

## PHOTIUS, ΑΝΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΟΣ AND ATTICIST LEXICA\*

### ABSTRACT

*Photius' lexicon contains an entry on the rare adjective ἀναλόβητος ('illiterate, ignorant') that cites Phrynichus Atticista. Based on this testimony, the whole passage has been edited as fr. 19 of Phrynichus' Praeparatio sophistica. This article demonstrates that in this lemma Photius conflates material which comes from Phrynichus and one other source, hypothetically identified with the anonymous Antiatticist lexicon, which preserves an abridged entry on ἀναλόβητος and which Photius employed in the compilation of his lexicon. The article also explores the possibility that the work in which Phrynichus dealt with ἀναλόβητος was not the Praeparatio sophistica but the Eclogue. This hypothesis requires challenging some assumptions concerning the transmission of Atticist lexicography in the Byzantine era, chiefly the assumption that material from the Eclogue did not circulate at Byzantium before the fourteenth century.*

**Keywords:** Photius; Phrynichus Atticista; *Antiatticist*; Atticist lexica; Atticism in Byzantium

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In his lexicon, Photius devotes an entry to the rare adjective ἀναλόβητος 'illiterate, ignorant', citing the opinion of Phrynichus Atticista concerning its suitability. Based on Photius' concluding words, the entire entry has been edited as fr. 19 of Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* (henceforth *PS*) by de Borries:<sup>1</sup>

Phot. α 1552 (= Phrynichus, *PS* fr. 19): ἀναλόβητος· ἐδόκει μὲν εἶναι εὐτελής, Νικοχάρης δὲ αὐτὸ ἐποίησεν ἀρχαῖον χρησάμενος ἐν τῇ Γολατεΐα οὕτως (fr. 5)· “τὸν ἀναλόβητον, τὸν ἄπνον”. ταῦτα ὁ Φρύνιχος.

ἀναλόβητος: it seemed low-register. But Nicochares made it an ancient word by using it in the *Galateia* in this way: 'the illiterate, the lazy'. Thus Phrynichus.

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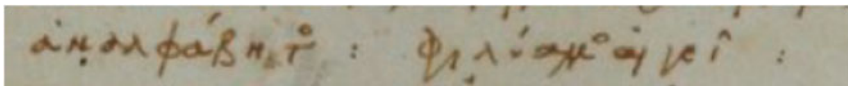
<sup>1</sup> Photius' lexicon is quoted from C. Theodoridis (ed.), *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon. Volumen I: A–Δ* (Berlin and New York, 1982); Phrynichus' *Praeparatio sophistica* from I. de Borries (ed.), *Phrynichi sophistae Praeparatio sophistica* (Leipzig, 1911), here cited by page and line number; the *Antiatticist* from S. Valente (ed.), *The Antiatticist: Introduction and Critical Edition* (Berlin and Boston, 2015); the *Suda* from A. Adler (ed.), *Suidae Lexicon*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–1938); Phrynichus' *Eclogue* from E. Fischer (ed.), *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos* (Berlin and New York, 1974); comic fragments from R. Kassel and C. Austin (edd.), *Poetae comici Graeci*, 8 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1983–2001); the *Συναγωγή* from I.C. Cunningham (ed.), *Synagoge: Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων. Texts of the Original Version and of MS. B* (Berlin and New York, 2003).

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This article argues that only the first sentence of Phot. α 1552 comes from Phrynichus, that it probably is not a direct quotation, and that Photius here combines two sources. The second source may be the anonymous *Antiatticist* lexicon, which preserves an abridged lemma on ἀναλφάβητος (Section 2), and which Photius employed in the compilation of other entries of his lexicon. I defend this second thesis through detailed analysis of the structure and language of Phot. α 1552 (Sections 3 and 4). In addition, the article explores the possibility that the work in which Phrynichus dealt with the suitability of ἀναλφάβητος was not the *PS*, as is usually assumed on the grounds that we know Photius consulted it (Section 3), but rather Phrynichus' more polemical work, the *Eclogue*. Testing this hypothesis requires challenging some common assumptions about the transmission of Atticist lexicography at Byzantium. The first such assumption is as follows: since there is no trace of the *Eclogue* at Byzantium before the fourteenth century, it must follow that Photius had no access to this work. This inference disregards the possibility that Photius—and other medieval lexicographers—accessed material from the *Eclogue* through intermediary sources (Section 5). I explore the possibility that one of the intermediaries between Phrynichus' *Eclogue* and Photius was the *Antiatticist*, in a fuller version than that which survives in the epitome contained in its sole surviving manuscript, Parisinus Coisl. 345 (tenth century).<sup>2</sup> I argue that the initial portion of Phot. α 1552 is more compatible with the style and terminology of the *Eclogue*, and make the case on these grounds for a reappraisal of de Borries' description of the 'typical' style of the *PS* (Section 5).

## 2. ΑΝΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΟΣ AND ITS RECEPTION IN GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY

Apart from Phrynichus, as quoted by Photius, traces of Atticist interest in ἀναλφάβητος also surface in the *Antiatticist*. The epitome preserved in Par. Coisl. 345 (fol. 157v) transmits a corrupt lemma in which ἀναλφάβητος, presented without glossing, is followed by a reference to the play *Aegeus* by the Old Comedy playwright Philyllius (fr. 2 K.–A.):



Par. Coisl. 345 fol. 157v, line 18. Image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In his 1814 edition of the *Antiatticist*, Bekker kept the sequence transmitted in the manuscript: ἀναλφάβητος· Φιλύλλιος [*sic*] Αἰγεῖ.<sup>3</sup> The most recent editor of the lexicon, Valente, instead splits it into two separate lemmas.<sup>4</sup> Based on the testimony of Phot. α 1553 (ἀνάλφριτον· Φιλύλλιος Αἰγεῖ = *Suda* α 1953), Valente proposes that the *Antiatticist* quoted Philyllius in reference to ἀνάλφριτον, but that this correct lemma was lost during transmission.<sup>5</sup> On these grounds, he posits the revised entry

<sup>2</sup> On this manuscript, see S. Valente, 'Una miscellanea lessicografica del X secolo: il Par. Coisl. 345', *Segno e Testo* 6 (2008), 151–78; Valente (n. 1), 6–12.

<sup>3</sup> I. Bekker (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1814), 83.18.

<sup>4</sup> Valente (n. 1), 120.

<sup>5</sup> See R. Reitzenstein, *Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios* (Leipzig, 1907), xxiv; Theodoridis (n. 1), 454 *ad* Phot. α 1552; also C. Orth, *Nikochares – Xenophon: Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Heidelberg, 2015), 136–7.

<ἀνάλφριτον>. Φιλύλλιος Αἰγεῖ (*Antiatt.* α 144) and places a lacuna in the entry on ἀναλφάβητος, where, following Photius' testimony, he assumes that the lost quoted passage was Nicochares (fr. 5 τὸν ἀναλφάβητον, τὸν ἄπνονον).<sup>6</sup>

*Antiatt.* α 143: ἀναλφάβητος <\*\*\*> (Nicochares fr. 5).

Valente's text marks a significant improvement on Bekker's edition and proves that the pedigree of ἀναλφάβητος was a matter of debate for the Atticists. As Photius reports, Phrynichus deemed ἀναλφάβητος a 'cheap' (εὐτελής) word, typical of laymen. The reasons behind this judgement are not stated, but it is possible that Phrynichus' dislike concerned the second member of the compound adjective (ἀλφάβητος).<sup>7</sup> ἄλφάβητος is not the standard name of the alphabet, for which Greek uses γράμματα, documented from Herodotus (5.58) onwards. While the first attestations of the letter-names ἄλφα and βῆτα occur in Xenophon and Plato, ἀλφάβητος is first documented in Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses* (second century A.D.) and in the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas of roughly the same date.<sup>8</sup> If ἀλφάβητος arose in Christian-Jewish contexts, the Atticist dislike of its compound ἀναλφάβητος could concern both its formation pattern and its rarity in comparison to ἀγράμματος, the standard word for 'illiterate'.<sup>9</sup>

The *Antiatticist* and Photius, with their references to Nicochares, provide the only evidence that ἀναλφάβητος was already in use in classical Greek. It crops up subsequently in Athenaeus (4.176e–f), where it describes an ἰδιώτης. In Athenaeus, as in Photius, being ἀναλφάβητος is paired with being εὐτελής, confirming the impression that the adjective was associated with the lower classes.<sup>10</sup> The next testimony, Hesychius (α 4426 Latte–Cunningham = *EM* α 1277 Lasserre–Livadaras), is also the first to provide a synonymic explanation of ἀναλφάβητος as 'uneducated'

<sup>6</sup> For the interpretation of this line, perhaps describing Polyphemus, see Orth (n. 5), 55–6. In fr. 4, from the same play, Polyphemus is described as ἀπαδεύτερος ... Φιλωνίδου τοῦ Μελιτέως: see Orth (n. 5), 53.

<sup>7</sup> It is unclear whether ἀναλφάβητος derives from ἀλφάβητος (a Dvandva, i.e. a copulative compound whose constituents are logically linked by 'and': 'alpha-and-beta'), because this word is attested much later, or constitutes a parasynthetic compound based upon the common sequence ἄλφα-βῆτα (e.g. Pl. *Cra.* 431e10, Arist. *Metaph.* 1087a8–9). On this latter category, see E. Risch, 'Griechische Komposita vom Typus μεσο-νύκτιος und ὁμο-γάστριος', *MH* 2 (1945), 15–27, at 15–16 = *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin and New York, 1981), 112–24, at 112–13. ἄλφάβητος is usually masculine, but a rare feminine usage appears in the Greek version of the mid sixth-century A.D. multilingual treatise *The Mystery of Letters* in C. Bandt, *Der Traktat "Vom Mysterium der Buchstaben"*. *Kritischer Text mit Einführung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Berlin, 2007), 104 and *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Latin *alphabetum* is a calque of a later date, first attested in Ps.-Tert. *Catal. haeres.* 5.1, according to the *TLL*.

<sup>9</sup> ἀναλφάβητος is never attested in papyri, where ἀγράμματος is the standard term: H.C. Youtie, 'ἀγράμματος: an aspect of Greek society in Egypt', *HSPH* 75 (1971), 161–76; H.C. Youtie, 'ὑπογραφεύς: the social impact of illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', *ZPE* 17 (1975), 201–22; H.C. Youtie, 'Because they do not know letters', *ZPE* 19 (1975), 101–8. A list of further periphrases is provided by R. Calderini, 'Gli ἀγράμματοι nell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aegyptus* 30 (1950), 14–41, at 17–21; add T.J. Kraus, '(Il)litteracy in non-literary papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: further aspects of the educational ideal in ancient literary sources and modern times', *Mnemosyne* 53 (2000), 322–42, at 325–6.

<sup>10</sup> Athenaeus discusses the Alexandrians' musical competence vis-à-vis that of his contemporaries: καὶ οὐ λέγω περὶ κιθαρωδῖαν μόνην, ἥς καὶ ὁ εὐτελέστατος παρ' ἡμῖν ἰδιώτης προσέτι τε καὶ ἀναλφάβητος οὕτως ἐστὶ συνήθης ὡς τάχιστα ἐλέγχειν τὰ παρὰ τὰς κρούσεις ἀμαρτήματα γινόμενα ('I am not speaking only of competence on the *kithara*, with which even the most worthless among us, indeed any uneducated plebeian, is so familiar that he could instantly expose any mistakes when the notes are struck').

(ἀπαίδευτος) rather than ‘illiterate’.<sup>11</sup> The two meanings, in fact, are often found side by side. Procopius of Caesarea uses ἀναλόφρητος to describe Emperor Justin I, who was so ignorant as to be truly illiterate (*Anecdota* 6.11.6 ἀμάθης δὲ γραμμάτων ἀπάντων καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀναλόφρητος ὤν; cf. *Suda* α 1470 and 1952), while in the ninth-century *Life of Cosmas ‘the Melode’* and *John of Damascus*, dubiously attributed to Michael Syncellus, ἀναλόφρητος refers to a man who had to be taught how to join letters into syllables.<sup>12</sup>

Attestations increase in Byzantine literature, including in major authors such as Eustathius, Nicetas Choniates and Maximus Planudes. In his *Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem* (1.82.23–6 Cesaretti–Ronchey), Eustathius employs ἀναλόφρητος to paraphrase a line of the *Canon pentecostalis* which alludes to the common topos of the illiterate (ἀγράμματοι) Apostles, whom the Holy Spirit has enlightened (ἀγραμμάτους δὲ ἢ τοὺς μὴ εἰδότας ὅλως γράμματα λέγει, οὓς ἀναλοφρήτους ἔφη τις, ἢ τοὺς ὀλιγογραμμάτους, κτλ.: ‘[the canon] calls ἀγράμματοι those who are completely illiterate—whom some called ἀναλόφρητοι—or those who are but poorly educated’).<sup>13</sup> Eustathius’s recourse to both a paraphrasis and the synonym ἀναλοφρήτους to explain ἀγραμμάτους is noteworthy: the parenthetic οὓς ἀναλοφρήτους ἔφη τις seems to be Eustathius’s way to avoid ἀναλόφρητοι, an attribution which might have sounded offensive if referred to the Apostles, probably because it was a low-prestige term. This would explain the rarity of this word in Greek, Phrynichus’ dislike, and also why the author of the *Antiatticist*—who had a different attitude towards contemporary language—attempted to defend it by showing that it was employed by an author from the fifth century B.C.<sup>14</sup> Photius or his sources may have been seeking a compromise between earlier Atticist condemnation of the term and the linguistic practice of later times.

While this interpretation of the lexicographical sources is plausible, the precise implications of Phot. α 1552 are more difficult to unravel. At first sight, what Photius seems to be saying is that Phrynichus, initially persuaded that ἀναλόφρητος was a ‘cheap’ word, changed his mind because Nicochares ‘turned it into an ancient word’ (Νικοχάρης δὲ αὐτὸ ἐποίησεν ἀρχαῖον).<sup>15</sup> It is unlikely, on the other hand, that Phrynichus was defending the permissibility of such a low-prestige term against another scholar’s overt criticism, since he was more prone to criticize other scholars for their

<sup>11</sup> Latte (followed by Hansen and Cunningham in their edition) includes this lemma among those that Hesychius derived from Diogenianus’ lexicon (first half of the second century A.D.).

<sup>12</sup> Mich. Sync. *Vita Cosmae Melodi et Joannis Damasceni* 286.8 Papadopoulos–Kerameus: πιστεύσατέ μοι, πατέρες· ὅταν πρὸς με ἦλθεν, ἀναλόφρητος ἦν καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐδίδαξα συλλαβίζειν.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Canon iambicus pentecostalis* 3.21–3, page 214 Christ–Paranikas: ἄληπτὸς ἐστὶν ἢ θεωρητικωτάτη | ῥήτρας γὰρ ἐξέφηνη τοὺς ἀγραμμάτους | πλάνης σοφιστᾶς συστομίζοντας λόγῳ. For the image of early Christians as illiterate, which has one of its earliest illustrations in *Act. Ap.* 4.13, see W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 302–3; A.R. Hilton, *Illiterate Apostles: Uneducated Early Christians and the Literates who Loved Them* (London, 2018).

<sup>14</sup> For this attitude, see R. Tosi, ‘La lessicografia e la paremiografia in età alessandrina e il loro sviluppo successivo’, in F. Montanari (ed.), *La philologie grecque à l’époque hellénistique et romaine (Entretiens Hardt sur l’antiquité Classique 40)* (Vandoeuvres–Geneva, 1994), 143–209, at 162–6; A.C. Cassio, ‘Intimations of koine in Sicilian Doric: the information provided by the *Antiatticist*’, in O. Tribulato (ed.), *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily* (Cambridge, 2012), 251–64, at 252–4; Valente (n. 1), 43–51; Section 4, below.

<sup>15</sup> See Orth (n. 5), 54–5.

laxness.<sup>16</sup> The first scenario is more plausible because we know from Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 158) that in elaborating his long work Phrynichus discussed its lexical material with friends, who responded with corrections and references that he had missed. However, the rehabilitation of a rare, low-register word through a minor comic poet is not Phrynichus' habit, whereas it is routine for the *Antiatticist*. Could it be that Photius' quotation of Phrynichus ended with εὐτελέες, while the following sentence, defending ἀναλόφητος through Nicochares, came to Photius from the *Antiatticist*?<sup>17</sup> To answer this question, it is worth paying attention to the finer details of Photius' entry.

### 3. PHOTIUS α 1552 AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE *PRAEPARATIO SOPHISTICA*: STYLE, TERMINOLOGY AND COMIC QUOTATIONS

Phrynichus' *PS*—originally a long treatise of 37 books—is now extant in a single epitome (*c.*1,020 entries), preserved in *cod. Par. Coisl.* 345 and in 370 indirect quotations collected by de Borries.<sup>18</sup> What has survived indicates that Phrynichus avoided polemical expressions and prescriptive language in this work: most of the extant entries address semantics and issues of style and register rather than linguistic correctness. This is consistent with the information provided by Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 158), who describes the *PS* as a 'collection of words and short expressions' (λέξεων τε συναγωγή καὶ λόγων κομματικῶν), of which 'some form short phrases, expressed and formulated in elegant and innovative ways' (ἐνίων δὲ καὶ εἰς κῶλα παρατεινομένων τῶν χαριέντως τε καὶ καινοπεπῶς εἰρημένων τε καὶ συντεταγμένων). Using 'the standards of unadulterated and pure Attic speech' (εὐλκρινούς δὲ καὶ καθαρῶ καὶ Ἀττικοῦ λόγου κανόνας), Phrynichus divided these phrases into categories 'appropriate to oratory, written composition and conversation, some utilized for derisive or contemptuous speech or delivered within amatory modes' (τὰς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ῥήτορσιν ἀποδεδόσθαι, τὰς δὲ τοῖς συγγράφουσι, τὰς δὲ συνουσίαις ἐφαρμοζεῖν, ἑνίας δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς σκωπτικὰς ὑπάγεσθαι λαλιάς, ἢ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐρωτικὰς ἐκφέρεσθαι τρόπους).

Many of the extant entries in the *PS* concern innovative phrases, their meaning and appropriate register of usage: overtly prescriptive statements (for example 'this word is bad, do not use it') are rare.<sup>19</sup> The fragments—especially those that the source explicitly attributes to Phrynichus (*fr.* 1–37)—do not alter this picture. The longest (*fr.* 6a, 8, 11, 18) confirm

<sup>16</sup> E.g. *Ecl.* 293 δεξαμένη φασὶ Πλάτωνα ἐπὶ τῆς κολυμβήθρας εἰρηκέναι, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φημι· ἀλλὰ δεξαμένη τῷ τόφῳ εἶπεν ὡς ποιουμένη. χρὴ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς κολυμβήθραν λέγειν. On this topic, see S. Matthaios, 'Pollux' *Onomastikon* im Kontext der attizistischen Lexikographie: Gruppen «anonymer Sprecher» und ihre Stellung in der Sprachgeschichte und Stilistik', in C. Mauduit (ed.), *L'Onomasticon de Pollux: aspects culturels, rhétoriques et lexicographiques* (Lyon, 2013), 67–140, at 77; K. Alpers (ed.), *Das attizistische Lexikon des Oros: Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe der Fragmente* (Berlin and New York, 1981), 67.

<sup>17</sup> Orth (n. 5), 54 is similarly cautious about attributing the entire sentence to Phrynichus.

<sup>18</sup> On the original number of books, see de Borries (n. 1), xv.

<sup>19</sup> de Borries (n. 1), xxxi–xxxii provides an overview of Phrynichus' terminology, albeit without distinguishing between the epitome and the fragments. This is methodologically flawed because, in the case of the fragments, one cannot securely distinguish between the literal quotation and the source: see the review by L. Cohn, *BPhW* 30 (1913), 931–3, at 932, and below on ἐναργής and Section 5. In the first twenty pages of the epitome, the following expressions refer to register and style: σκωπτικὸν πᾶν τὸ ὄνομα (2.8), ἐν συνουσίᾳ χρῶ (2.10), κωμωδικῶς εἰρηται (6.18), πολιτικότερον (11.13), ἐναργής ἢ φωνή καὶ συγγραφική (12.9), ἀστεία ἢ συμπλοκή (16.3). See further Section 5 with n. 61.

the impression that the *PS* was more interested in register variation and style than in linguistic correctness.<sup>20</sup> Among these, only fr. 8 (132.10–21, from Phot. α 466 ~ *Suda* α 729), which is devoted to Ἀθηναῖαι ('Athenian women'), contains a clearly purist statement: μέντοι Φρύνιχος ἀνάπτικόν φησιν εἶναι τὴν φωνὴν <καί> θουμάζει, πῶς ὁ Φερεκράτης ἀπτικώτατος ὢν χρῆται τῇ λέξει.

The information preserved in Photius' *Lexicon* concerning the 'cheap' status of ἀναλφάβητος would therefore be an anomaly in the context of the *PS*—and not on these grounds alone. Another suspicious element is the rehabilitation of a low-register term through Nicochares, whom Phrynichus is not known to have quoted elsewhere. Although the quotation of a minor poet of Old Comedy may seem to conform to Phrynichus' usual practice, a careful study of the comic references in the *PS* reveals no other recourse to Nicochares.

The fragments of Nicochares are all transmitted in Greek works of scholarship, chiefly Byzantine lexicography.<sup>21</sup> Pollux cites Nicochares eight times, usually in reference to words for tools, some of which are, in Pollux's own admission, alternatives to purer Attic expressions.<sup>22</sup> Apart from the defective lemma on ἀναλφάβητος, the *Antiatticist* quotes Nicochares in δ 18 (δαρθείς· ἀντὶ τοῦ δαρεῖς. Νικοχάρης Κενταύρω) to defend δαρθείς, the aorist passive participle of δέρω ('to skin, to thrash'), an analogical formation that arose beside δαρεῖς and that is still attested in late Byzantine texts.<sup>23</sup>

Since there is no evidence for Phrynichus' recourse to Nicochares, who is quoted in defence of post-classical usages by less severe Atticists, we must consider whether the part of Photius' lemma quoting Nicochares might come from a source other than Phrynichus. This proposal is supported by a survey of the nine entries in Photius' *Lexicon* that preserve Nicochares' name (α 430, 443, 898, 1200, 1643, 1798, 3411, 3467, 3479), none of which can be securely linked to Phrynichus.<sup>24</sup> Four lemmas

<sup>20</sup> Fr. 6a (131.4–21, ex Phot. α 164 = Σ<sup>b</sup> α 145) describes ἀγάλλω 'to honour (especially a god)' as a 'very Attic expression' and provides instructions on the appropriate register in which to employ ἀγάλλω and other such verbs. Fr. 11 (133.12–16, ex Phot. α 624 = Σ<sup>b</sup> 632, Orus B 6) concerns αἰμορρηχία/αἰμορρηχιάω ('have a bloody snout'), used by Hermippus (fr. 74) but defined as 'Doric'. Fr. 18 (134.20–135.2, from Phot. α 1332) deals with the rare word ἀμφικαυστός ('ripe corn') and contains no prescriptive statements.

<sup>21</sup> Orth (n. 5), 12.

<sup>22</sup> e.g. Poll. 7.45, on ἐπενδύτης being φαῦλον; 7.40 πλυντρίς (γῆ) 'fuller's earth' (Nic. fr. 7); also 10.135, with discussion in Orth (n. 5), 61–2; 7.45 ἐπενδύτης (χιτῶν) 'overgarment' (fr. 8); 7.83 and 10.141 ὀπίτιον *vel* ὄπεαρ 'awl' (fr. 12); cf. Orth (n. 5), 75; 10.93 κυμνοδόκον 'spice-box' (fr. 3); 10.107 κάκκαβος 'pot' (fr. 17). The only exception is ὁ παιδαριώδης 'the childish one' (2.20 = fr. 28). Some of these usages are condemned by other Atticist lexicographers: see Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 400 and Moeris κ 4 for the masculine form κάκκαβος being non-Attic (cf. also Ael. Dion. κ 4 Erbs = Phot. κ 84; Σ 40 = Phot. κ 83); Ael. Dion. χ 11 (= Eust. *Il.* 4.270) on ἀνδρείος χιτωνίσκος being called ἐπενδύτης and Moeris χ 34 on ἐπενδύτης. On Pollux's use of a broader canon of comic models, see M. Sonnino, 'I frammenti della commedia greca citati da Prisciano e la fonte del lessico sintattico del libro XVIII dell'*Ars*', in L. Martorelli (ed.), *Greco antico nell'Occidente carolingio: frammenti di testi attici nell'Ars di Prisciano* (Hildesheim and Zurich, 2014), 163–204, at 168–71, 191–2.

<sup>23</sup> O. Lautensach, *Die Aoriste bei den attischen Tragikern und Komikern* (Göttingen, 1911), 266 explains δαρθείς as a non-Attic innovation that arose in Doric or Ionic.

<sup>24</sup> The fact that all the lemmas begin with α could be explained either by assuming that Photius directly consulted only the book(s) of the *PS* containing words in α or, more probably, that he did not use the *PS* directly but via intermediary sources that had already selected the material. The most important of these intermediaries was an expansion of the *Synagoge*: Alpers (n. 16), 74 and n. 71 below. For the relationship between these texts, see Reitzenstein (n. 5), xxix–xlii; Cunningham (n. 1), 13 and 38–41.



( $\alpha$  430, 443, 898, 1798) derive from the expanded *Synagoge*.<sup>25</sup> Phot.  $\alpha$  1200 ( $\acute{\alpha}\mu\theta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ ), which has no parallels in the *Synagoge*, is thought to derive from Diogenianus.<sup>26</sup> The sources of  $\alpha$  1643 and 3479 are unidentified.<sup>27</sup> None of these eight lemmas mentions Phrynichus, nor is he known to have treated the words with which these entries are concerned.

The ninth lemma,  $\alpha$  3411, which is about the expression  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\nu\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\eta}\nu$ , is more ambiguous. This entry surfaced in the Supplementum Zavordense ( $S^z$ ), unavailable to Reitzenstein for his 1907 edition of Photius' *Lexicon*, used by de Borries in his edition of the *PS*.<sup>28</sup> Theodoridis marks Phot.  $\alpha$  3411 as deriving from the *PS* because of the expression  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , which de Borries identified as typical of Phrynichus' style.<sup>29</sup> However, the only secure parallel for this expression is in the epitome (*PS* 12.9). The other three possible parallels are found in fragments quoted by Photius, of which only fr. 23 (= Phot.  $\alpha$  2058) mentions Phrynichus' name; fr. 91 (=  $\alpha$  414) and fr. 185 (=  $\alpha$  1784) are attributed to the *PS* by de Borries because of their use of  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ . This reasoning is circular:  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  is a frequent adjective in Greek rhetorical and grammatical criticism, as well as in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, and hence may well be Photius' own rendering of his source.

Let us now move on from the specific case of Nicochares to Phrynichus' general attitude towards Attic comedy as a source of approved linguistic usages. In both the *Eclogue* and the *PS*, Phrynichus mostly turns to the major authors of Old Comedy, with only a few concessions to minor Old Comedy playwrights, as well as to the major authors of Middle and New Comedy: in general, when he quotes later Attic authors, these are never poets.<sup>30</sup> In the *PS*, according to Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 158), Phrynichus privileged Aristophanes, 'together with his familiar chorus ( $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  [...]  $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ), but only when they serve as good examples of Attic'.<sup>31</sup> This is unlikely to be a generic reference to the entirety of Old Comedy but more probably refers to the authors canonically considered to be, like Aristophanes, representative of the genre—Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates, etc.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Phot.  $\alpha$  430 ( $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ ) =  $\Sigma^b$   $\alpha$  419 (probably from Diogenianus); 443 ( $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ) =  $\Sigma^b$   $\alpha$  428; 898 ( $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega\rho$ ) =  $\Sigma^b$   $\alpha$  965; 1798 ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\nu$ ) =  $\Sigma^b$   $\alpha$  1345.

<sup>26</sup> See Theodoridis (n. 1), ad loc.

<sup>27</sup> Phot.  $\alpha$  1643 ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\kappa\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ ) is transmitted only in Photius' MSS b and  $S^z$ ;  $\alpha$  3467 ( $\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\eta\varsigma$ ) has a strange gloss ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\eta\varsigma$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ ) and Theodoridis annotates 'Verba fort. e contextu scholiorum seiuncta sunt';  $\alpha$  3479 ( $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$ ) is transmitted only in  $S^z$ . The siglum b identifies cod. Berolin. graec. oct. 22, whereas  $S^z$  refers to the Supplementum Zavordense: Theodoridis (n. 1), lxxxii.

<sup>28</sup> A different lemma,  $\alpha$  356, reflects on the adjective  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\gamma\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and completes Nicochares' line quoted in  $\alpha$  3411, though without mentioning him by name. Photius took this lemma from the *Synagoge*: cf.  $\Sigma^b$   $\alpha$  367 and Orth (n. 5), 105.

<sup>29</sup> de Borries (n. 1), xxxi–xxxii.

<sup>30</sup> For the differences between Phrynichus' two lexica, see M.N. Naechster, *De Phrynichi et Pollucis controversiis* (Leipzig, 1908), 11–17; de Borries (n. 1), xxiv–xxvii; Fischer (n. 1), 47; Matthaios (n. 16), 76–7; G. Ucciardello, 'Il lessico sintattico-atticista fonte di Prisciano (*GL* III 278, 12–377, 18) e la tradizione lessicografica bizantina', in L. Martorelli (ed.), *Greco antico nell'Occidente carolingio: frammenti di testi attici nell'Ars di Prisciano* (Hildesheim and Zurich, 2014), 33–60, at 35 n. 6. A complete overview in comparison with other lexicographical sources is a desideratum, but for comic quotations in the *PS* see the still useful G. Kaibel, *De Phrynicho sophista* (Göttingen, 1889), 18–35.

<sup>31</sup> See too Sonnino (n. 22), 167.

<sup>32</sup> Drawing a firm line between major and minor poets is a difficult task, chiefly because most Hellenistic scholarship on comedy has been lost. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.1–5 and Quint. *Inst.* 9.1.66 testify that in early imperial culture Old Comedy had already shrunk to the Eupolis–Cratinus–Aristophanes triad:

This interpretation can be confirmed by looking at Old Comedy quotations in the epitome of the *PS*. It preserves 26 direct references to Aristophanes and 31 to the other major poets (12 to Cratinus, 8 to Plato Comicus, 7 to Eupolis, and 2 each to Hermippus and Pherecrates); other poets are limited to one quotation each (Aristomenes, Crates, Cantharus and Strattis). There is also a gradation in the use of Old Comedy playwrights other than Aristophanes. While Eupolis and Pherecrates, two authors whom Phrynichus admired, can be used to illustrate correct Attic usages,<sup>33</sup> most quotations of minor poets—such as Nicochares—appear to be aimed at providing alternative meanings for the main lemma and never at defending a certain expression or prescribing a rule.<sup>34</sup>

It may be objected that the epitome of the *PS* is missing too many of its original references for this analysis to adequately represent Phrynichus' range of citations in this work. It is worth, therefore, considering the unattributed entries for which de Borries suggests a comic quotation, often based on parallel entries in other lexica. Old Comedy poets other than Aristophanes provide some 60 references, with Cratinus (23 references) and Eupolis (15) as the most quoted authors, followed by Plato Comicus (8) and Phrynichus Comicus (8). As in the case of those entries which preserve the *loci classici*, these restored references mostly quote the minor Old Comedy playwrights (Alcaeus Comicus, Ameipsias, Aristomenes, Cephisodorus, Hermippus, Philonides, Lysippus, Strattis, Sannyrio) to illustrate the exact meanings of certain expressions, some of which are quite rare.<sup>35</sup>

Only two entries have a clear prescriptive tone, with a third being more ambiguous. In the entry on ἀλίπασσα (46.8–9), the simple meaning 'pickled food' (τὰ τὰριχή) is contrasted with the correct Attic meaning 'food preserved in salt'; the reference restored by de Borries (followed by Kassel and Austin) is Aristomen. fr. 12, based on Ath. *Deipn.* 14.658a. *PS* 58.8–11 prescribes γλωττοκομείον as the correct term for 'a case that contains the reeds or tongues of musical instruments' against γλωσσόκομον, employed by the ἀμαθεῖς (the same prescription can be found in Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 70): the missing reference may be Lysippus (fr. 5), as in Poll. *Onom.* 10.154. A final entry, 84.22–3 (κυνάριον καὶ κυνίδιον· ἄμφω δόκιμα), may have had an Atticist

on this, see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968), 204–5 and I.C. Storey, *Eupolis: Poet of Old Comedy* (Oxford and New York, 2003), 40–6. The anonymous *Prolegomenon* III, transmitted by Aristophanic manuscripts (W.J.W. Koster [ed.], *Prolegomena de comoedia*, vol. 1a of *Scholia in Aristophanes* [Groningen, 1975], 7), mentions the ἀξιολογώτατοι Old Comedy poets: Epicharmus, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, Eupolis and Aristophanes. H.-G. Nesselrath, *Die attische mittlere Komödie: ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin and New York, 1990), 175 speculatively proposes that the *Prolegomenon* draws its comic 'canon' from Hellenistic sources (Callimachus?): see his further discussion (at 184–5) on the role of Aristophanes of Byzantium in the formation of later literary preferences.

<sup>33</sup> See the lemmas ἀνωφέλιτος ἄνθρωπος (4.11–13), quoting Eupolis (fr. 409), and θυμέλη (74.9–12, cf. *Ecl.* 135), quoting Pherecrates (fr. 28). The lemmas ἀπιστίαν βλέπει (5.15), which quotes Eupolis (fr. 332), and ἀρχαῖος (21.11), which quotes Pherecrates (fr. 228), merely provide semantic explanations and are neutral.

<sup>34</sup> For such 'descriptive' entries, see e.g. 23.13–24.2 on ἀλλόκοτον (Crates, fr. 49); 37.14–16 on ἀγωγεύς (Strattis, fr. 55); 39.15–40.10 on ἀκρατίσασθαι (Aristomenes, fr. 14); 86.5–6 on λέκιθος (Cantharus, fr. 13). Phrynichus makes similar use of the occasional New Comedy reference: 28.4–8 on αὐθέκασσα <λέγειν> (Men. fr. 592); and 60.14–18 on γρυμεία (Diphilus, fr. 128).

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. the entries on ὀθήρ (35.3–5; restored reference Philonides, fr. 12), καλλιτράπεζος (85.1–2; restored reference Ameipsias, fr. 18) and λεπτοσχιδῆς (85.10–11; restored reference Cephisodorus, fr. 4).



inclination in its original formulation, most likely condemning κυνάριον.<sup>36</sup> However, its present form does not allow us to reconstruct how the comic reference (Theopompus Comicus or Alcaeus Comicus) might have been used.

On the whole, this survey confirms that Phrynichus considered it appropriate to resort to minor Old Comedy playwrights for the purposes of linguistic elucidation and mild prescription. However, in none of these lemmas do we find an argumentative structure similar to that of fr. 19 (= Phot. α 1552), in which a minor Old Comedy poet is used to defend the use of a term deemed εὐτελής. In both the *PS* and the *Eclogue*, Phrynichus admits quotations from less-approved playwrights only for those words with an uncontroversial pedigree. One example is *Ecl.* 175, where the correct noun for ‘incense’ (λίβανωτόν, rather than λίβονον, which is used by Sophocles and judged a *uox poetica*) is defended through a reference to Menander’s *Samia*. Similar conclusions can be reached by turning to the nine lemmas of the *PS* that may have contained quotations from Middle Comedy (6) and New Comedy (2).<sup>37</sup> Owing to epitomization, most of these entries are ambiguous or, at best, neutral; none of them preserves clear Atticist prescriptions.

The evidence reviewed in this section strongly suggests that Phrynichus did not quote Nicochares in the *PS* to defend the admissibility of ἀναλφάβητος, and confirms the unique character of fr. 19. Elsewhere in his two lexicographical works Phrynichus censors expressions popular in later periods, even those that have a classical attestation. Consider, for example, the criticism of Menander’s compound καταφαγάς in *Ecl.* 402, even though its classical pedigree is clear from a fragment of the Old Comedy playwright Myrtilos (fr. 5), which Phrynichus in fact quotes in full.

#### 4. AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL: PHOT. α 1552 COMBINES TWO SOURCES, AND THE SECOND IS THE *ANTIATTICIST*

In this section we consider an alternative scenario for Phot. α 1552, namely that it conflates two different sources: the first condemning ἀναλφάβητος, the other citing Nicochares to redeem it. I argue that this second source was the *Antiatticist*, owing to its different approach to linguistic correctness as well as its frequent recourse to minor comic poets to defend koine expressions.

In the current understanding of Photius’ opening sentence (ἀναλφάβητος ἐδόκει μὲν εἶναι εὐτελής), the imperfect ἐδόκει is interpreted as Phrynichus’ reference to his initial opinion, which he apparently changed upon finding ἀναλφάβητος attested in Nicochares. Another possibility is that ἐδόκει is Photius’ (or his source’s) rendering of a present-tense verb used by Phrynichus in an original that might have read as follows: ἀναλφάβητος· δοκεῖ <μοι> εἶναι εὐτελής.<sup>38</sup> While the *PS* does not preserve

<sup>36</sup> In *Ecl.* 151, Phrynichus recommends using κυνίδιον and not κυνάριον, since the latter is attested only once in Theopompus Comicus (fr. 93). de Borries restored the reference as Alcaeus Comicus (fr. 33), based on the parallel entry in the *Antiatticist* (κ 87 κυνάριον· οὐ μόνον κυνίδιον· Ἀλκαῖος κομικῶς).

<sup>37</sup> See 35.14–15 ᾄδειν ἄλεκτρύονας (Diphilus, fr. 66); 43.1–2 ἄσωτειον (Alexis, fr. 54); 55.16–17 γυναικηρὸς τρόπος (Diocles, fr. 4); 62.1–3 διατοιχεῖν (Eubulus, fr. 50); 71.1–2 ἐπιχαίρεκακος ἄνθρωπος (Alexis, fr. 52); 74.16 θυροκοπεῖν (Diphilus, fr. 129); 102.1–3 παλεύτρια (Eubulus, fr. 82); 123.1–2 φιλόδειπνος (Alexis, fr. 168).

<sup>38</sup> A parallel may be found in Phot. θ 182: Θιβρώνειον νόμισμα· ἐδόκει ἀπὸ Θίβρωνος τοῦ χαράξαντος εἰρησθαι, where ἐδόκει, introducing the etymological explanation, seems to refer to a

any other uses of δοκέω to introduce a disparaging expression and condemn a word, the *Eclogue* provides two close parallels:

Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 216: προαλῶς· τούτο δοκεῖ μοι γυναικῶν εἶναι τούνομα. ἀνιώμαι δὲ ὅτι ἀνὴρ λόγου ἄξιός κέχρηται αὐτῷ Φαβορίνος (fr. 137 Barigazzi). τούτο μὲν οὖν ἀποδιοπομπόμεθα, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ λέγωμεν προπετώς.

προαλῶς: this seems to me to be a word typical of women. It aggrieves me that a worthy man such as Favorinus has used it. Let us set this word aside and use προπετώς in its place.

In this lemma, Phrynichus judges the adverb προαλῶς ‘rashly’ as being ‘typical of women’ through a construction in which δοκεῖ μοι is followed by the disparaging description γυναικῶν εἶναι τούνομα. He then expresses surprise at its use by Favorinus. The fact that a ‘worthy man’ uses this word is not sufficient to redeem it for Phrynichus: Favorinus was Phrynichus’ contemporary and not a classical authority.

Elsewhere Phrynichus comments on the use of ῥύμη to refer to a narrow street:

Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 383: ῥύμη· καὶ τούτο οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐτίθεσαν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀμαθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στενωποῦ. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τούτο Μακεδονικὸν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ στενωπὸν καλεῖν χρή, ῥύμην δὲ τὴν ὁρμήν.

ῥύμη: the Athenians use this word to refer to an onrush, but our ignorant contemporaries for a narrow street. This word too seems to me to be of Macedonian origin. It is necessary to use στενωπός for a narrow street and to call an onrush ῥύμη.

We know from Pollux’s *Onomasticon* (9.38) that ῥύμη was used with the meaning ‘alley’ by the New Comedy poet Philippides in two different plays (fr. 22 and 14).<sup>39</sup> It is likely that Phrynichus had this poet in mind when he characterized ῥύμη as a ‘Macedonian’ word: Philippides was a friend of Lysimachus (Plut. *Dem.* 12.8), the Macedonian officer who succeeded Alexander to the throne of Macedonia.<sup>40</sup> It is consistent with the different agendas of the two lexicographers that Phrynichus condemns a word even though it was used by a fourth-century Athenian poet, while Pollux is more open to admitting the model of New Comedy. A parallel lemma in the *Antiatticist* (ρ 2) responds to Atticist condemnation by showing the admissibility of the word through a classical author (probably Philippides himself) that has now been lost. The sense of ῥύμην· οὐ φασὶ δεῖ<ν> λέγειν, ἀλλὰ στενωπὸν would then be: ‘strict Atticists say that one should not use ῥύμη but στενωπός; however, ῥύμη is attested in X’.

In both of these entries, Phrynichus does not defend the word that he perceives to be incorrect. This strengthens the impression that Phot. α 1552 may be combining two different authorities, as perhaps implied by the contrastive δέ (that is, this entry could perhaps be a compressed version of lexicographic structures such as οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ‘but other authorities say’). There are two reasons for suggesting that the *Antiatticist*

comment that Photius (or his source) found in a text concerned with Θιβρώνειον νόμισμα ‘counterfeit coin’. The adjective Θιβρώνειον is otherwise only transmitted by one manuscript (cod. Par. graec. 2646) at Poll. *Onom.* 3.86 in a list of words qualifying coins.

<sup>39</sup> This meaning is also found in Aeneas Tacticus. Pollux’s passage is analysed in S. Valente, ‘Osservazioni su συνήθεια e χρήσις nell’*Onomastico* di Polluce’, in C. Mauduit (ed.), *L’Onomasticon de Pollux: Aspects culturels, rhétoriques et lexicographiques* (Lyon, 2013), 147–63, at 154–5, which addresses Pollux’s more tolerant attitude towards foreign words used by Attic authors.

<sup>40</sup> The καὶ ‘also’ in the text may refer to *Ecl.* 354, where παρεμβολή is defined as ‘Macedonian’.

may be the second authority. First, the *Antiatticist* is the only other Atticist lexicon that preserves an entry (albeit abbreviated) on ἀναλφάβητος. Second, the *Eclogue* and the *Antiatticist* share similar material to a degree that points in all likelihood to some kind of direct relationship between the two lexica, although the exact dynamics of this relationship are a matter of debate. The next section gives full attention to this point because it is central for our interpretation of Phot. α 1552. For the time being, suffice it to say that most of the parallel entries are found in *Eclogue* Book 1, with a few in Book 2, suggesting that *Eclogue* Book 1 was written before the *Antiatticist*, which seems to respond to it.

The *Eclogue* shares twenty-six entries with the *Antiatticist*.<sup>41</sup> In twenty-four of these, the *Antiatticist* expresses an alternative view to that of Phrynichus.<sup>42</sup> In six, this alternative view is supported by a reference to an Attic author, as in *Antiatt.* β 37 (βούδια· οὐ μόνον βοΐδια. Ἐρμιππος Κέρκωσι), which seems to reply to *Ecl.* 61 (νοΐδιον καὶ βοΐδιον ἀρχαῖα καὶ δόκιμα, οὐχὶ νοΐδιον καὶ βούδιον) by showing that these forms were used by Hermippus (for the other five entries, see Table 1).

Table 1. Five further entries in which the *Antiatticist* defends a form through a canonical author

<i>Ecl.</i> entry	<i>Antiatt.</i> entry	Form	Classical authority quoted by <i>Antiatt.</i>
44	α 90	ἀναιδίζω	Aristophanes
88	ε 109	γρηγορέω	Xenophon
99	ε 9	ἔνδον (with verbs of motion) εἴσω (without verbs of motion)	Demosthenes
151	κ 87	κυνάριον	Alcaeus Comicus
177	ν 12	νοσσός, νοσσίον	Aeschylus

In ten other entries, the *Antiatticist* adopts a strategy more characteristic of its approach to Greek linguistic history, namely the recourse to classical authors who are not admitted into Phrynichus' canon (Herodotus, Epicharmus, Solon, the poets of Middle and New Comedy, etc.). In all these entries, the *Antiatticist* retrieves information aimed at showing that the condemned expression is in fact ancient or (in modern terms) classical, and hence that it is acceptable in contemporary Greek. Consider, for instance, the pair *Ecl.* 93 ἀκμήν ἀντί τοῦ ἔτι· Ξενοφῶντα μὲν φασιν ἄπαξ αὐτῷ κεχρησθαι, σὺ δὲ φυλαπτόμενος ἔτι λέγε and *Antiatt.* α 21 ἀκμήν· ἀντί τοῦ ἔτι. Ὑπερείδης Ὑπὲρ Κρατίνου. Here, the *Antiatticist* challenges Phrynichus' statement that the adverb ἀκμήν is attested only once in Xenophon by drawing readers' attention to its use by Hyperides, an author quoted fifteen times in the lexicon. The other nine parallels (Table 2) adopt an identical strategy.

<sup>41</sup> Fischer (n. 1), 39–41; Valente (n. 1), 52–4. The lemmas are as follows (the first number refers to the *Eclogue*, the number within brackets to the *Antiatticist*): 3 (ι 2), 44 (α 90), 61 (β 37), 62 (ο 13), 63 (ρ 7), 66 (α 138), 68 (γ 28), 75 (γ 5), 78 (α 10), 88 (ε 109), 93 (α 21), 99 (ε 9), 101 (θ 9), 121 (α 46), 122 (μ 1), 132 (δ 28), 134 (ε 83), 144 (σ 2?), 148 (κ 15), 151 (κ 87), 154 (ε 31), 164 (κ 36), 172 (ε 113), 177 (ν 12), 186 (α 8), 215 (δ 8).

<sup>42</sup> In ι 2 and μ 1, the *Antiatticist* seems to preserve the same opinion as Phrynichus (*Ecl.* 3 and 122).

The same structure is displayed in four entries in the *Antiatticist* where the cited author is lost but can be restored with fair certainty; by Phrynichus' standards, the restored authority is always an 'uncanonical' author.

Table 2. Nine further entries in which the *Antiatticist* defends a form through an uncanonical author

<i>Ecl.</i> entry	<i>Antiatt.</i> entry	Form	Classical authority quoted by <i>Antiatt.</i>
63	ρ 7	ῥαφίς	Epicharmus
66	α 138	ἀρχῆθεν	Herodotus
75	γ 5	γενέσια for 'birthday'	Philochorus, Solon
134	ε 83	ἐλλύχνιον	Herodotus
148	κ 15	κρούω (τὴν θύραν)	Hyperides
154	ε 31	ἀφείλατο	Herodotus
164	κ 36	κόλλαβος	Eubulus
172	ε 113	ἐξειδιάζομαι	Diphilus
215	δ 8	διδουῖσιν	Antiphanes <sup>43</sup>

These parallels should inform our approach to the remaining three lemmas of the *Antiatticist*, the contrastive nature of which is signalled only by the use of οὐ or ἀντί. The structure of the longer entries clarifies that οὐ or ἀντί introduces an alternative form that the *Antiatticist* is defending and that Phrynichus condemns in the *Eclogue*.<sup>44</sup> As an illustration, consider *Antiatt.* γ 28, γαγγαλίζειν· οὐ γαργαλίζειν, which is a reply to *Ecl.* 68: γαργαλίζειν λέγε διὰ τοῦ ρ, ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τῶν δύο γγ, γαγγαλίζειν. The compressed entry in the epitome of the *Antiatticist* can be interpreted, 'it is admissible to use γαγγαλίζειν and not (only) γαργαλίζειν'. *Ecl.* 62 = *Antiatt.* ο 13 (on ὁσμή vs ὀδμή) can be interpreted in the same way; for *Ecl.* 144 and *Antiatt.* σ 2, see below.

Another element that supports the hypothesis that the second part of Photius' entry comes from the *Antiatticist* is the latter's well-known practice of employing the full range of Attic comic authors (278 references, Aristophanes excluded) to defend post-classical usages.<sup>45</sup> The excellent indexes in Valente (2015) offer a comprehensive picture of direct references and possible lost *loci classici* (see Table 4).

The variety and the frequency of Old Comedy minor playwrights in the *Antiatticist* provide a fitting context for the use of Nicochares as a model to redeem a koine feature. We will consider two examples here.

<sup>43</sup> The epitome wrongly identifies the author as Aristophanes; the title of the play, *Metrophon*, clarifies that this is a mistake for Antiphanes. See Valente (n. 1), 143.

<sup>44</sup> See K. Latte, 'Zur Zeitbestimmung des *Antiatticista*', *Hermes* 50 (1915), 373–94, at 375 and the fuller discussion in Valente (n. 1), 44–5, 48–9.

<sup>45</sup> Tentative numbers for the *Antiatticist*'s use of comedy (based on the old edition by Bekker [n. 3]) are provided by A. Willi, 'The language of Old Comedy', in G.W. Dobrov (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Study of Greek Comedy* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 471–510, at 475 and by Sonnino (n. 22).

Table 3. Four entries in which the *Antiatticist* seems to defend a form through an uncanonical author

<i>Ecl.</i> entry	<i>Antiatt.</i> entry	Form	Likely authority quoted by <i>Antiatt.</i>
78	α 10	ἀποκριθῆναι	Menander?
101	θ 9	θρίδαζ	Herodotus
121	α 46	ἀλήθω	? (first attested in Theophrastus)
132	δ 28	ἀνατουχέω	Eubulus
186	α 8	ἀναπίπτω for 'recline'	Alexis

At κ 37 (κλιβανίτης ἄρτος· Ἀμειψίας Ἀποκοτταβίζουσιν), concerning the name of a type of bread cooked in a pan, the *Antiatticist* implicitly defends the variant κλιβανίτης against κριβανίτης, which was considered to be the true Attic form (see Kassel and Austin on Ameipsias, fr. 5 and Ath. *Deipn.* 3.110c).<sup>46</sup> At σ 2 (συμπατριώτης· Ἄρχιππος· τὸ μέντοι πατριώτης Ἄλεξις) the nouns συμπατριώτης (used by Archippos) and πατριώτης (used by Alexis) are implicitly presented as admissible, against Pollux's statement that the barbarians employ them in place of πολίτης (3.54.1–2 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀλλήλους οὐ πολίτας ἀλλὰ πατριώτας λέγουσιν). See too Phrynichus' condemnation of συμπολίτης in *Ecl.* 144, although it is not clear to what extent this entry is related to *Antiatt.* σ 2.

The *Antiatticist*'s frequent quotations from Middle (119) and New Comedy (59) provide an even closer parallel for the entry concerning ἀναλάβητος. At α 110 (ἀναδενδράς· Ἄλεξις Ἀμπελουργῶ) the *Antiatticist* has a laconic lemma concerning the noun ἀναδενδράς ('vine that grows up trees'), followed by a reference to Alexis (fr. 21). Found in koine texts such as the *Septuagint* and Diodorus Siculus, ἀναδενδράς is already attested in Demosthenes. Arnott assumes that the *Antiatticist*'s entry concerned the correct word for 'tree-vine'.<sup>47</sup> However, its original aim should rather be understood by comparing Moeris σ 6 Hansen: σκιάς Ἄττικοί· ἀναδενδράς κοινόν. If we trust Moeris' testimony, there must have existed some Atticist precept indicating that σκιάς (usual meaning 'canopy') should be used in place of ἀναδενδράς.<sup>48</sup> Since σκιάς identified 'a "bower", i.e. a shady spot beneath trees or other greenery',<sup>49</sup> it is easy to see how its meaning could have been extended to indicate a plant that, growing on trees, provides extra shade. *Antiatt.* α 111, from the same play, concerns the correct use of deponent verbs: ἀπολογηθῆναι· ἀντί τοῦ ἀπολογήσασθαι. Ἄλεξις Ἀμπελουργῶ (fr. 12). Its purpose must have been to defend the admissibility of the aorist passive form of ἀπολογέομαι, which, in Hellenistic Greek, had replaced the middle form of standard Attic.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> There is no reason to correct the transmitted κλιβανίτης into κριβανίτης: C. Orth, *Alkaios – Apollonophanes: Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Heidelberg, 2013), 205–6.

<sup>47</sup> W.G. Arnott, *Alexis: The Fragments. A Commentary* (Cambridge, 1996), 82.

<sup>48</sup> The same identification with ἀναδενδράς is repeated in Hsch. σ 977 and Phot. σ 326 (= *Suda* σ 602).

<sup>49</sup> S.D. Olson, *Eupolis frs. 326–497. Fragmenta incertarum fabularum. Fragmenta dubia* (Heidelberg, 2014), 243.

<sup>50</sup> Arnott (n. 47), 82.

Table 4. Comic references in the *Antiatticist* (Aristophanes excluded)

	Old Comedy	Middle Comedy	New Comedy
<b>Poet and number of direct references</b>	Eupolis: 16	Alexis: 42 (of which 1 is restored by Valente at κ 54)	Diphilus: 15
	Plato Comicus: 14	Antiphanes: 28 (of which 2 are restored by Valente at δ 8 and λ 17)	Philemon: 11
	Cratinus: 10	Anaxandrides: 14 (of which 2 are restored by Valente at δ 23 and π 34)	Menander: 10 (of which 2 are restored by Valente at α 6 and α 101)
	Alcaeus Comicus: 8	Araros: 11 (of which 1 is restored by Valente at κ 52)	Philippides: 8
	Hermippus: 7	Eubulus: 9	Timostratus: 5
	Pherecrates: 6 (of which 1 is restored by Valente at κ 3)	Nicophon: 6	Apollodorus: 3
	Phrynichus Comicus: 5	Anaxilas: 4	Posidippus: 3
	Cantharus: 4	Amphis: 2	Alexander Com.: 1
	Archippus: 3	Eriphus: 1	Anaxippus: 1
	Aristonymus: 3	Nicostratus: 1	Diophantus: 1
	Metagenes: 3	Sotades: 1	Hipparchus: 1
	Strattis: 3		
	Teleclides: 3		
	Ameipsias: 2		
	Crates: 2 (of which μ 35 is doubtful)		
	Nicochares: 2		
	Theopompus Com.: 2		
	Aristagoras: 1		
	Chionides: 1		
	Diocles: 1		
	Euetes (?): 1		
	Philonides: 1		
Philyllius: 1			
Thugenides (?): 1			
<b>Total</b>	100	119	59

As a final example, consider γ 7: γέμειν τὴν ναῦν· μόνον φασὶ δεῖν λέγειν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μεστὰ †λέγειν†· ἐλέγχει δ' αὐτοὺς Εὐβουλος Εἰρήνην (fr. 32). This lemma criticizes an Atticist theory (not found elsewhere) that γέμω 'to be full' was to be used only in reference to ships, while the adjective μεστός was to be used in all other contexts (the



entry should rather be punctuated as follows: γέμειν· τήν νῶν μόνον φασὶ δεῖν λέγειν, κτλ.). Although the quotation from Eubulus is lost, the *Antiatticist* appears to be correct in objecting this proscription, since γέμω is amply attested in non-nautical images already in fifth-century Attic.<sup>51</sup>

Phrynichus sometimes responds in *Eclogue* Book 2 to the *Antiatticist*'s defence of certain expressions through minor comic poets. While *Antiatt.* ε 46 (ἐργοδοτῶν· ὡς κἄν τῇ συνηθείᾳ. Ἀπολλόδοφος) defends the common usage by referring the reader to Apollodorus (fr. 21), Phrynichus specifies that one is not to trust New Comedy poets (*Ecl.* 322 ἐργοδοτῆς οὐ κείται, τὸ δὲ ἐργοδοτεῖν παρά τινι τῶν νεωτέρων κομωδῶν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ πειστέον).<sup>52</sup> At ε 92, the *Antiatticist* approves of the 'Alexandrian' (that is, Hellenistic) use of ἐξαλλάσσω to mean 'amuse' and quotes Menander: ἐξαλλάξαι· ὡς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ τέρψαι. Μένανδρος (fr. 540.1)· ἄνθρωπον ἐξαλλάξομεν, <κακόν τί σοι δώσοντα>. As expected, Phrynichus (*Ecl.* 341) rejects Menander's model (ἐξαλλάξαι· τὸ τέρψαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν εἰς εὐφροσύνην· χρῆ φυλάττεσθαι οὕτω λέγειν, οὐ γὰρ χρῶνται οἱ δόκιμοι, Φιλιππίδης δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος αὐτῷ χρῶνται).

The evidence reviewed reflects a small proportion of the *Antiatticist* lemmas that employ comedy to defy Atticist prescriptivism.<sup>53</sup> It is sufficient, however, to indicate a systematic practice and to corroborate the hypothesis that the *Antiatticist* responded in α 143 to the Atticist condemnation of ἀναλφάβητος by referring the reader to Nicochares.

##### 5. THE FIRST SOURCE QUOTED BY PHOTIUS COULD BE THE *ECLOGUE* RATHER THAN THE *PS*

We have operated up to this point within the parameters of the traditional assumption that all references to Phrynichus in Photius' lexicon come from the *PS*. Building on our hypothesis that Photius accessed information on the classical pedigree of ἀναλφάβητος through the *Antiatticist*, we shall now consider the more speculative possibility that the work in which Phrynichus dealt with ἀναλφάβητος was not the *PS* but the *Eclogue*. The absence of an entry on ἀναλφάβητος in the extant *Eclogue* is not an obstacle, since the extant version has probably undergone modifications (*pace* Fischer: see below).

The obscurities surrounding the composition and transmission of the *Eclogue* and the *PS* are legion. First, which was composed first? While Naechster thought that the *PS* preceded the *Eclogue*, de Borries and others have proposed the reverse.<sup>54</sup> The sixty-six lemmas which the two works have in common cannot be used to confirm the precedence of either, and the possibility of later interpolation in the epitome of the *PS* further complicates the issue.<sup>55</sup> Second, it is unclear to what extent the version of the *Eclogue* transmitted by the late medieval tradition resembles the original. Fischer titles

<sup>51</sup> See *TLG* s.v. and R.L. Hunter, *Eubulus: The Fragments* (Cambridge, 1983), 125.

<sup>52</sup> See Latte (n. 44), 378 n. 2. The compound is attested in Xenophon (*Cyr.* 8.2.5).

<sup>53</sup> See Willi (n. 45), 473–6.

<sup>54</sup> See Naechster (n. 30), 11; de Borries (n. 1), xi–xii; W.J. Slater's review of Fischer's edition in *Gnomon* 49 (1977), 258–62, at 261; D. Strout, R. French, 'Phrynichos (3)', *RE* XX.1 (1941), 920–5, at 922.

<sup>55</sup> The parallels are mentioned by Fischer (n. 1), 47.

one of the sections of his critical edition ‘Die Ekloge ist nicht verkürzt’, assuming that whatever traces one finds of epitomization belong to the manuscript tradition and not to the archetype on which it depends.<sup>56</sup> The lack of ancient information about the original *Eclogue* makes it impossible to say whether Phrynichus himself composed it as a series of short annotations. But the selection of lemmas in the extant *Eclogue* is unlikely to reflect the original without omissions or modifications, as it would then be a unique case in Greek lexicography. Third, the title ‘Ἐκλογία’ is not attested before the fourteenth century; the *Suda* seems to have known the text as Ἀττικιστής.<sup>57</sup> ‘Ἐκλογία’ is suspiciously suggestive of an abridgement, and attempts to defend it as Phrynichus’ own selection of older material are not persuasive.<sup>58</sup> In the light of all this, it is not impossible that Photius was drawing on the *Eclogue*, perhaps through an intermediary source. Let us look at some supporting evidence for this hypothesis.

The first element in Phot. α 1552 that points in the direction of the *Eclogue* rather than the *PS* is the terminology of the first sentence, where ἀναλφάβητος is deemed to be εὐτελής, an adjective not found elsewhere in the *PS*.<sup>59</sup> In its metaphorical sense εὐτελής qualifies worthless individuals and, by extension, those who do not belong to the class of the σεμνότεροι—the plebeians to whom Phrynichus otherwise refers with the expressions οἱ πολλοί, οἱ ἰδιῶται and οἱ σύρφακες.<sup>60</sup> Disparaging terminology such as this is a distinctive feature of the *Eclogue*, where undesirable words are marked with adjectives such as ἀμαθής, ἀπαίδευτος, ἀμελής, μανείς, βάρβαρος, σόλοικος, ἔκφυλος, ἀνενήλλιστος, by ethical and aesthetic terminology (ὀρθός, καλός, κακός, κάκιστος, μιαρός, νόθος, δεινός, αἰσχρός, διεφθαρμένος) and by metaphors taken from the sphere of numismatics and commerce (ἀδόκιμος, κίβδηλος, παρασημασμένος, ἀγοραῖος). Those who use ‘bad’ words are accused of κατακηλιδοῦν ‘defiling’, συσσύρειν ‘spoiling’, or μολύνειν ‘staining’ the language. The *PS*, in contrast, makes infrequent use of evaluative terminology: disapproval is most often conveyed by the all-purpose adjective ἀδόκιμος.<sup>61</sup> When explicit, prescriptions in the *PS* are occasionally marked by δεῖ (3 occurrences), χρῆ λέγειν (4 occurrences) and χρῆ φεῦγειν (1 occurrence), whereas overt prohibitions (for example φυλάσσω) are not attested in the epitome.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Fischer (n. 1), 37. See too Slater (n. 54), 258–9; Alpers (n. 16), n. 32; E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Oxford and New York, 2007), 97.

<sup>57</sup> The title Ἀττικιστής is also used by the manuscripts of the d-family: see Fischer (n. 1), 12; Slater (n. 54), 261; G. Ucciardello, ‘Un misconosciuto frammento del grammatico Ireneo nell’*Ecloga* di Frinico’, *Eikasmos* 30 (2019), 171–9, at 176.

<sup>58</sup> See J. Tolkiehn, ‘Lexikographie’, *RE* XII.2 (1925), 2432–82, at 2456–7.

<sup>59</sup> Apart from this passage in Photius, εὐτελής is absent in both of Phrynichus’ works, and also from the *Synagoge*. It has two other attestations in Photius: in α 3245 (αὐτοποίητον· εὐτελής = Hsch. α 8453), it is a gloss; in γ 18 it probably refers to a ‘worthless’ individual (γαλιδεύς· εὐτελής, οἶον γαλιῆς παῖς; cf. Hsch. γ 100 γαλιδέως· Κρατίνος, λέγει δὲ ὡς γένει εὐτελή καὶ ὡς γαλῶν παῖδα γαλιδέα; cf. *Antiatt.* γ 33).

<sup>60</sup> εὐτελής is used as a rhetorical term already in Arist. *Poet.* 1458b.21, *Rh.* 1408a.10–14. Attestations in lexicography are limited, except for Pollux (e.g. 1.231, 2.17, 2.113, 2.88), who employs εὐτελής to distinguish between different registers of poetry and prose, or to refer to current usages as opposed to Attic usages (e.g. 2.228, with F. Conti Bizzarro, ‘Alcune osservazioni di critica della lingua in Polluce’, *Commentaria classica* 1 [2014], 39–53, at 48–9).

<sup>61</sup> βάρβαρος is not attested in the epitome of the *PS*; ἀμελής, μιαρός, μανείς, σόλοικος, ἔκφυλος and παρασημασμένος are not found in either the epitome or the fragments; κακός, δεινός, φαῦλος, αἰσχρός, διεφθαρμένος, κίβδηλος and ἀγοραῖος are never used to qualify words; ὀρθός and νόθος occur once each to refer to linguistic correctness (109.1 and 67.3).

<sup>62</sup> Taking the first twenty pages of the epitome as a sample, we have the following evaluative expressions which point to a purist orientation (I have omitted expressions pertaining to style

If Phrynichus did address ἀνολόγητος in the *Eclogue*, this might better explain the *Antiatticist*'s adoption of the opposite stance, given that—as discussed in the previous section—the two lexica have much material in common. Following Latte's authoritative discussion, there is a scholarly consensus that in many entries of *Eclogue* Book 2 (lemmas 230–411 in Fischer's edition), Phrynichus took a polemical stance against the *Antiatticist*.<sup>63</sup> Latte also noted that in Book 1 (lemmas 1–229), Phrynichus does not polemicize against the *Antiatticist*. This led him to hypothesize that the *Antiatticist* was composed after the publication of *Eclogue* Book 1, and that Phrynichus replied by composing Book 2.<sup>64</sup> Latte hesitated, however, to draw the further conclusion that the *Antiatticist*, written after the publication of *Eclogue* Book 1, also directly criticized Phrynichus' ideas, since only *Ecl.* 134 (= *Antiatt.* ε 83, on ἐλλύχνιον) seemed to him to demonstrate a reply to Phrynichus, rather than simple dependency on common sources.<sup>65</sup>

Latte's caution was not shared by Fischer, who proposed a bolder hypothesis: Phrynichus used the *Antiatticist* in Book 1 also, and in this scenario the *Antiatticist* would precede the whole *Eclogue*.<sup>66</sup> Valente regards Fischer's proposal with scepticism and inclines toward Latte's view.<sup>67</sup> The use by both lexica of the same sources complicates the task of determining their relative chronology;<sup>68</sup> however, Latte's hypothesis of the precedence of *Eclogue* Book 1 over the *Antiatticist* receives some support from structural features.

The lemmas of Book 1 paralleled in the *Antiatticist* do not show traces of alphabetical ordering, whereas those of Book 2 often do.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps the two lexica used the same sources but in different ways: the *Antiatticist* by arranging the lemmas in an alphabetical order, *Eclogue* Book 1 by incorporating them in no particular order. However, a better explanation would be that the difference in alphabetical organization between *Eclogue* Book 1 and *Eclogue* Book 2 depends on the fact that, in compiling the latter, Phrynichus used the *Antiatticist*, which was not available to him when he composed Book 1. Moreover, the polemical style of some of the *Antiatticist* lemmas that have parallels in the *Eclogue* suggests that the *Antiatticist* is directing its criticism against a prominent Atticist work; given the overlap between the two lexica, it is more economical to think that its target was the *Eclogue*, part of which must therefore have already been published when the *Antiatticist* was composed. The absence of a clear polemical structure in the *Antiatticist* for some of the parallel lemmas—an issue that induced Latte to view the hypothesis that *Eclogue* Book 1 preceded it with some caution—is hardly conclusive evidence: as noted by Latte

only): ἀμαθέστατοι (1.6), Ἀττικῶς καὶ σεμνῶς (3.1–2), Ἀττικῶν ... τὸ λέγειν (3.9), Ἀττικὸν τὸ σχῆμα (3.12), οἱ πολλοὶ (4.12–13), λίαν ἠττίκισται (4.14), οἱ Ἀττικοί (5.5, 10.15, 17.3, 19.2), πάνυ Ἀττικῶς (6.11), Ἀττικῶς εἴρηται (7.2), Ἀττικῶ ... ἔθει (7.8), Ἀττικώτατον (9.18), Ἀττικὸν δὲ λίαν (9.19), Ἀττικῶς (10.22, 11.1, 20.6), οἱ ἀμαθεῖς (13.5), Ἀττικὴ ἢ σύνταξις (14.1–2), Ἀττικώτερον (14.3), οἱ ἀρχαῖοι (17.6), ἰδίως Ἀττικὸν (17.11). Only once do we find a usage described as non-Attic (Ἀττικοῖς δὲ οὐ φίλον, 9.10) and a reproach against those who mispronounce the accent in αὐτοχειρίᾳ (10.10–11).

<sup>63</sup> Latte (n. 44), 378–80. Fischer (n. 1), 39 further detects an alphabetic arrangement of lemmas 307–64, following that of the *Antiatticist*.

<sup>64</sup> Latte (n. 44), 381.

<sup>65</sup> Latte (n. 44), 381 n. 2.

<sup>66</sup> Fischer (n. 1), 41. *Contra*, see Slater (n. 54), 259.

<sup>67</sup> Valente (n. 1), 53 n. 316.

<sup>68</sup> Latte (n. 44), 381 n. 2; Fischer (n. 1), 39; Valente (n. 1), 54.

<sup>69</sup> Fischer (n. 1), 38 and 40.

himself, we read the *Antiatticist* in a heavily abbreviated epitome that is missing many of the extended explanations and critical comments that characterized the original (see Section 4 above for some examples).<sup>70</sup>

The different hypotheses and problems reviewed so far also bear on the specific question of whether it is conceivable that Phrynichus devoted an entry in the *Eclogue* to ἀναλφάβητος. The only certainty is that an abbreviated lemma on ἀναλφάβητος is preserved in the *Antiatticist*. Judging from this lexicon's usual structure, it would be logical to think that in defending this word the *Antiatticist* is responding to some other scholar's criticism. Photius provides us with another fact: Phrynichus dealt with ἀναλφάβητος, although in which work he does not say. The structure of Photius' entry also suggests that—if two sources are implied—Phrynichus' critical judgement preceded another source's rehabilitation of ἀναλφάβητος. All of this leads to the possibility that a note on ἀναλφάβητος may have been included in Book 1 of the *Eclogue*, to which the *Antiatticist* later replied.

This tentative scenario must remain hypothetical owing to the insurmountable gaps in our knowledge of the transmission of Atticist lexicography. While there is evidence that Photius knew the *PS* and used its material in his lexicon (perhaps exclusively through the *Synagoge* tradition), there is no evidence that he ever came across the *Eclogue*.<sup>71</sup> Fischer touches upon the issue, closing with a lapidary statement: 'Das attizistische Material in der *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων*, im Photios- und im Suida-lexicon bietet zwar zahlreiche Parallelen zu *Gl<ossen>* der *Ecl.*; *es gibt aber kein Indiz dafür, daß die Ecl. selbst in diese Kompilationen eingearbeitet wurde*' (my emphasis).<sup>72</sup> Yet lexicographical entries which imply use of the *Eclogue* are not lacking in Byzantine lexicography; and it is splitting hairs to ask whether Byzantine scholars accessed the *Eclogue* directly, viz. in the form we read it, or through an intermediary source, which still implies that the *Eclogue* circulated in one form or another at this stage.<sup>73</sup>

Our perception of Photius' use of the *PS* is profoundly influenced by de Borries's edition, which attributed to this lexicon all of the lemmas in Photius that mention Phrynichus, as well as other passages that, according to him, were reminiscent of Phrynichus' style (see above), although the latter can hardly be reconstructed in a comprehensive way from the short snippets preserved in the epitome of the *PS*. The fundamental need to revise de Borries's methodology is one of the reasons why a new edition of the *PS* is required.<sup>74</sup> In reality, we know little about how much of the *PS* Photius read, or in what form. This leaves open the question of whether some of the references to Phrynichus in Photius *may* instead point in the direction of the *Eclogue*.

<sup>70</sup> See the examples discussed in Latte (n. 44), 378.

<sup>71</sup> One should not infer from the description of the *PS* in *Bibl.* cod. 158, however, that Photius had already read the *PS* when he compiled his lexicon. The latter is a juvenile work, some twenty years older than the *Bibliotheca*. It may well be that at this stage Photius based his entire knowledge of Phrynichus on other sources. He may have consulted the *PS* only subsequently for the composition of the *Bibliotheca*. Further, while Photius seems acquainted with the general organization and aim of the *PS*, his main interest revolves around the prefatory letters and their dedicatees. We may wonder how many of the individual lemmas of the *PS* Photius actually consulted. Regarding Photius' direct knowledge of older lexica in general, see Alpers (n. 16), 72–4; also n. 25 above.

<sup>72</sup> Fischer (n. 1), 48.

<sup>73</sup> Concerning this issue, see the similarity between Phrynichus, *Ecl.* 56 (ἀφῆλιξ) and Σ<sup>a</sup> α 1154 (ἀφῆλικα: cf. Σ<sup>b</sup> α 2529, Phot. α 3340). I thank Federico Favi for the suggestion.

<sup>74</sup> On de Borries's methodological flaws, see Cohn (n. 19), 933; Cunningham (n. 1), 53.

The *Eclogue* seems to have seen very limited circulation before the early Palaeologan era, when it suddenly resurfaced in manuscripts and indirect testimonies, such as Thomas Magistros's lexicon.<sup>75</sup> It is almost certain that Photius did not access the *Eclogue* directly but rather found its material quoted in other sources under Phrynichus' name. Since a lemma on ἀναλόβητος is preserved in the epitome of the *Antiatticist*, the logical inference would be that Photius found the information he provides in α 1552 in the *Antiatticist*. Although much is uncertain in this area also, there are some facts we can pin down.

Whatever version of the *Antiatticist* Photius or his source(s) consulted, this was a more complete work than what survives in cod. Par. Coisl. 345, since there are several instances in which Photius preserves *interpretamenta* and *loci classici* missing from the extant *Antiatticist*.<sup>76</sup> Photius also accessed much of the *Antiatticist* through the *Synagoge* tradition: the expanded Σ<sup>b</sup> (preserved in cod. Par. Coisl. 345) alone contains about one hundred and ten *Antiatticist* lemmas.<sup>77</sup> However, no lemma on ἀναλόβητος is preserved in either Σ (the epitome transmitted in cod. Par. Coisl. 347) or Σ<sup>b</sup>. This is not an obstacle to our hypothesis: Photius' lexicon contains other *Antiatticist* lemmas not preserved in the *Synagoge*. Faced with these cases, some scholars assume that Photius derived these lemmas from a different version of the *Antiatticist*.<sup>78</sup> Other scholars prefer to posit his use of a lost intermediary version of the *Synagoge*.<sup>79</sup>

In α 1552 Photius probably transmits information on Nicochares' use of ἀναλόβητος that he gathered in a version of the *Antiatticist* containing the author's name, the title of the play and a more complete discussion of the *Antiatticist*'s stance on this word and on Phrynichus' condemnation of it. Advancing this hypothesis has highlighted the need to reconsider Photius' references to Phrynichus in a critical light

<sup>75</sup> The manuscript tradition described in Fischer (n. 1), 3–32 is corrected by G. Ucciardello, 'Atticismo, excerpta lessicografici e prassi didattiche in età paleologa', in A. Rollo and N. Zorzi (edd.), *Il greco bizantino di registro alto: studi linguistici e filologici / High-Register Byzantine Greek: Linguistic and Philological Studies* (Naples, 2019), 208–34, at 216 n. 25; see also Ucciardello (n. 57), 171 n. 2. On Thomas Magistros's lexicon, see N. Gaul, 'The twitching shroud: collective construction of *paideia* in the circle of Thomas Magistros', *Segno e Testo* 5 (2017), 263–340 and, on its relationship with Phrynichus' *Eclogue*, N. Gaul, 'Moschopoulos, Lopadiotes, Frankopoulos (?), Magistros, Staphidakes: prosopographisches und methodologisches zur Lexikographie des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts', in E. Trapp and S. Schönauer (edd.), *Lexicologica byzantina: Beiträge zum Kolloquium zur byzantinischen Lexikographie* (Göttingen and Bonn, 2008), 163–96, at 188–9 and G. Ucciardello, 'Insegnamento della sintassi e strumenti lessicografici in epoca paleologa: alcuni esempi', in F. Conti Bizzarro (ed.), *Λεξικόν γραμματικῆς: studi di lessicografia e grammatica greca* (Naples, 2019), 97–124, at 115–16. The question of the circulation of the *Eclogue* before this period is addressed in Ucciardello (n. 57), 176 with n. 20.

<sup>76</sup> One example is Phot. δ 144 = *Antiatt.* δ 6: see Theodoridis (n. 1), LXXV; Valente (n. 1), 143. Another interesting example is Phot. *Epist.* 156, II page 11.9 Laourdas–Westerink, where Photius defends ἐγκομβόσασθαι by referring the reader to Epicharmus (fr. 7) and Apollodorus of Carystus (fr. 4): both the anti-purist doctrine, which expresses a moderate form of classicism, and the use of Epicharmus as a classical authority are strongly reminiscent of the *Antiatticist*'s mindset, and it could be that Photius derived this information from a lost version of the lexicon.

<sup>77</sup> Valente (n. 1), 14, mentioning a further seven 'doubtful' lemmas.

<sup>78</sup> Direct use is assumed by Theodoridis (n. 1), LXXV, approved by E. Degani in his review of Theodoridis's edition, *Gnomon* 59 (1987), 584–95, at 588. Valente (n. 1), 25–7 counts at least forty-eight lemmas in Photius which come from the *Antiatticist*, but is more cautious in attributing all of these to Photius' direct use of the *Antiatticist*.

<sup>79</sup> See Latte (n. 44), 376; Valente (n. 1), 25. Cunningham (n. 1), 21 calls it Σ''', that is, a version resulting from the combination of Σ'' and Σ''''.

to assess whether he drew from both of Phrynichus' works rather than only from the *PS*. One potentially fruitful approach, as employed in this paper, would involve a systematic assessment of the style and terminology of Phrynichus' fragments in Photius, with the aim of identifying elements more coherent with the character of the *Eclogue* than with that of the *PS*, such as we know it.

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