *Aristophanis Comoediae. Adnotatione critica, commentario exegetico, et scholiis Graecis instruxit Federicus H. M. Blaydes*. Pars XII: *Fragmenta*. Halle.
- de Borries, I. (1911). *Phrynichi Sophistae Praeparatio sophistica*. Leipzig.
- Borsoni Ciccolungo, E. (2011). ‘La novità poetica come principio compositivo: ipotesi di un’evoluzione da Pindaro a Callimaco’. *ARF* 12, 41–58.
- Borsoni Ciccolungo, E. (2016). *Dichiarazioni di novità poetica nei contesti letterari della Grecia arcaica e classica*. [PhD dissertation] University of Bologna.
- Burstein, S. M. (2012). ‘Agatharchides of Knidos (86)’. Worthington, I. (ed.), *Jacoby Online. Brill’s New Jacoby. Part II*. DOI: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363\\_bnj\\_a86](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363_bnj_a86).
- Ceccarelli, S. (2019). *Commedia antica e campagna attica. I Contadini e le Navi mercantili di Aristofane*. [PhD dissertation] University of Rome.
- Crönert, W. (1907). ‘Animadversiones in Photii fragmentum Berolinense’. *RhM* 62, 479–82.
- Cunningham, I. C. (2003). *Synagoge. Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων. Texts of the Original Version and of MS. B*. Berlin, New York.
- D’Angour, A. (2011). *The Greeks and the New. Novelty in Ancient Greek Imagination and Experience*. Cambridge.
- De Jonge, C. C. (2008). *Between Grammar and Rhetoric. Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Language, Linguistics and Literature*. Leiden, Boston.
- Del Corno, D. (1985). *Aristofane. Le Rane*. Milano.
- De Martin, S. (2025). *Proclide – Timoteo. Introduzione, traduzione e commento*. Göttingen.
- Dover, K. (1993). *Aristophanes. Frogs. Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford.
- Erbse, E. (1950). *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*. Berlin.
- Franchini, E. (2020). *Ferecrate. Krapataloi – Pseudherakles (fr. 85–163). Introduzione, traduzione, commento*. Heidelberg.
- Gentili, B. et al. (2013). *Pindaro. Le Olimpiche*. Milan.

- Gerbi, G. (2023a). 'ἀκροφύσιον, ἀπ' ἀκροφυσίων λόγους ἐπιδεικνύναι (Phryn. PS fr. \*236)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/003>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023b). 'ἔξηβος (Phryn. PS 65.20–1)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/024>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023c). 'ἀκολουθεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ (Antiatt. α 122, Phryn. Ecl. 330, Σ<sup>b</sup> α 747 [= Phot. α 789])'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/021>.
- Gerbi, G. (2024a). 'ἀνακτῶ σου (Phryn. PS fr. \*5 [= Σ<sup>b</sup> α 243, Phot. α 101])'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/01/004>.
- Gerbi, G. (2024b). 'ἄδεν ὁμοιον (Phryn. PS 20.1–2, Phot. α 551)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/012>.
- Gerbi, G. (2024c). 'ἄνεμος καὶ ὀλεθρος ἄνθρωπος (Phryn. PS 21.12)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/029>.
- Gerbi, G. (2024d). 'πολιτικοπέω (Phryn. PS 99.14–9, Poll. 9.26)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/014>.
- Halliwell, S. (2006). 'An Aristotelian Perspective on Plato's Dialogues'. In: Herrmann, F. G. (ed.), *New Essays on Plato*. Swansea, 189–211.
- Hansen, D. U. (1998). *Das attizistische Lexicon des Moeris. Quellenkritische Untersuchung und Edition*. Berlin, New York.
- Heubeck, A.; West, S.; Hainsworth, J. B. (1988). *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*. Vol. 1: *Introduction and Books 1–8*. Oxford.
- Kim, L. (2023). 'Imperial Greek Atticism. A Culture of Forgery? Phrynichus and the Terminology of "Authenticity"'. In: Hopkins, J. N.; McGill, S. (eds.), *Forgery Beyond Deceit. Fabrication, Value, and the Desire for Ancient Rome*. Oxford, 121–44.
- Mattusch, C. C. (1975). 'Pollux on Bronze Casting. A New Look at κάναβος'. *GRBS* 16, 309–16.
- Murray, A. T. (1919). *Homer. Odyssey*. Vol. 1: *Books 1–12*. Translated by A. T. Murray. Revised by George E. Dimock. Cambridge, MA.
- North Fowler, H. (1914). *Plato*. Vol. 1: *Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo. Phaedrus*. Translated by H. North Fowler. Introduction by W. M. R. Lamb. Cambridge, MA.
- Nünlist, R. (2009). *The Ancient Critic at Work. Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*. Cambridge.
- Olson, S. D. (2014). *Eupolis fr. 326–497. Translation and Commentary*. Heidelberg.
- Olson, S. D. (2017). *Eupolis, Testimonia and Aiges – Demoi (fr. 1–146). Introduction, Translation, Commentary*. Heidelberg.
- Olson, S. D.; Seaberg, R. (2018). *Kratinos fr. 299–514. Translation and Commentary*. Göttingen.
- Swain, S. (1996). *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*. Oxford, New York.
- Pellegrino, M. (2015). *Aristofane. Frammenti*. Lecce, Rovato.
- Theodoridis, C. (1982–2013). *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*. 3 vols. Berlin, New York.
- Togni, P. (2013–2014). 'Enargeia e Phantasia nel capitolo 15 del trattato *Sul sublime*. Le fonti dello Pseudo Longino'. *IFC* 13, 217–38.



- Valente, S. (2013). 'Osservazioni su συνήθεια e χρήσις nell'Onomastico di Polluce'. In: Mauduit, C. (ed.), *L'Onomasticon de Pollux. Aspects culturels, rhétoriques et lexicographiques*. Lyon, 147–63.
- West, M. L. (1998). *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*. Vol. 1: Archilochus. Hipponax. *Theognidea*. 2nd edition. Oxford.
- Wiater, N. (2011). *The Ideology of Classicism. Language, History, and Identity in Dionysus of Halicarnassus*. Göttingen.
- Zimmermann, B. (2008). *Dithyrambos. Geschichte einer Gattung*. 2nd edition. Berlin.



Andrea Pellettieri

# Learned rudeness: Abusive expressions in Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica*

## 1 Introduction

Competition, rivalry, and personal attack were prominent in the world of the Second Sophistic, dominated as it was by the 'ideal of ambition'.<sup>1</sup> Prospective rhetors and sophists were expected to develop a suitable apparatus of rhetorical tools: as early as their apprenticeships, they could familiarise themselves with the practice of ψόγος ('abuse'), an element of the *progymnasmata* (preliminary rhetorical exercises) that was considered to be the exact counterpart of ἔπαινος ('praise').<sup>2</sup>

Against this background, it is unsurprising that abusive language occupies a significant place in the erudite works of the imperial era. For instance, many word lists in Pollux's *Onomasticon* are based on a distinction between ἔπαινος and ψόγος (see, e.g., Poll. 9.21: εἰ δὲ ψέγοις τὴν μείζω πόλιν, ἔκμετρον ὑπέρμετρον, κτλ – 'If you abuse a bigger city, [you can say] 'out of measure', 'beyond all measure', etc.'). Such a distinction surely also played a part in Phrynichus' *PS*,<sup>3</sup> with several entries featuring metalinguistic evaluations of abusive language:

*PS* 2.7–8: ἀμφορίστερος, σκωπτικὸν πάνυ τὸ ὄνομα.

ἀμφορίστερος ('with two left hands'). The expression is highly offensive.

*PS* 17.13–4: ἀνδρόγυνον ἄθυρμα· εἰ θέλοις γύνυνιν τινὰ σκῶψαι, χρήσαιο ἄν.

ἀνδρόγυνον ἄθυρμα ('androgynous plaything'): You may use it if you want to abuse an effete man.

*PS* 22.14–6: ἀνθρωπίσκος φαῦλος [ . . . ] τὸ μέντοι ἀνθρωπίσκος ἐπὶ καταφρονήσεως τίθεται.

---

1 Whitmarsh (2005, 12; 37–40). On the agonistic culture and the competition that characterise sophistry, see also Bowersock (1969, 89–100); Pernot (1993 vol. 1, 487); Gleason (1995, 26–8; 47–8; 72–3; 123–4; 128; 133; 144 n. 48; 166); Schmitz (1997, 101–35); Eshleman (2012, 136–8).

2 Both ψόγος and ἔπαινος hark back to a long literary tradition. On the subject as a whole, see Koster (1983); Rosen (1988); Pernot (1993 vol. 1, 481–90); Serafim (2017, 61–6); Polemis (2021); Quiruga Puertas (2022, 170–5). On the *progymnasmata*, see Berardi (2017), with additional bibliography.

3 See the chapter by Olga Tribulato in this volume.

άνθρωπ(ί)σος φαῦλος ('a manikin who is worth nothing'): [. . .] 'Manikin' is said in contempt.

PS 39.1: Αἴτην ἄνθρωπος· εἴ τις βούλοιο ἀποσκῶψαί τινα [. . .].

Αἴτην ἄνθρωπος ('a man who is an Etna'): [You can use it] if you want to jeer at someone [. . .].

Moreover, in his summary of the *PS*, Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 158.101b.3) says that some of the expressions that Phrynichus collected may be used for 'scoptic talks' (εἰς τὰς σκωπτικὰς [. . .] λαλιάς). Although it is impossible to ascertain whether these words can be traced back to Phrynichus, λαλιά here probably refers to those informal rhetorical performances described, for instance, by Menander Rhetor,<sup>4</sup> suggesting that Phrynichus' *PS* was at least partly concerned with the rhetorical practice of ψόγος.<sup>5</sup> This is further corroborated by Phrynichus' engagement with the counterpart of ψόγος: see *PS* 101.12–3: πέλαιος ἢ πόλις ἐστίν· εἰ θέλοις ἐγκωμιάζειν πόλιν ('This city is a sea': [You can say that] if you want to praise a city').

The aim of this paper is to offer an overview of scoptic expressions in the *PS* and their possible applications. In this regard, it is necessary to address several premises. First, a definition of 'scoptic' is required. Admittedly, it is not a technical term, but in the discussion that follows, I shall adopt it as a loan translation that recalls the terminology found in the *PS*, as the aforementioned passages show.<sup>6</sup> From a pragmatic perspective, a scoptic expression may be a speech act that emphasises one or more of the addressee's characteristics (whether at an individual level or as a particular category of human beings) that are partially or wholly contrary to the speakers' val-

<sup>4</sup> See Russell, Wilson (1981, 295); Pernot (1993 vol. 2, 546; 558–9).

<sup>5</sup> On the role of ψόγος in the λαλιά, see Men.Rh. 391.6–10 Spengel: ἀποσκῶψεις δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ψέξεις ἀνωνύμως ὑπογράφων τὸ πρόσωπον, εἰ βούλοιο, καὶ τὸ ἦθος διαβάλλων, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἐπαινεῖν ἐξῆν ἐκ πάσης ἀρετῆς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐγκώμια, οὕτως ἐξεστὶ σοὶ ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας διαβάλλειν καὶ ψέγειν, ὅταν ἐθελήσῃς ('You should often ridicule and find fault, but without mentioning names, sketching the personality, if you so wish, and criticizing the character. Just as in praising it proved possible to ground encomia on any virtue, so it is possible here to criticize and find fault on the ground of any vice, as desired'; transl. Russell, Wilson 1981, 119).

<sup>6</sup> On σκώπτω, διασκώπτω, etc., as 'verbal forms which are used to introduce the comments on personal jokes' in the extant scholia on Aristophanes, see the remarks in Chronopoulos (2011, 212–3). The definition of 'scoptic expression' as a speech act that I give in the following lines, although based on some generally accepted points (see already Brown, Levinson 1987), is tailored to a specific corpus – that is, the abridged version of Phrynichus' *PS*. In such cases, a certain degree of 'methodological eclecticism seems [. . .] unavoidable' (Berger, Unceta Gómez 2022, 20). For a treatment of verbal and non-verbal behaviour in Greek and Latin from the perspective of politeness theory, see ultimately Berger, Unceta Gómez (2022), with additional bibliography.

ues and attitudes. Scoptic speech acts may vary in intensity and, most importantly for our purposes, are not necessarily derogatory – the context and the relationships between speakers are fundamental to understanding their true pragmatic intent.<sup>7</sup> A further preliminary consideration is necessary: although comedy was undoubtedly a major source for Phrynichus, we should refrain from regarding every scoptic expression in the *PS* as a comic fragment, given that personal attack, abuse, and mockery are often found in oratory as well as in other literary genres, as we shall see.

In the discussion that follows, I shall draw up a first – albeit tentative – list of scoptic expressions in the *PS*, offering hypotheses on their classification and what this might tell us about the work's original structure. Subsequently, I shall focus on the evaluative terminology used by Phrynichus to better understand several of the labels frequently applied to scoptic expressions. In particular, I shall deal with ὀστέϊος and its cognates to argue that the *PS* includes diverse scoptic speech acts based on different 'degrees of coarseness'. In addition to severely abusive expressions, the work includes many witty sayings, some of which were likely (even if not exclusively) to have been suited to non-derogatory use in the context of erudite conversation. Several verbal puns probably remain undetected among such witty sayings, as I shall argue in the paper's final section.

## 2 Searching for scoptic expressions in the *PS*

The abovementioned entries in the *PS* suggest that the work contained instances of evaluative terminology applied to scoptic language. Given the scant evidence at our disposal, it is difficult to determine how consistently this terminology was used. This notwithstanding, we may devise a tentative first list of scoptic expressions in the *PS*, which, although bound to remain partial, will offer a bird's-eye view that will allow us to make some preliminary assessments (in what follows, bold Arabic numerals refer to the list in the Appendix). First, many of the entries allow further classifications on semantic grounds: we find abusive expressions referring to age, appearance, social behaviour, and lifestyle. This recalls such classifications as those found in the chapter concerning ἐγκώμιον and ψόγος in Theon's *Progymnasmata* (109.29–110.1): τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν τε καὶ ἥθος, τὰ

---

7 I have intentionally avoided technicalities such as 'negative face', 'facework', etc. The present paper focuses on a particular kind of 'face-threatening acts', as Brown, Levinson (1987) would call them – namely, those speech acts 'that show that S[peaker] has a negative evaluation of some aspect of H[earer]'s positive face' (Berger, Unceta Gómez 2022, 8; cf. Brown, Levinson 1987, 65–7).

δὲ περὶ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει ('Some good things relate to the mind and character, others to the body, and some are external to us'; note that the same classifications apply to ψόγος, see Theo *Prog.* 112.20–1). These categories are very well represented in our corpus. In particular, lemmas referring to old age are the most frequent (1, 22, 24, 26, 45, 49, 51, 63, 66, 70, 73, 79, 91, 92, 98), followed by terms relating to gluttony (10, 12, 17, 23, 25, 44, 57, 67, 81), and appearance (15, 18, 56, 60, 71, 85, 101, 102).

This emphasis on specific human characteristics warrants further investigation in light of Jacopo Cavarzeran's argument in favour of the presence of onomastic structures in the *PS*.<sup>8</sup> Some scoptic lemmas appear to be arranged in accordance with onomastic criteria, as exemplified by the following:

*PS* 114.3–9: τυμβογέρων ἐπὶ τῶν πάνν γεραιῶν, οἷον ὁ διὰ μακρὸν γῆρας τάφος ὦν καὶ οὐκ-  
ἐτι ἄνθρωπος. τέσσαρά εἰσιν ὀνόματα τοῦ γέροντος, ὡμογέρων ὁ πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος  
καιροῦ γηράσας. εἶτα ὁ γέρων, ὁμωνύμως τῷ παντὶ γέροντι. τρίτου δὲ σῦφαρ – ἔστι δὲ  
σῦφαρ κατὰ γλῶτταν τὸ ἐνδύμα τοῦ ὄφεος – τέταρτος τυμβογέρων, ὁ τύμβου χρεῖαν ἔχων.

τυμβογέρων is said of very old men, meaning something like 'one who, due to his seniority, is a tomb and no longer a man'. There are four names for an old man: ὡμογέρων, i.e. 'one who grew old before his time'. Then there is γέρων, a noun that fits any old man. [The name] of the third [type (?) is] σῦφαρ: σῦφαρ is a dialectal word indicating a snake's slough. Fourth comes τυμβογέρων, 'one who deserves a tomb'.

This lemma raises a series of questions. First, it partially overlaps with other, similar lists in erudite works such as those by Herennius Philo, Alexion, Ammonius, and Pollux (see further discussion in Pellettieri 2023b): one should perhaps account for the possibility that they all share a common source – namely, Aristophanes of Byzantium's Ὀνόματα ἡλικιῶν (see Ar.Byz. fr. 60–6 and cf. Benuzzi 2022). Kaibel (1899, 11), for his part, thought that 'non aetatum nomina conquirebat Phrynichus sed quae Pollux (II 16) vocat in senes κωμικὰ σκώμματα' ('Phrynichus did not search for nouns referring to age, but for those which Pollux calls κωμικὰ σκώμματα referring to old men').<sup>9</sup> However, not all expressions referring

<sup>8</sup> See Cavarzeran in this volume, and cf. also Cavarzeran *et al.* (2024).

<sup>9</sup> Kaibel here refers to Poll. 2.12–6: ὡμογέρων, πρεσβύτης [. . .] γέρων, προγήρω, γηραιός, ὡς Θουκυδίδης καὶ Αντιφῶν, ἐσχατογήρω, βαθυγήρω. [. . .] ἐρεῖς δὲ πολυετής, μακρόβιος, πολυχρόνιος, μακροβίος καὶ μακροχρόνιος [. . .]. ἔπεται δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ κωμικὰ σκώμματα, Κρόνος, κρονικός, κρονόληρος, πρεσβύτερος Κρόνου, νωδογέρων, τυμβογέρων, μακκοῶν, παρανοῶν, παραγεγηρακῶς, παραφρονῶν, παραλλάττων, ἐξεστηκῶς ὑπὸ γῆρας, παρακεκινηκῶς ὑφ' ἡλικίας, ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐλάφους βεβιωκῶς, ὑπὲρ τὰς κορώνας, ταῖς νύμφαις ἰσῆλιξ ('prematurely old' [ὡμογέρων], 'elder' [πρεσβύτης] [. . .] 'old man' [γέρων], 'untimely old', 'aged', as Thucydides and Antiphon [say], 'in extreme old age', 'in great old age'. [. . .] You will say 'full of years', 'long-lived' [μακρόβιος], 'of olden time', 'long-lived' [μακροβίος], and also 'lasting a long time' [μα-

to old age in Phrynichus' entry are scoptic (and the same holds true for other lemmas referring to age, such as *PS* 1.1–6 on ἀφηλικέστεροι, on which, see Favi 2022a). Be that as it may, Pollux's list separates purely denotative nouns from comic terms, such as τυμβογέρων (see the statement ἔπεται δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ κωμικὰ σκώμματα, 'in addition to those, there are also the comic insults'), while in Phrynichus' epitome denotative and connotative terms apparently go together without any further distinction, except that σῦφαρ is signalled as a gloss. This suggests that a less epitomised version of the *PS* that (also) included τυμβογέρων was structured differently, perhaps separating 'neutral' expressions from comic and poetic usages.

The latter hypothesis would be consistent with Phrynichus' organisation criteria, as reported by Photius, who asserts that Phrynichus subdivides the expressions he has collected into several categories, which include 'scoptic talks', as noted above. Generally speaking, we may conjecture that – in some instances, at least – scoptic terms were grouped together as a special subcategory pertaining to a certain subject – old age, in the present case. Another entry (*PS* 76.10) may illustrate this point:

Ἰαπετός· ἀντὶ τοῦ γέρον. <λέγεται δὲ> καὶ Τιθωνός καὶ Κρόνος ἐπὶ τῶν γερόντων.

Iapetus: It stands for 'old man'. Tithonus and Cronus are also used in relation to old men.

This lemma demonstrates some comic ways of addressing old men by means of mythical antonomasia. The name Cronus is also included in Pollux's aforementioned list (2.12–6).

### 3 Contextualising scoptic expressions

One of the major questions that surrounds scoptic expressions in the *PS* is that of their possible contexts of use: were they all meant to be used in serious invectives? Or were they also suited to playful exchanges? The following entries provide important information on this point:

---

κροχρόνιος[ ] . . .]. In addition to these, there are also several comic insults (*com. adesp.* fr. 751) 'Cronus', 'old-fashioned', 'old twaddler', 'older than Cronus', 'toothless old man', 'old tomb' [τυμβογέρων], 'one who is stupid', 'one who has lost his wits', 'one who is superannuated', 'one who is deranged', 'delirious', 'one who is out of his senses due to old age', 'one who is disturbed due to his age', 'one who has lived longer than the deer, longer than the crows', 'one who is the same age as the nymphs').

PS 4.1–2: ἄπλυτον πώγωνα· εἰ θέλοις ἀνεπαχθῶς σκῶψαί τινα πωγωνίαν.

ἄπλυτον πώγωνα ('unwashed beard', *com. adesp.* fr. \*556): If you want to tease a bearded man without being offensive'. (Transl. Favi 2022b).

PS 6.18–9: ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον· κωμωδικῶς εἴρηται, οἷον ἐκ βυθοῦ διανοίας <άν>άγειν.

ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον ('to draw forth a bit of thought'): It is a comic expression, something like 'to bring up from the depth of one's thought'.<sup>10</sup>

PS 16.3–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν· ἀστεία ἢ συμπλοκή. καὶ ἄριστος μοιχεύειν, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. σαρκασμοῦ τρόπῳ ἐπὶ ἡνται εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κακοῦ.

ἄριστος κλέπτειν ('excellent at stealing'): A witty combination of words. Also, ἄριστος μοιχεύειν ('excellent at committing adultery') and the like. It is a praise of a perfect evildoer, made by means [of the trope?] of sarcasm.

PS 21.12: ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος· Εὐπολὶς.

ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος ('a person [who is] wind and ruin' / 'the man [is] wind and ruin'): Eupolis (fr. 406).<sup>11</sup>

PS 92.3–4: ὄζειν ἐτῶν· πάντῃ ἀστείως ἐπὶ πρεσβύτου ἢ πρεσβύτιδος.

ὄζειν ἐτῶν ('to smell of years', *com. adesp.* fr. \*634): [It is said] in a very witty manner of an old man or woman.

PS 101.3–6: πλέον ἢ ἐνιαυτῷ πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀηδίας γίνομαι· ἀστεῖον. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀηδίας οὕτω διατίθεσθαι, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἐτῶν ὑφαιρεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ αὐξήσις ἐστίν.

πλέον ἢ ἐνιαυτῷ πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀηδίας γίνομαι ('I become a whole year older because of disgust', cf. *Ar. Ra.* 18): Witty. Being so disgusted as to be deprived of a number of years – it is nothing but an amplification.

Several apparently rude words and scoptic expressions are said to be used 'inoffensively' or 'in conversation'. Such definitions warrant further investigation. First, I shall attempt to grasp the meaning of the adjective ἀστεῖος in the *PS* to better appreciate the link between ἀστειότης and abusive terminology. In this regard, it should be noted in the first instance that the Greek word ἀστεῖος, derived

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Phot. α 1666: ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον· κωμωδικῶς εἴρηται, ἢ συμπλοκή ἀρμόζει συνουσίαις ('ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον ['to draw forth a bit of purpose' and 'to draw forth a bit of thought'] [*Ar.* fr. 727]: It is comically said; such combination of words is suited to conversation').

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801, *ex Σ''*): [. . .] χρῆσις δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, ὥς φησι Φρύνιχος, ἐν συνουσίᾳ ('[. . .] you should use the phrase in conversation, as Phrynichus says') and see Gerbi (2023).



from ἄστν ('city'), almost always has the metaphorical sense of 'urbane', 'civilised', referring to one who has good taste and is witty (see, e.g., Taillardat 1965, 12–4). Phrynichus himself gives an 'apophatic' definition of ἀστεϊότης in *PS* 78.15–7:

καγχαστής· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς φορτικοῖς γελῶν καὶ μὴ ἀστεῖοις. <σημαίνει δὲ> τοὺς εἰκῇ καὶ ἀμαθῶς γελῶντας καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας δεξιὸν μηδὲ παιδείας ἐχόμενον.

καγχαστής: One who laughs at what is vulgar and not ἀστεῖος. <It means> those who laugh without purpose and ignorantly, not having even a shred of cleverness and education.

In Phrynichus' view, ἀστεϊότης requires cleverness and education. It may also cause laughter – but an educated and elegant one. Such characteristics align with the occurrences of ἀστεῖος and ἀστεῖσμός in previous and coeval rhetorical writings, where ἀστεῖσμός refers to witty expressions and, in particular, to elegant humour expressed by means of irony.<sup>12</sup> In this respect, we may compare Demetr. *Eloc.* 128:

τῶν δὲ χαρίτων αἱ μὲν εἰσιν μείζονες καὶ σεμνότεραι, αἱ τῶν ποιητῶν, αἱ δὲ εὐτελεῖς μᾶλλον καὶ κωμικώτεραι, σκώμμασιν ἔοικυῖαι, οἷον αἱ Ἀριστοτέλους χάριτες καὶ Σώφρονος καὶ Λυσίου· τὸ γὰρ ἥς ῥᾶον ἂν τις ἀριθμήσειεν τοὺς ὀδόντας ἢ τοὺς δακτύλους, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς πρεσβυτιδος, καὶ τὸ ὅσας ἄξιος ἦν λαβεῖν πληγὰς, τοσαύτας εἴληφεν δραχμάς, οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀστεῖσμοὶ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν σκωμμάτων οὐδὲ πόρρω γελοιοποιίας εἰσίν.

Some kinds of charm, those of the poets, are more imposing and dignified, others are more ordinary, closer to comedy and resembling gibes (σκώμμασιν), like those of Aristotle, Sophron, and Lysias. Such witticisms (ἀστεῖσμοί) as 'whose teeth could be counted sooner than her fingers' (of an old woman) and 'he has taken as many coins as he has deserved beatings' are exactly like gibes (σκωμμάτων), and come close to buffoonery. (Transl. Innes in Halliwell *et al.* 1995, 425–7).

Here, we learn that some charming ἀστεῖσμοί are almost the same as σκώμματα and – particularly relevant to our purposes here – that they can elicit laughter. In this regard, Cicero's words on *urbanitas* (i.e., the Latin equivalent of ἀστεῖσμός)<sup>13</sup> in *Pro Caelio* 6 are also worth mentioning: *maledictio autem nihil habet propositi praeter contumeliam; quae si petulantius iactatur, convicium, si facetius, urbanitas nominatur* ('The only object of slander, on the other hand, is to insult; if it has a strain of coarseness, it is called abuse; if one of wit, it is called elegance', transl. Gardner 1958, 413). Commenting on this passage, Dyck (2013, 71) observes that 'here *urbanitas* has the narrower sense 'polished wit,' not the broader sense 're-

<sup>12</sup> See Schenkeveld (1992, 1130).

<sup>13</sup> On *urbanitas*, see Scheithauer (2007, 1–32), with additional bibliography.

finement or polish of style”. Furthermore, Cicero distinguishes two types of humour in his *De Officiis* (1.104):

*duplex omnino est iocandi genus, unum illiberale petulans flagitiosum obscenum, alterum elegans urbanum ingeniosum facetum. Quo genere non modo Plautus noster et Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt, multaque multorum facete dicta, ut ea, quae a sene Catone collecta sunt, quae vocant ἀποφθέγματα.*

There are, generally speaking, two sorts of jest: the one coarse, rude, vicious, indecent; the other, refined, polite (*urbanum*), clever, witty. With this latter sort not only our own Plautus and the Old Comedy of Athens, but also the books of Socratic philosophy abound; and we have many witty sayings of many men – like those collected by old Cato under the title of *Bons Mots* (or *Apophthegms*). (Transl. Miller 1913, 107).

In sum, Cicero’s *urbanitas* can take the form of *contumelia* as well as of *iocus*. In both cases, *urbanitas* is the mark of a rhetorical practice that seeks to avoid coarseness and excessive rudeness.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps Phrynichus distinguished between expressions that appear to be wholly coarse (e.g., the aforementioned ἀνδρόγυνον ἄθυρμα) and those that may be considered scoptic witticisms.<sup>15</sup> Owing to the scarceness of evaluative terminology in the epitome of the PS, it is impossible to ascertain whether abusive expressions were organised in accordance with a ‘scale of coarseness’, but it is sufficiently clear that some lemmas must have been considered ‘ruder’ than others in a way that recalls Cicero’s distinction between *convicium* and *urbanitas*.

## 4 Urbane mockery

We may now return to some of the entries listed above. Let us begin with PS 16.3–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν· ἀστεία ἢ συμπλοκή. καὶ ἄριστος μοιχεύειν, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. σαρκασμοῦ τρόπῳ ἐπὶ γίνηται εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κακοῦ.<sup>16</sup> On what grounds is this combination of words defined as ἀστεία? Phrynichus himself answers this question

<sup>14</sup> On Cicero’s passage, see Ramage (1973, 58); Schenkeveld (1992, 1132); Scheithauer (2007, 20–1); cf. also Cic. *De orat.* 2.269–70.

<sup>15</sup> One may wonder whether Phrynichus’ recourse to ἀστεῖος and cognates may partly depend on previous scholarship. See, e.g., schol. Ar. *Nu.* 64: [ . . . ] δριμέα γὰρ καὶ ἀστεῖα τὰ τῆς κωμωδίας σκώμματα ([ . . . ] for the jests found in comedy are sharp and witty’); schol. Ar. *Pl.* 165c: [ . . . ] μειδιασμοῦ ἕνεκεν παραπλέκει ἅμα τὰ γελοῖα καὶ τὰ ἀστεῖα ([Aristophanes] mix jokes and witticisms together in order to raise a smile’). I am grateful to Federico Favi for bringing these parallels to my attention.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also PS 51.14–5: ἄριστος κλέπτειν καὶ ἄριστος λωποδυτεῖν (‘excellent at stealing and excellent at stealing clothes’).

by specifying that ἄριστος κλέπτειν and ἄριστος μοιχεύειν are sarcastic: they are paradoxical utterances of praise, a means of insulting someone by designating them the best – that is, the best of thieves or of adulterers. Note that the conjunction of the superlative adjective ἄριστος with such verbs as κλέπτειν and μοιχεύειν is what Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* would have called an antithesis – the latter being a major characteristic of those witty sayings he calls ἀστεῖα (cf. Arist. *Rh.* 3.10, 1410b–1411b; 3.11, 1412b).<sup>17</sup> Thus, it appears that ἄριστος κλέπτειν and ἄριστος μοιχεύειν were selected as elegant forms of abuse and polished witticisms – precisely what Cicero would have called *urbanitas*.

This particular use of ἀστεῖος (‘witty’) suggests that some scoptic expressions in the *PS* may be as elegant as other jocular witticisms that are inoffensive and gracious, as is the case with *PS* 92.3–4 ὀζειν ἐτῶν (‘to smell of years’). This expression is used in relation to old men and is defined as being ‘altogether witty’ (πάννυ ἀστεῖως). The use of ὀζειν + the genitive of an abstract noun is often found in Aristophanes,<sup>18</sup> forming such syntagms as Κρονίων ὀζων, ‘one who smells like Cronus’ festivals’ (this last expression also denotes an old person). According to Kaibel, ὀζειν ἐτῶν could be based on an implicit comparison between an old person and old-aged wine.<sup>19</sup> We may compare Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* 190, at which the five-year treaty (σπονδαί) is said to ‘stink of pitch and battleship construction’ (ὀζουσι πίττης καὶ παρασκευῆς νεῶν): the verbal pun is based on the fact that ‘Aristophanes combines the literal meaning of the word σπονδαί (‘libation of wine’) with its metonymic meaning ‘treaty’ (Henderson 1998, 83 n. 34). As Olson (2002, 130) points out, ‘Pitch was routinely applied to the interior of wine-jars in order to render them water-proof [. . .], and resin and pitch were sometimes added directly to wine to lend it body and improve its bouquet [. . .]. Pitch was also used, however, to protect wood from water-damage’. Kaibel’s suggestion, therefore, should not be dismissed. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to consider ὀζειν ἐτῶν a comic fragment. In Xenophon’s *Symposium* (2.4), regarding perfumes appropriate to men, Socrates says that those who are no longer youngsters exercising in the gymnasium should ‘smell of gentlemanliness’ (ὀζειν [. . .] καλοκά-

17 Nonetheless, the Aristotelian category of ἀστεῖα ‘disappear[ed] almost totally from later rhetoric’, as Schenkeveld (1994, 2) remarks.

18 Cf. Poultney (1936, 94); Taillardat (1965, 437 n. 3).

19 Kaibel also adds that a numeral is perhaps missing – he proposed, e.g., ὥζε χιλίων ἐτῶν (‘he smelled like a thousand years’). Nevertheless, the expression may be intentionally ‘incomplete’, so that it could be used with any numeral. Indeed, ὀζειν is often used in relation to a wine’s bouquet (cf., e.g., Alcman *PMGF* fr. 92b; Xenophon *Diels–Kranz* 21 B 1.6–7; Hermippus fr. 77.6–8). On the perception of aged wine as valuable, see, e.g., Hom. *Od.* 2.340; X. *An.* 4.4.9; D.S. 2.14.4.

γαθίας). Expressions of this nature may have been quite common in skilled conversations.

## 5 Witticisms and wordplays

Based on the above discussion, we may conclude that some abusive expressions in the *PS* are based on a mix of witticism and mockery and sometimes take the form of a verbal pun – a comic device that is frequently attested throughout the entire history of Greek literature.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, some entries of the *PS* actually appear to belong to the category of verbal puns: see, for instance, *PS* 52.14–5: βορβορώδης· παρὰ τὸν βόρβορον καὶ τὸν ὀδόντα, τὸν δυσώδη τὸ στόμα (‘βορβορώδης [literally ‘filthy’]: From βόρβορος [‘filth’] and ὀδούς [tooth] – one whose mouth smells bad’), where an adjective derived from the noun βόρβορος by means of the suffix -ώδης<sup>21</sup> is interpreted as a compound with a second component deriving from ὀδούς, ‘tooth’.<sup>22</sup>

Against this background, we may turn to another of the aforementioned entries to better understand its *interpretamentum* – *PS* 4.1–2: ἀπλυτον πώγων· εἰ θέλοις ἀνεπαχθῶς σκῶψαί τινα πωγωνίαν. Given that the beard was a distinctive mark of philosophers and learned men, the image of the ‘unwashed beard’ may well have been a jibe directed towards a πεπαιδευμένος.<sup>23</sup> Phrynichus’ metalinguistic evaluation of the scoptic expression is a detailed one: the adverb ἀνεπαχθῶς (‘inoffensively’) may point to the fact that his source contained an instance in which ἀπλυτον πώγων was applied to an addressee who shared the same status (and perhaps also the same appearance!) as the speaker. Nevertheless, the adjective ἀπλυτος, attested only rarely in reference to a person or to the human body (Ar. V. 1035 refers to Λαμίας δ’ ὄρχεις ἀπλύτους ‘the unwashed balls of a Lamia’), does not appear to be the kind of polished witticism that a refined rhetor would wish to use to show his well-learned brilliance. Furthermore, it is

<sup>20</sup> See, recently, Beta (2021).

<sup>21</sup> See Chantraine (1933, 429–32).

<sup>22</sup> Indeed, de Borries proposed to read βορβορώδων rather than βορβορώδης. Even so, the pun βορβορώδης ~ βορβορώδων would be obvious.

<sup>23</sup> On this point, see at least Zanker (1995, 190–206); Borg (2004); Floridi (2014, 264–5); Kucharski, Marciniak (2017). Kock argued that ‘unwashed beard’ could not have been said inoffensively, and thus he suggested ἀπλατον in place of ἀπλυτον. De Borries, partially following Kock, wrote ἀπλετον (‘immense’). However, the text probably warrants no correction, as Favi (2022b) points out, ‘since ἀπλυτον is also in the parallel lemma in Σ<sup>b</sup> (α 1794 = Phot. α 2444, *Su.* α 3241) and likewise in the entries of Photius and the *Suda* which go back to Σ’.

difficult to determine the extent to which ἄπλυτον πώγωνα, explicitly labelled by Phrynichus as an inoffensive lampoon, actually differs from other scoptic expressions referring to bearded men that are *tout court* offensive.<sup>24</sup> Despite Phrynichus' words, therefore, ἄπλυτον πώγωνα appears to be a rather humourless expression. Here, to overcome this contradiction, I tentatively propose a possible solution. We may postulate a phonetic ambiguity between the poetic adjective ἄπλατον/ἄπλητον (meaning either 'immense' or 'unapproachable') and the trivial ἄπλυτον ('unwashed') giving rise to a kind of parodic paronomasia based on such syntagms – for instance, Pi. fr. \*93 Snell–Maehler ἄπλατον Τυφῶνα (we may also think of ἄπλατον/ἄπλητον Γοργόνα or the like). In this case, ἄπλυτον πώγωνα would sound like a witty play on words owing to the fact that it echoes a literary hypotext.

## 6 Scoptic expressions and erudite conversation

In what precedes, I hinted at the possibility that the *PS* may have contained a variety of scoptic expressions arranged in accordance with their 'degree of coarseness'. If this is the case, it is possible to imagine a corresponding variety of contexts in which they could have been used.

According to Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 158.101b.2–3), Phrynichus collected a series of phrases that could be used 'in conversation'. This is exactly what Phrynichus himself says about an Eupolidean expression analysed by Giulia Gerbi in this volume, *PS* 21.12: ἄνεμος καὶ ὀλεθρὸς ἄνθρωπος· Εὐπολὶς (fr. 406), to which we may compare the parallel entry in Σ<sup>b</sup> α 1351 (= Phot. α 1801, ex Σ''): [ . . . ] χρῆσι δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, ὥς φησι Φρύνιχος, ἐν συνουσίᾳ ('[ . . . ] you should use the phrase in conversation, as Phrynichus says'). We may obtain a clearer sense of Phrynichus' prescription here, starting with *PS* 81.6, an entry that I discuss in detail elsewhere.<sup>25</sup>

κνισοκόλαξ· τὸν οὐδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ κόλακα, τοῦ αἰσχίστου δὲ πάντων.

κνισοκόλαξ (literally, 'fat-flatterer'): [It means] a flatterer who is no good, the worst of all.

Considering that κνῖσος/κνῖσα means 'steam and odour of fat', 'odour of savoury meat', or 'fat caul' (LSJ, s.v. κνῖσα), a κνισοκόλαξ is perhaps 'one who fawns or

<sup>24</sup> Such jibes are frequently found in literature from the imperial era to the Byzantine age: see, recently, Kucharski, Marciniak (2017). Leo Choerosphactes (*Chilistichos theologia* 467–70 Vassisi) uses ἀπλύτους πώγωνας as a *tout court* abusive expression, as noted by Favi (2022b).

<sup>25</sup> See Pellettieri (2023c).

flatters so as to be fed fat meat, a parasite’ (Gerber 1999, 427 n. 3).<sup>26</sup> Given that the *interpretamentum* apparently deals with someone who is ‘the worst flatterer of all’, Kaibel (1899, 27 n. 73) wondered whether κνισοκόλαξ might not have originally been treated in conjunction with an otherwise unknown compound κυσοκόλαξ. Misinterpreting Kaibel’s tentative explanation, de Borries replaced κνισοκόλαξ with κυσοκόλαξ. However, κνισοκόλαξ should be retained: besides having many parallels (see Pellettieri 2023c), it is first attested in an elegy ascribed to a poet named Asius (6th century BCE?) and cited by Athenaeus.<sup>27</sup> As for the *interpretamentum*, it possibly suffered epitomisation (see Pellettieri 2023c).<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, κνισοκόλαξ appears to be regarded as a strongly abusive term, as is the case with other lemmas in the *PS* (see the aforementioned *PS* 2.7–8, 17.13–4, 22.14–6, 39.1, etc.). Nonetheless, something different may be inferred on account of Ath. 3.125b–e, where Myrtilus and Ulpian mock each other in an erudite way:

οὐ γὰρ μέλει σοι, ἔφη ὁ Μυρτίλος, ἱστορίας, ὧ γάστρων. κνισολοιχὸς γάρ τις εἶ <καί> (Casaubon: <καὶ κνισοκόλαξ> West) κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἄσιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον [καὶ] κνισοκόλαξ (Casaubon: [καὶ κνισοκόλαξ] West).

‘Yes’, said Myrtilus, ‘because you do not care about history, you glutton. For you are a fat-licker and, to quote the well-known ancient Samian poet Asius, a ‘fat-flatterer’’. (Transl. Olson 2007, 97).

Myrtilus uses a literary quotation to reproach his table companion. Note that γάστρων (Alc. 429.5 Voigt, Ar. *Ra.* 200) and κνισολοιχός (Sophil. fr. 8) also have a literary pedigree: thus, the sharp exchange between Athenaeus’ banqueters turns out to be a display of erudition. Of course, this is not an isolated case: we may also compare, for instance, Ael. fr. 112 Domingo–Forasté, where two Eupolidean compounds – namely, κοιλιοδαίμων (‘one who makes his belly his god’; Eup. fr. 187) and ταγηνοκνισοθήρας (‘frying-pan-sniffer’; Eup. fr. \*190) – are used to describe a knight named Junius. In the same passage, Aelian announces his intention to use terms derived from comedy for such people (βούλομαι γὰρ τὰ τῆς κωμωδίας εἰς

<sup>26</sup> See also Diphilus (fr. \*61.4–8): ἀτενὲς δὲ τηρῶ τοῦ μαγείρου τὸν καπνόν. | κἂν μὲν σφοδρὸς φερόμενος εἰς ὀρθὸν τρέχη, | γέγηθα καὶ χαίρω τε καὶ περὺττομαι | ἂν δὲ πλάγιος καὶ λεπτός, εὐθέως νοῶ | ὅτι τοῦτό μοι τὸ δεῖπνον ἄλλ’ οὐδ’ αἶμ’ ἔχει (‘I keep a close eye on the smoke the cook produces. If there’s a lot and it rises straight up, I’m delighted, overjoyed, and all a-flutter. But if there’s just a bit and it drifts sideways, I immediately think that this is my dinner – and it’s anemic’; transl. Olson 2008, 73).

<sup>27</sup> See also Bowie (2000, 134).

<sup>28</sup> One cannot discount the possibility that the textual problems in Phrynichus’ entry depend on abridgement of an originally onomastic structure dedicated to κόλαξ (see Cavarzeran in this volume).

τοὺς τοιοῦτους εἰπεῖν) by way of a joke (ἵνα τι καὶ παίσω) and while avoiding any coarseness (οὐδεμιᾷ [. . .] ἀπειροκαλίᾳ). These parallels suggest that mockery occupied a place in the context of high-society conversations as a kind of erudite and inoffensive form of role-play. This is unsurprising, given that symposia were traditionally characterised by a combination of seriousness and humour.<sup>29</sup> It is sufficient here to recall that in Plato's *Symposium*, 'each participant speaks in a tone of self-parody and exaggeration, poking fun at himself and the other' (Cooksey 2010, 29), and that in Xenophon's *Symposium*, Socrates and other symposiasts 'mingled jesting and seriousness'.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, it is conceivable that Phrynichus regarded κνισοκόλαξ as a learned scoptic expression to be used in similar circumstances. This would be in line with what we know about some expressions collected in the *PS* – namely, that they can be used 'in conversation'.

## 7 Further (undetected) word-puns?

Conversation may also be the context of use of some lemmas that have hitherto escaped scholarly attention, as is the case with *PS* 91.3:

νῆστις ὀσμή· ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἀσιτίας τοῦ στόματος δυσωδία.

νῆστις ὀσμή: The bad breath of the mouth caused by want of food.

This entry refers to one who has not eaten for a long time, perhaps on account of his impecuniness. As I argue elsewhere,<sup>31</sup> Phrynichus' source is possibly comic. νῆστις + abstract substantive is, in fact, a poetic syntagm: as far as we know, it is typically Aeschylean (*A.* 192–3 πνοαὶ [. . .] νήστιδες, *A.* 1014–6 νῆστιν [. . .] νόσον, *A.* 1621–3 νήστιδες [. . .] φρενῶν ιατρομάντις, *Ch.* 250 νῆστις [. . .] λιμός; see also [Aesch.] *Pr.* 599 νήστισιν ἀκείαις). Thus, νῆστις ὀσμή has a parodic (possibly paratragic) flavour, and it is tempting to identify it with an overlooked comic fragment. Nevertheless, the euphemistic and parodic νῆστις ὀσμή possibly served as both an abusive phrase and a quotation that demonstrated the rhetor's wit.

The same may be true for *PS* 81.12–3:

κυψέλαι φρονημάτων· οἷον θῆκαι φρονήσεως. κυψέλη γὰρ ἀγγεῖον εἰς ἀπόθεσιν πυρῶν.

<sup>29</sup> See Ion Eleg. 26.16 West (= 1.16 Valerio) and *el. adesp.* fr. 27 West, with the commentary by Valerio (2013, 83).

<sup>30</sup> 4.28, cf. also 1.1, 8.4, and see Huss (1999, 389–98); McClure (2003, 34).

<sup>31</sup> Pellettieri (2023d).

κυψέλαι φρονημάτων (*com. adesp.* fr. 612): As if to say ‘cases [full] of thought’. Indeed, κυψέλη is a vessel used in order to preserve wheat.

Because κυψέλη can refer to a large storage vessel (see, e.g., Ar. *Pax* 631 ἐξμέδιμνον κυψέλην, ‘a vessel that could hold six medimnoi’), the expression κυψέλαι φρονημάτων is apparently encomiastic. However, Phot. κ 1278: κυψέλαι φρονημάτων· <\*\*\*> ἀγγεῖα· ἢ κενοὶ παντάπασιν (‘κυψέλαι φρονημάτων: <\*\*\*> vessels. Or those [who are] absolutely devoid [of wit]’) points to the opposite interpretation. According to Meineke, *FCG* vol. 4, 665, the expression is comic and probably refers to pretentious men who believe themselves to be cleverer than others. Roux (1963, 286–7), for his part, departing from an alternative meaning of κυψέλη (‘beehive’, see LSJ, s.v.), suggests that the pun may mean ‘having in the ears the earwax of a whole beehive’. Nonetheless, bearing in mind that κυψέλη could also mean ‘earwax’, we may conjecture that the expression alluded to some comic passages in which ‘to have earwax in one’s own ears’ was used metaphorically to mean ‘to be stupid’, see Diph. fr. 54: κυψέλην δ’ ἔχεις | ἄπλατον ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν (‘You’ve got an enormous quantity of wax in your ears’) and Eup. fr. 227: καὶ τῷ Πυριλάμπους ἄρα Δήμῳ κυψέλη ἔνεστιν (ἐνεστιν Σ: ἐν ὠσίν Meineke: ἐνεστιν <ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν> Kock) (‘So is Demos son of Pyrilampes also a dimwit?’; transl. Olson 2016, 258). See also Luc. *Lex.* 6: σὺ δὲ κυψελόβυστα ἔοικας ἔχειν τὰ ὦτα (‘But you seem to have your ears stuffed with wax’; transl. Olson 2016, 259). As Olson (2016, 260) notes, ‘to have κυψέλη/κυψελίς in one’s ears is to be unable to hear and thus figuratively to be a blockhead or fool’.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, κυψέλαι φρονημάτων may subtly refer to someone whose mind is empty because of his waxy ears, which do not permit any thoughtlessness to reach his brain.

## 8 Conclusions

The *PS* and other lexica are studded with scoptic expressions – whether originally comic or not – that could be used in different contexts. Indeed, they must have partly served as a tool for ψόγος – ‘invective’ – a traditional part of the rhetor’s education. Nonetheless, Phrynichus himself informs us that some of the expressions collected in the *PS* may be used ‘in conversation’. This, together with a close analysis of several lemmas dealing with witty sayings, suggests that at least some

<sup>32</sup> Cf. also Pearson (1917, 64) on Soph. fr. 858.2 and Lloyd-Jones (1963, 81), who also recalls that ‘[conversely], a person who is quick in the uptake is said to have clean or well-drilled ears’.



of the scoptic expressions in the *PS* were intended for use in high-society conversations as erudite jokes of the type often found, for instance, in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*. These jokes are based on metaphors, paronomasias, verbal puns, and literary allusions, so that only πεπαιδευμένοι who shared the same education and culture could truly appreciate their subtlety and use them appropriately. Obviously, this does not mean that refined witticisms could not also be used against a contender in oratorical contexts:<sup>33</sup> indeed, what really makes an expression abusive is its contextual use. Admittedly, however, it is not always easy to understand whether a lemma of the *PS* may be a scoptic expression or not; it is sometimes even more difficult to ascertain whether it was actually intended to be offensive or innocuous. Consequently, truly reliable answers to such questions must be based on a case-by-case study.

## Appendix: A tentative list of scoptic expressions in the *PS*

- (1) 4.1–2 ἀπλυτον πώγωνα ('unwashed beard');
- (2) 4.14–7 ἀφαιρεῖν κροκύδας ('to take fluff away');
- (3) 5.11 ἄνθρωπος ἀποφράς ('impious man');
- (4) 11.4 ἀτεράμων ἄνθρωπος καὶ πρίνινος καὶ στιπτὸς καὶ σφενδάμνινος ('a hard man, tough, sturdy, oaken');
- (5) 21.11 ἀρχαῖος ('antiquated', 'simpleton');
- (6) 21.12 ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος ('a man [is] wind and ruin');
- (7) 22.14 ἀνθρωπίσκος φαῦλος ('a manikin who is worth nothing');
- (8) 26.16 ἀγροβόας ἀνὴρ ('a rudely shouting man');
- (9) 38.9 ἀρχαῖκὰ φρονεῖν ('to think old things, to be a simpleton');
- (10) 39.1 Αἴτνη ἄνθρωπος ('a man who is an Aetna');
- (11) 47.19 ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον ('to draw forth a bit of purpose and to draw forth a bit of thought');
- (12) 48.6 ἀχάλινα στόματα ('unbridled mouths');
- (13) 50.11 ἀκρατὴς γάμων ('sexually intemperate');
- (14) 51.1 ἀκρατὴς χειρὸς ('one who is unable to stop his hand');
- (15) 52.14 βορβορώδης ('one whose mouth smells bad');

---

<sup>33</sup> In this regard, see Cicero regarding the distinction between *urbanitas* and *convicium* reported above (Section 3) and note that subtlety and irony can be used as strategies to highlight the speaker's superiority in conflictual contexts.

- (16) 53.11 βουλιμιᾶ τὰ βαλάντια ('one whose pouch [of coins] suffers for starvation', i.e., 'one who is penniless');
- (17) 53.13 βορόν χρῆμα ('voracious thing');
- (18) 55.18 γερανίας ('crane-necked');
- (19) 56.6 γυναικίζειν ('to be womanish');
- (20) 56.8 γόης ('charlatan');<sup>34</sup>
- (21) 56.11 γαλῆν καταπέπωκεν ('one who has swallowed a weasel', i.e., 'one who is not able to speak');
- (22) 57.4 γέρων ῥυσός ('wrinkled old man');
- (23) 57.14 γάστρις ('glutton');
- (24) 59.7 γέρων στύπινος ('an old man [who is feeble] like tow');
- (25) 59.13 γαστροχάρυβδις ('with a gulf of a belly');
- (26) 59.15 γραῦς ἀναθυᾶ ('an old woman who is again at heat');
- (27) 60.3 γλίσχρος ('sticky', said of one who is fond of money);
- (28) 60.19 γύννις ('effete man');
- (29) 61.9 δημεχθῆς ἄνθρωπος ('a man who is hated by the people');
- (30) 61.11 δημοπίθηκος ('mob-jackanapes');
- (31) 61.13 διαδρησιπολίτης ('a citizen who shirks all state burdens');
- (32) 61.16 δεσμιώτατος ('one who should be put in chains');
- (33) 61.22 δειπνοπίθηκος ('a dinner-ape', i.e., a parasite);
- (34) 62.9 δικομήτρα ('mother of lawsuits');
- (35) 62.15 δικορράπτης καὶ δικορράφος (both compounds mean 'pettifogger');
- (36) 62.18 δρομικὴ γλῶσσα ('swift tongue');
- (37) 63.11 δικολύμης ἄνθρωπος ('a man who destroys by lawsuits');
- (38) 65.22 ἑτερεγκεφαλεῖν ('to suffer in half the brain');
- (39) 69.6 ἐνσεσεισμένη ('shaken');
- (40) 70.9 ἐπ' ἄκρων κάθησθε τῶν πυγιδίων ('you sit on the tips of your little buttocks', said of flatterers);
- (41) 70.22 ἐπιτριπτότατος ἄνθρωπος ('a man who is absolutely a rascal');
- (42) 71.1 ἐπιχαιρέκακος ἄνθρωπος ('a man who rejoices over his neighbour's misfortune');
- (43) 72.9 ἐξῶλες κακόν ('a pernicious nuisance');
- (44) 76.3 ἰχθυολύμης ἄνθρωπος ('a man who is a fish-plague', said of a parasite);
- (45) 76.10 Ἰαπετός ('Iapetus', i.e., 'old man');
- (46) 76.15 ἰξοί ('skinflint');
- (47) 78.10 κοινὸς τῶν πονηρῶν φίλος ('the common friend of those who are knavish');

---

<sup>34</sup> See Pellettieri (2023a).

- (48) 78.23 κενὰ τῆς γνάθου πολλὰ χωρία ('many areas of the jaw are empty');
- (49) 79.13 Κρονοθήκη ('coffin of Cronus', i.e., 'receptacle for old follies');
- (50) 79.16 κατὰ κοιλίαν νοσεῖ ('one whose belly has a morbid craving [for food]');
- (51) 80.16 Κρονοδαίμων ('as old as Cronus');
- (52) 81.6 κνισοκόλαξ (literally 'fat-flatterer');
- (53) 81.12 κυψέλαι φρονημάτων ('cases [full] of thoughts');
- (54) 84.12 κάμινον ἔχει ἐν τῷ πνεύμονι ('he has a furnace in the lungs', said of a drunkard);
- (55) 84.15 κάπηλον φρόνημα ('knaveish mind/thought');
- (56) 84.18 κρانيόλειος ('bald-headed');
- (57) 84.20 κνισοτηρητής ('fat hunter');
- (58) 86.3 λιμοκόλακες ('starving flatterers');
- (59) 86.7 λάληθρον ('talkative');
- (60) 86.11 λισπόπυγος ('smooth-buttocked');
- (61) 86.19 λογοπλάθος ('fable-maker');
- (62) 88.1 λευκηπατίας ('white-livered', i.e., 'cowardly');
- (63) 88.12 μονογέρων ('misanthropic old man');
- (64) 88.14 μεθυσσοχάρυβδις ('wine-charybdis');
- (65) 89.2 μάσθλης (literally, 'leather', i.e., 'slippery knave');
- (66) 92.3–4 ὀζειν ἐτῶν ('to smell of years');
- (67) 94.15 ὀνογάστρις ἄνθρωπος ('a man who has a donkey stomach');
- (68) 96.7 ὀρνιθίας χειμών ('a tempest of birds, a fowl-wind');
- (69) 98.3 οὐδὲ <τρητόν> εἰς ὀδόντα ἔχει φαγεῖν ('he/she has nothing to eat');
- (70) 100.1 πολύζων κακόν ('long-living disgrace');
- (71) 101.1 προώδων ('with protruding teeth');
- (72) 101.13 ποντοφάρυξ ('seagulf, epithet for a glutton);
- (73) 102.19 πρότηθυσ ('born before Tethys');
- (74) 105.1 περικεκρουμένος ἄνθρωπος ('a cracked man', said of one who is neutered);
- (75) 105.11 ποντοκύκη γυνή ('woman who disturbs the sea', i.e., 'shrew');
- (76) 106.11 ῥινώλεθρος ὀσμή ('a nose-destroying smell');
- (77) 106.15 ῥυπαρός ('mean');
- (78) 106.16 ῥιγεσίβιοι ('living in the cold');
- (79) 109.6 σοροδαίμων ('an old ghost', 'one on the brink of the grave');
- (80) 109.9 συλλογμαῖος φορυτός ('rubbish collected from diverse places');
- (81) 109.11 σωρὸν κρεῶν ('heap of flesh');
- (82) 109.19 στραγγαλιώδης ἄνθρωπος ('tortuous man');
- (83) 110.16 σισυφίζειν ('to act like Sisyphus');
- (84) 111.11 τρυπαλώπηξ ('a fox that penetrates anywhere');

- (85) 112.6 τραχηλόσιμος άνθρωπος ('bull-necked man');
- (86) 112.9 τὸν ψόφον τῶν ῥημάτων ('the noise of the words', i.e., 'noisy rants');
- (87) 112.12 τρισέχθιστος άνθρωπος ('thrice-detested man');
- (88) 112.15 τυντλώδης καὶ ληρώδης λόγος ('a muddy and silly talk');
- (89) 113.12 τηθαλλαδοῦς ('nursed by a grandmother', i.e., 'spoilt child');
- (90) 113.18 τιλλοπῶγων ('one who plucks out his beard');
- (91) 114.1 τυφογέρων ('silly old man');
- (92) 114.3 τυμβογέρων ('old tomb');
- (93) 115.12 ὑπόξυλος ποιητής, ῥήτωρ, φίλος ('spurious poet, rhetor, friend');
- (94) 116.1 ὑποζυγίωδης άνθρωπος ('a man who is like a beast of burden');
- (95) 116.12 Ὑπερευρύβατος ('super-Eurybatus');
- (96) 117.3 ὑπερδεδίσκηκας πονηρία πάντας ('you have surpassed all the others in knavery');
- (97) 117.14 ὕπουλα γόνατα καὶ ὕπουλον χεῖρα καὶ πόδα, σῶμα ('inflamed knees [as the result of blows] and inflamed hand and foot, [inflamed] body');
- (98) 118.13 ὑπερφυῆς Κρόνος ('an incredible Cronus');
- (99) 121.1 ὑπερχολᾶν ('to be over-charged with bile');
- (100) 124.9 Φρυνώνδειον (literally, 'a Phrynondas', i.e., 'a swindler');
- (101) 126.12 χελυνοίδης ('with swollen lips');
- (102) 126.13 πεοίδης ('with a swollen penis');
- (103) 127.5 χολή ἐστιν ('[he/she/it] is [a cause of] bile').

## Bibliography

- Benuzzi, F. (2022). 'μεῖραξ, μειράκιον (Phryn. *Ecl.* 183, Moer. α 15, [Hdn.] *Philet.* 107, Thom.Mag. 231.16–232.5)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/015>.
- Berardi, F. (2017). *La retorica degli esercizi preparatori. Glossario ragionato dei Progymnasmata*. Hildesheim.
- Berger, Ł.; Unceta Gómez, L. (eds.) (2022). *Politeness in Ancient Greek and Latin*. Cambridge.
- Beta, S. (2021). 'To Play (and Have Fun) with Literature. Comic Wordplay in Greek Literature'. In: Zucker, A.; Le Feuvre, C. (eds.), *Ancient and Medieval Greek Etymology. Theory and Practice I*. Berlin, Boston, 305–19.
- Borg, B. E. (2004). 'Glamorous Intellectuals. Portraits of *pepaideumenoi* in the Second and Third Centuries AD'. In: Borg, B. E. (ed.), *Paideia. The World of the Second Sophistic*. Berlin, New York, 157–78.
- Bowersock, G. W. (1969). *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Oxford.
- Bowie, E. (2000). 'Athenaeus' Knowledge of Early Greek Elegiac and Iambic Poetry'. In: Braund, D.; Wilkins, J. (eds.), *Athenaeus and His World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*. Exeter, 124–35.

- Brown, P.; Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge.
- Cavarzeran, J. et al. (2024). 'Phrynichus Atticista. Σοφιστική προπαρασκευή (*Præparatio sophistica*)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/02/011>.
- Chantraine, P. (1933). *La formation des noms en grec ancien*. Paris.
- Chronopoulos, S. (2011). 'Re-writing the Personal Joke. Some Aspects in the Interpretation of ὀνομαστί κωμῶδειν in Ancient Scholarship'. In: Matthaios, S.; Montanari, F.; Rengakos, A. (eds.), *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar. Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts*. Berlin, New York, 207–24.
- Cooksey, T. L. (2010). *Plato's Symposium. A Reader's Guide*. London, New York.
- Dyck, A. R. (2013). *Cicero. Pro Marco Caelio*. Edited by Andrew R. Dyck. Cambridge, New York.
- Eshleman, K. (2012). *The Social World of Intellectuals in the Roman Empire. Sophists, Philosophers, and Christians. Greek Culture in the Roman World*. Cambridge.
- Favi, F. (2022a). 'ἄφηλιξ, ἀφηλικέστερος (Phryn. *Ecl.* 56, Phryn. *PS* 1.1–6, Poll. 2.17, Moer. α 153, [Hdn.] *Philet.* 168)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/036>.
- Favi, F. (2022b). 'ἄπλυτος πῶγων (Phryn. *PS* 4.1–2)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/045>.
- Floridi, L. (2014). *Lucillio. Epigrammi*. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento di Lucia Floridi. Berlin, Boston.
- Gardner, R. (1958). *Cicero. Pro Caelio. De Provinciis Consularibus. Pro Balbo*. Translated by R. Gardner. Cambridge, MA.
- Gerber, D. E. (1999). *Greek Elegiac Poetry*. Edited and translated by Douglas E. Gerber. Cambridge, MA.
- Gerbi, G. (2023). 'ἄνεμος καὶ ὀλεθρος ἄνθρωπος (Phryn. *PS* 21.12)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/029>.
- Gleason, M. W. (1995). *Making Men. Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*. Princeton.
- Halliwell, S. et al. (1995). *Aristotle, Longinus, Demetrius: Poetics. Longinus: On the Sublime. Demetrius: On Style*. Translated by Stephen Halliwell, W. Hamilton Fyfe, Doreen C. Innes, W. Rhys Roberts. Revised by Donald A. Russell. Cambridge, MA.
- Huss, B. (1999). 'The Dancing Sokrates and the Laughing Xenophon, or the Other "Symposium"'. *AJPh* 120, 381–409.
- Kaibel, G. (1899). *De Phrynicho sophista*. Göttingen.
- Koster, S. (1983). *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*. Meisenheim am Glan.
- Kucharski, J.; Marciniak, P. (2017). 'The Beard and its Philosopher. Theodore Prodromos on the Philosopher's Beard in Byzantium'. *BMGS* 41, 45–54.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1963). 'The Seal of Posidippus'. *JHS* 83, 75–99.
- McClure, L. K. (2003). *Courtesans at Table. Gender and Greek Literacy Culture in Athenaeus*. New York, London.
- Miller, W. (1913). *Cicero. On Duties*. Translated by Walter Miller. Cambridge, MA.
- Olson, S. D. (2002). *Aristophanes. Acharnians. Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford.
- Olson, S. D. (2007). *Athenaeus. The Learned Banqueters*. Vol. 2: *Books 3.106e–5*. Edited and translated by S. Douglas Olson. Cambridge, MA.
- Olson, S. D. (2008). *Athenaeus. The Learned Banqueters*. Vol. 3: *Books 6–7*. Edited and translated by S. Douglas Olson. Cambridge, MA.
- Olson, S. D. (2016). *Eupolis. Heilotes – Chrysoun genos (frr. 147–325). Translation and Commentary*. Heidelberg.

- Pearson, A. C. (1917). *The Fragments of Sophocles*. Edited with additional notes from the papers of Sir R. C. Jebb and Dr W. G. Headlam by A. C. Pearson. Vol. 3. Cambridge.
- Pellettieri, A. (2023a). 'γός (Moer. γ 15, Poll. 4.47–9, Poll. 6.122–3, Poll. 9.135, Phryn. PS 56.8)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/011>.
- Pellettieri, A. (2023b). 'τυμβογέρων (Phryn. PS 114.3–9)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/019>.
- Pellettieri, A. (2023c). 'κνισοκόλαξ (Phryn. PS 81.6)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/014>.
- Pellettieri, A. (2023d). 'νήστις ὁσμή (Phryn. PS 91.3)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/023>.
- Pernot, L. (1993). *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Polemis, I. (2021). 'A Rhetorical Genre (?). The Invective (Ninth-Fifteenth Centuries)'. In: Papaioannou, S. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature*. Oxford, 336–47.
- Poultney, J. W. (1936). *The Syntax of the Genitive Case in Aristophanes*. Baltimore.
- Quiroga Puertas, A. J. (2022). 'Psogos. The Rhetoric of Invective in 4th Century CE Imperial Speeches'. In: Papaioannou, S.; Serafim, A.; Edwards, M. (eds.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Ancient Rhetoric*. Leiden, Boston, 170–91.
- Ramage, S. (1973). *Urbanitas. Ancient Sophistication and Refinement*. Norman.
- Rosen, R. M. (1988). 'Hipponax, Boupalos and the Conventions of the Psogos'. *TAPA* 118, 29–41.
- Roux, G. (1963). 'ΚΥΨΕΛΗ. Où avait-on caché le petit Kypsélos? (Hérodote V, 92, E)'. *REA* 65, 279–89.
- Russell, D. A.; Wilson, N. G. (1981). *Menander Rhetor*. Oxford.
- Scheithauer, A. (2007). *Verfeinerte Lebensweise und gesteigertes Lebensgefühl im Augusteischen Rom*. Frankfurt.
- Schenkeveld, D. M. (1992). 'Asteismus'. In: Kalivoda, G. et al. (eds.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*. Vol. 1: A–Bib. Berlin, New York, 1129–34.
- Schenkeveld, D. M. (1994). 'Ta asteia in Aristotle's Rhetoric. The Disappearance of a Category'. In: Fortenbaugh, W. W.; Mirhady, D. C. (eds.), *Peripatetic Rhetoric after Aristotle*. New Brunswick, 1–14.
- Schmitz, T. (1997). *Bildung und Macht. Zur sozialen und politischen Funktion der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit*. Munich.
- Taillardat, J. (1965). *Les images d'Aristophane. Études de langue et de style*. 2nd edition. Paris.
- Valerio, F. (2013). *Ione di Chio. Frammenti elegiaci e melici*. Bologna.
- Whitmarsh, T. (2005). *The Second Sophistic*. Oxford.
- Zanker, P. (1995). *Die Maske des Sokrates. Das Bild des Intellektuellen in der antiken Kunst*. Munich.

Chiara Monaco

# Comic constructions or *hapax legomena*? Observations on some rare expressions in Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica*

## 1 Introduction

Phrynichus of Bithynia was one of the strictest Atticists of the 2nd century CE. He is the author of two lexica, the *Ecloga nominum et verborum Atticorum* (*Eclogue*) and the *Praeparatio sophistica* (*Sophistic Preparation*, *PS*), both of which are collections of Attic forms, although they are different in nature and purpose (see Section 3). Previous studies have examined the linguistic and metalinguistic significance of the *Eclogue* as a source of information on language change.<sup>1</sup> Similar studies are still lacking for the *PS*, although this lexicon, with its more stylistic interest, offers more varied descriptions of language use according to register, genre, and style, thus providing an insight into the sophistic education of the time. In particular, to judge from the remains of the *PS*, this lexicon seems to have devoted a great deal of attention to rare expressions, many of which are (for us, at least) *hapax legomena*. Additionally, these forms seem to cluster into well-defined morphological categories, including compounds and prefixed formations. In what follows, a case is made for considering this attention to rare expressions as an original feature of the lexicon.

This paper will focus on these alleged neologisms and analyse them according to their morphological category in order to see whether their structure is already common in previous centuries or whether they developed in post-Classical Greek. In this context, I will address the following questions: Why is there such a large number of unattested or rare expressions in the lexicon? Where does Phrynichus take them from? What is Phrynichus' purpose in listing them? Can the analysis of these forms, especially of prefixed and compound ones, tell us anything about the nature and aims of the *PS*? In the analysis of prefixation and compounding, I will focus in particular on a case study represented by the complex compound verbs in -έω, which are especially well represented among the *hapax*

---

1 I would like to thank the PURA team for discussing an earlier version of this paper and providing valuable comments and suggestions. This research has been conducted in the framework of PRIN 2020 'Metalinguistic texts as a privileged data source for the knowledge of ancient languages' (CUP E63C22000350001).

Tribulato (2014); Tribulato (2021); la Roi (2022); Monaco (2024).

*legomena* of the *PS*. The analysis of -έω compounds is preceded by two methodological considerations. The first relates to the role that compounds and prefixed verbs played in the literary and rhetorical production of the Second Sophistic (Section 2), which provides the framework for contextualising Phrynichus' lexicographical production. The second will be a brief assessment of Phrynichus' two lexica (Section 3), with particular reference to their approach to compounding categories and prefixed forms. I will then examine the complex -έω compounds (Section 4) and provide a closer analysis of the distribution of these forms in Hellenistic and imperial literature (Section 4.1) and of Phrynichus' approach to these compounds in his two lexica (Section 4.2 on *Eclogue* and Section 4.3 on *PS*). In the conclusions (Section 5), I will offer some interpretations and propose new perspectives for the study of the *PS*.

## 2 Compounding and prefixation in the Hellenistic and imperial ages

It is well known that the tendency to use prefixes and the production of new compound categories is a typical feature of the koine, a tendency that developed mainly in connection with the expansion of technical vocabulary.<sup>2</sup> Some of these categories already developed in the Classical/late Classical period, especially in connection with the sophistic movement and the expansion of scientific language, and then became particularly productive in the following periods. From the late Classical/early Hellenistic period onwards, we have more evidence of the use of prefixed forms and compounds, including in literature. This phenomenon, for instance, is evident in the language of Menander, in which the process of composition and prefixation plays an important role (see Giannini, Pallara 1983, 163–313); as argued by Vessella (2016, 428), the presence of compounded and prefixed forms in Menander 'segnala la perdita di connotazione tecnica di molta terminologia nata nei decenni precedenti'. Hellenistic authors show the productivity of these linguistic phenomena. Among Hellenistic prose writers, Polybius offers remarkable insights into the process of prefixation and its development in post-Classical Greek (de Foucault 1972, 26–33): this includes changes in prepositions (e.g. ἀνακαλύπτω in place of ἐκκαλύπτω 'to uncover', ἀντιπίπτω for ἐπιπίπτω 'to

---

<sup>2</sup> Browning (1983, 67); Duhoux (2000, 35); Horrocks (2010, 97–8); and Kaczko (2016). On the development of certain types of compositional categories, see Risch (1949) and Tribulato (2015). Tribulato (2010, 493): 'È una necessità, tipica delle lingue tecniche a livello universale, di utilizzare forme nominali contro combinazioni sintattiche'.



fall upon’, and ἀποπτοέω for διαπτοέω ‘to scare away’), the replacement of simple forms with prefixed ones (e.g. ἐξαποστέλλω 200x, ἀποστέλλω 92x, and στέλλω ‘to send’ 6x) even when the simple forms were the predominant or the only ones used by Classical authors, and the etymological use of certain prepositions which were often used by Classical authors only with an emphatic function – for instance, ἀπό to mark separation (ἀπελπίζω ‘to despair of’, ἀποδερματόομαι ‘(of shields) to have their leather covering destroyed’, and ἀποπτοέω ‘to drive away’) and ἐκ with the meaning ‘out of’ (ἐκχωρέω ‘to depart’ and ἐξαποστέλλω ‘to dispatch’). Verbs with double or triple prefixes are also common in Polybius; this phenomenon was already widespread in the Classical period but became very productive in the Hellenistic age (e.g. ἐπιπαρεμβάλλω ‘to re-form’, κατεξανίσταμαι ‘to be on one’s guard against’), especially in forms in which the meaning of the preposition is marked – i.e. cases of the use of πρό in a chronological sense, e.g. προεξαποστέλλω ‘to send out before’, or πρός in the sense of addition, e.g. προσεπινοέω ‘to devise or invent besides’ (de Foucault 1972, 32).

Moreover, Hellenistic writers register a vast number of compounded nouns, adjectives, and verbs (see, for instance, de Foucault 1972, 26–30 for Polybius), in some cases reflecting compounding categories that were already attested in previous centuries but became particularly productive in the Hellenistic age and were used to create neologisms: for instance, adjective-initial determinative compounds (e.g. ἀξιόλογος ‘worthy of mention’) and, in particular among those, the compounds in which the spatial adjectives (e.g. μέσος ‘middle’ and ἄκρος ‘high’) behave as the governing first component with the meaning ‘in the middle of’ and ‘on top of’ (e.g. μεσόγαιος ‘in the heart of a country’, μεσοπύργιον ‘wall between two towers’, and ἀκρολοφία ‘mountain ridge’, attested in Polybius).<sup>3</sup> These forms, which were already attested in tragedy and lyric poetry (κένανδρος ‘empty of men’, ἐρημόπολις ‘bereft of the polis’, μεσονύκτιος ‘of/at midnight’), became very productive in the Hellenistic and imperial age both as *voces propriae* (e.g. ὁμοιόκριθος ‘similar to barley’ attested for the first time in Theophrastus and μεσοδάκτυλα ‘between two fingers’ *hapax* in Dioscorides Pedanius) and in prose (e.g. ἐμπειροπόλεμος ‘expert of war’ in Plutarch and Philo Judaeus and ἀκροκίονιον ‘capital of a pillar’ *hapax* in Philo Judaeus).<sup>4</sup> Other categories already attested in the Classical period but which became particularly productive in the subsequent ages are verbal compounds in -ίζω and -έω<sup>5</sup> (see de Foucault, 1972, 32 for a list in Polybius).

<sup>3</sup> On these forms, see Risch (1945, 17–8; 24); Tribulato (2007); Tribulato (2015, 110–2).

<sup>4</sup> Andriotis (1938, 104–8); Tribulato (2014, 203).

<sup>5</sup> See Section 4 for the compounds in -έω.

These linguistic phenomena became even more productive at the time of the Second Sophistic when expanding the vocabulary and phraseology of the koine was a qualifying condition for the sophists. There are two kinds of evidence for these forms. The first are metalinguistic sources (i.e. lexica) with their prescriptive/proscriptive or simply descriptive notes on compounds and prefixed forms (see Section 3.1 and 3.2); in this respect, the consistent number of prefixed forms and compounds among the rare expressions listed in the *PS* is particularly significant. The second source of evidence is their actual use in the literary and rhetorical production of Second Sophistic authors. Plutarch, Lucian, Philostratus, Galen, and, to a lesser extent, Aelius Aristides, together with other representatives of the Second Sophistic, all show a vast use of prefixed verbs and compounding categories, sometimes also promoting neologisms and unusual forms, on the basis of analogy or etymology.<sup>6</sup> Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 705–10 provides a full list of prefixed forms (with single and double prefixes) which are used by Second Sophistic and contemporary writers, and many of those have no attestations in Classical writers, such as ἀποσπουδάζω ‘to dissuade eagerly’ in Philostr. *VA* 4.2; ἐπεισκυκλέω ‘to roll or bring in one upon another’ in Luc. *Hist. Cons.* 13.20; προαναφωνέω ‘to pronounce before’ in S.E. *M.* 1.130; and ἀντεκπλήσω ‘to frighten in return’ in Ael. *NA* 12.15. Moreover, there are cases of *hapax legomena*, attested, for instance, by Lucian (Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 1, 379–7) such as *Icar.* 25 συμπαράκύπτω ‘to bend oneself along with’, and in Philostratus (Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 431–3) such as *VS* 2.9.3 ἐπιδιαβάλλω ‘to criticise’. Compounded adjectives and nouns are also widely attested in the Second Sophistic authors (Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 694–7), with many forms finding their first attestations in those writers.<sup>7</sup> Compounded and derivative verbs in -άω, -έω, -όω, -αίνω, -ίζω, -άζω, and -εύω are also widely attested and are sources of numerous neologisms (Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 703–5, and see Section 4 for the compounded verbs in -έω). Metalinguistic comments, expressed by the critics of (hyper)atticism (Luc. *Lex.*,<sup>8</sup> *Pseudol.*

<sup>6</sup> On the linguistic innovation of these authors, see Bompaire (1994) and Casevitz (1994) on Lucian; de Lannoy (2003) on Philostratus; Jażdżewska (2019) on Plutarch.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Casevitz (1994, 78–86) for Lucian and Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 432–3 for Philostratus.

<sup>8</sup> In the *Lexiphanes*, Lucian makes fun not only of sophists who tend to use rare Attic expressions but also of those who create new compounds or subject old ones to re-etymologisation based on a misapplied process of analogy: see for instance forms like ἀκροχειριασμός ‘wrestling with the hands’; ὀρθοπάλης ‘wrestling in an upright position’; χειροβολέω ‘to throw the arms about’.

24, 29, and *Rh.Pr.* 17;<sup>9</sup> [D.H.] *Rh.* 10.7; and *Ath.* 3.97d–99f<sup>10</sup>), also attest to the productivity of prefixation and compositional methods, ridiculing those sophists who went too far in the quest for stylistic refinement and used these linguistic mechanisms to produce obscure forms and constructions in order to maximise the distance between literary and spoken language and to impress their peers.<sup>11</sup> These sources, which give us a satirical picture of the rhetorical/linguistic debate of the time, nevertheless seem to reflect a widespread interest in new linguistic mechanisms and the practice of using rare and sophisticated forms that may or may not have been attested in Classical sources. This raises questions about the relationship between lexis and rhetorical/literary production – namely, how literary writers and rhetors used the lexis as a source of inspiration to find rare forms, and how the lexis engaged with the literary and rhetorical production of the time.

This introduction has attempted to contextualise lexicographical activity within the linguistic panorama of the Second Sophistic, which certainly influenced the lexicographers' choice of material. This paper will focus on one very specific aspect of this broader question and examine how Phrynichus interacts with these linguistic phenomena in the *Eclogue* and in the *PS*. A general introduction to the two lexis will lead into a more detailed analysis of how composition and prefixation are treated in the two works.

### 3 *Eclogue* and *Praeparatio sophistica*

The two lexis produced by Phrynichus are different in nature, with the *Eclogue* being more narrowly focused on linguistic topics and the *PS* pursuing broader rhetorical issues (see also Tribulato in this volume). As de Borries claims (1911, xxviii), Phrynichus wrote the *Eclogue* to object to the *κακοζήλεια* 'affectation' exhibited by those who spoke a 'fake Attic',<sup>12</sup> and the *PS* for those who wanted to

---

9 Here the sophisticated teacher, by providing a list of innovative compounds and neologisms, encourages his student to 'hunt up obscure, unfamiliar words, rarely used by the ancients [. . .]. Sometimes you must yourself make new monstrosities of words and prescribe that an able writer be called 'fine-dictioned', an intelligent man 'sage-minded', and a dancer 'handi-wise' (transl. Harmon 1925, 157). For a discussion of this passage and these kinds of constructions in *The Mistaken Critic* see Weissenberger (1996, 90–1).

10 With particular reference to 3.98c–d for the practice of creating neologisms and 3.99c with an example from Herodes Atticus.

11 On these linguistic mechanisms used by the sophists, see Schmitz (1997, 117–23).

12 On the idea of authenticity in the *Eclogue*, see Kim (2023).

learn to speak and write in Attic.<sup>13</sup> As Phrynichus explains in the preface of the *Eclogue*, he aims to respond to the request of Cornelianus – the addressee of the lexicon – to list incorrect forms by pointing out the ‘most common mistakes and words jumbling up the old language and inflicting much embarrassment’.<sup>14</sup> Phrynichus seems to write this work not only to help Cornelianus or any reader improve their language skills but also to recognise faults in other people’s speech, particularly in those who are unable to properly imitate the good Classical writers and therefore do not speak what in Phrynichus’ eyes would qualify as ‘good Attic’ (see Fischer 1974, 60). The *PS* is a different matter. Judging from the surviving, epitomised text, the *PS* shows broader interests in stylistic matters and a more nuanced treatment of the sources, starting with the organisation of the material, arranged according to style and register – as evidenced by the summary in Photius – and the extant evaluative terminology.<sup>15</sup> This perceptiveness is also revealed by the way in which Phrynichus explains the use of certain expressions: he clarifies the meaning of fixed turns of phrase – e.g. ἀπαλοὶ θερμολουσίαις ‘[made] soft by [taking] hot baths’, ἄβροὶ μαλθακευνίαις ‘delicate for the soft-beds’ (both *PS* 3.5–7), and κέρκῳ σαίνω ‘to wag the tail’ (*PS* 84.5–7) –, of rare expressions – e.g. ἄνθρωπος πρόδοξος ‘a judging man’ (*PS* 8.6–9)<sup>16</sup> –, and of proverbs – e.g. *PS* 9.18–21. Phrynichus also gives information about spelling and accentuation (e.g. *PS* 16.6–12, 23.1–2, 29.6–7, 30.8–9, 31.10–2, and 94.17–8),<sup>17</sup> syntactic constructions (*PS* 7.1–3), or grammatical usages by providing the correct example in Attic and the corresponding form in the koine (as in *PS* 3.11–6 concerning the use of the jussive infinite, or in *PS* 10.22–3, 27.13–7 and 29.8–12 about athematic and contracted forms),<sup>18</sup> and he often provides examples from different Classical sources of alternative constructions or meanings (e.g. *PS* 128.11–3 and 127.12–6).

Moreover, the canon of the *PS* (for which see also Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 158.101b.4–23) seems to be more variegated than the canon of literary authors used in the *Eclogue* in which Phrynichus claims, at the very beginning of the work, that he will follow the ancients only when they do not make mistakes. Unsurprisingly, in

<sup>13</sup> See Matthaios (2020, 371) and Tribulato (2022) on the different approaches of the two works.

<sup>14</sup> Fischer (1974, 60.6–7).

<sup>15</sup> On the evaluative language of the *PS*, see Tribulato (2022, 929) and Tribulato in this volume.

<sup>16</sup> For which see Cavarzeran in this volume.

<sup>17</sup> For which see Vessella (2018).

<sup>18</sup> Other examples in which an Attic usage is explained with the reference to a contemporary form include a syntactic construction in *PS* 7.1–3; the form ἀναπριχάσθαι ‘to clamber up with the hands and feet’ in *PS* 32.1–4; and, in particular, the transitive use of the verb διέφθορεν – the perfect form of διαφθείρω ‘to destroy’ – in *PS* 63.4–7, which was common in Attic, and explained with the use of the contemporary form διέφθαρχε. For the erroneous use of διέφθορεν see also Luc. *Sol.* 3.

a few entries of the *Eclogue*, Phrynichus takes issue with allegedly mistaken expressions found in Classical authors (cf. e.g. *Ecl.* 105, 123, 200, 297, and *Ecl.* 390 and 323 for criticism against Lysias) and, in other entries, warns against the use of undesirable forms which, though found in ancient sources, are *hapax legomena*: see e.g. *Ecl.* 402: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχρην τὰς ἅπαξ εἰρημένας λέξεις ἀρπάζειν ('But one should not seize the words which have been said only once'); *Ecl.* 403: ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ τοῖς ἅπαξ εἰρημένοις προσέχομεν τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλάκις κεχρημένοις ('But we do not turn our attention to words said only once but to the most used ones').<sup>19</sup> In this respect, it is noteworthy that Phrynichus lists many rare expressions in the *PS*, most of which prefixed verbs and compounds, even when they do not seem to have an explicit Attic pedigree or when they appear to be *hapax legomena* in ancient texts (mostly in comedy and tragedy). A characteristic of the *PS* is that it has a more open attitude towards original and rare vocabulary (notice the use of καινός for stylistic evaluation)<sup>20</sup> compared to equivalent but much more common forms which sometimes are explicitly qualified with καθωμιλημένον 'common' (*PS* 65.20–1; *PS* fr. \*5) or are indicated as being used by οἱ πολλοί 'the many' (see also Tribulato in this volume).

The broader stylistic and rhetorical interests of the *PS* makes it interesting to ask whether some of the rare forms that appear in this lexicon always reflect an extrapolation from *loci classici* or whether they might be well-formed terms that, although attested only in later sources or in the high-level Greek of Phrynichus' time, are nevertheless acceptable.

### 3.1 The *PS* on prefixed forms

In line with the more neutral attitude towards unusual forms, the discussion of compounds and prefixed verbs in the *PS* does not normally contain an explicit preference for the uncompounded or the simple form. There are entries in which Phrynichus focuses on the use of prefixed and non-prefixed forms by analysing the meaning of the prefix: for example, in *PS* 18.13–8 he comments on the use of ἀνά and the difference between ἀνασκυζάω 'to be in heat again' (used for old people) and σκυζάω 'to be in heat' (for young people, children and women). He takes a similar approach when describing the different meanings of the prefixed and the non-prefixed form, as in *PS* 20.6–10 ἀπονυχίζομαι 'to pare the nails' and ὀνυχίζομαι 'to examine closely', or the use of different prefixes in different authors,

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of *hapax legomena* in the *Eclogue*, see Monaco (2024).

<sup>20</sup> On the use of the adjective καινός 'new, original', see Gerbi in this volume.

for example in *PS* 21.1–2 with the expression αὔομαι πῦρ ‘to light a fire’ used by Aristophanes and ἐναύομαι πῦρ used by Cratinus with the same meaning. In other cases, a stylistic interest is clearly expressed with the use of evaluative terminology: for instance, in ἀποδιοπομπέομαι and διοπομπέομαι (*PS* 9.12–7), the double prefixed form is stylistically marked as very Attic (Ἀττικώτατον). There are also pairs of entries where the prefixed and simple verbs are explained in the same constructions but in different passages of the *PS* (22.5–7/127.2–4 and *PS* 104.19–20/115.7–8).<sup>21</sup>

Among these prefixed verbs, some are *hapax legomena*, including a few prefixed verbs in ὑπο- and ὑπερ-, which belong to a sequence of prefixed forms mostly attested in comedy. Phrynichus provides a clear explanation for the meaning of these verbs; in the entry *PS* 120.1–2, the prefix ὑπο- in ὑπασθενέω ‘to be a little unwell’ is explained with the periphrasis τὸ ἀπάρχεσθαι ἀσθενεῖν καὶ μήπω κατέχεσθαι φανερώς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου (‘To start feeling weak and not yet manifestly affected by the disease’), and the novelty of the expression, which does not have any known attestation, is marked with the adverb καινῶς. Similar cases are those with ὑπερ-: e.g. *PS* 119.15–6 ὑπερκριθῆναι ‘to be judged superior’, *PS* 117.10–2 ὑπεροψωνεῖν ‘to outbid in the purchase of provisions’, *PS* 119.7 ὑπερφλυαρεῖν ‘to talk or chatter very absurdly’, and *PS* 117.3–5 ὑπερδισκέω ‘to overshoot’.<sup>22</sup> These forms are only attested in the *PS* or in the *PS* and later writers, but not in Classical literature. However, Kaibel (1899, 34) advances the tautological argument that they should be considered comic compounds because of the frequent use of the prefix ὑπερ- in comedy.<sup>23</sup> The list of *hapax legomena* also includes two verbs with double prefixes, προεξεγείρειν πρᾶγμα ‘to stir up prematurely’ (*PS* 101.18–9) and προαναγυμνάζειν ‘to exercise before’ (*PS* 105.25–106.2). These verbs are not attested in any other ancient sources; the expression προεξεγείρειν πρᾶγμα is attested only in the *PS* and in a Byzantine writer, Michael Attaliates (11th century), and is explained by Phrynichus with οἷον πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ ἀνακινεῖν (‘That is to stir up before the due time’), which describes the exact meaning of the prefix προ-. The form ἐξεγείρω is instead widely attested in Classical literature. A similar case is seen in *PS* 105.25–106.2: προαναγυμνάζειν στόμα ἢ φωνήν· ὁ ποιοῦσιν οἱ φωνασκοῦντες καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἀγωνιζόμενοι, ὃ οἱ πολλοὶ ἀναφώνησιν λέγουσι (‘προαναγυμνάζειν στόμα ἢ φωνήν (‘to exercise the mouth and the voice’): [That is] what those who train their voice and content with the voice do, which the many call vocal exercise’). This is the only case in which a metalinguistic com-

<sup>21</sup> On the possible role of the epitomator in these entries, see Favi in this volume.

<sup>22</sup> On the use of the prefix ὑπέρ, see also *Ecl.* 363 where Phrynichus says that the form ὑπερδριμυς ‘exceedingly pungent’, attested only in Luc. *DDeor.* 7.3 and probably made by analogy with the Classical ὑπέρσοφος ‘exceedingly wise’, should be rejected.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion on Kaibel’s approach see Pellettieri in this volume.

ment follows the explanation. Although the expression οἱ πολλοὶ<sup>24</sup> λέγουσιν refers specifically to the substantive ἀναφώνησις, it is probably being used here to describe or proscribe a more common usage (attested for instance in Plu. *De communibus notitiis* 2.1071c) in favour of the rarer and more sophisticated verb προαναγυμνάζω, which has no other attestation but which Phrynichus might nevertheless prefer over a more common expression.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.2 The PS on compounds

In the PS, Phrynichus is interested in explaining the meaning of compounds, and examines their semantic development over time or in different writers, e.g. PS 85.14–5: λεπτολογία· σημαίνει τὸ περὶ τῶν μικρῶν φροντίζειν καὶ ἀδολεσχεῖν. ἢ σημαίνεται ἡ κνιπότης (‘λεπτολογία (‘subtle argument’; Hermipp. fr. 21): it means pondering and meditating on very small things. Or irritation of the eyes’).<sup>26</sup> He discusses the formation of compounds, focusing on the etymological relevance of the different components: examples are the comments on ἀλλόκοτος ‘unusual nature’ (PS 23.13–24.2), αὐθέντης ‘murderer’ (PS 24.5–9), and ἀδολεσχεῖν καὶ ἀδολέσχης ‘to talk idly and idle talker’ (PS 36.5–12).<sup>27</sup> He lists *hapax legomena* or rare forms, comparing them by analogy with well-attested expressions, see e.g. PS 17.15–20: ἄτριψ· [. . .] καὶ ἔστι παρὰ τὸν τρίψω μέλλοντα, ὡς ἀρπάζω ἄρπαξ, κλέψω κλέψ καὶ βοῦκλεψ (‘ἄτριψ (‘not rubbed’): It derives from the future τρίψω, like ἀρπάζω ἄρπαξ, κλέψω κλέψ and βοῦκλεψ’); PS 70.15: ἐλαιοπληθής· ὡς οἶνοπληθής (‘ἐλαιοπληθής (‘full of oil’): Like full of wine’); and 88.11: μηροκαυτεῖν· ὁμοίως τῷ ἱεροκαυτεῖν καὶ ὀλοκαυτεῖν (‘μηροκαυτεῖν (‘to burn thigh-bones as a sacrifice’): Like to sacrifice as a burnt-offering and to bring a burnt-offering’); cf. also PS 9.8, 9.19, 29.8–12, 69.9–11, 91.6–7, 105.11–4, and 128.14–5. He discusses the correct orthography of some compounds, as in PS 97.10–5: ὀξύβαφον· διὰ τοῦ υ (‘ὀξύβαφον (‘a saucer’): With the υ’). Moreover, he expresses metalinguistic considerations to provide a description of register distribution and stylistic choices, as in PS 99.14–9: πολιτοκοπεῖν· καινότερον τοῦ δημοκοπεῖν (‘πολιτοκοπεῖν (‘to court the mob’):

<sup>24</sup> On the meaning of this expression in the PS, see Favi (2021a) and Favi (2021b).

<sup>25</sup> In different entries, the *Antiatticist* discusses the Attic pedigree of forms with double suffix which were probably thought to be late, see α 23, ε 29, ε 31, and ε 32.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also PS 99.14–9; 123.13–5; 127.12–6; and 128.11–3. In the last entry ψυχορροφέω ‘to suck out the life’/‘to drink cold water’ seems to reflect two homographic but different compounds, see Gerbi (2022).

<sup>27</sup> See Gerbi (2023a) on this entry.

More innovative than δημοκοπεῖν) with the use of καινότερον to describe the originality of πολιτοκοπέω compared to the more common δημοκοπέω.<sup>28</sup>

The compounds listed in the *PS* vary in typology (determinative, bahuvrihi, etc.) and structure ([N+N]<sub>N</sub>, [P+N]<sub>N</sub>, [A+N]<sub>N</sub>, [N+N]<sub>V</sub>, [P+A]<sub>A</sub>, [N+A]<sub>A</sub>, etc.). Some are widely attested by Classical writers, others are less common, and many seem to be unattested by Classical authors. Among the attested compounds (e.g. -έω verbs, V1 compounds) the vast majority are quotations from comedy – particularly from Aristophanes, though Phrynichus also explicitly quotes Cratinus, Plato Comicus, and Eupolis. A good amount of evidence comes from tragedy (in particular from Aeschylus and Sophocles), and the fewest attestations are found in prose writers (Thucydides and Plato are mentioned only a few times). Among the forms not attested in Classical authors (which amount to ca. 100 forms, among which there are nouns, adjectives, and verbs),<sup>29</sup> some are left-headed compounds (e.g. κρανιόλειος ‘bald-headed’) – a type rare in Classical sources and condemned in the *Eclogue*–,<sup>30</sup> others are V1 compounds, which are common in Classical literature, but the forms reported by Phrynichus (e.g. τιλλοπώγων ‘one who plucks out his beard’,<sup>31</sup> ἀρπαξομίλης ‘snatching the pleasures of sexual intercourse’,<sup>32</sup> and φίλετνος ‘fond of pulse-soup’) are not attested. Many of these are complex compound verbs in -έω – with 23 attestations out of the 100 *hapax legomena* – another common category in ancient sources but which is represented in the *PS* by many forms not attested in Classical writers.

Some of these forms, which do not find attestations in ancient writers, are considered by Nauck, Meineke, and Kock to belong to lost comic or tragic fragments based on their meaning and structure. In various cases, parallels in comedy or tragedy can be found, as shown by the following examples: *PS* 15.11–3 ἀριστεροζυγής ‘yoked on the left’, cf. καλλιζυγής ‘beautifully yoked’ in Eur. *Andr.* 278, νεοζυγής ‘newly yoked’ in [Aesch.] *Pr.* 1009, and τριζυγής ‘three yoked’ in Soph. *Ichn.* 168; *PS* 44.5–6 ἀρπαξομίλης ‘snatching sexual intercoursings’, cf. ἀρπάξανδρος ‘snatching away men’ in Aesch. *Th.* 776; *PS* 63.11–2 δικολύμης ἄνθρωπος ‘a man who destroys by lawsuits’, cf. ιχθυολύμης ἄνθρωπος ‘plague of fish man’ (epithet of a fish-eater) in Ar. *Pax* 811; *PS* 62.9–10 δικομήτρα ‘mother of lawsuits’ cf. ὀρτυ-

<sup>28</sup> Gerbi (2023b) and Gerbi this volume.

<sup>29</sup> A partial list is found in de Borries (1911, xxxiii–xxxiv).

<sup>30</sup> For instance *Ecl.* 271 ἀφρόνιτρον ‘sodium carbonate’, *Ecl.* 303 γαστροκνημία ‘calf of the leg’, and *Ecl.* 359 σύαγρος ‘wild boar’ are all rejected in place of the analytical or simple forms λίτρον ἀφρόν, κνήμη, and σῆς ἄγριος, which are preferred by Phrynichus.

<sup>31</sup> This is the only V1 compound for the verb τιλλω, see Tribulato (2015, 225).

<sup>32</sup> This is one of the only two V1 compounds formed from ἀρπάζω, the other being ἀρπάξανδρος ‘snatching away men’ (Aesch. *Th.* 766), see Tribulato (2015, 293).



γομήτρα ‘corncrake’ in Cratin. fr. 264 or ‘the Ortygian mother’ ludicrously applied to Latona in Ar. Av. 870; PS 65.15–6 διχόρροπος γνώμη ‘oscillating opinion’, cf. διχορρόπως ‘waveringly’ in Aesch. A. 349, 815 etc.; PS 68.14–5 εὐπροσόμιλος ‘pleasant’, cf. ἀπροσόμιλος ‘unsociable’ in Soph. OC 1236; PS 86.3–4 λιμοκόλαξ ‘hungry flatterer’, cf. ψωμοκόλαξ ‘parasite’ in Ar. fr. 172, Philem. fr. 7, etc.;<sup>33</sup> and PS 88.14–5 μεθυσσοχάρυβδης ‘wine-charybdis’ (possibly as a nickname for a drunken woman), cf. PS 59.13–4 γαστροχάρυβδης ἐπὶ τῶν <πάντα> κατεσθιόντων Κρατῖνος εἶπεν (‘γαστροχάρυβδης (‘with a gulf of a belly’): Cratinus (fr. 428) says this about those who devour <everything>’). However, these parallels do not confirm that we are dealing with original forms found in lost fragments as they could have been neologisms remade by later authors on the basis of similar comic/tragic forms.

Although many formations would require closer examination, here I focus only on the -έω verbal compounds. Since these compounds are easy to collect and they are mostly *hapax*, they provide a good starting point for analysing why Phrynichus listed these rare forms.

## 4 Complex compounds in -έω and their analysis in Phrynichus

These verbs belong to a productive class of denominal verbs in -έω, which derive, through conversion, from compound nouns or adjectives, as the following examples show: καρπολόγος (‘fruit-gatherer’) > καρπολογέω (‘to gather fruit’); οἰκοδόμος (‘house builder’) > οἰκοδομέω (‘to build [a house]’).<sup>34</sup> As Willi (2003, 123) states, the underlining compounds (i.e. καρπολόγος) are primarily *verbale Rektionskomposita* with a nominal first element and a verbal second element, but other types of compounds occur as well (e.g. compounds with the verbal component coming before the nominal one, bahuvrihi compounds etc.). However, many of the verbs in -έω do not have an original nominal compound, and they probably derive from analogical formation. Pompei, Grandi (2012) distinguish the different kinds of compounds according to the nature of the second member, which could be an actual word (e.g. ποίεω, μετρέω, ἀσκέω, or ροφέω – such as παιδοποιέω), a bound morpheme (e.g. λογέω in καρπολογέω) or a later formation (e.g. οἰκοδομέω ‘to build’, where the verb δομέω is a late form).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See Pellettieri (2022).

<sup>34</sup> For an analysis of these compounds, see Debrunner (1917, 94–9); Schwyzler (1939, 726–7).

<sup>35</sup> Pompei, Grandi (2012) analyse these verbs as cases of noun incorporation by means of the theory of Construction Morphology. For an analysis of these verbs from a comparative perspec-

Regarding the historical development of these verbs, the [N+V]<sub>v</sub> phenomenon was already present in Archaic and Classical Greek and became more productive later on in the Hellenistic and Byzantine ages.<sup>36</sup> A progressive increase of these forms is first registered, as argued by Willi (2003, 122–6), with the sophistic movement. The use of these verbs is, indeed, attested in Aristophanes' plays, with an extended number of *hapax legomena* in particular in contexts of sophistic parody (see in *Clouds* forms like ἀεροβατέω 'to walk the air', λεπτολογέω 'to speak subtly', and γλωττοστροφέω 'to ply the tongue' etc.) or to denote specialist and professional activities.<sup>37</sup> The connection with the sophistic activity is clear since the formation of these verbs responds to two linguistic phenomena – integration and typicalisation – which are essential characteristics of scientific and intellectual discourse. Because of these qualities, these compounds became very productive in scientific and specialised language (for instance, to describe agricultural or military activities, see X. Cyr. 3.2.25 μισθοφορέω 'to receive wages' for mercenary soldiers, D.S. 13.58.3 σιτομετρέω 'to deal out portions of corn or provisions', and Poll. 7.141 ἐλαιοκομέω 'to cultivate olives') and were widely used also in epigraphy and papyri, becoming even more productive from the Hellenistic age onwards, including in the literary language (see Menander, Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus). This process produces many neologisms which may be *ad hoc* creations.<sup>38</sup> The progressive spread of these compounds is reflected in the large number of forms recorded in Phrynichus' lexica. Phrynichus often reports the compounded forms next to the analytic constructions – e.g. PS 82.13: καλλιγραφήσαι· εἰς κάλλος γράψαι ('καλλιγραφήσαι: To write beautifully') –, which seems to reveal the phenomenon at work and the coexistence of the two versions. Before analysing Phrynichus' approach to these verbs, a brief digression on their productivity in the Hellenistic and imperial periods is proposed below.

#### 4.1 Hellenistic and imperial authors on -έω compounds

As mentioned above, the productivity of -έω compounds started increasing from the Hellenistic age onwards. Polybius is once again a good example of innovative usages of this kind (de Foucault 1979, 33) since he uses many rare complex verbs

---

tive, see Asraf (2021). Concerning the formation of these forms, the connecting vowels, the function of the first member, and the form of the second constituent, see Pompei (2002, 226 n. 19) and Asraf (2021, 40).

<sup>36</sup> Debrunner (1917, 95); Pompei, Grandi (2012); Ralli (2013, 174).

<sup>37</sup> See also Willi (2003, 58–9).

<sup>38</sup> Asraf (2021, 42); Pompei (2006, 228).

in -έω some of which are unattested before him (e.g. γεφυροποιέω ‘to make a bridge’, ψυχομαχέω ‘to fight to the last gasp’, βαιομαχέω ‘to fight at close quarters’). These verbs were often used in conjunction with their analytical equivalent.<sup>39</sup> For instance, the compound χρεωλυτέω (‘discharge a debt’) – a form criticised by Phrynichus in the *Ecl.* 370 – occurs in Flavius Josephus (in *AI* 7.387 and 18.306, both used in a metaphorical sense) and Plutarch (*Alc.* 5.5) together with the analytic equivalent χρέα διαλύσασθαι (Ios. *AI* 18.240 and Plu. *Luc.* 20.3), used with the same meaning. This suggests that the two expressions were probably semantically equivalent, the first being more stylistically marked as a technical expression and more suitable for metaphorical use, and the second more neutral. The two authors – whose language represents a creative compromise between Atticism and koine, with a mixture of archaisms and neologisms – present a good number of compounds in -έω which are not used in Classical Greek (e.g. ισχυροποιέω ‘to strengthen’, δικαιοδοτέω ‘administer justice’, and χρεωκοπέω ‘to cut down a debt’) as well as forms which find their first attestation in these authors (e.g. ἀδελφοκτονέω ‘to be the murderer of a brother or sister’, ἐνθηλυπαθέω ‘to be effeminate’, and χορδολογέω ‘to touch the strings before playing’).<sup>40</sup>

The productivity of -έω compounds is also witnessed by Atticist authors. Some of these compounds are attested for the first time in Atticist writers and then reused by Byzantine authors (Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 702). *Hapax legomena* are also widely attested in the Atticists; these verbs may have been coined with a specific purpose or to describe an action in detail. In this respect, it is not surprising that many of these *hapax legomena* are found in Lucian, in the *Lexiphanes*, where forms such as συγχειροπονέω ‘to do also by manual labour’, ῥησιμετρέω ‘to measure one’s words’, and ὀλισθογνωμονέω ‘to make a slip in judgement’ seem to be ridiculing a practice that was common at the time, and which Lucian himself used to create neologisms in many other works, sometimes inspired by Attic comedy. As Casevitz (1994, 77) claims, referring to neologisms in the *Lexiphanes*, ‘le formation de chacun obéit à des lois claires selon lesquelles

<sup>39</sup> Also in the Classical age see Hdt. 2.115.4–6 μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν [. . .] μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν (‘To kill none of the strangers [. . .] not to kill strangers’) – or for cases in which the compound is used in a commentary to a text which instead uses the analytic expression, see Ar. *Nu.* 997 μήλω βληθεῖς (‘Being stuck with an apple’) and the scholium *ad loc.* μηλοβολεῖν γὰρ ἔλεγον τὸ εἰς ἀφροδίσια δελεάζειν (‘They say pelt with apples to mean to entice in sexual pleasure’). For a discussion of these passages, see Asraf (2021, 44); for further examples, see also Pompei (2006, 231–4).

<sup>40</sup> On the language of Flavius Josephus, see Schreckenberg (1996, 52–4). On the language of Plutarch in the context of Atticism, see Jazdzewska (2019); Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 635.

Lucien lui-même n'a pas hésité à créer des mots'. Indeed, similar quantities of *hapax legomena* are consistently found in other works by Lucian. In the list given by Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 1, 379 containing the forms attested in Lucian for the first time or only in his writings, about 30 forms are complex verbs in -έω, and these are attested in different works (e.g. ἀεροδρομέω 'to traverse the air' *VH* 1.10, ἀνθοκρατέω 'to govern flowers' *Pseudol.* 24, θερμηγορέω 'to speak warmly' *Pe-regr.* 30, ἱματιοφυλακέω 'to take care of clothes' *Hipp.* 8, and κακομετρέω 'to give bad measure' *Herm.* 59). Lucian reflects a practice that was common in contemporary authors as shown by *hapax legomena* in Athenaeus (e.g. κυνολογέω 'talk of the dog-star' and οἰνολογέω 'to speak of wine'), Galen (e.g. σωματομαχέω 'to practise gymnastic exercises with an opponent'), and Philostratus (e.g. σπερματολογέω 'to glean', Διονυσομανέω 'to be full of Bacchic frenzy', and χρυσοκομέω 'to have golden hair').<sup>41</sup> It is difficult to say whether these authors took these forms from earlier literary attestations or ordinary usage, thus reusing them in their literary or metaphorical sense, or whether they produced these neologisms on the basis of a well-established pattern. These forms continued to be very productive among Byzantine authors, who reused rare compounds or created neologisms of this kind.

## 4.2 The *Eclogue* on -έω compounds

In the *Eclogue*, a general criticism is expressed towards the use of compounds/mono-lexical expressions in place of multi-word equivalents.<sup>42</sup> In the case of -έω verbs, Phrynichus seems to accept these forms when they have explicit attestations in Classical sources (*Ecl.* 317 κεφαλοτομέω 'cut off the head' replaced by the more Attic καρποτομέω and *Ecl.* 100 with the resemanticised verb κληρονομέω 'inherit', although here the discussion is about syntax), and reject them altogether when they are not attested in Classical sources. In the following cases, Phrynichus shows clear preferences for the analytic expressions:

<sup>41</sup> On Philostratus, see Schmid, *Atticismus* vol. 4, 436.

<sup>42</sup> See *Ecl.* 97: εὐκαιρεῖν οὐ λεκτέον, ἀλλ' εὐ σχολῆς ἔχειν ('Do not say εὐκαιρεῖν ('to have leisure') but εὐ σχολῆς ἔχειν'); *Ecl.* 10: εὐχαριστεῖν οὐδεὶς τῶν δοκίμων εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ χάριν εἰδέναι ('None of the good writers uses εὐχαριστεῖν ('to be thankful') but χάριν εἰδέναι'); *Ecl.* 330: εὐκερματεῖν ἀηδὲς πάννυ, ἥδιστα δ' ἂν εἴποις εὐπορεῖν κερμάτων ('εὐκερματεῖν ('to be rich in money') [is] totally distasteful, rather you should say εὐπορεῖν κερμάτων'); or forms like *Ecl.* 411 αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι 'to take prisoner', for which Phrynichus proposes a multiword alternative: διαλύων οὖν λέγε αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι ('Breaking it up say αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι'). Likewise, for objections addressed to phenomena of derivation, see *Ecl.* 328, 368, etc.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 92: καλλιγραφεῖν· διαλελυμένως λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι εἰς κάλλος γράφειν.<sup>43</sup>

καλλιγραφεῖν ('to write beautifully): Those [good writers] breaking it down say εἰς κάλλος γράφειν.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 361: σιτομετρεῖσθαι μὴ λέγε. λύων δ' ἐρεῖς σῖτον μετρεῖσθαι.<sup>44</sup>

Do not say σιτομετρέομαι ('to deal out portions of corn'). Break it down and say σῖτον μετρεῖσθαι.

Phryn. *Ecl.* 370: χρεολυτῆσαι λέγει ὁ πολὺς λεώς, ἀλλ' οἱ ὀλίγοι καὶ Ἀττικοὶ τὰ χρέα διαλύσασθαι.

The mass says χρεωλυτέω ('to discharge a debt'), but the few and Attic [writers] use τὰ χρέα διαλύσασθαι.

In these three cases, Phrynichus explicitly rejects the compounded forms because they lack a Classical pedigree (καλλιγραφέω with a first attestation in Longinus; σιτομετρέω being used in Polybius, the Septuagint, and later authors; and χρεωλυτέω with a first attestation in Flavius Josephus and Plutarch). His preference for the analytic forms – which, however, are not attested in Classical sources – is clearly expressed in the metalanguage of the third entry where ὁ πολὺς λεώς describes a common usage, as opposed to a more Attic and sophisticated expression (ὀλίγοι καὶ Ἀττικοί). These cases testify to the existence of competing options: both the analytic and the incorporated forms were in use, as shown by the examples of Flavius Josephus and Plutarch above, and Phrynichus prefers the one which probably sounded more Attic and avoided a compositional mechanism common in post-Classical Greek.<sup>45</sup> The use of the verb λύω (in the form διαλελυμένως/λύων) in the first two entries shows that the two forms were perceived as semantically equivalent – the compound was not lexicalised so it could simply be replaced by its analytic form – and that Phrynichus was probably aware of this compositional mechanism.

These are the only cases where an exact correspondence is mentioned. In the other entries, the compounds are simply rejected or replaced by other verbs: in *Ecl.* 322 ἐργοδοτέω 'to let out work' is rejected as being used by Apollodorus, a playwright of New Comedy; in *Ecl.* 338 εὐκερματέω 'to be rich in money' is said to be 'distasteful' even though it is used by Eubulus, as reported in Phot. ε 2223, and is replaced with εὐπορέω κερμάτων 'to have plenty of money'; in *Ecl.* 360 συγγνω-

<sup>43</sup> On this and *Ecl.* 370 see Scomparin (2024a).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Poll. 7.18 attesting the form σιτομέτραι in Hyperides from which the verb σιτομετρεῖν is formed.

<sup>45</sup> For an analysis of these kinds of compounds in the *Eclogue*, see Scomparin (2021, 98–111).

μονέω ‘to agree with’ is replaced by συγγιγνώσκω; in *Ecl.* 381 εὐχρηστέω ‘to be serviceable’ is rejected for κίχρημι; and in *Ecl.* 9 εὐκοιτέω ‘to sleep well’, discussed in its imperative form, is simply rejected without further explanation. It seems that the criterion Phrynichus uses in relation to these forms is to reject them if they are not used in Classical sources (i.e. a lexicon-based rejection, although εὐκερματέω is said to be ‘distasteful’ even though it is used by Eubulus)<sup>46</sup> and to prefer the analytic form when available, since these compounds were very productive in post-Classical Greek. In this respect, in different entries the *Antiatticist* shows the Classical pedigree of -έω compounds, which were probably thought to be late formations: see κ 88 κεφαλοτομέω ‘to cut off the head’ (Theophrastus) rejected by Phrynichus above; λ 8 λαθοροφagéω ‘to eat secretly’ (Metagenes, cf. Poll. 6.40); λ 9 λιποψυchéω ‘to swoon’ (Sophocles, cf. Poll. 3.106 quoting Thucydides); θ 8 θυροκοπέω ‘to knock at the door’ (Diphilus) also attested in *PS* 74.16; θ 11 θερμολουτέω ‘to use hot baths’ (Alexis);<sup>47</sup> κ 26 κακολογέω ‘to revile’ (Hyperides, cf. Poll. 2.119 quoting Demosthenes); κ 27 κακοποιέω ‘to do ill’ (Hyperides); ο 9 οικοδομέω ‘to build a house’ (Plato); and α 152 άσχημονέω ‘to behave unseemly’ (Euripides and Strattis). The *Antiatticist*’s approach is much more open to linguistic variety and morphological innovation than that of Phrynichus, and Classical authors are often used to support forms attested in post-Classical Greek.<sup>48</sup>

Interestingly, in addition to the verbs attested in Classical sources, the *PS* also includes – without explicit prescriptions or preferences for the analytic expressions – several compounds in -έω that apparently do not find attestation in Classical or Hellenistic literature. It is then worthwhile investigating the origin of these unattested forms and why Phrynichus lists them. Since these types of compounds are well-documented in Classical authors, it is possible that these forms were attested in lost passages of Classical sources and that Phrynichus, in line with the *Antiatticist*, reported the Classical passages. However, it is also possible that these are neologisms created by later authors or contemporary writers but accepted by Phrynichus because they reflect a well-established compositional category, the stylistic value of which he discusses.

<sup>46</sup> This does not surprise since in many cases Phrynichus does reject forms used in Classical sources; on this see Monaco (2024).

<sup>47</sup> With this compound the discussion seems to relate to the presence or absence of the ρ.

<sup>48</sup> On the *Antiatticist*’s approach, see Cassio (2012); Tribulato (2021).

### 4.3 The PS on -έω compounds

Among the many compounded verbs in -έω attested in the PS, the following have some sort of Classical pedigree:

PS 9.12–7 (ἀπο)διοπομπέομαι ‘to escort out’, 14.3 αἰμωδέω ‘to be set on edge (of the teeth),’<sup>49</sup> 18.1–2 αὐταρκέω ‘to be sufficient’, 19.12–3 ἀλλογνοέω ‘to take one for another’, 36.5–12 ἀδολεσχέω ‘to talk idly’, 38.1–2 ἀρτοποιέω ‘to be a baker’,<sup>50</sup> 46.1 αἰσχροπείω ‘to use foul language’,<sup>51</sup> 52.4 ἀμπελουργέω ‘to work in or cultivate a vineyard’,<sup>52</sup> 53.14–5 βαλαντιοτομέω ‘to cut purses’, 54.13–4 βωλοκοπέω ‘to break clods of earth’,<sup>53</sup> 59.10–2 γνωσιμαχέω ‘to fight with one’s own opinion’,<sup>54</sup> 65.22–66.4 ἑτερεγκεφαλέω ‘to be half-mad’,<sup>55</sup> 69.21–2 εἰκοβολέω ‘to talk at random’,<sup>56</sup> 71.3–4 ἐκζωπυρέω πῦρ ‘to rekindle the fire’,<sup>57</sup> 72.15–6 ἡδυλογέω ‘to speak sweet things’,<sup>58</sup> 74.13–5 θαλαττοκοπέω ‘to strike the sea with the oar’ (also metaphorical), 74.16 θυροκοπέω ‘to knock at the door’,<sup>59</sup> 81.4–5 κοινοθυλακέω ‘to have a common purse’, 83.6–7 καταλεπτολογέω ‘to refine away by talk’,<sup>60</sup> 84.8–9 κυνοκοπέω τὸν νῶτον ‘to beat someone like a dog’, 86.13–4 λακωνομανέω ‘to be mad on Spartan ways’, 97.2–5 ὀλοκαυτέω ‘to bring a burnt-offering’, 99.14–9 πολιτοκοπέω ‘to court the mob’,<sup>61</sup> 108.6–7 σφαιρομαχέω ‘to spar with the ball’, 110.7 συκολογέω ‘to gather figs’, 117.13 ὑψαυχέω ‘to boast’, 123.13–5

<sup>49</sup> This form is said to be more Attic (Ἀττικώτερον) than αἰμωδιᾶν.

<sup>50</sup> For which Phrynichus discusses the orthography: οὕτως Ἀττικοί, διὰ τοῦ π (‘The Attic writers [write it] in this way, with π’).

<sup>51</sup> This form is explained with αἰσχρολογέω ‘to use foul language’. The only attestation of αἰσχροπείω in ancient sources is found in Ehippus, a playwright of the 4th century BCE, and in Hippocrates.

<sup>52</sup> This verb is listed by Poll. 1.226 and 7.141 among the verbs connected to agriculture. The entry in PS 52.4 reads ἀμπελουργεῖ· δόκιμον (‘ἀμπελουργεῖ (‘to cultivate a vineyard’): [It is] acceptable’), and it is possible that something is missing in the explanation, cf. Phot. α 1245, who reports Aristophanes as testimony for this form. However, schol. Ar. Pac. 1147b reports [. . .] τινὲς δὲ γράφουσιν ἀμπελουργεῖν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς (‘Some write ἀμπελουργεῖν, not rightly’).

<sup>53</sup> Poll. 7.141 quotes Aristophanes as source (fr. 800).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Moer. γ 6: γνωσιμαχῆσαι Ἀττικοί, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης Ὀρνισιν· μετανοῆσαι Ἑλλήνες (‘γνωσιμαχέω [used by] the Attic writers, like Aristophanes (Av. 555): μετανοεῶ [used by] the Hellenes’).

<sup>55</sup> Poll. 2.42 quotes Aristophanes as source (Ar. fr. 821).

<sup>56</sup> Poll. 9.154 refers to Ar. fr. 710.

<sup>57</sup> Su. ε 423 explains the exact and metaphorical meaning of this form.

<sup>58</sup> The attestation of this compound in Phrynichus Comicus is mentioned by Ath. 4.165b. The passage in Athenaeus reports a conversation about the Classical pedigree of this verb and reads as follows: [. . .] Ὑλπιαν – says: Where did these pleasure-loving language-butchers find the word ἡδυλογία (‘garrulousness’)? Cynulcus answered him: In fact, you well-seasoned big, the comic poet Phrynichus mentioned the garrulous man (ἡδύλογος) in Ephialtes (fr. 3) (transl. Olson 2006, 293). The form used by the playwright is the verb ἡδυλογέω.

<sup>59</sup> See *Antiatt.* θ 8.

<sup>60</sup> Schol. Ar. Ra. 828b mentions Euripides as the source for this verb.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Poll. 9.26 (Antipho fr. 180) and Phot. π 439 (Diph. fr. 132).

φυλοκρινέω ‘to make distinctions of tribe’,<sup>62</sup> 123.18–9 φορτηγέω ‘to carry freights’, 124.13 φιλοψυχέω ‘to love one’s life’, 128.11–3 ψυχορροφέω ‘to suck out the life’.<sup>63</sup>

These forms, which are attested by contemporary writers and are then reused by Byzantine authors, have Classical attestations which are sometimes mentioned by Phrynichus or other sources. Some are compounds with productive second members (i.e. -κοπέω, -λογέω, and -μαχέω). In the epitome, Phrynichus provides a synonym for each form, gives an explanation or describes its literal or metaphorical meanings. The only metalinguistic comments are found in *PS* 52.4 ἀμπελουργέω, which is described with the adjective δόκιμον ‘acceptable’ alone (the entry was probably epitomised), and in *PS* 99.14–19 πολιτοκοπεῖν, which is said to be καινότερον ‘rather innovative’ compared to δημοκοπεῖν, the latter being a common form in the Hellenistic and imperial period without attestations in Classical sources.<sup>64</sup> This latter entry, apart from referring to the new meaning of the second member -κοπέω – τὸ λιπαρῶς ἐγκεῖσθαι καὶ πείθειν παρὰ γνώμην (‘To insist persistently and persuade contrary to one’s opinion’) –,<sup>65</sup> reports how the compound is used in Plato Comicus (fr. 113). Most of the forms mentioned above are attested in comedy or tragedy (Aristophanes for κοινοθυλακέω, Plato Comicus for ψυχορροφέω, and Sophocles for ὑψαυχέω, as explicitly mentioned by Phrynichus, while other playwrights are attested in other sources). The description provided for some of the entries offers an exact correspondence between the compounded form and the analytic one used in the explanation, as shown in the following cases:

*PS* 53.14–5: βαλαντιοτομεῖν· καὶ κατὰ διάλυσιν βαλάντια ἀποτεμεῖν.

βαλαντιοτομεῖν (Pl. *R.* 575b.7, *X. An.* 1.2.62): And by separation βαλάντια ἀποτεμεῖν.

*PS* 54.13–14: βωλοκοπεῖν· τὸ τὰς βώλους τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἀρούραις ἐπανεστῶτας κόπτειν.<sup>66</sup>

βωλοκοπεῖν (Ar. fr. 800, cf. Poll. 7.141): To break clods of earth that rose in the fields (τὰς βώλους [. . .] κόπτειν).

*PS* 59.10–2: γνωσιμαχῆσαι· τὸ μεταγινώσκειν καὶ συνιέναι τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος, οἷον τῇ προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ, ἣν ἔσχον, μάχεσθαι.

<sup>62</sup> With the explanation of the specific and more general meaning.

<sup>63</sup> See Gerbi (2022).

<sup>64</sup> Gerbi (2023b).

<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of this form see Kindstand (1983, 102–3).

<sup>66</sup> The verb is used in the context of a list of activities around farm work, for which many verbs of this kind are attested (γεωργέω, ἄλσοκομέω, etc.), see also Poll. 1.226. Cf. Bagordo (2017, 238–9).



γνωσιμαχεῖν (Ar. Av. 555): To change one's mind and be aware of the mistake, that is to fight with the first opinion that one has (τῇ γνώμῃ [. . .] μάχεσθαι). (Cf. Hsch. γ 751)

PS 69.21–2: εἰκοβολεῖν· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰκάζειν. εἴρηται δὲ οἷον εἰκόσι βάλλειν.

εἰκοβολεῖν (Ar. fr. 710, cf. Poll. 9.154): In place of εἰκάζειν ('to form a conjecture'). But it is said like εἰκόσι βάλλειν ('to make assumptions'). (Cf. EM 297.32)<sup>67</sup>

PS 123.18–9: φορτηγεῖν· φόρτον ἄγειν. καὶ φορτηγούς. Ἀριστοφάνης.

φορτηγεῖν (Ar. fr. 915): To carry loads (φόρτον ἄγειν). Also φορτηγούς ('one who carries loads', acc. pl.). Aristophanes.

PS 108.6–7: σφαιρομαχεῖν· τὸ τὰς σφαῖρας περιδονούμενον διαμάχεσθαι.

σφαιρομαχεῖν (Pl. Lg. 830e.3): To contend with whirling balls (τὰς σφαῖρας [. . .] διαμάχεσθαι). (Cf. Poll. 3.150)

In these entries, as in those of the *Eclogue* mentioned above (Section 4.2), Phrynichus seems to acknowledge the equivalence between compounded and analytic expressions. Apart from βαλλάντια ἀποτέμνω, which is attested in Plato, and φόρτον ἄγω, which is attested once in Homer, the other analytic forms are not found in Classical writers; rather, they are attested in Hellenistic and imperial authors (except for τὰς σφαῖρας διαμάχομαι, for which I could not find attestations). In these entries, therefore, Phrynichus' approach may have been descriptive rather than prescriptive; he may have mentioned the analytic equivalent to explain the compounded form or quoted the *locus classicus* to indicate that the two forms could both be used in different contexts; he might also have given stylistic suggestions (as in the case of πολιτοκοπέω) or explained the meaning of a given form in specific occurrences. These compounds may be useful in the context of sophistic education, which welcomed innovative, witty, and vivid expressions and unusual turns of phrase, which were less common or attested only once in Attic authors.

Even more interesting in this respect are those compounds that do not seem to be attested in the Classical sources, and in some cases are *hapax legomena* attested only in the PS. In these cases, as in those mentioned above, there are no explicit prescriptions or preferences for the analytical forms. This may be due to the process of epitomisation, which was responsible for the loss not only of many *loci classici* – which are not cited for most of the entries mentioned above and which are more often preserved in contemporary lexica (Pollux and the *Antiatticist*) or later sources (*Suda*, *Synagoge*, and Photius) – but also of many evaluative comments, which are sometimes preserved in later texts. These later sources lack

<sup>67</sup> See Bagordo (2017, 101–3).

any reference to evaluative comments made by Phrynichus on such non-Classical verbs, so it remains impossible to know what Phrynichus' purpose was in listing these *hapax legomena* and whether they were actually not attested in ancient authors. However, some hypotheses can be proposed, taking into account the nature of this work and the context in which it was produced.

As mentioned above, the use of -έω compounds in post-Classical literature was widespread and accompanied by a tendency to create neologisms. It is then possible that these forms were ancient expressions, perhaps attested in comedy, dug up by Phrynichus and proposed as more sophisticated alternatives for sophists looking for stylish expressions. Alternatively, they could have been later forms, attested in the high literature of Phrynichus' time, which lacked a Classical pedigree but were based on a well-established pattern. Phrynichus' attention may have been drawn to these forms. He may have commented on them and explained their meaning. He may have made suggestions concerning their use taking into account different styles of expression. He may also have criticised these forms, or, if they were indeed attested in Classical sources, he may have recorded the *loci classici*, in a similar vein to the *Antiatticist*, who reaffirmed the Classical pedigree of forms otherwise thought to be late. The following list classifies the -έω compounds found in the *PS*, according to their attestations.

**Verbs attested only in the *PS*:** 88.11 μηροκαυτέω 'to burn thigh-bones as a sacrifice', 96.17 ὀβολολογέω 'to collect obols', 92.5 ὀρθαγγελέω 'to announce rightly and truly', 121.13–4 φλεβοτονέομαι 'to have the veins swollen in great exertion', 123.20–1 φθειροκτονέω 'to kill lice', 127.11 ψευδογλωττέω 'to speak falsely', 68.6–8 ἐτεραχθέω 'to lean on one side'.<sup>68</sup>

**Verbs attested in *PS* and later lexic:** 54.15 βολβωρυχέω 'to dig bulbous',<sup>69</sup> 107.17–8 σιτομνημονέω (μνήμων) 'to take care of dealing out provisions', 121.9–10 φειδαλφίτεω 'to be sparing of barley', 121.15–7 φορμοκοιτέω 'to sleep on a mat'.

**Verbs attested in *PS*, other lexic, and post-Classical authors** (3rd century BCE onwards): 82.13 καλλιγραφέω (καλλιγράφος) 'to write accurately', 95.5 ὁμοσπονδέω (ὁμόσπονδος) 'to share the drink-offerings and sacrifices', 116.8 ὑλοφορέω (ὕλοφόρος) 'to carry wood', 123.16–7 φυλλοχοέω (φυλλοχόος) 'to shed leaves'.

Most of the verbs listed above are not variations of productive types (e.g. -μανέω, -ουργέω, -ποιέω, -πωλέω, -κοπέω). Apart from φορέω, the second members are not

<sup>68</sup> I have not included in this list forms such as δυσλογέω 'to abuse', δυσσιωνέω (οἰωνός) 'to augur ill a thing', δυσορκέω (ὄρκος) 'to swear falsely', ἀϋπνέω 'to be sleepless' because these verbs would require a specific analysis in relation to the use of privative forms and compounds in *δυσ*.

<sup>69</sup> On this verb see Favi in this volume suggesting that it may be an *exemplum fictum* of grammatical origin.

autonomous verbs (κοιτέω and σπονδέω are not attested before the 10th century). In various entries, Phrynichus lists the compounds next to the multiword expressions or refers to analogous constructions that have the same structure but a Classical pedigree (e.g. μηροκαυτέω / ὀλοκαυτέω and φυλλοχοέω / φυλλοροέω). It is not clear whether here Phrynichus is simply describing the meaning of rare forms, or whether the entries were actually more complex and may have given further information, presenting alternatives that could be useful in different contexts and for different styles – a practice in keeping with the pedagogical attitude of the *PS*. The only case in which a metalinguistic comment has been preserved is in *PS* 68.6–8, where the form ἑτεραρχέω is explained with the alternative ἑτεροκλινέω ‘to lean on one side’, which is said to be used by οἱ πολλοί. The entry reads as follows: ἑτεραρχεῖ· ὃ οἱ πολλοὶ ἑτεροκλινεῖ λέγουσιν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἢ ἐφ’ ὅτουσιν διηρημένον ἄχθος ἐπὶ θάτερον ρέπη (‘ἑτεραρχεῖ’ (‘he leans on one side’): The many say ἑτεροκλινέω when the burden distributed on yoked animals or on anything else leans on one side’). The verb ἑτεραρχέω has no attestations besides the *PS*, and the adjective ἑτεραρχής ‘favouring one side’ is attested only in Cyril of Alexandria. The form ἑτεροκλινέω is instead commonly used by contemporary authors (i.e. Dio Chrysostom, Galen, and Oppian). Since οἱ πολλοί is used in other entries to describe or proscribe common usages, it is possible that Phrynichus here was reporting the form ἑτεραρχέω as a more innovative option, as he did for instance for πολιτοκοπέω, although this latter form shows a clear Attic pedigree.<sup>70</sup> Nauck, Meineke, and Kock believe that some of these compounds belong to lost comic fragments. It is, of course, possible that Phrynichus had in mind a Classical form. Yet, since it was common practice among the sophists and contemporary writers to create neologisms on the basis of forms well attested in ancient sources, and especially in comedy, it is also possible that the ‘correct’ type of formation, already attested in Classical times, may have been the basis for the sophists’ *ex novo* formation. Among the *hapax legomena* there are verbs which find parallels in Classical sources (especially in comedy or tragedy), verbs whose verbal component was already productive in Classical times, and verbs whose underlying compounds are attested in Classical sources. For other verbs, the verbal components are rarely attested. In any case, Phrynichus seems to have an open approach to these forms in the *PS*, whether they are *hapax legomena* in ancient sources or later creations.

An example of a case for which there are parallels in comedy and tragedy is *PS* 123.20–1 φθειροκτονέω ‘to kill lice’.<sup>71</sup> The comic meaning and the type of com-

<sup>70</sup> Cf. also the use of οἱ πολλοί in *PS* 105.25–106.2 in the description of the meaning of the *hapax legomenon* προαναγυμνάζειν, discussed in Section 3.1.

<sup>71</sup> This verb has a nominal compound φθειροκτόνον which is attested in Dioscorides Pedanius (1st century CE).

pound seem to have tragic parallels in forms like *ταυροκτονέω* ‘slaughter or sacrifice bulls’, Aesch. *Th.* 276 and Soph. *Tr.* 760; *παιδοκτονέω* ‘to murder children’, Eur. *HF* 1280; and *βροτοκτονέω* ‘to murder men’, Aesch. *Eu.* 421. While the second member of the compound is well attested in tragedy, the first member finds only a few parallels with *φθειροτραγέω* ‘to eat lice’ attested in Herodotus, *φθειροτρικτέω* ‘to eat lice’ in Arrianus, and *φθειροποιέω* ‘to produce lice’ found in a magical papyrus. A similar case is *PS* 121.15–7 *φορμοκοιτέω* ‘to sleep on a mat’, for which Phrynichus provides an explanation that recalls a comic situation (τὸ ἐπὶ φορμοῦ καθεύδειν. φορμὸς δέ ἐστι πλέγμα τι ἐκ φλέω. τάττεται ἐπὶ λυπρῶς καὶ κακῶς κοιμωμένων, οὐκ ἔχόντων κνάφαλλον (‘To sleep on a mat. The mat is a plaited work made from wool-tufted reed. It is used for those who sleep poorly and badly, not having a pillow’), cf. *Su.* φ 608 and [Zonar.] 1821.1. The second member -κοιτέω is attested only in Ar. *Lys.* 592 with the form *μονοκοιτέω* ‘to sleep alone’, in Hp. *Salubr.* 4.8 Littré with *σκληροκοιτέω* ‘to sleep on a hard bed’, and in Soph. *Tr.* 1166 with *χαμαικοιτέω* ‘to lie on the ground’. In contrast, it is quite productive in post-Classical Greek, being mostly attested in medical treatises (*ἀνδροκοιτέω* ‘to sleep with a man’ and *δεξιόκοιτέω* ‘to sleep on the right side’), Christian authors (*ἀρσενοκοιτέω* ‘to commit sodomy’), erudite sources (*δυσκολοκοιτέω* ‘to sleep uneasily’ and *κακοκοιτέω* ‘to sleep badly’), and ecclesiastic and hagiographic texts (*ἐξωκοιτέω* ‘to sleep outside convent’, *κλινοκοιτέω* ‘to sleep on a bed’, and *ξηροκοιτέω* ‘to sleep on the floor’). Rare forms are also attested in late authors such as *στιβαδοκοιτέω* ‘to sleep on litter’ in Polybius, Posidonius, Strabo; the *hapax legomenon* *δευτεροκοιτέω* ‘to have a bedfellow’ is attested in Athenaeus and *λαθροκοιτέω* ‘to live in secret marriage’ in Tzetzes. Only two compounds are attested with *φορμός* as a first component: *φορμορραφέομαι* ‘to be stitched like a mat’ a word of Demosthenes ridiculed by Aeschin. 3.166 and also used by D.H. *Dem.* 57.7, and *φορμοφορέω* ‘carry baskets or faggots’ in D.C. 25.25.

A similar case is *PS* 121.9–10 *φειδαλφίτέω* ‘to be sparing of barley’, where the verbal element is the first member of the compound.<sup>72</sup> However, as Tribulato (2015, 322–3) claims, among the V1 compounds of *φείδομαι*, the denominative *φειδαλφίτέω* is the only exception since all the other forms are onomastic, such as the Homeric *Φείδιππος* ‘one who takes care of horses’ (cf. *Il.* 5.202), *Φειδόμβροτος* ‘one who spares men’ (cf. *Il.* 24.158), or the Aristophanic name *Φειδιππίδης* (*Clouds*). In the comic context, *φείδομαι* also produces the noun *Φείδων*, which indicates a thrifty person in Antiphanes fr. 189.2.<sup>73</sup> Another exam-

<sup>72</sup> Among the *verbale Rektionskomposita* with a nominal first element and a verbal second element, there are cases in which the verbal element precedes the nominal element (e.g. *στρεψοδικέω* ‘to twist justice’). *Su.* φ 243 (*PS* fr. \*365), also attests to the adverb *φειδαλφίτως* ‘thriftyly’.

<sup>73</sup> On the use of this name in comedy, see Kanavou (2011, 71–2).

ple of possible comic parallel is *PS* 54.15 βολβωρυχέω ‘to dig bulbous plants’, which is a form attested only in lexicographical sources and paired by Photius β 203 with τοιχωρυχεῖν (βολβωρυχεῖν· ἀντὶ τοῦ τοιχωρυχεῖν).<sup>74</sup> The verb τοιχωρυχέω ‘to dig through a wall’ (like a thief) is well attested in Classical Greek (in Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and Plato) with the meaning ‘to be a housebreaker’. According to Photius β 201, the nominal compound βολβορυκτικόν ‘typical of the chive weeder’ is attested in Aristophanes (fr. 797) where it probably has a metaphorical meaning (cf. β 202).<sup>75</sup> As Henderson (2008) claims, it is possible that the expression ‘to dig bulbs’ was used as a metaphor with the meaning ‘breaking and entering’, which would explain the correspondence found in Photius β 203 between βολβωρυχέω and τοιχωρυχέω. The compounds with this second member attested in the Classical age are γεωρυχέω ‘to dig in the earth’, with an attestation in Herodotus, and φρεωρυχέω ‘to dig wells’, with an attestation in Aristophanes. New forms are found in post-Classical Greek, such as τυμβωρυχέω ‘to break open graves’ first attested in Aristotle, the *hapax* ὀφθαλμωρυχέω ‘to gouge out the eyes’ in Philodemus (but ὀφθαλμωρύχος ‘tearing out the eyes’ is attested in Aesch. *Eu.* 186), and the *hapax* χαλκωρυχέω ‘to dig or mine copper’ in Lycophron. The form ριζωρυχέω ‘dig up roots’ is attested in Plutarch and later Byzantine sources and χρυσωρυχέω ‘to mine for gold’ is found in Clemens of Alexandria as well as later sources. These cases of correspondence between the neologisms attested in the *PS* and comic forms may suggest that these compounds were comic attestations listed by Phrynichus, maybe in a section dedicated to comic language,<sup>76</sup> but again it cannot be excluded that they are instead neologisms created on the basis of Classical forms.

There are other verbs for which the second member was productive in Classical Greek: for example, *PS* 92.5 ὀρθαγγελέω ‘to announce rightly and truly’. The second member -αγγελέω is found in Classical sources, for instance in the form κακαγγελέω ‘to bring evil tidings’ attested in a quotation (possibly from tragedy) reported by Demosthenes, and ψευδαγγελέω ‘to be a false messenger’ found in Ar. *Av.* 1340 and then in Ph. *Quod deus sit immutabilis* 3.3. Similarly, in *PS* 96.17 ὀβολολογέω ‘to collect obols’, the second member is found in Classical sources in forms such as δασμολογέω ‘to collect as tribute’ (Isocrates and Demosthenes) or συκολογέω ‘to collect figs’, attested in Ar. *Pax* 1343 (cf. *PS* 110.7). The nominal compound ὀβολολόγος is attested only by the Emperor Leo VI (9th century CE). The verb is attested in Michael Apostolius’ *Oratio ad Lucium* (15th cen-

<sup>74</sup> On the verb βολβωρυχέω, see Favi in this volume.

<sup>75</sup> For which see Bagordo (2017, 235–6).

<sup>76</sup> See Kaibel (1899, 11).

tury).<sup>77</sup> There is only one other compound with ὀβολ(ο)- as the first component, which is ὀβολοστατέω ‘to weigh obols’ attested in Lysias (fr. 60) and then in Philo of Alexandria and Lucian.

Among the verbs whose underlying compounds have a Classical pedigree, one can list *PS* 116.8: ὑληφορεῖν· ἀντὶ τοῦ φορτία ἄγειν (‘ὑληφορεῖν: In place of to carry loads’); -φορέω is a productive second member for compounds in -έω and finds some attestations in Classical sources. Moreover, although ὑληφορέω finds a unique attestation in Philo of Alexandria *De vita Mosis* 2.86 and in Poll. 7.130, who lists this verb among similar forms (ὑληφόροι καὶ ὑληφορεῖν, πλινθοφόροι καὶ πλινθοφορεῖν ‘to carry bricks’ – the latter attested only in Polyaeus – πηλοφόροι καὶ πηλοφορεῖν ‘to carry clay’), ὑλοφόρος is already attested in Ar. *Ach.* 272. Likewise, *PS* 95.5 ὁμοσπονδέω, explained with τὸ κοινωνεῖν σπονδῶν καὶ θυσιῶν (‘To share the drink-offerings and sacrifices’), has ὁμόσπονδος as its antecedent, which is found in Classical authors (Herodotus and Demosthenes) in the sense of ‘sharing in the drink offering’, and in *3Ma.* 3.7 probably with the metaphorical meaning of ‘being bound by a treaty’. It is possible that the analytic form (τὸ κοινωνεῖν σπονδῶν καὶ θυσιῶν) is used by Phrynichus to make a semantic point (ὁμοσπονδέω meaning ‘to share the sacrifices’). The verb is attested only in *Vitae Sanctorum Constantini Imperatoris et Helenae*, a hagiographic text of the 4th century CE. Pollux 1.34 reports this verb in a list of words for the celebration of sacrifices. In *PS* 123.18–9: φυλλοχοεῖν· ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἀποβαλλόντων τὰ φύλλα. φυλλοροεῖν (Ar. *Av.* 1480) (‘φυλλοχοεῖν: [Said] of trees that shed their leaves. To shed the leaves (φυλλοροεῖν)’),<sup>78</sup> the nominal compound φυλλοχόος is attested by Hesiod and Callimachus. The verb φυλλοχοέω probably finds its first attestation in Democritus, and it is then used once in Plutarch, in an epigram of the *AP*, and in Byzantine authors. Phrynichus associates this form with the verb φυλλοροέω, which has the same meaning and is very well attested in comedy, in other Classical writers, and then in later sources. The comparison may have been used to explain φυλλοχοέω on an analogical basis (see also μηροκαυτέω below) or to propose a more Attic synonym (φυλλοροέω) in place of φυλλοχοέω in a sort of onomastic structure.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, it is worth noting that, once again, some of these forms are explained by analytic expressions with a perfect correspondence between the two alternatives:

<sup>77</sup> On the reuse of comic expressions and rare forms attested in the *PS* in Byzantine authors, see also Gerbi (2022) about Leon Choerosphactes’ *Theologia*.

<sup>78</sup> For the derivation of χοέω < χέω with the modification of the root vowel and addition of the suffix \*-e(y)e/o-, see Christol (1991, 94).

<sup>79</sup> On these verbs and a possible onomastic organisation, see Cavarzeran in this volume with a comparison with Poll. 1.231–6.

PS 92.5: ὀρθαγγελεῖν· ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀγγέλλειν.

PS 123.20–1: φθειροκτονεῖν (*com. adesp.* fr. \*687)· τὸ τοὺς φθεῖρας κτείνειν.

PS 54.15: βολβωρυχεῖν (*com. adesp.* fr. \*582)· βολβούς ὀρύττειν.

PS 121.9–10: φειδαλφιτεῖν (*com. adesp.* fr. \*684)· τὸ φείδεσθαι τῶν ἀλφίτων, οἷον τροφῆς καὶ σιτίων. (cf. Hsch. φ 267 where Hesychius does not use the same periphrasis to explain it).

It should be noted that, as in the cases above, the analytic forms mentioned here are not attested in Classical sources, but are used by post-Classical authors (βολβούς ὀρύττειν and φείδεσθαι τῶν ἀλφίτων are the only forms for which there seem to be no attestations), and in no case is the analytic form explicitly preferred to the compounded one, although this could be due to the loss of information caused by epitomisation. Hence it is possible that Phrynichus here was simply explaining the meaning of the compound or offering two options.

Then there are other verbs which do not show similar correspondences with Classical forms. In the case of PS 121.13–4 φλεβοτονέομαι ‘to have the vein swollen’, the second member is only attested in the Classical compound χειροτονέω ‘to elect’, a form which was resemanticised (from the original meaning ‘to stretch out the hand’) and was very well attested in Classical sources. The only other compound with φλεβ(ο)- as the first element is φλεβοτομέω attested in Hippocrates. Also, for PS 107.17–8 σιτομνημονέω ‘to take care of dealing out portions of corn or provisions’, the only other compound attested in -μνημονέω is ἱερομνημονέω ‘to be a sacred remembrancer / to be ἱερομνήμων’ (representatives sent by each Amphictyonic state to the Delphic Council), which is attested only in *Ar. Nu.* 624, and then in *Plb.* 4.54.4, where ἱερομνήμων refers to the eponymous magistrate at Byzantium.<sup>80</sup> Of the many verbal compounds in -έω with σιτο- as the first member, only a few are attested in Classical sources: σιτοδοτέω ‘to furnish with provisions’ in Thucydides; σιτοποιέω ‘to prepare corn for food’ in Euripides, Herodotus, and Xenophon; and σιτοπωλέω ‘to deal in corn’ in a fragment of Lysias. The compound σιτομνημονέω is explained by Phrynichus with the periphrasis τὸ ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι <τοῦ> τὸν σῖτον διδόναι εἰς τροφάς (‘To take care in the distribution of food in provisions’) and by Hesychius σ 776 with τὰ σῖτα μετρεῖν ‘to deliver food’, which recalls the compound σιτομετρέομαι ‘to deal out portions of corn’ rejected by Phrynichus in *Ecl.* 361 in place of the periphrasis σῖτον μετρεομαι (see Section 4.1). Similarly, for PS 127.11 ψευδογλωπτέω, among the compounds with -γλωπτέω as the second element, there is only one attestation in Classical authors with χαριτογλωσσέω ‘to speak to please’ in [*Aesch.*] *Pr.* 294. Other com-

<sup>80</sup> Here I am not taking into account the epigraphic attestations of ἱερομνημονέω/ἱερομνημονέω.

pounds are found only in late sources, such as ἀθυρογλωπτέω ‘to speak foolishly’ (Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Isidore of Pelusium, and Theodoretus, but ἀθυρόγλωσσος ‘one that cannot keep his mouth shut’ is found in Eur. *Or.* 903) and περιττογλωπτέω ‘to speak superfluously’ (schol. Aesch. *Th.* 258d). They also appear in a series of *hapax legomena* in Byzantine writers: ἐτερογλωπτέω ‘to speak a foreign tongue’ (Nicephorus Chrysoberges, 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century, although ἐτερόγλωσσος is already attested in Polybius), ποικιλογλωπτέω ‘to talk in detail’ (Leontius, 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century), and σεμνογλωπτέω ‘to speak solemnly’ (Constantinus Manasses, 12<sup>th</sup> century, although σεμνολογέω is attested in Aeschin. 2.94). The verbal compounds in -έω with ψευδ(o)- as the first element are very productive in post-Classical Greek. The forms attested in Classical authors are the following: ψευδομαρτυρέω ‘to be a false witness’ in Plato, Xenophon, and Critias; ψευδορκέω ‘to swear falsely’ in Aristophanes; ψευδοστομέω ‘to speak falsely’ in Sophocles; and ψευδολογέω ‘to speak falsely’ in Isocrates.<sup>81</sup> In *PS* 127.11 the *hapax* ψευδογλωπτέω ‘to speak falsely’ is explained with ψευδολογέω, which is attested only in Isoc. 10.8 and Aeschin. 2.119 among Classical authors but is very common in later authors.

Another similar instance is *PS* 88.11 μηροκαυτέω. In this case, an especially interesting explanation is given – ὁμοίως τῷ ἱεροκαυτεῖν καὶ ὀλοκαυτεῖν (‘Similarly to ἱεροκαυτέω (‘to sacrifice as a burnt-offering’) and ὀλοκαυτέω (‘to bring a burnt-offering’)) – with a sort of analogical association with forms with the same meaning and structure.<sup>82</sup> The verb ἱεροκαυτέω is found only in Diodorus Siculus, while ὀλοκαυτέω is attested in Xenophon (*Anabasis* and *Cyropedia*), and then widely attested in post-Classical Greek (Septuagint, Philo of Alexandria, Plutarch, and later authors). In another entry of the *PS*, Phrynichus attests to a further evolution of this compound in the form -ίζω: see *PS* 97.2–5: ὀλοκαυτεῖν· ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλοκαυτῶ, οὗ ὁ μέλλων ὀλοκαυτήσω. λέγεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰ ὀλοκαυτίζω, ἐξ οὗ ὀλοκαυτιῶ ὁ Ἀττικὸς μέλλων, οὗ τὸ ἀπαρέμφατον ὀλοκαυτιεῖν (‘ὀλοκαυτεῖν (‘bring a burnt-offering’): From ὀλοκαυτῶ, ὀλοκαυτήσω in the future. It is also said with the ι, ὀλοκαυτίζω, from which the Attic future ὀλοκαυτιῶ [is formed], from which the infinitive ὀλοκαυτιεῖν [is formed]). However, the form in -ίζω is never attested in Classical sources; the only attestations found are in Neanthes, Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius, Porphyrius, and Eustathius. Other compounds attested with -καυτέω as the second component are ἡλιοκαυτέω ‘to be sunburnt’, found only in Simplicius; λυχνοκαυτέω ‘to light lamps’, which, according to Photius λ 495, is at-

<sup>81</sup> For the compounds in ψευδ(o)- see Risch (1949, 257–8).

<sup>82</sup> A similar process is attested for the form δυσσορκῆσαι ‘swear falsely’ *PS* 65.1, which is again unattested and explained in analogy with the well-attested form ἐπισορκέω, which has the same meaning: οἷον τὸ ἐπισορκῆσαι.



tested in Telecleides, and then in Cassius Dio (cf. Poll. 7.178); and *πισσοκαυτέω* ‘to extract pitch by burning’, with three attestations in Theophrastus. The form *μηρο-* as the first member of compounds is not attested with *-έω* verbs and it is found only in two compounds: *μηροτραφής* ‘with fleshy shanks’ (Strabo and *AP*) and *μηροτυπής* ‘striking the thigh’ (*AP*).

Among these compounds, a form that deserves special attention is *PS* 82.13 *καλλιγραφέω* since this is the only form which has a parallel in Phrynichus’ *Eclogue* (see Section 4.2).<sup>83</sup> The entry in the *PS* gives no further information, probably due to epitomisation, but it does report the correspondence between the compounded and analytic forms: *καλλιγραφήσαι· εἰς κάλλος γράψαι* (‘*καλλιγραφήσαι*: To write beautifully’). The verb has a denominative compound as antecedent *καλλιγράφος* ‘copyist’, which does not have an Attic pedigree but instead finds its first attestation in Ph. *Prov.* 2.15.5 with the meaning ‘painter’ (cf. Poll. 5.102). The first certain attestations of the verb are found in Longinus, with the meaning ‘to write well’,<sup>84</sup> in Flavius Josephus, and in Diogenes Laertius. With the only exception of *σκιαγραφέω* ‘to paint with the shadow’ attested in Plato, compounds in *-γραφέω* began to be productive in the Hellenistic period: *μυθογραφέω* ‘to write fabulous accounts’ is first attested in Strabo, and *ιστοριογραφέω* ‘to write history’ is first attested in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, etc. This is the only entry for which other lexicographical sources (*Excerpta e Herodiano e cod. Paris. Gr.* 2552 = [Hdn.] *Philet.* 190; *Su. ε* 3201) provide metalinguistic comments, considering only the analytic forms to be Attic, a doctrine which is in line with the prescription of the *Eclogue*.<sup>85</sup> It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that this was also the doctrine of the *PS*. However, as we know from Poll. 5.102, who uses this compound with the meaning ‘to embellish’ when listing it in the context of cosmetics, there was also a semantic issue connected with this form. It is thus possible that Phrynichus in the *PS* may have been concerned not only with the morphological issue but also with the semantic one (cf. *PS* 95.5 on *όμοσπονδέω*). This would also reflect what Phrynichus discusses in *PS* 56.14–7 on the semantics of corradical forms: *γραφεύς· καὶ ὁ ζωγράφος· καὶ γράμμα τὸ ζωγράφημα· καὶ [δὲ] γράμματα ἐπιστολαί· καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα, ὡς Δημοσθένης· καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς Ξενοφῶν (‘*γραφεύς* (Eur. *Hec.* 807): Also the painter. And *γράμμα* the picture. And *γράμματα* the letters. And the decrees, like in Demosthenes. And the works of the ancients, like in Xenophon’).*

<sup>83</sup> For an analysis of this form, see Scomparin (2021, 38–48) and Scomparin (2024b).

<sup>84</sup> About the first attestation in the preface of the *Ars Rhet. Alexand.*, see Chiron (2002, 58).

<sup>85</sup> Ps.-Herodian supports the equivalence of the periphrastic and the compounded expressions by saying that the Attic writers ‘break up’ the compound (*διαροῦσιν οἱ Ἀττικοί*).

The didactic approach and the more evident stylistic concern of the *PS* (Section 3) may suggest that even in these cases the lexicographer was more interested in describing alternatives than in prescribing what might have sounded like the most Attic option. In this respect, the structure of the entries – with the discussion of the compounds and their analytic equivalents and the few metalinguistic comments that escaped epitomisation –, the absence of proscriptions in other lexicographical sources, and the fact that all these forms do not seem to be common expressions attested in everyday language may suggest that Phrynichus was not listing these compounds to reject them but to explain their meanings, to discuss their stylistic usage and perhaps their originality compared to more common forms, and probably to testify to their Classical pedigree, if they had one.

With regard to the origin of these forms, there are two possibilities. They might be Classical forms found in lost passages or, since these compounds happen to be productive formations in post-Classical Greek literature where these forms often appear as *hapax legomena*, they could be late neologisms made by analogy with existing expressions. These neologisms may have been attested in Hellenistic or imperial sources (as for ὑληφορέω and καλλιγραφέω) or they may have been used by contemporary authors following a practice common among sophists and contemporary writers who, inspired by comic and archaic formations, created new words to enrich the contemporary language, if not, to show off in public speaking. Phrynichus may have simply listed the forms he found in contemporary writers and orators with the intention of explaining the meaning of unusual forms or providing a full range of alternatives to be adapted to different registers – a purpose not far removed from Pollux's *Onomasticon*, whose attention to style and register is applied to old expressions as much as later ones.<sup>86</sup>

## 5 Conclusions

The presence of rare formations in the *PS*, in particular pertaining to prefixed verbs and compounded forms, seems to be a peculiarity of the lexicon. These are not seen in the *Eclogue*, in which Phrynichus seems to warn the reader against the use of forms which are not well attested in Classical sources. The analysis proposed in this contribution should serve as an example of how the investigation of these rare or unattested compounds and prefixed forms might open up different

---

<sup>86</sup> See for instance the prefatory letter to Book 10, in which Pollux discusses the use of sources and claims that, if needed, it is possible to use non-ancient sources, with an example at 10.60; see Tribulato (2018, 258–60).

approaches to the study of the *PS*. However, before reaching any conclusion about the nature of the *PS* and its approach to new formations, a full evaluation of all cases of rare or unattested forms should be carried out, keeping in mind the productivity of certain forms in the rhetorical and literary production of the time, and contextualising the lexicon in the cultural framework in which it was produced.

## Bibliography

- Andriotis, N. P. (1938). 'Die wechselnde Stellung von Kompositionsgliedern im Spät-, Mittel- und Neugriechischen'. *Glotta* 27, 921–34.
- Asraf, N. (2021). 'The Mechanism of Noun Incorporation in Ancient Greek'. *Glotta* 97, 36–72.
- Bagordo, A. (2017). *Aristophanes Fr. 675–820. Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Heidelberg.
- Bompaire, J. (1994). 'L'atticisme de Lucien'. In: Billault, A. (ed.), *Lucien de Samosate. Actes du Colloque de Lyon organisé au Centre d'études romaines et gallo-romaines, les 30 septembre – 1er octobre 1993*. Lyon, 65–75.
- de Borries, I. (1911). *Phrynichi Sophistae Praeparatio sophistica*. Leipzig.
- Browning, R. (1983). *Medieval and Modern Greek*. Cambridge.
- Casevitz, M. (1994). 'La création verbale chez Lucien. Le *Lexiphanes*, *Lexiphane* et *Lucien*'. In: Billault, A. (ed.), *Lucien de Samosate. Actes du colloque international de Lyon organisé au Centre d'études romaines et gallo-romaines, les 30 septembre – 1er octobre 1993*. Lyon, 77–86.
- Cassio, A. C. (2012). 'Intimations of Koine in Sicilian Doric. The Information Provided by the Antiatticist'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*. Cambridge, 251–64.
- Chiron, P. (2002). 'L'épître dédicatoire de la Rhétorique à Alexandre. Un faux si impudent?'. In: Mimouni, S. C. (ed.), *Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du livre. En hommage à Pierre Geoltrain*. Turnhout, 51–76.
- Christol, A. (1991). 'Dérivation synchronique, dérivation diachronique dans le verbe grec'. *RPh* 65, 89–98.
- Debrunner, A. (1917). *Griechische Wortbildungslehre*. Heidelberg.
- de Foucault, J.-A. (1972). *Recherches sur la langue et le style de Polybe*. Paris.
- de Lannoy, L. (2003). 'L'atticisme de Philostrate II. Atticisme linguistique et admiration pour le passé grec'. In: Hokwerda, H. (ed.), *Constructions of Greek Past. Identity and Historical Consciousness from Antiquity to the Present*. Groningen, 69–77.
- Duhoux, Y. (2000). *Le verb grec ancien. Éléments de morphologie et de syntaxe historiques*. 2nd ed. Leuven.
- Favi, F. (2021a). 'εἰ with neuter adjective and future (Phryn. *PS* 3.8–10, Phryn. *PS* fr. 199)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/043>.
- Favi, F. (2021b). 'αὐτόκερας, αὐτόκρατος (Phryn. *PS* 1.9–11, Phryn. *PS* 29.13–5, Poll. 6.23–4)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2021/01/040>.
- Fischer, E. (1974). *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos*. Berlin, New York.

- Gerbi, G. (2022). 'ψυχορροφεῖν (Phryn. *PS* 128.11–3)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/026>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023a). 'ἀδολέσχης, ἀδόλεσχος (Moer. α 49, [Hdn.] *Philet.* 179, Phryn. *PS* 36.5–12, Poll. 6.119)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/030>.
- Gerbi, G. (2023b). 'πολιτικοπέω (Phryn. *PS* 99.14–9, Poll. 9.26)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2023/02/014>.
- Giannini, P.; Pallara, E. (1983). 'I verbi composti con preposizione'. In: Prato, C. et al. (eds.), *Ricerche sul trimetro di Menandro. Metro e verso*. Rome, 163–313.
- Harmon, A. M. (1925). *Lucian*. Vol. 4: *Anacharsis or Athletics. Menippus or The Descent into Hades. On Funerals. A Professor of Public Speaking. Alexander the False Prophet. Essays in Portraiture. Essays in Portraiture Defended. The Goddess of Surrye*. Translated by A. M. Harmon. Cambridge, MA.
- Henderson, J. (2008). *Aristophanes*. Vol. 5: *Fragments*. Edited and Translated by Jeffrey Henderson. Cambridge, MA.
- Horrocks, G. (2010). *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers*. 2nd edition. Chichester.
- Jazdżewska, K. (2019). 'Plutarch and Atticism. Herodian, Phrynichus, Philostratus'. In: Xenophontos, S.; Oikonomopoulou, K. (eds.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Plutarch*. Leiden, Boston, 66–78.
- Kaibel, G. (1899). *De Phrynicho sophista*. Göttingen.
- Kindstrand, J. F. (1983). 'ΘΥΡΟΚΟΠΟΣ. A Study of the Greek Compounds with -κόπος, -κοπία and -κοπέω in the Classical and Hellenistic Period'. *L'Antiquité Classique* 52, 86–109.
- Kaczko, S. (2016). 'La *koine*'. In: Cassio, A. C. (ed.), *Storia delle lingue letterarie greche*. 2nd edition. Florence, 385–423.
- Kanavou, N. (2011). *Aristophanes' Comedy of Names. A Study of Speaking Names in Aristophanes*. Berlin.
- Matthaios, S. (2020). 'Greek Scholarship in the Imperial Era and Late Antiquity'. In: Montanari, F. (ed.), *History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*. Leiden, Boston, 260–372.
- Monaco, C. (2024). 'Atticist Views on Linguistic Variation. The Case of Phrynichus' *Eclogae*'. In: Di Bartolo, G.; Koelligan, D. (eds.), *Postclassical Greek. Problems and Perspectives*. Berlin, Boston, 105–36.
- Olson, D. S. (2006). *Athenaeus, the Learned Banqueters*. Vol. 1: Books 1–3.106e. Edited and translated by S. D. Olson. Cambridge, MA.
- Pellettieri, A. (2022). 'κνισοκόλαξ (Phryn. *PS* 81.6)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2022/01/014>.
- Pompei, A. (2006). 'Tracce di incorporazione in greco antico'. In: Cuzzolin, P.; Napoli, M. (eds.), *Fonologia e tipologia lessicale nella storia della lingua greca. Atti del VI Incontro Internazionale di Linguistica Greca, Bergamo, settembre 2005*. Milan, 216–37.
- Pompei, A.; Grandi, N. (2012). 'Complex -έō verbs in Ancient Greek. A Case Study at the Interface between Derivation and Compounding'. *Morphology* 22, 399–416.
- Ralli, A. (2013). *Compounding in Modern Greek*. Dort.
- Risch, E. (1945). 'Griechische Komposita vom Typus μεσο-νύκτιος und ὁμο-γάστριος'. *MH* 2.1, 15–27.
- Risch, E. (1949). 'Griechische Determinativkomposita'. *IF* 59.3, 245–94.
- la Roi, E. (2022). 'The Atticist lexica as Metalinguistic Resource for Morphosyntactic Change in Post-Classical Greek'. *JGL* 22, 199–231.

- Schmitz, T. A. (1997). *Bildung und Macht. Zur sozialen und politischen Funktion der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit*. Munich.
- Schreckenberger, H. (1996). 'Text, Überlieferung und Textkritik von Contra Apionem'. In: Feldman, L. H.; Levison, J. R. (eds.), *Josephus' Contra Apionem. Studies in its Character and Context with a Latin Concordance to the Portion Missing in Greek*. Leiden, New York, Cologne, 49–82.
- Schwyzler, E. (1939). *Griechische Grammatik. Allgemeiner Teil, Lautlehre, Wortbildung, Flexion*. Munich.
- Scomparin, G. (2021). *Frinico Atticista sui composti. Un saggio di analisi linguistico-filologica su alcuni lemmi dell'Ecloga*. [M.A. Dissertation] Venice.
- Scomparin, G. (2024a). 'καλλιγραφέω, καλλιγράφος (Phryn. *Ecl.* 92, Phryn. *PS* 82.13, [Hdn.] *Philet.* 190, Orus fr. B 66)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/03/027>.
- Scomparin, G. (2024b). 'χρεολυτέω (Phryn. *Ecl.* 370)'. In: Tribulato, O. (ed.), *Digital Encyclopedia of Atticism*. With the Assistance of E. N. Merisio. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30687/DEA/2974-8240/2024/01/027>.
- Tribulato, O. (2007). 'Greek Compounds of the Type ἰσόθεος 'Equal to a God', ἀξιόλογος 'Worthy of Mention', ἀπειρομάχας 'Ignorant of War', etc.'. *Mnemosyne* 60, 527–49.
- Tribulato, O. (2010). 'Per una "tipologia" delle lingue scientifiche antiche. Lessico e morfologia nei trattati di botanica di Teofrasto'. In: Putzu, I. et al. (eds.), *La morfologia del greco tra tipologia e diacronia. Atti del VII Incontro internazionale di linguistica greca Cagliari, 13–15 settembre 2007*. Milan, 479–94.
- Tribulato, O. (2014). '"Not even Menander Would Use this Word!" Perceptions of Menander's Language in Greek Lexicography'. In: Sommerstein, A. H. (ed.), *Menander in Contexts*. New York, London, 199–214.
- Tribulato, O. (2015). *Ancient Greek Verb-Initial Compounds. Their Diachronic Development within the Greek Compound System*. Berlin, Boston.
- Tribulato, O. (2018). 'Le epistole prefatorie dell'*Onomasticon* di Polluce. Frammenti di un discorso autoriale'. *Lexis* 36, 247–83.
- Tribulato, O. (2021). '(En)listing the Good Authors. The Defence of Greek Linguistic Variety in the Antiatticist Lexicon'. In: Laemmle, R.; Scheidegger Laemmle, C.; Wessermann, K. (eds.), *Lists and Catalogues in Ancient Literature and Beyond: Towards a Poetics of Enumeration*. Berlin, Boston, 169–94.
- Tribulato, O. (2022). 'Photius, ἀναγράφητος and Atticist Lexica'. *CQ* 72, 914–33.
- Valente, S. (2015). *The Antiatticist. Introduction and Critical Edition*. Berlin, Boston.
- Vessella, C. (2016). 'Menandro'. In: Cassio, A. C. (ed.), *Storia delle lingue letterarie greche*. 2nd edition. Florence, 424–32.
- Vessella, C. (2018). *Sophisticated Speakers. Atticistic Pronunciation in the Atticist Lexica*. Berlin, Boston.
- Weissenberger, M. (1996). *Literaturtheorie bei Lukian. Untersuchungen zum Dialog Lexiphanes*. Stuttgart, Leipzig.
- Willi, A. (2003). *The Languages of Aristophanes. Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek*. Oxford.



# Index locorum

## Ancient authors

Aelianus		<i>Fragmenta</i>	
NA		fr. 241	34, 186
12.15	262	fr. 435a	50
<i>Fragmenta</i> (Domingo–Forasté)		fr. 442	57
fr. 112	250		
Aelius Aristides		[Aeschylus]	
50.106–107 Keil (= 1.532 Dindorf)		<i>Pr.</i>	
30 n. 23		294	283
50.107 Keil (= 1.532.30–533.4 Dindorf)		599	251
30		830	59
		1009	268
[Aelius Aristides]		Agatharchides	
<i>Rh.</i> 1.3–34	207 n. 53	<i>BNJ</i> 86 T 2	221
Aelius Dionysius		Alcaeus (Voigt)	
α 44	130	429.5	250
α 146	173		
Aeschines		Alcaeus Comicus	
2.94	284	fr. 33	41
2.119	284		
3.166	280	Alcman	
Aeschylus		<i>PMGF</i> fr. 92b	247 n. 19
A.		Alexis	
192–3	251	fr. 326	6
349	269		
815	269	[Andocides]	
1014–16	251	4.13–5	136
1621–3	251		
Ch.		<i>Antiatticista</i>	
250	251	α 1	104 n. 48
Eu.		α 23	267 n. 25
186	281	α 33	172
421	280	α 152	274
Th.		γ 10	102 n. 45
11	61, 225–6	γ 11	102 n. 45
276	280	ε 29	267 n. 25
776	268	ε 31	267 n. 25

ε 32	267 n. 25	997	271 n. 39
θ 8	274, 275 n. 59	998	60
θ 11	274	1397	219 n. 9
κ 26	274	<i>Pax</i>	
κ 27	274	1	36
κ 87	41	398–9	48, 124
κ 88	274	631	252
λ 8	274	811	268
λ 9	274	1343	281
ο 9	274	<i>Pl.</i>	
		673	128
Antiphanes		673–4	128
fr. 189.2	280	823	36
		895	71
Antipho		<i>Ra.</i>	
1.9	205	1–18	219 n. 10
		128	68
Archilochus (West)		179	68
fr. 277	50	200	250
		987	202
Aristophanes		1150	66
<i>Ach.</i>		<i>Th.</i>	
72	54, 65	128	123
190	247	1139	70
245	133	<i>V.</i>	
272	282	44	135
277	73	281	202
839	59	938	54, 71
1067	133	1035	248
<i>Av.</i>		1080	73
289	40	<i>Fragmenta</i>	
383	119	fr. 45	71
870	269	fr. 52	53
1340	281	fr. 66	55, 57
1480	62, 282	fr. 73	61, 112
1593	54	fr. 101	88, 228, 233 n. 48
<i>Eq.</i>		fr. 136	128–9
99–100	93	fr. 172	269
417	73	fr. 333	71
<i>Lys.</i>		fr. 421	97
335	60	fr. 606	70
575	65	fr. 710	275 n. 56
592	280	fr. 719	220–1
<i>Nu.</i>		fr. 727	92–3
321	93	fr. 729	229
545–8	219	fr. 751	70
907	60	fr. 797	115, 281



fr. 800	58, 275 n. 53	Cicero	
fr. 821	73, 275 n. 55	<i>Cael.</i>	
fr. 866	100 n. 38, 101 n. 39	6	245
fr. 907	60	<i>De orat.</i>	
fr. 923	66	2.269–70	246 n. 14
fr. 939	225	<i>Off.</i>	
fr. nov.	58	1.104	246
Aristophanes Byzantius		<i>Comica adespota</i>	
<i>Fragmenta</i> (Slater)		fr. 491	110
frr. 60–6	242	fr. 526	96 n. 30
		fr. *547	70
Aristoteles		fr. *554	86
<i>Po.</i>		fr. *565	95
1458b	208–9	fr. *568	134
<i>Pol.</i>		fr. *571	72
1265a.10–2	219–20	fr. *582	115
<i>Rh.</i>		fr. *585	60
1.3, 1358b	184 n. 33	fr. *614	96
1.6–26, 1361b–1371b	175	fr. *628	60
3.1, 1404a	184	fr. *635	102
3.2, 1404b	173, 174, 184 n. 33, 208	fr. *657	66
3.8–10, 1408b–1411b	173	fr. 751	61, 243 n. 9
3.10, 1410b	187		
3.10, 1410b–1411b	247	Crates Comicus	
3.10–1, 1410b–1413a	186	fr. 11	128
3.11, 1412a	176–7		
3.11, 1412b	187, 247	Cratinus	
3.12, 1413b	184 n. 33	fr. 43	65
3.12, 1414a	184 n. 33	fr. 93	54
		fr. 128	105
[Aristoteles]		fr. 264	269
<i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i>		fr. 286	13
3, 1425b	188 n. 39	fr. 327	228
22, 1434a.17–8	186–7	fr. 374	49, 50
35, 1440b	188 n. 39	fr. 377	134 n. 104
		fr. 389	56
Artemidorus		fr. 422	69
1.22	100 n. 39	fr. 458	68
		fr. 499	40
Athenaeus		fr. 503	96–101
3.97d–99f	263		
3.125b–e	250	Cyril	
4.165b	275 n. 58	<i>Commentarii in Lucam (in catenis) (MPG)</i>	
		72.724.20–8	108 n. 55

<i>Expositio in Psalmos (MPG)</i>		<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>	
69.1065.23–7	108 n. 55	297.32	277
Demetrius Phalereus Rhetor		<i>Etymologicum Symeonis</i>	
<i>Eloc.</i>		1.103.16–7	110
128	245	Eupolis	
Demosthenes		fr. 39	88, 228, 230 n. 33, 233 n. 48
19.287	91	fr. 131	47, 123
21.147	69	fr. 168	173
57.2	12	fr. 187	250
Dinarchus		fr. *190	250
or. 56 fr. 2 Conomis	12	fr. 227	252
Dio Cassius		fr. 258	67
25.25	280	fr. 266	59
Diodorus Siculus		fr. 371	89
2.14.4	247 n. 19	fr. 406	229
13.58.3	270	fr. 433	97 n. 32, 102 n. 44
Dionysius Halicarnassensis		fr. 474	70
<i>Comp.</i>		Euripides	
10	173	<i>Andr.</i>	
25.67	221 n. 15	278	268
<i>Dem.</i>		<i>El.</i>	
57.7	280	146–9	101 n. 40
<i>Imit.</i>		<i>Hec.</i>	
fr. 31.3.1	176	653–7	101 n. 40
<i>Lys.</i>		<i>Hel.</i>	
3	221	372–4	101 n. 40
[Dionysius Halicarnassensis]		1086–88	101 n. 40
<i>Rh.</i>		<i>HF</i>	
5.6	175	1280	280
10.7	263	<i>Med.</i>	
Diphilus		1027	48 n. 9
fr. 54	252	<i>Or.</i>	
fr. *61.4–8	250 n. 26	903	284
<i>Elegiaca adespota</i> (West)		<i>Ph.</i>	
fr. 27	251 n. 29	1400–1	119, 121
<i>Etymologicum Genuinum</i>		<i>Supp.</i>	
α 41	122–3, 124, 125	1228	103
		<i>Tr.</i>	
		279–80	101 n. 40
		<i>Fragmenta</i>	
		fr. 665a	130

Eustathius		[Herodianus]	
<i>in Il.</i>		<i>Philet.</i>	
2.446.4–6	120 n. 81	38	97 n. 31, 99 n. 36
3.250.11–5	120 n. 81	190	285
4.22.19–23.2	120 n. 81	Herodotus	
4.400.15–7	130	1.123.4	106 n. 51
<i>in Od.</i>		1.126.5	202 n. 50
1.43.5	173	2.115.4–6	271 n. 39
Galenus (Kühn)		4.64.2	50
<i>In Hipp. De artic. comm.</i> 18a.414.16–415.3		Hesiodus	
	209 n. 60	<i>Fragmenta</i> (Merkelbach–West)	
Georgius Lecapenus		fr. 333	
<i>Epist.</i> (Lindstam)			62
9, 78.15–6	103 n. 46	Hesychius	
Harpocration		α 464	132 n. 98
α 215	12	α 1763	164
Hellanicus		α 6668	104 n. 48
<i>BNJ</i> 4 F 192		ε 5174	119 n. 79
	127	θ 977	60 n. 23
Hermippus		ν 334	111 n. 61
fr. 8	47, 48, 123, 124	σ 776	283
fr. 77.6–8	247 n. 19	φ 267	283
Hermogenes (Rabe)		ω 251	97 n. 31, 99 n. 36
<i>De ideis</i>		ω 931	97 n. 31
1.1, 221–2	174	Hippocrates	
1.5, 242	174	<i>Mul.</i>	
1.5, 242–7	174	70.24–6 Littré	
1.5, 247–54	174	<i>Salubr.</i>	
1.6, 243	207 n. 56	4.8 Littré	
1.6, 244	207 n. 57	Homerus	
1.6, 246	207 n. 58	<i>Il.</i>	
1.6, 251	208	5.202	280
1.12, 295–311	173	9.219–20	68
1.12, 248	220	9.542	62
2.12, 167–9	207 n. 53	11.547	119, 120, 121
2.4, 330–9	173–4	23.775	65
2.10–2, 380–403	184, 207	24.158	280
2.10, 381.16–8	207 n. 55	<i>Od.</i>	
[Hermogenes] (Rabe)		1.351–2	218
<i>Meth.</i>		2.340	247 n. 19
25, 441–2	175	17.455	225
33, 450.17	176 n. 19		

Ion Chius		29	262–3
<i>Fragmenta elegiaca</i> (West)		<i>Rh.Pr.</i>	
26.16	251 n. 29	17	177, 263
		<i>Sol.</i>	
Isocrates		3	264 n. 18
9.10	209	<i>VH</i>	
10.8	284	1.10	272
Josephus		Lysias	
<i>AI</i>		fr. 60	282
7.387	271		
18.240	271	Magnes	
18.306	271	fr. 4	63
Leo Choerosphactes		Menander Comicus	
<i>Chilistichos theologia</i> (Vassis)		<i>Georg.</i>	
467–70	249 n. 24	94	38
		<i>Pc.</i>	
<i>Lexeis Rhetorikai</i>		362	39
201.17–21	12	<i>Sam.</i>	
		fr. 1	37
<i>Lexicon Vindobonense</i>		<i>Fragmenta</i>	
π 72	124 n. 85	fr. 162	38
		fr. 209	36
[Longinus]		fr. 245	39
5	173	fr. 293	36
34.2	187 n. 35	fr. 335	36
42	176 n. 19	fr. 518	37
		fr. 540	38
Lucianus		fr. 584	37
<i>DDeor.</i>		fr. 585	38
7.3	266 n. 22	fr. 586	39
<i>Herm.</i>		fr. 587	39
59	272	fr. 588	39
<i>Hipp.</i>		fr. 590	40
8	272	fr. 591	40
<i>Hist. Cons.</i>		fr. 592	37
13.20	262	fr. 624	39
<i>Icar.</i>			
25	262	Menander Rhetor (Spengel)	
<i>Lex.</i>		391.6–10	240 n. 5
6	252		
20	177	Moeris	
<i>Peregr.</i>		α 1	231 n. 38
30	272	α 18	222
<i>Pseudol.</i>		γ 6	275 n. 54
24	262–3, 272	θ 17	231 n. 38

Myrtilus	
fr. 5	40
<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	
<i>Ev.Luc.</i> 11.53	107
Orus	
fr. B 7	36 n. 40
fr. B 38	97 n. 31
Pausanias Atticista	
α 9	199
α 36	130
α 61	227 n. 27
Pherecrates	
fr. 113.14–5	70, 71
fr. 145	36
fr. 155	220 n. 12
fr. 168	227
fr. 247	53, 67
Philemo Comicus	
fr. 7	269
fr. 50	105
Philemo Grammaticus	
(Laur.) 355 s.v. ἀθήρηγν	127 n. 89
(Laur.) 356 s.v. βλήχων	127 n. 89
Philippides	
fr. 36	38
fr. 38	63
Philo Iudaeus	
<i>De vita Mosis</i>	
2.86	282
<i>Prov.</i>	
2.15.5	285
<i>Quod deus sit immutabilis</i>	
3.3	281
Philonides	
fr. 12	130

Philostratus	
VA	
4.2	262
VS	
1.25.537	28
2.1.564	28
2.3.568	27–8
2.5.571	35 nn. 36, 37
2.5.576	35 n. 36, 42 n. 49
2.9.3	262
2.9.532	28
2.26.623	32 n. 28
Photius	
<i>Bibliotheca</i>	
cod. 74.52a.6–8	206
cod. 158.100a.34	45 n. 1
cod. 158.100a.34–8	24
cod. 158.100a.36	176 n. 21
cod. 158.100a.36–7	217 n. 2
cod. 158.100b.3	46 n. 3
cod. 158.100b.3–14	25–6
cod. 158.100b.14–5	46 n. 4
cod. 158.100b.15–20	26–7
cod. 158.100b.20–8	27
cod. 158.100b.35–40	33 n. 30
cod. 158.100b.42	176 n. 21
cod. 158.101a.1–2	31
cod. 158.101a.7–14	29
cod. 158.101a.9	33 n. 30
cod. 158.101a.10–4	46 n. 6
cod. 158.101a.15–22	28–9, 42 n. 49
cod. 158.101a.16–7	32 n. 28
cod. 158.101a.28–34	31–2
cod. 158.101a.32–5	33 n. 30
cod. 158.101a.35–7	46 n. 5
cod. 158.101a.	
39–101b.3	33
cod. 158.101b.2–3	93 n. 26, 249
cod. 158.101b.3	240
cod. 158.101b.4–23	264
cod. 158.101d.24–31	118 n. 76
cod. 213.171a.6–b.17	221 n. 16
cod. 213.171a.27–38	221 n. 16

*Lexicon*

α 33	185, 199	α 868	175, 181
α 82	194	α 879	171
α 101	193, 198, 226 n. 23, 227, 229, 230–1, 234	α 896	227 n. 27
α 108	185, 199	α 897	227 n. 27
α 112	186, 198	α 898	227 n. 27
α 116	185, 199	α 939	169
α 156	131	α 953	164, 165, 170
α 157	131, 132	α 968	85
α 158	132 n. 98	α 969	170
α 163	47, 122, 123–5	α 1100	199
α 164	47–8, 122–4, 181, 194, 196	α 1118	194, 195, 196, 204
α 180	180	α 1238	186, 198
α 248	178, 182, 194	α 1245	169, 275 n. 52
α 256	180, 192	α 1250	182
α 267	171	α 1270	200
α 273	180, 227, 229, 234	α 1292	132 n. 101, 197
α 372	194	α 1342	62
α 409	169	α 1377	180, 228, 229, 230, 233, 234
α 414	180, 228, 229, 232, 234	α 1401	166, 196
α 419	199	α 1407	168
α 452	128–9	α 1414	194
α 469	130	α 1443	13
α 470	175, 181, 186, 196, 198, 206	α 1488	180, 193, 229, 234
α 471	127–9	α 1532	166
α 475	130–1	α 1636	181
α 549	164, 168, 193	α 1641	168
α 551	88, 180, 228–30, 232, 233, 234	α 1654	196
α 554	198	α 1666	93, 94 n. 27, 191, 194, 199, 244 n. 10
α 583	181, 196	α 1784	178, 179, 232
α 629	163, 167, 171	α 1797	168
α 648	36 n. 41	α 1801	178, 179, 229, 232, 233, 234, 244 n. 11, 249
α 669	86	α 1831	166
α 670	86, 199	α 1911	167
α 782	198	α 1913	180
α 789	35	α 1929	170
α 808	49, 61, 117 n. 75, 177–8, 180, 199	α 1974	88
α 817	196, 204, 205	α 1980	180, 229, 234
α 819	37	α 1981	190, 195
α 830	167, 193	α 2019	89, 163, 165, 166, 171
α 842	168	α 2024	163–4, 169
α 855	62	α 2046	182
		α 2058	178, 179, 232
		α 2083	173, 179

α 2110	198	γ 200	69
α 2151	167	γ 203	69
α 2169	164, 170	ε 307	69
α 2203	175, 181	ε 702	198
α 2234	179	ε 2223	273
α 2252	199	ε 2492	202 n. 49
α 2263	181, 196, 205	θ 87	68
α 2309	197	κ 1216	73
α 2444	179, 197	κ 1278	252
α 2447	68	λ 490	72
α 2463	105, 106	λ 492	72
α 2483	167	λ 495	284
α 2527	110	μ 287	116
α 2548	163, 171	ν 138	61, 111, 112
α 2552	167	ν 139	61, 112
α 2263	181, 196, 205	ν 159	111 n. 61
α 2567	195	ο 367	97 n. 31, 100 n. 38, 101 n. 39
α 2595	96, 97	ο 463	103 n. 46
α 2596	97 nn. 31, 32	ο 557	66
α 2648	104, 107	π 306	96 n. 30
α 2666	104	π 439	275 n. 61
α 2711	198	σ 113	70
α 2731	12, 195	σ 584	57
α 2733	170	υ 200	70
α 2774	167	ψ 656	199
α 2791	168		
α 2906	168		
α 2993	191, 194, 199	Phrynichus Atticista	
α 3038	170	<i>Ecl.</i>	
α 3064	166	9	274
α 3074	117	10	272 n. 42
α 3126	194	32	201
α 3144	60 n. 23	37	72
α 3158	165	42	201
α 3159	165	62	66
α 3200	112 n. 63	89	196, 203
α 3217	170, 193	92	69, 273
α 3276	58	97	272 n. 42
α 3291	166	100	272
α 3407	198	105	265
α 3466	166, 167	123	265
α 3469	166, 167	135	67
α 3470	166, 167	140	42 n. 49
β 201	115, 281	141	42 n. 49
β 202	115, 281	144	30 n. 26
β 203	115, 281	151	41
γ 196	69	152	49 n. 42

160	49 n. 42	410	40
167	202 n. 51	411	40, 272 n. 42
170	6 n. 12, 37–8, 49 n. 42	424	42 n. 49
200	265	<i>PS</i>	
212	6 n. 12	1.1–3	61
228	42 n. 48	1.1–6	165, 166, 243
229	60	1.9–10	170, 193
234	34, 42 n. 49	2.5–6	190, 195
236	42 n. 49	2.7–8	132 n. 101, 197,
238	25		239, 250
243	42 n. 49	2.9–10	86, 191, 199
253	97 n. 31, 99 nn. 35, 36	3.1–2	164, 166, 181
271	268 n. 30	3.3–4	190, 195
294	201, 202	3.5–7	264
295	196	3.8–10	89, 163, 165, 166
297	265	3.11–6	166, 264
303	268 n. 30	4.1–2	167, 175, 178, 179, 197,
304	38		244, 248–9
305	38 n. 43	4.11–3	164, 170
317	272	4.14–5.2	164
322	273	5.3–10	53, 117 n. 75
323	265	5.21–2	91, 92
324	42 n. 49	6.1–3	195
328	272 n. 42	6.6–9	182, 198
330	36, 177, 224, 230, 231,	6.10–2	166
	272 n. 42	6.18–9	92–4, 194, 244
338	273	7.1–3	166, 264
341	38	7.7–9	164, 166
348	24	8.6–9	87, 264
357	35	8.10–1	71
359	268 n. 30	8.12–3	117 n. 75, 49, 180, 199
360	273–4	9.8	267
361	273, 283	9.9–11	166
363	266 n. 22	9.12–7	167, 266, 275
367	38	9.18–21	264
368	272 n. 42	9.18–10.2	166, 167
370	271, 273	9.19	267
381	274	10.7–8	58
390	265, 38, 39	10.22–3	167, 264
391	39	11.1–3	128 n. 90, 167
392	39	11.4–12	117 n. 75
393	39	11.13	181, 196, 205
394	38, 39	11.20–1	175, 181
396	32, 42 n. 49	11.22–3	174, 181, 196, 205
402	40, 265	12.1–3	191, 194, 199
403	265	12.9–10	178, 179, 198, 232
408	40	12.14–5	112 n. 63



12.16–7	176, 180, 181	24.13–4	167
13.1–3	12, 190, 195	24.16–25.9	191, 195
13.4–6	166, 191, 193, 198	25.10–5	167
13.13–8	194	26.5	171
14.1–2	167	26.6–8	167
14.3	163, 167, 171, 275	26.11–3	167, 193
14.6	180, 229	26.16–7	171
14.6–7	134 n. 104, 193	27.1–2	92 n. 25
14.10	13	27.3–8	65, 165
14.11–3	127	27.13–7	264
15.11	70	27.18	54
15.11–3	268	27.20–1	167
16.3–5	95–6, 116, 179, 187, 188, 192, 197, 244, 246–7	28.4–8	37, 165
16.6–12	197, 264	29.6–7	264
16.21–17.2	85	29.8–12	166, 264, 267
17.3–9	165, 167	29.13–5	170, 191, 193
17.10	198	29.16–7	193
17.11–2	167	30.8–9	264
17.13–9	165, 167	30.10–4	168
17.15–20	267	30.15	134 n. 104
18.1–2	275	31.7	78
18.8–9	131	31.7–9	134
18.11–2	70	31.10–2	168, 264
18.13–8	265	32.1–4	168, 264 n. 18
19.1–2	167	32.8–10	116, 117 n. 75
19.9–11	117 n. 75	32.11	168
19.12–3	275	32.12–4	169
19.14–6	179	33.9–11	117 n. 75
20.1–2	88, 180, 228, 229, 233	33.12	55
20.5	171	33.15–6	54
20.6–10	96–102, 167, 265	34.5	72
21.1–2	266	34.9–10	73, 74
21.3–5	103	34.16–7	170
21.12	178, 179, 229, 233, 244, 249	35.3–5	130
21.14–7	58	35.6–7	165, 169
22.5–7	114 n. 67, 118–9, 121, 122, 266	35.13	171
22.14–6	188, 193, 239, 250	35.14–5	164, 168, 185, 193
23.1–2	167, 264	36.1–4	175, 181, 196, 209
23.8	134 n. 104	36.5–12	128 n. 90, 194, 267, 275
23.9–10	92 n. 25, 134 n. 104	36.13	171
23.13–24.2	267	36.14–6	62
24.5–9	196, 203, 267	37.1–2	66
24.10–1	170	37.10–2	169
		38.1–2	168, 275
		38.3–4	104–6
		38.7–8	116

39.1	240, 250	53.14–5	275, 276
39.1–2	55	53.16–8	128 n. 90
39.1–4	197	54.3	58
39.7	175, 181	54.9–10	68
39.15–40.10	168	54.13–4	58, 59, 275, 276
40.13–4	172, 175, 179, 181	54.15	115, 278, 281, 283
41.2–3	56, 57, 116, 117 n. 75	55.4–5	92 n. 25
41.8–42.3	116	55.16–7	102 n. 45
41.9–42.4	170	55.20	58, 59
42.11	169	56.6–7	102 n. 45
43.3–4	191, 195	56.14–7	69, 285
43.5–8	185, 194, 195, 196, 204	57.1–3	58, 59
43.17–9	128.90	57.4	59
44.5–6	268	57.13	69
44.7–10	180, 197, 229	58.7	62
44.13–4	163, 171	58.14–59.4	64–5
45.8–10	104, 107, 109	59.7–9	59
45.11	56	59.10–2	275, 276
45.16–7	63	59.13–4	269
45.20–2	170	60.11–3	66
46.1	86, 275	62.1–3	170
46.2	134 n. 104	62.9–10	268
46.4–5	62	63.4–7	264 n. 18
46.7	134 n. 104	63.8–10	92 n. 25
46.8–9	164, 165, 170	63.11–2	268
47.8–11	190, 199	64.10	56, 57
47.15	168	65.1	284 n. 82
47.16–7	182	65.6–7	56
47.18	110	65.15–6	269
47.19–20	92, 191, 194, 199	65.20	231 n. 37
48.3–5	170	65.20–1	61, 180, 193, 224, 225, 265
48.17–8	54	65.22–66.4	73, 275
49.1–2	180, 228, 229, 233	66.5	74
49.6	169	66.5–6	116
49.7	163, 169	66.13–7	42 n. 49
49.8–9	116, 188, 195	67.7–8	180
49.14–9	53	67.16–68.2	116, 170
50.3	175, 181	68.6–8	170, 278, 279
50.11	181	68.12	70, 71
51.2–4	193	68.14–5	269
51.14–5	95–6, 116, 246 n. 16	69.4	56, 57
51.16–7	95 n. 29	69.9–11	133, 267
51.20	134 n. 104	69.21–2	275, 277
52.1–2	91–2, 168	70.15	267
52.3	103	70.24–5	54, 71
52.4	169, 275, 276	71.3–4	275
52.14–5	248		

72.4–5	116, 193	91.1–2	61, 111–2
72.14	133, 134 n. 104	91.3	66, 251
72.15–6	275	91.6–7	267
74.3–6	68	91.7–8	63
74.7–8	68, 170	91.13–4	70, 71
74.9–12	53, 67	92.3–4	187, 192, 244, 247
74.13–5	275	92.5	278, 281, 283
74.16	274, 275	92.6	102
75.15	116	93.2–6	59, 117 n. 75
75.18	71	94.17–8	264
75.19	61, 180, 224, 225, 226	94.19–20	179
76.10	243	94.21–95.4	224, 225
76.10–1	60	95.5	278, 282, 285
76.14	56, 57	95.6–8	133
77.3–4	64	95.9–10	97–100
77.16	56	96.1–2	68
78.9	116	96.17	278, 281
78.12–4	73	96.20	110
78.15–7	245	97.2–5	275, 284
79.20	56	97.10–5	267
80.11–2	72	97.21–2	66, 128 n. 90
81.4–5	275	98.1–2	57
81.6	249	98.7–9	65
81.9–10	53	98.13–99.7	128 n. 90
81.12–3	251	99.14–9	180, 225, 226, 234, 267, 275, 276
81.18–9	128 n. 90	100.2	70
82.13	69, 270, 278, 285	100.9	134 n. 104
82.20–1	96	101.3–6	187, 192, 244
83.3	196, 209	101.11–2	183 n. 26, 192
83.6–7	275	101.12–3	55, 240
84.5–7	264	101.18–9	266
84.8–9	275	102.19–21	188, 195
84.22	40, 41 n. 44	103.7	59
85.5	73	104.14–6	170
85.14–5	267	104.19–20	113–4, 119 n. 80, 266
85.19–86.2	57	105.11–4	267
86.3–4	269	105.25–106.2	170, 266, 279 n. 70
86.5–6	195	106.11–2	66
86.13–4	275	107.17–8	278, 283
86.21–87.6	72	108.6–7	275, 277
87.1–6	54	110.7	275, 281
88.2–3	65	110.14	74, 116
88.11	267, 278, 284	111.1–2	57
88.12–3	60	112.3–4	70, 71
88.14–5	269	112.11	128 n. 90
90.6–7	193, 198	113.1–2	54
90.8	134 n. 104		

113.3	61	fr. *7	84
113.3-4	111-2	fr. *8	84 n. 10
114.1-2	60	fr. *9	34, 175, 181, 186, 196, 198, 206
114.3-9	60, 61, 242-3		
114.9-10	116	fr. *13	196
114.17-9	197	fr. *15	186, 198
115.7-8	113-4, 119 n. 80, 266	fr. *23	178, 179, 232
116.1-3	70	fr. *25	194, 197
116.4-7	170	fr. *26	84 n. 10
116.8	278, 282	fr. *29	84 n. 10
116.9-13	180, 225	fr. *31	84 n. 10
117.3-5	366	fr. *32	84 n. 10
117.10-2	266	fr. *40	199
117.13	275	fr. *48	199
119.7	266	fr. *51	186, 198
119.15-6	266	fr. *55	199
120.1-2	180, 225, 266	fr. *65	180, 192
121.9-10	278, 280, 283	fr. *66	180, 227, 229
121.13-4	278, 283	fr. *91	180, 228, 229, 233
121.15-7	278, 280	fr. *96	199
122.15-7	196	fr. 100	127-8
123.3-4	65	fr. *111	198
123.4-5	54	fr. *112	36
123.13-5	267 n. 26, 275	fr. *115	35, 36
123.16-7	62, 278	fr. *116	198
123.18-9	276, 277, 282	fr. 125	175, 181
123.20-1	278, 279, 283	fr. *139	37
124.13	276	fr. *164	199
126.3-4	54	fr. *170	182
127.1	54-5, 67, 68	fr. *175	200
127.2-4	114 n. 67, 118-9, 121-2, 266	fr. *176	166, 196
		fr. *185	178, 179
127.11	278, 283, 284	fr. 187	88
127.12-6	264, 267 n. 26	fr. *193	229, 180
127.17	55	fr. 199	89, 163, 165, 166, 171
127.17-8	57, 58	fr. 206	179
128.11-3	185, 199, 264, 267 n. 26, 276	fr. *207	194
		fr. *211	196
128.14-5	116, 267	fr. *238	68
128.16	134 n. 104	fr. *243	175, 181
128.19-20	97-102	fr. *245	199
fr. *2	84 n. 10	fr. *273	171
fr. *5	193, 198, 227, 229, 265	fr. *274	194
		fr. *277	60 n. 23
fr. *6 <sup>a</sup>	47-8, 122-3, 181, 194, 196	fr. *331	116
		fr. *365	280 n. 72
fr. 6 <sup>b</sup>	48-9, 122-4		

Phrynichus Comicus		1.185	57–8
fr. 24	72	1.186	59
		1.226	59, 275 n. 52
Pindarus		1.231–6	62, 282 n. 79
<i>O.</i>		1.254	74
3.4	219	2.8–18	61
<i>N.</i>		2.11	111 n. 60
8.19–23	219 n. 7	2.12–6	242 n. 9, 243
<i>Fragmenta</i> (Snell–Maehler)		2.16	60–1
*93	249	2.41	73
		2.41–3	73
Plato		2.42	275 n. 55
<i>Chrm.</i>		2.42–3	73
160c.6	69	2.77	67
<i>Euthd.</i>		2.102	104 n. 48, 108, 109,
276c.3–5	108 n. 56		109 n. 58
277a.1–277b.2	108–9	2.119	274
<i>Euthphr.</i>		2.146	97–8
3b.6–7	218	2.170	71
<i>Lg.</i>		3.92	68
757d.5–7	103	3.106	274
757e.5	103	3.150	277
834c.1–3	57 n. 21	4.18	104 n. 48
<i>Phdr.</i>		4.123	67 n. 28
230b.3	62	5.9	51
<i>Tht.</i>		5.14	51–2
142d.4–6	105	5.15	51, 52
		5.16	51, 52
Plato Comicus		5.17	51, 52
fr. 113	225, 234 n. 50, 276	5.19	51, 52
fr. 124	65	5.35	51, 52
		5.36	51, 52
Plutarch		5.86–8	64
<i>Alc.</i>		5.91	65
5.5	271	5.102	285
8	136	5.104	205
<i>De communibus notitiis</i>		6.38	39
2.1071c	267	6.40	274
<i>Luc.</i>		6.48	71
20.3	271	6.55	71
		6.59	71
Pollux		6.88	71, 133
scholium (p. 1 Bethe)	51 n. 18	6.103	72
1.34	282	7.18	273 n. 44
1.101	55	7.26	71
1.182	57	7.130	282

7.141	270, 275 nn. 52, 53, 276	1027	48, 122, 124–6
7.178	285	<i>Or.</i> (Mastronarde)	
7.188	63	1525.08	49 n. 13
9.21	239	<i>Ph.</i> (Schwartz)	
9.26	275 n. 61	1400	121–2
9.154	275 n. 56, 277	Schol. Luc.	
10.55	57	<i>IConf.</i>	
10.60	286 n. 86	20.16	135
10.98	133	Schol. Pi. (Drachmann)	
Polybius		<i>N.</i>	
4.54.4	283	3.45b	103 n. 47
Schol. Aesch. (Smith)		Schol. Soph. (Byz.) (Longo)	
<i>Th.</i> 258d	284	<i>OT</i>	
<i>Th.</i> 400–400b	232 n. 40	104	103 n. 47
Schol. [Aesch.] (Herington)		Sextus Empiricus	
<i>Pr.</i> 118.3	232 n. 40	<i>M.</i>	
Schol. Aeschin. (Dilts)		1.130	262
3.359	103 n. 47	Solon	
Schol. Ar.		<i>Fragmenta</i> (Ruschenbusch)	
<i>Av.</i>		91	50
383ba–β	119, 120 n. 83	Sophilus	
<i>Nu.</i>		fr. 8	250
64	246 n. 15	Sophocles	
624	283	<i>Ant.</i>	
756a	194, 197	179	95 n. 29
<i>Pac.</i>		435	205
1147b	275 n. 52	636	103
<i>Pl.</i>		<i>Ichn.</i>	
673aa	129 n. 91	168	268
673aβ	129 n. 91	<i>OC</i>	
673d	129 n. 91	1236	269
<i>Ra.</i>		<i>OT</i>	
828b	275 n. 60	253–4	58
Schol. Eur.		775–6	48, 124
<i>Andr.</i> (Cavarzeran)		1312	204
167b1	63 n. 25	<i>Ph.</i>	
<i>Hec.</i> (cod. Vat. gr. 51)		386–7	113
38	232 n. 40	<i>Tr.</i>	
<i>Med.</i> (Schwartz)		760	280
613	49 n. 13	1166	280

<i>Fragmenta</i>		α 4297	170
fr. *25	50	α 4329	166
fr. **357	204	α 4374	171
fr. 745	204	α 4425	165
fr. 828	199	α 4478	112 n. 63
fr. 858.2	252	α 4496	170, 193
		α 4570	166
Sophron		αι 299	36 n. 41
fr. 141	127	αι 362	86, 199
		ε 423	275 n. 57
Stephanus Byzantius		ε 1802	97 n. 31
α 37	84	ε 3201	285
α 80	84	η 68	124 n. 85
α 518	84	ν 195	111 n. 61
θ 42	84	ο 411	97 n. 31, 100 n. 38,
κ 238	84		101 n. 39
κ 248	84	υ 618	197
τ 12	84	φ 243	280 n. 72
		φ 608	280
Strato Comicus		φ 764	24, 45 n. 1
fr. 1	220	χ 325	202
		ψ 171	199
<i>Suda</i>		<i>Synagoge</i>	
α 123	194	Σ	
α 207	131	α 55	132 n. 98
α 217	122, 123, 124, 125	α 525	181
α 317	178, 182, 194	α 828	167
α 546	199	α 1083	165
α 708	128, 129 n. 92, 132 n.	α 1084	165
	98	λ 170	72
α 1681	200	ν 66	111 n. 61
α 1695	195	ο 177	97 n. 31, 100 nn. 38, 39
α 1805	168	Σ <sup>b</sup>	
α 1808	194	α 105	131
α 1922	166	α 106	132 n. 98
α 2045	181	α 145	47, 122, 125, 181,
α 2198	193		194–5, 196
α 2243	166	α 192	166, 178, 182, 194
α 2432	170	α 243	193, 198, 226 n. 23,
α 2538	88		227, 229–31, 234
α 2799	167	α 248	194, 199, 178, 182, 185
α 3241	179	α 254	186, 198
α 3427	167	α 259	185, 199
α 3461	97 n. 31	α 301	171
α 3561	104, 107	α 303	180, 192
α 3927	167	α 304	180, 227, 234
α 4234	191, 194, 199		

α 366	194	α 2042	12
α 404	180, 228, 232, 234	α 2043	12
α 405	169	α 2103	167
α 461	130	α 2166	168
α 462	174–5, 181, 186, 196, 198, 206	α 2201	166
α 463	127, 128	α 2203	175, 181
α 483	130, 131	α 2260	191, 194, 199
α 568	36	α 2306	170
α 578	86, 199	α 2328	166
α 640	86	α 2372	194
α 747	35	α 2396	165
α 748	198	α 2397	165
α 758	167, 193	α 2427	112 n. 63
α 767	175, 181	α 2428	112 n. 63
α 799	168	α 2468	170, 193
α 812 + 813	196	α 2491	166
α 814	37		
α 822	171	Theo Rhetor	
α 834	227 n. 27	<i>Progymnasmata</i> (Spengel)	
α 971	169	109.29–110.1	241–2
α 975	164, 165, 170	112.20–1	242
α 979	85–6		
α 980	170	Theophrastus	
α 1182	181	<i>Char.</i>	
α 1254	168	19.1–2	101
α 1276	168	26.4	102 n. 44
α 1350	178, 179, 232		
α 1351	178, 179, 180, 229, 232, 233, 234, 244 n. 11, 249	Theopompus Comicus	
	170	fr. 48	47, 123
α 1376	74	fr. 93	41, 54
α 1406	88		
α 1409	182	Thucydides	
α 1528	167	4.108.6	50
α 1541	167	5.70.1	69
α 1544	197	7.10.1	105
α 1661	179, 197, 248	7.75.4	172
α 1794	68		
α 1802	167	Timaeus Grammaticus	
α 1824	167	<i>Lex.</i>	
α 1887	195	α 61	104 n. 48, 107
α 1901	97 n. 31		
α 1919	104–5	<i>Tragica adespota</i>	
α 1977	104 n. 48, 107	fr. *445	48, 124
α 1991		fr. 583a	199
		fr. *602	185



*Vetus Testamentum Graece redditum*

<i>3Ma.</i>	
3.7	282
Xenophanes	
Diels–Kranz 21 B 1.6–7	247 n. 19
Xenophon	
<i>An.</i>	
1.1.8	228, 233 n. 49
4.4.9	247 n. 19
<i>Cyr.</i>	
1.6.6	176
3.2.25	270
<i>Eq.</i>	
3.10	56

*Mem.*

3.1.1	37
3.3.4	56
<i>Smp.</i>	
1.1	251 n. 30
2.4	247
3.5	104 n. 48, 106 n. 50
4.28	251 n. 30
8.1	
8.4	251 n. 30
[Zonar.]	
1821.1	280

# Inscriptions

<i>I.British Mus.</i> 491 =	
<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> 850.19 =	
<i>I.Ephesos</i> 1491	30 n. 24
<i>IG</i> 5,1.1390	168
<i>I.Olympia</i> 482	28 n. 17

<i>I.Pergamon</i> 3.33	33 n. 29
<i>I.Selge</i> 13 = <i>SEG</i> 53.1582	35 n. 36
<i>SEG</i> 17.504	32 n. 28
<i>SEG</i> 42.1051	33 n. 31
<i>TAM</i> 4,1.181.1	24 n. 8



# Index nominum et rerum

*Ab epistulis Graecis* 35

Abusive expressions 18

Aelian 120

Aelius Aristides 28, 29, 30, 33, 262

[Aelius Aristides]

– *Rhetoric* 200–1 n. 46, 207 n. 53

Aelius Dionysius 23, 130–1

Aeschylus 268

Alcibiades 135–6

Alexander of Seleuceia 34–5

Ameipsias 219 n. 10

Anonymus Seguerianus 200–1 n. 46

*Antiatticist* 45, 82, 222, 233 n. 46

Antithesis 187, 247

Apollonius sophista 45

Arabia/Arabians 24–5

Arethas bishop of Caesarea 78 n. 32

Aristocles of Pergamum/Ti. Claudius

Aristocles 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33

Aristophanes 219, 220, 226

Aristotle 9, 219

Asclepieion of Pergamum 29, 30, 33

Asius 250

Athenaeus 253, 272, 280

Bithynia/Bithynians 24, 25

C. Cassius Sacerdos 33 n. 32

*Callida iunctura* 230, 233

Cicero 245–6, 247

Cod. Darmstadt 2773 223

Cod. Laur. Plut. 91. sup. 10 223

Cod. Marc. gr. 471 49

Cod. Par. Coisl. 345 1, 4, 24, 45, 76, 81, 82, 91,  
95, 114, 122, 133, 134, 137, 138, 161, 211,  
222, 233

Cod. Par. gr. 2713 49

Cod. Vat. gr. 1882 223

Comedy 183, 189, 194–5, 204

Commodus 5, 23, 25, 26, 42, 51

Compounds 260–3, 265–9

– adjective-initial determinative compounds 261

– compounded verbs in -άζω 262

– compounded verbs in -αίvw 262

– compounded verbs in -άω 262

– compounded verbs in -έω 259–60, 261

– compounded verbs in -εύω 262

– compounded verbs in -ίζω 261

– compounded verbs in -όω 262

– left-headed compounds 268

– V1 compounds 268, 280

– *verbale Rektionskomposita* 269, 280 n. 72

Construction Morphology 269–70 n. 35

Conversation 232, 244, 249, 251, 252

Cornelianus 35, 38, 264

Cratinus 268

Cyril's *lexicon* 76

Dative 230, 231 n. 38

Demosthenes 226

– statue of 32

Dialects

– Attic, different phases of 223

– Ionic 66

Didymus Chalcenterus 49

Diminutives 94 and n. 27

Diodorus Siculus 270, 284

Dionysius of Halicarnassus 173, 176, 177, 200  
n. 46, 221 and n. 15

Dionysius (compiler of Euripidean scholia) 49

Dionysus 219

Diphilus 234

Encomium 183

Epitomisation 51 and n. 18, 82, 87, 88–9, 90, 91,  
98, 100, 102, 104 n. 48, 109–10, 111, 112, 114,  
115, 124, 129, 224, 250, 277, 283,  
285, 286

Eupolis 268

Euthyphro 218

Face-threatening acts 241 n. 7

Galen 262, 279

Genitive (in the prepositional phrase) 230–1

Genre

– definition of 172, 182 and n. 24

Gloss 195, 204, 209

Gluttony 242

*Hapax legomena* 225, 262, 265, 266, 267, 268,  
270, 272, 278, 280, 284, 286

Helladius grammaticus 49, 76

Hermogenes 9, 161–2, 173–4, 174, 184, 200, 207,  
208, 220

Herodes Atticus 27, 28, 263 n. 10

Herodotean *Lexeis* 45, 76

Hesychius' *lexicon* 76

Hypernyms 55

Infinitive, jussive 166

Innovation 217–8, 219, 220, 221

Insults 188, 189

*Inventio* 219 n. 7

Iulianus 27, 29, 30, 31, 33

Josephus 271, 273, 285

Lucian 271, 272, 282

– *Lexiphanes* 11, 271

Lycis 219 n. 10

Lysias 221, 230

λογικὸς ἀγών 188

M. Antonius Polemo 32

Marcianus 32 n. 28

Marginalia in cod. Par. Coisl. 345 at f. 50v 77–8,  
134, 138

Menander 5 and n. 12, 36–40, 260, 270

Menander Rhetor 184, 188 n. 39

Menodorus 28, 31

Menophilus 46, 78

Michael Attaliates 266

Moeris 23, 45, 82, 222–3

'Multiple' entries in the *PS* 81, 90–1, 116–8, 137

Neologisms 259, 261, 262, 263 n. 9, 270, 271–2,  
274, 278, 281, 286

Noun incorporation 269 n. 35

Novelty 176–7, 217–20, 222, 224, 231

– chronological 218, 223, 225, 226

Old age 242–3, 247

Onomastic structures 6–7, 8, 45–6, 51–2, 56, 60,  
64, 71, 75–9

Oratory 183, 185

Originality 217, 218, 220, 226, 231

Orus 82–3 n. 5

Pamphilus 78

Pausanias the Atticist 22, 83–4 n. 9, 129–31,  
227 n. 27

Pheidippides 219 n. 9

Pherecrates 220

*Philetaerus* 233 n. 46

Philostratus 27, 262, 272

Photius 46, 75, 77, 78, 83, 123, 132 n. 101, 134–5,  
217, 227, 233, 234, 264

– *Bibliotheca* 46, 83, 217, 221 n. 16

– *Lexicon* 83 and n. 9

Phrynichus

– origins and location 24–5, 32–3

– criticism of Menander 36–41

– assumed rivalry with Pollux 3 n. 10, 6, 7

– *Eclogue*

– aims and readership 162–3, 263–5

– later than the *PS*? 34–42

– *Praeparatio sophistica*

– aims and readership 23, 33–4, 76, 162–3,  
217, 239–40, 252–3, 263–5, 277, 286

– alphabetical order 46–7

– chronology of the *PS passim* in Bowie

– original structure of the *PS* 23, *passim* in  
Cavarzeran, 212, 242–3

– presence of tragedy in the *PS* 14, 185–6

– *PS* and Pollux's *Onomasticon passim* in  
Cavarzeran

– reflexes of stylistic theories in the *PS* 171–8,  
182–92, 200–11

– textual tradition of the *PS* (see also

*Epitomisation*)

– direct 45, 76–9

– indirect 47–50, 74–5, *passim* in Favi,  
163–4, 177–8, 211–2, 227–35

Phrynichus Comicus 219 n. 10

Pindar 219

Plato 220, 226

Plato Comicus 268

Plutarch 261, 262, 273, 282, 284

Politeness theory 240 n. 6

Pollux (including *Onomasticon*) 192, 222, 286

– assumed rivalry with Phrynichus 3 n. 10, 6, 7

– *Onomasticon* and Phrynichus' *PS* *passim* in Cavarzeran

– Book 5 46

– epitomisation of the *Onomasticon* 51 n. 18

Polybius 260, 261, 270, 270–1

Prefixation 259, 260, 263

– prefixed verbs 265

– prefixed verbs in ὑπερ- 266

– prefixed verbs in ὑπο- 266

Prepositions 261

– ἀνά 265

– ἀπό 261

– ἐκ 261

– πρό 261

– πρὸς 261

Prepositional phrase (with the genitive) 230–1

*Primum dicta* 11

*Progymnasmata* 239

Reginus/L. Catilius Severus Reginus 31–2

Rufinus/L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus 29–30

Scholia to Aristophanes 45, 119

Scholia to Euripides (using the *PS* as a source) 45, 119, 118–26

Scoptic expressions (see also *Abusive expressions*) 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 252

Socrates 218

Sophocles 268

St. Cyril 107–8 n. 54

Stephanus of Byzantium (using the *PS* as a source) 45, 84

Strato Comicus 220

Style

– evaluation of 217

– modern definition 182 n. 24

– theories of 235

*Synagoge léxeōn chrēsīmōn* 1, 2, 45, 75, 76, 81, 83, 84, 85, 122, 123, 132–3, 137, 227, 234

– third expansion 234

*Suda* 1, 83–4 n. 9

Suffixes

– -ώδης 248

Syntax, syntactic construction 230, 231

Tarasius 77, 134–6

Technical language 191

Terminology, evaluative *passim* in Tribulato and Gerbi

– Atticist (prescriptive) terminology 161, 162, 163, 164, 190, 191, 211

– genre terminology 161, 182–6

– register terminology 189–92

– stylistic terminology 186–9

Theodosius grammaticus 49, 76

Thucydides 268

Ti. Claudius Vibianus Tertullus 35 n. 36

Tiberinus (or Tiberianus?) 31

Timaeus' *lexicon on Plato* 45

Tragedy 183, 189

*Urbanitas* 245–6, 247

*Verba sequendi* 230

Verbal puns 241, 248, 251–2, 253

*Voces animalium* 65

Xanthias 219

Xenophon 226–7



# Index of notable Greek terms relating to ancient exegesis

- ἀγοραῖος (including οἱ ἀγοραῖοι) 89, 163, 165, 171, 189, 192  
 ἀδόκιμος 162, 165  
 Αἰσχυληρός 200  
 ἀλλόκοτος 177, 267  
 ἀμαθής (including οἱ ἀμαθεῖς) 163, 166, 189, 192, 196  
 ἀνεπαχθής (and adverbs) 175, 176, 178–9, 248  
 ἀποσκώπτω 197  
 ἀρεταὶ τῆς λέξεως 186  
 ἀρχαῖος (including οἱ ἀρχαῖοι) 4, 164, 165  
 ἀστεῖος 10, 11, 177, 180, 186, 187, 188, 192, 244, 245, 246, 247  
 ἀστείσιμος 187 n. 35, 187 n. 36  
 Ἀττικός (including οἱ Ἀττικοί and Ἀττικῶς) 4, 162, 163, 164, 166–9, 190, 192, 223, 231, 232 n. 40, 266, 275 n. 49  
 γλυκύτης 173  
 γλωσσηματικός 209  
 διαφέρει 59  
 δόκιμος (including οἱ δόκιμοι) 4, 33, 38, 75, 162, 169–70, 276  
 ἐγκωμιάζω 188, 192  
 ἐνάργεια 232, 233 with n. 46  
 ἐναργής (and adverbs) 10, 176, 178, 179, 217, 231, 232, 233 n. 46  
 ἡδονή 172, 173  
 ἡδύς 172, 173, 174, 179–80  
 ἱατροί (language of) 190, 191, 195  
 ἰδέαι 9, 172, 184, 186  
 ἰδιώτης (including οἱ ἰδιῶται) 163, 169–70, 189, 192  
 ἰδιωτικός 163, 169–70  
 καθαρός 4  
 καινολογία 221  
 καινοπρεπής (and adverbs) 4, 176 n. 21, 220, 232 n. 40  
 καινός (and adverbs) 4, 176–7, 180, 193, 197, 217–20  
 καινότης 10, 176–7, 191, 211, 217–35  
 καινοτομέω 218, 221  
 καινοτόμος 219–20  
 κάλλος 172, 173  
 καλός 172, 173, 177, 180, 217  
 καθωμυλημένος 172, 190, 191, 193, 226, 231 n. 37  
 καθωμίληται 191, 193  
 καταφρόνησις 188, 193  
 κοινός 223  
 κρίσις ὀνομάτων 4  
 κύρια ὀνόματα 208–9  
 κῶλα 4  
 κωμικός (including οἱ κωικοί) 164, 183, 185, 193–4, 195, 196, 204, 242  
 κωμματικός 4  
 κωμωδικός (with adverbs) 94, 126, 178, 183, 194–5  
 λέξις 173, 174, 184, 186, 211  
 μονοκοιτέω 280  
 μουσικός 190, 191, 192  
 νέος 218, 219  
 νῦν (οἱ νῦν) 163, 170, 189, 192  
 ξένος 177, 230  
 παίζω 10, 186, 187, 188, 195  
 παλαιός (including οἱ παλαιοί) 130 with n. 95, 171  
 πανηγυρικός 184  
 ποιητικός (including ποιητής and οἱ ποιηταί) 194, 195–6, 203, 204  
 ποικιλία 220  
 ποικίλος 177, 189  
 πολιτικός 10, 48, 162, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 196–8, 200–11, 231, 232 n. 39

- πολιτικός λόγος 162, 200 with n. 46, 207, 210  
 πολὺς (including οἱ πολλοί) 89, 163, 164, 170–1,  
 189, 191, 192, 265, 279  
 πρᾶξις 55
- ρήτορες (language of) 163, 190, 191, 197  
 ῥητορεύω 4, 33
- σαρκασμός 95, 184, 188, 192, 197  
 σεμνός 10, 172, 181, 186, 196, 201, 205, 206,  
 207–8, 210, 211  
 σεμνότης 172, 174–5, 181, 206–8, 209  
 σκεῦος 8, 52–3 with n. 19, 54–5, 70  
 σκληρός 200  
 σκοπός 4  
 σκωπτικός (including σκώπτω and  
 ἀποσκώπτω) 10, 186, 188, 197–8, 240 with  
 n. 6  
 σπάνιος 172, 190, 191, 198, 231  
 συγγραφεῖς, οἱ 121  
 συγγραφικός 183, 186, 198–9  
 συγγράφω 4, 186
- συμπλοκή 94 n. 28, 95, 206, 246  
 συνήθεια 100 n. 39, 190, 199  
 συνουσία 4, 185, 190, 199, 249  
 σύνταξις 179, 182, 230  
 συντομία 176  
 σύντομος 176, 177, 181  
 σχῆμα (and σχήματα) 166, 174, 184, 208, 220,  
 230–1, 232 n. 40
- τόπος 8, 52–4, 57–8, 66, 67, 71  
 τραγικός 185, 199–200
- φιλοτιμία 175  
 φιλότιμος 172, 175, 177, 188, 217  
 φράσις 167, 199, 205, 206  
 φωνή 168, 180, 182, 205, 206, 266
- χαρακτήρες 9, 172  
 χαρίεις 4, 177, 178, 181–2  
 χάρις 172, 173, 178  
 χράσμαι (including χρῶ) 186, 190, 195, 199  
 χρήσιμος 4, 182, 217



# Notable Greek words and expressions

- ἄβαξ 54  
ἀβδελυκτος 199  
ἄβροϊ μαλθακευνίαις 140, 264  
ἄγανος 199  
ἀγαθὸν ἔτι τοῦτ' ἀπολείπεται, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ'  
ἄρα 166  
ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθίδες 194  
ἀγάλλω 47–8, 122–4, 126, 181, 195, 196  
ἀγαμαι 227, 231 n. 37, 231 n. 38  
ἀγανακτῶ σου 193, 198, 227  
ἀγαν τείνειν 186, 198  
ἀγευστος θοίνης 131–2, 153  
ἀγῇ 185, 199  
ἀγουσιν ἑορτὴν οἱ κλέπται 178, 182, 194  
ἀγρευτική στολή 180, 187, 192  
ἀγριαίνομαι 167  
ἀγριῶ 157, 167  
ἀγροβόας 154, 171, 253  
ἀγρυκτα καὶ ἄλεκτα πέπονθα 180, 227  
ἄγω 48  
ἄδειν ἄλεκτρυόνας 164, 168, 193  
ἄδειν ὅμοιον 228, 232  
ἀδελφοκτονέω 271  
ἀδολεσχέω 141, 194, 267  
ἀδολέσχης 141, 267  
ἀειλογέω 148, 165  
ἀειλογία 148, 165, 169  
ἀείζων 148, 169  
ἀείνως (ἀένεος) 228, 230 n. 32  
ἀείνως γλώσσα 180, 228, 233  
ἀελλάδες ἵπποι 199  
ἀεροβατέω 270  
ἀεροδρομέω 272  
ἀθάρη 127 with n. 89, 128–9, 144–5  
ἀθήρ 129–31, 154  
ἀθηρος ἡμέρα 34, 174, 181, 186, 196, 198, 206  
ἀθυρόγλωσσος 284  
ἀθυρογλωττέω 284  
αἰδώς 198  
αἰκάλλω 155, 175, 181, 196, 209, 210  
αἰμορρυγής 171  
αἰμωδέω/αἰμωδιᾶ 144, 163, 167, 171, 275 n. 49  
αἶρε 36  
αἶρεσθαι τιμαῖς 178, 179, 198, 232  
αἰσχροεπέω 86, 275 with n. 51  
αἰσχρολογέω 86, 275 n. 51  
αἰσχυνόμενος περιπλέκει τὴν συμφορὰν 86, 199  
Αἵτην ἄνθρωπος 197, 240, 253  
αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι 40, 272 n. 42  
ἀκάτιον 135–6  
ἀκόλαστον καὶ ὕβριστον πρᾶγμα 198  
ἀκολουθεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ 35–6, 230 n. 34  
ἀκολουθέω 230  
ἄκος περιάπτων 154, 167, 193  
ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ 49–50, 117 n. 75, 143–4, 178, 180, 199  
ἀκούσας ἤκειν 37  
ἀκούσιμος 196, 204  
ἀκρατὴς γάμων 150, 175, 181, 253  
ἀκρατεύεσθαι 40  
ἀκρατίζω 142, 168  
ἀκράχολον καὶ δύσκολόν <τι> φθέγγεται 190, 195  
ἀκρύπτως 175, 181  
ἄκυλος 171  
ἀλάστωρ 227 n. 26  
ἀλέα 134 n. 104  
ἀλεαίνοιμι 134 n. 104, 92 n. 25  
ἀληγλιμμένος 154, 169  
ἀλινδήθρα 53, 56, 117 n. 75  
ἀλίπαστος 150, 164, 165, 170  
ἄλις τοῦδε 85–6  
ἀλίσπαρτος 170  
ἀλκηστής 200  
ἀλλαχόθεν 222–3  
ἀλλαχόθι 222–3  
ἀλλαχοῦ 222–3  
ἀλλογνοέω 141, 275  
ἄλλοθεν 222–3  
ἄλλοθι 222–3  
ἀλλόκοτος 177, 267  
ἄλλοσε 222–3  
ἀλοάω 167  
ἀμαθίας ὕψος 199  
ἀμαξιαῖα ῥήματα 155, 185, 194, 195, 196, 204, 210  
ἄμνηστος 171  
ἀμνηστῶν 171  
ἀμοχθί 186, 198

- ἀμπελουργέω 156, 169, 275 with n. 52, 276  
 ἀμπρευτής 182  
 ἀμύντης 200  
 ἀμφαρίστερος 132 n. 101, 197 239  
 ἀμφημερινός 155, 195  
 ἀμφήμερος πυρετός 155, 191, 195  
 ἀμφιλογία 169  
 ἀμφισβήτησις 169  
 ἀμφι τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν 150, 180, 228, 233 n. 49  
 ἀμυχή 170  
 ἀναβασμός 166, 196  
 ἀναβιβάζω 168  
 ἀναβλύζω 197  
 ἀναζέω 157, 170  
 ἀναθολόω 167  
 ἀναιδὲς καὶ θρασὺ βλέπει 134 n. 104, 144, 180, 193, 229  
 ἀναιρέω 170  
 ἀνακράζω 91–2, 94, 168  
 ἀνακτάομαι 166  
 ἀνακύψαι ἐκ νόσου 134 n. 104  
 ἀναπηρία 166, 191, 193, 198  
 ἀνάρρημα 175, 181  
 ἀναρριχάομαι 168, 264 n. 18  
 ἀνασεμνύνω 196–7  
 ἀνασκυζάω 265  
 ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα 92–5, 111, 133, 194, 199, 244 n. 10, 253  
 ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον 92–5, 111, 117, 133, 194, 199, 244, 253  
 ἀναφώνησις 266–7  
 ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος 114 n. 67, 118–21  
 ἀνδρόγυνον ἄθυρμα 89 n. 20, 153, 197, 239, 246  
 ἀνδροκοιτέω 280  
 ἀνδροκτονεῖον 53  
 ἀνεγείρει καὶ ριπίζει τὸν ὄχλον ἢ τὴν πόλιν 179, 32  
 ἀνεκὰς 168  
 ἀνεκταῖς ὀφρύσι σεμνόν 140, 164, 166, 181  
 ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος 146, 178, 179, 180, 229, 232, 233 n. 45, 244, 249, 253  
 ἀνήγρετο ἐξ ὕπνου καὶ ἐξήγρετο 154, 167  
 ἀνήδομαι ἐφ' οἷς ἦσθην ποτέ 156, 180, 197, 229  
 ἀνηλέητος καὶ ἀνηλεής 134 n. 34, 149  
 ἀνθοκρατέω 272  
 ἀνθρωπίσκος φαῦλος 193, 239–40, 253  
 ἀνθρωποειδὲς θηρίον 152, 190, 193  
 ἄνθρωπος πρόδοξος 87–8, 140, 264  
 ἄνθρωπος οὐ σεμνός 180, 229  
 ἀνίλλω 168  
 ἀνόητά γ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἡλθεῖς ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί 89, 165, 166  
 ἀνόητα, εἰ τοῦτο ἐπιταόξεις 89, 163, 165, 171  
 ἀνοίσω 150, 163, 169  
 ἀνταναγιγνώσκω 156, 182  
 ἀνταυγὲς κάλλος 179, 232  
 ἀντιβολία 155, 172–3, 175, 179, 181  
 ἀντριάς 65, 165  
 ἀνύω 167  
 ἀνωφέλητος 151, 164, 170  
 ἀπαγκωνίζομαι 175, 181  
 ἀπαιδάγωγος 193  
 ἀπαλοάω 167  
 ἀπαλοὶ θερμολουσίαις 140, 264  
 ἀπαλὸς εἰσπλους τοῦ λιμένος 153, 179  
 ἀπάντησις 199  
 ἄπαρνος 152, 181, 205, 210, 211  
 ἀπέδραμεν 197  
 ἄπλυτον πώγωνα 140, 178, 197, 244, 248–9, 253  
 ἄπλυτος 248  
 ἀπὸ γλώττης 104–5, 117  
 ἀποδιοπομπέω 167, 266  
 ἀπὸ καιροῦ 110–1, 117  
 ἀπολεπίζω/ἀπολοπιζώ 163, 171  
 ἀπολέσθαι γελῶντα 193  
 ἀπολλύασιν 167  
 ἀπομερμηρίζω 116, 142, 188, 195  
 ἀπονυχιζομαι 96–9, 100, 102, 117, 167  
 ἀπορθόω 103–4  
 ἀπορθοῦν πόλιν ἢ οἰκίαν 103  
 ἀπόρρησις 190, 199  
 ἀπορροή 175, 181  
 ἀποσεμνύνω 196–7  
 ἀπὸ στόματος 104–10, 117  
 ἀποστοματίζω 104–9, 117  
 ἀπὸ τρόπου 110–1, 117  
 ἀπόψηφοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι 12–3, 190, 195  
 ἀποψύχω 142, 170  
 ἀπρακτέω 176 n. 20, 176 180, 181  
 ἀπροσόμιλος 269  
 ἀπώμοσα μὴ οὐ πρᾶξαι τοῦτο 167  
 ἀράμενον φέρειν 167

ἀργέλοφος 167  
 ἀργυραμοιβός 154, 168  
 ἀργύρια 194  
 ἀργύριον ἔχω οὐδ' ὅσον 190, 195  
 ἀργυρογνῶμων 154, 168  
 ἀργυροσκοπός 154, 168  
 ἀριστεροζύγης 70  
 ἀριστος κλέπτειν 95–6, 116, 134, 187, 192, 197, 244, 246 n. 16, 247  
 ἀριστος λωποδυτεῖν 95–6, 116, 134, 246 n. 16  
 ἀριστος μοιχεύειν 95–6, 244, 246, 247  
 ἀρμογή 195  
 ἀρπαγμαῖος 182, 198  
 ἀρπάξανδρος 268  
 ἀρπαξομίλης 268  
 ἀρσενοκοιτέω 280  
 ἄρτι 165  
 ἀρτοποιέω 149, 168, 275  
 ἀρτοποιία 55  
 ἀρύστιχος 54  
 ἀρύταινα 54  
 ἀρχῆθεν 166  
 ἄρχων 168  
 ἀρωματοπώλης 169  
 ἀσπεῖδον <τι> καὶ κατερρινημένον εἰπεῖν 152, 194, 199  
 ἀσφάραγος 116, 155, 170  
 ἀσχημονέω 274  
 ἄτεγκτος 152, 164, 166  
 ἀτερπές ἔργον 134 n. 104, 150  
 ἀτοπίας πλέως ἄνθρωπος 171  
 ἄτριψ 141, 267  
 ἄττα 194  
 ἄττα 194  
 ἀτύραννος πόλις καὶ δῆμος 134 n. 104, 147  
 αὐθέκαστα <λέγειν> 37, 165  
 αὐθέντης 196, 203, 211, 267  
 αὖομαι πῦρ 266  
 αὐτά καὶ τὰ φίλτατα 167  
 αὐταρκέω 275  
 αὐτόκερας 157, 170, 193  
 αὐτόκρατος 157, 170, 193  
 αὐτοσχεδιάζειν σύ, ἤκειν σύ 166  
 ἀφαιρεῖν κροκύδας 151, 164, 166, 253  
 ἀφῆλιξ 166  
 ἀφρόνιτρον 268 n. 30  
 ἀχυρός 166, 167

ἀχυρών 166  
 ἄψοφον ἔχειν στόμα 174, 181, 196, 205, 211

βαλαντιοτομέω 157, 275, 276  
 βαιομαχέω 271  
 βολβορυκτικὸν τόλμημα 115  
 βολβορυκτικός 114, 115  
 βολβρυχέω 114, 115, 278, 281  
 βορβορώδης 248, 253  
 βρίσχος 170  
 βροτοκτονέω 280  
 βωλοκοπέω 58, 59, 275, 276

Γάλλος 25  
 γαστροκνημία 268 n. 30  
 γαστροχάρυβδις 254, 269  
 γάστρων 250  
 γεφυροποιέω 271  
 γεωρυχέω 281  
 γῆ 58–9  
 γλωττοστροφέω 270  
 γνωμίδιον 93, 94  
 γνωσιμαχέω 275, 276, 277  
 γραφεύς 69, 285  
 γῦρος 39

δασμολογέω 281  
 δεξιοκοιτέω 280  
 δευτεροκοιτέω 280  
 δημοκοπέω 225, 226, 267–8, 276  
 διακορής 196, 209–10  
 διασκώπτω 240 n. 6  
 διατοιχέω 170  
 διαφθείρω 264 n. 18  
 δικαιοδοτέω 271  
 δικολύμης ἄνθρωπος 158, 254, 268  
 δικομήτρα 158, 254, 268  
 Διονυσομανέω 272  
 διοπομπέω 167, 266, 275  
 διχόρροπος γνώμη 269  
 διχορρόπως 269  
 δυσκολοκοιτέω 280  
 δυσσορκέω 278 n. 68, 284 n. 82  
 δύσριγος 39

εἰκοβολέω 275, 277  
 ἐκζωπυρέω πῦρ 275

- ἐλαιοκομέω 270  
 ἐλαιοπληθής 267  
 ἐναύομαι πῦρ 266  
 ἐνηλυπαθέω 271  
 ἐξαγριαίνομαι 167  
 ἐξαλλάξαι 38, 208  
 ἔξαρνος 152, 181, 196, 205, 201, 211  
 ἐξεγγυάω 180  
 ἔξηβος 180, 225–6  
 ἐξονυχίζω 96–9  
 ἐξωκοιτέω 280  
 ἔξωρος 226  
 ἔπαινος 188, 239  
 ἐπέτειος 116, 158, 193  
 ἐπὶ σκέλος 118–22  
 ἐπιορκέω 284 n. 82  
 ἐργοδοτέω 273  
 ἐρεύγομαι 201–2  
 ἐρυγγάνω 201–2  
 ἐσχάρα 54, 71  
 ἑτεραχθέω 278, 279  
 ἑτεραχθής 279  
 ἑτερεγκεφαλές 73, 254, 275  
 ἑτερόγλωσσος 284  
 ἑτερογλωττέω 284  
 ἑτεροκλινέω 279  
 ἐτήρησις 133–4  
 εὐκαίρως 272 n. 42  
 εὐκερματέω 272 n. 42, 273  
 εὐκοιτέω 274  
 εὐπροσόμιλος 269  
 εὐχαριστέω 272 n. 42  
 εὐχρηστέω 274  
  
 ζωμήρησις 82, 133–4  
  
 ἡδυλογέω 275  
 ἡλικιώτης 61, 224, 226  
 ἡλιοκαυτέω 284  
  
 θαλαττοκοπέω 275  
 θαυμάζω 193, 231 n. 37, 231 n. 38  
 θέρμα 38  
 θερμηγορέω 272  
 θερμολουτέω 274  
 θυμέλη 53, 67–8  
 θυροκοπέω 274, 275  
  
 Ἰαπετός 243, 254  
 ἱεροκαυτέω 267, 284  
 ἱερομνημονέω 283  
 ἱερομνήμων 283  
 ἱματιοφυλακέω 272  
 ἰσῆλιξ 61, 180, 224, 225, 226  
 ἱστοριογραφέω 285  
 ἰσχυροποιέω 271  
 ἰχθυολύμης ἄνθρωπος 158, 254, 268  
  
 καγχαστής 245  
 κακαγγελέω 281  
 κάκιστος φαγεῖν 96  
 κακοκοιτέω 280  
 κακολογέω 274  
 κακομετρέω 272  
 κακοποιέω 274  
 καλλιγραφέω 69, 270, 273, 278, 285, 286  
 καλλιγράφος 278, 285  
 καλλιζυγής 268  
 καρατομέω 272  
 καρπολογέω 269  
 καρπολόγος 269  
 κατακορής 196, 209–10  
 καταλεπτολογέω 275  
 καταφαγᾶς 40  
 κέρκω σαίνω 264  
 κεφαλοτομέω 272, 274  
 κληρονομέω 272  
 κληρωτήρια 53  
 κλινοκοιτέω 280  
 κνισοκόλαξ 158, 249–51, 255  
 κνισολοιχός 250  
 κοιλιοδαίμων 250  
 κοινοθυλακέω 275, 276  
 κοιτέω 279, 280  
 κοκκύζω 164, 168, 185  
 κόλαξ 250 n. 28  
 κολλυβιστής 40  
 κρανιόλειος 255  
 κυνάριον 40–1  
 κυνίδιον 40–1  
 κυνοκοπέω τὸν νῶτον 275  
 κυνολογέω 272  
 κυψέλη 156, 251–2  
 κυψέλαι φρονημάτων 156, 252

λαθροκοιτέω 280

λαθροφαγέω 274

λακωνομανέω 275

λαλιά 240

λαμπτήρ 54, 72

λέκιθος 195

λεπτολογέω 270

λεπτολογία 267

λήθαργος 39

λίβανος, λιβανωτός 37

λιμοκόλαξ 255, 269

λιποψυχέω 274

λυχνοκαυτέω 284–5

λυχνούχος 54, 72

λύω 273

μεγιστᾶνες 6 n. 12, 37–8

μεθυσοχάρυβδις 255, 269

μεσσύκτης 202–3, 261

μεσοπορέω 39

μηροκαυτέω 158, 267

μηροτραφής 285

μηροτυπής 285

μισθοφορέω 270

μονοκοιτέω 280

μυθογραφέω 285

νεοζυγής 268

νεολαία 61, 111–3, 117, 157

νεοπένης 198

νεόπλουτος 193, 198

νεοπλυνές ἱμάτιον 104 n. 34

νεοπλυνή χλαῖναν 104 n. 34

νήστις 66, 251

νήστις ὁσμή 66, 251

ξηροκοιτέω 280

ὀβολολογέω 278, 281

ὀβολολόγος 281

ὀβολοστατέω 282

ὀζειν ἐτών 158, 187, 192, 244, 247, 255

ὀζω 187

οἰκοδομέω 269

οἰκοδόμος 269

οἰνήρυσις 133–4

οἰνολογέω 272

ὀλισθογνωμονέω 271

ὀλοκαυτέω 275, 279, 284

ὀλοκαυτίζω 284

ὀμοσπονδέω 278, 282, 285

ὀμόσπονδος 282

ὄνυχίζω 96–8, 100, 102, 117, 167

ὄνυχιμαῖα/ὄνυχιαῖα 102

ὀξύβαφον 267

ὀργάνω 177, 199

ὀρθαγγελέω 278, 281, 283

ὀρτυγομήτρα 268–9

οὐδὲ πάτταλον ἂν δοίης 224

ὀφθαλμωρυχέω 281

ὀφθαλμωρύχος 281

ὀψωνιασμός 39

ὀψώνιον 39

παγετώδες καὶ ψυχρόν 134 n. 104

παιδοκτονέω 280

παιδοποιέω 269

πανταχοῦ 190, 195

παρεωγμένης τῆς θύρας 170

πέλαγος ἢ πόλις ἐστίν 55, 183 n. 26, 192, 240

περιττογλωττέω

πισσοκαυτέω

πλέον ἢ ἐνιαυτῷ πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀηδίας  
γίνομαι 244

ποικιλογλωττέω 284

πολιτοκοπέω 180, 225, 226, 234, 267, 268, 275,  
276, 277

πορνοκόπος 38, 39

προαναγυμνάζω 266, 279

προαναγυμνάζειν στόμα ἢ φωνήν 266

προεξεγείρειν πρᾶγμα 266

Πρόθητις 188, 195

πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι 113–4, 119 n. 80

προσσαιίνω 175, 181, 196, 209, 210, 211

ρίζωρυχέω 281

σεμνογλωττέω 284

σεμνολογέω 284

σιτοδοτέω 283

σιτομετρέομαι 273, 283

σιτομετρέω 270

σιτομέτρης 273 n. 44

σιτομνημονέω

σιτοποιέω 283  
 σιτοπωλέω 283  
 σκιαγραφέω 285  
 σκληροκοιτέω 280  
 σκυζάω 265  
 σκώπτω (and compounds) 197, 240 n. 6  
 σπερματολογέω 272  
 σπονδέω 279  
 στιβαδοκοιτέω 280  
 στρεψοδικέω 280 n. 72  
 σύαγρος 268 n. 30  
 συγγνωμονέω 273–4  
 συγχειροπονέω 271  
 συκολογέω 275, 281  
 συνουσία 4, 93 n. 26, 185, 190, 199  
 σύσσημος 39  
 σῦφαρ 243  
 σφαιρομαχέω 275, 277  
 σωματομαχέω 272

ταγηνοκνισοθήρας 250  
 τὰ τῶν ἀκατίων ἰστία 134  
 ταυροκτονέω 280  
 τί χειμάζεις σαυτόν 38  
 τιλλοπώγων 256, 268  
 τοιχωρυχέω 115, 281  
 τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι 113–4  
 τράπεζα 223–4  
 τραπεζοφόρος 223  
 τριζυγής 268  
 τυμβογέρων 60–1, 242–3, 256  
 τυμβωρυχέω 281

υἱέα 34–5  
 ὑληφορέω 282  
 ὑλοφορέω 278  
 ὑλοφόρος 278, 282  
 ὑπασθενέω 180, 225, 266  
 ὑπερδισκέω 266  
 ὑπέρδριμυς 266 n. 22  
 ὑπερθεμιστοκλῆς 180, 225  
 ὑπερκρίνω 266  
 ὑπεροψωνέω 266  
 ὑπέρσοφος 266 n. 22  
 ὑπερφλυαρεῖν 266

ὑρῖσχος 170  
 ὑψαυχέω 275, 276  
 ὑποτροχίζω 197  
 φανός 54, 72  
 φειδαλφίτεω 278, 280, 283  
 φειδαλφίτως 280 n. 72  
 Φειδιππίδης 280  
 Φεΐδιππος 280  
 Φειδόμβροτος 280  
 Φεΐδων 280  
 φθειροκτονέω 278, 279, 283  
 φθειροποιέω 280  
 φθειροτραγέω 280  
 φθειροτρωκτέω 280  
 φίλετνος 280  
 φιλοψυχέω 276  
 φλεβοτομέω 283  
 φλεβοτονόομαι 278, 283  
 φορέω 278, 282  
 φορμοκοιτέω 278, 280  
 φορμοορραφέομαι 280  
 φορμοφορέω 280  
 φορτηγέω 276, 277  
 φορυτός 54, 65–6, 255  
 φρεωρυχέω 281  
 φυλλοροέω 279, 282  
 φυλλοχοέω 278, 279, 282  
 φυλλοχός 278, 282  
 φυλοκρινέω 276

χαλκωρυχέω 281  
 χαμαικοιτέω 280  
 χαριτογλωσσέω 283  
 χειροτονέω 283  
 χέρνιψ 54, 68  
 χθεσινός 201, 202  
 χθιζός 201, 202  
 χορδολογέω 271  
 χορηγεῖν 54  
 χρεωκοπέω 271  
 χρεωλυτέω 271, 273  
 χρυσοκομέω 272  
 χρυσωρυχέω 281  
 χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σκέλος 114 n. 67, 118–9, 121, 122

ψευδαγγελέω 281

ψευδογλωττέω 278, 283, 284

ψευδολογέω 284

ψευδομαρτυρέω 284

ψευδορκέω 284

ψευδοστομέω 284

ψήκτρα 55, 57

ψόγος 175, 188, 189, 239, 240, 241, 242, 252

ψυχομαχέω 271

ψυχορροφέω 185, 267 n. 26, 276

ψωμοκόλαξ 269

ῥιμος καὶ ῥαῖος 134 n. 104

